

DOCUMENTS OF
THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT
IN INDIA

VOL. XX
(1982-1983)



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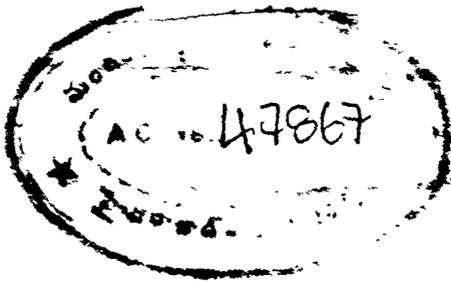
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List of Abbreviations Used

CI	—The Communist International
ECCI	—The Executive Committee of the Communist International
CPI	—Communist Party of India
CPI(M)	—Communist Party of India (Marxist)
LM	—The Labour Monthly, Published from London
CPGB	—Communist Party of Great Britain
CPSU	—Communist Party of Soviet Union
CPC	—Communist Party of China
INPRECOR	—International Press Correspondence of the Communist International
BCI	—Bulletin of the Communist International
CC	—Central Committee
PB	—Political Bureau
Polit Bureau	—Political Bureau
INC/Congress	—Indian National Congress
Congress (R)	—Ruling Congress
AITUC	—All India Trade Union Congress
INTUC	—Indian National Trade Union Congress
CITU	—Centre of Indian Trade Unions
AIKS	—All India Kisan Sabha
CKC	—Central Kisan Council of All India Kisan Sabha
WFTU	—World Federation of Trade Unions
AISF	—All India Students' Federation
SFI	—Students Federation of India

DYFI	—Democratic Youth Federation of India
UF	—United Front
RSS	—Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangha
JP	—Janata Party
FB	—Forward Bloc
RSP	—Revolutionary Socialist Party
SP	—Socialist Party
EMS	—E.M.S. Namboodiripad
BTR	—B. T. Ranadive
PS	—P. Sundarayya
PR	—P. Ramamurti
MB	—M. Basavapunnatah
Govt.	—Government

Introductory Note

This Volume (Volume No. XX) includes documents for the period 1982-83.

The 11th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) was held at Vijayawada on January 26-31, 1982 and this was the biggest political event of this period relating to Communist Movement in India.

After Smt. Indira Gandhi came back to power in 1980 she continued the same old authoritarian and dictatorial policies and in the Political Resolution adopted in the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) it was correctly analysed:

“With the worsening economic situation and the growing anger of the people, the ruling party strives to crush all manifestation of discontent with the utmost severity. Its reliance on police methods, on the bureaucracy, on lawless operations of the administration grows everyday”

“The drive against the common people is accompanied by new weapons to curb and repress the democratic movement and forces.”

It was also stated in the same Political Resolution of the 11th Congress:

“In the most shameless manner, the Government is censoring the mail of Private citizens, under an outdated British Act, and the Speaker of the Lok Sabha justifies even the censoring of the mail of MPs.”

“The status of MPs and MLAs as representatives of the people has become irrelevant and superfluous. The real rulers of the people, the men responsible for the political

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well-being of the Indira regime, are the police officials. The ruling Party with its majority in most of the State Assemblies and Parliament is reducing all parliamentary functioning to a farce.”

“The drive for dictatorship includes growing attacks on the constitutional powers of the States and concentration of powers at the Centre. The Centre arbitrarily intervenes on several issues which are within the exclusive power of the States. There are plans to add new items to the concurrent list. These attacks on the powers of the States are to be resisted as part of the struggle against the forces of dictatorship, and expansion of the powers of the States is to be demanded.”

At the outset of the Political-Organisational Report adopted in the 11th Congress the achievements of our Party were correctly summarised in the following words:

“The gains and achievements of the Party during the four-year period under review are creditable, compared to any similar period since we broke away from the CPI in 1963-64. The increase in the membership of the Party and the Class and Mass organisations, the popular electoral support it has received, the political image and prestige gained by the Party in the country as a whole and the political-ideological unity that has been achieved—all go to corroborate the advance registered by our Party.”

All the documents of the 11th Party Congress are given in this Volume including the Political Resolution, Political-Organisational Report and other Resolutions adopted in the Congress.

The 11th Congress of the CPI(M) was a massive success. A mammoth rally was held at Vijayawada on 31st January, 1982 on the concluding day of the 11th Congress of the CPI(M) and this ‘Open Session’ of the Congress was of historic importance. Com. P. Sundarayya was the main architect of this success and his tireless energy and superb organisational skill had its reflection in the great success of the Vijayawada Congress in 1982.

This was the period when Smt. Indira Gandhi's Government followed the same old reactionary and dictatorial policies completely to the detriment of the basic interests of the people and its consequence was correctly summarised in the Report of the Central Committee of the CPI(M) adopted in its meeting held in New Delhi on August 27-30, 1982:

"The ruling party's standing among the people is in the meantime, increasingly being eroded. No more the people look upon it as the party that can "deliver the goods". Not only have its promises concerning improvement in the economic situation been proved hollow, but its credibility as the political head of the administration is being increasingly lost."

In the same Report of the Central Committee of the CPI(M) it was also stated:

"This throws revealing light on the claims made at the time the Government decided to apply for the massive loan from the IMF. The loan was claimed to be necessary for "tiding over a temporary problem". The deficit cannot be met, it was claimed, unless massive "aid" from the World Bank, the IMF, etc., was forthcoming. On the other hand, such "aid" would help tiding over the temporary crisis, making the economy really self-reliant. The then Finance Minister, Venkatraman, had gone so far as to claim that, since the economy was "looking up", it might not be necessary even to draw the last instalment of the IMF loan."

"The working of the economy after the deal was made and the loans were received, however, shows that, far from making the economy self-reliant, the conditions imposed by the IMF are leading to a deterioration in the balance of trade and payment. In the name of making production "export-oriented", imports are liberalised in a world situation in which not only is there cut-throat competition in the capitalist world market but the price parity goes against the Third World countries."

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An important document was adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) in its meeting held in New Delhi on September 10-16, 1983 entitled "Tasks on the Trade Union Front". At the very beginning of this document the approach and the policy of our Party towards working class and trade union movement were clearly stated in the following words:

"The leading role of the working class consists primarily in leading the peasantry for the agrarian revolution. This leadership can come only through a Workers' and Peasants' alliance, the working class actively supporting the struggle of the peasantry, fighting for its demands and coming out as the champion of the interests of the peasants and agricultural workers."

"Our Party does not regard the working class as just one of the oppressed and exploited sections of the society. We are the Party of the working class which has a special leading role to play in the revolution. Our Party, in its Programme, lays stress on working class leadership in the People's Democratic Revolution."

During this period the demand for rethinking and revision of Centre-State relations within the structure of Indian Union assumed the character of a National demand and this was substantially reflected in the meeting of the Opposition Parties held in Srinagar (Kashmir) on October 5-7, 1983. Our Party submitted a detailed proposal in this meeting on the question of Centre-State relations and this document is included in this Volume. It is in this background that one should evaluate the importance of setting up Sarkaria Commission on Centre-State relations during Smt. Indira Gandhi's regime as it was no more possible for her Government to evade this issue ignoring the national demand for revision of Centre-State relations in India. The statement adopted in the meeting at Srinagar in October, 1983 on Centre-State relations is also given in this Volume which will enable a student of Political History to evaluate the importance of this demand.

The homage to Com. Georgi Dimitrov paid by the Central Committee of our Party on the occasion of his Birth Centenary is given in this Volume. This document has highlighted the

contribution made by Comrade Dimitrov in enriching the International Communist Movement.

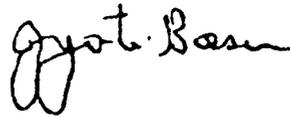
During this period we lost Com. Jyotirmoy Bosu, an outstanding Parliamentarian of our Party. We also lost Sheikh Abdullah who again became the Chief Minister of Jammu & Kashmir after a long lapse to consolidate democracy in the State as an integral part of India.

The sad demise of Com. Promode Dasgupta during his sojourn to the People's Republic of China in 1982 was a great loss to our Party. Whatever one may say, it will be inadequate to fully express Com. Promode Dasgupta's contributions to the formation, consolidation and expansion of the CPI(M) in India.

The demise of Com. Leonid Brezhnev, the General Secretary of CPSU and President of USSR also took place during this period.

We have given 80 documents in this Volume which will give a thorough idea about the political developments that took place during this period. The situation in Assam, Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir started becoming very acute during this period due to insurgent activities of separatist forces and a number of documents are given in this Volume covering the stand of the CPI(M) on these issues.

The portentous developments in India during 1981-82 will always remain subject matters for indepth studies by the Political Workers and students of Political History and in this context the documents contained in this Volume will be found most useful for them.



(JYOTI BASU)
Chief Editor

May 9, 1998

Foreword

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) was held in Vijayawada from January 26 to 31, 1982 four years after its Tenth Congress in April 1978. It was a significant event in view of the fact that fight against the authoritarian party and its rule by forging a broad forum of resistance constituted, in the first place, the central task which was to be carried out in the face of growing challenge to the unity and integrity of the country. This situation was also sought to be utilised by imperialism which was encouraging divisive forces in the country directly instigated by the Pakistani rulers. Pakistan by now was not only instigating trouble inside Kashmir to destabilise the situation but had started encouraging extremism in Punjab by backing such forces of Sikh fundamentalism which under the cover of a separate State was determined to disrupt national unity. The U.S. imperialism had not reconciled to the role which India was playing in the world forums like NAM, UN and other places. They also had their eye on Kashmir by encouraging the movement of independent Kashmir so that they can have their base in this strategic area to manoeuvre against India, China, Pakistan etc.

Secondly, strengthening of the Left and democratic unity was of overriding importance for changing correlation of class forces in the people, for increasing the weight and influence of the Left forces, ourselves the Party of the working class leading the Left forces on top of it. It alone could give expression to a radicalisation among the masses which was manifest in various means. That was the call emerged from the Tenth Congress and was further emphasised in the political resolution of the Eleventh Congress to face the existing realities. While the broad resistance to

authoritarianism was meant to help democratic advance checkmating the forces of dictatorship and authoritarian, the concept of Left and democratic unity was to fulfil the long-term objective. The Tenth Congress Resolution stated the basic reason of forging the unity of the Left and democratic forces thus: "The Left and democratic front is not to be understood as only an alliance for elections or Ministry, but a fighting alliance of the forces for immediate advance—economic and political—and isolating the reactionary classes that hold the economy in their grip."

Alongwith this emphasis we had also seen that in the background of developing economic situation accompanied by the growing mass discontent following the isolation from the masses, political representatives of certain sections of the ruling classes start vacillating and engage themselves in action at cross purposes to maintain their class rule. It is the job of the working class and its revolutionary Party to take advantage of such a situation in order to advance the cause of the working class and the toiling people. It is in this respect the understanding and alliance, though temporary, with certain sections of the ruling classes acquire importance. Thus the main slogans evolved at the Tenth Congress though different from each other nevertheless were inter-related. The distinction between the two slogans had been further underlined by the experiences that had been developed during four years preceding the Eleventh Congress. Hence the political resolution of the Eleventh Congress taking into consideration the developments that had taken place in the preceding four years included six-point Platform of Broad Resistance and 23-point Programme of Left and democratic front. All the international and national developments made it necessary to effect some modifications both in the platform and the programme.

The political resolution of the Eleventh Congress stated: "By struggling for the building of the Left and democratic front, by popularising its programme opposed to the programmes of the bourgeois parties, by changing the correlation of political forces through broader mobilisation and, above all, by leading mass struggles, the Party brings into the arena precisely those classes that must take a prominent part in building the People's Democratic Front. This is

the importance of its immediate tactical line.” Further, the political resolution came to the conclusion with this: “The situation demands of the Party incessant and urgent efforts to unite the Left and democratic forces so that the initiative in the fight against authoritarianism remains with these forces.”

“It also calls for the broadest possible resistance to the attacks of the authoritarian party to scuttle democracy.”

“The Left Front Ministries, whose defence is imperative in the struggle for democracy, and their achievements offer a firm foundation for building the unity of the Left and democratic forces.”

“Mass actions and struggles led by the Party or jointly with other parties and mass organisations constitute the lever to build Left initiative and broad mobilisation.”

It must be understood that the bursting mass discontent and struggles emerging from it provided fertile ground for organising widespread resistance and forging common understanding with others at different levels. To lead all these struggles decisively, to channelise them all in an anti-authoritarian direction was the immediate task which the Party had to face. But along with this the Party and the Left must take the lead in mobilising various forces and the people on the issues of subordination of the judiciary to the executive and setting up the presidential form of Government—both weapons for installing one-party rule. But the assault by the divisive forces instigated by foreign powers had complicated the situation. This danger could be fought only by uniting the Left, democratic and secular forces.

It said: “The Party in cooperation with all Left, democratic and other patriotic forces must fight the secessionist challenge encouraged by imperialist agencies.”

“And, finally, the challenge of imperialism to the foreign policy of non-alignment, the pressures to weaken the Indo-Soviet Treaty and relations with the Socialist camp, and the arming of Pakistan’s military clique, have to be taken seriously. There is concentrated propaganda from parties like the BJP which act as the vociferous anti-Soviet, pro-US lobby. The internal pressure against non-alignment was never so great. The Party must work for the broadest mobilisation of all patriotic forces against the imperialist challenge.”

The need for the simultaneous development of the Left and democratic front and of a broader forum, and integrating both got emphasised in the political resolution.

The Party can now take pride in pursuing a correct tactical line during the crisis of Janata Government as a logical conclusion of the decision of the Tenth Congress. Basing on the differences inside the Party on the tactical line adopted during this period, the entire bourgeois Press was speculating to a split in the Party at the Congress. To their utter dismay, the differences were resolved after detailed discussion in the Congress. The Political-Organisational report as adopted in the Eleventh Party Congress dealt with the issue in depth and stated: "The differences that surfaced relate to individual issues and moves in the process of implementing the line. One such issue was whether our being neutral on the no-confidence motion would have been received by the people well or our actively supporting the no-confidence motion, after our efforts to persuade the Janata Government failed. Similarly, the issue was raised whether our support to the Charan Singh alliance was received well or ill by the people at large, and why not demand elections instead of lending support to the formation of the Charan Singh Government. It was also asked by some whether our supporting the no-confidence motion had helped Indira Gandhi to stage a come-back, thus objectively strengthening the forces of authoritarianism. All these do not belong to the category of basic differences on the fundamental political-tactical line of the Party, and most of them were answered in the course of the P.B. and C.C. discussions, and finally in the election review of June 1980."

These differences and consequent difficulties arise, firstly, because of the extremely uneven strength of our Party and movement in different States; secondly, due to the uneven strength and role of different political parties in different States; and lastly because of the absence of uniform political discipline in several bourgeois and petty-bourgeois Opposition parties."

". . . Our Party will have to take into account the reactions or the likely reactions of different sections of people in different States, while taking decisions on problems that concern the people of more than one State or the people of the country as a whole. It also will

have to judge the entire situation in Marxist-Leninist class terms, as the vanguard of the revolutionary working class movement. Numerous occasions arise when our Party puts forth a correct line, and in the best interests of the people, but may not be able to carry conviction immediately.”

“...The anomaly in the behaviour of some political parties creates certain difficulties when the Central Committee has to address itself to one particular task taking the country as a whole and the attitude of the political parties at the national level while the State Committees of the CPI(M) will have to address themselves to the particular situation prevailing in the States in question, though both the C.C. and the State Committees follow the central political-tactical line.”

“...The struggle between the bourgeois-landlord classes and their political parties on the one hand and the Left forces opposed to these classes and parties on the other, takes the sharpest form in these three States (West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala), while in the rest of the States in the Indian Union, the struggle among different bourgeois-landlord parties for the possession of the State and administrative apparatus gets sharply emphasised. The two main slogans of building the Left and democratic front and the broad forum of resistance, raised at the Jullundur Congress, had to be pursued under these specific conditions.”

“...Without ascribing loyalty to democracy and commitment to resist authoritarianism to any particular person or group or party, we will have to deal with these bourgeois-landlord Opposition parties, utilising their conflicts and contradictions with the party in power in furtherance of the united actions on issues and in the struggle against authoritarianism and in defence of parliamentary democracy. If we start looking into the history of the individual leaders of these bourgeois-landlord Opposition parties, their defections and re-defections from parties, their basic class outlook on people’s issues, etc., in order to decide our approach to them, we land in an unreal position of spurning any agreement, alliance and cooperation with most of them. This approach towards the bourgeois-landlord Opposition parties and working for united action on issues with them is very necessary in our struggle to dislodge

the bourgeois-landlord political-ideological hold on the great mass of our people that still exists. History during the last four years has conclusively proved the correctness of the above assessment of the bourgeois-landlord Opposition parties, and there need be no illusions on the score."

There were doubts and differences on some other issues, for instance, about the correctness of our Party leading the peasants struggles for remunerative prices, and also the correctness of associating our Party and our Kisan organisation with the Central Coordination Committee comprising of several political parties, to lead the united mass actions of the peasants and agricultural labourers, and Party's line on mass organisations etc. Most of the differences were resolved even though some remained to be resolved later on. A close study of this Volume which contains developments during 1982-83, will reveal our Marxist-Leninist approach of resolving inner-Party differences.

The political resolution outlined some new features both in the international and in the national situation. It focussed its attention on the U.S. design of nuclear war and threat before the Soviet Union. It stressed on the task of fighting war danger, wider mobilisation for peace and in defence of the Socialist countries.

In the national situation, the contradiction and conflict with imperialism were on the increase. Besides, imperialism led by U.S. imperialists was trying its best to bring about the destabilisation of India so as to secure its neo-colonial domination. It was facilitated by huge loan from IMF with stringent conditions accepted by the Congress(I) government at the Centre. As a consequence, the economic policies were gradually subjected to the approval of debtors, consequent pressure on foreign policy to toe the wishes of imperialism was being mounted. Generally speaking, the Government of India was, however, not prepared to succumb despite some vacillations. But the forces of disintegration were very much active to direct the genuine problems and grievances of the people into reactionary channels under the tutelage of U.S. imperialism. What caused concern was that the Government at the Centre and the bourgeois-landlord Opposition parties were evidently lacking political will to solve it, they seemed to be not at all inclined to

expose the imperialist machinations. Rather, all of them were trying to utilise this disruptive force to fulfil their selfish political and electoral end. This aggravated the situation further. The BJP, on its part, has been consistent, for opportunists reasons, in belittling the threat from U.S. imperialism. None can also escape the truth that the class movement of the working class, peasantry, student and youth had not paid enough attention to such a serious question of national unity. The Eleventh Congress had assigned the Party to take up the issue with all seriousness.

The undemocratic and authoritarian moves of the ruling Congress had come to the help of those divisive, communal and separatist forces. The Congress(I) rulers set a series of examples of subversion of all democratic principles in imposing a minority government led by the Congress(I) in Kerala in the first place and disallowing the Opposition parties with a majority in the Assam Assembly to form the government following the defeat of the minority Congress(I) government on the other. In the January 1980 elections in Kerala, the Congress(I) had managed to get only 17 of 141 seats. The Left-Democratic Front led by the CPI(M) won 93 seats with a massive mandate of the people against the authoritarian Congress(I). Betraying this mandate, some elements of the Left-Democratic Front joined hands with Congress(I). Even then the Congress(I) did not have the majority but the Governor, a Congress(I) leader till the appointment, imposed minority government of the Congress(I) in Kerala facilitating the Congress(I) to resort to horse-trading and unsavory manoeuvres in the meantime. The Congress(I) rulers were in panick with the performances of the LDF government to live up to its pledge to the people in its 21 months of office. Police raj was unleashed immediately after the resignation of LDF ministry and 25 CPI(M) cadres were murdered within three months by the RSS and the Congress(I) hoodlums in collusion with the police.

After the severe electoral setbacks in West Bengal where the Left Front secured massive mandate, Himachal Pradesh and Haryana in 1982, the ruling Congress(I) was rudely shocked by the electoral defeats in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tripura in January 1983 elections. The defeat of the Congress(I) in its traditional strongholds paved, to a great extent, the way for

consolidating the Left and democratic forces. While the voters in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka being angered against a long-span of Congress(I) misrule and its anti-people policies, could not but choose alternatives with the Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh and Janata-Kranti Ranga in Karnataka, the verdict in Tripura was for the Left Front and its policies.

It was in this period that the crisis in Punjab was accentuating to a serious proportion with large-scale violent extremist activities rocking Punjab and posing a big danger to the unity and integrity of the country. We did never spare the extremists' or the Akali leadership's role, but the primary responsibility must be placed with the Congress(I) government at the Centre for its misleading, its hesitation and vacillation in solving the problem. In the beginning of 1981, the Akalis presented their memorandum of 45 points, with all manner of demands and grievances clubbed together. We could not agree to all these demands, nor to the concept of Anandpur Resolution. The Prime Minister started negotiations on the basis of the memorandum first through emissaries, then directly, which went on for months together. The government could not find a single point acceptable to it, though the same religious demands, later on accepted, formed part of these 45 points. The Akalis, it was made known, were prepared to agree to much less at that time. In fact, after eight months of negotiations nothing was accepted by the government. While the extremists were obstinately different, the Akalis did not give up the path of negotiations at that time. The government did not try to isolate the extremists at any point of time. The Akalis were forced to start agitation at a time when the extremists of Bhindranwale were carrying on parallel activities. The Congress(I) government ignored our repeated call of finding out a political solution for which we, and the opposition as a whole extended full support and cooperation. It banked on dealing with the situation only through administrative measures which aggravated the crisis to the detriment of the unity and integrity of the nation.

The Central Committee of our Party that met from September 10 to 16, 1983 discussed the Punjab situation with concern which went out of control of the Congress(I) government of the State

and came to the conclusion that: "In Punjab the situation has deteriorated further because of the Central Government's refusal to accept and implement the consensus of the Opposition parties including the Akali Dal. In spite of the helping hand given by the Opposition parties, the government has created a situation in that State which has enabled the reactionary and disruptive elements to seize the initiative. The Government's policy is disrupting the unity of the country." One month later, the Polit Bureau of the Party noted that, "the Akali leadership which is becoming conscious of the need for communal unity in the State, has not dissociated itself completely from and denounced the terrorist deeds of the extremists. This makes it difficult for the democratic forces to develop a united country-wide movement which alone can force the Central Government to abandon its policy of keeping the tension alive in order to make partisan political use of it."

The year 1983 also witnessed some encouraging developments. The all-India Conference of Opposition parties met thrice this year on the most burning political issues in the country. The first conference held in May in Vijayawada was a beginning of the assembly of all national and regional parties opposing the Congress(I) rule. It adopted an unanimous resolution against the authoritarian rule of the Congress(I) as well as against the separatist and divisive forces. The BJP and the AIADMK thought it fit to opt out of the second conference held in Delhi. The BJP took the plea that H.N. Bahuguna was the convenor of the conference whom they did not like. The Delhi conference made a positive contribution by offering concrete demands for resolving Punjab crisis, the Akalis also participated in the meeting. The third conference held in Srinagar was remarkable as the Opposition parties came to a consensus to adopt a resolution on Centre-State relations. After the defeat of Congress(I) in several States and the emergence of regional aspirations, its leadership felt it necessary to form Sarkaria Commission to go into the question of recasting Centre-State relations—a long-standing burning demand in the face of growing centralisation of power at the hand of the Centre depriving the States.

The resolution at Srinagar conference, came in the wake of formation of Sarkaria Commission, had ensued nation-wide debate on different aspects of the Centre-State relations. The DMK was invited in Srinagar conference though it was not invited on earlier two conferences. The BJP had put it on record that they did not subscribe to the subject—Centre-State relations and the venue as well. Opposition to the devolution of power to the States matches the ideology of BJP and its Sangh Parivar which stand for more centralisation. The next Opposition meet at Calcutta marked a further improvement of this exercise. Prior to that, the participants of the Srinagar conference met in Delhi to formulate the proposals for Calcutta conference on the issues confronting the livelihood of the people, the Congress(I) move to topple non-Congress(I) State Governments, failure to carry out land reform measures, the growing corruption, caste, communal and other divisive forces which were encouraged by the ruling party etc.

The coming together of Opposition parties in a situation of growing attack on democracy and people's livelihood gave a fillip to the united struggle all over the country for reversal of government policies. But surprising was the fact that the ruling Congress(I) was trying to hold the Opposition parties responsible for the failures which they could no more conceal. Our Party concentrated its efforts to unite the forces of Opposition and rally the people for change of anti-people policies.

With US machinations in the region, the developments in Pakistan and Sri Lanka, we pointed out, were matters of serious concern. Meanwhile, our Party hailed the struggling people of Pakistan and Bangladesh who were fighting against the military dictatorships and for restoration of democracy. The anti-imperialist struggles were also widespread in this period.

In the context of existing world situation which was threatened with a nuclear war being prepared by the US imperialists despite repeated proposals of erstwhile Soviet Union for limitation of nuclear armaments who had unilaterally pledged before the world community that it would not be the first to use nuclear weapon, the Seventh Non-Aligned summit held on March 7-12 in New Delhi was a significant event.

The political declaration as well as the economic declaration showed that NAM withstood the imperialist pressures and maintained its anti-imperialist position on the whole. The unity of NAM as maintained was itself a major achievement.

Much to the satisfaction of the world communist movement the sharp change in the erroneous concepts and serious blunders of the Chinese leadership helped normalising the relation between our Party and the Communist Party of China. A three-member delegation of our Party visited China and after exchange of views on wide-ranging issues, the Party to Party relations between the two Parties were restored. Since then China restored its relations with many friendly parties, and now it is for all to see that how China strided forward in the last one and half decade by its sincere effort of concretely applying the science of Marxism to the concrete condition of China and existing realities of the world balance of forces.

The CPI(M) delegation consisting of E. M. S. Namboodiripad, M. Basavapunnaiiah and myself had a three-day exchange of views with the delegation of Communist Party of China led by its General Secretary Hu Yaobang. We explained during talks that the Party had to face many hurdles in its struggle for reforging unity of the international communist movement since it could not see eye to eye either with the Soviet Party or the Chinese Party but we refused to adopt either anti-China or anti-Soviet positions. Uncompromising struggle against U.S. imperialism formed the basis of our national and international policies. Our delegation went on to express the view that the differences among the various contingents in the World Communist movement arose first of all, because a few of them are the ruling parties in their respective countries, while the rest have to fight the regimes in their countries, and, secondly, because each country has its own national characteristics. This makes it incumbent on every contingent of the international communist movement to make the utmost endeavour to resolve these differences bilaterally or otherwise. Open criticism by one fraternal party of the other should be avoided as far as possible. However, on basic ideological issues on which differences exist between two or

more parties and on which a particular party, if it necessary to educate its ranks, they may have to express their views and criticism publicly. We explained our own basic positions, independent of others, on current political-ideological issues, both national and international.

The Chinese delegation elaborated that it was due to the Left deviationist policies that strained the relations between the two parties. Not only that, the aberrations affected all aspects of the economy, political and cultural activities of the Chinese Party and Government.

After wide discussion with the Chinese delegation and also with Deng Xiaoping, Chairman of the Advisory Council and member of the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of China and other important leaders, a Press release issued thereafter said: "The talks over the past few days proceeded in a sincere, warm and comradely atmosphere. The two sides had a wide-ranging exchange of views reaching agreement on many issues. The two parties also presented different views about a number of issues, but they agreed that these differences do not hamper the restoration and expansion of their relations." The basis, the Press release said, on which the relations were being restored are, "the principle of independence, complete equality, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs."

The restoration of relations with China, suspended since 1967 was to be remarkable on many counts as far as international communist movement is concerned. This was followed by many other parties establishing relations with the Party.

Harkishan Singh Surjeet

(HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET)

General Secretary

Communist Party of India (Marxist)

May 29, 1998

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Polit Bureau's Protest on Kerala*

**Statement Dated January 10, 1982 Issued in
New Delhi**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) protests against the manner in which the Governor of Kerala continues to shield the minority Government which she had installed in office. Although insistently demanded by the entire Opposition in the State, the Governor has not taken the public into confidence as to how she "satisfied herself" that the Ministers to whom she administered the oath of office enjoyed the confidence of the majority in the Legislature.

It is on the advice of such a minority Ministry, which has been installed by the Governor's unconstitutional action, that the Governor is reported to be considering the convening of a session of the Legislature to be addressed by her. Such a session of the Legislature has no moral or constitutional validity.

It is still more reprehensible that the dates of the session should be so fixed as to be thoroughly inconvenient to the main Opposition in the Legislature. Everybody knows that the CPI(M) is holding its all-India Congress in Vijayawada from January 26 to 31. Most of its 35 MLAs, being delegates to the Party Congress, will be deprived of the opportunity to be present at the session of the Legislature.

The game appears to be to hold the session in their absence to convert the minority into a majority. The P.B. calls upon the leaders of the Congress(I) and its Government to desist from such activities that make the work of the Opposition parties in the Legislature difficult and impossible.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, January 17, 1982

Homage to Comrade Jyotirmoy Bosu*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep sense of grief at the death of Comrade Jyotirmoy Bosu on January 12 in Jaipur. The Party has lost a very valuable comrade in his death. He was Chief Whip of the CPI(M) group in the Lok Sabha.

Comrade Jyotirmoy was an able parliamentarian who championed the cause of the working class and common people during the fifteen years he was a member of the Lok Sabha.

Comrade Jyotirmoy was a staunch and consistent fighter against authoritarianism and was in the forefront in exposing the misdeeds and corruption of the ruling party and its leaders. That invited the wrath of the Indira regime, and during the Emergency, he was not only jailed but harassed and victimised in prison. That led to the further deterioration of his health when he already had a heart problem.

The Polit Bureau mourns the death of Comrade Jyotirmoy Bosu and extends its heartfelt condolences to his wife and son and other members of the bereaved family.

Speech Introducing Draft Political Resolution Placed Before The Eleventh Congress of The Communist Party of India (Marxist), Held At Vijayawada, on January 26-31, 1982*

B. T. Ranadive

The Draft Political Resolution, unanimously adopted by the Central Committee, is divided into two parts. The first part deals with international relations and the changes that have come about in the last four years. The second part deals with the national situation emphasising certain important changes which we have to take account of in our fight against authoritarianism. In my speech, I will stress first the important changes that have come about and the tactics and the slogans that the Party has to adopt to meet them.

International Situation

First, the international part tells us that a general aggravation of the political and class situation has taken place all over the world, and that the contradictions that we mentioned in the Jullundur Congress resolution have intensified further—*i.e.*, the conflict between imperialism and the Third World countries, the conflict inside the capitalist countries between the working class and the capitalist class, the conflict and the contradictions between the imperialists themselves and, lastly, the conflict and contradictions between the imperialist camp as a whole and the socialist camp. The intensification of these contradictions has given rise to certain new situations which the Party has to take into consideration.

*Published in the compilation of the Documents of Eleventh Congress of C.P.I.(M). Reply given by B. T. Ranadive to the discussion on the Draft Political Resolution is also given in the last pages of this Document. The Political Resolution adopted by the Eleventh Congress is given under item No. 4 of this Volume.

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Taking first the economic situation in the capitalist world into consideration, we find that the world capitalist crisis continues, but with the difference that for the last seven or eight years, the world capitalist system has not been able to overcome that crisis and get even a small respite. Take the leading capitalist country of the imperialist camp, the United States of America. What is the position? First, all the remedies that the capitalist rulers have tried to use against the capitalist crisis have failed. In the United States of America, there is, as you know, the monetarist school which says that through the regulation of credit and regulation of money the crisis can be abated. But now everybody sees that it has not abated, rather it has worsened and the unemployment rate has risen to 9.2 per cent. The question now raised is, by how much in the year of 1982 will this rate exceed the post-war record of nine per cent? Economists are predicting a further rise in inflation and saying that the unemployment rate will rise to double-digit levels this spring, followed by minimal recoveries. One economist insists that "it will be one or two quarters of growth followed by one or two quarters of stagnation and recession "

This is the situation facing not only the United States of America but the entire capitalist world, which is deeply engulfed in both uncontrolled inflation and mounting unemployment. All this is creating political instability, political insecurity for the rulers of the capitalist countries. Parliamentary Governments do not run their full term, the impact of the crisis being felt by the workers is meeting with growing resistance through working class strikes all over the capitalist countries. This is the situation that they are facing today.

Danger of War

The entire efforts of these Governments are therefore concentrated on solving the crisis at the expense of the people, in the interests of the multinational companies and big corporations. One such method is to spend more and more on armaments, on the war industry, and it is this that creates the danger of war. The utter bankruptcy of the capitalist system is shown by the fact that

in order to keep itself alive, it wants to carry out genocide, murders by the million. There cannot be a bigger indictment of this system which wants to sacrifice human lives by millions, only to keep up the profitability of certain elements in the society. It is here that the superiority of the socialist system stands out, a system which says that for its continuance and our prosperity, world peace is essential.

Many people are taken in by the myth that the armaments industry, after all, creates jobs. Now, the figures supplied by the US Labour Bureau show that this is a figment of the imagination, a fallacious lie spread by the ruling circles. At present the number of jobs available in the armaments industry for every thousand million dollars invested is 75,000, i.e., if a thousand million dollars are invested in the armaments industry, it will provide jobs for 75,000 people. However, the same amount would provide more jobs if spent in other investment. A thousand million dollars spent on education would provide, 187,000 jobs. on the health services, 189,000 jobs. on construction activities 100,000 jobs. on transport 92,000 jobs. or on civil services 87,000 jobs. Thus a lie is spread that through the armaments industry, in any case, some of the problems of joblessness are solved. This is a device to cheat the people and nothing else. This is now the plight of the world capitalist system, the imperialist countries.

However, this critical condition is reflected in the world situation as a whole, not only in unemployment in the working class, not only through strike struggles that have developed in the capitalist countries, not only through quick and rapid changes in the parliamentary cabinets or ministries, but it is also expressed through a terrific urge for aggrandisement and aggression by the imperialist world, especially the United States of America, against the rest of the world and especially the socialist world. Here we come to the crux of the problem, where the new change in the situation comes in. Because of the continuous persistence of the world capitalist crisis, imperialist countries, especially the United States of America, find in war preparation their only salvation, and now are directing those war preparations against

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socialist world, directly against the Soviet Union. The danger of war is now serious, this is what we are, stressing in the resolution in contrast to the Jullundur resolution; we stress that the war danger has to be taken seriously by our Party, as it is taken by the entire international working class movement, because it has now become a serious menace, a menace unleashed by imperialism to solve its capitalist crisis, and for its purposes of aggrandisement.

The New Element

In the Jullundur resolution we criticised those, i.e., the leaders of the CPSU and others, who repeatedly talked of detente, creating illusions. While we supported the struggle for peace and the peace movement for detente, we did not believe that imperialism would stick to the rules of the game. We said it would utilise the period of detente to arm itself to the teeth and if the people were not warned against these activities of imperialism, it would simply be creating illusions. Now after four years, the world peace movement, the various Communist Parties, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union included, are acknowledging that the danger of war has increased. The entire socialist camp, as well as all the forces of the international working class, must rouse themselves to fight this danger. This is a new element which we are putting in our resolution, which also imposes on our Party a certain duty—that in the coming months after our Party Congress we will have to devote far greater attention to the peace movement, to the struggle for peace, to the exposure of the United States' war plans against the Soviet Union and the socialist world, than we did in the last few years. We do not immediately justify everything that some people in the peace movement are doing. Some of them are concentrating more on China, against China, than US imperialism, and if the literature of our friends of the Communist Party of India is studied, you will find, and perhaps you will be confused as to who is organising war—whether it is US imperialism that is organising war, or China that is organising war. We do not share this understanding. But the point is that the peace movement, which already exists in our country, has to be given a new orientation to arouse the

people to the danger of war. The nature of the war has further to be explained, that it is not simply a violation of peace, but is a war for the conquest of the world working class, against the socialist camp. It will simultaneously be a war against the Third World for the re-establishment of imperialist supremacy over the former colonial world that has escaped its net. That is why we have to take this danger seriously and carry on a consistent fight.

We have said that in the contrast between the two systems, whatever the mistakes made by the international working class by socialism in its working, the socialist system is proving its superiority at each and every step and every stage. Mistakes are there. I remember what Lenin once said immediately after the revolution: the Bolshevik Party had admitted that it had committed mistakes and immediately there was a tremendous propaganda barrage in the capitalist countries that the Bolsheviks were committing mistake after mistake. Then Lenin replied, "Gentlemen, we have discussed and owned up our mistakes; we are going to commit hundreds of mistakes. Nonetheless, we are going to finish you, take that into consideration also." That is the spirit of our Party. Some socialist countries have committed mistakes, it does not matter. The working class, the power of the working class, has stood up through thick and thin, whatever differences there might be here and there. So long as the character of the working class state and the socialist state remains, our supports is undividedly and completely with the socialist state. Here we see, in contrast to the crisis of the capitalist world, the socialist countries are marching ahead. Their figures of national income, etc., we have quoted, but we have also stated that the continued existence of imperialism also creates certain problems, which affect the growth of the socialist countries. Because of the capitalist crisis and because of the rising war expenditure in these countries the socialist camp must also divert a part of its income, a substantial part of its income, to meet the war danger. If they had believed only in struggling for peace and neglected this side, that would have been not only a tragedy, it would have amounted to a great betrayal of the trust that had been placed in them by the world working class. Fortunately, that is not so. But

we see that as a consequence, there has been a slowing down in the rate of production in the socialist countries also, partly also because of the trade and economic exchanges that take place between the socialist world and the capitalist world. Amongst us almost everybody says: Yes, yes. . .after all we are members of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), we are all for socialist countries, we stand by a system which abolishes poverty and unemployment. But the amendments ask the question: comrade, what about Poland? How do you explain Poland? What will be the result? A Party like ours takes these happenings seriously and tries to place them in the context of our Marxist-Leninist understanding :

The "Crisis" in Poland

There are two points of view. There is the bourgeoisie, and there are certain well-meaning friends who take a stand in between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and both of these put forward similar arguments. The latter are sympathetic. They say, "We are with you communists, you are good people; you want socialism, but why do you pretend that the socialist system also does not have a crisis? You only say capitalism has a crisis, but does socialism also not have a crisis? Poland shows that there is a crisis". What is our reply to that? Our reply is that the laws of capitalism decree that there should be a crisis in the capitalist society, the laws of socialism do not decree any such thing, and if any difficulty arises in any socialist country, that country and that Party have to examine whether it is observing all the laws of socialist society. In Poland, as the facts are being revealed, a very curious, what can be called a harmful, a very injurious, a very dangerous compromise was reached by the socialist state, with private property in land. Some of those who remember the documents of various parties in the period of the Cominform, the Communist Information Bureau, will remember that there was a spate of assertions at that time that each country must follow its own peasant policy—Yugoslavia was following one peasant policy, somebody was following another peasant policy, and it seems now that the policy towards the peasantry followed in

Poland was to let 80 per cent of the land remain in private hands. When Lenin had to concede freedom of trade, land was nationalised. The New Economic Policy conceded freedom of trade to the peasantry, and Lenin warned that 'capitalism will arise a million times out of this policy of ours, we will have to control it a million times. There is no other way, the peasantry must be satisfied.' If after nearly 30 or 40 years, 80 per cent of the land has to remain in the hands of a few people as private property, capitalist commodity relations develop, profiteering develops, shortages develop, then nothing is surprising. But socialism is based on the socialisation of all means of production including land. Not only was this violation there, but as has been pointed out in many of our articles, there were other violations. You cannot have, you cannot run, the proletarian state without proper relations between the proletarian party and the peasant organisations, the trade unions and other mass organisations. If you underestimate the role of those organisations, bureaucratically trying to reduce them to extremely subsidiary and subordinate status, then the Party comes to grief. Then the hierarchy begins. That is what happened in Poland. If the guiding role of the proletarian party is not properly exercised, if the Party fails to persuade the trade unions and guide them to the correct path, so many things will develop, not only bureaucracy. If you read the solidarity literature, you will see they have taken full advantage of the aberrations of the Party. Bureaucracy developed inside the state also. Corruption also developed. But while we are saying this, we are also very proud of, and fully support, the United Workers' Party of Poland, which has now taken up the challenge and is fighting all those elements exploiting the discontent generated by certain policies.

Who is behind this organised strength of the anti-socialist-state movement there? It is egged on, unleashed, supported and financed by imperialist agencies. That is why we have said that it is a counter-revolutionary movement. In the end they want to change the socialist character of the state. So this is a very critical situation that they are facing, but it should be understood in the light of the Marxist-Leninist teaching which says that building

socialism is not left to the free will of this or that individual, it must observe certain laws. Only if you operate on the basis of these laws, only then is your success ensured. In this connection, one thing must be mentioned. You may swear by Marxism-Leninism and yet you may land yourself in trouble. As the courageous Communist Party of China has discovered, the ten years of the cultural revolution were actually years of counter-revolution. They are trying to repair their mistakes, but it shows, that if you deviate at one step then you are likely to commit more mistakes, unless the source of the deviation is corrected. Parties have gathered experience, some have more, some have less, and in their practice they commit mistakes; and they suffer and rectify these; this very rectification again shows that Marxism if correctly practised will enable them to avoid mistakes.

Many people are confused by what is happening in Poland. The battle for socialism is a continuous battle, especially when you are surrounded by a world which is two-thirds capitalist. You cannot say you have finally won the battle, unless you keep a continuous vigil over the ruling party, its activities, and everything that goes in the name of planning.

In this connection, we have already stated at one time that revisionism was the main danger, it had done the biggest harm. Later on, we stated that both deviations, revisionism and sectarianism, had done harm to the international Communist movement. Many comrades have correctly stated in their amendments, etc., that the Polish situation was due to revisionist mistakes. Many, therefore, want to say that revisionism is a continuing phenomenon, which is a fact. Many revisionist mistakes and many revisionist currents are there. There are various currents, which call themselves by various names: Euro-Communism and so many others. The common thing about these currents is a general opposition to the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a greater or lesser denigration of the leading role of the Party, a certain amount of parliamentary illusions, a rejection of what we call the revolutionary methods of struggle. Many of these deviations are current at present and they

have done a lot of harm. The Polish mistakes are part of this deviationist trend. The tendency is present in some other countries also. We need not sit in judgement on each and every Party. Suffice it to say that the Polish developments would not have been possible without the influence of these tendencies.

Attitude to China

Comrades, in this connection we have noticed one thing while considering the amendments. Many delegates, it seems, think that the Central Committee, or the leaders of the Party, seems to be now more against China and less against the Soviet Union, and the bourgeois press has made a lot of noise that the CPI(M) now tilts towards the Soviet Union. There is no doubt, comrades, that compared to the Jullundur-resolution, we have made a strong criticism of the foreign policy the Government of People's China while at the same time we have made clear that we consider China to be a socialist country. We also hail and appreciate the attempts of the leadership of People's China to overcome the mistakes of the Mao period, the sectarian mistakes that they themselves have admitted. We also appreciate the good steps they have taken in internal matters. According to us, they are following certain Marxist-Leninist norms in correcting old mistakes. Therefore, we have stated that according to us, they are trying to overcome the mistakes in the internal policies and they should lead to overcoming the mistakes in external policies also.

Our regret is that it has not yet happened. We have not given up hope. We know that when a Communist Party like the Communist Party of China follows certain Marxist-Leninist norms in repairing one mistake after another in internal matters, then it must come to the conclusion that its external policy is at variance with its internal policies. Our regret is that it has not yet happened. So long as it has not happened, we have to take note, and very severe note, of what they are doing externally because that not only affects China but affects the entire socialist world and objectively, helps the plans of imperialism. It also creates a certain rift, a certain division in the ranks of the anti-imperialist world. Therefore, we have criticised China very sharply.

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It is their statement that among the two super-powers, the hegemonists are more dangerous, that the Soviet Union is the more dangerous; then their stand on NATO, their stand on Afghanistan and their stand on the neutron bomb—all these are well-known. These are very serious deviations which objectively help the imperialist camp and actually create confusion in the anti-imperialist camp because China is a socialist country and the CPC was the leader of one of the biggest revolutions in the world. Therefore, we have said that these policies of China towards the socialist camp, towards the Soviet Union, and its policy of supporting the USA on many issues are not only harmful but objectively help the imperialist game against the socialist camp.

Now here we must understand our Party's line. There are several documents of our Party, and there is no sudden turn by us from one Party to another because we do not bind ourselves to any particular Party. We, first, are bound to the basic ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and, secondly, to the common understanding of the new epoch; the understanding which at one time was accepted by all Communist Parties of the world including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. The latter Party now does not accept that U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of mankind and the gendarme of world reaction. In 1968, at our Burdwan Plenum, we were more in agreement with the CPC than with the CPSU. On certain points we undoubtedly differed with the CPC but taking its line as a whole, on the question of U.S. imperialism, on the question of liberation struggle, on the question of general principles of Marxism-Leninism, we said that the CPC had taken a correct stand; it was more loyal to the world understanding, to the understanding that U.S. imperialism was the main enemy to be fought. We further said that the formulation of the CPSU at that time that the peace movement, the struggle for peace, was the highest form of class struggle was wrong. We said while the struggle for peace was important, to characterise it as the highest form of class struggle, was to freeze the existing class situation in each country.

That was the criticism that the CPC made and it was correct. Along with that, the CPC said there should not be any parliamentary illusions. We supported them in that and agreed with them in upholding the basic concept of Marxism, the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat; and in connection with the immediate political situation we always asked, who carries on the fight against imperialism. In the subsequent period we came to the conclusion that both parties were taking an opportunist stand in matters of foreign policy, as we had put it in our Jullundur resolution. At that time it was a novel experience for us that a Party which saw armed struggle in every nook and corner of the world, did not notice that people were resisting Pakistan in Bangladesh, where thousands of people were killed, and an armed struggle was going on. We remarked at that time that their outlook on the world movement and the working class movement was adjusted to the needs of their foreign policy. But now a third stage has come where we have said that imperialist confrontation with the Soviet Union, the socialist camp is going on, is getting intensified. The intervention of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan we have justified, the help rendered by the Soviet Union to the people of Afghanistan we have justified, its role in Kampuchea we have justified, the help it has given to the people of Angola we have justified, and simultaneously, we find that the U.S. imperialists are busy trying to station Pershing missiles in West Germany so that they can directly attack the Soviet Union. Whether it is Pershing missiles, whether it is Afghanistan or the neutron bomb, the line of the CPC is wrong. We have said that the supply of arms to Pakistan's dictator is a conspiracy of American imperialism to make Asians fight Asians. The CPC does not condemn this arming of Pakistan and says that this is only against hegemonists.

But we fully extend our support to people's China against imperialist machinations. If China protests against arms being given to Taiwan we say, yes, protest, we are with you in this protest. For, nothing should endanger the safety of China, nothing should endanger the security of China by any agents of imperialism. We must understand that it is not a change of front

on our side, it is the application of the same Marxist-Leninist outlook and the same understanding of the world situation to the present situation, in which certain Parties have changed their stand, and we remain where we were, against U.S. imperialism, for the socialist camp, for the revolutionary process, for the unity of the socialist camp. Whosoever goes against these things we are bound to criticise. It is not a matter of regret for us that the Soviet Union has helped the people of Afghanistan. It is not a matter of regret for us that they are helping Angola—that is what we expect from them. That is what they should do. That is what they are doing. The intervention of the socialist camp and the Soviet Union on behalf of the national liberation struggle, the help they are rendering there, is today of great importance in deciding the battle in the imperialist attack on certain Third World countries. This is what we are seeing.

No Equidistance

Many have noticed that in this particular resolution we are more critical of China than the Soviet Union. That is because certain facts have revealed that in the new situation, the earlier roles of the two Parties seem to have reversed. And we stand where we were directly opposed to U.S. imperialism, exposing the war plans of U.S. imperialism. That is our Party's stand. We stand on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. It is not our line to remain at equal distance from the two.

How can we be equidistant? We want to remain Marxist-Leninist. Whosoever takes that stand comes nearer; if both come nearer, still better. Many people mistake our position as: two critical statements of the Soviet Union, one-and-a-half critical statements about China, and in between you remain. The basic truth of the present situation is the attitude towards U.S. imperialism, and that guides us today in our present situation. That is to be taken seriously into consideration because it is U.S. imperialism that is very dangerous.

The international situation points to two things. One is that while in the world, the stability of the capitalist system and Governments in the advanced capitalist countries is being

questioned, serious class struggles are developing there. Not only strike struggles are developing; but a big change-over has come in France with the Socialist Government and the socialist president being installed there; it is an expression of the growing radicalised mood of the European masses. U.S. imperialism has been trying to see that the Italian Communists do not get a place in any cabinet there. But they could not succeed in their efforts to exclude the French Communists from the Mitterand cabinet. It was known that the inclusion of Communist members in the cabinet of Mitterand was to the dislike of U.S. imperialism.

The radicalised mood of the masses, one cannot say revolutionary mood, is growing in Europe and making it difficult for the capitalist class as a whole to solve the crisis. We saw the railway strike developing in Britain, the miners' strike developing in Britain. These are the warnings to the capitalists of the true situation. Out of this come adventurist plans of war. But here their unanimity cannot hold. In every crisis the ruling classes must divide. They cannot be monolithically united. This is what Marxism teaches us. Today, also, on the question of Poland, on the question of war, the lynchpin, West Germany, is not prepared to go with the USA. The European Community, which has given big loans to Poland, is not prepared to snap economic relations with Poland. The West German and other imperialist powers are not prepared to sanction all the adventurist plans of U.S. imperialism. How far this will continue is the question.

But we should not neglect the wide-sweeping peace movement in Europe. This is a pointer to the times. Men, women, working class, and non-working class, all join together, because every body knows that if the neutron bomb starts being showered, then Europe will be no more, the USA may be safe. This is the significance of the huge peace movement, which as I told you, is a responsibility of the international working class movement, so that terrific popular pressure is created on every imperialist Government, capitalist Government to stay the war plans. The world peace movement today is of tremendous importance and in this situation, the role of every non-aligned Government, the role of every Government even if it is not completely non-aligned, the

role of every Government which takes howsoever faltering steps against US imperialism, contributes to the unity of resistance against the imperialist war plans. We all know that many of these Governments of the Third World countries are internally reactionary, but at the same time they are not prepared to surrender completely to the diktat of US imperialism.

So, this is the world that is shaping in which even faltering Governments are taking steps, trying to exercise their protests, and imperialism is unable to knock up a united stream for unleashing war for global domination, or for war against the socialist countries. But it is desperately trying to do so. The danger, therefore, cannot be minimised, but the popular forces that are ranged against it are also to be noted, and therefore, those forces are to be cultivated. Serious armed struggles are going on against imperialism in several countries. It is pouring arms into Nicaragua, El Salvador and several other places and still the fight continues. The people are fighting, but we should also not be complacent. Imperialism counter-attacks, and to some extent and in some places the counter-attacks have partially succeeded. It has done its best to disrupt and shatter Arab unity to pocket Egypt, it is inciting Israel to commit one aggression after another. The Arabs are not able to resist unitedly. Saudi Arabia toes the U.S. line. What about Indonesia? What about so many countries where dictatorial regimes are supported by imperialist arms? Thus, the ding-dong battle goes on, but one thing is sure, the forces of progress, the anti-imperialist forces, are marching ahead. The battle is serious, the battle is a grave battle, in which a lot of sacrifices will have to be made. While history has written the last word on imperialism, the latter has not yet accepted that verdict. It is fighting a last-ditch battle. That is how all the forces are coming into head-on collision.

National Situation

This is the world setting which forms the background to the Indian situation. As Marxists-Leninists we also know that if the revolutionary movement receives a complete check, a set-back in the greater part of the world, then the possibilities in our own

country are also reduced to that extent. It restricts our room for manoeuvre, and we have to look behind our back with every advance we make. But the advance forces us onward and it is growing more and more forward. This means that our chances are better. In this background we see and must understand the Indian situation.

We come now to the national situation. What are its main characteristics? Certain slogans are the same but they are being given in changed circumstances because though the slogans to be implemented are the same, they are to be carried out in circumstances which were not entirely there in the last four years. These circumstances have developed during the last four years. What is the central point about our political situation? To fight against the authoritarian power, to frustrate the designs of the authoritarian party to convert the constitution into an authoritarian instrument, and use the constitutional power, the constitutional majority to introduce a presidential form of Government, a presidential system, and to turn Parliament into an ornament and then to pack the Supreme Court, in fact all the courts, with its nominees, so that fundamental rights are suppressed. There has been a swift erosion of democratic rights in the last two years of Indira Gandhi's regime, starting with the National Security Act, the Essential Services Maintenance Act and the use of all the earlier powers that were there. And when we speak in terms of the attack on democracy, the attack on the left, our Left Front Governments occupy special place in the fight of authoritarianism against the democratic forces. They did their best to topple the West Bengal Government. They killed a lot of people, they organised the April 3 bandh in West Bengal but everybody saw that their armies were recruited from the underworld. People have seen that the most intense attacks are being made by the authoritarian party against the Left Front Governments of Tripura and West Bengal and till recently the Left-Democratic Front Government of Kerala, and in their own mind the idea is gaining ground that the Left Front Governments constitute the advanced outposts of anti-authoritarian agitation and anti-authoritarian fight. This is the situation today. The

authoritarian party concentrates on liquidating the growing resistance from the left.

Today the ruling party understands that the left is becoming a more and more cohesive force to bring together all the disparate elements into a common stream, an anti-authoritarian stream. The important point is the fight against authoritarianism and the political line is how to combat this authoritarianism at each step; which forces can be mobilised at each step and on each occasion to checkmate it—today some force, tomorrow another force—but the point is how to check it, so that out of these various struggles a common anti-authoritarian movement develops. Which are the doors to further progress which help the anti-authoritarian forces? This is a point of vital importance in our political resolution which no one should forget, but in doing this, in carrying this out, we must take note of certain new factors that have come into operation. If we neglect them we will not succeed in carrying out a consistent fight against authoritarianism. What are these factors? Some of these new factors which have emerged, entirely conform to what we have written in our Programme. Among the new factors, we mention that the conflict between the Indian people and imperialism has intensified. Intensified conflict also expresses itself in the imperialist forces consciously organising disintegration of the country, exploiting all old obscurantist values, pre-national values. Disintegrating the country, is one of the weapons of imperialism to bring it under its neo-colonial domination.

Conflict With Imperialism

The conflict with imperialism is seen from two aspects: The Jullundur Congress itself pointed out to the growing dependence of our economy on the World Bank. Since then four years have passed, many more compromises have been made and now we come face to face with a loan from the International Monetary Fund, whose conditions are widely known. Such conditions were prescribed formerly only to smaller countries, later on even a country like Britain had to accept many of these conditions. In sum total, it means that the economic policies of the Government, its taxation policy, its credit policy, its price policy, everything will have to be first sanctioned by someone from the International

Monetary Fund. This is the type of economic control and dependence which we are facing. We had warned that the capitalist path leads to this morass of economic dependence. Many people did not take it seriously. This is one aspect. But this aspect has now also aroused not only us, not only the left parties, but also a number of bourgeois opposition parties. The IMF loan has become an object of general opposition by all opposition parties on the floor of Parliament.

Second, with this increased conflict developing with imperialism on the economic front, imperialism is trying to impose multinationals on the country. The World Bank President, Clausen, has openly said that now we cannot get loans at cheaper rates. The minimum rate will be 13 per cent. Go and borrow from the commercial banks of Europe at 17 to 20 per cent. And the capitalist path cannot be run without incurring such loans. It cannot be run without inviting multinationals. That is one danger. That is one intensification of the conflict with imperialism. The other? The other is represented by a growing pressure on the foreign policy. This is not seen by many. Having got the Indian economy under its grip, imperialism now wants to tell the Indian Government and the Indian people that they must also toe its foreign policy line. And the immediate attack is against the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation—relax the provisions of that treaty; throw away that treaty. If you want arms take arms from us; if you want guns take guns from us. The dictatorial regime in the neighbouring country of Pakistan is being utilised to pressurise India. The people of Pakistan are streamrollered by a dictator who has deprived them of all democratic rights. The dictator of that country is being armed. For what purpose? Ostensibly for the purpose of fighting the Soviet Union; really for the purpose of creating pressure on India. If you don't yield, then the old Dulles policy of making Asians fight Asians will operate. Once again thousands of Pakistanis and thousands of Indians will shed their blood for the greater glory of American imperialism.

Government's Foreign Policy

This is a very serious situation. In this situation the Government of India has taken a correct stand on certain issues. They have taken a stand against the arming of Pakistan—that is good; they have recognised Kampuchea—again that is good; they have tried to raise their voice against Diego Garcia—very good; they have refused to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty—good, because it involves one-sided application of restrictions. This is based on the conflict that is there. It has done some good. We have said in our Party Programme that our revolution is anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly. We have also visualised that at times and on occasions, the conflict between the imperialists and the bourgeoisie also will develop. But we have warned that after all a bourgeois-landlord Government pursuing the capitalist path will show vacillations in the conflict with imperialism. And we say now also that there is danger of compromises on foreign policy because of the International Monetary Fund loan and the recurring pressurising that it is going to exercise

The resolution asks you to accept that those parties, individuals, whosoever these are, who for oppositional bourgeois factional politics, refuse to warn the country against the growing conflict with imperialism and the growing danger of imperialism, should be unmasked. One such party is the BJP. Some of the opposition parties took a common stand against Afghanistan and Kampuchea and belittled the American danger. In this connection there are one or two amendments. Pakistan is a small country. What is small? Israel is smaller than Pakistan. But it has deflated Egypt. It carried on an aggressive raid against Iraq. On every question in the present situation, we must remind ourselves of Lenin's words: You cannot understand any part of the world situation unless you consider it in the context of the two social systems. He said this at a time when there is only one socialist country in existence; at that time he said that every development in the remotest part of the world could be understood only in the context of the relation between the two systems. Many bourgeois

parties, some of them because of their anti-Communist hatred, anti-Sovietism, are belittling the danger of imperialism. The danger of imperialist conspiracy is to be seen in the arming of the Pakistani dictator. That arming is a danger both to the democratic elements and forces and people of Pakistan and the people of India. We continue to offer our profound sympathy, solidarity and fraternity with the entire people of Pakistan, now ground down by the dictator. But this is a danger faced by both people. The resolution gives a new task. It says there is a possibility now of gathering together all patriotic elements, including some bourgeois parties, for a broader resistance to imperialism: those who stand for fighting or resisting the imperialist onslaught should be banded together, should be mobilised together. The responsibility of the CPI(M) and other left parties is very great. These parties have a world outlook to understand that imperialism still exists and is a danger to the country. Their role is primary in the matter. There are many parties in this country who do not think that imperialism is a danger. So the CPI(M) and other left parties must take the initiative in mobilising the widest possible resistance to imperialist attack and the imperialist conspiracies against our country.

Divisive Forces

The fight against authoritarianism, as we have said, is to be carried out in the face of this growing challenge from imperialism. The fight against authoritarianism cannot be divorced from this challenge, otherwise we will be derailed. The other part of the imperialist challenge comes in the form of the disintegration of the country. This disintegration of the country is something that is at work in every country that has liberated itself from imperialist rule. Why could not Pakistan keep itself together in spite of the common religious Islamic heritage? Why should the Islamic soldiers of one part of Pakistan rape women of another part of Pakistan? You must understand that some deep going developments are taking place in nearly all the newly liberated countries. You must understand why they are taking place in our country. The forces that made for unity during the

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days of the anti-imperialist struggle have lost their momentum in many spheres. And what is coming on top is the old pre-capitalist understandings, ideologies—what we call communalism and what we call casteism. That they survive after 35 years, that is the result of the capitalist path. In our Programme we have stated our independence was not based on the liquidation of feudal relations; on the contrary, it was based on compromise with feudalism, and that compromise has also led to compromising with the feudal ideology. That is being utilised today in a big way by the imperialists. The separatist tendencies existing in the earlier period were to a certain extent controlled and guided into the anti-imperialist struggle. After 35 years, the common enemy not being there, these tendencies are becoming uppermost. Why are they becoming uppermost? Because the capitalist path cannot really solve the problems of the various regions, cannot give real common equality to all the citizens. Because of its compromise with these feudal influences, casteism must remain, regionalism must remain, adivasis must continue to be enslaved. It is these existing realities which are being exploited by certain reactionary and imperialist agencies to create a situation favourable for the disintegrationist forces.

What is happening in Assam is quite clear. No one can say that there is no genuine grievance. Everybody knows Assam is a very backward state. Everybody knows that unemployment has increased. All this modern discontent is being diverted into reactionary secessionist channels by certain foreign missionaries and imperialist agents. This is one part. The second part is our own problem of Hindu-Muslim unity. Why is it erupting again and again? It is not just a question of a riot here and there; of who fought whom, how many Muslims or Hindus were killed. The Hindu chauvinist RSS by rousing anti-Muslim feelings and riots, plays the game of imperialism to divide the country and make the minorities feel that they are a separate nation. The same role is played from the other side by the Islamic fundamentalists who also preach that the Muslims are a separate entity and nation.

In all countries with a preponderantly Muslim population, Islamic fundamentalism is used to attack the democratic, progressive and Communist movements. In our country the Islamic fundamentalists seek the same aim along with disintegration of the country. But for at least 50 per cent of their success, the Indian society is certainly responsible. You must take this seriously. No bourgeois-landlord Government has ever been able to solve the problem of a large religious minority. As Lenin said, the only way in which the bourgeois-landlord Government solves the problem of nationalities is to set one nation against another. Similarly in our country, in the final analysis, the bourgeois-landlord Government sets one community against the other. Taking India as a whole can we say, can any Indian say, that Muslims are treated as equal citizens in this country? The minority problem in this country, as well as the communal problem in this country, has largely become a problem of a discriminated minority. Fundamental rights are there; no doubt everybody is proclaimed equal before the law, but the majority of Hindus will not take water from the hands of a Muslim. This is the reality. This separatism is being used today by the well-organised imperialist agencies to create a situation in which a minority or adivasis or others are made to feel they are no part of this nation; they are a separate entity. In the adivasi areas, Christian missionaries are doing this work of disintegration, preaching that the adivasis are a separate nation. This is a big danger which is coming from imperialist machinations, which has its roots in the reality of Indian situation. The most shocking part, or surprising part, whatever you call it, is that precisely it is these most downtrodden sections, the adivasis, the Muslims and untouchables who for 35 years have gone through every kind of suffering at the hands of the Indira Congress, who constitute the reserve vote bank of the Indira Congress.

They are today being utilised by imperialist agencies also, at the same time they are a reserve of the Indira Congress. One

reason for this is that the class movement of the working class, the movement of the peasants, the movement of the students, all our big movements have not paid sufficient attention to the special problems of these sections. Therefore, generally a large section of the minorities could not become a part of the democratic and class movement, and if they cannot be inside the class movement, nobody can save them. The entire attitude of the reactionary leaders of the untouchables, of the Muslims is one of better Indira Gandhi than the left. They keep their masses away from the left movement so that they do not really get enlightened. This is the point. Therefore, the disintegration or the disunity of the country that we see in Assam or elsewhere, is an important part of the present reality and it is through it that imperialism tries to attack the unity of the country.

A Party like ours, which wants India to be united so that we can quickly take it over to socialism, such a party has to be the leading force in protecting the unity, the independence and freedom of our country. Here, our mass organisations have to play a big role have to change their tactics so that they growingly attract the minority masses through championing their rights. It is in this new background that we are now fighting the authoritarian party. All the tactics and manoeuvres of divisive forces we have to expose. Our sympathies for Harijans and Muslims are well-known. But in sum total the result is to be seen at the time of election. The leaders of these communities are able to set their entire mass on the side of Indira Gandhi, and this mass is decisive, so far as elections are concerned. In 1977 they voted for the Janata-Indira division. In 1980 this mass again went to the Indira Congress. Precisely, so far as this phase is concerned, the point for us to note is that these most downtrodden sections who are the natural allies of the left, the CPI(M) and revolutionary forces, the forces of democracy, are alienated from them, and this not only leads to the slackening of the class struggles in this country but also to the growing disunity and disintegration of the country.

Struggle In Changed Situation

That challenge we have to meet and in our resolution we have stated how to meet it. There are certain other things. We have talked of the challenge of authoritarianism. We have also said what exactly the authoritarian ruling party wants to do. What is the change in the situation so far as the forces ranged against authoritarianism are concerned? In 1977, in the first place, when we talked about the authoritarianism at that time the authoritarian party was not in power. Today, when we are talking about the challenge of authoritarianism, the authoritarian party is back in power. We are not only fighting the authoritarian party; we are also fighting the party in power. Our resolution, in this connection, gives two slogans: one, a broad forum of resistance to authoritarianism. From our Marxist-Leninist understanding, we deduce which are the sections, which are the people, which are the parties, who are likely to help the democratic movement in checkmating the progress of authoritarianism. Will we be correct in saying that the only people who are checkmating the progress of authoritarianism at every stage are only the left parties? After all, bourgeois parties are bourgeois parties. The Marxist-Leninist party has an understanding of bourgeois parties which is confirmed by historical experience, and that is that in times of crisis the parties of the ruling class get sharply divided and work at cross purposes. Is there such a crisis in the country? There is such a crisis, and not only an economic crisis. A crisis of the whole system is there. We have described it in part. Every facet of the ruling party and the system is now coming sharply before the people and they are getting alive to it. They are taking their own time. Take what is euphemistically described as the "law and order situation". When, formerly, one talked about law and order, it meant catching a few pick-pockets or a criminal. But today, what is happening in Bihar? What is happening in UP? What is this so-called dacoit menace? Does it shows the stability of the system? An uncontrollable dacoit menace in Bihar, and, one does not know

where the dacoit ends and the police begins. I am coming to the politicians. Do not worry, I am going to deal with them. Comrade Basavapunniah is reminding me not to be unfair to the dacoits, talk about the politicians. So I told him I am coming to the politicians; they are worse than the dacoits.

This is the sign of a crumbling law and order. Earlier we used to talk about Police atrocities against the people during the course of struggle, but now we get reports of police running amuck against the people who are nowhere in the struggle. How does this happen? Women are molested, people are killed, people are supposed to be killed in encounters, in reality they are murdered in cold blood but nothing happens. At best one IGP is shifted and another IGP is replaced, beyond that, nothing happens. This is a complete collapse, which the bureaucracy and the police also know. They realise that despite the shifting of this or that officer, these people cannot do without them. During the last six months so many police strikes have also taken place. And the situation is such that a police strike took place because there was conflict between a police officer and the Chief Minister. The latter's supporters therefore organised a strike.

The collapse of law and order means that the ruling party is not able to ensure formal law and order, and justice, for the ordinary citizen. It is complicated further by other factors, these things do not happen in the air. Some Congress(I) politicians are connected with the dacoits, with some of the criminals. In UP, a note was found in the pocket of a dacoit in which a Congress(I) leader or Congress(I) politician had thanked the dacoit for the good work he did in the elections. We know what good work a dacoit can do in the elections.

The ruling party, the authoritarian party, loses its links with the people, loses its links with the masses and thereby resorts to the use of all kinds of criminals, of everybody and everything including casteist appeal, communal appeal, to keep itself in

power. This is the crisis. Therefore, the crisis has drawn into the arena people totally untouched by politics. A village girl is raped and people who have never participated in any mass movement, surround the police station. This is the resistance that is developing. In different ways it is coming forward. They do not talk about a presidential form of Government. They do not talk of something else. But they act immediately to stop the police atrocities that are unleashed on them.

Bourgeois Opposition Parties

In this different setting, at this time of crisis, what are the leading bourgeois opposition parties themselves doing? The Jullundur resolution correctly stated, and we again emphasise it, that in times of crisis the conflict between bourgeois parties for possession of governmental power gets intensified. Gets intensified means what? Earlier, when things were particularly quiet, comparatively quite, they were prepared to wait for two to three years, then again start preparing for another election. That meant, waiting for five years. Now they are not prepared to wait for five years. They find the masses simmering with discontent, the masses getting radicalised, the masses getting into the arena, a regular response coming from them. They are also afraid that this uncontrolled rule of the authoritarian party may once more land them in jail. Therefore inside Parliament, they use every issue to see that the authoritarian party is exposed. Just now moving the resolution on West Bengal, Comrade Jyoti Basu pointed out one thing: that almost all opposition parties have opposed the move of the Congress(I) party, of the Central Government to destabilise the West Bengal Government and get the West Bengal election postponed. What is the significance of this? Comrades, eight or ten years ago, some of these very parties were denouncing the Indira Congress for not dismissing the West Bengal Government. I do not want to mention names but that was the position. Now they are telling the Indira Congress, you shall not touch the West Bengal Government, you shall hold the elections properly.

This is the gathering resistance, a wider resistance to the authoritarian ruling party. Therefore, today we see, and again I want to remind you that we must always remember the very wise words of Comrade Dimitrov, who, when he was talking about fascism and authoritarian rule, said: Comrades, do not think that fascism comes in such a fashion that on one side is fascism and finance capital, and on the other side the working class. One of its earliest steps is to finish the rival bourgeois parties. This is what these rival bourgeois parties also feel. Consolidation of this authoritarian rule means they will also be victimised. Fear of victimisation, intensified conflict for governmental power—these two are the guiding factors of these parties to club together, to join with others so that the authoritarian party is checkmated. That is the idea of a broad forum of resistance which seeks to gather as broad a resistance as possible from issue to issue.

Many people ask, what guarantee is there that these people will remain with you all the time. There is no guarantee. They will not remain with you all the time. They will vacillate, change, etc. But in the meantime the objective situation becomes more favourable to the anti-authoritarian forces. I am not concerned with their motive, or with whatever some of these leaders may say. What I am saying is, objectively are we in a position to unleash the mass resistance to this or that measure of the authoritarian party? To put the question in short, our attitude is, inside Parliament and outside Parliament, can we argue on the basis that the potentialities of resistance and the conflict between the bourgeois parties and the ruling party have no relevance in the immediate struggle against authoritarianism? A broader resistance is there, 'you see, and that has to be worked out. That is an important aspect of the present situation. We have had varied experience in the last two years today with this party, yesterday with some other. Nonetheless, all these experiences, which lasted for two months, three months, one-and-a-half months, have, meanwhile, unleashed a big force. The March 26 demonstration of the peasants was part of this. After that some of these parties went to sleep. Let them go to sleep. They will come back. In the

meantime, the peasantry is being roused. So this ding-dong battle for acquiring as many allies as possible on this or that issue continues, and we should never close the door.

There is also a differentiation taking place. Some of these parties are trying to organise common resistance on the basis of alliances without the left. It is not possible to organise effective resistance to the ruling party by bourgeois parties alone excluding the left. Others say, no. This is a new relationship that is developing. So, this is one part of the matter. And out of this situation, therefore, we say that this broad forum of resistance should be created. In conclusion, in our mass activities, the wider mass actions of various organisations or joint actions, or joint protests with various parties, we should always pay utmost attention to developing the vast resistance to the policies of the authoritarian ruling party.

Left and Democratic Unity

Secondly, we have given the slogan of left and democratic unity. A lot of people, our own comrades, are confused about this. What is broad? If there is a broad platform of resistance, then is this a narrow platform? A party like ours does not build-its tactics only on the immediate situation, on the basis of fighting only one form of bourgeois rule. It certainly wants, so long as bourgeois rule lasts, it certainly prefers that form which will be of help to it in securing greater facility for conducting further struggles. But its aim is what? Its aim is to overhaul completely the present economic-political order, establish a people's democratic state leading to socialism. The broad platform cannot be the instrument to achieve this. For achieving the basic aim, the basic aim of the Party of changing the entire social order, something else is required, and in the Jullundur Congress resolution, it was stated that to bring about that change in the situation in which the working class and its party will be able to discharge its responsibility regarding the people's democratic revolution, the weight, influence and strength of the working class party in the general democratic movement must increase. This is categorically put.

The Jullundur resolution finally asks, what is the sum total, in class terms, of this great upheaval after which the Janata Party came to power? The Janata Party leaders called it a total revolution. We very correctly said the defeat of the Congress(I) was a victory of the anti-authoritarian forces and therefore important. But in class terms we have achieved not much. In class terms means what? In this whole upheaval by how much has the specific weight of the proletariat and the working class increased in the democratic and revolutionary movement, amongst the people as a whole? Then we said that the main division still took place between two bourgeois combinations; one, no doubt, was opposed to authoritarianism, but not between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. If the major mass of the people is under the influence of either this or that bourgeois party, what chance has the proletarian party to carry out its people's democratic revolution? We have always held that without the proletariat fulfilling its leading role, the people's democratic revolution will not be successful. The revisionists virtually rejected the leading role of the working class in the people's democratic revolution of India. We warned them at that time, sixteen years ago, you will land in an alliance with the Congress when you reject this role, because anyone who rejects this role of the working class must seek alliance with the bourgeois party. That is what they did.

How to bring about the change in the correlation of class forces? Change in the correlation of class forces means greater and greater masses must be rallied, taken away from the bourgeois parties and rallied around the working class party. To start with, therefore, we say, taking into consideration the present consciousness, greater and greater masses should be rallied behind the left and democratic forces so that the programme of the left and democratic forces becomes an activistising programme. The programme that we have formulated in our resolution, the programme of left and democratic unity, is a programme opposed to the vested interests. The various demands that are enshrined in that programme, taken together, are directed against the vested interests. That is, we are trying to mobilise the masses under left

leadership, ourselves leading the left forces, so that the growingly radicalised tendency of the masses is given expression to, and in this process the weight and influence of the working class party and the left forces over the masses increases.

These two are two different things: one immediate stemming of the tide of authoritarianism and fighting it continuously, the other, changing the correlation of class forces in the people, increasing the weight and influence of the proletarian party, and to start with, increasing the weight of the left forces.

Why left and democratic, why not immediately say, we proclaim that all must come under the leadership of the CPI(M)? The term, left and democratic, addresses itself to the existing level of consciousness with which we have to start. Yes, left, but inside the left we have to play the role of taking the initiative. Today what is the position? Today the position is not, taking India as a whole, that we are accepted as the leading force. That is why we have said that the struggle for left and democratic unity starts under conditions in which the CPI(M) or the working class is not yet accepted to be in the leading position. We are striving for that. But to be able to reach that goal, we are taking the existing consciousness into consideration and are prepared to join hands with any left forces which come with us part of the way, on this or that part of the programme.

The left and democratic unity concept is again not a ministerial concept or electoral concept. Some confusion has been created because the Kerala Ministry or the Kerala Government was called a Left-democratic Ministry. We have explained exactly what that combination was democratic unity is built through mass actions, it is intended to draw behind it all sections and classes that form the constituents of the people's democratic front and people's democratic revolution. The unity is achieved by getting larger and larger sections in the struggle for a programme that is opposed to the programme of all the bourgeois parties, of all the vested interests. In the fight for a radical programme, the masses growingly separate themselves from the influence of the

bourgeois parties, and become ripe, step by step, for accepting the leadership of the CPI(M) and the working class for marching forward to people's democracy.

So, this understanding of the left and democratic unity programme must be properly understood, so that it should not be confused with a ministerial alliance and electoral alliance. Nor should it be understood that left and democratic unity means only keeping together all the existing left parties in a common front. Many of the left parties will remain, many of them will go. We have had experience of this. Sometimes they break away, but the struggle of the masses for the demands in the programme continues. Some left parties may fade away; new ones may arise. Some may merge with others, but the sum total, the result is separation of these masses from the influence of the bourgeoisie and a solid bedrock is formed to take the initiative further on behalf of the revolutionary forces. That is where the supreme importance of the independent mass activity of the Party comes in, the role of the mass organisations, their capacity to get the people together—all these are extremely important in this phase.

In this connection, take the experience of the demonstration of March 26. take the experience of the January 19 strike. By all accounts it was an unprecedented, historic strike. It was an unprecedented strike organised by trade union organisations. Many of these unions are afraid of joining any central trade union organisation, especially the CITU. Some of these leaders profess to stand for liberated socialism, and when I asked them why their organisations did not join the CITU, they said their organisation would be split if they joined the CITU. This is their plight. The BMS joined, AITUC joined, HMS joined.

Trade Union Unity

Ten years ago our Party asked the CITU to build trade union unity. This is the fruit of ten years of ceaseless struggle for trade union unity. It got shattered during the emergency days. It took

two years to resume it again after the coming in of power of Indira Gandhi. Immediately after the victory of the Janata Party in 1977, a convention was called by several central trade unions. It was an all-India convention. The CITU submitted a resolution to the all-India convention asking it to include some demands of the peasantry and agricultural workers. Many organisations protested: we have nothing to do with these demands, we are a trade union body. This is their politics they are bringing in. We withdrew our resolution. Four years after, everybody now has accepted the demand of the agricultural workers.

At the Bombay Convention not only the CPI(M) leaders, but leaders of all organisations denounced the multinationals. They **unanimously supported** the demands of the peasantry, the agricultural workers and spoke on behalf of the people. They espoused the general democratic demand for the withdrawal of the a National Security Act and Essential Services Maintenance Act. If this unity is carried forward, what are the prospects? The prospects point to the possibility of the trade union movement as a whole taking the initiative for the cause of democracy and for the cause of the peasantry. This initial step of trade union unity has got great potentialities. If, first, this unity is kept up, the confidence of the working class grows and, secondly, if this is projected along the path of further democratic struggle, and for the demands of the peasantry, the situation becomes something like the situation as it was at the end of 1973-74. After the railway strike and during the railway strike, the main organised resistance to the Indira Congress was coming from the trade union movement and the working class. The initiation of the movement led by Jaya Prakash Narayan changed the situation. The trade union movement for the time being lost its initiative. Now, once again, the initiative is coming in a bigger way into the hands of the trade union movement, into the hands of the movement of our class, which if properly garnered and conducted, will give very fruitful results for democracy and the people's struggle in this country. And that is part of developing

the unity of the left and democratic forces. Bringing the working class forward and making its initiative foremost in the fight for the entire people—that is how things are shaping.

So, this economic struggle of the working class, the economic struggle of the ordinary man has got mighty potentialities and it can easily be linked with the immediate democratic demands, the immediate anti-authoritarian demands and can become a mighty force. And that mighty force is really what left and democratic unity means.

Comrades, we should not miss another point. We should give some thought to understand properly what we have said in the resolution about the push and pull between the big bourgeoisie and the landlords. In every crisis the ruling classes in the combination of the ruling classes also clash with each other. And it is extremely foolish for a proletarian party not to take advantage of this. We have seen, and said this in our earlier resolution, that in some states the landlords themselves had led the peasant agitations. Hundreds of peasants were shot down and very big discontent was unleashed. These are signs of the push and pull between the ruling classes. They work at cross purposes, again unite, again divide, but you see they find they cannot have the former solid unity, because in the present condition of crisis each must tread on the toe of the other. That you must understand. And the net result is that they themselves are forced to unleash a part of the peasant discontent and the democratic movement is able to take advantage of this and push it forward. That must be properly understood.

Attitude to CPI

We have stated that the increased strength of left forces constitutes a new feature of the present situation. We have been strongly for left unity. It would be thorough opportunism to forget the all-important role played by the achievements of our left-led ministries in strengthening left unity. This is one of the new features, the increased strength of the left. Part of it is due to

the achievements of West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura, and especially of West Bengal. The way in which the left forces have been able to fight every challenge in West Bengal has impressed the people. This has created a wide impression among the people that the only force that can fight the authoritarian party consistently is the left led by the CPI(M). This has impressed the bourgeois parties also. Everywhere in the 1980 elections, they were routed, but the authoritarian party was routed only in West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala. We have been telling the whole truth to the masses in these states. We have been saying that we can hardly do much under this constitution. We have not created any illusions. We did not say that all grievances would be redressed under our ministry. The masses also knew the limitations, and they are so grateful, so understanding, because they saw an entirely new outlook—a Party devoted to them in charge of the administration. The tremendous influence, the increased strength of the left in the new situation, is a factor you must understand. While we know, taking the whole of India into consideration, that we need to develop much more, still in the last four years, the left has become a factor to be reckoned with by every bourgeois party. Inside bourgeois parties it is difficult for any leader to take a consistent anti-left stand, which situation was not there some years ago. This is a new situation created by our tactics, our experience, the achievements of the Left Front ministries, and the rising prestige of the mass organisations, as also the role we have played in so many actions. The increased strength of the left in the present situation is a factor of great importance.

Then, comrades, one thing remains. There is a lot of talk, not among our comrades, but a lot of talk among the public and perhaps the bourgeois press, that the CPI and CPI(M) are going to be united. We have said in our resolution, we are very satisfied that left unity can be strengthened, our relationship with the CPI has improved, that it has come out of the anti-Marxist Government and front in Kerala, etc. This, no doubt, is a source of satisfaction. But when it comes to the basic understanding of the Indian situation, to our knowledge they have not changed their

basic postulates regarding the character of the state, the character of the Government. Therefore, these things may create vacillations at any time. We continue to work for strengthening left unity and improvement of our relations with the CPI. But we are of the opinion that the ideological struggle against their basic postulates, criticism of their deviation, of their erroneous opinions and tactics is necessary; because it will be opportunism if in the name of united front you leave out all criticism and all ideological differences. This we will have to continue because ideological differences still persist. Comrades, so far as the CPI is concerned, this is what I have to say.

One other point remains. A serious weakness of the trade union movement, arising from and embedded in feudal attitudes, is seen on the question of drawing women workers into the trade union leadership and the trade union movement. It is absolutely necessary to increase it for building a wide mass trade union movement. Without this we will be walking on one leg. There has been a big upsurge in the women's movement. We have set up our women's organisation. But some organisations aided by certain foreign Christian missionaries are promoting a feminist movement which ranges women against men and not against the social order. We must take note of it.

All the revisionist and sectarian tendencies in the world working class movement have not been dealt with in the resolution. An amendment will be introduced to remove this weakness.

Comrades, big battles are ahead of us. The central focus in the immediate future will most likely be on the West Bengal elections. For this the strength of the entire democratic movement is to be harnessed. Once again we must emphasise that the struggle against authoritarianism has to be carried on taking the concrete situation into consideration. That is to say, we must not forget the new factors in the situation.

This is all I have to say, comrades.

REPLY TO DISCUSSION

On the Draft Political Resolution Placed Before the Eleventh Congress of CPI(M), Given by B. T. Ranadive

The participation in the discussion of a large number of delegates representing all states has been very helpful. It has also brought forward certain points which are creating confusion and need clarification. There are several amendments and suggestions which have not so much to do with the basic formulations but are intended to provide some facts and points to improve the ~~precision of the document.~~ While comrades have largely supported the understanding contained in the resolution a number of amendments display a certain lack of understanding of the reality of the situation. This is reflected in the amendments relating to China, the Soviet Union and the role of imperialism in our own country.

Criticism of the CPC

Nobody has been able to say that our criticism of the Communist Party of China is unjustified. Its stand is erroneous and causes harm to the world revolutionary movement. In 1967 we criticised the formulations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which we considered to be erroneous, mistaken and revisionist.

Today the danger of war is mainly against the Soviet Union but the CPC does not seem to be perturbed by it. Can we ignore this, its attitude towards Afghanistan, Kampuchea? Some comrades want to delete the entire reference to China in the resolution, or want to compensate for the criticism of China by plugging something against the Soviet Union. Such amendments are incorrect and cannot be accepted. The context is the struggle between the two systems.

The lacuna in the resolution is that we have not reiterated our understanding of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the

leading role of the Party. Our Party is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. There are two deviations—revisionism and sectarianism—which are still plaguing the international Communist movement. Revisionism is no longer confined to the formulations of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Its crassest expression is Euro-Communism which takes a position of equidistance from the camps of socialism and capitalism.

Equal criticism of both the CPSU and the CPC without taking into consideration their specific positions on world issues like war and U.S. imperialism, amounts to 'equidistance' from both. This concept of equidistance is anti-Marxist.

Our Party is based on Marxism-Leninism, and a world outlook which includes the existence of two camps and considers U.S. imperialism as the main enemy of all peoples. Each Party is to be judged by its acceptance or not of this world outlook, the existence of two camps. The Party's tactics are based on fighting U.S. imperialism as the main enemy of all peoples. This is a new epoch of two systems, socialism and imperialism, and the end of colonialism. Our tactics are always directed to fighting the main enemy of the revolutionary forces. We supported China against imperialism even when the CPC leaders were attacking us in abusive terms and supporting the Naxalities; we support it today when it opposes American imperialism on the question of arming Taiwan. We have never stayed on the side-lines. Even at Burdwan, when the CPC had already started criticising us, we did not waver in our support to it against imperialism. We are placing our general understanding here, we are not going into details or entering upon a full fledged ideological discussion here.' It seems some amendments want a full ideological discussion.

The situation has now changed, and the threat of war against the socialist camp is held out by imperialism. It is our duty to oppose imperialism and if the CPI(M) does not do so, it is tantamount to revisionism. Some amendments want to soften

the criticism of the role of China, and do not wish to defend the Soviet Union and the socialist camp under the pretext of fighting revisionism. To shirk the responsibility of fighting and exposing the danger of war is itself revisionism. As yet the CPC leaders do not share this understanding and we have to do the unpleasant task of criticising their standpoint. Elimination of all critical references on this question is opportunist.

In the past, the Party has been critical of both the parties when that was required, but now the focus is against the danger of war, and all-out support to the socialist camp.

There are some amendments which doubt the correctness of the formulation that China is correcting its mistakes. The CPC documents themselves say that there was a sectarian deviation in the last ten years, as a result of which every aspect of life got distorted. This is now recognised and they are trying to repair that damage.

We expect this will lead to a change in foreign policy. If this much of hope is not there, then why call them socialist? We cannot criticise their process of planning, e.g., their application for a World Bank loan, without knowing the exact concrete situation they are facing. We believe vital forces are fighting inside China and they will correct themselves.

Our criticism of China is different from the CPI's criticism. We welcome normalisation of relations with China and other such steps, because China is a part of the socialist camp.

Similarly, there is criticism in some amendments about Soviet planning and decentralisation. Do these comrades have the necessary facts to support their criticism? Are we sure we are the best judges? We are not all-knowing. Our criticism must be based on facts and not contrary to them.

On Poland it is correctly pointed out that the explanation in the resolution is not sufficient—dictatorship of the proletariat is not functioning as it should, there has been violation of the norms

of socialist planning. All this is correct, but should it be in the resolution when that Party is fighting a life and death struggle in Poland? The amendment on the Church and obscurantist forces is also correct; as also the removal of the teaching of Marxism-Leninism from the curriculum. It must be understood that it is the violation of Leninist norms which have led to this.

Other amendments state that the revisionist trend emanating from the 20th Congress of the CPSU is responsible for all that is happening in Poland. We have already said enough about the Polish crisis in our resolution. At this stage, in spite of the mistakes of the past, the Party in Poland is fighting a life and death struggle against imperialism, and therefore we have to extend our all-out support to it.

Foreign Policy

The conflict between our people and imperialism is intensifying. Our Programme says that every opportunity must be utilised to further the people's interests and defeat imperialism. Thus must be noted and taken seriously as part of our revolutionary struggle.

In this context we must see the foreign policy of the Indira Gandhi Government. On foreign policy, the Indira Gandhi Government has taken a correct stand on several issues, even though the danger of compromise with imperialism is there. While taking a correct stand, for example, on Afghanistan and Kampuchea, it tries to balance between the two camps, considers the USA and the USSR as two super-powers. It does not take the people into confidence. This gives rise to the danger of further vacillations.

Comrades bring in the question of the motivations behind the Indira Gandhi Government's stand, its class interest, which they fear will be utilised for chauvinistic purposes. This should be understood in the context of the Party Programme, para 108.

In times of deepening crisis, the contradiction between the big bourgeoisie, the Government, and imperialism is bound to intensify. This is true of all newly independent countries except those with stooge Governments. The objection to "correct" in the formulation—"On several issues of foreign policy, the Indira Gandhi Government takes a correct stand in conformity with the concept of non-alignment and opposition to imperialism"—is unwittingly subscribing to the Naxalite characterisation that the Indian big bourgeoisie is comprador. The role of the bourgeoisie in opposing imperialism will continue until its rule is threatened by revolution. At time it will retreat, withdraw, etc., but this is what is meant by being in contradiction, otherwise we would say it has completely surrendered. If it opposes imperialism, this is a progressive step, done, however, in its own class interest. Any other understanding shows an underestimation of the contradictions and of what is happening on our borders.

The nature of imperialism and its global role are forgotten. It is not taken into consideration that Pakistan's military clique is acting as a tool of U.S. imperialism, Pakistan is seen only as a small country, whose ruling clique has no class interests to serve and whose alliance with the U.S. is ignored. The no-war pact offer of Pakistan backed by F-16 planes and other U.S. military aid has to be exposed and not seconded.

All contradictions are intensifying and the role of foreign policy has to be seen in this context. Imperialism is striving to bring India under its control and the Indo-Soviet Treaty may be its first casualty. If this happens nothing can save India from imperialist domination.

Therefore, our task is to expose this role of imperialism and mobilise the people against it. The Congress(I) will confine itself to press statements because the ruling party cannot go beyond that.

Comrades, by underestimating imperialism, you narrow down your perspectives, and this is a deviation.

I have dealt with those points on which we thought the delegates' speeches and amendments deviated from our common understanding on certain important issues. Having dealt with that,

now I come to the fact that the other major formulations and analysis and understanding of the document are accepted and supported by all delegates who have spoken here.

Broad Forum of Resistance

The common understanding relates first, to the necessity of trying to have a broad forum of resistance of patriotic elements, including bourgeois parties, against the growing machinations of imperialism against our country. It includes the necessity of a broad forum of resistance against the authoritarian party and its rule, the fight against which we consider, our resolution considers, to be the **central task in internal politics**. It also includes our understanding of recent developments, mass actions, and how, in trying to evolve a broad resistance along with joint mass actions with several mass organisations, or with several other parties, we are forging ahead with mobilising the growing mass discontent against the present socio-economic system itself, and the class policies of the Government. Our resolution also sharply brings to notice the fact that since our inception, we have repeatedly warned the country against its growing dependence on foreign loans. The recent loan from the International Monetary Fund emphasises the danger and the country should be aware of it. It is a sign of the increased dependence that the IMF is able to lay down such conditions as were not demanded before. If there were such conditions in the past, they were concealed. They were not made public, but now they are openly put forward. The crisis of the economy is the compulsive factor which makes the Government of India, the bourgeois landlord Government, accept conditions which formerly it was not asked to accept.

Finally, our resolution tells us that we as the Party of the working class, as a Marxist-Leninist Party, are not only concerned with the maintenance of parliamentary democracy as against the authoritarian party, but we want to march forward. We want to go ahead and end the present socio-economic system, end this bourgeois-landlord rule under which authoritarianism is becoming a daily necessity for the ruling classes.

We had stated in our Jullundur resolution that the necessity of dictatorship does not arise out of the whims and fancies of particular individuals, but it is the necessity of the present-day bourgeois-landlord Government of an underdeveloped country which is unable to maintain the parliamentary system along with the pre-capitalist formations, and therefore, the greater the intensification of the economic crisis, the greater is the danger to democracy.

These facts have been elaborated in the resolution. All these facts, so far as the delegates' speeches go, so far as the amendments go, nobody has doubted them, nobody has suggested any amendments to them. **In fact all speakers** here said that they accepted the resolution and they are in agreement with the analysis of the situation given in the resolution.

All also accept the reality of the challenge of the divisive forces. As a remedy against this challenge we suggest self-criticism and reorientation of our mass activities. Nobody has tried to deny that there is a lacuna in the functioning of our mass organisations in relation to certain sections of the oppressed masses, now victims of the divisive forces.

Challenge of Divisive Forces

Two things must be remembered. The challenge of divisive forces and the threat of disintegration of national unity make it all the more incumbent to end this bourgeois-landlord system as soon as possible, because under this system and under such a Government, you cannot hold on, you cannot protect the unity and integrity of the country. This is the experience of all underdeveloped countries, newly liberated countries. India, comparatively more developed, has been able to hold on for a longer time but now the full impact of the maintenance of earlier institutions, social institutions, industrial backwardness is being felt and bit by bit the consciousness of national unity is going down. It is being assailed and attacked on all sides, and an attempt is being made to tear apart the country from all sides.

This is apart from the internal danger to democracy. The authoritarian party and the bourgeois-landlord system are daily undermining the independence and unity of the country. This must be noted in connection with the divisive forces. The second point which some comrades have made in connection with their amendments, will have to be accommodated because it is correct.

The second point: some comrades in their amendments have referred to the role of the authoritarian Government in this connection. They have correctly stated that while imperialism is subtly using the divisive forces to divide the people, the bourgeois-landlord Government's policy also uses these divisive forces to maintain its rule. That is a fact. We will have to take note of this when finalising the amendments to the resolution. And the most important point is this, that since the bourgeois-landlord Government is unable to fight these forces of disintegration and disunity, who will fight them? That is the challenge to the working class, to the advanced democratic movement. Either you fight or you succumb.

Here we have said that even our class movement, our mass movement, our class organisations, are not yet seized of this problem, because we have been working on the general understanding that a man belonging to the working class is a worker. So if we talk about the unity of the working class, it is enough. We have been working on the basis of the common fight against economic exploitation, but often forgetting that the exploited themselves are divided by caste and communal divisions. In our country a man is a worker and also an untouchable, a man is a worker and also a discriminated Muslim. That is the duality of his existence. And the latter part of his existence as an untouchable or Muslim often affects him more sharply than the first. Unless this is recognised by our mass organisations, by our Party as such, these divisive challenges of imperialism cannot be met. Everybody now accepts that there is a divisive challenge but perhaps they have not so much understood our special responsibilities in meeting this challenge in a proletarian way, in trying to save the country's integrity as well

as strengthen the unity of the democratic forces. We have therefore to understand our special responsibility. We have to meet the authoritarian challenge to parliamentary democracy. We have to save the country's integrity, strengthen its unity and the unity of the democratic forces.

The Peasant Upsurge

And in this connection one point has to be disposed of. It is not connected with divisive forces but is connected with our mass movement and the slogans we raise. I do not wish to go into details about the question of remunerative prices and the peasant struggles. It must be stated, however, that some of the speeches made here were amazing speeches. If somebody refers to Comrade Basavapunnaiiah's articles, he should know that Comrade Basavapunnaiiah does not write on subjects under controversy without having consultations with the P.B. and the C.C. That is the C.C.'s line. If the C.C.'s line suffers from statistical infirmity, we hope it does not suffer from the infirmity of a lack of class outlook. This problem will be dealt with later on, when the Political Organisational Report comes because it is dealt with there. I do not wish to go into that.

But apart from that, it is necessary to remember that in a country where small petty production is widespread, where in order to maintain their monopoly and big business profits, the big capitalists are interested in enforcing lower prices on the peasantry, price is a vital question for every agricultural producer. Secondly, also, whosoever raises the question, whether it is the rich peasant or anybody, the small producer is bound to be attracted. Is this so difficult for statisticians to understand? That is where the lack of class outlook comes.

The second point, comrades, the contempt, the utter contempt, for a huge mass movement which sometimes develops without our initiative, unconnected with us and more under the influence of others, is the high-watermark of sectarianism. With the general discontent sweeping the country, it should not be surprising if a spontaneous outburst of the peasantry develops or if a big mass agitation is organised by others. The skill of the Party lies again

and again in getting these outbursts under its control and leading them. The Party is operating in a given situation and day by day evolving tactics, slogans, etc., which will get a response not only from those who are immediately under the influence of the Party but also from wider masses. Vast masses of the people are drawn into the vortex of class struggle and are coming into activity by the millions. The Party recognises this, the Party tries to forge its links with them. This was what was happening in the peasant upsurge which later on culminated in a big mass struggle. More than a hundred peasants were shot dead, they were shot dead like rabid dogs. But there is an amendment to record that this movement is of a lower category.

There is an amendment that the movement led by our Party in Kerala, West Bengal, Tripura is of a far higher type than this movement. What are you saying? The Party is saying that a very big peasant upsurge has been growing. You yourself analyse that the economic crisis is growing, repression on the peasant is growing. But then you tell them: no, no; you are inferior to us. In the resolution, a correct assessment has been made that this was the biggest peasant upsurge of recent times. It spread over a number of states. Don't contrast it immediately with something that is happening elsewhere and is not so widespread, with a view to denigrating the importance of this upsurge.

And we have also stated in the resolution that the push and pull between the bourgeoisie and the landlords also contributed to this big agitation. The crisis is creating all kinds of difficulties for the ruling classes. Out of that, one tries to outdo the other and you get outbursts. What to do with them, how to link with these mass outbursts? How to show the revolutionary skill to tear away the masses from their present leadership and bring them near the Party? That is the real task before the Party, not to denigrate the movement but to be alive to it.

Delegates have accepted the C.C.'s line. But some comrades, while generally accepting the C.C. line, do not adopt a correct attitude to such outbursts which are likely to develop in future also, because the whole system is cracking. With this incorrect attitude they will not be in a position, the Party will not be in a

position, to directly link itself with the growing mass discontent. The resolution explains how the peasant upsurge began, how the various parties came together and how we were able to give it a bigger, wider base. All these things should be properly understood so that no movement or agitation that develops spontaneously or is developed by other elements, escapes our notice. In fact, the Jullundur Congress resolution warned the Party not to confine its attention only to what we were doing. It asked us to link ourselves with the activities of a small group, a big group, wherever they are activating the peasantry, to forge links with the peasantry. But certain comrades seem to miss the significance of this big peasant upsurge. Obviously it is not a permanent thing. There will be ups and downs. With each wave we should be in a better position to tackle it, we should be in a better position to ride that wave, so that the Party is in a better position to direct and channelise the agitation. This should be noted.

It is asked, are we likely to lose our bearings when we support this mass struggle for remunerative prices? What happens to the agricultural workers? What happens to the poor peasants? And that question is justified, because there is very little assurance of a poor peasant getting the remunerative price, unless he is well-organised. That is his education, comrades. That is where he learns what type of struggle is required to get relief for himself. But price is a must for him. We are not relaxing our efforts either to organise the agricultural workers or to organise poor peasants. On the other hand, wherever our Party, wherever our Kisan Sabha was active they saw to it that when this question of price was raised, this mass of peasants was also called upon to espouse the cause of the agricultural workers, his wages and so on. In many places the joint activities for remunerative prices, joint morchas for remunerative prices, included the demands, for agricultural workers' wage, for a better food distribution system, and food prices within reach of our people. That is why, when the movement goes on, the fraternity of the different sections, the common points get stressed. A remarkable contrast was seen in Maharashtra where initially the movement was started by the

representatives of landlords. But they began to resile the moment another movement started for remunerative prices, championing the cause of the agricultural workers' wages also. That was also a big, huge success and this way, while trying to forge links with the movement that was already unleashed, we tried to shape the direction in which we wanted it to go. So there need not be a contrast, a contradiction. But we must realise that where the masses are actually boiling with discontent and coming into the arena, we must try to link ourselves with them and take in the desired direction.

From the amendments and speeches of the delegates, it is very clear that they have accepted, and supported our calls for, our slogan for, a broad forum of resistance. That was the slogan which we gave at the time of the Jullundur Congress. Things have changed since then. When that slogan was given the authoritarian party was out of power. Today when that slogan is given the authoritarian party is back in power. Therefore, certain changes are bound to be there. But this tactic of getting together the entire opposition forces which, for the time being, are able to retard or defeat the progress of authoritarian rule, is a valuable tactic and naturally this idea is consistent with Marxism-Leninism, its attitude towards bourgeois parties. Therefore, we have put it in the resolution and it is not surprising at all that there is absolutely no dissenting voice, no amendment against it.

Role of the BJP

One or two comrades have raised certain points about the BJP. What is the role of the BJP? Comrades, we, our Party, understand the BJP in two ways. One, it is also a bourgeois-landlord party. But this bourgeois-landlord party works with a specific weapon, a specific appeal to Hindu chauvinism, and its hard core is the RSS. Some comrades yesterday said that our resolution did not mention the connection of BJP with the RSS. Read the document again, comrades. I think the comrades perhaps missed this point. Read the documents there, the BJP is described as a party with its hard core of RSS. Because of this

hard core of RSS and Hindu chauvinism, and along with that the characteristic of a pro-imperialist tilt, consistent anti-Sovietism, anti-Communism, it has to be fought constantly. But we do not take an attitude like the CPI's of untouchability, of having nothing to do with the BJP at any time. Poor fellows, they (the CPI) say that they will have nothing to do with the BJP and at the same time they joined hands with it in Parliament. They cannot escape the logic of the situation. At the same time we say, we on our own part have to carry on a consistent battle against the ideology of the BJP and its weapons. While doing this, we may have to cooperate with it on this or that issue against the authoritarian Government, the authoritarian party—issues like civil liberties, oppressive laws, etc.

In our discussion with the CPI leaders we told them that their attitude was wrong. Our attitude is this: we are not prepared to break on a common issue on which there can be an agreement with other bourgeois parties, if those bourgeois parties insist that the BJP should also be there. But we, on our own, if the other bourgeois parties do not want that association, are not going in for such association. A dual approach. It is a bourgeois-landlord party, at the same time it has got its own peculiarity. Therefore, our Party's effort should simultaneously be to isolate it on the question of anti-Sovietism as much as possible. On occasions it might join us on some issues but our consistent endeavour is to see that the pernicious influence on the people which it carries through RSS chauvinism, is really eliminated, its consistent opposition to the Soviet Union, to the Indo-Soviet Treaty, is exposed and unmasked and its pro-imperialist tilt is also put before the people. This is our understanding of the BJP; whosoever has got the idea that *ipso facto* it must be included in broad resistance is not correct. This is our understanding about the broad forum of resistance and the BJP.

Growing Influence of Left

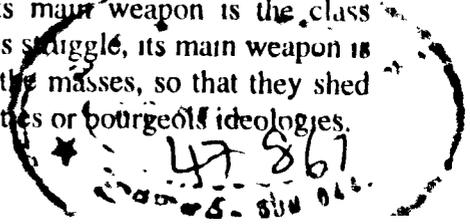
In passing, it must be emphasised, though everybody has understood it, that against the forces of authoritarianism, we have with us the left forces, which are more consistent in their

opposition to authoritarianism. This reality has to be recognised. Because, that also imposes on us, on our Party and other left forces a very serious responsibility. Here I repeat what I said yesterday: an effective weapon in our hands for fighting authoritarianism is the achievements of our Left Front Ministries whose impact on the minds of the people in other states should not be underestimated. Never before had we such an opportunity to tell the people what exactly we mean, what exactly we are, and how the Party can really fight such a dark force as the Indira rule. We must understand that the masses are testing and trying every party, and wherever we have sufficient influence they turn from the Indira Party to our Party, or to the left, and where we and the left are weak, they again shuffle between the two wings of the bourgeois-landlord parties. The masses are not dormant. The same process is taking place in our country which Engels described long ago in relation to Germany. One bourgeois party after another is coming on the stage and getting discredited. Wherever we have come on the stage we are not getting discredited. Therefore, the great importance of understanding the Left Front Ministries as the advanced outposts in the struggle against authoritarianism and their achievements as a very valuable weapon in the struggle against authoritarianism. They also reveal the contrast between the achievements of the left and the achievements of the rival bourgeois parties, of the opposition bourgeois parties. It is this which is attracting the common man towards the left. So, at present while we are again concentrating on the fight against authoritarianism, we should know that a big change has taken place between 1977 and 1982. In 1977, all over India, the major symbol of fight against the authoritarian party was the bourgeois-landlord Janata Party. In 1982 there is a change. The major symbol of resistance in the minds of growing sections of the people is the left, headed by the CPI(M). This is a change which has gradually come over in the last four years in which the achievements of the left-led ministries have played a very important role along with whatever mass activities we have carried out.

A great and heavy responsibility rests on the CPI(M) to advance its influence through unity of will and unity of purpose, because already we have been recognised as the party which is able to defeat the forces of authoritarianism in the three states and also is able to fulfil our promises to the masses. It is a fact which must be noted.

Left and Democratic Unity

Then, comrades, once again all recognise the necessity of the unity of the left and democratic forces, but still there is some confusion in our ranks. A common understanding has grown on the question of the necessity of unity of left and democratic forces. Unfortunately we cannot register under a law certain words as our words. Other people also use those words. There is a Left and Democratic Front or something like that in Maharashtra. Also there is a Left-Democratic Front in Kerala. We have repeatedly said that this is the nomenclature that was suggested by the opposition parties which are in coalition with us in the Kerala ministry and it would not have been proper to raise a quarrel over the name of the combination. Should we have told them, either you accept this or there is no coalition? But some people get confused by that. They think that our idea of left and democratic unity has something to do with coalition ministries. One of the Kerala amendments is of that type. If we try to circumscribe the idea of left and democratic unity to suit some parliamentary convenience or some electoral understanding, then we would become completely reformist. Why? Because this left and democratic unity programme, as we have said, is based on a programme which is opposed to the programme of all bourgeois parties. It is a programme to change the correlation of forces that exists today as between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; it is an instrument for overhauling the socio-economic order, and step by step, progressing towards the increasing influence and, later on, the leadership of the working class and the CPI(M). It has got a revolutionary significance and its main weapon is the class struggle, its main weapon is the mass struggle, its main weapon is the change in the consciousness of the masses, so that they shed the illusions about the bourgeois parties or bourgeois ideologies.



Secondly, it should not be mixed up with another question of how many of our present allies will remain in the fight for left and democratic unity. Can anybody guarantee that all the left parties which are today in a united front with us in this or that state, or in this or that ministry, are permanent allies for the revolution? The left tendency remains—some people go, but the tendency remains. Part of the hang-over of bourgeois influence remains, but people march forward. New parties come, new groups come. This is the process of gathering together the oppressed sections. In this process, today, you start with some left party, some democratic party. Who knows how it will shape tomorrow. There are instances in which people who started as liberals in a revolutionary movement, remained consistent and joined the Communist Party. There are instances in which people who started as allies of the Communist Party, who were social-democrats, turned away from the Communist Party and became liberals.

Comrades, this historical experience we should master. Some comrades confuse the fight for left and democratic unity with the electoral fight and distort its meaning. This is quite a different idea and, therefore, what has been stated about mass struggles, about the democratic forces which can be mobilised for this or that demand against the bourgeois-landlord rule must be borne in mind. We are not a party committed to simply maintaining one form of bourgeois rule as against another form of bourgeois rule. While defending the parliamentary system we wish to go ahead. And there comes the question of the hegemony and leadership of the working class.

We want to make clear that the struggle for the people's democratic revolution will be successful under the hegemony of the working class. Hegemony does not come in a day. It comes in various forms, it goes through various transitional phases. After all, if you ask us, whose hegemony over whom in a country like India, it is hegemony primarily of the working class over the peasantry. For what purpose? Agrarian revolution. That idea of hegemony is a revolutionary idea, which we will achieve in the course of the struggle. Therefore do not read into this left and

democratic unity some alliance with this or that left party that is there today, do not read into this some kind of mechanism for further electoral understanding. This is to be properly understood.

Somebody has also raised the point that we must spell out when we can participate in ministries, when we can make ministries. In the recent past when we were ten or eleven people in Maharashtra, they offered us some posts in the Sharad Power ministry. We said 'no', we do not want them. Our attitude to this is determined by what we can do, how we can shape policy, what is our strength. As early as in 1967 we were offered two posts of ministers in Bihar by the Jana Sangh and CPI. We said 'no'. First they offered us one. We said 'no', because we had only two MLAs. Then they said they would make both the MLAs ministers. Even then we said 'no'. Joining or not joining a ministry is a tactical step to be taken in the context of the anti-authoritarian struggle. It is taken in a given concrete situation. But struggle for left and democratic unity is a struggle for unleashing the discontent of all those classes which have to play a part in the coming people's democratic revolution, and we should not mix up these two.

Remarkable Unanimity

In conclusion, I have to say that our discussion and the amendments themselves have shown a remarkable unanimity of understanding on the major problems facing us, on the major slogans to be evolved and the tactics to be adopted, and on the analysis of the situation as it has changed in the last four years. This is a remarkable thing—for this reason, that if you look at India as a whole, there is a general process of disintegration, not only in bourgeois parties but also in some left parties, also in parties which claim that they are also Marxist-Leninist parties. The great unanimity and unity of understanding that we have reached both on the international and national situations is there because we have endeavoured in the last eighteen years of our existence to face an adverse situation, basing ourselves firmly on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

We have faced every kind of situation. We faced the emergency, we have faced semi-fascist terror, we have faced

elections, we have faced defeat in elections, we have faced victory in elections, but we have not allowed ourselves to be deviated from the major path that we have chalked out for ourselves; while fighting for certain immediate things in an immediate political situation, we never forget the basic task of doing away with the present socio-economic order. It is this which has continuously sustained us, it is this which has helped us to correct whatever mistakes we have committed, and the unanimity comes from the fact that in the last four years we have seen a lot of convulsions, we have seen the rise and fall of parties, we have seen their disintegration, we have seen their coming back. We analysed these developments and came to a common understanding. We worked on the basis of that common understanding. We see today our comrades here in Andhra Pradesh were very diffident about accepting the responsibility of holding the Congress, organising this session. But when they went to the people, the people were overflowing with kindness, with help, with admiration and they found it very easy to organise the Congress, to meet its requirements.

But this is something that is happening in every state, somewhere in an incipient form, somewhere in an extended form. And, I think, in the coming year or two, the general complaint that the younger element is not being attracted will be over. That is why, comrades, a firm unity of purpose and firm unity of will is all the more necessary because our people are putting greater faith in us. We are also on the eve of facing great trials. And it is not only the challenge of elections; there is the attack from the imperialists, there is the attack on the integrity of the country. And, at the same time, we see the masses are rising to greater heights. It is in this situation that we are adopting this resolution and are entering the lists against the adverse forces. At the same time we know the circumstances are more favourable to us than before. The resolution asks us to fight authoritarianism, it asks us to intensify the fight against imperialism and take the challenge of divisive forces. It calls on us to work for broader resistance against imperialism; for a broader forum of resistance against authoritarianism; and calls on us to work for a change in the

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correlation of class forces by working for the unity of the left and democratic forces. It links our present struggle with our basic struggle against the social system. The resolution takes into consideration all the new features of the situation, it gives us concrete guidance. It expresses the unity of our experience, the unity of our purpose. I would ask all of you to adopt it unanimously so that we go better armed to meet the problems facing us. I thank you, comrades.

Political Resolution*

**Adopted By The Eleventh Congress
of The Communist Party of India (Marxist),
Held at Vijayawada
on January 26-31, 1982**

International Situation

The Jullundur Congress of our Party had observed: "The period witnessed the most profound crisis of capitalism since the end of the Second World War. This was the first post-war crisis which, simultaneously, affected all capitalist countries. Its profound character was fully seen in the fact that it engulfed not only spheres of production and consumption but also the monetary and credit spheres."

Today, again, capitalism finds itself in another crisis which is considered to be the worst since the 1932 crisis.

Following production loss in several capitalist countries in 1980, the capitalist world faces a further drop in 1981.

The current recession has been the most protected. It has lasted seven years, despite repeated optimistic prognostications by the leaders of the capitalist countries. It has not slowed down this year, and all that is in evidence are slight variations in production. The average annual economic growth-rate in the Western countries has slowed down more than twofold compared to the period before 1974. 1980 witnessed virtual stagnation in the economy. The only sector that is flourishing in the imperialist countries is the arms business.

Inflation had been officially declared the number one enemy at the second conference of the Big Seven held in Puerto Rico in 1976. Since then, at every meeting, the summit leaders vow to fight inflation but they are unable to control it.

*Published in the compilation of the Documents of the Eleventh Congress of the C.P.I.(M) Refer the Speech given by B. T. Ranadive introducing the Draft Political Resolution given under Item No.3 of this Volume.

During 1974 and 1975, the growth of prices reached a record level averaging 12 per cent per annum in the major western countries. By 1981, the rates of inflation were again approaching the record mark of 1974.

The slow-down in production is seen from the following table:

Growth-rate of the aggregated production of commodities and services (per cent) of capitalist countries

(Annual Average)			
<u>Group of countries</u>	<u>1961-73</u>	<u>1973-79</u>	<u>1980</u>
All	5.1	3.1	1.9
Developed capitalist	5.0	2.7	1.5
Developing	6.0	5.2	5.0

The main impact of this fall was borne by the economic centres of world capitalism. According to the World Economic Survey (1979-80), this trend is expected to continue, accompanied by a higher level of unemployment and inflation.

The crisis arising out of the contradictions of the capitalist society is further aggravated by the structural crisis in a number of leading industrial sectors. There is stagnation of production in the iron and steel industries, in the motor industry, and an energy crisis, along with the aggravation of the problem of raw materials. The auto industry of the USA, for instance, had laid off more than 150,000 workers for nearly twentyone months by August 1981. The inflation and high rates of interest are making economists feel that recession is the only way out, and this when, according to the figures of the Commerce Department, economic activity had declined by 2.4 per cent in the second quarter.

It is estimated that 80 per cent of the country's 4700 savings and loan societies are running in the red with a third of them in danger of failing.

After a feverish 9.8 per cent annual rate of expansion in the first quarter of 1981, the U.S. economy did not grow at all during the second quarter but declined. According to *News-week*, "New housing starts were off 14 per cent in May, personal income was

growing sluggishly, industrial production was almost flat and retail sales grew by a pallid two per cent."

Unemployment in the capitalist countries has risen to 24 million and is expected to rise to 26 million in 1982. The USA has 7.8 million unemployed; the ten EEC countries have nine million jobless, 8.3 per cent of the labour force, West Germany's share being 1.4 million, Britain—three million, Italy—two million and France—1.84 million. In Belgium 12.2 per cent, in the Netherlands 8.5 per cent and in Denmark 8.2 per cent of the labour force are unemployed.

Drop and stagnation in production is accompanied by an unprecedented rate of inflation.

During the last ten years prices in capitalist countries have more than doubled, they have risen 50 per cent since 1975.

As a result, real wages in most capitalist countries fell below those of 1980. The profits of the 500 largest U.S. companies on the other hand rose by 23 per cent in 1979, and amounted to 10,000 million dollars.

Wage Earnings

In the United States, between 1973 and 1980, the real earnings of hired wage-earners fell by 10.5 per cent whereas the Press reported a drop of 15 per cent. This is the sharpest decline in the working people's standard of living since the economic crisis of the 1930s.

The crisis demonstrates that State regulation of the economy (in the interest of the monopolists) has failed to stave it off. The military-industrial complex which rules this capitalist State is not only unable to stabilise the economy, it has brought it to ruin.

Increased military spending has been one of the measures of the complex to steady the economy. Today, it is absorbing a major part of the budgetary resources and bringing the economy down.

The enormous sums spent on this destructive pursuit can be seen from the high-speed increase in U.S. defence expenditure.

The U.S. defence budget exceeded 100 billion dollars in 1976. By 1980 it reached 145 billion dollars. For 1982 it was set by Carter at 200 billion dollars and raised by Reagan to 227 billion dollars. For 1986 it will approach 400 billion dollars. In the period

1981-86, the USA has budgeted to spend 1500 billion dollars for military purposes. These burdens of military expenditure, in the midst of a fall in real wages and loss of jobs, have intensified all the social contradictions in the capitalist countries.

Socialist World

By contrast, the socialist countries, free from crisis and working devotedly for the cause of peace, have registered further advance in socialist construction.

Between 1970 and 1980, in comparable prices, the gross social product of the Soviet Union increased by 67 per cent; national income used for consumption and accumulation by 55 per cent; industrial production by 78 per cent and agricultural production by 23 per cent (annual average output).

During the last Five-Year Plan the national income of the GDR increased by 25.4 per cent.

Nonetheless, the socialist countries also faced some difficulties in the recent period and their rate of growth slowed down to a certain extent. This seems to be due to the fact that they are forced to divert a substantial part of their resources for defence purposes in view of the imperialist war preparations; and also, perhaps, due to the recessionary business conditions in countries with whom they have developed new trade relations. But they continued to add substantially to the national income and industrial production.

The problems of construction in the socialist countries have become complicated in recent years. Factors like deterioration in the economies of the capitalist countries, wide price-fluctuations and the arms-race imposed by the imperialist had to be reckoned with by the socialist countries. Even then the change in the balance of economic forces is appreciably in favour of the socialist world. In 1979, it produced about 40 per cent of the world's industrial output, with approximately one-third coming from the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Between 1975 and 1979, national income rose by 27 per cent in Bulgaria, 19 per cent in Cuba, 16 per cent in Czechoslovakia, 18 per cent in Hungary, 25 per cent in Mongolia, 13 per cent in Poland, 37 per cent in Romania and 19 per cent in the USSR.

Industrial production in the CMEA countries as a whole increased by 3.6 per cent in 1979 as compared to 1978, while growth in the first four years of the 1976-80 Five-Year Plan amounted to 22 per cent.

The growth of industrial output in 1979 as compared with 1975 has been as follows:

	Industrial output in 1979 (1975=100)
Bulgaria	129
Cuba	117
Czechoslovakia	121
GDR	122
Hungary	121
Mongolia	135
Poland	124
Romania	148
USSR	120

Vietnam, despite numerous difficulties and strains, has made substantial progress in this period. Laos, in similar conditions, is also making significant progress. Kampuchea, after the overthrow of the despotic Pol Pot regime, starting from almost scratch, is rapidly rehabilitating its economy.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been marching from success to success. Between 1970 and 1979, the DPRK's industrial production grew by 15.9 per cent every year. There has also been rapid progress in all sectors of agricultural production.

The People's Republic of China, despite inner convulsions and many twists and turns in the situation, is acknowledged by all to be progressing rapidly. Its battle for socialist modernisation has already started. In 1980, production of steel in China was 37 million tons, coal 620 million tons, crude oil exceeded 105 million tons, electricity more than 300,000 million kwh.

Yugoslavia which is not a member of the CMEA has also been advancing.

The situation in Poland, however, is extremely grave. Counter-revolutionary forces have arisen challenging the socialist basis of

the State and society. They are supported by the imperialist, and all the reactionary forces of the capitalist society.

The situation is the result of violation of Leninist norms in relation to trade unions, bureaucratism inside the Polish United Workers' Party, faulty economic planning and voluntarism. The counter-revolutionary forces have fully exploited the several imbalances in the Polish economy arising from failure to bring land under social ownership—80 per cent of land is privately owned—and aggravated by massive foreign borrowing from imperialist countries and international banks. The failure to wage a consistent struggle against religious obscurantism and the influence of the church has also been taken advantage of by the counter-revolutionaries. The developments in Poland are, once again, a warning that the guiding role of the Party cannot be ensured without a close ear to the voice of the masses, without waging a determined struggle against bureaucracy inside the organisation and strict observance of Leninist norms in organisation.

The struggle for peace waged by the Warsaw Pact countries and supported by the people of the world, together with the military preparedness of the Soviet Union, has till now acted as a strong deterrent against the peace-breakers.

Socialist help, primarily from the Soviet Union, and from small socialist States like Cuba to the fighting people of Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique and the people's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and their support to the cause of Palestinian liberation have strengthened the anti-imperialist forces and their will to fight.

Socialist support to Kampuchea and Vietnam has frustrated the U.S. designs in South-East Asia. Timely armed help to Afghanistan by the USSR has enabled that nation to project its freedom and sovereignty, and frustrated the U.S. designs to enslave it.

The Soviet Union's opposition to Israel's aggression, its support to aggressed Lebanon and Syria, again strengthened the resolve of the Arab world to secure justice for the Palestinians.

Economic help from the Soviet Union is helping many newly independent countries to build their economies and preserve their independence. Other socialist countries are also rendering valuable

aid to the underdeveloped countries. Precious socialist help is being rendered to newly independent countries to strengthen their defence capability against imperialism and to beat off the attack of counter-revolution as in the case of Angola, Ethiopia.

Inter-Imperialist Contradictions

In the late 1970s, the share of the United States in the capitalist world's industrial production was 30.9 per cent whereas that of Western Europe was 34.4 per cent. Western Europe now accounts for up to a half of the total trade turnover of the capitalist countries. In 1979, it exported commodities to the sum of 222 billion dollars while U.S. exports amounted to 182 billion dollars. In 1980, Japan exported to the EEC countries 29 per cent more automobiles than in 1979, bringing its total auto sales there to three billion dollars. Japan has cornered a quarter of the car market in the United States and is challenging U.S. superiority in advanced sophisticated fields such as the manufacture of mini-computers.

From 1973 to the end of the 1970s, Japan's capital investment in the South-East Asian region increased almost four times, reaching 5.79 billion dollars. At present it accounts for 33 per cent of all foreign capital investments there. The share of the USA is only 23 per cent. From 1979 to 1980, the deficit of west European trade with Japan amounted to 10.7 billion dollars. In passing, it may be noted that Japan's rapid rise as the serious competitor of both the USA and the EEC is itself the result of the conditions imposed upon it by its imperialist rivals, especially the USA. As a part of the treaty conditions and the post-war settlement, Japan was debarred from spending on armaments. It was prohibited from rearming. This left huge sums from the profits of the monopolies to be diverted to economic rebuilding, producing the Japanese "miracle", now so inconvenient to its western partners. The USA is now demanding that Japan must spend big sums on armaments to relieve its own burden.

The European countries, including West Germany fear that Japan and the USA together might endanger the European car industry. They are alarmed by the reports that the U.S. is planning to invest some 80 billion dollars by 1985 in the U.S. auto industry which is now going through a period of depression.

The conflicts and rivalries arising out of these developments were growing over the last few years. This was seen in a series of questions of economic policy—the monetary system, tariff measures against imports from rival countries, the role of gold in the international payments system, special drawing rights, the attitude to oil-producing countries and the question of military alliance.

Contradictions in the Capitalist Countries

The entire system is being shaken to its foundations both in the metropolitan countries and their periphery.

The working class of the capitalist countries is fighting incessantly against the attacks on its living standards through inflation, wage-reduction, dismissals and unemployment. It has also fought against intensification of labour, for effecting more safety measures at industrial enterprises, for improved medical care and pension security. It has refused to accept wage-freeze in the name of fighting inflation.

In Britain, more than a thousand strikes were organised in the period from January to October 1980. The number of people participating in the strikes was 750,000 and the number of working days lost exceeded 11.8 million compared with 10.1 million in 1977 and 9.4 million in 1978. In the U.S., three thousand strikes were registered with more than 1.1 million strikers and 20.7 million days lost in the first half of the year.

The wave of strike resistance reached its height last year in the Scandinavian countries where, according to the bourgeoisie, class peace holds sway. Last May, the largest strike in the history of the country took place in Sweden, participated in by 700,000 workers. Norway saw a nationwide strike of industrial workers accompanied by the strike of many State employees. In 1980, more than seven million people participated in the "spring offensive" in Japan.

Together with the working class, other sections of the people like employees, intellectuals and others are being drawn into struggle. Between 1976 and 1980, 90 million participated in strikes in seven capitalist countries—the USA, Britain, France, Italy, Canada, the FRG and Japan.

The rising consciousness of these struggles is reflected in the increased scale of actions—actions now taking place on a national and international scale, the merger of working class actions with general democratic action in defence of peace, against racialism, terrorism, for the rights of young people and women. Unorganised workers, too, in their strikes are putting forward demands which go beyond the purely economic framework and have certain elements of a democratic alternative to the socio-economic policies of the ruling classes.

In the last ten years there have been 80 Government dissolutions in the advanced capitalist countries—the Governments being unable to run their term under the constitution. This shows growing political instability. Rightist forces try to forge ahead and attack the democratic conquests of the people. But they do not succeed. The attempts at counter-revolutionary coups in Spain and the masonic conspiracy in Italy were defeated. But the extremist forces continue their attacks with terrorist groups.

In the latter half of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, the monopolies and the States in a number of monopoly-capitalist countries launched a new organised offensive on the economic rights of the working people and made an attempt to abridge the social legislations won by the people through persistent struggle. The former Government of France, the Conservative Cabinet in Britain and the Reagan administration in the United States were particularly zealous. The latter proclaimed an "economic recovery programme" and set out to cut food aid to the poor, reduce allowances for the jobless and the invalids, and curtail expenditure on the provisions of medicare for people with low incomes, on education, health and other social programmes. In Washington, there was a gigantic demonstration to protest against Reagan's policies.

While the bourgeois Governments conspire to attack it, the working class turns to the Left. While Margaret Thatcher and her supporters are veering to the Right, the Labour Party is veering to the Left. The mood of the masses was revealed in the victory of the Socialist Party in the French elections. The USA had to swallow not only the victory of Mitterrand, but also the inclusion of the Communist Party of France in the Socialist Cabinet. For the last

ten years, the USA has been intervening in Italy to exclude the powerful Communist Party of Italy from governmental positions. Mitterrand's Government is now engaged in a sweeping programme of extending state control to about 40 per cent of the industrial output. Eleven key industrial groups—which had more than 40 billion dollars sale last year—are to be nationalised. Besides the domestic companies, three largely foreign-owned companies are also on the list of nationalisation, two of them being the C.H. Honeywell Bull (47 per cent U.S.-owned) and ITT, France, a subsidiary of the New York-based International Telegraph and Telephone Corporation. In Greece, the Conservatives who have been in power traditionally, have been defeated by the socialists.

The Communist Parties of Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece are increasing their mass influence—a sign of the radicalisation of the masses.

Sharpened Contradiction With The Socialist Camp

The crisis has sharpened the contradiction between the imperialist and socialist camps. This is seen in the abandonment of detente by the U.S. imperialists and their serious war preparations. The Reagan administration resorts to bellicose propaganda demanding U.S. superiority in arms and stationing of Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe. It has embarked upon the large-scale production of neutron warheads, weapons of human destruction.

The U.S. imperialists are, simultaneously, doing everything to slander and subvert socialist regimes. Their support to the counter-revolution in Poland is quite obvious and open. They have recently gone to the extent of imposing economic sanctions against the Soviet Union as well as Poland.

War Danger

The danger of war in place of detente and armaments agreement, is the new feature of the situation arising out of the present crisis. The proposal to deploy Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe is a direct threat to the USSR. These missiles with their range extending from 1000 to 2500 kilometres bring the European part of the USSR under the threat of direct attack from West German

soil. The FRG and Britain have supported the deployment of the missiles which increases the war danger. The FRG and Britain have acquiesced in the U.S. production of neutron warheads and increased armaments. France has approved Reagan's tough attitude towards the resumption of armament negotiations while keeping silent on the neutron bomb.

The war danger is thus heightened. But it should not be presumed that the working class and people in these countries are quiet. The huge demonstration in Britain calling for not guns but jobs, the massive peace movement in Europe, are indications that the warmongers will be put in a strait-jacket by the people. Massive anti-war rallies have been held in Bonn, Paris, Rome, Brussels and Helsinki.

The danger of nuclear war threatens humanity because of the criminal policies pursued by the U.S. imperialists. If the warmongers are not checked in time the world will come face to face with destruction of millions of lives, of towns, cities communities and whole countries. The talk of a limited nuclear war is sheer deception to lull the vigilance of the people. Never in recent years have the war incendiaries been so active, never before had they the means to carry out their genocidal designs. The CPI(M) considers it an urgent task of the working class and all progressive sections to combat this danger, expose and unmask the imperialist plans before the people to save the world from nuclear destruction.

The world peace movement and the international struggle for peace waged by all progressive forces in the work and the weight of the non-aligned movement are powerful counter-factors to frustrate U.S. designs. The struggle for peace carried on by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, together with their preparedness to meet the aggressive attacks of the imperialists, constitutes a basic condition for preserving world peace. The proposals by the USSR to stop the nuclear arms race will find a response among progressive forces.

Global Domination

The U.S. imperialists are simultaneously pursuing their plans for global domination using various agencies. In pursuing these plans they come into conflict with their Atlantic partners. All their

partners do not necessarily adopt the same attitude as the USA towards Afghanistan or U.S. ambitions in the Arab Gulf or the policies it pursues in Latin America. France, for instance, is officially supporting the guerrillas in El Salvador and opposing the rule of the U.S.-supported dictator.

The proposal to extend the Atlantic Treaty to West Asia is not welcomed by many partners. Not do all partners accept the USA's policy of supporting Israel against the Arabs.

The nations inhabiting the West Asian region are faced with direct war against Lebanon. And under direct instruction and incitement of the USA, Israel carried out a raid against Iraq to destroy its nuclear reactor, and has made bold to annex the Golan Heights in defiance of world public opinion.

U.S. imperialism, though it has received a rebuff in Iran, is intent on firmly planting its feet in the oil region and is making Pakistan its military base under the excuse of helping the Afghan 'freedom-fighters'.

The Soviet help to Afghanistan's progressive forces to ward off imperialist attacks is made an excuse to militarise the region.

In Central America, U.S. imperialism is not only actually involved in the murderous suppression of the struggle of the people in El Salvador, but is again threatening invasion of Cuba as well as of Nicaragua.

Hunting for the oil deposits of the oil-rich countries, the uranium resources of the underdeveloped countries, seeking domination of all the oceans to exercise their overlordship over less advanced countries, the U.S. imperialists are heading for an adventures course which may land the world in a nuclear holocaust.

Sharpened Contradiction Between Imperialism and Third World

In the background of the capitalist crisis and the capitalist path pursued by third world countries, the exploitation of these countries by the imperialist powers has increased, leading to the aggravation of the contradictions between them. The burden of debt has increased; the unfavourable terms of trade have added to the loot of these countries; the lack of guaranteed price for the produce of

these countries makes them helplessly dependent on the western capitalist countries. The penetration of transnationals leads to immense exploitation, aggravates the contradiction and leads to anti-imperialist outbursts.

El Salvador, Nicaragua, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Southern Africa, all stand testimony to the fact that the anti-imperialist forces are actively fighting the imperialists, and the latter's plans to subjugate the third world are doomed to failure. Iran, Afghanistan and the rising anti-imperialist protests in Pakistan point to the same. Syria and Libya are again standing embodiments of the resistance of the Governments and people of the newly independent countries to U.S. imperialism. Notwithstanding certain setbacks—Egypt, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Pakistan—the third world pursues the battle against imperialism with greater vigour.

Notwithstanding their independence, the newly independent countries have suffered heavily because of their tie-up with the capitalist market. The foreign debt of these countries is estimated to be in excess of 500 billion dollars and the annual payments come to 44 billion dollars. During 1970-78, according to UNCTAD, the total flow of direct investment by international monopolies amounted to 42.2 billion dollars and during the same period, transnational enterprises remitted more than 100 billion dollars by way of repatriated profits. During the same period, the USA remitted 39 billion dollars by way of profits alone on an investment of 39 billion dollars. The rate of return is estimated to be double that obtaining from similar enterprises operating at home.

No country can withstand this colossal drain. And no wonder the people of these countries are getting poorer and poorer.

The imperialists, simultaneously, have been pursuing their neo-colonialist strategy for social support in these countries. Utilising the reliance of the ruling classes in third world countries on economic aid, the neo-colonialists offer to help them in building their industries. The aim of the strategy is to seek collaboration with the local bourgeoisie for new openings for monopoly capital. Their aim is to transfer to these countries industries with outmoded technology which is profitable to them because of the cheap labour available in the third world countries. Through these means the

neo-colonialists seek to secure social support for themselves in these countries, while at the same time creating a feeling among the people that they are assisting the industrialisation of these countries. Imperialism has also been able to play on national animosities as seen in the Iraqi-Iranian conflict. But with the new aggressive moves, imperialism stands exposed in its real colours.

In their fight against loot and drain, the newly independent countries have raised the demand for a new world economic order. It is a demand for greater resources at the expense of the imperialists and for fair exchange. The third world countries facing various challenges from imperialism in the field of foreign policy and alliances, keep to the non-aligned camp and frustrate the imperialist designs.

The fight of the newly independent countries against the imperialists, their contradiction with imperialism is an integral part of the world fight for freedom, peace, democracy and socialism. This fight to be successful must be carried on with the sympathy and support of the socialist camp.

In this situation the non-aligned movement with all its zig-zags, its vacillations and hesitations, acts as a unifying factor, putting brakes on imperialist ambitions and intervention. The Governments of these countries, guided by their class interests, obviously play a vacillating role in this fight against imperialism. Unable to solve the internal social contradictions and losing their mass support, they become vulnerable to imperialist pressures.

Rift in The Socialist Camp

The Jullundur resolution had said: "The sharp divergences between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China have been and are being utilised by the imperialists. The combined military and economic strength of the two would have been the biggest deterrent to the imperialist powers and would have been instrumental in bringing about radical changes in the world situation".

People's China which is correcting the grave mistakes and distortions of the period of the "cultural revolution" is engaged in the task of restoring Leninist norms. It is a herculean task as distortions have seized almost every field of practice and outlook.

Maintaining the socialist base of the economy, correcting all the grave departures, the CPC leaders are embarking upon a plan for modernisation. The CPI(M) wishes success to China in this gigantic task of developing the socialist economy of the country. Success here will bring accession of strength to the socialist forces of the world.

The logical consequences of these internal changes and compulsions of the socialist system should lead to a change in China's foreign policy. But this has not happened so far.

While the USSR is the centre of imperialist attack, Chinese leaders also concentrate their fire against it and support the USA on several actions and manoeuvres it undertakes in pursuit of its designs for global domination and war thrust against the Soviet Union. Chinese statesmen themselves say that they are coordinating their foreign policy with U.S. foreign policy.

In pursuance of this policy, the leaders of China have called for strengthening NATO, justified the U.S. presence in the Indian Ocean, asked Japan to double its military budget, supported the U.S. against Afghanistan and the U.S. arming of Pakistan, and supported the Pol Pot clique against the people of Kampuchea. Following this line, People's China was involved in a regular war with Vietnam and found itself on the wrong side in Angola.

However, those who simply denounce People's China along with U.S. imperialism and forget that it is a socialist country serve the cause of international disunity, and bring grist to the mill of imperialism.

While China's stand must be sharply nailed down, criticism must be made with the expectation that Socialist China will overcome its present-day aberrations and take its legitimate place in the fight against imperialism and strengthen the unity of the socialist forces.

Weakness in Foreign Policy of Socialist Countries

The Jullundur congress of our Party had occasion to note the weakness in the foreign policy outlook of the ruling parties in socialist countries. It criticised them for ignoring the interests of the revolutionary forces in underdeveloped countries and placing reliance on the friendly Governments of these countries. The rulers

of some of the underdeveloped countries who adopt reactionary policies at home and oppress their people are excessively praised in the press of the socialist countries; news about the oppression of the working class and the people in these countries hardly figures in it, the working class of the socialist countries is kept in the dark about the struggles carried on by the people of these countries against their Governments, and no solidarity in the spirit of proletarian internationalism is expressed with these struggles of the people against their Governments for democracy and legitimate economic and political demands.

To sum up, all the contradictions of the period stand intensified and the ground is being laid for head-on collision. All progressive forces of the world are called upon to fight the danger of nuclear war, defend peace, frustrate the aggressive imperialist designs for global domination, and work to protect national freedom and ceaselessly strive for rapid democratic advance. The people of India face the same tasks in the context of the situation in the country.

NATIONAL SITUATION

India, whose economy is mainly linked with the capitalist world and its market, has felt the full effects of the capitalist crisis like other third world countries. This has intensified the condition of chronic crisis of the economy leading to widespread mass discontent and upheavals among the people and growing economic and political instability in the country. The dictatorial regime of the emergency days could not suppress popular discontent and could bring no stability to the country. Its rejection by the people and the installation of the Janata Government, again, naturally could not stabilise the situation. It had to quit before it had finished half its constitutional tenure. The Jullundur Congress had warned: "All democratic forces interested in eliminating the danger of dictatorship must counter the economic policies of the Janata Party and see that the workers are not mulcted in the interests of the ruling classes.

"These policies will only enhance and strengthen the forces of dictatorship, undermine the democratic unity of the masses forged in the anti-emergency struggle."

The defeat of the Janata Party and the return of Indira Gandhi to power have further accentuated the situation.

The three decades of the capitalist path pursued by the Congress Government, the same policies pursued by the shortlived Janata Government and Charan Singh Government, and now again by the Congress(I) Government have landed the country in a growing impasse.

The economic situation that has developed since the last Congress of our Party, therefore, aggravates all the earlier contradictions and adds certain new features.

Among these are a more open and direct intervention of the western imperialists in our economy and their capacity to dictate terms. This is evident in the terms and conditions agreed to by the Indira Government for the massive IMF loan that has been recently acquired. There is also a certain pull and push between the bourgeois and landlord classes which creates an unstable and tense situation.

The limping and stagnant economy has inflicted unbearable sufferings on the people during the last four years. One outstanding feature of these years has been the extremely high prices which the Janata regime also could not bring down. The high-price regime established before the Emergency continued through the Janata rule and, under the Indira regime, is now experiencing an unprecedented spurt.

The inflationary spiral has been continuing without check for nearly a decade and has become a permanent feature of the Indian economy.

The huge deficit financing of the Central Government is the main factor behind this development.

The inflationary process is further accentuated by the close links of the Indian economy with the western capitalist economies where economic recession is combined with double-digit inflation.

The high prices imposed by oil monopolists, taking advantage of the price-increases made by the oil-producing countries, have contributed further to this process. The World Bank and the

International Monetary Fund agencies are also instrumental in accentuating the inflationary spiral, through their demands on the Indian Government to raise taxation levels, raise oil and fertiliser prices, and reduce people's consumption standards.

Increased Dependence

Though attempts are made to show that there is less and less reliance on foreign 'aid' to finance the expenditure on the Plans, the reverse is true.

Utilisation of external assistance may be anywhere between Rs. 13,000 to Rs. 15,000 crore in the Sixth Plan. Estimated use of external assistance in 1980-81 was Rs. 2340 crore according to the Economic Survey, 1980-81. The burden of debt services as a percentage of exports rose to a peak 27 per cent and remained as high as 15.4 per cent in 1978-79, despite a rapid rise in the export earnings. This is the story behind the cry for more and more exports. Exports are enforced on the country to pay back foreign debts. The enforced exports and dependence on western countries lead to the unparalleled loot of the country.

The almost exclusive reliance on the western capitalist countries in export-import trade is seen from the fact that imports in 1979-80 from east European countries, including the USSR, were only 11.5 per cent of the total, and exports 9.1 per cent of the total.

The interference of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in India's economy is becoming more pronounced. The World Bank has been demanding abolition of food subsidies and pressing for reduction of the consumption standards of the people.

The Bank has been pressing India that it should go in for commercial borrowing for financing its plans.

The Bank has been pressing for abandoning the import substitution policy and for following an active export promotion policy—a policy to divert goods from the internal to the external market.

Simultaneously, it has been pressing for easier conditions for penetration of multinationals and foreign capital in general.

The IMF, in granting its loan of Rs. 5000 crore to India, has laid down even more stringent conditions than those prescribed by the World Bank.

This is its usual packet of conditions prescribed to all countries of the third world. They include abolition of subsidies on articles distributed through the public distribution system to lower the consumption standards of the masses. This is advised in the name of slashing Government expenditure. If implemented in full, these conditions will lead to a complete shutting down of the food-for-work programme. The IMF also requires that the budgetary and taxation policy, the price policy, trade policy and industrial policy should be formulated only in consultation with it and after its approval. The same holds in relation to the exchange rate policy. The Government of India has promised the IMF "a realistic policy, in regard to exchange rates."

Results of Pressurisation

These pressures have resulted in the Government of India accepting such onerous conditions and saddling the people with additional burdens.

The budget taxation, the post-budget taxation measures—a hike in prices of fertilisers and petroleum products, increase in bus fares and railway fares and electricity charges—were resorted to not only due to the economic necessity of the Government, but partially at least due to outside pressure.

The Government, above all, seems to have succumbed to the demand for withdrawal of food subsidies. Though the subsidy has not been formally withdrawn, in large parts of the country people have to buy foodgrains at a higher cost as the ration shops have no supply.

The Essential Services Maintenance Act was also one more propitiating measure of the Government to clear the way for the loan from the International Monetary Fund.

The Government has succumbed to the World Bank's demand to resort to commercial borrowings to finance the Sixth Plan and the Plan has provided for Rs. 4000 crore of commercial borrowings. For its loan of Rs. 500 crore for railway development, the World

Bank, it was admitted in Parliament, has listed the following conditions: (1) annual revision of the freight structure, rise in passenger fares, (2) computerisation *with equipment supplied by the IBM*, one of the biggest multinationals and (3) a longer tenure for the Railway Board.

The Government of India has also met the demand for better facilities for multinationals and the private sector, for promotion of increased exports at the cost of the people and for relaxation of the policy of import substitution.

The permission to expand production capacity by 25 per cent without licence regularising the unauthorised capacity, the assurance that under the convertibility clause, Government's holding will not be raised above 40 per cent, the offer to 100 per cent export-oriented units that their foreign holdings will not be reduced to 40 per cent as per FERA, and the amendment of the MRTP Act to exclude exports for the purpose of determining the dominant unit, are the measures taken to appease the pressure.

Foreign collaboration approvals, as well as those involving foreign capital participation, doubled in 1980 as compared to 1979. As in the previous year, the majority of the collaboration approvals was with three countries, the FRG, UK and USA. The spurt was due to various concessions offered to the multinationals and others in recent Government decisions.

This was done at a time when the entire third world was realising the menace to freedom and democracy represented by these agencies. The experience of Chile and other South American countries, the machinations in Asian countries had forced the U.N. to make an enquiry into the working of these citadels of economic power and political conspiracy. The third world was realising that their machinations were an instrument of neo-colonialism.

In India, the concessions were offered when the drug and other multinationals were defying Government directives regarding dilution of equity.

Their protest seems to have earned them the freedom to violate the FERA regulations and maintain 74 per cent equity holdings under the plea that they were contributing advanced technology or exporting large parts of their products.

They are so powerful that neither the Janata Government nor the Indira Government dared implement the recommendations of the Hathi Committee to nationalise the concerns of the drug multinationals.

Recently the Government has started inviting petro-dollars. The search for petro-dollars from and joint ventures with countries with reactionary regimes bespeak a dangerous situation.

The Jullundur Congress gave an unambiguous directive in this connection: "It is the duty of the Party to rouse the people to this danger on all occasions and thwart the machinations of the multinationals and the World Bank and defeat the policies which enable them to penetrate our economy."

This reliance on the western world increases in spite of valuable aid from and trade relations with the socialist countries—above all the Soviet Union. The rupee agreements with the USSR have been of great help to increase the trade between the two countries. The Soviet Union renders valuable help to the Indian economy by buying goods at critical times. Besides, it has been helping to build India's key industries and supporting it with products vital for running the economy.

It was correctly stated in our Party's Programme document: "With the emergence of the world socialist system, while utilising socialist aid for building certain heavy industries it (the big bourgeoisie) actually uses it to strike more favourable deals with the imperialists." Despite assistance of key importance from the socialist countries, the most glaring fact of our economic life today is that the country's economy as a whole is, in many respects, precariously dependent on western assistance and particularly U.S. assistance. Enmeshed in the capitalist path, unable to institute radical land reform, the country under the bourgeois-landlord rule is unable to use socialist help for overcoming dependence on the west.

The Crisis Of The Economy

The crisis of the capitalist path is revealed, apart from the economy's growing dependence, in several other features.

From the start, the Sixth Plan is affected by the consequences of the crisis. Its targets became unattainable immediately after they

were declared. The real size of the Plan is already cut because of the steep rise in prices and inflation. And considering that the Government will continue to resort to increased deficit financing in the Plan period, the Plan will continue to be eroded. In fact, with the conditions imposed by the IMF loan, it will be totally irrelevant and will have to be formally given up.

The Chief Ministers of West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura exposed the class character of the Plan and its increased dependence on foreign aid at a meeting of the National Development Council early in 1981. They pointed out that there was only a stray reference to land reforms in the entire document and almost total lack of awareness of the close relationship between the growth of peasants' output and change in the land relations. They correctly warned that the Plan would result in increasing inequalities in the distribution of incomes and assets, and increasing unemployment, and all this in order that exports might take place and foreign exchange might be earned for the sake of sustaining and furthering a most iniquitous social and class structure. The crisis of the capitalist path is expressed in this criticism of the Plan.

The failure to undertake radical land reforms and distribute land to the tiller, both of the Congress(I) and the Janata Governments, the refusal to redeem the promises made to the peasants earlier and the systematic exploitation of the peasants and agricultural workers through inflation, high prices of industrial goods and low wages—all have sharpened the agrarian crisis leading to tumultuous movements.

The exploitation of agricultural workers, in the absence of distribution of land and any genuine legislation to protect their wage standards, has reached unprecedented limits. Whatever limited legislation there may be in some states, the Government far from implementing it, actually suppresses the agricultural labourers whenever they rise for its implementation.

The outburst of peasant-anger was seen on the question of remunerative prices; official price-policies all these years consisted of exercising some control over the urban cost of food by depriving the mass of peasants of a fair price for their produce through manipulation of procurement purchases and other means, while

allowing the monopolists, hoarders and speculators to reap high profits. Now there is an outburst of discontent against it.

The economy is unable to utilise the available industrial capacity. The Sixth Plan observes: "Recent trends in capacity utilisation in several industries are discouraging. This is also true of agriculture. For example, the irrigation potential which has been created is not fully utilised. Levels of yield per acre for many parts of the country are far below what can be attained with known technology."

Sickness in industry grows. According to the latest figures of the Reserve Bank of India, at the end of December 1980, as much as Rs. 2064.27 crore of credit from the banks and Government financial institutions were locked up in sick industrial units compared to just Rs. 1283.43 crore of bank credit locked up in such units at the end of June 1979. This exceeds the value of the total investment in the public sector under the department of heavy industry. According to returns received by the Reserve Bank from commercial banks, the number of sick units in the large, medium and small scale sectors was as high as 25, 423. The Economic Survey (1980-81) observed, "Industrial sickness involving both large-scale and small-scale industries is a matter of serious concern."

More and more people are being pushed below the poverty line. The officially declared figure places 48 per cent of the people—more than 30 crore of our people—below the poverty line. This is an underestimate, for, according to earlier official figures, the percentage of people below the poverty line had already increased to 61 per cent in 1973-74 from 43 per cent in 1968-69.

The Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee, which submitted its report in 1978, revealed that the proportion of agricultural labour households increased by 49 per cent in less than ten years, small and marginal farmers having been evicted and forced to join the ranks of labourers.

The process of mass eviction from land continues to be a feature of the crisis and the capitalist path.

The most palpable manifestation of the crisis is the threat of mounting unemployment. There were 22.1 million unemployed at the end of the Fifth Plan, an official figure which is an underestimate. New entrants in the labour market will number 32

million, leaving a backlog of 24.2 million. In reality, the figure will be much higher, not less than 40 million, because the claim to find 30 million jobs cannot be substantiated. The number of educated jobless alone is expected to rise to 11.85 million in 1985.

Registered unemployment has grown at an annual rate of 10.6 per cent between 1974-75 and 1980-81. The growth between 1979-80 and 1980-81 is 13.3 per cent (*Commerce*, August 22, 1981). This rapidly deteriorating situation is further worsened by the growing collapse of housing in urban and rural areas.

Of the total urban population, nearly a fifth is estimated to constitute the slum population. In 1985, the magnitude of such population needing housing accommodation is estimated to be about 37 million. For these the capitalist-path planners will provide 21 lakh houses, the rest being left to the private sector, i.e., to the slums.

It is estimated that the number of families in rural areas needing housing assistance would be around 14.5 million. Of these, 7.7 million families have already been allotted house-sites: of the families who have been provided with house-sites, only about 0.56 million have been given construction assistance.

Side by side with the crisis of the economy and the rising impoverishment grows concentration of capital in the hands of a few. Land concentration continues as before despite the advertised measures of the Government. Three per cent of the holders own 26 per cent of the land. The public sector functions as a bureaucratically managed sector serving private capital.

The mounting prices inflict intense suffering on all sections of the people. The sufferings of the workers in unorganised industries, of agricultural workers and peasants are the most acute.

The Government with its policy of wage-freeze, its proposal for compulsory deposit of D.A., opposition to remunerative prices for the peasants, refusal of guarantee of decent wage to agricultural workers, its attack on the so-called high-wage islands and its banning of strikes, seeks to transfer the burdens of the crisis to the common man while giving concessions to the landlords, monopolists, multinationals and big traders.

The country's food distribution system stands endangered. This may result in reduced rationing in the urban areas and creation of starvation in rural areas.

Besides, this means that the Government will have hardly any food stocks for the food-for-work programme which offered some relief to the poorest section of the rural population.

Changed Circumstances

Four years ago, when our Tenth Congress was held, the authoritarian party stood deposed from power, defeated and rejected by the people in an open election.

The Jullundur Congress did not say that the fight against dictatorship was over with the parliamentary defeat of the Congress(I). It said, "The fight against imposition of open dictatorship will be a continuing fight because the electoral defeat of the Congress has not led to the defeat of the classes which generate the climate of dictatorship. The interests of the monopolies and landlords demand a curtailment of people's rights to the point of dictatorship, especially when recession is intense, the capacity to make concessions the least and the masses are in a rebellious mood. The growing dependence of the economy on the western imperialists and the world capitalist market, and the invitation to multinationals strengthen the forces of dictatorship. So long as the domination of the monopolists, big bourgeoisie and landlords continues to hold the Indian economy in its grip, attempts will be made by one combination or another to install dictatorship to make its rule viable".

Today, the party which imposed the emergency in 1975 and imposed a one-party dictatorial rule over the country, is again back in power. The confrontation between the ruling party and the people now takes place under changed conditions.

These include accentuation of the contradiction between imperialism and the Indian people; attack of internal divisive forces; intensified conflict between the ruling party and the opposition bourgeois-landlord parties; push and pull between the bourgeoisie and landlords; and the increased strength of Left. unity.

Contradiction With Imperialism

Imperialist intervention in economic matters has been increasing and is endangering the independence of our economy.

Armed with this arm-twisting power, the USA and its agencies are using all means to undermine the political unity of the country.

The North-Eastern region of the country, undermined by foreign Christian missions and other imperialist agencies, is strongly influenced by secessionist forces. The imperialist hand behind the Assam agitation is clearly evident.

Some foreign Christian missions carry on the same separatist propaganda inside the interior tribal areas; imperialist agencies, through their obscurantist friends abroad, are using the Islamic fundamentalist appeal to create separatism and propagate that Muslims are a separate nation.

Imperialists also help with finance groups like the Anand Margis against the Left forces. The Amra Bangalees organised by the Anand Margis were used in Tripura to organise riots and attempts were made to use them in West Bengal.

On the North-Western border some extremist elements among the Sikhs have raised the separatist slogan of Khalistan. Here, again, the hand of foreign imperialist agencies is clearly discernible.

Along with this comes the challenge to India's freedom and integrity from outside. U.S. imperialism seeks to surround India with a ring of hostile Governments relying on the reactionary forces in neighbouring countries.

The recent changes in Sri Lanka which has conceded a naval base to the USA and the consolidation of US imperialism in Bangladesh are warning signals. But the USA puts its main reliance on the military rulers of Pakistan to create a threat of war and aggression against India.

The USA is turning a blind eye to the production of the nuclear bomb in Pakistan while refusing to carry out the Tarapore agreement for supply of uranium, demanding that India should accept international controls and subordinate its nuclear research and development to the inspection of the USA.

It has struck a three-billion dollar deal with Pakistan which includes the supply of F-16 combat planes and sophisticated missiles, which are required for purposes of aggression and attacks.

A deal is also afoot to supply Pakistan with the latest supersonic class destroyer which, like the F-16 aircraft, is equipped with missiles which could strike at any part of India.

The CPI(M) takes serious note of these developments and is determined to rally all the patriotic forces in defence of the unity and freedom of the country, to foil the aggressive designs of imperialism and the adventures of the military regime of Pakistan.

It is essential for freedom and democracy in both the countries that neither Government plays the game of the U.S. imperialists in the sub-continent.

The CPI(M) extends its fullest solidarity to the people of Pakistan and Bangladesh who, facing the most brutal repression of reactionary regimes, are fighting courageously for the restoration of democracy in their countries.

In spite of the opportunist stand of certain bourgeois opposition parties on issues of foreign policy, a broad base for anti-imperialist resistance including these parties can be built in the country with the intensification of the imperialist challenge to our freedom.

The immediate aim of the military and other pressures is to weaken the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation which is a big lever to ward off imperialist military pressures and defeat aggression. The Party must do everything to strengthen the treaty, fight its detractors and explain to the people its importance for the defence of the country.

Attitude To People's China

The struggle to focus attention on the criminal designs of the USA is complicated by the stand of the People's Republic of China which helps U.S. designs.

A victim of the theory of social-imperialism, of the understanding that the USSR is more dangerous than the USA, the Government of People's China pursues a policy of isolating the USSR in this region and weakening the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation.

For the CPI(M), on the other hand, the protection and strengthening of the Treaty is a must if U.S. conspiracies are to be fought.

Our Party denounces U.S. military aid to Pakistan's military rulers as a part of the U.S. game to play Asians against Asians, as part of its conspiracy against our freedom. The Government of People's China takes a diametrically opposite stand and supports U.S. military aid to Pakistan. With the experience of the three wars between the two countries, the CPI(M) cannot show complacency on this issue. While fighting these present-day aberrations of Chinese policy, the Party does not forget that China is a socialist country. The Party earnestly hopes that strengthening of the socialist system in China will enable People's China to take its place as a frank fighter against imperialism in cooperation with other socialist countries.

It is encouraging that efforts are being made both from India and China to normalise the relations between the two countries. The CPI(M) has always called for friendly relations between India and China and welcomes all steps towards normalisation.

Indira Government's Foreign Policy

On several issues of foreign policy, the Indira Gandhi Government takes a correct stand in conformity with the concept of non-alignment and opposition to imperialism.

The Government's stand on Afghanistan, notwithstanding some equivocation, is sober and obstructs the U.S. designs against Afghanistan.

This stand the Government continued to maintain despite intense pressure from certain non-aligned countries of West Asia. Similarly, its stand on Kampuchea and in support of fighting Vietnam is in line with the spirit of non-alignment, and helps to frustrate U.S. designs. The Government maintained this stand despite Chinese support to the opposite side, and despite the pressure of the non-aligned movement from South-East Asia and other regions.

The Government's offer of friendship to Pakistan and Bangladesh, and its preparedness to settle disputes amicably, are in conformity with the interests of the people of the sub-continent.

Its anxiety about the defence of the country is justified in view of the U.S. machinations in the neighbouring countries.

As against this, pressed from all sides and not wanting to give offence to the USA, the voice of the Government is mute and unconvincing on many other vital issues of importance to the country. Its repeated reference to "two superpowers" in connection with the Indian Ocean is nothing but equating friend and foe. Its consent to drop all mention of Diego Garcia from the statement of the Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers' Conference, again, showed its vacillations on a vital point.

The "two superpowers" ideology, equating the imperialist USA and socialist USSR, screens U.S. imperialist war moves in various parts of the world. It leads to balancing between friend and foe and helps the real enemy of India to cover its designs. It encourages the anti-Soviet pro-U.S. lobby in the country.

Vacillations of the ruling party in relation to foreign policy will increase because of the heavier dependence of the economy on the western world. Besides, the ruling party, which is growingly getting isolated from the people, is unable to expose and frustrate imperialist machinations and rouse the people in defence of the country.

Its anti-people economic policies alienate the people. The Prime Minister's attacks on the Left-led Governments even while she speaks of external dangers also alienate the people. All this weakens the defence of the country.

It is an urgent task of the CPI(M) and the Left and democratic forces to fight against the vacillations in foreign policy, to expose and unmask the designs of the imperialists and strengthen the anti-imperialist feeling among the people.

It is equally important that the sentiments of friendship that exist between India and the socialist countries are further deepened and strengthened and all efforts to placate the imperialists by relaxing this friendship are exposed and defeated.

Fight Against Opportunism and Anti-Sovietism

In waging an irreconcilable struggle for a foreign policy based on opposition to imperialism, the CPI(M) and the Left and democratic forces will have to counter the opportunism of certain bourgeois-landlord parties, and the basically deep anti-Soviet and anti-Communist policies of the BJP. The Janata and some other bourgeois parties took an opportunist stand on the issues of Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Vietnam, and took anti-Soviet positions.

The BJP has used the Afghan and Kampuchean issues to lambast the USSR. The BJP persistently advocates an anti-Soviet line in the name of pursuing a policy of real non-alignment.

The anti-non-alignment sorties of the BJP are directed towards undermining the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperations—the objective of U.S. foreign policy-makers.

Loss of Credibility

The credibility of the ruling party is compromised by the inner-crisis of the party and the incompetence that dogs it. There is total absence of democracy in the party, with no elections held at any level in the last twelve years, and one leader having complete supremacy over the party. The ruling party has specialised in getting incompetent people to function its Ministries—central and state.

The electoral base of the ruling party is getting narrower as was seen in the recent by-elections.

In West Bengal, the Congress shunned the municipal elections; participated in the Assembly by-elections without any degree of confidence and was not prepared to face the Secondary Education Board elections. Its cry of boycott comes when it is sure of losing the electoral contest. The isolation of the party hastens its efforts for a Presidential form of rule.

Corruption and unscrupulousness spread their stench in the activities of the Chief Ministers.

Nothing beats the record of Antulay, former Chief Minister of Maharashtra, who used his official position to collect huge amounts for trusts, one of which was named after the Prime Minister. This was perhaps the biggest corruption scandal that

shook India after the Mundhra scandal of the sixties and the Maruti scandal of the seventies.

In this situation, Indira Gandhi relies more and more on trusted men of the bureaucracy and sycophants in the party. The circle of real rulers gets narrower and narrower in the process of the establishment of the dictatorship.

The ruling party is, therefore, inevitably proceeding towards this objective under a facade of promises to the contrary.

Features of Acute Crisis

Certain features of the acute crisis of the system must be noted.

It is represented by a general breakdown of law and order which affects the mass of ordinary people not involved in political and economic movements.

The spontaneous anger of the people against this breakdown of law and order rises and they surround police stations demanding punishment of guilty officials for their collusion with gangsters or their attacks on the people.

These are not outbursts of hunger. They are protests against the general breakdown of the administration, and draw in the ordinary mass of people unconnected with political activities.

A feature of the deteriorating situation and the acute crisis is the growing collusion between the police, the bureaucracy and the anti-socials. This has increased in the year and a half since Indira Gandhi's return to power.

Another feature of the situations is the links between the anti-socials and the politicians of the ruling party. In fact, the Sanjay brigade typified this collusion.

Yet another feature of the intensified crisis is the complete inability of the Ministers, the ruling party and elected representatives to keep the bureaucracy, especially the police, under control.

Leave aside graft, the authorities are unable to take action against those who are guilty of loot, rape or murder. It is known that the police often murder arrested persons and report their deaths as deaths in armed encounters.

The image of a police state run with the aid of the storm troopers of the ruling party is slowly emerging in view, notwithstanding repeated assurances against imposition of an emergency rule.

The Drive For Dictatorship

With the worsening economic situation and the growing anger of the people, the ruling party strives to crush all manifestation of discontent with the utmost severity. Its reliance on police methods, on the bureaucracy, on lawless operations of the administration grows every day.

The drive against the common people is accompanied by new weapons to curb and repress the democratic movement and forces.

The National Security Act is a draconian legislation of the Emergency days which makes short work of individual liberty.

Following this, the Government has enacted the Essential Services Maintenance Act banning strikes, attacking the freedom of the trade union movement, and the right to organisation. This, again, is nothing but the re-enactment of the provisions of the emergency days.

Stealthily and slowly, the Government is intimidating the press and introducing some kind of censorship of news. Its agencies and the ruling party attack press exposures, hold out threats of reprisal to stop the voice of the press. Courageous correspondents and editors are attacked by hooligan hirelings of the ruling party (Orissa, Karnataka).

In the most shameless manner, the Government is censoring the mail of private citizens, under an outdated British Act, and the Speaker of the Lok Sabha justifies even the censoring of the mail of MPs.

The status of MPs and MLAs as representatives of the people has become irrelevant and superfluous. The real rulers of the people, the men responsible for the political well-being of the Indira regime, are the police officials. The ruling party with its majority in most of the state Assemblies and Parliament is reducing all parliamentary functioning to a farce.

The formal non-partisan functioning of the presiding officers has been virtually given up. The presiding officers are being drawn into the turmoil of daily conflict between the opposition and the ruling party, to the disadvantage of the former.

The way in which questions are answered, Ministers give information, motions are disallowed, all speak of a deliberate design to run the parliamentary bodies as an engine of one-party rule.

The scant respect shown to the opposition, the revolting justification of the corruption and crimes of the ruling party offered by its Ministers, bring discredit to representative institutions, show what is in store under authoritarian one-party rule.

The drive for dictatorship includes growing attacks on the constitutional powers of the states and concentration of powers at the centre. The centre arbitrarily intervenes on several issues which are within the exclusive power of the states. There are plans to add new items to the concurrent list. These attacks on the powers of the states are to be resisted as part of the struggle against the forces of dictatorship, and expansion of the powers of the states is to be demanded.

The ruling party directs its fire against the judiciary, especially the Supreme Court, where a number of judges uphold democratic norms and defend the fundamental rights of the people.

The doctrine of non-changeability of the basic character of the constitution propounded by the Supreme Court comes in the way of arbitrary changes of the constitution. The executive is determined to blow up this doctrine after securing a majority in its favour on the Supreme Court benches through new appointments.

It is also determined to reduce the judiciary to the status of a subordinate agency—one which will serve its ends to impose the presidential system and accept its unlimited power to tamper with the constitution.

The fight against these attempts to create a subservient judiciary forms an integral part of the fight against the imposition of one-party rule and provides the widest possible common platform of resistance.

The second objective, a presidential form of Government, is also being relentlessly pursued. There is every danger that Indira Gandhi may succeed in reaching it through "constitutional" means, unless public opinion is roused against it.

The constitutional changes required for the purpose can be brought about once the ruling party gets the requisite two-thirds majority in the Rajya Sabha which may be possible next year after the election to the Upper House.

That is why appeal to the masses is required to combat successfully this treacherous move.

The fight against the drive for a presidential form of Government once again makes possible the widest broad-based resistance involving bourgeois opposition parties also.

The presidential system that is advocated in opposition to the present parliamentary system is nothing but the embodiment of one-party rule, one-party dictatorship, and ultimately the personal dictatorship of the leader of the party. It will subordinate the legislature, the fundamental rights and liberties of the people and the freedom of opposition parties to the will of the executive. The working class and the people are vitally interested in preserving the present-day liberties so that they can march forward and extend them.

Attacks Against Left-led Ministries

The continuing fight between the authoritarian and democratic forces found expression in the repeated attacks of the Congress(I) Government on the Left-led Ministries.

The Congress(I) unscrupulously used slanders and lies, joined hands with other reactionary forces and organised violence with the aid of anti-social gangs to create law and order problems in these states.

In April, the Congress(I) gave a call for bandh in West Bengal and unleashed incendiary violence in Calcutta.

The State Congress(S) organisation in West Bengal also took a hand in the anti-Ministry campaign, lending a helping hand to the Congress(I) slanders and agitations, and accusing the CPI(M) of high-handedness, assaults, etc.

In Tripura also, the Left Front Ministry was under continuous pressure from the centre and the Congress(I).

The centre misused its power and starved the two states of supplies of essential articles including food.

In Tripura, besides, the Congress(I) elements entered into an open alliance with a secessionist tribal group which, encouraged by help from across the borders, was organising assaults and raids on Tripura's citizens. It also joined hands with the anti-tribal Amra Bangalee organisation and the Anand Margis.

In Kerala, the Congress(I) was exploiting RSS and Naxalite activities to undermine the coalition Ministry and malign it all over the country. Indira Gandhi, during her visits to Kerala, would not utter a word against the murder campaign of the RSS. Violent activities of the Naxalites were exploited to condemn the Ministry and make out a case for collapse of law and order.

Along with these open campaigns, the Congress(I) Government at the centre misused its powers to stall presidential assent to a number of bills passed by the Assemblies of the three states. In particular, now, there are a number of West Bengal and four Kerala bills awaiting assent for a long time. The all-important Land Reforms Amendment Bill of the West Bengal Government was assented to after an inordinate delay.

The authoritarian party realises that final enactment and implementation of these measures will have a big impact on the people of all states, revealing to them in the concrete the alternative policies of the Left and exposing the pro-vested interest policies of the Congress(I) state Governments.

Congress(I) Defeated

The Congress(I) and the central Government met with repeated defeats in their attempt to overthrow the Left-led Ministries.

The survival and continuance of these Ministries, in the midst of a deep crisis of the economy and after the return of Indira Gandhi to power, constitute a signal achievement of India's democratic forces locked in a combat with the forces of dictatorship.

These advanced outposts of democracy have succeeded in weathering the storm because of the wide sympathy of the democratic forces with them, the Party's efforts to harness broad resistance to authoritarianism and a general sense of awareness among the advanced sections all over the country that the existence of these Ministries is connected with the survival of parliamentary norms.

This support, of course, would have been unthinkable without the achievements of these Ministries, their alternative policies, their defence of the democratic rights of the people.

Those who thought that with the return to power of Indira Gandhi the fate of these Ministries was automatically sealed, underestimated the strength of the democratic forces, of the opposition to authoritarianism.

The existence and performance of the Left-oriented Ministries contribute immensely to the consolidation of the democratic forces in the country, to the fight against authoritarianism, and strengthen Left unity.

They play a role far beyond the confines of their states.

The Resignation Of The Kerala Ministry

What the Congress(I) was unable to achieve through its slanderous propaganda, its exploitation of the activities of the RSS and the Naxalities, was achieved by the defection of a section of the Congress(S) from the Ministry, followed by the desertion of the Kerala Congress(Mani).

In reality, the Kerala Left-Democratic Front Ministry was not a coalition of Left parties, but a coalition of Left parties with certain bourgeois opposition parties. Its constituents could not be expected to display the same unity of common purpose that was expected of a Left Front Ministry.

The coalition of several parties inflicted a defeat on the Congress(I) in the Assembly election in January 1980, and contributed to the struggle of the democratic forces against the forces of authoritarianism. But the class bias of these parties prevented them from identifying themselves with the policies and measures undertaken by the Ministry in the interests of the people, policies which were agreed to in the common electoral platform.

These two parties, especially the Congress(S), were using their position in the Government to block the implementation of such democratic policies as decentralisation of power from the state to District Councils, disbursement of pensions to over two lakh agricultural workers, democratic functioning of the labour department.

The propaganda of the Congress(S) directed against the functioning of the home department and the cry about the breakdown of law and order were in reality a demand that the

police should be used to suppress the workers and the common people and to protect the vested interests.

The defection of a section of the Kerala unit of the Congress(S) from the Left-Democratic Front does not end the necessity for constant and continuing efforts to build broader unity against the forces of authoritarianism.

Bourgeois Opposition Parties And Anti-Authoritarian Resistance

It is inevitable that with these attacks on parliamentary democracy, and with the ruling party determined to impose the presidential system, wide sections of the people including bourgeois opposition parties should contribute to the fight in defence of democracy.

With the intensity of the economic crisis, the conflict between the ruling and opposition bourgeois parties for getting possession of the governmental machinery gets intensified. This conflict continues to intensify and extend.

The Political Resolution adopted by the Jullundur Congress stated: "The Party must make every effort to mobilise the broadest possible support for these demands so that the full strength of democratic resistance is pitted against the authoritarian forces. The elements, groups, sections and individuals supporting these democratic changes, may not support the economic programme either of the Party or of the Left and democratic front. Nonetheless, in so far as they throw their weight in favour of this platform, they will be contributing to the fight against the forces of dictatorship.

"Their political support may be varying and vacillating; in the struggle against the forces of dictatorship, it is essential to draw elements even from the ruling classes and their parties who are prepared to take an anti-authoritarian stand so that the struggle for democracy reaches the widest sections of the people."

This understanding of the Tenth Party Congress was borne out by subsequent developments.

Notwithstanding the initial disarray of the opposition parties with the return to power of Indira Gandhi, the urge for common

opposition continued to increase and it was strengthened by the determined mass struggles that were breaking out.

But there have been vacillations, hesitations and confusion in these parties. The Jullundur Resolution stated it would be difficult for any bourgeois party to maintain its unity.

The period, therefore, saw a series of defections from some of these parties to the Congress(I). There was also at one time a process of defections from the Congress(I). The Congress(U) now has seen the defection of Chavan, Jagjivan Ram, and is facing further defections. The Janata is marking time unable to take any initiative because of inner conflicts. The Lok Dal had its inner differences with threats of expulsion of prominent leaders.

The BJP is intervening in the day-to-day issues affecting the people. The bourgeois press gives it more publicity to project it as an alternative to the Congress(I). The BJP with its hard RSS core is playing a treacherous game. In its hunt to acquire the status of an alternative to the Congress(I), it unscrupulously supports Congress(I) candidates where its candidates have no chance. It adopted these tactics in the 1980 elections. It also supported the Congress(I) candidate against Bahuguna in the Garhwal Lok Sabha by-election.

In recent by-elections, the BJP and other bourgeois opposition parties showed their incapacity to present a united electoral opposition to the Congress(I). Chastened by their reverses there is again a move to come together. Leaders of some of these parties think of coordinating activities bypassing the Left parties and forces.

The Party's struggle for mobilising broad resistance took various forms in recent months.

The Six Parties' Convention emerging at a time when the morale of the bourgeois opposition parties was at a low level, did good service to the cause of broad mobilisation and rousing the people to activity.

Under its impulse, statewide conventions were held in Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab and joint demonstrations against price-rise, demonstrations before Assemblies were planned.

In Karnataka, the CPI(M), CPI. Congress(S) and Lok Dal leaders met and formed the Progressive Democratic Front, which gave an impetus to the kisan movement in the state and to united actions on various fronts.

But some members of the Six Parties' Convention began to show vacillations. The conservative leaders in many parties, Charan Singh, Chavan, were not keen on going along with the Left.

Their hesitation coincided with the rise of mass discontent and especially the peasant unrest. But the Six Parties' Convention had given a momentum to the movement which could not be checked.

The increased conflict between the bourgeois opposition parties and the ruling party is daily seen in Parliament and the state Assemblies. This has led to a common stand of all opposition parties—Left and bourgeois opposition parties—on important issues raised in Parliament.

The conflict is further seen in the widespread exposure of the Government, its agencies and the ruling party by the bourgeois press itself. Not a day passes without the press coming out with sensational exposures of Government policies, its economic policies, its deals with foreign institutions, and, above all, corruption and misuse of official positions and breakdown of law and order.

Just as in the days prior to the emergency, the Government is lashed on every failure and weakness.

Parliament, especially, has become an important forum for the defence of the rights of the citizens and exposure of the ruling party.

On the issue of the NSA, on the issue of the ESMA, on the question of dismissal of Governments and unseating of State Ministries, on the question of taxation and high prices and, above all, on corruption in high places, the Government stands isolated.

Till now these opposition parties have refused to lend their support to the Congress(I) to destabilise the Left-led Ministries.

Not that individually they have not clashed with the CPI(M) and the Ministries headed by it. Their state constituents have repeatedly slandered the Party and thus helped the Congress(I) against the Left Front Ministry in West Bengal and the coalition

Ministry in Kerala, but their all-India units have refrained from endorsing such a stand. Now a section of the Kerala unit of the Congress(S) has walked out of the Kerala front and coalition. These parties show vacillations and contradictory trends. The Congress(S) was a coalition partner in Kerala, while its West Bengal wing stands opposed to the Party.

Despite these vacillations, the fear of the Left of some of their leaders, both inside and outside Parliament, the broad resistance to authoritarianism is growing and continuing to grow.

The platform of broad resistance in today's condition consists of (1) opposition to the presidential form of Government, (2) the fight against plans to make the judiciary totally subservient to the executive, (3) against attacks on civil liberties and fundamental rights, (4) withdrawal of the NSA and ESMA, (5) deletion of the existing provision in the constitution providing for preventive detention and the anti-democratic provisions of the 42nd Constitutional Amendment Act that still remain, (6) right to recall to be provided for in the Constitution as also proportional representation and voting age to be brought down to eighteen years.

The Six Parties' Convention on the issue of communal harmony, civil liberties and price-rise gave an impetus to joint mass actions.

The outstanding result of the joint mass activity of mass organisations led by several parties and involving these parties was the historic Kisan March of March 26.

The achievements of the kisan agitation in several states, sponsored by several parties, and the formation of the Central Kisan Coordination Committee were very important successes of joint mass action.

Throughout this period, the independent mass activities of the Party have been on the increase. Along with calls for one-day strike for immediate demands of the workers, demonstrations against unemployment, against price-rise, organised singly or jointly by Left parties, there have been huge agitations against raising bus fares, also with several other political parties, in which students and the mass of people participated, leading to police firings. There

have been massive joint demonstrations before and even gheraos of the Assemblies.

The Party seized this link of growing discontent in several states and, basing itself on it, was able to advance the task of involving several parties and their mass organisations.

Achievements Of Left-led Ministries

The anti-authoritarian struggle is immensely helped by the big achievements of the three Left-led Ministries which have placed the Left forces in an advantageous position.

These Governments have loyally served the common man, protected democratic rights and thrown the weight of their administration on the side of the exploited in economic struggles.

Under the Left-led Ministries, both the Muslim minority and the Harijans are well protected, there are no communal riots. In their place, there is amity and friendship between different communities. Atrocities on Harijans do not take place.

Civil liberties and democratic rights are ensured and the workers' right to strike is protected. This right is ensured to state Government employees also. They have refused to implement preventive detention measures.

There is no police intervention against striking workers and the people, to support the capitalists. The sharecroppers, agricultural workers, peasants, all are having a new deal with their interests fully protected.

The Left Front Government of West Bengal has the magnificent record of fulfilling most of the 36 pledges it made to the people. Workers in all branches of industry have been helped to win substantial wage-increases and bonus. Government employees have been given new pay-scales and they have been accorded full trade union rights. In rural areas, the wages of agricultural workers have been enhanced, 1.75 million acres of land has been distributed to the rural poor, the 'Operation Barga' and amendments to the Land Reforms Act have ensured that no sharecropper can be legally deprived of land or his share of the produce; they have been provided with cheap credit facilities. Land tax has been restructured

eliminating its colonial character. The new Land Reforms Amendment Bill which seeks to plug the loopholes which enabled the big landlords to circumvent the ceiling provision, has, after inordinate delay, received presidential assent. The Left Front Government's efficient implementation of the food-for-work programme has been widely acclaimed. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have received special attention from the Government in all matters including housing.

The Government has restored the proper academic atmosphere in educational institutions which had been vitiated during the earlier regime. Education has been made free up to Class XII.

The Government is paying unemployment relief, pensions to aged poor peasants.

The Left-Democratic Front Government of Kerala created an impressive record in maintaining the best public distribution system in the country. During the Onam festival season, prices normally shoot up beyond control. But during the two Onams during the LDF regime, all the essential articles including vegetables and cloth, were supplied to the people at cheap prices through public distribution outlets. This acted as a check on the open market itself.

Under the LDF Government's labour policy, the emoluments of the workers and employees went up and they were able to get their bonus without strikes and struggles. Pensions were sanctioned for agricultural workers, old people and widows. Unemployment allowance was granted. Relief was given to workers in the crisis-ridden traditional industries like cashew, coir and handloom. Fishermen were helped to form cooperatives and given financial and other help. Peasants got relief from indebtedness.

For the first time, in Tripura, the Left Front Government satisfied the demands of the tribal people in regard to the enactment for the Tribal Autonomous District Council, recognition of the tribal language Kok Borak and, to the extent possible, restoration of the land that had been alienated from them by non-tribals.

Under the Left Front Government, the burden of revenue and taxes and debts on the weaker sections has been removed; education for children has been made free at all stages; the wage rates of

daily labourers and agricultural workers have been enhanced and sufficient work has been provided to them under the food-for-work programme. The rural poor have been drawn into cooperatives and successful efforts are being made to eliminate the grip of the usurious moneylenders, dishonest traders and contractors on the rural areas.

Activities In The States

The concentrated attack on the Left-led Ministries headed by the CPI(M) was directed towards curbing the growing strength and prestige of the CPI(M). This was necessary for the ruling party, because the CPI(M) was acting as the initiator and coordinator of the several struggles in the country that were breaking out in a growing confrontation between the Congress(I) Government and the people. The confrontation started growing soon after the resumption of power by the Congress(I) and it was seen in the widespread mass struggles since 1980.

The Party and the Left forces put their imprint on these struggles. The Party's decision to pay attention to the Hindi-speaking areas resulted in widespread mass mobilisation for all-India demonstrations. Rajasthan, Bihar, U.P., Madhya Pradesh and Haryana sent thousands to the Kisan March, and again to the students' and youth march. Again, for the mass working class demonstration against the ESMA, Delhi and its neighbouring Hindi areas could rally thousands of workers. Continuous trade union and student and youth activities have been a feature of these areas. Prolonged strike struggles extending over months have been fought in U.P., Haryana, Rajasthan, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Punjab. Independent activities of mass organisations led by us, as well as joint mass actions with others, have brought these areas into action on a much bigger scale than before. In Maharashtra, there has been continuous joint activity of six political parties—on kisan demands, the long march and several other issues and, recently, on the corruption of the Chief Minister. There have been huge rallies and protest strikes organised jointly by trade unions. The understanding between the Left forces is being strengthened with a closer understanding between the CPI(M), CPI and the Peasants' and Workers' Party.

In Karnataka, the Kisan Sabha joined the peasant struggle. The State Committee took the lead by holding a worker-peasant rally on December 21, 1980. The CITU has forged ahead struggling for joint actions and unity facing severe repression.

In Andhra Pradesh, the CPI(M) has been taking constant initiative in forging common action leading to a growing understanding between the CPI(M) and the CPI. The rout of the Congress(I) in the Vijayawada Corporation election was the result of this incessant struggle. In Andhra Pradesh, besides, the CPI(M) makes every effort to forge common understanding in the legislature against the Government.

In Punjab, the CPI(M), in cooperation with the CPI and the Akali Dal, was able to launch several mass agitations including the demonstration before the Assembly. The Akali Dal also participated enthusiastically in the Kisan March. In recent months a section of the Akali Dal leadership is taking an opportunist attitude on the question of Khalistan. It also took a similar position on the question of Amritsar being declared a holy city. The CPI(M) dissociating itself from these opportunist trends, continues the task of working for the unity of the Left and democratic forces.

In Bihar, the CPI(M) is facing a very difficult situation. The breakdown of law and order is widespread in the state, no one knowing where the bureaucracy ends and the criminals take over. The collusion between the landed interests and the administration and the anti-social elements—dacoits and others—is patent in the villages of the state. It shows that the conflict of agrarian interests has reached a high pitch of intensity in the state. Party members have to struggle against this reality when they organise the peasants and agricultural workers. Struggling against assaults, attacks and murders, the CPI(M) is developing closer understanding with the CPI and other Left parties and is at the same time working for a broader understanding between the Left and other parties. The Party and the mass organisations led by it sent the largest contingents to all the all-India marches.

The Party in Assam has been in the forefront in fighting the secessionist challenge and defending national unity against attacks inspired by U.S. agencies. Our comrades had to bear the brunt of

the attack of the reactionaries. Many of them were maimed and murdered. But our Party continued to uphold the banner of national unity against the secessionists. The CPI(M) was able to secure the support of all the Left parties—the CPI, RSP, RCPI and others—and was able to offer united resistance to the reactionary leaders of the movement. The CPI(M) refused to join hands with the bourgeois opposition parties—the Janata, Congress(S)—who at that time in their fight against the Congress(I) were prepared to toe the line of the secessionists. At the same time, the CPI(M) prevented all efforts of the Congress(I) to run the Ministry.

The leadership of the Congress(I) in the state not only failed to fight the onslaught of the secessionist movement but connived at it and initially sought to exploit it for its narrow party interests.

These activities of the CPI(M) in Assam have strengthened the Party and its prestige, strengthened the Left forces and increased their prestige amongst the people. In this same period, when our mass organisations were under attack at the hands of the secessionists and police, the CITU registered rapid progress in the plantation area.

In Tamil Nadu, where we had an electoral understanding with the AIADMK, we continued to extend critical support or oppose the Government on specific issues, while demarcating ourselves from the factional sorties of the DMK. Our criticism of the vacillations of the MGR Government in relation to the Congress(I) and opposition to some of his anti-democratic measures, and our patient and persuasive attitude towards his ranks, have created the desired effect, forging common ties between the followers of the two parties.

The understanding between the CPI(M) and the CPI is growing despite difficulties created by local leaders of the CPI. Joint actions and mass calls have been given which have been helpful in giving an impetus to mass agitations.

In Gujarat, the CPI(M) valiantly fought against the mad anti-Harijan frenzy on the issue of reservation of jobs roused by the bourgeois parties. It opposed all bourgeois parties during the anti-reservation agitation and, in cooperation with the CPI and other forces and trade union leaders, strove to maintain class unity. The

Party's help to the Harijans and its intervention on democratic and economic issues have given an impetus to its mass activities.

The State Committee of Delhi has had to shoulder the burden of the all-India marches and the agitations in the state. The CITU took the initiative on a number of occasions to rally thousands of workers for common demands and, in co-operation with other trade union organisations, was able to organise a number of protest strikes under its banner increasing the strength of the organisation. The SFI and other organisations, Youth, etc., are acquiring strength.

Kerala has seen innumerable mass actions during the period, independently carried on by the Party and mass organisations, as well as joint activities along with Left and other forces.

The activities are spread on all fronts—youth, women, students, agricultural workers, peasants, workers, teachers, etc. There has been rapid increase in the memberships of all mass organisations, strengthening the position of our Party as a major force in the coalition.

In Kerala, the CPI(M) was engaged in running a Ministry which represented a combination of several parties including the Congress(S) and local parties of a similar type like the Kerala Congress. Some of these parties were part of the anti-Marxist coalition (1969-79) and have neither outlived their class outlook nor their anti-CPI(M) bias. Their biased outlook and sense of rivalry towards our Party created difficulties in the functioning of the Government and discharging its responsibility to the people.

The situation was rendered difficult by the fact that neither the CPI(M) nor the Left forces put together (the CPI, RSP) constituted a majority in the coalition.

The CPI(M) in Kerala and our comrades in the Ministry were facing a very difficult task as they had to often face opposition and obstruction both from inside and outside.

This broad combination in Kerala which had succeeded in keeping the Congress(I) away from power, showed the difficulties and obstructions that the Party had to face in the struggle against authoritarianism.

In West Bengal, the Left alliance headed by the CPI(M) has scored one success after another despite the assaults of the

Congress(I). The Front had to function and discharge its task in face of the opposition, open or hidden, of the West Bengal sections of the bourgeois opposition parties—the Janata, Congress(I), etc. The Congress(S) and Janata especially have been virulent in their attacks, often joining hands with the Congress(I).

But the strength of public opinion, our popular support, isolated these parties, and the Left Front Government could march ahead. Initially the CPI took a hostile attitude to the Ministry, joining in chorus with other parties. But gradually the attitude changed following the understanding in the Lok Sabha election of 1980. Today the CPI has joined the Front. It is also strengthened by the inclusion of the Democratic Socialist Party of Bahuguna.

In these days, West Bengal also saw an upsurge of popular agitations from strikes in defence of workers' interests to huge mobilisations of peasants for supporting the Ministry's measures. Workers struck work and demonstrated in defence of the Left Front Government. Specially noteworthy was the role of the tramway and state bus workers who courageously resisted the incendiary bandh organised by the Congress(I) on April 3, 1981. The student, youth and women's organisations now enrol tens of thousands of members. And the Kisan Sabha has now a Huge membership of four million. The strength of the Party increased every day and its prestige reigns supreme among the people.

In Tripura, our Party was confronted with a series of challenges which were extremely trying and testing. The Ministry headed by us continued the battle on behalf of the people with greater vigour—the battle for giving them immediate relief.

The test came when the provocative riots were unleashed between the tribals and Bengalees. The Party had to fight the attack of the Baptist Mission which propagated divisive slogans with the aim of tearing away the tribals from India. In maintaining and sustaining the democratic unity of the tribals and Bengalees in the midst of an extremely provocative situation, the Party has scored its biggest successes. This unity was the object of attack at the hands of the imperialist agents and Congress(I) leaders. They were defeated.

At once stage they succeeded in forcing more than three lakhs of people into the refugee camps hoping to bring about a collapse of the administration. Our Party fought back and defeated them. Our Party continues to lead tribals and Bengalees and heads the democratic movement.

Tripura is the only state in the North-Eastern region where the tribals and non-tribals stand united because of our leadership, defeating the imperialist machinations.

The Party everywhere is steadily forging ahead to mobilise the Left and democratic forces and bolster broad resistance to authoritarian rule. Its activities draw anger and ire from the ruling party. Its successes in the three states and the electoral defeat it has inflicted on the Congress(I) in West Bengal are appreciated by wide sections of the people and help it to carry forward the task of fighting the authoritarian forces. Nonetheless, there is no cause for satisfaction. The weakness of the Party in several states prevents it from utilising the favourable situation for a big surge ahead. It is not always successful in overcoming the hurdles to broad resistance created by the bourgeois opposition parties in harnessing their conflict with the ruling party for the defence of democracy and checkmating the forces of authoritarianism. The Party's own mass following in several states is yet too small to exercise influence on the activities of other parties. Because of this the followings of these parties, disappointed with their leaders, get inactive and depoliticalised instead of joining the Left and democratic forces. Also, though the Congress(I) is losing, large sections continue to flock to its banner.

This is a serious situation which the Party must overcome by steadily expanding its independent activity, expanding cooperation with Left and democratic forces drawing in all interests opposed to the authoritarian rule for common resistance.

The Rising Mass Struggles

Last year has been a year of continuous and unprecedented mass struggles—their chief feature being the entry of the peasantry.

The push and pull between the bourgeois and landlord partners played a certain role in unleashing the peasant discontent in certain states and contributed to all-India developments.

The powerful landlord lobby, while it benefitted from the Government's programme of agricultural development, resisted the sharing of adequate burdens of taxation, fought against wealth and income taxes and often refused to pay electricity charges and debts.

The sharpening of the crisis which necessitated new taxes and withdrawal of some concessions, raised protests from this lobby and the Government had to beat a retreat.

These protests found expression in such slogans as city versus village, decentralisation, protest against big industry and preference for village and small industry, and Gandhian self-reliance.

In 1980-81, however, with the deterioration of the economic situation, the Congress(I) Government was forced to raise prices of oil, fertilisers and so many other inputs, and these affected the profit-earning gentry also.

To compensate for the loss due to new taxation and increase in the prices of inputs, the landlords wanted a rise in price for their agricultural produce and raised the slogan of remunerative price for peasants.

In some states, this lobby directly appealed to the peasants for protest action. This led to the unleashing of peasant agitations in a number of states. Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Punjab saw huge agitations leading to thousands of arrests, police firings and killings of several peasants. If the initiative in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka was with the landlords, in Andhra Pradesh and Punjab, it was from the Left wing with the combination of several political parties. In Maharashtra, though the landlords started the agitation, the initiative was later on seized by the combination of six parties, which led to the long march.

In Maharashtra, the charter of demands included, along with remunerative price for peasant produce, minimum wage of Rs. seven per day for agricultural workers.

In Karnataka, the CPI(M) continued the agitation after its withdrawal by the gentry. The Malaprabha agitation against betterment levy was planned and initiated by our activists. Following the Naragund incident, when the agitation started spreading throughout the state, the landlords' organisation and bourgeois-landlord parties tried to make use of them. The

Government tried its best to brutally suppress the movement. And at the same time the Government announced certain concessions including rise in prices of sugarcane, paddy, etc. The formation of the Progressive Democratic Front of four parties and the peasant march of February 5, 1981, to the Vidhan Sabha took the initiative away from the landlords. The peasants developed new forms of struggle, *rasta thodo*, *rasta roko*, paralysing traffic communications.

Though the initial impulse came from the push and pull between the bourgeois and landlord partners, the movement developed its momentum and went beyond the limits set by the rural vested interests.

This was the result of the timely intervention of the Party in co-operation with other parties.

Parallel with the kisan agitation, the movements of students, of women, fighting against price-rise, were developing. The students, especially, were often engaged in grim battles with the police, with universities closed for months and campuses under the occupation of the police.

The student and youth march to Parliament on September 15 on the demands for education for all, jobs for all, marked a big success among the students and youth thus playing a big role.

And, recently, the working class unrest started bursting forth in new anger, breaking the lull of the immediate post-1980 election period. One such outburst was the long-drawn struggle of the Bangalore and Hyderabad employees of the Bangalore-based public sector units and the one-day protest strike in its support by public sector employees all over the country on March 11.

The wages-and-incomes policy enunciated in the Sixth Five-Year Plan made it clear that the Government would disfavour all claims for wage and salary increases. Inflation, lock-outs, closures added fuel to the fire.

All the three important struggles against which the Government took repressive measures—the LIC, loco and public sector struggles—were led by the Left.

Trade union unity scored a big advance with the representative All-India Convention of Central Trade Unions and Federations in

Bombay against price-rise and the anti-labour policies of the Government. The conventions released big forces for united action. Conventions attended by hundreds have taken place in almost all states.

The August 17 demonstrations against the ESMA were organised widely all over India, thousands participating in them. Significant was the participation of students and other sections in these demonstrations.

The November 23 demonstration in the capital, followed by the magnificent response to the call for all-India strike on January 19, revealed the strength of growing trade union unity. There was unprecedented response to the strike call all over India. In many states it turned into total bandhs with the entire people participating in it. The growth of this united movement and joint mass actions places the initiative for anti-authoritarian resistance in the hands of the Left and the radicalised working class.

Divisive Forces

While the mass discontent is developing and getting united, divisive forces are at work to disrupt it, and their role and challenge must be recognised.

The growth of these forces is a consequence of the policies pursued by the bourgeois-landlord Government during the last three decades. The ruling party is not only unable to counter them and protect the unity of the country, but also uses the caste and communal differences to secure its narrow electoral gains.

The secessionist influence in the North-Eastern region including Assam is due to the backward condition of the region and denial of rapid industrial development. The secessionists have succeeded in diverting the discontent arising from mounting economic misery into disruptive channels. They have also used the fear of foreign influx to strengthen the secessionist appeal.

To defeat this challenge to national unity, it is necessary to fight for the genuine grievances of the people of Assam and the North-Eastern region; to fight against the economic backwardness. The Party in Assam combines this two-fold task in its activity.

The Gujarat anti-reservation agitation which led to the mobilisation of the masses in hostile camps, revealed the

seriousness of the situation and the opportunism of bourgeois parties.

Considering the treatment meted out to the untouchables, it is nothing short of downright casteism to oppose reservation in jobs for them and the Scheduled Tribes.

But reservation by itself will not solve the problem of Harijans and Scheduled Tribes.

The question is directly linked with the common struggle against antiquated land relations, against unemployment and for rapid industrial development under a new socio-economic order.

Reservation and a minimum educational advance have created a thin stratum among the Harijans some of whom are interested in supporting the ruling party and use all their influence to ensure that the Harijan masses do not join the common movement to change the social order. This makes the Harijan mass an appendage of the Congress(I) which maintains the property relations which are the basis of untouchability and the sufferings of the Harijans.

In the mass struggles led by them, the trade unions and Kisan Sabhas were insensitive to the special problems of the Harijans. This created an attitude of indifference in the minds of these sections to the common class struggle. The Gujarat agitation shows how this alienation can be successfully exploited for dividing the toilers, the democratic and class forces, whose unity is necessary to fight authoritarianism. A big obstacle is the casteism of wide sections of the masses who observe untouchability. It is because of this that the Harijan mass continues to be alienated from the common movement.

Unless the weaknesses in the approach of the mass organisations are removed and unless the Party is able to tell the Harijan mass the whole truth about reservation, accompanied by propaganda against untouchability and the caste system, divisions are likely to be intensified by the ruling and other bourgeois parties.

Scheduled Tribes

The second prong of the divisive attack is directed towards propagation of separatism in the adivasi areas of the country.

Deprived of human existence, sold as bonded labourers, their young girls sold into the flesh market, and alienated from the rest of the country and the common democratic struggle, the adivasi areas are proving ideal ground for some foreign Christian missions to spread the message of separation from the country.

The mischief these missions have done in the North-Eastern region is now seen in the strong support enjoyed by the secessionists in the area.

The imperialist propagandists are attempting to dismember the country through such propaganda.

It is only in Tripura that the Left and democratic movement, especially the CPI(M), has succeeded in rallying the tribal people under its leadership. In the rest of the country, except West Bengal, the weakness of the advanced democratic and Left movement, the failure to put up a consistent fight against the slavery of adivasis, and for ensuring democratic rights to them, and, above all, failure to recognise the special problems of the adivasis as a community have alienated this section from the common movement. Inhuman existence under the Congress(I) makes them an easy prey to the propaganda of some Christian missions. Their revolting conditions also enable parties like the Jharkhand Party to mislead and keep the adivasis away from the common movement.

The Party has to fight this imperialist propaganda boldly and expose the machinations of these foreign Christian missions which the Congress(I) Government is afraid of doing.

To be able to do this, it is above all necessary to fight for securing for them a human existence, stop the process of expropriation. It is also necessary to fight for regional autonomy for compact tribal areas and for education in their tribal language wherever possible.

Like the untouchables, at present, they form a reserve force of the Congress(I).

There is a big division inside the democratic forces which now the imperialists are turning to their own advantage to facilitate the dismemberment of the country.

Islamic Fundamentalism—Third Prong of Divisive Attack

The minorities problem, the question of minority separatism and communal amity, has changed its character after independence.

It now concerns the problem of a discriminated and ill-treated minority under the bourgeois-landlord rule, notwithstanding constitutional proclamations.

The Party has always defended the Muslim minority and raised its voice against discrimination and oppression. The Party's sympathies have always been with the Muslim mass economically oppressed, and often the victim of Hindu chauvinism and of the administrative personnel in times of riots. But as in the case of Harijans, the other part of the truth was not sufficiently stressed—that without freeing themselves from bondage to the minority communal outlook, without joining the mainstream of democratic struggle, their liberation will not come.

Overwhelming sections of the Muslim masses today stand alienated from the common class and democratic movement. The common mass organisations have not seriously fought against this isolation by paying attention to their problems—special problems of the minority masses like mass discrimination. The situation is exploited by reactionary communal leaders to keep the minority mass away from the democratic and Left forces by appeals to minority separatism and communalism.

In the elections, these same leaders ask the Muslim mass to throw its weight against the democratic movement and for the Congress(I). Now the Muslim mass in our country is being subjected to another disruptive appeal in the name of religion.

The Muslim mass, because of its economic situation, the discrimination practised against it, and the influence of reactionaries over it, is likely to be vulnerable to the appeal of Islamic fundamentalism which serves the interests of imperialism and international Muslim reaction.

In all countries with Muslim majorities, Islamic fundamentalism attacks the democratic and working class movements and serves the interests of imperialism and indigenous religious reaction.

In India, the Islamic fundamentalist appeal is directed towards creating a feeling of separate nationhood among the Muslim to undermine national unity. The Congress(I) is unable to fight this danger.

Some of those who have influence over the Muslim masses are acting hand in glove with the Islamic fundamentalists abroad and are financed by them. They are now in a position to blackmail the Congress(I) and its Government to make reactionary concessions.

These, at present, consist of freedom to carry on separatist and anti-Indian unity propaganda.

The Indira Gandhi Government is afraid to fight this propaganda because it does not want to offend the reactionary rulers of certain oil-producing countries.

The Jamait-e-Islami is the main vehicle of this fundamentalist propaganda. Well-financed from abroad, the organisation carries on its anti-national activities and in the bargain gets the blessings of the ruling party. Indira Gandhi sent a message of good wishes to its conference in Hyderabad and the Congress(I) Government of Andhra Pradesh spent a few lakhs of rupees to extend its patronage to it.

It is known that Saudi Arabian money is financing a number of Urdu papers to spread anti-national propaganda. Big investments in hotels, etc., are being planned from abroad by these agencies to be better able to carry on their anti-national activities. But the Government is a mute and silent spectator. In the dire conditions of our economy, it relies on the influx of petro-dollars to prop up the economy. The Party must make serious endeavours to frustrate the fundamentalist designs against the Muslim masses.

The mobilisation of progressive intellectuals from among the Muslims, of democratic opinion and simultaneously greater intervention to protect the rights of Muslim minorities are necessary to combat this menace.

Hindu Chauvinism

The RSS appeal to Hindu nationhood, behind which there are no genuine grievances, is a wanton communal appeal to divide the people. This Hindudom of the RSS exploits the traditional separation between the two communities to pit the Hindus against the Muslims, and oppress the latter. The Muslims are presented as foreigners and aliens, and attacks are directed against their integrity and common and equal treatment to them. The RSS is often

responsible for conflicts on paltry religious issues, takes part in riots, directs the fury of Hindus against the Muslim minority. It is anti-democratic, anti-progressive thought and, till recently, openly justified the iniquitous caste system as a corner-stone of Hindu religion. The RSS did its best to spread communalism in Kerala, it was responsible for the killing of several CPI(M) cadres and it slandered the coalition Ministry. Its role in the Jamshedpur riots was recently exposed by the official enquiry committee.

The RSS activities and propaganda are directed towards creating permanent enmity between the two communities. In its advocacy of a Hindu nation it virtually demands of the minorities that they fully integrate themselves with Hindu tradition and culture, i.e., they lose their identity.

In these circumstances, the chauvinistic appeal of the RSS in terms of a Hindu nation becomes a provocative agency of imperialism to drive the Muslim mass into the camp of the fundamentalists.

The separatist appeal of Islamic fundamentalism gets reinforced by the aggressive RSS propaganda which endorses from a different direction the Islamic appeal that Muslims are a totally separate entity distinct from the rest of the people. Its inciting role in riots, its rearing of a fanatical anti-Muslim cadre help the imperialists to divide the country, and its reactionary stand against progressive ideas and thoughts contributes to the strength of anti-national forces.

Khalistan

The raising of such slogans as Khalistan, Sikhs a separate nation, is part of the same process of national disintegration under Congress(I) rule.

Certain known imperialist agents raise this slogan with impunity and are backed by obscurantists.

The imperialist agents are so emboldened that they hijack an Indian plane to Pakistan. The rot in consciousness is evidenced by the fact that they are not outright denounced by Akali leaders.

Disruption From The "Left"

In a situation in which the appeal of the CPI(M) is irresistibly increasing, when masses are getting radicalised and are prone to the appeal of the Left forces, when disappointment with all the

bourgeois parties is growing, divisive attacks also come from those professing extreme "Left" views. They are carefully prepared by imperialist agencies, by some church agencies and every effort is made to rope in all groups who profess Leftism but who are opposed to the CPI(M). To gather these groups, these agencies organise seminars, start organisations—all with Left phraseology but with the aim of disrupting the growing strength of the CPI(M), disrupting the unity of the Left forces. The Naxalities, split into various groups, play the same reactionary role in the service of imperialism. They peddle talk about social-imperialism, and their anti-Sovietism perfectly suits the ideological propaganda of the CIA and US imperialism.

They further concentrate their fire against the CPI(M), its Ministries, its policies and act as open disruptors of the movement.

The Naxalites are now penetrating mass organisations to disrupt them with extreme "Left" slogans. Some political parties support them as a counter-balance to the growing strength of the CPI(M). Thereby they are supporting a reactionary disruptive agency whose international line is the same as that of the USA.

The Naxalites are active in West Bengal, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh where they organise murders of our comrades, in Tamil Nadu and Bihar. In Kerala, their terrorist acts were utilised by the reactionaries to attack the Ministry and bring back the Congress(I).

It will be criminal to neglect the ideological and political fight against the planned attack from this fake "Left".

Unity Of The Left Forces

The Party has been striving to build a powerful front of Left and democratic forces for several years.

To achieve this unity of the Left forces, growing understanding between them is necessary. The last four years have seen many successes in strengthening Left unity and securing the initiative for it on a number of occasions.

Despite several trials and tests, the Left Front in West Bengal has held out and is strengthened. The admission of a number of parties to the front including the CPI has added to the strength of Left unity.

In Kerala, the situation changed after the 1977 election. The anti-Marxist combination which included the CPI collaborating with the Congress(I) was broken. The CPI leadership in tune with the party's line decided to break with the past and open the door to Left unity in Kerala by withdrawing from its coalition with the Congress(I) in the State Ministry. This step gave a big impetus to Left unity all over India and led to growing understanding between the CPI and the CPI(M).

In Parliament, a Left Coordination Committee, consisting of all the Left parties, is functioning now, meeting regularly and taking common decisions before approaching other opposition parties. In the states, Left parties—the CPI and CPI(M) mostly—move jointly on many issues in the Assemblies. The common political stand on issues like Assam, anti-Harijan atrocities, communal riots, secularism, defence of the economic and political rights of the people, issues of foreign policy, has impressed the people and raised the prestige of the Left in the national politics.

The stand and achievements of our Left-led Governments have contributed greatly to this rise in the prestige of the Left.

The consolidation of Left unity is above all due to widespread mass activities of the Left parties, their joint mass actions, calls for strikes, morchas and demonstrations, their intervention on issues vital to the life of the people and their capacity to involve broader and broader forces in this common fight.

In all the states, co-operation between the CPI(M) and CPI and other Left parties is developing despite some difficulties. Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar, Punjab, Gujarat, Haryana, U.P.—all show growing unity of the Left forces.

It should not be imagined that the successes achieved in strengthening Left unity were secured without strains and stresses and without a struggle for correct policy.

The Left parties represent various viewpoints on matters of political importance, and often have different assessments of the immediate political situation, and of political parties, often leading to divergence of tactical moves. Besides, they differ on certain vital matters connected with the international situation.

To overcome these difficulties and forge united fronts without adversely affecting the course of the revolutionary struggle, requires both patience and a firm and principled stand on basic policies.

This also demands an ideological struggle and political debate from time to time against the erroneous position, estimates and tactics of some of these parties.

The debate conducted in *People's Democracy* with the CPI on the claims and assessments of its leadership falls in this category and is part of the struggle for principled Left unity. The CPI leadership has not yet abandoned its basic postulates regarding the Indian situation—the class character of the State and the Government, the stage of the revolution, etc. In its absence, vacillations and differences on matters of current policies are to be expected. On international matters also differences exist and are bound to arise. These cannot be simply glossed over.

When our Party Congress met in Jullundur the CPI had not yet changed its line and was still a vigorous partner along with the Congress(I) in the anti-Marxist coalition in Kerala. Since then many changes have taken place. The Bhatinda Congress of the CPI called for a break with the earlier policy. The CPI broke away from the anti-Marxist coalition, helped to strengthen Left unity and played, along with us, an important role in uniting the forces opposed to the Congress(I) and defeating the Congress(I) at the polls in Kerala.

This change in the line led to differences inside the CPI and finally to the expulsion of the party Chairman S.A. Dange.

In recent months, there have been more and more joint actions, mass agitations and protests. The co-operation between the two parties continues to develop.

Despite these difficulties and weaknesses, Left unity will continue to be strengthened as its need directly arises out of the situation. But it cannot be a spontaneous process. The Party will have to exercise vigilance, and carry on a political struggle whenever necessary against the vacillations and erroneous understandings of its partners. Without such struggle, combined with strenuous efforts to develop closer understandings, Left unity cannot be built.

The struggle for Left and democratic unity was also a struggle to gather other democratic parties like the Akalis, DMK, AIADMK

and such other parties. There have been some successes in harnessing these forces in the common struggle.

The Akali Dal was a partner in fighting the busfare-rise and organising the joint demonstration before and gherao of the Punjab Assembly. It also participated in organising the Kisan March and is a participant in the Kisan Coordination Committee. In recent months, however, it is divided—a section has lost its bearings and is supporting the Khalistan slogan and also the Amritsar-a-holy-city slogan. But the majority has declined to support these disruptive moves, though none of the Akali leaders forthrightly condemned the hijacking of the Indian Airlines plane. Such deviations from the common path are normal for such parties. This was also seen in connection with the bourgeois opposition parties which supported the anti-reservation movement in Gujarat.

The DMK still continues to be imprisoned by its opportunist alliance with the Congress(I) and loyally supports the ruling party in the Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha and outside.

The AIADMK leader concentrates on his fight with the DMK and does not show much desire to take consistent anti-authoritarian positions. At the same time, reacting to the attacks being made on the AIADMK Government by Central Congress(I) leaders and Ministers, and also to preserve the image of a fighter for states' autonomy, the AIADMK Government earlier took an anti-centre stand on certain issues. But it has not opposed the Central Government's move to curtail the existing powers of State Governments to levy sales-tax on certain commodities. The AIADMK not only proposed an anti-labour bill, but along with the DMK extended support to the NSA and ESMA.

The Left And Democratic Front—Communist Party Of India (Marxist)

The CPI(M) is committed to end the present socio-economic order, end the present class-rule and establish a state of People's Democracy, to march to socialism.

In the immediate fight against authoritarianism, through mass actions, the Party seeks to rally also the classes and interests that form the mainstay of the People's Democratic Front of the future.

As the Jullundur Resolution states: "The struggle to build this front is part of our endeavour to bring about a change in the correlation of class forces, to end a situation in which the people can choose only between two bourgeois-landlord parties, and get imprisoned within the framework of the present system. By gathering all Left and democratic forces together for further advance, the Party makes a beginning to consolidate these forces which, in future, will participate in shaping the alliance for People's Democracy under the leadership of the working class. The Left and Democratic Front is not to be understood as only an alliance for elections or Ministry, but a fighting alliance of the forces for immediate advance—economic and political—and for isolating the reactionary classes that hold the economy in their grip."

It is stated in our Programme: "The struggle to realise the aims of the People's Democratic Revolution through the revolutionary unity of all patriotic and democratic forces with the worker-peasant alliance as its core is a complicated and protracted one. It is *waged in varying conditions in various phases*. Different classes, different strata within the same class, are bound to take different positions in these distinct phases of the revolutionary movement. The complexities arising out of these shifts in the positions taken by different classes and strata in the same class underline the need and importance of developing the Communist Party functioning as the vanguard of the revolutionary working class"

"Transitional slogans and platforms have to be worked out at each stage to mobilise the people, and all these constitute a preparation for heading towards the People's Democratic Front which is gradually realised through a series of struggles and stages."

For a successful struggle for building the Left and Democratic Front, it is necessary in the present situation that these forces should endeavour in all possible ways to organise widespread mass resistance to the authoritarian danger.

Simultaneously, it is necessary that they put forward a political and economic programme, distinctly and sharply opposed to the platforms and practices of the bourgeois-landlord parties, and by fighting for it, enable the masses to move away from the bourgeois-landlord parties and increasingly rally round an alternative

leadership. The struggle for the building and realisation of the Left and Democratic Front starts in conditions in which neither the CPI(M), nor the working class, is accepted by others as the leading force. They are accepted as important partners only. With the growth of the unity of these forces and struggle for the realisation of the programme put forward, the weight and influence of the working class will certainly increase. But this will be a far cry from the leadership of the working class which is achieved under a quite different correlation of forces.

Mass Organisations And Mass Movement

The main lever to change the political situation, to defeat the authoritarian forces and build Left and democratic unity is the struggle of the masses which is now again bursting forth with new vigour. The mass organisations led by our Party must overcome the weaknesses nailed down by the Salkia Plenum and ensure that they represent the mass and its mood, and link the vanguard with the mass.

Our students' organisation, youth organisation and women's organisation have forged ahead in West Bengal and Kerala, with the rest of the States on the way to rapid progress.

These mass organisations of students, youth and women in West Bengal and Kerala have to play a leading role in building the all-India movement of their sections, guiding step by step other States where both organisation and consciousness lag behind theirs.

The Party and our advanced mass organisations should bear in mind that in the present situation, when the masses are in ferment, there is immense scope for expanding and broadening our mass organisations. For us the meaning of mass is changing, with the added and complex responsibilities thrust on the Party and with the necessity of added mass sanctions to discharge them. The spectacular rise of the West Bengal Kisan Sabha membership to nearly four million reveal the opportunity open to the Party.

Without independent activity of the Party both on political and economic issues, neither the mass movement can be developed, nor the consciousness of the masses raised. To slacken such

activity in the name of united front is to transform the Party into an appendage of other parties, and agree not to raise the consciousness of the masses beyond what is required by other parties. Mass organisations led by the Party must increase their independent activities among the masses and raise the level of their consciousness. Their independent activity must act as a lever for initiating joint mass actions and agitations with other organisations, embracing larger and larger sections of the people.

The Party has always stressed the role of united mass actions in building a powerful movement against the effects of the crisis and imposition of new burdens. All mass organisations led by the Party have been pursuing this line and can show important advance on their fronts.

The Kisan March was a visual demonstration of widespread unity and the Kisan Coordination Committee which emerged out of the struggle should serve as an instrument for widespread mobilisation of the peasantry on several issues. Naturally, the independent activity of the Kisan Sabha will play an important and leading role in activating this committee. The spectacular rise of our Kisan Sabha membership in West Bengal to nearly four million, and the strength it has brought to the kisan movement, provides a big lever to extend kisan activities and draw and secure the participation of other organisations in them.

During the last four years, the strength of the agricultural workers' organisation has increased in many states, and the recent setting up of the All-India Agricultural Workers' Organisation will further strengthen the movement. The increased organised mass membership among the peasants facilitates the task of pushing forward the Party's agrarian demands.

The CITU and mass organisations of employees led by us now embrace vast sections and act as a powerful force in the country's trade union movement.

The trade union organisations all over the country have steadfastly carried on a fight for trade union unity. The CITU, its State Committees and its affiliated unions, all have determinedly pursued this course. Since the Jullundur Congress, CITU unions have waged prolonged strike-struggles in defence of workers'

interests. The workers and their unions have been facing barbarous repression at the hands of the police and the Government and open discrimination at the hands of the employers.

The struggle for unity finally resulted in the Bombay Convention calling for a widened protest strike of all industries.

The National Campaign Committee of several central trade union organisations offers a singular opportunity to carry forward the unity, unleash struggles and put the initiative in the hands of the Left forces and the working class.

Women

The last three years have seen a spurt in the rise of women's consciousness and movement. Indian women are victims of an obscurantist semi-feudal outlook and, despite the equality of sexes proclaimed in the Constitution, are denied equal treatment, including equal wages.

Women's struggle against these injustices is not just a struggle for social reform but an integral part of the Indian people's struggle for democracy and socialism.

Women's struggle against inequality, discrimination and semi-feudal outlook must be organised and given a mass basis.

The Party should take the initiative in promoting and building the mass organisation of women and educate the entire Party regarding its task on the women's front. The formation of the AIDWA is an important step in this direction.

Working women in industry and services form a substantial part of the working class and employees.

A weakness of the trade union movement has been that women's membership has been very small and women's participation in trade union activities, as functionaries of the trade unions, negligible. Even in industries and concerns where women form the majority of the workers they are hardly to be found among the active leaders and functionaries of the organisations.

The trade unions by and large neglect the problems of the women in their concerns. They do not fight against unequal treatment, discrimination in promotion, etc.

The trade unions must rectify this weakness by establishing Working Women's Committees which should help the women members to participate in the union's activities and impel the union to fight for women's problems.

The organisation of these committees under the banner of the trade unions is part of the working class struggle for unity.

The executive committees of the trade unions should ensure that women workers are elected to the leading bodies of the organisation in adequate numbers and that they participate in shaping the policies of the union.

Culture

The crisis engulfing the country leaves no fabric of society untouched. The distortions in the fields of education, culture and every other intellectual pursuit are appalling, causing complete chaos in these fields. In their thirty-five-year rule, the bourgeois-landlord classes far from waging a struggle against medieval and obscurantist ideas, have utilised them to buttress their class rule. The Government-controlled Radio and Television, the various academies, etc., as well as the monopoly-controlled press are being utilised for the dissemination and propagation of decadent, antediluvian, obscurantist and revivalist ideas. The prevalence of obscurantist and revivalist ideas seriously hampers the growth of the democratic struggle of the people.

Also at work are imperialist agencies aggressively propagating alien ideas to hamper the growth of a democratic culture.

As against these reactionary trends in culture, however, there is a definite trend of a positively democratic nature. Increasingly large sections of writers, artistes and scientists and others are also taking modern and democratic positions. Many of them made valuable contributions to the anti-authoritarian struggle. Their role in the struggle for creating a democratic culture is valuable.

The Party must carry on persistent struggle against the decadent and obscurantist trends in culture in unity with all those who adopt a progressive democratic position.

The Party

The Salkia Plenum threw light on the inner problems of the Party and steps are being taken to carry out the directives of the Plenum. The Salkia Plenum directed the Central Committee to devote greater attention to the Hindi areas. Following this, the Central Committee brought out Hindi *Lok Lahar* weekly whose circulation is now 15,000. It has also started publishing *Lok Lahar* fortnightly in Urdu.

In recent months, the Hindi areas have shown much progress. Bihar, Haryana, Rajasthan, U.P., Madhya Pradesh brought big contingents to the Kisan March and later on, to the students' and youth demonstration of September 15. Bihar's contribution was the biggest on both occasions and surpassed all others. For the students' and youth march Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, U.P., each sent 5000 students and youth. The capital city of Delhi made its own contribution. Thousands of workers struck work and demonstrated on August 17 against the ESMA.

In a series of articles, our Party exposed the separatist propaganda of the fundamentalist Jamait-e-Islami and the Khalistan slogan of Sikh separatists.

Needless to say, our Party has been fighting RSS Hindu chauvinism all along.

The political line of the Party was tried and tested in the last four years. As a result, the fight against the forces of dictatorship continued and got intensified, both inside and outside Parliament.

The Party combined opposition in Parliament with mass struggles outside and, aided by the performance of the Left-led Governments headed by us, raised the prestige of the Left.

Internally the Party continues to fight Right-revisionism and Left-dogmatism and adventurism. The Naxalites representing the latter trend concentrate their fire on the Party and the Party has to wage an incessant struggle against their distortions. At the same time, it combats all manifestations of revisionism. The defence of the Party and mass organisations and the ways and means to do it must occupy the attention of the entire Party.

The task of a vanguard party can be discharged only by a well-built strong Party. The Party must strike deep roots among the

masses and gain thousands of new adherents every year. The weakness of the Party in the working class has to be overcome in the shortest possible time. The Salkia Plenum of the Party called for rapid expansion of Party membership and training of the new members.

A Party trained in the finest traditions of Marxism-Leninism inspiring the people by its selfless devotion to the cause of the revolution and irreconcilable in its opposition to all deviations—such a Party alone can be the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle. It is our endeavour to build such a Party.

Party And The International Communist Movement

Internationally, the Party with its independent assessment of events, its firm adherence to the defence of the socialist camp and with its uncompromising opposition to the dilution of Marxism-Leninism either from the Right or the Left has succeeded in improving its ties with a number of Communist Parties.

The Party continues to pursue its independent line with its understanding of the world situation based on the central contradiction of our time—the camp of socialism versus the camp of imperialism.

It upholds the banner of Marxism-Leninism against distortions and deviations that have become a feature of the present-day international Communist movement.

As during the years preceding our Tenth Congress, in the years preceding the Eleventh Congress also, our Party had to face severe trials and tests on ideological and policy questions. The two deviations in the international Communist movement—the revisionist and dogmatic—sharpened ideological controversies and undermined proletarian unity.

The revisionist deviation originating from certain formulations of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, continues to do immense harm to the world movement today. It expresses itself in Eurocommunism and other manifestations: rejection of the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of proletarian internationalism and partisanship for the socialist camp, of the leading role of the Party, faith in the parliamentary path and overt

and covert rejection of Marxism-Leninism form the content of present-day revisionism.

Dogmatism and sectarianism in the international movement once again rejects partisanship for the socialist camp and, while claiming adherence to the dictatorship of the proletariat, equates the Soviet Union with the USA. The harm it has done to the progress and economy of the originating country is now acknowledged.

The CPI(M) upholds the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It upholds the principle of proletarian internationalism and the Leninist teaching on the leading role of the Party. It fights against dilution of Marxism-Leninism, and considers it the common duty of all Communist Parties to defend the socialist camp against imperialist conspiracies.

The CPI(M) considers that it is equally the duty of the ruling Communist Parties of socialist countries to follow a policy that would help the struggles of the working class and peoples of the non-socialist countries against their exploiters and oppressors. It is wrong to subordinate the class struggle in these countries to the narrow immediate needs of the foreign policy of the socialist Governments.

All people would like to bring about social transformation by peaceful means. But how this transformation will be brought about does not depend on the people's desire to bring it about peacefully. It mainly depends on the behaviour of the ruling classes who, historical experience teaches us, do not respect the will of the people and suppress it by use of terror and bestial violence.

Our Party stands for the unity of the world Communist movement based on the principled positions of Marxism-Leninism. The disunity inside the world Communist movement which ranges Communist Parties on opposite sides on vital issues like counter-revolution's attack in Poland, has done harm to the world revolutionary process, undermined the concept of proletarian unity and internationalism.

The disunity in the socialist camp which is now two decades old has done immense harm to the course of the world

revolutionary movement and brought grist to the mill of imperialism. It has enabled the imperialists headed by the USA to exploit the differences in their own interest and pour ridicule on the concept of proletarian unity.

The CPI(M) stands for the unity of the socialist camp so that all socialist countries can put their combined weight behind the world revolutionary process.

Party's Objective

Fighting in the context of the immediate situation, with the authoritarian challenge as the main danger, the Party does not forget its revolutionary objective. The Party is firmly committed to organise the People's Democratic Revolution to open the way to socialism.

In the present struggle, the Party is precisely preparing for the class combination and correlation of class forces that will enable it to reach its objective.

By struggling for the building of the Left and democratic front, by popularising its programme opposed to the programmes of all bourgeois parties, by changing the correlation of political forces through broader mobilisation and, above all, by leading mass struggles, the Party brings into the arena precisely those classes that must take a prominent part in building the People's Democratic Front.

This is the importance of its immediate tactical line.

The Programme Of The Left And Democratic Front

1. Fight against the forces of authoritarianism, against the plans for a presidential form of Government, against subordination of the judiciary to the executive, for the withdrawal of the NSA and ESMA, for democratic reforms and amendments to the Constitution as suggested in the broad platform. Defend the Left-led Governments from the attacks launched on them.

2. Fresh constitutional provision to expand the powers of the states and guarantee their autonomy. Residuary powers should be with the states. Articles 356 to 360 of the Constitution dealing with President's rule in states to be deleted.

3. Basic changes in the constitution to eliminate the grip of the big bourgeois-landlord classes over the state and power of the bureaucracy, provision to keep the fundamental rights of the people beyond the mischief of the Government or the ruling party.

4. Inclusion of the right to work and education as a fundamental right in the Constitution.

5. For abolition of landlordism, for enactment of radical land reform measures ensuring land to the agricultural labourers and to the poor peasants gratis, for cancellation of debts of agricultural workers and poor peasants, for anti-eviction measures; guaranteed fair prices for peasants produce; supply of cheap credit and subsidised inputs to the mass of the peasantry.

6. For planned and independent development of the national economy free from foreign influence. Increased role for the public sector.

7. For a consistent struggle against compromise with the World Bank, against invitation to multinationals, and other policies which lead to the economic dependence of the country, the demand for nationalisation of foreign monopoly concerns, immediate moratorium on foreign debt payments, opposition to all steps which facilitate the penetration of the World Bank and foreign monopoly capital in our country and against the conditions imposed by the IMF.

8. For nationalisation of Indian monopoly concerns.

9. For a just and equitable incomes-and-wages policy based on provision of minimum conditions like need-based income to the mass of people and reduction of the monstrous disparity in the incomes of the big capitalists and landlords and the mass of people.

10. Against inflation, deficit financing and heavy taxation and high prices, for drastic reduction of prices of necessities and their guaranteed distribution, nationalisation of the wholesale trade in necessities.

11. For guaranteed fair wage for the agricultural labourers; pensions for aged agricultural workers and poor peasants and the semi-proletariat and liberal provision for cheap credit and

consumption loans; for adequate educational facilities for them.

12. For a massive plan for full employment to the rural unemployed and, pending it, unemployment relief.

13. For need based minimum wage for the working class, against wage-freeze, lock-outs, lay-offs and closures of mills, for taking over all closed mills and concerns, for full trade union rights, for full democratic rights to Central and State Government employees, abolition of the police verification system, against all anti-working class legislations, for jobs for all, and, pending employment, relief to the unemployed, against introduction of automation and other measures aggravating unemployment.

14. For immediate introduction of free education up to the secondary stage in all states. Provision of hostel facilities and full scholarships for all needy students; special attention to the requirements of Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste students; right of students to be represented in academic bodies for thorough-going reforms. Equal rights to all languages and linguistic groups, for a democratic language policy ensuring instruction in the mothertongue at all levels of education and promoting the cultural development of all nationalities, minorities and ethnic groups.

15. For radical changes in education making it democratic, secular and scientific.

16. For drastic steps against those who indulge in outrages against the Scheduled Castes and Tribes; for immediate steps to put an end to the economic and social oppression of these people by landlords, contractors, and restoration of lands siezed by them; for reservation of jobs and special facilities in matters of education and economic advance.

17. For safeguarding the rights of Muslim minorities; against any discrimination in employment in Government services and in educational institutions and against Urdu; for fighting the communal poison being spread by both Hindu and Muslim communalists.

18. Equal wage, status and opportunities for women.

19. Areas where there is a preponderance of tribal population should be declared as scheduled areas and there should be constitutional provision for conferring regional autonomy in such compact tribal areas so that there may be regional Governments within the states concerned to look after the economic, political, cultural and linguistic development of the tribal adivasis, and full economic assistance may be provided for removing their backwardness.

Inclusion of the Nepali and Meitei languages in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution; necessary constitutional changes for a Nepali-speaking district with regional autonomy within the state of West Bengal.

20. The Left and democratic forces fight all divisive and secessionist forces which undermine national unity.

21. The Left and democratic forces rouse the people against the imperialist plans to divide and disintegrate the country. They warn the people against the external threat to the country created by U.S. imperialism through the supply of sophisticated arms to the Pakistani military regime. They warn the country against the U.S. imperialist moves in the Indian Ocean which threaten India's security.

22. The Left and democratic forces expose the imperialist plans for a nuclear war and rouse the people against it.

23. The Left and democratic forces stand for a consistent and anti-imperialist policy on non-alignment and support to third world countries in their struggle against neo-colonialism. They stand for friendship with all socialist countries—the USSR, China and others. They oppose all compromises with imperialism. They stand for strengthening the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation. They call for normalisation of relations with People's China and for closer and friendly ties. They stand for friendly relations with India's neighbours—Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka—and support the peoples of these countries in their struggle for democracy.

They stand for consistent support to the Arab people in their struggle against Israeli aggression; for the rights of the Palestinians to have their own state; they lend full support to the

freedom struggle of the Namibian and other African people against imperialism, apartheid and racial domination.

Joint activities on any of the items of this programme will help to build progressively the front of Left and democratic forces which will champion the entire programme.

The country is in the throes of an acute crisis of the entire system which the ruling party endeavours to solve through imposition of dictatorship. The loss of fundamental rights, of the parliamentary system threatens the people in the immediate future if the Party is unable to rouse and unite them in time.

The situation demands of the Party incessant and urgent efforts to unite the Left and democratic forces so that the initiative in the fight against authoritarianism remains with these forces.

It also calls for the broadest possible resistance to the attacks of the authoritarian party to scuttle democracy.

The Left Front Ministries, whose defence is imperative in the struggle for democracy, and their achievements offer a firm foundation for building the unity of the Left and democratic forces.

Mass actions and struggles led by the Party or jointly with other parties and mass organisations constitute the lever to build Left initiative and broad mobilisation.

The bursting mass discontent and struggles are the instruments for organising widespread resistance and forging common understanding at all levels. To lead all these struggles decisively, to channelise them all in an anti-authoritarian direction, is the task before the Party. It is also urgent that the Party and the Left take the lead in mobilising the political parties and the people on the issues of total subordination of the judiciary to the executive and the presidential form of Government—both weapons for installing one-party rule. The task is now complicated by the assault of divisive forces. Only the Party, leading the Left, democratic and secular forces, can fight back this offensive.

The Party in co-operation with all Left, democratic and other patriotic forces must fight the secessionist challenge encouraged by imperialist agencies.

And, finally, the challenge of imperialism to the foreign policy of non-alignment, the pressures to weaken the Indo-Soviet Treaty and relations with the socialist camp, and the arming of Pakistan's military clique, have to be taken seriously. There is concentrated propaganda from parties like the BJP which act as the vociferous anti-Soviet, pro-U.S. lobby. The internal pressure against non-alignment was never so great. The Party must work for the broadest mobilisation of all patriotic forces against the imperialist challenge.

The task of getting these various threads together and weaving them into united resistance against the authoritarian forces, without relaxing the battle against imperialism, is a difficult task which only our Party can discharge. Many Left parties themselves are bound to waver on this or that issue. In some states, the Party is not able to overcome the opportunist pressures from other Left parties and that makes the task more difficult. Hence the need to exercise utmost vigilance. But leading the mass discontent, defending the Left-oriented Governments, and working for the broadest mobilisation against authoritarianism, our Party must discharge its responsibilities. In the measure it firmly adheres to a principled stand on these issues, it will strengthen Left unity and enhance the capacity of the Left forces to organise widespread resistance to the authoritarian forces.

Speech Introducing Draft Political-Organisational Report Before The Eleventh Congress of The CPI(M) Held at Vijayawada on January 26-31, 1982*

E. M. S. Namboodiripad

This report is in two parts, the second being a collection of reports concerning the states and mass organisations. They have not been collectively discussed even by the Polit Bureau not to speak of the Central Committee. They were prepared at the last moment.

The states part of the report had to be made after the state conferences were over by individual comrades of the P.B. One, two or more of us attended the state conferences. This part could not be placed before the P.B. for its consideration. The mass organisation fraction reports, too, could not be properly discussed in the P.B. and C.C. We, therefore, request the delegates, when they participate in the discussion on the report, to point out what is lacking or incorrect, what modification or correction is needed. In the light of these suggestions, we will amend the report when it is finalised

But the first part of the report has been discussed in the P.B. and C.C. An outline of the report was before the C.C. in its October meeting. This having been generally approved by the C.C., the P.B. was asked to write the report along those lines and place it before the C.C. in November. On one question in the report, there was a minority view and it was decided to incorporate it in the form desired by the minority itself. In accordance with this decision, the P.B. wrote the first part of the report. It appears now that the draft of this section in the present form is not satisfactory

*Published in the compilation of Documents of the Eleventh Congress of the CPI(M). Reply given to the discussion on the Draft Political-Organisational Report by E M S Namboodiripad is given in the last pages of this Document. The Political-Organisational Report adopted by the Eleventh Party Congress of the CPI(M) is given under Item No 6 of this Volume

to the minority. We shall therefore so amend it as to make it satisfactory.

Barring this one point, all the conclusions in the report are on the basis of agreement in the C.C. This does not mean that there is no room for improvement. The delegates here will be making suggestions, amendments, etc., which we will consider. We will, in our reply to this discussion, tell you what we propose to do on the suggestions for improvement.

Let me at the very outset answer the question, why such a Political-Organisational Report? Did we not adopt the political-tactical line of the Party with the passing of the Political Resolution? We think it necessary that not only the delegates attending this Congress but the entire Party membership should know how we came to adopt this political-tactical line.

As is well-known to everybody, a furious internal discussion took place within the P.B. and C.C. during the last four years, i.e., since the last Party Congress held at Jullundur. Out of those internal discussions, summarised in this report, emerged the main ideas, conclusions, etc., of the Political Resolution. Giving this Congress, and subsequently giving the entire Party, an idea of how the C.C. came to the conclusions incorporated in the Political Resolution would help the process of educating the entire Party on the political-tactical line of the Party. This report and the resolution which we have now adopted with amendments are therefore interconnected; they should be studied together. '

During the period that has elapsed since the last Party Congress, our Party, together with the left and democratic movement in which we are participants, has made considerable advances. We have, of course, had our failings, shortcomings, etc., which are subjected to discussion and criticism in this report. Before going into them, however, I want to highlight the main achievements that have been registered in this period. The Party has grown with a remarkable increase in its membership, expansion into new areas and regions, expansion of the activities of mass organisations in which we are working, unity of mass organisations, united struggles. All these have been projected in this report with relevant facts and figures.

More important than these facts and figures concerning the growth of Party membership, expansion of the Party, etc., however, is the reality that, for the first time in the history of our Party, we have become the major opposition in the country. Not in the sense that we are electorally stronger than any other party. Electorally, of course, we are a weak force taking the country as a whole. The fact, however, remains that the people at large look to us as the most significant political force in the country. All the bourgeois political parties are disintegrating. This is true of every one of the bourgeois opposition parties. Even the ruling Congress(I), which is said to be very strong, is crisis-ridden, faction-ridden. All the bourgeois parties being thus in a state of crisis, our Party has come out as the major Left opposition party. We are trying with varying degrees of success in uniting all the other Left and democratic forces against authoritarianism, against the class policies of the bourgeois-landlord political parties. This position we have come to acquire in this period.

The role played by the Left Fronts in West Bengal and Tripura and the Left-Democratic Front in Kerala is in this context worth noting. Although it is over two years now since Indira Gandhi became Prime Minister again, and although from the very beginning the Congress(I) leaders expressed their determination to throw the Left and Left-Democratic Fronts and Governments out, they have been unable to do so in West Bengal and in Tripura. Even in Kerala, they were able to do so only through organising defections within the Left-Democratic Front itself. It is a remarkable thing that in spite of all the campaigns—not only political propoganda campaigns but campaigns of political violence which they organised in West Bengal, together with the campaign of setting one ethnic group against another in Tripura, our Party and the Left Fronts which the Party leads in these two states have proved to be far stronger than when they were elected over four years ago.

Worthy of mention in this context are the results of a few by-elections recently held in West Bengal and Tripura as well as the elections to the Autonomous Tribal Council in Tripura. They show that, while the bourgeois opposition parties and even the

ruling Congress(I) are going from crisis to crisis, the Left Fronts headed by our Party are acquiring greater and greater influence among the people.

As for the LDF in Kerala, its electoral position can, of course, be known only when the election is held. But the fact remains that important constituents of the old Left-Democratic Front continue to be with us even now. Furthermore, ever since the ministry had to resign, there have been very huge, vast demonstrations all over the state in support of the Left-Democratic Front. These show that the influence of the Left-Democratic Front is growing.

So, in all the three states where our Party has been able to use its electoral strength to defeat the Congress(I), form Governments and use our position in the Governments to serve the people, we have been able to grow stronger. This is an important fact which puts us in marked contrast to the crisis-ridden bourgeois parties.

Advances are being registered also in states where our Party, together with the Left movement in general, has for long remained extremely weak. The recent expansion of the Party and the general Left and democratic movement in the entire Hindi-speaking region is worth noting. Facts concerning this are given in the second part of the report. The Party in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh is growing while new units are coming up in Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir. The entire Hindi-speaking belt is thus moving.

The advances registered in these states are, of course, inadequate and small when compared to the three major states. We are, however, able to make some impact on the politics of the country as was seen in the remarkable demonstrations that were held in Delhi on March 26, September 15 and November 23. The bulk of the participants in each of them was from the Hindi-speaking region which for long has been known to be backward from the point of view of the Left and democratic movement.

Advances are being registered also in other states like Karnataka, Gujarat, Assam. The heroic struggles put up by our comrades in Assam on the issue of 'foreigners' and in Gujarat on the issue of reservation show that there is a new upsurge in favour of our Party and the Left and democratic movement led by our Party.

People seeing the bankruptcy of the policies of the bourgeois parties are increasingly coming towards us. As I mentioned the other day, the recent revival in Andhra Pradesh gives us hope that what was developing but got disrupted over thirty years ago in Andhra Pradesh is on the point of revival. Our Party today is thus more even, more balanced than before. The unevenness of development about which we had spoken earlier at Jullundur and at Salkia is in other words, well on the way of being removed. We can, therefore, rightly express satisfaction that our objective of transforming ourselves into *an all-India mass revolutionary party* is on the way of being realised, a few steps in that direction having been taken during the last four years.

What are the reasons for this capacity of our Party to make advances in this period? First, as I indicated earlier, the bourgeois parties are increasingly showing their bankruptcy. People have seen that neither the ruling Congress(I) nor the opposition bourgeois parties are able to do anything, even to maintain themselves in a stable Government. This is not possible for either the ruling party or the bourgeois opposition parties. This is the lesson that the people have drawn from what happened during the last five/six years—the throwing out of the Indira Gandhi Government, the reinstallation of the Indira Gandhi Government and the way in which it has been going from crisis to crisis during the last two years. The people have, in other words, seen that this country cannot be saved unless a new alignment of forces is brought about—an alignment of Left and democratic forces in which our Party plays an important role. This realisation is fast coming into the consciousness of the people.

Secondly, our Party was able to make a realistic assessment of what has been happening in the ruling classes, in the various political parties of the ruling classes. Our Jullundur resolution was a realistic assessment. That resolution, let us recall, was based on a review report in which we made a self-critical analysis of what we did in the preceding period, drawing the main conclusion that we underestimated the sharpened contradictions between the bourgeois-landlord parties themselves.

Let us recall that, after the 1970-71 attack on our Party and the Left movement by the ruling Congress party headed by Indira Gandhi, we made a detailed analysis at the Ninth Congress held in Madurai in 1972. We had then pointed out the direction in which the ruling Congress party was going. We characterised the regime as authoritarian resorting to semi-fascist terror and called for united opposition to the growing trend towards authoritarianism, towards one-party dictatorship, the domination of a single person. The self-critical review that we made at the Tenth Congress at Jullundur, however, showed that, while the general direction of the Ninth Congress was correct, we tended to underestimate the conflicts that were developing between the bourgeois-landlord parties themselves. This was the starting point of the analysis made and the tactical line worked out at Jullundur.

Developing the idea that we had originally formulated at the Ninth Congress of joint resistance to the authoritarian trend, one-party rule, personal dictatorship, etc., we carried it forward at the Tenth Congress to the idea of a broad platform which is broader than the unity of Left and democratic forces and mobilises all those who are interested in resisting authoritarianism. We pointed out that although the leader of the authoritarian party was thrown out of office, the authoritarian force was still there, it could come back. So it was very necessary to forge the broadest possible forum of resistance.

At the same time, we had no illusion that the Janata Party which for the time being came to be the symbol of anti-authoritarian resistance would continue to be there. In fact, the Political Resolution of the Tenth Congress gave a clear warning:

"It will be erroneous to ascribe loyalty to democracy and commitment to resist the dictatorship to a particular group or party." Why? The reason is: "The struggle against dictatorship will see many vacillations and change-overs from one camp to another, groups and sections changing their positions quickly under the pressure of the economic crisis and the developing mass struggles and the need to protect their own interests against the rival combination".

We were very realistic in seeing that the Congress headed by Indira Gandhi was, for the moment, the main vehicle of authoritarianism and for the moment it happened that the Janata Party, the Janata Government, was the instrument with which the people could resist authoritarianism. But we made it clear that 'in the Janata Party also, authoritarian elements and trends are manifesting themselves. This is natural in view of the character of the party and the urgent need to hold on to Governmental power'.

So it is not as if the Jullundur analysis made the Janata Party our sole or reliable ally in the anti-authoritarian struggle. It, for the moment, happened to be the best instrument with which authoritarianism could be fought. But, as was clear even then, authoritarian trends were making their appearance in the Janata Party also, as is natural in any bourgeois party in which all these vacillations, etc., are taking place.

There is in fact a detailed description of the Janata Party. Let us recall to ourselves what we had said there. A whole section of two pages is devoted to the Janata Party as a political force, what it is, how it works, etc. It begins:

"The antecedents of the main constituents of the Janata Party have been anti-democratic and reactionary. They are the same parties that represented the grand alliance in 1971", so on and so forth. And then it is said that when the conflict between the bourgeois-landlord parties got intensified and when they, in the post-1971 period got divided into the ruling Congress and bourgeois opposition parties, they took a stand against authoritarianism and in that connection it is said, "the promises of the Janata Party are a valuable asset which must be fully utilised". But again it is said, "the composition of the party is based on the preponderance of what are known as rightist parties, with the Left forces represented by the Socialist Party and Young Turks acting as a prodding element. The growing combination of the Jana Sangh and the BLD threatens to overwhelm the party with a reactionary conservative leadership. Already, the RSS which continues to be separately organised, is emerging as a strong force forecasting ominous developments".

So, the Janata Party in its entirety is taken—its positive as well as negative aspects. The positive aspect is that, as a bourgeois opposition party, it joins the ranks of opposition to the authoritarian moves of the ruling Congress. And that was a valuable asset for the anti-authoritarian cause. In our self-critical review report, in fact, we had criticised ourselves for not taking this aspect into account, using it to develop the anti-authoritarian struggle.

At the same time, even while taking note of this positive element which should undoubtedly be utilised, we gave clear warning about the negative element of the line of the Janata Party and the Janata Government. This can be seen in a number of resolutions adopted at Jullundur. I will just read the headings of those resolutions: "On the economic policies of the Janata Government", which is a very sharp critique of the Government's economic policy. The same in other fields is done in the resolutions on "Wages and Incomes Policy", on "Labour Policy of the Janata Government", on "Centre-State Relations", "Atrocities on Harijans", "Rising Prices", on "Communal Riots". There is a separate resolution on the RSS as well. I think it will be useful to read at least a few paras from the latter:

"The Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) notes with concern the growing danger to secularism and democracy from the RSS and its policies of rabid communalism", etc. The RSS is hostile to progressive and scientific thinking and is inimical to Socialism and Communism. It is opposed to India having fraternal friendly relations with socialist countries. The organisation which claims to speak on behalf of the majority community in the country is striving to influence and dominate the policies of the Janata Government. By maintaining its separate identity and existence even after the Jana Sangh's merger into the Janata Party, it is trying to secure its grip on the Government machinery and its administration. These efforts of the RSS leadership have been rightly causing concern and worry to the secular and democratic components inside the Janata Party and they are opposed to the separate existence of the RSS and its enjoying official patronage from the Janata Party and

the Janata Government. The Tenth Congress of the CPI(M) welcomes this struggle of the secular and democratic forces inside the Janata and appeals to all progressive and democratic-minded parties and individuals in the country to take a determined stand against the RSS and its revivalist politics."

It can thus be seen that while the potentialities of the Janata Party and its Government in the struggle against authoritarianism are positively noted, the need for struggle against the negative policies, the beginnings of this struggle inside the Janata Party itself, the duty of our Party and our Left allies to join hands with those forces which were struggling inside the Janata—all these are also noted. So, when we speak of the Jullundur line, we should take all these into account and not take only one aspect as some comrades do and, in fact, did today.

Comrades, after the Jullundur Congress, we of the P.B. and C.C. tried to apply the main essence of the Jullundur line to the changing reality. As a matter of fact, between Jullundur and the fall of the Janata Party Government, we from the P.B and C.C. had issued so many statements, written so many editorials and other articles in the Party paper, etc., which showed that we were keeping track of the developments inside the Janata Party, between the Janata Party and the other opposition parties and the political life of the country in general.

But apart from these statements, resolutions, editorials, etc., I want to draw your attention to three main authoritative documents of the period between Jullundur and July 1979. These are the first Political Resolution of the Salkia Plenum, adopted over and above the organisational report and resolution which formed the main item on the agenda of the Plenum. The Political Resolution surveyed the then current political situation and expressed the considered view of the Party on the same. Secondly, the Central Committee discussed in April 1979 the main features of the national situation then and on the basis of those discussions drew up an inner-Party document. This was in April, i.e., four months after Salkia resolution but three months before the fall of the Janata Government. This is a Central Committee document.

The third is the P.B. statement of July 2, 1979, i.e., the eve of the Janata crisis.

In all these three documents—I am leaving for lack of time other documents which include statements issued, resolutions adopted, articles and editorials written by the P.B. in this period, it is clearly stated that the potentialities of the Janata Party and the Janata Government as a force in the struggle against authoritarianism are being rapidly exhausted due to the anti-working class, anti-people policies, anti-democratic stand on Centre-state relations, failure to protect minorities, etc. In every one of these documents, special mention is made of the RSS. All this is quite in keeping with the Jullundur line.

Here is a passage from the Salkia Political Resolution. It says, "The (Janata) Government dragged its feet on the question of dismantling the authoritarian structure that had been erected by the Congress party when Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister through the 42nd Amendment of the Constitution during the Emergency. The Janata Party refused to mobilise the masses for this purpose, but, instead, went in for agreement on constitutional amendments with the very forces that had put up the authoritarian structure." Again, "the Janata Party composed of disparate elements has no cohesion and its basic policies are on different from those of the Congress Government". And then, "In the absence of a cohesive socio-economic policy in the interest of the toiling masses, and directed against the monopolists and the multinationals collaborating with them and against the landlords, which alone will be in the interests of the nation, personal rivalries of the leaders have come on top".

Drawing attention to various other anti-people and reactionary policies of the Janata Government, the resolution concluded: "The authoritarian forces headed by Indira Gandhi have naturally sought to take advantage of these developments. She poses as the champion of the harijans and the minorities". "The entire development during the last few years underline the very deep crisis of bourgeois policies. These policies have been proved to be bankrupt and they cannot take the country out of the very deep economic crisis, nor can they give any solution to be problems of

growing poverty and unemployment of the common people. These policies can only aggravate them."

All those forces which exist in all parties and are prepared to resist these policies are then called upon "to come together on all issues concerning the common people, mobilise them jointly against the authoritarian forces and in this process strengthen their unity. This alone will lead to the emergence of a powerful Left and democratic alternative." The negative features of the Janata Government, its policies, what harm they were doing, how it was necessary that these were resisted on the basis of united struggle—all these are brought out in the Salkia resolution.

I do not want to read more from these documents. The main thing is that we were watching developments from moment to moment—how the Janata Party was going on, what impact it was having on the politics of the country. We were slowly coming to realise that the Janata Government was not at all stable, it would collapse and the time had come for us to work towards a new alignment of political forces. This conclusion we had arrived at by about March-April 1979, and, from then on, we started working towards the new alignment of forces.

The conference convened by Madhu Limaye on May 18, 1979, and the contacts that we started establishing with several elements in the Janata Party were calculated to get us allies within as well as outside the Janata Party, on the basis of some programme on which all those who were prepared to fight authoritarianism could unite on some generally democratic and Left policies. An effort in this direction had to be made and the first effort was the conference convened by Madhu Limaye in which we participated. That, of course, was only the first effort. It did not become a development of much significance but it helped us in forging contacts with several other forces inside the Janata Party and outside. This was the basis on which we reviewed the entire situation at the time when the Janata Government was collapsing.

The new alignment of political forces taking place in the country at that time led us to our decision with regard to the no-confidence motion against the Janata Party. On this decision a

good deal of controversy has taken place in the Central Committee and Polit Bureau as well as in some State Committees. The West Bengal state conference held recently had this as the chief topic of discussion.

I do not want to go into an elaborate discussion on it here. The Polit Bureau and the Central Committee, let me point out, are divided into a majority and minority. Except on this single issue on which there was a division, the P.B. and C.C. were united, all the documents adopted during this period such as, the Salkia resolution, the inner-Party statement of the Central Committee on Current Situation (April 1979), the Polit Bureau statement of July 2, 1979, etc., were unanimously adopted by the Central Committee and the Polit Bureau.

It should, however, be added that at the meeting of the Polit Bureau held on July 2, Comrade Jyoti Basu was absent. He had gone abroad. Up to then we were all united. On our attitude to the no-confidence motion, too, we were unanimous. The July 13 P.B. statement announcing the decision to support the no-confidence motion was issued after a meeting attended by all members except Comrade Jyoti Basu. The subsequent C.C. meeting held on July 20 which endorsed the P.B. statement was also unanimous, although Comrade Jyoti Basu who joined the Central Committee meeting had some reservations.

With regard to our giving support to the Charan Singh Ministry, of course, there were differences, some who had earlier supported the decision on the no-confidence motion having reservations on this; they, therefore, were either in opposition or neutral when the decision was taken. In a very few weeks' time, however, we came to unanimous decisions on the electoral alliances. We were all agreed that among the three combinations of bourgeois parties, namely, the Congress(I), the Janata with its RSS constituent and the Lok Dal-Congress(S) combination, we should prefer the third.

Whether these are unanimous or majority decisions of the Central Committee is, of course, not the major point. What should be stressed is that we were going through a process: the Central Committee took the initiative in having the Jullundur resolution,

with its twin slogans of Left and democratic unity and broad platform adopted; that very Central Committee tried to apply the line to the changing situation; it found in the process of carrying out the line that the Janata Party's potentiality as the weapon of anti-authoritarian struggle was being rapidly eroded and that it was necessary to work towards a new alignment of forces; but in the process of working for the realignment, some differences arose in the Central Committee. Such was the background against which the July crisis actually broke out.

The question of support to the Charan Singh Government still further intensified the differences. Even today, on the two questions of support to the no-confidence motion and support to the Charan Singh Government, the differences persist. The minority sticks to its position while we stick to ours. But we are both agreed that they concern questions of the past and have nothing to do with the present.

According to the principles of our Party organisation, such differences as do not have a bearing on the Party's immediate tasks should be kept out of the discussion. Both the majority and the minority being now agreed that, although a very burning issue at that time, it has ceased to be relevant because not only has the Janata Government fallen, but that party itself has broken into pieces. We are of the view that while we record the existence of the difference on this issue, it is not necessary for this Party Congress to divide itself on it.

The way in which differences cropped up on this question and were handled, however, raises certain other questions concerning the application of our Salkia line on organisation.

The basic assumption of the Salkia report and resolution on organisation is that we cannot carry out our general directive of building Left and democratic unity and forging the broader forum of resistance unless we have a mass revolutionary party. The expansion of the Party, or drawing more and more militants into the Party, should be combined with consolidation. In other words, while the Party expands, while it becomes a mass party, it does not cease to be a revolutionary party; while more and more militants are drawn into the Party, they are educated and made to

function in a disciplined way. The duties and responsibilities of Party members and units as spelt out in the Party Constitution should be strictly discharged. Without this, we cannot discharge our responsibility. The serious lags that exist in this regard were clearly brought out by the experience of the July crisis.

In transforming ourselves into a mass revolutionary party, a crucial role is to be played by the Party centre which means a functioning Polit Bureau and Central Committee on the one hand, and proper relations between the Central Committee and the State Committees on the other. Where do we stand in this regard?

As a result of the work which led up to the Jullundur Congress, there was some improvement in the functioning of the Central Committee. It was this that enabled the Party Congress at Jullundur to come to certain conclusions and then follow it up in the Salkia Plenum. There was a Central Committee, there was a Polit Bureau which had been dealing with political and organisational developments. After Jullundur, too, barring on this one issue on one occasion, on everything else we, the P.B. and C.C., were united. It was only on this issue that differences arose.

We were, however, unable to resolve the differences that arose around the July crisis in the proper Party manner. This is illustrated by the fact that the strongest state unit of our Party, i.e., West Bengal, thought it necessary to raise this question before the Party Congress. The state leadership of the Party had earlier asked the entire Party to discuss this question along with two other questions in all the local and district conferences. At the state conference, too, we of the P.B. who were attending it found ourselves in a position where the majority of delegates were opposed to the line of the Central Committee. As a matter of fact, the Central Committee members from the state had themselves taken the initiative in organising this discussion.

This is not the state of affairs which should exist in a unified Marxist-Leninist party. I do not propose to go into the reasons which led to this state of affairs. I only want to state that this illustrates the existing situation in the Party, within the Central Committee itself. The division of the Central Committee and Polit Bureau into a majority and minority and the confrontation

between the Central Committee and the State Committees constitutes a problem which cannot be settled at this Party Congress, but has to be taken up by the new Central Committee in consultation with the West Bengal State Committee.

This Polit Bureau and Central Committee, let us recall, is the same leadership which, together with this very West Bengal state leadership, took the initiative in forming the CPI (Marxist). It is this leadership, again, which after its formation fought and defeated the Naxalites and then carried on an inner-Party struggle after 1971-72—the struggle which culminated in the Jullundur and Salkia resolutions. If in this leadership such differences arose, the proper thing was to see that the differences were thrashed out primarily by the same leadership. This should, of course, be done in consultation with the State Committees—not only the West Bengal State Committee—because the questions involved do not concern West Bengal alone. It concerns all the State Committees. This was not only not done but the State and Central Committees were set against each other.

A procedure should, therefore, be evolved by the new Central Committee to have such differences resolved if they arise in future. This is very necessary for us if we are to play our role in fighting authoritarianism, leading mass struggles and preparing our masses for the people's democratic revolution. It is necessary that all the ideological, political and organisational problems thrown up in the course of our work are subjected to detailed discussions and decisions through the proper Party method. We, therefore, suggest that, while the new Central Committee gives thought to the proper Party method of resolving such differences as crop up in the future, the majority and minority opinions that have crystallised need not—in fact, should not—be subjected to a discussion and decision at this Party Congress.

Comrades, just as on the question of the political-tactical line, so on the question of organisation, too, our Polit Bureau and Central Committee can claim some achievements. At the same time, the fact remains that most of the conclusions arrived at and the directives given in the Salkia resolution still remain

unimplemented. The details concerning the shortcomings of our work at the centre have been dealt with in the first part of this report, while those of the states have been dealt with in the second part.

In spite of these failings and shortcomings, however, the fact remains that in this period the Polit Bureau and Central Committee have been functioning collectively to a far greater extent than before. The details of this have also been given. Even such details as how many meetings were held, what questions were dealt with have been put down here.

It can be seen from all this that we have set up a pattern of functioning in which as many P.B. members as possible are collectively dealing with the ideological, political and organisational problems of the Party and giving guidance to the states. Assistance to the states, in fact, has been far more in the last four years than at any time before. We are not satisfied with it, we should in fact have done more, for which there are two sets of reasons:

1. The subjective failings of the individual P.B. members who are working at the centre;
2. The composition of the present P.B. or its numerical strength, together with the pattern of the organisation at the Party centre, i.e., the staff and other things which are totally inadequate.

The Party organisation envisaged at Salkia is a very important element in our political-tactical line. We have been dealing with it in the work reports which the Polit Bureau has been submitting from time to time to the Central Committee. In fact at every Central Committee meeting we have been submitting a written report. These written reports submitted by the P.B. to the C.C. from time to time have helped the C.C. to submit the present report and raise these problems.

I, however, admit that we have been so far unable to solve all these problems satisfactorily. This is illustrated by the above-mentioned inability to avoid the confrontation between the minority and majority in the C.C. and between the West Bengal State Committee and the Central Committee. This is one of the

still unresolved problems which we are leaving behind to the new Central Committee.

While I am leaving this specific organisational problem to be dealt with by the new Central Committee, I want to take up one or two specific problems of organisation.

Let me first take up the way in which our Party organs are running. We have an English weekly, a Hindi weekly and an Urdu fortnightly of the centre. We also have dailies in six states. We have other journals in all states. But who knows the organisational, managerial and editorial policies pursued by different State Committees? We at the centre do not know. Informally some of us may be knowing something about some journals, but the P.B. and C.C. have not been able to give collective thought to the problem, collectively come to conclusions. We in our informal talks say casually that so and so paper has not been adhering to Party policy; so and so paper is run not as a propaganda medium addressed to non-Party masses but as a Party gazette or bulletin, etc. These observations may be correct, incorrect, partly correct and partly incorrect. But have we as the P.B. and C.C. been able to discuss the problem and give the Central Committee's guidance to the State Committees on how the Party organs should be run?

Some specific questions were heard in state conferences, in state plenums, etc., regarding the running of Party journals, such as whether Party journals can take advertisements as bourgeois papers do, whether the photographs of Congress(I) leaders can be given in our papers, etc. I am not giving my opinion on these questions. The point is that the P.B. and C.C. have not given collective thought to these questions. We, however, know that different Party journals in different states are pursuing different policies. Some of our dailies are being run just as any other bourgeois daily, some are being run in such a way that nobody other than the active functionaries of the Party would be interested in them. Which of these approaches is correct, or is any of them correct—all these questions have to be subjected to collective examination and decision.

The Salkia report, in fact, had asked us of the Party centre to deal with these questions, convene a conference of editors of Party papers in the states and of the Centre. We have been unable to do it so far. The new C.C. will have to take it up.

Next, there is the question of the work to be done by our members of Parliament, the guidance to be given to them by the Party centre. There were some clear directives on this question in the Salkia report and resolution. Our claim is that we have tried to do something in that direction. But we ourselves feel that what has been done is totally inadequate from the point of view of the requirements of the situation and of the capacities and talents of the comrades who are in Parliament today. There are many factors which stand in the way of our fulfilling the responsibilities put on us. There are, of course, the personal failings of individual MPs. There may also be some lag in the way in which we of the P.B. are giving them directives.

Above all, neither the MPs themselves nor the Party units in the states from which they come, appear to be taking the work in Parliament in a serious way. Almost all our MPs are from West Bengal and Kerala. In both states I have heard the remark, "you are taking our MPs". Yes, we took your MPs when they were elected. The MPs have to do central work—whether they do trade union work, other mass work, or Party organisation work—once they have been sent to Parliament, which means formally they are out of their own state, district or local units. Their being considered as local, districts or state cadre means that they do not work as MPs.

We find that some MPs have been elected as local or district committee members and even secretaries. And then they come to our parliamentary group leader and say, "I have been directed by my unit to do this or that work, so I have to go". To them, it appears, Party is not the parliamentary group or P.B. but their local committee or district committee. I can understand the difficulty of comrades both in Kerala and West Bengal. When you select comrades for Parliament you select the best. It is because they are the best that they are required here, they are required there. But who is to decide?

The P.B. circularised all State and District Committees that, during the time of the sessions of Parliament, no MP who is a Party member can leave Delhi unless he or she is permitted by the Party leadership in Parliament. But that is not taken seriously. I am not accusing any member individually. This has become a trend and I hope a turn will be made, both by the MPs themselves as well as by the State and District Committees. Unless we are able to use the services of MPs not only for the formal work in Parliament but also for the political and organisational work of the Party, we cannot take advantage of our position in Parliament to consolidate and expand the Party organisation.

We receive telegrams, letters, phone calls whenever something happens somewhere—Mainpuri, Sadhupur, etc.—something has happened, please send somebody. There is, however, nobody whom we can send unless these comrades are provided by the states. One of the reservoirs out of which we can take the cadres are the MPs. How to make optimum use of these comrades for the benefit of their constituencies, for the benefit of the district and Party units as well as for the development of the Party and mass movement in the country as a whole. This is the problem which has to be resolved.

Comrades, before I conclude, I want to refer to one point which is mentioned in the Salkia report and resolution but which appears to have remained unfulfilled to a large extent. And that is the need to restore the norms and forms according to which Party members should function within and under the direction of their Party unit. The difference between a Social-Democratic or petty bourgeois political party and the Communist Party is, as is known to all of us, that every member of the Communist Party is subjected to discipline, not in the formal sense of the term but in the sense that his or her work is determined (of course, in consultation with the person concerned) by the Party unit, again checked up by the Party unit. He or she is criticised for failures, praised for achievements, so that every Party member, whether he or she belongs to the lowest Party branch or to the Central Committee, the entire work is subjected to prior determination and subsequent check-up by the particular unit of which he or she is a member.

This was the basis on which we of the older generation of Indian Communists were brought up in the Party. But does that practice obtain now? Are those of us who grew up in the Party on these lines doing so now? What about the new recruits who are increasingly coming into the Party? Are they being trained for it? The elementary norms of the functioning of a Party member within the unit, subject to the decisions of the unit as well of higher units—are they being observed?

The annual scrutiny of Party membership is the occasion on which all these have to be examined. Annual scrutiny is not and should not be just a scrutiny of whether the member is alive, not just examining whether he or she has paid the membership dues and levies. These, of course, are and should be the beginning. The question whether the member is alive and has paid the dues having been settled, the question should arise whether the member has been observing the norms of Party functioning. Without proper check-up of these aspects of a Party member's work, we cannot call ourselves a mass revolutionary party.

In the absence of such disciplined functioning, the mass party that we seek to build will be a repetition of what happened to our old party, the undivided CPI. I am posing the question whether we are going in that direction. We in the P.B. and C.C. have not yet collectively discussed this and come to conclusions.

But I have seen that at the state conferences, when the new panel is being discussed, two considerations are kept in mind: 1. new people should be taken; 2. no old people should be removed because if somebody is removed there will be problems. Naturally, if there is no scrutiny from month to month, year to year, if the work of Party members is not discussed from time to time, their failings, shortcomings, failure to do the assigned jobs cannot be assessed. Without this systematic assessment of the work of members, old members cannot be dropped in preparing the panel. On the other hand, if such an assessment is made from time to time, the annual scrutiny will form the basis on which Party members are renewed or dropped. Even in the case of elected members of committees some scrutiny can be done, the

records of which will be the basis on which the panel is prepared at the conference. So and so has failed to perform the duties assigned, so should not find a place, or for some other reasons he has to be removed, etc. This is a rather painful task. It, however, has to be discharged.

There is a general tendency for expansion of State, District, etc., Committees. This is true of several states, but the maximum was in West Bengal, where the State Committee came to 83. If this is done at the centre, we may have the National Council, Central Executive Committee, Secretariat, etc., as in the CPI.

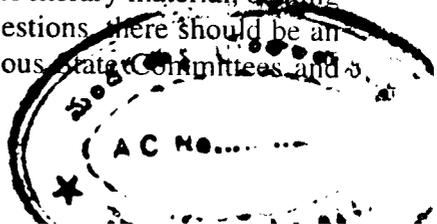
I may mention that a suggestion has come to us that a constitutional amendment should be made to raise the limit of members in a branch whose maximum is now nine. This suggestion had in fact been made at Salkia when 11, 13, 15, etc., were suggested. It was, however, decided that we do not disturb the number. The argument advanced now is that an expanding party, an expanding organisation, should have larger Party branches. But, since the expansion that has taken place so far is not the limit, since the expansion is going to be still bigger, we may in the course of four, five or ten years, be 10/15 times bigger than we are now. In that case, if this argument is to be accepted, we will have at the centre, state, district, etc., committees which are larger than even the CPI Council. Is that the way-out?

Or, can you think of ways and means through which the larger Party with larger membership will have correspondingly larger number of branch secretaries, organisers, etc.? The question is whether we can train them and what is the way of training them. If we do not do this job, even the larger size of Party units will not help. The particular suggestion of increasing the size of the branch is thus no solution of the problem. The whole question of how to deal with an expanding party, how to create that mechanism through which an expanding party can be organised and led by compact leaderships at all levels, has to be discussed in depth by the new Central Committee.

We had made the observation at Salkia that all the problems of organisation that we have to deal with now are problems of growth. I would now add that even the problems of political-

tactical line, the problem with which we are concerned with now, the problem of inner-Party difference on the July crisis, for instance, are problems of growth. In our previous documents on organisation, we had said that there is unevenness of growth of the Party with some strong, several weak segments. It so happens sometimes that the political-tactical line adopted for the country as a whole is too little for the strong segments but too much for the weak. Situations arise in which the comrades in one part of the country look at a particular problem in a way which is different from comrades in other parts. There is then the danger of one set of the Party comrades being set against the others. This can be averted only through systematic discussions, exchanges, between the C.C. and the State Committee concerned, so that a proper understanding can be arrived at. This is the way in which all the inner-Party problems, political-tactical and organisational, have to be tackled.

This is important for us even for the future. A growing party is bound to have differences. Comrades in different states, working under different objective conditions and having different experiences, cannot have the same approach. That is why it is necessary to have a strong and stable Party centre which we had emphasised at Salkia. The role of the centre under these conditions is to have a general approach, broad outlook, which has to be applied in each state. Even in the application of the general approach, however, it is not to be left to the state alone. The state leadership, of course, has to play the primary role, but not alone. The Central Committee together with the State Committee concerned should deal with the problems of applying the line to the concrete conditions of each state. Unless this is observed, problems are bound to be still more difficult than of the July crisis. This is all more true of organisational problems like that of training the cadres, training branch secretaries, giving training to all Party members, Party schooling, running of Party journals, publication of books and other literary material, dealing with intellectuals, etc. On all these questions there should be an effort to pool the experiences of various State Committees and come to conclusions.



If this is done, we can make far greater advances than we have been able to do so far. For, because the very crisis of the bourgeois political system has meant that larger and larger sections of people from all classes, all strata, have begun to look up to us. Many of them may not have yet become Party members or even Party sympathisers but they are looking up to us. We will have to take the lead in uniting all the anti-authoritarian, the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, democratic sections who are on the move. The working class is, of course, the biggest force, but as Comrade Ranadive said yesterday, the peasant upsurge that we had seen in the year 1980-1981 is the biggest so far. Furthermore, large numbers of intellectuals, scientists, economists, professionals are being awakened. From all these sections of the people we are getting more and more sympathisers, supporters, many of whom are prepared to work for us.

As a matter of fact, in many states, this becomes a serious problem; the talents and capacities of all the new friends and comrades cannot be utilised by the Party with its existing organisation. In organising them, in using their services, the Party should have a unified political-organisational line. A serious lag in this respect is coming again and again in state after state, in regard to tackling problems of culture, of guiding the artistes, the writers, the scientists, etc., those of them who are coming towards the Party, veering towards the Marxist-Leninist outlook. The services of such people can be utilised provided the Party leadership at all levels, from the P.B. and C.C. downwards, is able to discharge the task. Otherwise, if we fail in this task, all sorts of disruptive forces are bound to emerge.

The whole thing thus depends on the unified approach we adopt on the political-tactical line for which, of course, the basis has been laid by the Political Resolution which we adopted unanimously yesterday. I hope that broad agreement will emerge out of the discussions on this report as well. With these words, I request you do give your unanimous approval to this report and enrich it with your own experiences in various fields of Party organisation.

REPLY TO DISCUSSION

**On The Draft Political-Organisational
Report Placed Before the Eleventh
Congress of the CPI(M) Given by
E.M.S. Namboodiripad**

Before replying to the discussion, I want to make an announcement. The West Bengal delegation has given us a note in which they raise the question of how differences that arise in the Party are to be discussed, what are the norms and forms to be observed in discussing them. It is obvious that, within the short time at our disposal, and without thorough discussion in the Central Committee, this cannot be taken up now. We therefore, suggest that this note be passed on to the new Central Committee for appropriate action.

Comrades, coming to the discussion on the report, I am happy that there is general approval of the line we adopted. We have no illusion that this means that everything that has been put in the report is approved. As I stated in my preliminary observations, the suggestions, comments, criticism, etc., which are made here will have to be taken into account in finalising the report. I would only request those of you who have made their observations, and even those who were not able to complete their observations in their speeches, to give them in writing, so that we can pay attention to them in finalising the report.

The main thing that has to be noted, the thing which has been repeated by every comrade who participated in the discussion, is that we made big advances in this period—advances not confined to this state or that state, this region or that region, this front or that front, but throughout the country, among all sections of the people. There is no question of difference in this general tendency as between the strong and weak states. Comrades from the strong states will be inspired by the fact that, one after another, new states are coming up, joining the mainstream of the militant mass movement.

This is inspiring for the comrades in strong states who have had to work against odds when they were almost alone. I am sure that in the coming period, when the authoritarian ruling party launches attack after attack on West Bengal, Kerala, Tripura, etc., the comrades who are now coming up from Gujarat, Karnataka, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Jammu & Kashmir as well as Bihar, U.P., etc.—all of them will be able to strengthen themselves more and more, so that they can give assistance to the strong states. Similarly, the still further gains being made in the strong states will inspire the comrades in the rest of the country. Our movement in the strong states is not standing still, but growing more and more; the increase in the Party's strength, its mass influence, its capacity to resist all attacks—all these shown by the comrades in the strong states are matters of inspiration to comrades in the rest of the country. The growth of the Party and the Left movement in the country will thus help the Party in the whole country.

Comrades from state after state have pointed out in their comments that the gains and achievements of their respective states have not been adequately reflected in the second part of the report. I had in my preliminary observations said that we were ourselves conscious of the limitations under which that part of the report was prepared. In fact, till two weeks before this Party Congress opened, we were all busy going from state to state, attending conferences, learning what was happening. We did not have the time or opportunity to sit collectively, discuss and come to a collective understanding of what is happening in this or that state, etc. We thought that even if we had been unable to do this job satisfactorily, it would be good for you delegates to get some picture of the Party as it is. This is all that we can give you now, but I hope that this is better than giving you nothing. That is why I requested you in the very beginning to help us with your comments, suggestions, etc., for the improvement and enrichment of our assessment.

Not that we have done everything that we should have done. Nobody is more conscious than we of the P.B. and C.C. of our failures. I stated in the introductory observations that, when

compared to the requirements of the Party today, the expansion that has taken place is totally inadequate. Against the background of the rapid erosion in the position of all bourgeois parties and the growing attraction of Marxism-Leninism among the people, far more is possible. I also pleaded with you, requested you to realise that with the limited resources that are available to us—inadequate resources in cadres and in money—we could not do more.

I would, however, claim that, in spite of these limitations, we have done as much as is humanly possible for us. This is one of the reasons why we have been able to make such progress.

There is, for instance, the supreme importance of, and the failure of our Party leadership intervening wherever some such development takes place such as communal riots, attacks on Harijans, etc. Our intervention has undoubtedly been inadequate. Some comrades went to the extent of saying that we did not do it all. While we would not accept that charge, we certainly admit the inadequacy of what we are doing.

Some comrades recalled what Comrade A. K. Gopalan used to do. Let us admit that there is no AKG among us. That, of course, should not stand in the way of our Party leadership collectively doing what Comrade Gopalan did. This we have failed to do. But, as I stated in the beginning, we have our limitations—not only the personal limitations of the individual leaders constituting the P.B. and C.C. but those arising from the lack of cadres having experience in various fields of Party activity. Comrades do not appear to be realising that the leadership as a whole has to do certain other jobs than going to the states. The P.B. and C.C. members going to *different places* and giving personal leadership should be combined with certain other jobs on which we have been concentrating and in which we have shown results.

For instance, we were able to apply our collective thought to and solve the major questions of policy which helped a little to make some breakthrough in the areas where the Party was weak so far. It was this collective work that enabled us to organise and consolidate the Party's growing influence through the mass organisations—existing mass organisations as well as the new organisations that we took initiative in forming in this period.

We have been able also to make some improvement in the content of our Party organ, start and continue to run the central organs in Hindi and Urdu, show improvement in running Party schools, in going to the states and giving guidance to organisational problems. Facts concerning all this have been given in the report. If you take all this as part of the work of the Party centre, you will realise that we could not have been able to do all this if everyone of us were to function as Comrade AKG did.

It is here that the importance of what we have been stressing even from the days of the Salkia Plenum lies—the importance of the Party centre being strengthened numerically as well as politically. With the cadre that is available now—the P.B. and C.C. members available for central work, together with other comrades at the Party centre, we cannot discharge our responsibilities. Our only claim is that we have done our best under the circumstances. We hope that, after the criticism that has been made at this Party Congress, the new Central Committee will be able to pay more attention to this problem, getting more comrades from all the states. May I take this opportunity to appeal to the State Committees, particularly to the State Committees which have relatively greater stock of experienced cadres, to make necessary cadres available for central work? Without that, I want to tell you, even for the new Central Committee, it will be impossible to discharge its responsibilities.

I want in this connection, once again, to make a reference to the work of our MPs. Some criticism has been made that I made the reference to MPs in such a way as to evade the responsibility of the P.B. Let me assure you that we do not want that. We welcome criticism so far as we are concerned. We want comrades—particularly the comrades from the states from where we have our MPs—to realise that the MPs cannot discharge their duties as MPs if they work primarily under the State and District Committees; they should work with us, work with the leaders of our parliamentary group in the two houses. The State and District Committees should become aware, make the MPs themselves aware, that if the Party is to be able to discharge its duties at the all-India level, which we all want, the responsibility of the MPs as MPs should be discharged under the guidance of the P.B. and C.C.

In organising the work of the MPs, there is the problem of integration: the work of the MP should be integrated with the work of all the Party committees concerned, not only of the Party centre. Let this problem be discussed by the new Central Committee in consultation with the State and District Committees concerned. The main point is that the services of our MPs should be used by the P.B. and C.C., both for Party work on the floor of Parliament as well as outside. Without this, we cannot discharge our all-India responsibilities. If in this respect there are failings on the part of the P.B. and C.C., we are prepared to listen to and accept the criticism, try to overcome the failings. But I would request you to realise that we should have full cooperation from you in this respect.

The criticism regarding the central Party school was that, after one central Party school was over, it was promised that the syllabus used for the school would be revised and sent to State Committees, so that they can run state Party schools, but that this was not done. This is a correct criticism. But please remember that we organised our central school precisely at the time when the July crisis had broken out. The last class in the school was on the current tactical line. Questions raised in the class had a bearing on the July crisis. Questions were raised also on the international movement. We thought that these questions required serious inner-Party discussion, that it would not be advisable to send out that course to the State Committees. Far from helping to create unified understanding, this might create difficulties. Now that all these questions have been resolved at this Party Congress, I am sure that the new Central Committee will take necessary steps for making such modifications in the syllabus as are necessary and make it available to the State Committees.

Since I am on this question of Party school, I may add that, as was stressed at the Salkia Plenum, ideological work does not mean only running Party schools. The battle of ideas which is crucial in Party-building is waged in a number of ways, in different forms. Party schools can do it only partly. In several other ways, too, the battle of ideas is going on, everyday, every hour.

The bourgeoisie, in fact, is, on a number of questions, waging its battle of ideas. Take, for instance, the question of remunerative prices for agricultural products. Without entering into the content of the controversy on this question, it should be noted that a big ideological battle has been started by the bourgeoisie. The ruling party, some opposition parties, almost the entire world of academics, economists, etc., on one side and we who represent the working class and the peasant movement on the other—such is the correlation of forces on this question of ideology.

There are a number of similar questions on which the academics who are politically sympathetic to us may not be with us. This is one field in which there are big possibilities.

We have recently had the experience of a seminar organised in Delhi on "Lenin's *Imperialism: Its Relevance Today*". A large number of academics, *i.e.*, economists, political scientists, sociologists, etc., on the one hand, and Party activists, activists of the trade unions, etc., on the other, participated. For three days, we discussed, exchanged ideas. This is one form of the battle of ideas.

Similarly, in newspapers, journals, magazines, etc., a number of economic questions, political questions, questions of art and literature, questions of philosophy—all these are raised by bourgeois academics. We, too, can and have to raise certain questions, while the questions they raise should be taken up by us. Fortunately for us, we have a large number of intellectuals coming towards us; their services can be used to full advantage in organising the battle of ideas.

This should be seen as part of our ideological-organisational work envisaged by the Salkia Plenum, namely, to involve the entire Party in the process of discussion on questions of policy. As a matter of fact, we have said that a mass revolutionary party cannot be built unless the Party ranks, the entire Party, is involved in the discussion on questions of current tactics, current problems of the mass movement, of the mass organisations—questions which are raised everyday by our own comrades as well as by the bourgeoisie. We have seen how during the last four/five days, the bourgeois Press has used our Party Congress to launch its

offensive against us. We, for our part, should launch the counter-offensive against them. The bourgeoisie wants to confuse our ranks, we want to influence the ranks of the bourgeois parties.

This is a running battle for which we have to equip our entire Party—from the branch upwards—enable the Party members to participate intelligently in all questions that are agitating the entire people. Without this, we will not be able to build a mass revolutionary party. This was emphasised in the Salkia Plenum document and it is for us at least now, after this Party Congress, to examine how this task is being fulfilled in the various states.

Other suggestions made here by the comrades include some we had ourselves made earlier, but could not be put into practice, such as the setting up of a central news-agency catering to the requirements of our dailies and other papers. We have been unable to carry out this suggestion. I want to assure you that this and various other suggestions made in this Congress will be passed on to the new Central Committee which will consider them and take appropriate actions.

With this, I request you to give your unanimous approval to the report.

Political-Organisational Report*

**Adopted by The Eleventh Congress of The CPI(M)
Held at Vijayawada on January 26-31, 1982**

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) is holding its Eleventh Congress nearly four years after its Tenth Congress in April 1978. The Political-Organisational Report will have to examine and assess the work of the entire Party during this period, in the light of the report and resolutions adopted at the Jullundur Party Congress and the Salkia Plenum held in December 1978. The political-organisational decisions of the P.B. and C.C. and their implementation will have to be self-critically reviewed. Such a self-critical review alone will enable the entire Party to draw correct lessons and to chalk out the future tasks.

Life and events in the period under review have proved that the political-organisational line worked out at the Tenth Party Congress and the Salkia Plenum are basically correct, and have enabled the Party to register good advance. In other words, the political line of the Party has paid due dividends to the extent the decisions of the Congress and the Plenum were implemented by the C.C. and State Committees. Mention may be made of the fact that the resolutions of both the Tenth Party Congress and the Plenum have unique significance since these resolutions embody the political-organisational conclusions that our Party arrived at after prolonged and serious inner-P.B. and C.C. discussions and struggles during the period 1975-77, preceding the Tenth Party Congress. In a way these decisions and resolutions marked a turning point in the life of our Party, and they still remain valid in all their essential

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aspects. They, of course, will have to be further improved upon and enriched in the light of the new developments that have taken place, and the new experiences gained by the different state units of our Party as well as by the entire Party.

The gains and achievements of the Party during the four-year period under review are creditable, compared to any similar period since we broke away from the CPI in 1963-64. The increase in the membership of the Party and the class and mass organisations, the popular electoral support it has received, the political image and prestige gained by the Party in the country as a whole and the political-ideological unity that has been achieved—all go to corroborate the advance registered by our Party.

The state unit of the CPI(M) in West Bengal, which heads the Left Front and its State Government, has registered spectacular advance. It has ably conducted the work of running the State Government since its resounding victory in the June 1977 Assembly elections. The Left Front Government, utilising the limited powers and opportunities available under the existing dispensation, has rendered all possible help to the working class, middle-class employees, and the peasantry, including agricultural workers. If all the constituents of the Left Front have enhanced their influence among the mass of the rural people, the CPI(M), as the single biggest party in the Front, has registered striking progress, enrolling around four million members in the Kisan Sabhas and another two and a half million members in different class and mass organisations such as the CITU, DYFI, Mahila, SFI, Teachers and others. It is known that all the bourgeois parties and groups in the state, the Congress(I), the Congress(S), the Janata Party and the like, have been doing everything in their power to oppose the Left Front Government and to discredit the CPI(M), fully exploiting the democratic rights and liberties ensured by the Left Front administration. The agitations and actions organised by the Congress(I) in the state during the last 24 months, after it staged a come-back to power at the Centre in January 1980, often took a violent form, resulting in the loss of lives of many and serious damage to the state's property. The systematic propaganda in the big bourgeois-controlled press in

the country against the CPI(M) and the Left Front Government, that they perpetrate violence and that law and order has collapsed in the state, has not washed. On the contrary, the Left Front Government, led by the CPI(M) in West Bengal, has demonstrated that it is capable of providing an able administration, ensuring better law and order compared to any Congress(I)-ruled state in the country.

In Tripura, the Communist movement had succeeded in winning the majority of the people of the state as early as the first general elections of 1952. But the Congress rulers from the Centre had been resorting to every conceivable device and fraud to deprive the Communists of their right to assuming administrative responsibilities. Police repression, imposing of corrupt and anti-people Governments on the state and ganging up with all the vested interests in the state with the sole aim of keeping the Communists away from the state's administration—all had been freely used for more than a quarter of a century. The CPI(M), withstanding the negative effect of the Party split in 1963-64, has emerged, once again, as the major political force in the state. In the Assembly elections of December 1977, the state unit of the CPI(M) and the Left Front succeeded in securing an absolute majority of votes and a huge majority of seats, trouncing all bourgeois-landlord parties. The CPI(M) secured 51 seats out of a total of 60 in the Assembly, and the Left Front won 56, leaving four seats to the Tripura Upajati Juba Samiti. Not a single seat was won by the Congress(I), Janata Party and similar other bourgeois-landlord parties. The CPI(M) has been able to retain its tribal mass base, it also succeeded in mobilising and consolidating its position among the non-tribal Bengalee population.

It is to the credit of the Tripura state unit of the CPI(M) and the Left Front Government that they were able to weather all the tremendous difficulties created by the class enemies—the engineering of the ghastly ethnic riots between the tribal and non-tribal population in the state—riots that took a toll of 1400 lives and compelled the Government to open refugee camps for three lakh people in a state inhabited by only 20 lakh people. Thus the entire work of the Party and the Left Front Government in

Tripura was diverted into the work of relief and rehabilitation. The Party and the Left Front Government had to cope with a state administrative apparatus heavily biased against the tribal population. Despite the innumerable difficulties that face the Party, it has succeeded in the state, setting an inspiring example before all the states in the north-eastern region, where tribal-non-tribal conflicts are plaguing the society and secessionist movements have raised their ugly head.

The recent sweeping successes in the Assembly by-elections and in the elections to the Autonomous District Council go to speak for the achievements of the CPI(M) in Tripura, despite the numerous difficulties it faced.

It was during this period, following the Tenth Party Congress, that the CPI(M) in Kerala state was able to break the ten-year-old anti-Marxist front and Government in that state, isolate the Congress(I) and forge a Left-Democratic Front and form a Government of that front in January 1980. The CPI which deserted the Left forces and was in alliance with the ruling Congress from 1969 to 1979, was once again won over to the side of the Left, and into opposition to the ruling Congress(I). The Left-Democratic Front that was forged and the Government that was formed in January 1980 did not last for more than 21 months due to the desertion of a section of the Congress(S) and the Kerala Congress(M) in the middle of October 1981.

Notwithstanding this set-back, the fact remains that the Left-Democratic Front Government had an impressive record of service to the people. Several of the popular measures undertaken by it, such as the effective public distribution system, the granting of old-age pension to agricultural workers, relief for the unemployed, help to the crisis-ridden industries and refusal to use the police against the struggles of the workers, peasants, students and youth, have endeared the CPI(M) to the people, even though our opponents did their utmost to malign the Party and isolate it from the people and its allies.

During the period following the Jullundur Party Congress there has been marked advance in the building of the Party and mass organisations in Kerala. The total membership of different class and mass organisations, such as the CITU, kisan, agricultural

workers, youth, students and mahila, stands around 22 lakhs. Considering the fact that Kerala has only a population of 25 million, less than half of West Bengal, this progress in building the mass organisations is creditable.

The alliances that were forged, the electoral victories that were scored and the advances registered by all three strong state units of the CPI(M) go to demonstrate the correct political line pursued by the Party, *the line of uniting the Left and democratic forces, the line of forging united actions on issues with all the parties that can be united and the line of building the broad forum of resistance to authoritarianism* and in defence of parliamentary democracy and the people's civil liberties.

The state unit of the CPI(M) in Assam has added a new page to the proud record of the entire Party by its principled and bold struggle against the chauvinist frenzy roused by the secessionist agitators of Assam. It not only faced the violent attacks of the agitators and fought back, but also made progress in the building of the youth, kisan and other people's movements. The role played by our Assam state unit, in boldly implementing the political line of the CPI(M) on the Assam separatist agitation has enhanced our political prestige in the state as well as in the entire country. The political stand of the CPI(M) against the separatist agitation and in defence of the country's integrity has earned the admiration of all the democratic and progressive-minded people in the country.

The big increase of Party membership registered in Tamil Nadu, nearly doubling its membership since 1978, and the growth of membership in Andhra Pradesh by five thousand and the starting of a daily Party paper there with a circulation of 14 to 15 thousand to begin with, are inspiring and encouraging developments of this period.

The Communist movement, due to several reasons, had been weak in the Hindi-speaking states. The CPI(M) had been weakened after the 1963-64 split and the Naxalite betrayal in 1967-68. During the period following the Tenth Party Congress and the Salkia Plenum, our Party has made some modest progress in extending its influence in the Hindi-speaking region. It should be remembered that our Party could not contemplate organising any

mass demonstration in the capital city of Delhi during all these years after our separation from the CPI, since our strong mass bases were situated in distant states such as West Bengal and Kerala. The independent mobilisation that the CPI(M) and the mass organisations led by it could make from the Hindi-speaking states of Bihar, Punjab, Rajasthan, Delhi, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh and U.P. for the March 26, 1981, kisan rally, the September 15, 1981, student and youth demonstration, and the working class demonstration of November 23, 1981, go to show the progress made in these states. The bringing out of *Lok Lahar* weekly in Hindi and fortnightly in Urdu, the organising of the state Party unit in Kashmir, the bringing out of Party literature in Hindi, and the holding of some central Party schools for the Hindi region—all mark a new turn, though small compared to the huge tasks facing the CPI(M) in this regard.

The formation of the Democratic Youth Federation of India in November 1980, the organising of the All-India Democratic Women's Association, the activation of the SFI centre, the setting up of the All-India Agricultural Labourers' Union, etc., are measures taken by the Party centre in pursuance of the directives of the Tenth Party Congress and the Salkia Plenum. Though this work, on the *all-India* scale, has begun, it is still in an elementary stage, and our Party will have to devote more attention to develop them as real, widespread, functioning mass-organisations. This requires increased cooperation and assistance from the State Committees of the Party, especially from the strong units like West Bengal and Kerala. The effective running of the all-India class and mass organisations becomes possible only if competent comrades from the states are spared to man the centres of these organisations.

Another noteworthy achievement registered by the Party during the period following the Tenth Party Congress, is the emergence of the CPI(M) as the major opposition force in the Indian Parliament, and as the major Left force in the country. The Party, which had only 22 members in the previous Lok Sabha, increased its strength to 36 after the election of January 1980. Together with the 14-member group in the Rajya Sabha, the CPI(M)'s strength in Parliament has risen to 50.

After our breaking away from the CPI and constituting ourselves as the CPI(M), four general elections have taken place to the Lok Sabha, once in March 1967, the second in 1971, the third in 1977 and the fourth in January 1980. A comparative study of the electoral support secured by the CPI and the CPI(M) goes to demonstrate the fact that while the CPI(M) was steadily widening its electoral base, the CPI was losing its popular support from one election to the other. This is an indication of the mass support derived by the respective political lines pursued by the two parties in the period under review.

In the 1967 election, the CPI was able to mobilise 75 lakh and 64 thousand votes as against the CPI(M)'s 61 lakh and 60 thousand, i.e., 14 lakh votes more than the CPI(M).

In the election of 1971, the CPI which allied with the ruling Congress Party polled only 69 lakh votes against 74 lakh votes mustered by the CPI(M). In the four-year period between 1967 and 1971, the CPI lost its electoral base to the extent of nearly seven lakh votes whereas the CPI(M) had increased its strength by five lakh votes.

In the election of 1977, the CPI was able to secure only 53 lakh votes, while the CPI(M) polled 81 lakh votes. In the six-year period between 1971 and 1977, the CPI's political line had cost it an erosion of another 16 lakh votes, whereas the CPI(M) improved its position by another seven lakh votes.

Then, coming to *the last general election of January 1980*, the CPI was able to secure only 51 lakh votes, losing another two lakh votes between 1977 and 1980. But the CPI(M)'s tally, in this election, was much bigger, it secured 152 lakh votes, nearly doubling its strength from the 1977 election. Between the years 1967 and 1980, the CPI lost a total of 22 lakh votes, while the CPI(M) gained 90 lakh votes more.

Thus, the respective political lines pursued by the CPI and CPI(M) were tested in life, political lines worked out in accordance with the respective programmes of the two parties. And yet the leadership of the CPI persists in its erroneous programmatic and political-tactical understanding, and does not realise the immense damage done by it to the Communist movement and also to the Left and democratic movement of the country.

The combined voting strength of the CPI and CPI(M) in 1967 and 1977 was seen in the securing of 9.4 and 9.8 per cent of the total votes polled. Again, the combined voting strength of both in 1980, after a period of 13 years, remained at only 8.75 per cent of the polled votes. The Right-opportunist political line of the CPI and its devastating effects on the Left movement thus stands nakedly revealed. And yet the leaders of the CPI refuse to realise it.

The CPI(M) which has secured three times more votes than the CPI during the 1980 elections has left the CPI far behind in its popular support, emerging as the leading Left force in the country. This position of the CPI(M), of course, places a heavy responsibility on its shoulders, in building Left and democratic unity and in defending democratic freedoms against authoritarian attacks.

The ultra-Left and petty bourgeois adventurist political line that was being advocated and practised by the so-called Naxalites and their numerous splinter groups ended in fiasco, and had only helped the class enemies in weakening the revolutionary movement in the country. They had abandoned all pretence of anti-imperialism and socialism, making the Soviet Union abroad and the CPI(M) in the country their principal targets of attack.

The membership of our Party, which stood at 161,000 in round figures, at the time of the Tenth Party Congress, has grown by now to 271,000, an increase of more than a lakh. It is not a small achievement, even though the two states of Kerala and West Bengal alone account for 186,000 members.

It may be useful to cite here the available yearwise data regarding our Party's membership. In round figures they are as follows:

1964—118,700	1967— 82,670	1968— 76,420
1969— 75,390	1970— 84,886	1971—104,730
1972—100,125	1973—103,250	1974—103,100
1975—109,610	1976—102,250	1977—122,050
1978—157,030	1979—197,000	1980—243,650
1981—271,500		

The membership in different states:

	1978	1981	Increase
Andhra Pradesh	9,690	14,690	5,000
Assam	3,425	7,120	3,705
Bihar	6,360	11,120	4,760
Delhi	605	730	125
Gujarat	150	520	370
Haryana	500	600	100
Himachal	210	215	5
Karnataka	1,400	2,200	800
Kerala	67,370	104,085	36,715
Madhya Pradesh	650	1,075	425
Maharashtra	2,650	3,320	670
Manipur	150	200	50
Orissa	1,300	2,350	1,050
Punjab	4,520	6,450	1,930
Rajasthan	1,340	2,125	785
Tamil Nadu	10,800	19,600	8,800
Tripura	3,970	6,580	2,610
Uttar Pradesh	4,460	5,349	889
West Bengal	43,340	82,500	39,160
C.C. Staff	40	50	10

(In round figures)

The total membership of the class and mass organisations in which the CPI(M) is working has increased considerably. If the total membership of all these class and mass organisations stood around 47 to 48 lakh in the year 1977-78, it has now grown in a big way, standing around ten million at present. The membership of the All-India Kisan Sabha for the year 1980-81 is around 57 lakh 35 thousand; the membership of the CITU is 15 lakh; and the membership of the SFI, DYFI and All-India Democratic Women's Association, according to incomplete data, stands at 25 lakh. It marks a big advance, though modest when seen in the background of the 700 million population in our country.

Our centrally-run weeklies, *People's Democracy* and *Lok Lahar* (Hindi) and fortnightly *Lok Lahar* (Urdu), put together

have a total circulation of 32 thousand, and there is much scope to improve their circulation. In Kerala, West Bengal, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Tripura, our Party publishes dailies in their respective languages whose total circulation comes to around a hundred thousand. Besides these dailies, different state units of our Party are running their own weeklies and other periodicals the total circulation of which exceeds one lakh. This aspect of our Party's activity does not conform to the growth of our Party, mass organisation membership, and the increased political influence among the people. The C.C. and the different State Committees will have to go into a detailed examination of the question, and devise ways and means to radically improve the circulation of our dailies, weeklies and other periodicals.

Our Party's mass-mobilising capacity in states like West Bengal, Kerala and certain others has increased manifold. This was seen on a number of occasions during the last three to four years. The three all-India demonstrations, the kisan rally on March 26, 1981, the student-youth rally on September 15, 1981, and the working class demonstration of November 23, 1981, and our Party's role in and contribution to them have enhanced its prestige among other political parties and the people in general.

The struggle that the CPI(M) has been carrying on for forging Left and democratic unity, for the building of a broad platform of resistance against authoritarianism, for organising united actions on issues and for building a mass revolutionary Party and powerful class and mass organisations has registered noticeable advance, even though we have to struggle hard for the actual materialisation of these slogans which were raised at the Tenth Party Congress and the Salkia Plenum. The progress is undoubtedly slow, halting and painful, witnessing many ups and downs.

The efforts at reforging Left unity, the unity that was disrupted in 1969-70, have yielded some tangible results. It is evident that the CPI(M) and the CPI are the two major organised Left forces in the country, besides other Left parties and groups which are mostly state or region-based. The CPI, by changing its political line at its Eleventh Congress in April 1978, by breaking its anti-Marxist

alliance with the ruling Congress Party in October 1979 and joining the Left-Democratic Front in Kerala, has facilitated the struggle for reforging Left unity, though it is still far from consolidated. Serious political differences persist between the CPI(M) and the CPI on the questions of Left unity, the building of the Left and democratic front and the forging of the broad forum of resistance against authoritarianism.

The slogan of Left and democratic alternative to the bourgeois-landlord class rule in the country, today as never before, is attracting an ever-increasing number of people. The existence and the work of the Left Front Governments in West Bengal and Tripura for the last four years and more, and the existence and work of the Left-Democratic Front Government in Kerala for 21 months from January 1980 to October 1981, have helped in a big way in propagating the slogan of the Left and democratic alternative. The fact that the organised Left forces in the country are still weak, are yet unable to carry conviction to the people of the immediate possibility of realising the Left and democratic alternative, does not obliterate the truth that the slogan of Left and democratic unity is attracting ever-wider sections of the people.

The struggle to build the broad forum of resistance against authoritarianism and the struggle to organise united actions on a big scale, it should be admitted, have not yet achieved spectacular gains. The break-up of the Janata Party, the fall of the Janata Government and the regaining of political power by the Congress(I) at the Centre and in most of the states—developments beyond the control of our Party and the Left forces—have certainly complicated the struggle against authoritarianism, making our task, in this regard, more difficult.

However, the reality, today, is that the Congress(I) has not succeeded in rallying the public opinion in favour of the presidential form of Government, dispensing with the existing parliamentary democratic system. The struggle against authoritarian rule and the Emergency regime, carried on over the years since 1974-75, has succeeded in rousing democratic consciousness in the politically-minded people, and it is not easy for the Congress(I) in power to bulldoze this public opinion. Secondly, the bourgeois opposition parties, though they stand disunited and

weak, are not ready to lend support to the Central Government in toppling the non-Congress(I) Left-oriented Governments in the states as was the case during the years 1967-72. Thirdly, the inner-party situation in the ruling Congress shows that it is ridden with factionalism and groupism, it is devoid of any political or programmatic cohesion except that of power-hunting. Finally, the organised Left and democratic forces are, today, placed in a far more favourable situation to resist the drive against authoritarianism, and that is what is being displayed in the united mass mobilisation of workers, peasants, youth, students and other sections of the people during the last two years, after the Congress(I) had captured power at the Centre and in most of the states. But for all this growing democratic resistance, the Congress(I) Government would not have hesitated to resort to the old game of toppling the non-Congress State Governments, as and when it wanted.

The four-year period that we are leaving behind has witnessed some tangible improvement in the relations of our Party with several other Communist Parties in the world. The important place the CPI(M) has come to occupy among the people and the political stature it has acquired in the country, are coming to be increasingly recognised by many Communist and Workers' Parties, no matter whether formal, fraternal relations between them and the CPI(M) are established or not. In a word, the position that our Party has acquired over the years, and strikingly seen during the period under review, has enhanced its prestige in the international Communist movement.

It is no secret that the CPI(M) was having serious differences and disagreements with the political-ideological line projected and practised by the CPSU since 1963-64. The CPI(M) was having no fraternal party-to-party relations with the CPSU. The CPSU continued its fraternal relations with the CPI, and was fully supporting its Right-reformist and revisionist political line. Similarly, it was no secret that the CPI(M) had to come into head-on conflict with the political-ideological line of the Communist Party of China which began lending open support to the Left-adventurist and terrorist line of the so-called Naxalites after 1966-67.

The CPI(M) had to defend its own political-ideological line, firmly opposing the wrong political-ideological line advocated for the Indian Communist movement by these Communist Parties. Most of the Communist Parties which are in power in different socialist states, according to the understanding of the CPI(M), while supporting the cause of the underdeveloped countries against imperialism, are attaching primary political importance to state-to-state and Government-to-Government relations, often ignoring the interests of the Communist Parties and the proletarian revolutionary movements in the newly independent capitalist countries. Our Party, placed as it was in the most difficult condition of political-ideological opposition of the two biggest Communist Parties in the world—of the Soviet Union and People's China, had to conduct its struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the principle of equality and independence of parties.

The CPI(M) had occasion to comment on the weaknesses in the foreign policy outlook of many ruling Communist Parties in its political resolution of the Tenth Party Congress. The same has again been pointed out in the draft political resolution of the Eleventh Party Congress. The criticism has been that they are "ignoring the interests of the revolutionary forces in the underdeveloped countries and placing reliance on the friendly Governments of these countries. The rulers of some of the underdeveloped countries who adopt reactionary policies at home and oppress their people are excessively praised in the press of the socialist countries, news about the oppression of the working class and the people in these countries hardly figure in it, the working class of the socialist countries is kept in the dark about the struggle carried on by the people of these countries against their Governments, and no solidarity in the spirit of proletarian internationalism is expressed with these struggles of the people against their Governments for democracy and legitimate economic demands."

The CPI(M), in the years of its work under review, has displayed more political-tactical prudence and ideological cohesion, when compared to any other period in the past.

The election tactics worked out and pursued in the Lok Sabha elections of January 1980 and the Assembly elections of May 1980, the united actions and movements led by it in several states and on an all-India scale, the increasing resistance organised to authoritarianism and the attitude adopted to thorny questions such as the separatist Assamese agitation, the slogan of Khalistan, the U.S. arming of the Pakistani military regime—on all these issues the C.C. was fully united. The stand adopted on the Afghanistan question and the Soviet armed help to the April Revolution there, on the Kampuchean developments of 1979, on the Polish crisis in 1980-81, on the armed conflict between China and Vietnam, etc., has shown the growing political unity inside the C.C. of the CPI(M). The difficulties and the difference that surfaced while tackling the problems that cropped up during the July 1979 political crisis and immediately following it did not prevent the C.C. from unitedly working out the electoral tactics in September 1971 and February 1980 for the Lok Sabha and Assembly elections and all other questions that came before it. There was no other instance during the last four years when any political-tactical differences arose in the C.C. except the one on the July crisis of 1979.

The successes and advance mentioned so far of the CPI(M) are due to its basically correct political line, its steadfast work among our people, and its devotion to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our Party had to fight its way forward not only in opposition to our ruling classes in the country, but also in direct political-ideological confrontation with the Right-reformist line of the CPI and the Left-adventurist line of the Naxalites.

We have to acknowledge that the achievements listed in the foregoing paras of the review report have become possible in the measure that our Party could implement the political-organisational line laid down at the Party Congress and the Salkia Plenum. There was not adequate effort to educate the entire Party to firmly unite it around the decisions of the Party Congress and the Plenum. There are vast regions and big states in the country where our Party is either very weak or non-existent to carry the Party's political line to the people. Unless this basic weakness is

overcome, the political-ideological line by itself, however sound and Marxist-Leninist, will not produce the desired positive results.

There have been several shortcomings, failures and mistakes which will have to be assessed and examined in the review report. The C.C.'s review report becomes objective and concrete if only the review report from the State Committees—from the major ones at least, if not all—are included. Otherwise, the review report for the Party Congress acquires the character of a work report of the P.B. and C.C. instead of the entire Party and its multifarious activities.

The decisions of the P.B. and C.C., the activities of the P.B. and C.C. in carrying out the decisions of the Party Congress and Plenum, the organising of the DYFI and Democratic Women's Association and the connected problems, the activities of the AIKS, CITU, SFI and DYFI centres, the activities of our members in Parliament, the work of running *People's Democracy*, *Lok Lahar* (Hindi and Urdu), schooling and education, publications and literature, relations with other Communist Parties of the world, the gist of the State Plenums held in Tripura, Assam, Kerala, Karnataka, U.P., and of the extended State Committee meeting of Maharashtra, etc., should find place in the report. The Party and mass activities in states, their concrete advances and shortcomings—state by state, and in particular, the strong states of West Bengal, Kerala, Tripura and others would be dealt with separately.

The reviewing of the tasks undertaken in the Plenum, and the results achieved so far and the immediate tasks that face the Party in Party-building, the running of mass organisations, in the building of the Left and democratic front and the anti-authoritarian platform, and in organising united mass actions on a big scale constitutes the subject matter of our Political-Organisational Report.

The International Communist Movement and The CPI(M)

The protracted inner-Party struggle in the CPI during the years 1955-62 for a correct political-ideological line, had ended in the

party split and the formation of the CPI(M) in the year 1963-64. The differences that sharply divided the two relate to several questions—political, ideological, national and international. In the national sphere both the parties clashed on the assessment of the class character of the new Indian state and Government, and the tasks that flow from it for the proletariat in the revolution. If the CPI(M) defined the class character of the state as bourgeois-landlord, led by the big bourgeoisie collaborating with foreign finance capital, the CPI holds the view that it is a bourgeois state, led by the big and non-big bourgeoisie as a whole. In reality the contention was that the state and Government was headed by the non-big national bourgeoisie. The two divergent assessments of the class character of the Indian state led to the adoption of two opposed programmes and political-tactical lines, as clearly revealed in the subsequent years from 1969 to 1979. These differences on the class assessment of the Indian state and Government got mixed up with the ideological debate that began in the international Communist movement in the late 1950's and early 1960's.

The CPI(M) took its stand on the basis of the revolutionary principles of the two international documents, the Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960 by 81 Communist and Workers' Parties. The CPI(M) rejected the interpretation and understanding of these two documents by the leadership of the CPI. These two documents, while evaluating the new class relations in the present epoch, and working out a general line, had called upon the Communist Parties of the world to fight against Right-revisionism as the main danger and warned against the possible rise of the Left-sectarian deviation. The CPI(M) had to conduct this ideological-political battle with the CPI, not in an abstract and academic manner, but closely relating it to the Marxist-Leninist appraisal of the class relations in India.

In the course of fighting the Right-revisionist danger, the Left-adventurist line, as was projected by the Chinese Communist Party and practised by it during the decade of the "great cultural revolution," surfaced. If the rise of Right-revisionism led to one split in the once united CPI, the Left-adventurist line

preached and practised by the Naxalites led to a second split, the Naxalites breaking away from the CPI(M) and forming themselves into a separate party, the CPI(ML), after the Burdwan Plenum in April 1968.

Thus the CPI(M) was confronted with the most difficult task of fighting against both the attacks, from the CPI and the CPI(ML), simultaneously, in defence of its programme and political-ideological line. It may also be recalled in this connection, that one big party of the world Communist movement had extended its full-throated support to the CPI and its political line, and another big party of the world movement actively aided the Naxalites and their political-ideological line. If the former was dubbing the CPI(M) as "splitters", "parallel party", "sectarian", etc., the latter was denouncing it as "neo-revisionist", etc. It is true that in course of time some Communist Parties such as the Vietnamese Party, Korean Party, Romanian Party and Cuban Party had come forward to establish fraternal relations with the CPI(M), while simultaneously maintaining fraternal ties with the CPI. Some years later, several other Communist Parties such as the Japanese, Italians, British, the Communist League of Yugoslavia, the People's Revolutionary Parties of Laos and Kampuchea had come forward to establish fraternal relations with the CPI(M), while, of course, continuing their fraternal relations with the CPI.

The CPI(M) had to assert itself as a Marxist-Leninist party in the teeth of fierce opposition from both the CPSU and the CPC. But in so conducting the struggle in defence of its political-ideological line, the CPI(M) had refused to slip into either anti-CPSU or anti-CPC stances. It consistently upheld the cause of socialism in these two socialist states, and the two big Communist Parties, notwithstanding numerous differences with both.

The standing that the CPI(M) has acquired in the working class of India and other toiling sections of the people in the country on the one hand, and the proletarian internationalist stand that our Party had adopted on world developments such as the Czechoslovak crisis of 1968, the Soviet armed assistance to the Afghan People's Republic, Vietnamese armed assistance to Kampuchea in defence of the revolutionary gains of both

Vietnam and Kampuchea, on the Polish crisis of 1980-81, and above all, the unstinted defence of the Soviet Union and People's China and all other socialist states—all have enabled us to stand up as a Marxist-Leninist Party, no matter whether one or the other Communist Party in the world is willing to forge formal, fraternal relations with our Party or not.

Our Party, learning from life and experience, and guided by the existing realities in the world Communist movement, has adopted a proletarian internationalist line towards all the Communist in the world despite our serious political-ideological differences with one or the other of these parties. Accordingly, it is intent upon treating all the Communist Parties of different countries as fraternal Communist Parties, and is willing to establish formal, fraternal relations with everyone of them if they so desire.

The CPI(M) firmly upholds the principle of equality, independence and non-interference among the Communist Parties while not abandoning its Marxist-Leninist right to opine on, and criticise the positions of other parties if it deems necessary. But, normally, it does not resort to open criticism of any Communist Party with which it has established formal fraternal relations; and it prefers that such criticism and exchange of views should be done at the party-to-party level. It expects the fraternal parties to take a similar stand in exercising their right of criticism regarding our Party, if they do deem it necessary.

The CPI(M) extends its unstinted support to the cause of building socialism in all the socialist countries, even though it might have its differences and reservations on individual steps and actions of one or another socialist country. It does so without any pre-conditions, considering it as the bounden duty of every Communist to support the cause of socialism and communism. It does so irrespective of whether a ruling Communist Party or parties of the socialist countries lend their support and solidarity to our Party and its revolutionary struggle in our country.

The CPI(M) firmly believes in the great principle of proletarian internationalism and extends all support to the working class struggles and national liberation struggles in the whole world. It

expects the same attitude from all the other Communist Parties. The absence of mutual support between different communist contingents of the world strikes at the very root of proletarian internationalism.

The CPI(M) is forthright in opposing and fighting against imperialism, reaction and war, and does everything in its power to defend the cause of peace, freedom, democracy and socialism. It supports the world socialist camp and the world socialist system.

The CPI(M) is vitally interested in upholding Marxism-Leninism and would take all necessary steps to educate its ranks and the Party as a whole. It firmly upholds the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat and is opposed to all deviations from it. It considers Leninism as the creative application of Marxism in the era of imperialism and socialist revolution, and does not agree with those who have come to consider Leninism as a mere "Russian phenomenon". The CPI(M) does not subscribe to the concept of the so-called Euro-communism and its various propositions, and the Party's views on it were made public long ago.

This, in short, is the general line of the CPI(M) as far as its proletarian international approach is concerned. It stands for principled defence of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism while fighting steadfastly for the unity and cohesion of the international Communist movement and the world socialist camp.

The Struggle to Forge Left and Democratic Unity and to Build the Broad Forum of Resistance

The slogans raised and tasks put forth in the Jullundur political resolution were not conceived as slogans to be materialised either immediately or in a short period. The struggle for organising united actions on issues, the struggle to forge Left and democratic unity and the struggle to build the broad forum of resistance against authoritarianism—all these constitute an integral part of the struggle to bring about a radical change in the correlation of class and political forces in the country.

To quote the relevant statement from the political resolution: "The CPI(M) and the working class have not succeeded in bringing about any appreciable change in the existing correlation of class forces—this is the key point in the situation."

"The struggle to build this front is part of our endeavour to bring about a change in the correlation of class forces, to end a situation in which the people can choose only between the two bourgeois-landlord parties, and get imprisoned within the framework of the present system. By gathering all Left and democratic forces together for further advance, the Party makes a beginning to consolidate those forces which in future will participate in shaping the alliance for people's democracy under the leadership of the working class. The Left and democratic front is not to be understood as only an alliance for elections or ministry, but a fighting alliance of the forces for immediate advance—economic and political—and for isolating the reactionary classes that hold the economy in their grip."

From the foregoing enunciations, it becomes obvious that the struggle to bring about the change in the correlation of class forces and to build the Left and democratic front is a national all-India task, not confined to one state or some states in the Indian Union.

The programme of the Left and democratic forces, formulated in the political resolution of our Tenth Party Congress, is the alternative programme to the programme and policy of bourgeois-landlord rule and Government in the country. The Left front or Left and democratic front, that might take shape in one state or the other, possesses neither such powers to carry out the programme incorporated in the political resolution, nor are the subjects that are covered in the Left and democratic programme within the purview and confines of any one or two states in the Indian Union.

The struggle for the building of Left and democratic unity proceeds differently in different states, basing on the concrete political realities existing there. No set pattern can be prescribed. The political resolution took into account these realities, when it stated: "Our Party has been striving for building a powerful front of Left and democratic forces for a number of years. Our success in

West Bengal has been outstanding, followed by our success in Kerala and Tripura. In these three states, the polarisation has taken place between the front led by us and the Congress—West Bengal and Tripura, or the front led by the Congress—Kerala. It is unlike in other states where the major division is between two rival bourgeois-landlord combinations. This is a qualitative difference and it has been our endeavour to bring about this change all over India.”

Neither the Left Fronts that have come to exist in West Bengal and Tripura nor the Left-Democratic Front that came to be formed in Kerala in January 1980 and got disrupted in October 1981, represent the *comprehensive class concept of the Left and democratic front*, visualised in the Tenth Party Congress resolution. In West Bengal and Tripura, the existing Left parties and groups are united in the Left Fronts, though it is not correct to say that all the Left forces are already brought into the Left Fronts, let alone the sizable democratic forces and sections which are still outside these Left Fronts, in these two states.

In West Bengal and Tripura, our Party happens to be the predominant force in the Left Fronts, and could secure the overwhelming number of seats in the respective Assemblies in the elections of June and December 1977, utilising the disorganisation and disarray of all the bourgeois-landlord parties and groups. We could use this lever of our massive majority in the Assemblies and Ministries to serve the people more effectively, and to secure increasing mass support during the last four years and more.

In Kerala the Left unity that was disrupted by the CPI during 1969-70 could not be reforged till 1979. But in West Bengal, Left unity was restored after a short gap of two years. Further, the front that could be formed in Kerala in 1979, after the break-up of the Congress-led anti-CPI(M) front was given the name of Left-Democratic Front by a consensus of the allied parties, and not because of its acceptance of the Left and democratic programme, as formulated in our political resolution; nor were all the partners of the Left-Democratic Front in agreement with the concept of the Left and democratic front as visualised by the CPI(M).

The Kerala Left-Democratic Front, formed in 1979-80, was somewhat akin to the Left parties joining the united front along with the Bangla Congress in West Bengal in 1967-68. It was a front formed with a view to ending the monopoly of power of the Congress-led anti-Marxist front; and it was on the lines that our Party contemplated the electoral understanding with the Janata Party in West Bengal to break the Congress monopoly of power in June 1977.

To conclude the point, the struggle to forge Left and democratic unity assumes different phases in different states and the country as a whole. There cannot be any uniform pattern for all states. The struggle by the CPI(M) and other Left and democratic forces to isolate the ruling Congress party, and the counter-struggle by the ruling party to isolate the CPI(M) and its allies and to disrupt the unity of the Left and democratic forces would be a long-drawn-out struggle. The fortunes are bound to change between the contending forces, till a stable victory for the Left and democratic front is ensured.

The struggle that the CPI(M) has headed to forge the Left and democratic front, during the past 40 months since the Tenth Party Congress, has scored some limited success. One overall gain is to be seen in reforging the unity with the CPI, the big Left party after the CPI(M), though this unity is still to be carried forward and consolidated. The weapon with which the ruling Congress party could disrupt the gathering Left and democratic unity during 1969-70, cannot be wielded by it now, with such ease as in the past.

The second political gain has been that the slogan of a Left and democratic national alternative to bourgeois-landlord Congress rule is today catching the imagination of wider circles of the people, thanks to the fiasco of the Janata alternative which collapsed after 28 months of its misrule.

Thirdly, as our Tenth Party Congress political resolution has correctly stated, "In this vital struggle for building the front of Left and democratic forces, the Left Front Ministries headed by our Party in West Bengal and Tripura have to play an important role." They have consolidated and extended the influence of the CPI(M)

and other Left parties of the fronts, and also provided inspiration to the people outside these two states.

Fourthly, the forming and functioning of the Left-Democratic Front and its Government in Kerala for 21 months between January 1980 and October 1981, had its own beneficial impact on the struggle for Left and democratic unity. The desertion of a section of the Congress(S) and Kerala Congress(M), with a view to bringing down the Government, cannot undo all the gains for the CPI(M) and its allies. Drawing correct lessons from the 21 months' experience, our Party unit in Kerala will have to plunge into the struggle to unify the Left and democratic forces no matter whether we succeed in forming a stable Government or not in the state in the immediate future.

The concerted propaganda directed by the Congress(I) and the parties that deserted the front against the CPI(M) Home Minister has its own political motivation. In a sense, this cry about "law and order" reflected the grievance of the vested interests that the police was not used to repress the struggling workers, peasants, agricultural labourers and other toiling people.

The manner in which the Central Congress(I) Government is frightened of holding fresh elections to the State Assembly, and the unscrupulous methods the Congress(I) leadership is resorting to, such as threatening, bribing and forcing political groups and individual MLAs, with a view to foisting a minority Government on the state, shows the despair of the Congress(I) and its new allies. The refusal to hold a fresh poll is born out of mortal fear that the electorate of Kerala would surely punish those parties that deserted the Left-Democratic Front and betrayed the electoral promises and pledges.

The slogan of Left and democratic front should be understood as a slogan intended to bring about a new realignment of class and political forces in the country, forces that stand opposed to the present anti-people policies and programmes of the bourgeois-landlord ruling classes.

The concept of Left and democratic front despite its programmatic similarity with the programme of the people's democratic front, as defined in our Party programme, should not be equated or confused with the strategic concept of the people's democratic front.

The Left and democratic front is conceived as a front on a national scale, and the formation of Left Fronts, Left-Democratic Fronts and Left and democratic fronts in the states constitute an integral part of the struggle to realise the Left and democratic front on the all-India scale.

In the struggle to forge Left and democratic unity, the Left parties, especially the CPI(M), will surely have to play the leading role and work hard for its fructification. However, this leading role of the CPI(M) and other Left forces is not to be equated with the classical revolutionary concept of proletarian hegemony over the people's democratic revolution. Proletarian hegemony gets established when the working class gets well-organised and becomes conscious of its leading role, assists the peasantry and establishes the worker-peasant alliance as the core of the people's democratic front; and it can be realised only on the basis of a higher degree of organisation and revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat and its allies.

In raising this slogan of Left and democratic front, and in placing the programme of the Left and democratic front before the people of our country, the CPI(M) wants to bring about a new realignment of political forces and classes, "classes and interests that form the mainstay of the people's democratic revolution". It is not to be understood as only an electoral alliance or ministry, but a fighting alliance against the reactionary classes and their economic and political stranglehold.

On Broad Platform

The Tenth Party Congress resolution states that "the continuing struggle against the forces representing dictatorship makes it necessary to have a broad platform to fight them", that "it is a platform acceptable to all who had suffered under the jackboot of Emergency rule" and "the Party must make every endeavour to mobilise the broadest possible support to these demands", though "elements, groups, sections and individuals supporting these democratic changes may not support the economic programme either of the Party or the Left and democratic front". The resolution goes further to assert that "it is essential to draw elements even

from the ruling classes and their parties who are prepared to take an anti-authoritarian stand so that the struggle for democracy reaches the widest sections of the people”.

The concept of the broad platform is also described in our literature as broad resistance, broad forum of resistance, anti-authoritarian platform, etc. But one thing is clear, that it is not conceived as a *class front* as is the case with the strategic slogan of the people's democratic front.

Some are of the view that our Party is simultaneously issuing slogans of several fronts, the *Left front*, *Left and democratic front*, *Left-democratic front*, *anti-authoritarian front* and *people's democratic front*, and this is causing confusion in our ranks and the public. The reality is that the CPI(M) has raised only two slogans, the slogan of people's democratic front in our Party programme and the Left and democratic front in our political resolution, both with clearly defined policies and programmes, and also with clear class alignments. While always propagating the programmatic slogan of the people's democratic front, we agitate for the Left and democratic front as a slogan of action, to be materialised in the immediate future. Since the difference between these two concepts is already discussed in the foregoing pages, it is not necessary to further dilate on it.

A number of Left Fronts or Left-Democratic Fronts that may materialise in states cannot and should not be bracketed with either the slogan of Left and democratic front or the slogan of people's democratic front. Our Party will not be always in a position to insist on a uniform nomenclature for different Left-led or Left-oriented alliances that might come up in different states, and at different stages of our struggle, to realise the Left and democratic front.

The confusion or likely confusion in our rank and file can be cleared only by constant education, deepening their understanding; no short-cut for clarification can be found by our restricting the nomenclature to one or two terms.

On the Forging of the Broad Platform

The Tenth Party Congress took place in the background of the defeat of the Emergency regime of Indira Gandhi at the hands of

the Janata Party. The political resolution noted that “the anti-Emergency struggle and the electoral victory have not led to a shift in the balance of forces in favour of the working class, i.e., the masses have not moved away from the influence of the bourgeois parties and started rallying round an alternative leadership”. As was the case in the elections of 1971, the polarisation in the 1977 general elections also took place around the two bourgeois-landlord combinations, the Congress and the Janata Party. The Janata Government, reflecting the same class interests as the previous Congress Government, adopted the same economic policies. Though it was committed to the dismantling of the dictatorial framework, its economic policies were anti-democratic. We clearly stated: “The ruling Janata Party has still to develop a cohesive ideology and organisation. The ideological and organisational skirmishes in the party, the open display of former loyalties and the conflicting traditions and heritage of its constituents—all speak of divided counsels.”

Thus, the broad platform envisaged in the political resolution remains in the forefront. The coming into existence of the Janata Party and Government, though they helped in defeating the Emergency regime of the Congress party and in restoring parliamentary democratic rights, was not a substitute for the broad platform.

But due to the contradictions inherent in the constituents of the Janata Party and the class economic policies pursued by the Janata Government, the crisis overtook the Janata Party much sooner than expected, resulting in the downfall of the Government and disintegration of the Janata Party. Notwithstanding the fact that the Left and democratic forces and also the forces that contributed to the broad platform of resistance to dictatorship had registered some advance in the period under review, as also the growth of awareness among the people about the danger of authoritarianism, they were not strong enough to sustain the unity of the anti-authoritarian forces or to prevent the Congress(I) from coming back to power, a party ingrained with the authoritarian outlook and thinking.

The political resolution of the Tenth Party Congress had correctly stated that the threat to democracy lies in the deepening economic crisis and it is invading the political parliamentary system, and "as long as the domination of the monopolists, big bourgeoisie and landlords continue to hold the Indian economy in its grip, attempts will be made by one combination or another to install a dictatorship to make its rule viable". It also warned that "it will be erroneous to ascribe loyalty to democracy and commitment to resist dictatorship to a particular group or party".

The events that unfolded in the period under review confirm the analysis made in the Party Congress resolution. Our Party and other Left and democratic forces were once again forced to reforge the unity of the anti-authoritarian forces, the unity that was completely broken after the July crisis. It could not be forged during the two elections of January 1980 and the Assembly elections of May 1980.

The first such serious attempt to reforge the unity of secular and democratic forces from among the opposition political parties and groups was made in September 1980, when the National Convention against Rising Prices, for Communal Harmony and Civil Liberties was convened, and the Six-Party Coordination Committee set up. Strictly speaking, this national convention cannot be described as an alliance, front or broad platform, though it contained mainly the features of unity in action on specific issues, and secondly, the contents that the broad platform ought to voice. In a measure this convention had given impetus to the forging of the unity of the secular and democratic opposition, to unleash united actions on issues and to rouse the anti-authoritarian forces.

The fact that this six-party coordination has become defunct, though not formally dissolved, due to the aberrations of the Lok Dal leadership should not lead one to the conclusion that it was a futile effort to embark upon convening the six-party convention. This national convention had helped to release forces in several states, in which different combinations of parties and groups formed fronts, alliances, action committees, etc., to lead united struggles on issues, including the issue of defence of civil liberties and democratic rights.

Similarly, the setting up of a Central Kisan Coordination Committee, comprising several parties and different Kisan organisations, though aimed principally at leading the all-India peasant stir on the issue of remunerative prices for peasants' produce, etc., carried within it elements of unity in action and the forging of the broad platform of resistance. This Kisan Coordination Committee, too, had come under severe stress and strain due to the vacillations of some constituents in it. Though it is not active, it is also not dissolved, and we are striving to revive its activity. The main work of the Kisan Coordination Committee was, of course, the organising of the March 26 rally in Delhi. But it had its positive impact on the struggle in defence of democracy and against authoritarianism.

Trade union unity scored a big advance with the representative All-India Convention of Central Trade Unions and Federations in Bombay in June 1981 against price-rise and the anti-labour policies of the Government. The convention released big forces for united action leading to the November 23 workers' march to Parliament and the January 19 strike call.

The unity that is being sought at the trade union level in the states and at the Centre on issues, the coordination of opposition activities on the floor of the state legislatures and Parliament, and united actions on other specific issues—all go to help the strengthening of the broad platform of resistance. The deepening crisis and the mounting attacks on parliamentary democracy go to intensify the conflicts and contradictions among the bourgeois-landlord parties. Our Party and other Left and democratic forces will have to utilise these conflicts to defend democracy and to resist dictatorship.

The struggle carried on by the Left-oriented State Governments, the struggle to organise united actions, the struggle to forge unity of the Left and democratic forces, various electoral understandings and alliances in different states and the Centre—all are an integral part of the struggle to forge Left and democratic unity and also to build the broad platform of resistance. While reviewing the struggle to build the broad platform of resistance during the last four years, we will have to take into account all the successes and setbacks encountered in the process.

The July Crisis and the C.C.

The July 1979 crisis, which resulted in the splitting up of the ruling Janata Party and the abrupt fall of the Central Janata Government, had posed before our Party the problem of working out new tactics to meet the new political situation that had been created. The P.B. and C.C. had to address themselves to this task in conformity with the political line laid down at the Tenth Party Congress in Jullundur. Certain differences of opinion arose on the concrete application of the political line to the specific issues that cropped up during the course of the July crisis. We will have to review the nature of these differences and examine how they arose and how they were resolved.

The Jullundur Congress, which was held just a year after the installation of the Janata Government, noted the reactionary features that were growing under its dispensation. Besides following the same reactionary economic policies that its predecessor Congress Government was following, it refused to repeal the provision of the Constitution empowering the Government to enact preventive detention laws. Some of the Janata leaders began openly advocating more centralisation of powers against states' autonomy. The Janata Government was doing everything not to offend the susceptibilities of the imperialist world and was accepting the conditions imposed by the World Bank. Some of the state Janata Governments had already announced their intention to go back even on the Congress land reforms by raising the ceilings limit. Under the Janata State Governments, strikes were being banned and illegalised. The deteriorating economic conditions of the people, and the growing repression on the struggles of the workers, peasants and the middle classes, in several Janata-ruled states, were rousing popular resentment and indignation against Janata rule. The July crisis had burst out in the wake of the communal carnages in Aligarh and Jamshedpur and the innumerable atrocities on Harijans, such as the ghastly killings in Belchhi. It took place when the in-fights in the Janata Party among its different constituents had reached their peak, leading to the easing out of some Ministers like Raj Narain and Charan Singh from the Central Cabinet. It took place when the

Jana Sangh-Congress(O) combine in the Janata Party conspired and ousted the Chief Ministers of U.P., Haryana and Bihar who belonged to the Lok Dal. It was in this background that the internal crisis in the party had led to its disruption, and the consequent fall of the Central Government.

The July 1979 crisis had burst out contrary to the general expectation that the Janata Government could pull on for some more time, despite the factional wrangles that were plaguing the Janata Party for long. The Government had to resign, even without facing the vote of no-confidence on the floor of the House, since the party got split vertically. Though our Party had expressed its own misgivings about the cohesion of the Janata Party when disparate parties and groups were merging into one party, and though we were warning the Janata Party and its Government of the disastrous consequences of their unending factional quarrels, we could not and did not anticipate such a sudden and swift fall of the Janata Government and the splintering of the Janata Party.

The Lok Sabha session had begun on July 9, 1979, and by July 15, the Government of Morarji Desai had to resign, even without facing a vote in the House. It was natural that in such sudden and swift developments of political events some differences of opinion got expressed inside Party circles. Before going into the nature of the differences and how they got resolved, it is necessary to state certain facts which give the background to the decision of the P.B. to support the no-confidence motion against the Janata Government.

The CPI(M) group in the Lok Sabha moved only an adjournment motion on July 9, 1979, the opening day of the session, in order to indict the anti-people policies and activities of the Government. We did not contemplate moving a no-confidence motion. When the no-confidence motion was moved by Y.B. Chavan, leader of the Congress(S), on July 10, the P.B. had to allow our group in the Lok Sabha to abstain from standing in support of the no-confidence motion, respecting the views of those members of Parliament who advocated the stand of remaining neutral. Mention has also to be made of the fact that we had sent word to

leaders of the Janata Government that our group in the Lok Sabha would be able to support the Government and oppose the no-confidence motion only if the Government announced some concessions on certain burning issues facing the people. The Janata leaders refused to concede this demand, leaving us with no other option except to actively oppose the Government and support the no-confidence motion.

The P.B. took the decision to support the no-confidence motion only on July 12, in a full P.B. meeting which all the members, except Comrade Jyoti Basu who was away in Europe at that time, attended and unanimously voted for the decision. A Central Committee meeting was convened on July 19 and 20 which Jyoti Basu also could attend. The C.C. was unanimous in approving the stand of the P.B. on the no-confidence motion.

But subsequently, in the C.C. meeting of August 20-21, 1979, differences arose on the question of supporting or opposing the coalition of the Congress(S), Janata(S) and AIADMK, while demanding the dissolution of the Lok Sabha and holding fresh elections. The steps the P.B. and C.C. took on the no-confidence motion, on lending support to the newly-shaping alliance, on the support we extended to the formation of the Charan Singh Government, etc., had come under criticism by a section of CCMs.

Some CCMs who were in agreement with the P.B. and the C.C. decision to support the no-confidence motion had expressed their disagreement with the C.C.'s decision to lend support to the Charan Singh-Chavan alliance for the formation of a Government on the ground that Charan Singh had not yet stopped leaning on the support of the Congress(I) and the Party's support to him would compromise its position. It was also stated by certain comrades that our support to Charan Singh who was pro-landlord and anti-Harijan would be resented by the people. But the C.C. took the decision to support the alliance in order to disentangle Charan Singh's party from the Congress(I) and to make him lean on the support of the Left parties and groups. Charan Singh, as events unfolded, had to break with the Congress(I) and seek the support of the Left, even risking the loss of majority in the Lok Sabha, leading to the resignation of his Ministry.

The P.B. and C.C. had deferred the self-critical review of the Party's stand till July 1980; and it was after the Lok Sabha election of January 1980 and the Assembly elections of May 1980, that it was reviewed. The C.C. came to the conclusion that the tactics pursued by the Party in the July crisis and after were correct, even though some comrades were having their own differences and reservations on these two election reviews.

In postponing the review of July 1979 till the June 1980 C.C. meeting, the P.B. and C.C. were guided by the principle embodied in our Party constitution which says: "When serious differences arise in a Party committee, every effort should be made to arrive at an agreement. Failing this, the decision should be postponed with a view to resolving differences through further discussions, unless an immediate decision is called for by the needs of the Party and the mass movement."

Since the decisions were already taken and implemented by the P.B. and C.C. on the July crisis in the July-August months of 1979, there was no urgency about reviewing those decisions without giving enough time and enough thought to the issues of difference.

In the opinion of the West Bengal State Conference the differing minority view in the Central Committee, as formulated by the West Bengal State Secretariat, is as follows:

"During the period of the July 1979 crisis, some differences were expressed in the Central Committee regarding the assessment of the then political situation and some tactical measures adopted by the Central Committee. The majority of the CCMs, coming from West Bengal, and the State Committee of West Bengal, differed with the analysis and the decisions of the C.C. on the issue. Since, in terms of politics and ideology, the difference was not fundamental, it was possible for the Central Committee to unanimously determine the political-tactical line in the C.C. meeting held on September 7-9, 1979, for the then ensuing Lok Sabha election of January 1980 and the Assembly elections of May 1980. The C.C. could go into the election battle unitedly, and with unanimously decided election tactics.

“In the fight against the danger of authoritarianism it was natural that questions would arise as to who really stood opposed to authoritarianism. It was quite possible that there would be doubts, hesitations and differing estimates among comrades as regards the role of individual bourgeois parties and also individual leaders of these parties. But no illusion will be created or no confusion will arise if the basis for our decision is not individual but class. This is being mentioned because a situation such as the July crisis might arise again. However, with the intensification of the struggle against authoritarianism, answers to these questions do clearly emerge.

“The July 1979 crisis took the Party and the people by surprise. The C.C. took wrong steps and they adversely affected the standing of the Party with large sections of the people. The groups in the Janata Party appeared to the people to be engaged in factional strife and not guided by any principles. It was also clear that no alternative anti-authoritarian Government could emerge through parliamentary manoeuvring. The authoritarian forces led by Indira Gandhi and her party were being ignored or the danger underplayed. The Jana Sangh-RSS danger was highly exaggerated. This was demonstrated in the general elections in which these forces were routed by the Congress(I). The minority in the C.C. was of the view that our Party should have remained neutral, instead of getting involved in the unprincipled squabbles of the groups in the Janata Party. If as a consequence, the Janata Government was voted out, no one would hold us responsible for the fall. If it continued for some time, our Party could have got the opportunity to explain its stand to the people and discuss with various political parties about an alternative and not depend merely on parliamentary manoeuvrings which could not be understood by the people. However, as the new situation emerged, with the advance of the authoritarian forces, the P.B. and C.C. had no difficulty in working out a united policy.

“It was stated in one of the C.C. documents: ‘Many comrades could not understand how the RSS-Jana Sangh alliance assisted by Morarji Desai almost succeeded in capturing the Central

Government. If the Janata Party were not removed from power, this Government would have been under the control of the Jana Sangh-RSS.'

"The Central Committee, analysing the situation that obtained at that period, stated that authoritarianism and communalism were twin dangers. This analysis was out of tune with the Political Resolution of the Jullundur Congress. Such an evaluation of the then situation was proved wrong by the results of the elections of January 1980. That analysis minimised the possibility of Indira Gandhi coming to power with an absolute majority, while the possibility of the Chavan-Charan Singh alliance forming an alternative Government was exaggerated. Taking into consideration the then obtaining political situation, the composition of the Lok Sabha membership and a proper evaluation of the Charan Singh-Chavan alliance, such a possibility was in fact unreal.

"Alongside, it is important to clearly state that because of the internal quarrels, the Janata Party was bound to disintegrate and the Government was bound to collapse. What brought criticism was the supporting role we played in the downfall of the Janata Government and the reappearance of the Indira Gandhi Congress. This question figured prominently in the minds of the people. This difference of opinion was not of a fundamental nature. It is quite natural that there would be differences among the comrades as regards the evaluation of the possible role of a section of the bourgeois party in the specific situation."

The subject of the July 1979 crisis and the political line adopted by the C.C. had come up for discussion and exchange of opinion inside the C.C. several times. But, the C.C. is not convinced of the correctness of the above assessment made of the July 1979 crisis and the arguments advanced in defence of that assessment. The C.C. document, "Elections Review", published as far back as June 1980, had rejected them as incorrect, and its views were elaborated at length, covering as many as 27 pages of the said review. It is relevant to reiterate these views of the C.C. for the record in the Political-Organisational Report.

The dissenting views say that "the July 1979 crisis took the Party and the People by surprise". Though there is an element of truth in such a statement, it has a wrong undertone, suggesting

that our Party was oblivious of the developments inside the Janata Party Government, that it was not seized of the gravity of the steadily intensifying in-fights among the different groups and top leaders of the Janata Party and Government, and the break-up of the Janata Party and Government had sprung a surprise on the Party. Such a reading of the C.C.'s understanding is contrary to facts, and the Elections Review of June 1980, puts it correctly as follows: "It is obviously true that no one expected that by July 9 or so, the crisis would burst leading to the disintegration of the Janata Party. But our Party was reacting to the developments for a long time, even raising doubts whether the Janata Party Government would last its full term. It was also warning against the RSS-Jana Sangh danger and did not see it only on the eve of the no-confidence motion." And several facts were further cited in the review, in support of the C.C.'s contention.

The dissenting view, proceeding on the assumption that the July crisis "took the Party and the people by surprise", comes to the conclusion that the tactical moves and measures adopted by the C.C. were not a continuity of the political-tactical line evolved at the Jullundur Party Congress, but a chance decision in a surprised state of mind. It is also of the opinion that the C.C.'s analysis of the situation, obtaining at the time of the July crisis, was wrong, that it stated that authoritarianism and communalism were twin dangers which was proved wrong by the January 1980 election results, and as such the C.C. line was a departure from the Jullundur Congress line. The conclusion drawn by the CCMs who differed with the C.C. was that "the C.C. took wrong steps and they adversely affected the standing of the Party with large section of the people".

The criticism of the C.C. line is more in the nature of unsubstantiated assertions, and facts and life do not support such criticism. The critics do not spell out in which state or states was the standing of the Party adversely affected, and what they mean by "large sections of the people" in the country. The January 1980 election results clearly demonstrated that our Party's standing with "the large sections of the people" remained unaffected and unassailed. In fact, any other wobbly stand at that time would

have compromised our Party's standing with the minorities such as the Muslims, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and also several secular-minded sections.

A change of tactics, from earlier support to opposition to the Janata Government, in a rapidly changing situation between July 9 and 13, 1979, was bound to have different reactions among different sections of the people, in different States, and with different assessments of the Janata performance. For that matter even in our own Party and C.C., there had been different views and reactions. No such decision of our C.C., in the midst of swift political changes, can be expected to receive universal approbation. There were bound to be some people who were still fondly hoping to sustain the life of the Janata Government and prevent the Congress(I) from coming back to power in January 1980. Similarly, there were people who felt relieved when the CPI(M) withdrew support to the Janata Government since it was fast losing its mass base, especially among the Muslim minorities and Scheduled Castes and Tribes, due to its anti-people reactionary policies. Why build a case, on this score, against the tactic of the C.C., a tactic which had to be evolved taking into account a number of factors such as regrouping the anti-authoritarian forces while the Janata Party was fast disintegrating, striving our utmost to prevent the Congress(I) from its feverish bid to make up with one or the other split wing of the Janata Party, and to bring together as many parties and groups as declare their opposition to the authoritarian Congress(I).

Coming to the basic assessment of the Janata Party and Government during the July 1979 period under discussion, the P.B. and C.C. came to the correct conclusion that the Janata Government was crumbling under the weight of its own inner conflicts and contradictions, and nothing could save it from the impending split and collapse. On this aspect, the differing opinion of the CCMs also admits that "it is important to clearly state that because of the internal quarrels the Janata Party was bound to disintegrate and the Government was bound to collapse". If this was the common assessment of the entire C.C., then what did the difference boil down to?

It boiled down to the argument that if “our Party had remained neutral”, we could have saved our Party from the criticism that “it played a supporting role in the downfall of the Janata Government and the reappearance of the Indira Gandhi Congress.” In fact, our Party was actually playing a neutral role from July 9 to 12, and our resolution declaring our support to the no-confidence motion was released on July 13. The reality, as revealed by life and history, shows that our neutrality of these days did neither save the Janata Party from getting split nor was our declaration of opposition the primary cause of its downfall. There were basically different reasons for the downfall of the Janata Government and the reappearance of the Indira Gandhi Congress. The issue was not simply how to save our Party from possible misunderstanding in some sections of the people that our Party played a supporting role in the fall of the Janata Government, the issue involved was much bigger and serious, namely, how to seriously struggle for the regrouping of the anti-authoritarian forces in face of the rapid disintegration of the Janata Party, and what were the tactical measures that could prevent the authoritarian Congress(I) from ganging up with one or the other split wing of the Janata Party.

The minority view that our refusal to remain neutral and our declaration to vote against the Janata Government lowered the prestige of the Party is nothing but flying in the face of facts.

The election results of 1980 themselves show that the Party vote increased from 81 lakhs in 1977 to 152 lakhs in 1980, nearly doubling its tally. This is called losing face with the people.

In West Bengal itself, the CPI(M) routed not only the Congress(I) but also the Janata Party. It should be mentioned here that if our Party had not dissociated itself in July from the RSS-dominated Janata Party, the minorities would have developed prejudice and suspicion. It might have affected our big success in West Bengal itself.

It is to be noted that the West Bengal State Committee campaigned against the communal danger and this did not detract from its success but actually helped it to mobilise the minority opinion.

The minority view in the C.C. persists in refusing to accept the correctness of the C.C.'s tactics of reorganising the anti-authoritarian forum of resistance in the fast-changing situation, characterising these tactics as "wrong steps which adversely affected the standing of the Party with large sections of the people", as tactics that got "involved in the unprincipled squabbles of the groups in the Janata Party", and as measures born out of the mistaken assessment of the C.C., i.e., the underplaying of the danger of the authoritarian Congress(I), equating the Jana Sangh-RSS danger with the authoritarian danger, calling it twin dangers, a departure from the understanding of the Jullundur Congress resolution, etc.

To characterise the attempt of the C.C. to support and work for the alliance of the Janata(S), Congress(S), AIADMK, Akali Dal, etc., as our "C.C. involving in the unprincipled squabbles of groups in the Janata Party", and the advocacy of the line of being neutral in those conflicts and contradictions, are neither correct political-tactical moves nor are they in conformity with the understanding of the Jullundur resolution. The Jullundur Congress directed the Party to forge the broad platform of resistance against authoritarianism and to strive to build the Left and democratic front. The resolution visualised the possibility of forging such a broad forum of resistance on the basis of "the sharp conflicts among the bourgeois-landlord parties", it noted the gains for the anti-authoritarian struggle such as the ending of internal Emergency, restoration of parliamentary democracy and the civil rights of the people, the withdrawal of the notorious 42nd Constitution Amendment Act, etc.

But the Jullundur resolution had not committed the CPI(M) to the continued supporting of the Janata Party and Government, as some seem to interpret it. The resolution, while sharply criticising the policies of the Janata Government, especially its economic policies, stated clearly that "these policies will only enthuse and strengthen the forces of dictatorship, undermine the democratic unity of the masses forged in the anti-Emergency struggle, and pursuance of these policies will only strengthen the authoritarian trends inside the Janata Party and the Government". This exactly was what happened—the July crisis, the ignominious fall of the

Janata Government and the subsequent events paving the way for the staging of the come-back to power of the Congress(I). Whence then this question of our C.C. going against the Jullundur line, as though it was a line of either continued support to the Janata Government or a line of adopting neutrality on the ground of misunderstanding or likely misunderstanding among sections of the people.

The criticism that the C.C. was "involving itself in the unprincipled squabbles of the groups in the Janata Party" is completely off the mark. The dismissal of all these in-fights in the Janata Party as "factional strife and not guided by any principles" was neither realistic nor did it correspond to the Jullundur political line. Most of the conflicts and quarrels among the bourgeois-landlord parties relate to the issue of sharing political power, and that is the "over-riding principle". The adoption of "principles" and "platforms" by different bourgeois-landlord parties and groups is aimed at subserving this "over-riding principle". When sections fell out with the then ruling Congress party, and formed the Bangla Congress, Utkal Congress, Jana Congress, Jana Kranti Dal, Kerala Congress and the like in 1966-67, we did not think some lofty "principles" were involved in it. The CPI(M) had supported or allied with some of them with the only one over-riding consideration of breaking the monopoly of one-party rule in the country.

Then, again, during the second half of the year 1969, the ruling Congress party announced a political platform of "nationalisation of major banks", "the abolition of privy purses for the princes", "garibi hatao" and the like, while some other bourgeois opposition parties such as the "Congress(O)", Swatantra, Jana Sangh, RSS and certain other groups formed into a "Grand Alliance" with a political platform of extreme right reaction. Again, the same parties took up the banner of defence of democracy against the authoritarian ruling Congress. It is difficult to judge these bourgeois-landlord parties and their inner-conflicts and feuds and factional strife through the yardstick of some "principles". The CPI(M) while uniting with some of them on certain issues or in forging electoral alliances and even forming

State Governments with them, never tried to judge them and their “principles”, though their announced pledges and principles were taken into account. No doubt, the CPI(M) was guided by some principles, such as breaking the monopoly of power of the ruling Congress, fighting against the authoritarian Congress(I), etc. If the CPI(M) could not dismiss the slogans of bank nationalisation and abolition of privy purses, and had to oppose the “Grand Alliance” candidate and support V.V. Giri, it had no reason to dismiss the anti-RSS slogans of some sections of the Janata Party as pure bluff and bluster.

That is why our Jullundur Congress resolution warned us about the bourgeois-landlord opposition parties saying that “it is true that all will not be faithful to the commitments; vacillations, hesitations may occur and even treachery may be attempted”, and yet we had to count them in the struggle for the defence of democracy.

Neither Charan Singh nor other leaders of the Charan Singh-Chavan alliance were new to the CPI(M). We supported Charan Singh when he and his party were participants in the J.P. movement and we supported him when he was the Home Minister and Finance Minister in the Janata Government till July 1979. But the critics of the C.C. find Charan Singh and his allies, in August 1979, as persons and parties of a dubious character, abhorred by vast sections of the people in our country.

The Party did succeed in disentangling the Charan Singh Government from the Congress(I). Was it wrong? And, besides, did it not give a few months’ time to the anti-authoritarian forces to keep the Congress(I) away from central power? Would it have served the cause of anti-authoritarianism better if we had followed other tactics?

In fact, we tried to buy time from the Janata Party also when we offered to support it provided certain anti-people measures were withdrawn. But it wanted unconditional support.

Strangely enough, our C.C., in its meeting of September 6 and 7, 1979, was unanimous in its electoral tactics, seeking alliance and adjustments with parties that comprised the Charan Singh-Chavan alliance; no CCM had raised any objection or opposed the

electoral tactics of the C.C. for both the Lok Sabha election of January 1980 and the Assembly elections of May 1980. Again these were the same political parties whose cooperation was sought by our Party in organising the six-party convention, in setting up the Kisan Coordination Committee and in leading the March 26 Kisan Rally, and in forging the anti-authoritarian forces, knowing pretty well what the limitations of these parties were.

The entire argument of the minority CCMs boils down to one point, namely, our Party remaining neutral during the period of the no-confidence motion and during the power-struggle between the Charan Singh-Chavan alliance and Morarji Desai-Jana Sangh alliance would have been a Marxist-Leninist tactic, and the declaration of support to the no-confidence motion and the declaration of support to the Charan Singh-Chavan alliance had been opportunistic, deviating from the Jullundur political line and taking wrong steps which adversely affected the standing of the Party with vast sections of the people. Such a criticism of the C.C. line is neither borne out by life and events, nor is it in conformity with the political line of the Party which fervently advocates the forging of a broad platform of resistance against the authoritarian Congress(I) under varying conditions and situations. The C.C. had stated repeatedly that its tactics during the July 1979 crisis and immediately following it were an integral part of the C.C. line, both before and after the July crisis, and they were not born out of some aberrations in the thinking of the C.C. during the short period of July and August 1979, deviating from the basic political-tactical line.

The dissenting opinion in the C.C. directs its criticism against the C.C. that it had underestimated the danger of the authoritarian Congress(I), that it had overestimated the menace of Jana Sangh-RSS communalism, that it estimated at one stage that the prospect of the RSS-Jana Sangh-led wing of the Janata Party coming to power was becoming real and that the usage of the term "twin danger" was the reflection of the C.C.'s erroneous assessment.

The C.C.'s Election Review of June 1980 made it absolutely clear that it was incorrect to use such phrases as "twin danger",

and explained the position in detail to meet the criticism: "One such formulation which is correctly criticised is about the twin danger of authoritarianism and communalism. If the documents concerned are examined, it will be found that even where the formulation occurs it was made after describing authoritarianism as the main danger. Nowhere, even by implication, is it suggested that the two dangers are of equal proportion. Nonetheless, the expression, twin danger, was not a correct formulation as it would create an impression of equating the two dangers. To say, however, that this was the Central Committee's line and it affected the elections is to indulge in fault-finding."

The differing opinion in the C.C. criticises the C.C. for its assessment that the Jana Sangh-RSS dominated wing of the Janata Party was poised to take control over the Central Government. From this, they deduce the conclusion that the communal danger was exaggerated and the authoritarian danger was under-estimated. This criticism of exaggeration of the communal danger by the C.C. for the entire stage of the July crisis was not factually correct. There was certainly a stage, in the month of August 1979, when the Jana Sangh-RSS dominated wing of the Janata Party was seriously bidding for power, demanding the President to give it a third chance by calling it to form a Government. Out of the 200-and-more-strong Janata Party in the Lok Sabha, as many as 93 MPs belonged to the Jana Sangh, and the rest to the Congress(O), Praja Socialists, Jagjivan Ram's wing of the CFD, the so-called "Young Turks" and the like. It was quite evident that the Jana Sangh-RSS wing constituted the main force of the Janata Party at that stage, and it was this wing that allied one day with the Lok Dal and another day with the Congress(I) to topple the Janata State Governments in Bihar, Haryana and U.P., and to place its nominees in office. It was the same Jana Sangh-RSS-led Janata Party which was negotiating with the authoritarian Congress(I) party in the Lok Sabha to secure the necessary strength to form a Government at the Centre. One is at a loss to understand why the C.C. is being subjected to criticism when it points out such a danger saying it was exaggerating the RSS-Jana Sangh danger.

Such a criticism of the C.C.'s tactics emanates, firstly, from looking at the Jana Sangh-RSS role as it was during the days of the J.P. movement in 1975-77, secondly, from the failure to see that its role was increasingly undermining the struggle against authoritarianism while it was attempting to even make up with the Congress(I) in its bid to capture the leadership of the Government, and, thirdly, from the utter unawareness of the havoc that the role of the RSS-Jana Sangh was causing among the Muslim minorities and the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

What sort of anti-authoritarian resistance could be built if the mass base against the authoritarian Congress(I) was being systematically undermined, by organising ghastly communal riots such as in Jamshedpur and Aligarh? It is not merely turning a blind eye to the growing menace of communalism from the RSS-Jana Sangh wing of the Janata Party, but a gross failure to see the immense danger to the very struggle against the authoritarian Congress(I). The election results of the Lok Sabha in January 1980 clearly revealed how the 1977 mass base of the Janata Party was getting rapidly eroded, the authoritarian Congress(I) being the sole gainer, thanks to the general anti-people policies of the Janata Government and the rabid communal frenzy of the Jana Sangh-RSS. It would be mere self-deception to think of strengthening the anti-authoritarian resistance if the growing menace to such resistance at the hands of the RSS-Jana Sangh combine is either minimised or glossed over.

It is said that the C.C. had under-estimated the strength of the authoritarian Congress(I), that this was proved by the results of the Lok Sabha election, and it was this underestimation that led the C.C. to adopt the tactic of giving support to the no-confidence motion instead of maintaining neutrality. The criticism that the C.C. had under-estimated the strength of the Congress(I) is, unfortunately, getting mixed up with different stages of development following the July 1979 crisis. It was true that the C.C., or any section of the C.C., did not expect an absolute majority for the Congress(I) in the Lok Sabha election. For that matter, even Indira Gandhi was not confident of securing an absolute majority, let alone the present two-thirds majority in

the Lok Sabha. Even a week before the date of the election, Mrs. Gandhi was discussing with pressmen the possibility of her party allying with some other parties and groups to form a Government.

The lesson to be drawn from this big victory of Mrs. Gandhi's party was not that our C.C. underestimated the danger of the Congress(I), and that landed it in the wrong position of supporting the no-confidence motion against the Janata Government instead of remaining neutral, etc. The real and salient lesson was that our C.C. totally underestimated the mass erosion caused in the anti-authoritarian base, due to the anti-people policies of the RSS-Jana Sangh combine. This was seen more clearly in states like U.P., Bihar, M.P., Punjab, Rajasthan, Haryana, Delhi and other Hindi-speaking areas, where there was a swing of the Muslim and Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe masses away from the Janata Party and towards the Congress(I). Hence, either continued support to the Janata Party or defence of it by our Party, or remaining neutral on the no-confidence motion would have damaged our Party's political image among the people in general.

[The minority's view was not acceptable to the Eleventh Congress which endorsed the work of the C.C. and its line.]

The problem that confronted the P.B., C.C. and the Party as a whole was, what to do in the then developing new alignment of political forces, and which step or steps could enable us to prevent the Congress(I) making up with one or the other divided wing of the Janata Party, and which step or steps might enable us to forge the broad forum of resistance against the Congress(I) authoritarian trend, in the process of the Janata Party disintegration. There were divided political groupings, one headed by Morarji Desai, Jagjivan Ram, Chandra Sekhar and Vajpayee, and the other formation comprising the Janata(S), Congress(S), Akali Dal and AIADMK, headed by Charan Singh and Y.B. Chavan. Mention also should be made of another important development, namely, that the two main rival wings of the Janata Party, one led by Charan Singh and the other led by Morarji Desai, which were jockeying for power in the divided Janata Party which remained formally united, had started confabulations with the Congress(I)

which commanded a strength of 70 members in the Lok Sabha. Indira Gandhi and her Congress party were keeping close contacts with both the wings, and also with top individual leaders of different groups in the Janata Party.

Another equally important point, namely, the issue of having links or severing links with the RSS was made a political issue, one wing openly advocating the severance of links with the RSS and Jana Sangh. All this was being done in the background of the Hindu-Muslim riots in Jamshedpur, Aligarh and other places, actively led and organised by the RSS and abetted by the Janata State Governments.

It was under these conditions of fast and quick developments that differences got expressed whether our Party's neutrality on the issue of no-confidence motion would be correct or our supporting it, whether our supporting the Charan Singh alliance and its Government or opposing it would be correct, and whether our Party was correct in actively intervening in the regrouping of political forces or whether we could have kept aloof for a time, etc. As already mentioned above, there was nothing unusual and surprising in such differences cropping up in such a rapidly changing political situation, even in a party united politically and ideologically. When such differences arise there is no other tried and tested Party method of resolving them than accepting and implementing the majority decisions, and self-critically reviewing them in the light of further experiences and in a much cooler atmosphere. This was what was done by the P.B. and C.C. Any further debate on the issue is neither useful nor does it help the unification of the P.B., C.C. and the entire Party. The fact that the P.B. and C.C. could work out the electoral tactics for the Lok Sabha and the Assembly election unitedly in September 1979 and February 1980 and the fact that on all the major political issues that had come up during these years, such as the separatist agitation in Assam and the insurgent activities of certain adventurist groups in the north-eastern region, the Khalistan agitation by some chauvinist forces in Punjab, the U.S. arming of the Pakistani military regime, etc., the P.B. and C.C. could unitedly determine the Party's attitude; so also the stand of the

Party on Afghanistan, Kampuchea and the Polish crisis. All this goes to demonstrate the political unity of the Party, contrary to the fond hopes of accumulation of differences and disunity in the CPI(M), frequently discussed and regrettably broadcast by the big bourgeois press and confirmed class enemies.

Why Such Differences Arise

The differences that surfaced relate to individual issues and moves in the process of implementing the line. One such issue was whether our being neutral on the no-confidence motion would have been received by the people well or our actively supporting the no-confidence motion after our efforts to persuade the Janata Government failed. Similarly, the issue was raised whether our support to the Charan Singh alliance was received well or ill by the people at large, and why not demand elections instead of lending support to the formation of the Charan Singh Government. It was also asked by some members not supporting the no-confidence motion but supporting Charan Singh to stage a come-back, thus effectively strengthening the forces of authoritarianism. All these do not belong to the category of basic differences on the fundamental political tactical line of the Party, and most of them were answered in the course of the P.B. and C.C. discussions, and finally, in the election review of June 1981.

These differences and consequent difficulties arise, firstly, because of the extremely uneven strength of our Party and movement in different states; secondly, due to the uneven strength and role of different political parties in different states; and lastly, because of the absence of uniform political discipline in several bourgeois and petty-bourgeois opposition parties.

To take the specific case of the Janata Party, the CPI(M) could come to some electoral agreement with the Janata Party during the sixth Lok Sabha election in 1977, and amicable relations continued at the all-India level till the 1979 crisis. But in West Bengal, the state unit of the Janata spurned all our efforts for an electoral understanding in the Assembly election of June 1977, and turned hostile to the CPI(M) and the Left Front Government. The Janata leaders could not discipline their West Bengal unit,

resulting in an anomalous position of maintaining amicable relations between the Janata Party and the CPI(M) at the national level and coming to have hostile relations in the State of West Bengal. From this followed another set of relations between our state Party unit of West Bengal and the Janata Party and the Government at the Centre, which were entirely different from its relations with the Janata Party unit in the State of West Bengal.

Some sort of rapport came to exist between the central Janata Government and the state's Left Front Government, a rapport that could be utilised for the smooth running of the state's administration and thus rendering some help to different sections of the people in West Bengal. To a certain extent the same was the case between the Left Front Government of Tripura on the one hand and the Central Government of the Janata Party on the other. In all other states, particularly where the Janata State Governments were ruling, the relations between the state Janata Party and Government on the one hand and our state Party units on the other were not only getting strained but even becoming hostile. Hence, the reactions among the people of the Janata-ruled states towards the Janata Government at the centre were bound to be different from that of the people of the Left Front Government-ruled state of West Bengal.

Our Party will have to take into account the reactions or the likely reactions of different sections of people in different states, while taking decisions on problems that concern the people of more than one state or the people of the country as a whole. It also will have to judge the entire situation in Marxist-Leninist class terms, as the vanguard of the revolutionary working class movement. Numerous occasions arise when our Party puts forth a correct line, and in the best interests of the people, but may not be able to carry conviction immediately. Hence, without disputing the statement that our following in West Bengal did not react favourably to our stand on the no-confidence motion and our lending support to the Charan Singh-Chavan alliance, we will have to reiterate the correctness of our moves and their basic direction during the days of the July crisis and the period immediately following it. The C.C. and the State Committee of

West Bengal had no other way except to draw their own conclusions in the light of further experience. The top committees have to exert greater efforts to educate our Party members on the lines of the C.C.'s decisions, and in the Party spirit, so that the Party is unified around the accepted majority line.

Another example can be cited which also gave rise to certain difficulties. The breakaway Congress party in 1978 which came to be called the Swaran Singh Congress, Urs Congress, Sharad Pawar Congress and lately the Congress Party (Socialist) had not been following the same uniform policy at the Centre and in different states.

This opposition Congress party sought and secured our Party's cooperation in forming the coalition Ministry, following the fall of the Morarji Desai Government. Several of its state units had electoral understanding with the CPI(M) in the Lok Sabha and Assembly elections of January 1980 and May 1980. Its state unit in Kerala had joined the Left-Democratic Front and Government as early as in January 1980. This party joined the Six-Party Coordination Committee and joined the March 26, 1981, kisan rally, along with other Left parties. But its state unit in West Bengal was always hostile to the CPI(M) and the Left Front Government and its role was similar to that of the Congress(I) in that state.

If our Party at the national level, and in some states, had to treat this opposition Congress party as one cooperating with the CPI(M) against the Congress(I)'s authoritarianism and in united actions on issues, our state Party unit in West Bengal had to fight against it as one of the inimical forces because of its hostile line.

The same was the case with the CPI, even though it is a more centralised and disciplined party. The CPI had broken away from the anti-Marxist front and joined the Left-Democratic Front and Government in Kerala in 1979-80. But the state unit of the CPI in West Bengal had continued its hostile attitude to the CPI(M) in the state till recently. Under these circumstances, the approach of the CPI(M)'s state unit of West Bengal towards the state unit of the CPI had to be different from that of the Kerala state unit of our Party to its CPI counterpart. Such divergences were always exploited by our political opponents to propagate the lie that

serious political differences existed between the C.C. and its West Bengal state unit, etc., and cause confusion among the people and the Party ranks. Care should be taken not to allow the class enemies to utilise any unguarded statements by our Party's spokesmen.

The anomaly in the behaviour of some political parties creates certain difficulties when the Central Committee has to address itself to one particular task taking the country as a whole and the attitude of the political parties at the national level, while the State Committees of the CPI(M) will have to address themselves to the particular situation prevailing in the states in question, though both the C.C. and the State Committees follow the central political-tactical line. When such difficulties were faced over some press statements and interviews the P.B. had discussed the question with the State Committee of West Bengal and resolved the issue.

A similar difficulty did arise when our state Party unit in Tamil Nadu, along with the CPI state unit, had to forge the electoral understanding with the AIADMK in the January 1980 election. The AIADMK was having an electoral alliance with the Janata Party in that election, while the CPI(M) was opposed to any alliance with either the Janata Party or the Congress(I). The statements and speeches of our comrades in Tamil Nadu on the Janata Party appeared to be compromising our electoral tactics to the Kerala state unit of our Party which was fighting both the Congress(I) and the Janata Party in the same election. Care will have to be taken to minimise the confusion on such occasions, if it is not possible to completely eliminate such confusion altogether.

Above all, the reality that in the three states of West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala, the CPI(M) has its own independent voting strength, ranging from 35 to 45 per cent, will have to be reckoned with. Together with other Left parties or groups, it was in a position to command around 45 to 50 per cent of the total polled votes in these three states. The divisions among the bourgeois parties and the unity of the Left parties and groups have enabled the Left Fronts in West Bengal and Tripura to secure the overwhelming majority of seats in the respective Assemblies.

In Kerala, Left unity was broken in October 1969, giving place to the anti-CPI(M) united front and Government. Though the anti-Marxist united front was split in October 1979, and the Left-Democratic Front and its Government came into existence, life and events go to show that the Left-Democratic Front was not stabilised in Kerala, as in the case of the Left Fronts in West Bengal and Tripura.

Regarding these three states, we come up against two political tendencies among the bourgeois opposition parties and also in the ruling Congress party. Due to our independent strength, as the single biggest force, as in West Bengal and Tripura in 1977 and Kerala in 1979, the bourgeois opposition parties tend to align with our Party and other Left parties in order to dislodge the Congress from these State Governments. The ruling Congress party, utilising its political power at the Centre on the one hand, and its strong independent electoral base in these states next only to that of the CPI(M), on the other, had been repeatedly trying to bring about anti-communist and anti-Left united fronts. In this it had succeeded in Kerala for ten years during 1969-79, and in West Bengal for six years in 1971-77, though the Left parties, except the CPI, began uniting in West Bengal from 1972-73 onwards.

The struggle between the bourgeois-landlord classes and their political parties on the one hand and the Left forces opposed to these classes and parties on the other, takes the sharpest form in these three states, while in the rest of the states in the Indian Union, the struggle among different bourgeois-landlord parties for the possession of the state and administrative apparatus gets sharply emphasised. The two main slogans of building the Left and democratic front and the broad forum of resistance, raised at the Jullundur Congress, had to be pursued under these specific conditions.

To conclude this aspect of our Party's attitude towards the bourgeois opposition parties and the conduct of several of these parties, we have to bear in mind the conclusion incorporated in the political resolution of the Tenth Party Congress regarding the nature of their conflicts with the ruling Congress party, and how the CPI(M) will have to assess them. There are some 14 paras

in the resolution under the sub-heading “Intensified conflicts between the bourgeois-landlord parties”, pointing out how the deep-seated and growing economic crisis is intensifying the conflicts and contradictions among the bourgeois-landlord classes and their parties, and how it is incumbent on the part of the CPI(M) to use them in the furtherance of the people’s struggles. The resolution notes the possible “vacillations and change-over from one camp to another” and how the sweeping victory against the Congress monopoly rule in the March 1977 election “was made possible by the intensified contradictions between the Congress and opposition bourgeois-landlord parties”. Without ascribing loyalty to democracy and commitment to resist authoritarianism to any particular person or group or party, we will have to deal with these bourgeois-landlord opposition parties, utilising their conflicts and contradictions with the party in power in furtherance of the united actions on issues and in the struggle against authoritarianism and in defence of parliamentary democracy. If we start looking into the history of the individual leaders of these bourgeois-landlord opposition parties, their defections and re-defections from parties, their basic class outlook on people’s issues, etc., in order to decide our approach to them, we land in an unreal position of spurning any agreement, alliance and cooperation with most of them. This approach towards the bourgeois-landlord opposition parties and working for united action on issues with them is very necessary in our struggle to dislodge the bourgeois-landlord political-ideological hold on the great mass of our people that still exists. History during the last four years has conclusively proved the correctness of the above assessment of the bourgeois-landlord opposition parties, and there need be no illusions on this score. The CPI(M) can never expect any consistency in their political-tactical line nor uniform and disciplined behaviour from their national centres and state units.

On Certain Other Differences

There were doubts in certain sections of our Party about the correctness of our Party leading the peasant struggles for remunerative prices, and also the correctness of associating our

Party and the All-India Kisan Sabha with the Central Coordination Committee comprising several political parties, to lead the united mass actions of the peasants and agricultural labourers. This was pointed out in our C.C. document on "The Peasant Upsurge and Remunerative Prices", which said that "unfortunately, even after a thorough discussion on this issue at various levels, a criticism has come that it is not correct to support the movements since they serve the interests of the landlords and kulaks and go against the interests of the consumers. The criticism is neither based on our programmatic positions, nor on the accepted policy of the Party and the Kisan Sabha".

The C.C. document on remunerative prices also stated: "When in Parliament, the Agriculture Minister made a statement that the West Bengal Government had opposed the increase in prices of paddy, it created a bad impression among the members who expect us to be in the lead in fighting against the anti-peasant policy of the Government. Subsequently, the West Bengal Government took a correct position in entering the market and in protecting the peasants from distress sales by paying them the price of Rs. 105 to Rs. 113 per quintal of paddy." It may be mentioned here that five PBMs had met the West Bengal State Committee, and after discussions in the State Committee, we came to a common understanding leaving no room for confusion.

Certain differences and reservations on the issue of remunerative prices were expressed in the leadership of the Tamil Nadu State Committee also. But from recent reports we learn that the State Committee has effected the necessary corrections and is now in full agreement with the Party's line on the issue. One of the big mass campaigns by our Party during the period was the peasants' struggle for remunerative prices for agricultural produce, besides other demands like debt-relief, reduction of tax-burdens and for increase in agricultural labour wages. United mass actions, on a big scale, had taken place in Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, Karnataka and Maharashtra, in which several other political parties and organisations took part. The ruling Congress party, panicked by this countrywide peasant agitations, had

organised a stage-managed massive demonstration in Delhi, spending huge amounts of money, with a view to countering the effects of the peasant stir and also to forestall the announced Delhi kisan march by the newly set-up Central Kisan Coordination Committee. But our Party, together with other Left parties and mass organisations, had worked hard to make the March 26 kisan rally in Delhi a tremendous success. Our Party units of Bihar, Punjab, Rajasthan, U.P., Haryana, M.P. and Delhi had done their utmost to mobilise the people for the tremendous success of the March 26 demonstration. This March 26 rally had eclipsed the stage-managed Congress rally of February 16, in its political and real meaning of genuine peasants' protest. Token delegations from distant Assam, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and other states participated. The March 26 rally would not have come off but for our Party centre's tenacity and political firmness in the face of extreme vacillations and backsliding by many of the constituents of the Central Coordination Committee. Thus the impetus given to the peasant stir by the national convention held on September 27 and 28, 1980, by the CPI(M), CPI, Lok Dal, Congress(U), RSP, Forward Bloc, culminated in the huge Delhi demonstration of March 26. This event had a great political significance, enhancing the political image of the CPI(M) and other Left and democratic forces among the peasant masses all over the country. Small delegations from many other states came to join the main contingents which came from Bihar, Punjab, U.P., M.P., Rajasthan, Delhi and Haryana.

In retrospect, it becomes evident that our Party did not move in a united and concerted manner during the six-month-long peasant stir all over the country. Different state units of our Party had their own plans of activities and priorities. There was no all-India cohesion and coordination to move the entire Party into action. If our C.C. centre and the West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura state units had planned to coordinate our activities in this peasant agitation and if the Left-led State Governments had highlighted the issue of peasant agitation, there would have been a tremendous impact on the whole peasantry in the country. This could not be done for many reasons, and drawing on the lessons, we will have

to organise more united, widespread and concerted peasant struggles in the days to come.

The P.B. and C.C., in pursuance of the decisions of the Tenth Party Congress and the Plenum, had set up the all-India organisations for youth and women, the Democratic Youth Federation of India and the All-India Democratic Women's Association. The DYFI was set up in a conference convened in Ludhiana during the first week of November 1980. The AIDWA was set up in an all-India conference convened in the first quarter of the year 1981 in Madras. The All-India Agricultural Workers' Union was set up on October 12-13, 1981, at a meeting of the leaders of different state agricultural labour organisations in Vijayawada. The fact that the decisions taken in the year 1978 to set up these organisations could not be implemented for two to three years, goes to show our organisational weakness, the weakness of the C.C. centre in the main. But the results of all the three, especially the DYFI, are encouraging, promising a big advance in the near future.

However, mention must be made of the fact that in the course of setting up the DYFI and AIDWA, certain controversial problems arose which had to be resolved by the P.B. and C.C. The youth and women's movements, after our separation from the CPI in 1963-64, were confined to some states like West Bengal and Kerala mainly, and they were guided by the respective State Committees. The P.B. and C.C. were not conversant either with their programmes and constitutions or the lines on which these movements and organisations were being guided and run. When leading comrades, working in these organisations at the states' level, assembled in Delhi for setting up the Organising Committees and preparing the drafts of the programme and constitution, some differing views were expressed on some basic questions as to how these movements and organisations would have to be guided and run by the Party, and how independent and democratic functioning should be ensured in these mass organisations while giving leadership to them. Some states have big memberships in the youth and women's organisations, and they have greater experience gained over the years. Others had their newly set-up organisations, with a few thousand members,

confined to some districts and zones. Different states were having different programmes, constitutions and banners for their respective organisations. It was natural that different states' representatives drawing on their own experience and generalisations, began to argue in defence of their respective viewpoints. The PBMs attending these meetings of youth and women activists, had to assist them in preparing the draft programmes, constitutions and charters of demands. On basic questions as to how class and mass organisations should be run, how their independence and democratic functioning should be ensured, how the Party workers functioning in these organisations have to carry out the Party's mass line in these organisations, etc., there was some confusion, non-clarity and even some mistaken notions in certain comrades. The P.B. helped them in sorting out and resolving them. It had placed some of the problems before the C.C., and the decisions were incorporated in the Central Committee's document "On Mass Organisations". The P.B. had also one sitting with the West Bengal State Committee of our Party and explained the C.C.'s stand in this regard. Since this question is of cardinal importance, it will have to be constantly reviewed and necessary corrections will have to be effected from time to time. But one mistake will have to be avoided, namely, the tendency of reducing these class and mass organisations to the status of adjuncts and auxiliary bodies of the Party, under the anxiety of implementing as radical a line as possible in such organisations, and in the name of providing political leadership to them.

The weaknesses sharply pointed out in the Plenum's resolution "On Organisation" still continue, and they are being reiterated here for the benefit of the delegates to this Party Congress. The resolution observes: "Our understanding about the democratic functioning of the mass organisations is often defective and suffers from sectarianism. Several committees and comrades handle mass organisations as if they are subsidiaries of the Party and pay scant attention to functioning them democratically. At the same time there is another harmful tendency in evidence. Several Party members leading mass organisations tend to function them

independently bypassing the Party." And, "it is necessary that the Central and State Committees ensure democratic functioning of the mass organisations and effective supervision over the functioning of the Fraction Committees to enable the Party to fulfil its guiding role in relation to the mass organisations".

At the national level there have been efforts by the P.B. and C.C. to ensure the above guidelines, and there is a measure of success. But we have no reports and reviews from the states in this regard and it would be mistaken to think that these defects, that have crept into our practice over years, are either already remedied or can be easily overcome. A sustained struggle is necessary to correct these defects.

While the reality in our country, today, is that every political party is having its own class and mass organisational wings, it is not doubt utopian to contemplate united class and mass organisations as was the case in pre-independent India. Our Party is duty-bound to organise these organisations. But in so organising them, the other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties aim at keeping these organisations in isolation from others for fear of losing their political hold and influence on these people, running them as adjuncts to the respective parties. Our Party, in clear demarcation with this narrow and sectarian approach, will have to help these organisations to function on really democratic lines and with broad-based programmes, aims and objectives.

Lenin's observations, on the organisation of socialist youth in Switzerland, throw some light on the subject under discussion. He wrote: "Organisations of *youth*, however, which openly declare that they are still learning, that their main task is to train party workers for the socialist parties, are quite another thing. Such people must be given every assistance. We must be patient with their faults and strive to correct them gradually, mainly by *persuasion* and not by fighting them. The middle-aged and the aged often *do not know* how to approach the youth, for the youth must of necessity advance to socialism in a *different way, by other paths, in other forms, in other circumstances* than their fathers. Incidentally, that is why we must decidedly *favour organisational independence* of the youth league, not only because the opportunists fear such independence, but because of the very nature of the

case. For, unless they have complete independence, the youth *will be unable* to either train good socialists from their midst or prepare themselves to lead socialism *forward*.

“We stand for the complete independence of the Youth League, but also for complete freedom of comradely criticism of their errors. We must not flatter the youth.” (*Collected Works*, Vol. 23, Pages 163-166, all emphasis original)

We are neither dealing, now, with such politically oriented Youth Leagues as mentioned by Lenin, nor discussing how to train party workers for the socialist parties. We are considering the issue of organising youth in an underdeveloped and newly independent country like India, which is yet to complete the tasks of liquidating feudal and semi-feudal landlordism, monopoly capitalism and foreign imperialist capital. The programme, aims and objectives and the charter of demands of the youth movement in our country should be so formulated that they are truly democratic and broad-based. The organising and building of communist units from the advanced elements forms a separate subject, into which we are not going here. If some doubts persist in some comrades on the C.C. line on mass organisations, they may be formulated and submitted to the C.C. for necessary clarification. The C.C. line on it will have to be implemented.

Political Line and Party Organisation

A review of our political activities, in isolation from the review of our organisational work in the light of the organisational resolution adopted at the Salkia Plenum, would be incomplete. It was full three years ago that we had held the five-day Party Plenum, as directed by the Tenth Party Congress, to discuss and decide the organisational line of our Party. Though many of our comrades are quite conversant with the famous statement of Stalin on the crucial importance of Party organisation, it is necessary once again to remind ourselves of that statement, since a great majority of our Party members are new recruits with short periods of Party life.

“Some people think that it is sufficient to draw up a correct Party line, proclaim it from house-tops, enunciate it in the form of

general theses and resolutions, and carry them unanimously in order to make victory come itself, automatically, so to speak. This, of course, is very wrong. This is a great delusion. Only incorrigible bureaucrats and office rats think that. Good resolutions and declarations in favour of the general line of the Party are only a beginning; they merely express the desire to win, but it is not victory. After the correct line has been laid down, after a correct solution of the problem has been found, success depends on how the work is organised, on the organisation of the struggle for the application of the line of the Party, on the proper selection of personnel, on the way a check is kept on the fulfilment of the decisions of the leading bodies. Without this the correct line of the Party and the correct solutions are in danger of being severely damaged. More than that, after a correct political line has been given, organisational work decides everything, including the fate of the political line itself, its success or failure.” (Stalin, *Report to the 17th Congress of the CPSU*)

We have already mentioned in the foregoing pages of this report that the political line decided by the Tenth Party Congress and the organisational line charted out by the Salkia Plenum, in a way, marked a turning point in the history of our Party. It was stated in our resolution on organisation that the inner-PB. and C.C. discussions prior to 1976 had revealed that “the entire understanding of the political situation and of the Perspective Tactical Line and its bearing on the class and mass organisations” had become the subject matter of serious differences, and it was “the 1976 resolution of the C.C. which cleared the way for the Party to effectively intervene in the democratic movement, to develop new allies and increase the political prestige of the Party all over India. With this increased prestige and increased mass strength of the Party in almost all States”, etc.

What are the main points that the report and resolution on organisation contain? To put it shortly, they are:

- to build a mass revolutionary Party, while assisting the weaker states and making special efforts to extend the Party in the Hindi-speaking areas;
- to fight against the tendencies of federalism and strengthen democratic centralism;

- to make organised efforts to ideologically educate the great majority of members who came to the Party after 1964;
- to introduce and insist on the principle of reporting to the lower Party units and to the higher Party committees, to introduce the method of reviewing the activities of the Party and mass organisations, to consciously cultivate the method of criticism and self-criticism, to implement the system of collective functioning and discourage the practice of individuals replacing the collective, to practise inner-Party democracy, to function the branch, to exercise proper political control and check-up of Party organs at the states and central level, to guide and lead the work of MLAs and MPs in using the forum of the legislature in a Marxist-Leninist way, etc.

Coming to the building of mass revolutionary Party and extending it to ever-new areas in the Hindi-speaking zone, there has been some measure of success. Our Party, which was working in class and mass organisations with a total membership of 47 to 48 lakhs; and with a voting strength of 82 lakhs as seen in the March 1977 general election, had only 157,000 members at the time of the Tenth Party Congress in April 1978. Today, as noted earlier, it has increased its strength to more than 267,000 members and candidates. Though it is a big increase when compared to 1978, it is not correct to be content with this progress since it bears no relation to our increased voting strength, and the strength registered in the class and mass organisations today. Our voting strength as seen in the 1980 election stood around 152 lakhs, the strength of the class and mass organisations has grown to nearly ten million today. Seen in the context of our growing mass influence, the present strength of 267,000 members in the Party is undoubtedly small. Not even three to four per cent of our mass influence could be consolidated in the Party organisation so far, and hence there is no reason for contentment and complacency.

It is true that we have not been able to impart the necessary political-ideological education to the mass of the new members who have been recruited, and to improve the level and standard of those who had been recruited by the time of the Jullundur Party

Congress. The schooling organised by the District and State Committees and the Central Committee, and the agit-prop literature produced and circulated for the education of Party members are too inadequate to meet the requirements. Consequently, the political-ideological consciousness and Party organisational discipline of an average Party member is far from what it should be. If these weaknesses are not removed and if the C.C. and the State Committees do not undertake a time-bound programme to organise schools and education, there is every danger of our Party deteriorating into a "mass party" instead of the mass revolutionary Party envisaged by the Salkia Plenum. Hence, without erroneously counterposing the issue of rapidly expanding the Party with that of adequately educating and schooling the Party members, we will have to undertake both simultaneously and speedily for overcoming the serious shortcomings in this regard.

The resolution on organisation of the Plenum "directs the centre that while giving due attention to the all-India situation and the problem of the advanced states, it should assume the responsibility for the advance of the weaker states". It further states, "In particular, the wide Hindi-speaking area comprising several states should be given immediate attention considering their political importance as well as the prospects of speedier growth. The virtual neglect of these states weakens the all-India movement and impedes it beyond measure". As part of this task, (1) the centre should immediately start a Hindi weekly; (2) hold Party schools in Hindi for teachers and cadres alike; (3) production and distribution of political and ideological literature in Hindi; and (4) undertake political campaigning in these states.

Within less than two months of the Plenum, the Party centre implemented the directive of starting a Party organ to cater to the requirements of the Party in the Hindi-speaking states. Although begun in a modest way, the publication of the Hindi weekly, *Lok Lahar*, received enthusiastic welcome. We started with a circulation of only 4000 in the year 1978, and at present, it has a circulation of 15,000. Urdu *Lok Lahar* was started only at the

beginning of the year 1981, and its circulation stands at 4000, out of which the Kashmir unit alone takes 1000. Though detailed reports from the states have to be awaited to make a correct assessment of the position of *Lok Lahar*, both Hindi and Urdu, it is apparent that our state units in the Hindi-speaking belt are not doing what is necessary and possible to push the sales of the two weeklies. Many of the state units of our Party in the Hindi-speaking area, instead of taking the issue of expanding the circulation of *Lok Lahar* as one of the many issues on their agenda and leaving it to the mercy of distributing agencies, will have to take the question as one of primary political importance, and use *Lok Lahar* as the organiser of the Party, to carry the message of the CPI(M) to ever-wider sections of the people. The Central Committee will have to discuss this in detail with the concerned State Committees, and take the necessary steps to remedy the situation.

Two Hindi central schools were held, one for students and the other for Party cadres which 100 comrades attended. A number of pamphlets and booklets were brought out by the Party centre. The bringing out of *Lok Lahar* weekly, the publication of a series of booklets and other literature and the increased activities of our Party in these states drew around us a circle of Hindi writers and intellectuals, and helped the formation of the Democratic Writers' Organisation.

Special attention had to be given by the C.C. centre to the Bihar state unit of our Party to forge political-organisational unity which was seriously affected. Two PBMs, Comrades Surjeet and B.T. Ranadive, had to go there and attend several Secretariat and State Committee meetings, and also hold short-term schools for cadres of the state and district levels. The problem was placed before the P.B. and C.C. from time to time, for discussion and decision. And yet the political-organisational unity in the state unit of Bihar is far from achieved. The leadership at the State Committee and District Committees level stands badly divided. Otherwise, our Party could have made far bigger strides in Bihar, utilising the excellent possibilities for rapid expansion. The basic nature of these political-organisational differences will have to be

traced to the reluctance of a section of the State Committee leadership to accept and abide by the political-organisational line decided by the Tenth Party Congress and the Party Plenum. The hopeful and relieving feature in this political-organisational tangle is that comrades who have been voicing their disagreement and opposition to the Party's line, are also active in work among the masses, work which is reflected in the big growth of Party membership, big mass mobilisations made in the state and the biggest contribution made by the Bihar unit to the March 26 kisan rally and also the November 23 workers' demonstration and the September 15 student and youth demonstration in Delhi. The details of membership of the Party and mass organisations in the state and details of the recently held state conference are given in the second part of the report.

In the state of Jammu and Kashmir, our Party unit as a whole defected to Naxalism in 1967-68, and the CPI(M) was having no state unit there since then. It was only in 1980 that we could set up an Organising Committee in order to regroup and reorganise the state unit. It has registered good progress having a kisan membership of 12,000—10,000 in the Kashmir Valley and 2000 in Jammu, SFI membership of 3400, and there is a middle-class employees' union with several thousands of members. Out of a total circulation of 4000 of Urdu *Lok Lahar*, Kashmir alone is selling 1000. Facing furious opposition from the State Government and the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference as well as Islamic fundamentalists, the state unit of Kashmir is putting up a bold fight, and is making steady progress. This is a significant break-through especially in the sensitive border state of Kashmir. Other details, including the report on the recently held state Party conference, are included in the second part of the report.

Another Hindi-speaking state, Madhya Pradesh, where a regular state unit had virtually gone out of existence several years ago, and three or four local units were maintaining contact with the Party Centre, Comrade Samar Mukherjee, with the assistance of Comrade Ranadive, has helped the state unit to be properly reorganised and functioning. It has registered some advance in the

trade union, student, youth and kisan fronts though it continues to be weak when seen in the background of a big state with a population around 60 million.

The total Party membership in the entire Hindi region stands at 28,000 in round figure. There was an increase of only 10,000 members during the last four years since the Tenth Congress. This reveals that our task of expanding our Party in this region is very huge, but that immense possibilities exist if only our Party makes a concerted and sustained effort to fulfil the one major task enjoined by the Salkia Plenum.

Coming to the question of the Party centre helping the weaker state units outside the Hindi region, it was able to pay attention to the state of Karnataka. Comrades E.M.S. Namboodiripad and P. Ramamurti had been attending all the important State Committee meetings to guide and help the state unit. After the serious disruption caused by a section of the state leadership in 1976-77, the state unit is again reorganised and is being helped to go forward.

The reorganisation made immediately after the Jullundur Congress, and the organisational work since then, made it possible for the State Committee to hold an extended meeting (Plenum) during the last week of December 1980. It marked the expansion of the Party in terms of its own ideological and organisational work as well as in mass struggles and mass organisations. The role played by the Party in developing the trade union and kisan movements, as well as united actions on political issues along with other Left and opposition parties, has enhanced our political position in the state. Work among the students, youth and women is also improving, while contacts and work among writers, artistes, etc., continue.

The inner-Party situation in Orissa was found going from bad to worse, and this came to the notice of the P.B. in August 1979. The work of the State Secretariat came to a standstill. But it could not be attended to, in view of the impending election.

Besides some organisational problems, connected with particular comrades in the state leadership, the main difficulty with the Orissa state unity of our Party lies in political-tactical disagreements inside the committee. The election tactics advocated by them amounted to "no understanding with the Lok Dal and

only unity with the Left". During the State Assembly elections, they set up too many candidates, in opposition to the central directive and out of proportion to the inner-strength of the Party in the state. The total defeat in all the constituencies that we contested had further aggravated inner-Party disunity.

One of the organisational issues on which the Secretariat's work got dead-locked was resolved through the assistance of the Central Control Commission. But the organisational situation continued since the differences related to political-tactical and several other organisational matters and because of liberalism towards some serious mistakes and opportunist tendencies, all of which had created some sort of personal incompatibilities. Comrades E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Promode Dasgupta, M. Basavapunnaiyah, Samar Mukherjee and P. Ramamurti had attended State Committee meetings, at different times, to assist the Committee. Comrades E.M.S. Namboodiripad and P. Ramamurti had conducted a five-day school for the members of the State Committee, state-level sub-committees and district Secretariats, in which the political-tactical line of the Party was explained. It appears that the state leadership is not yet united in functioning the state centre.

Among the non-Hindi-speaking states, both the state units of Tripura and Assam sought the assistance of the P.B. and C.C. in resolving the political-organisational problems that were facing them. Comrades Samar Mukherjee and M. Basavapunnaiyah attended the meetings of these two State Committees to assist them in preparing the draft reports for the respective State Party Plenums, and they also attended the two Plenums held in the two states, the Tripura Plenum in the last week of July 1981, and the Assam Plenum in the first week of August 1981.

October 1980 C.C. Meeting and Salkia Decisions

It has been noted already that the July crisis had upset our timetable and our C.C. and State Committees were drawn into the work of addressing to this task, instead of proceeding with the task of carrying out the decisions of the Tenth Party Congress and the Salkia Plenum. The Lok Sabha election in January 1980, the elections for nine Legislative Assemblies in the month of

May 1980, and the C.C. meeting of July 1980 which discussed and finalised not only the two election reviews but also reviewed the July 1979 crisis—all these did not permit the P.B. and C.C. to once again devote attention to discharging the political-organisational tasks which had been left incomplete. The C.C. meeting of October 1980 took on its agenda, once again, the issue of implementation of the Salkia Plenum decisions. A draft report by the P.B., on the basis of reports received by the C.C. from several states, was placed before the C.C. The October 1980 C.C. meeting adopted a report which contained the following decisions which remain valid even now. They provide some insight into the nature of our organisational problems.

The Central Committee noted a certain improvement in the functioning of the Party centre, but was of the view that many tasks undertaken in the Salkia Plenum remained to be discharged. The P.B., therefore, was directed to continue the work already undertaken as well as to undertake jobs which had been broadly mentioned in the draft.

Coming to the states, the C.C. was of the view that the major ideological and organisational tasks outlined in the Salkia documents had not been properly implemented by the State Committees. The reason for this was partly the July political crisis and the two elections that ensued. But that was not all. Enough seriousness was lacking. The Party centre, therefore, should help and guide the State Committees in undertaking the task of self-critically reviewing the political and organisational position of the Party in the states concerned and in planning their future work as laid down in the Salkia documents.

The C.C. directed that while giving general help and guidance to all the State Committees, the Party centre should give particular attention to the problems of West Bengal, Tripura, Kerala and U.P. to convene State Plenums. The political and organisational problems connected with the running of the three Governments required particular attention. The Central Committee in consultation with the above-mentioned State Committees should plan out the convening of the states' extended meetings, during the next three months. The Plenums were held in Kerala, Tripura, Assam and U.P., but in West Bengal, only a State Committee meeting was

held in which Comrades E.M.S. Namboodiripad, B.T. Ranadive, M. Basavapunnaiiah, Harkishen Singh Surjeet and Samar Mukherjee participated, besides Comrades Promode Dasgupta and Jyoti Basu. The Central Committee endorsed the work done by the P.B. with regard to the organisational problems of Bihar and in the formation of the all-India organisations of youth and women.

In view of these urgent organisational tasks the Central Committee decided that the Eleventh Congress of the Party, which should ordinarily be held in April 1981, be postponed. The date when it was to be held, the preparations to be made for the same, etc., were to be decided at the next meeting of the Central Committee.

These decisions of the C.C. speak eloquently of the state of affairs inside the Party organisation and how a special effort had become necessary to move the Party for the implementation of the decisions of the Salkia Plenum. If the C.C. directive was to complete the four State Plenums within three months, it took nearly ten months to complete the work of three Plenums—Kerala, Tripura and U P, while the fourth one, West Bengal, could not be held, and only a State Committee meeting was held which discussed these questions. But mention must be made of the fact that some other State Committees such as Orissa, Karnataka and Assam had convened their respective extended State Committee meetings to discuss the issue of implementing the decisions of the Salkia Plenum, while the State Committee meetings of Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and Delhi were held for the same purpose. This organisational drive from the Party centre has helped the Party to once again bestir itself to translate the Salkia decisions into practice, a drive that had been interrupted by the July crisis and its aftermath.

The C.C. meeting of June 1981 had adopted the work report of the P.B. regarding the implementation of the Salkia decisions. This document was sent to all State Committees from the Party centre, dated September 25, 1981. What was said in the document is still valid, and also instructive for our work.

The study of the state reports that were available and the discussions that the P.B. had with several committees make it possible to make the generalisation that all the shortcomings to

which attention was drawn in the Salkia documents continued to hamper the work of the Party. The State Committees, in general, appeared to be lacking in a proper understanding of what federalism, individualism, bureaucratism, etc., meant.

Federalism

It appears that federalism is understood as nothing but failure in reporting from top to bottom and from bottom upwards. On the basis of this understanding, it is said that federalism prevails in the states also, since there is no proper reporting from the State Committees to districts, from the latter to the former, etc.

This shows a failure to see the circumstances in which federalism grew, and the forms in which it finds expression.

The essence of federalism consists in the denial in practice, if not in theory, of the principle that a real Communist Party, capable of fighting for political power and winning it, can be successfully built only from above, i.e., from the Party centre. Any talk of building a genuine mass Communist Party and a nationwide revolutionary movement, divorced from the building of an effective Party centre, is bound to be shallow. Similarly, all talk of achieving political, ideological and organisational unity of the entire Party from top to bottom is bound to remain empty and formal, as the Salkia report had stated.

The Salkia report described the process of continuous failure in building a proper all-India Party centre. This description of the process concluded saying: "The grave shortcomings and weaknesses of the Party centre and the dangerous tendencies of federalism, sharply pointed out and criticised in both the C.C. resolutions of 1967 and 1973, are not yet rectified. The long period of our failure to build a strong Party centre and also its further weakening in the period following 1971-72 has done immense damage to the Party."

Federalism is, in other words, an evil which arose out of the failure in building the all-India centre of the Party. The way to overcome this evil is for the State Committees

—to educate the entire Party—its members and sympathisers—on Party policy as laid down by the P.B. and C.C. from time to time as the situation changes;

- to apply the line laid down by the P.B. and C.C. to the conditions in their states and, if the concrete conditions of the state require some variation, make it with the approval of the P.B. and C.C.;
- to participate in the shaping of policies by conveying to the P.B. and C.C. the State Committees' own views, suggestions, criticism, etc., as well as those that are conveyed to the State Committees by individual members and units of the Party in the states;
- to release such cadres—technically equipped or politically experienced—from the state to the centre, as well as to pay the C.C.'s quota of Party funds collected in the state.

Only if the State Committees discharge the above tasks, the Central and State Committees will be able to establish their mutual relations on the basis of democratic centralism, and eliminate the evil of federalism.

It has come to the notice of the Party centre that some of the key documents of the P.B. and C.C. were not even translated for a long time. Party members in the states are thus not educated on the Party line. This is the background against which we should assess some of the pronouncements of some leading comrades which were at variance with the line of the Party centre—a clear manifestation of federalism. And yet the drafts prepared by the State Committees did not draw attention to such manifestations of federalism.

The Party constitution provides for confirmation of the Secretary and Editor—two key functionaries of the State Committee—decisions on candidates for elections to Parliament and Legislatures, by the Party centre. Such provisions are intended to make the State Committees work strictly under the Party centre. They, however, generally remain on paper, the practice being that the State Committees go their own way.

It is full four years since the Left Front Government of West Bengal assumed office. Principles of Party organisation would demand periodical reports being made to the P.B. and C.C. on how the Government in general, and Party members who are ministers in particular, have been functioning. That this has not

happened in West Bengal after four years, nor in Tripura after three and a half years and in Kerala after one and a half years shows the extent to which federalism has vitiated the working of the Party in these states as well as at the centre. The report on the functioning of the Left Front Government was given only in the last week of December 1981 at the State Conference of West Bengal.

To sum up this discussion, federalism is the glorification of the achievements of individual state Party units or decrying their failures without looking at them from the all-India angle. Comrades who are victims of this trend do not realise that without a strong all-India centre and its intervention, no strong state Parties or state Party bases can continue for long in face of the onslaught from the authoritarianism of the Central Government.

It may sometimes happen that since conditions vary from state to state, the all-India line as formulated in the P.B. and C.C. documents requires modifications, as was the case with the C.C.'s election tactics of 1979-80 in the concrete condition of Tamil Nadu. In this particular case, the modification was made by the P.B. which was subsequently ratified by the C.C. Many State Committees, however, do not adopt this course.

The erroneous trend of federalism inside a Communist Party like ours is not to be looked upon as a slip or a lapse on the part of one comrade or a Party unit, in observing the rules and discipline of the Party. It is a deep-rooted and totally wrong political-organisational understanding on the issue of building a strong and powerful all-India Communist Party, capable of securing and wielding political power, as the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat and leader of the exploited masses of the Indian Union.

The federal outlook which ends up in each state functioning, more or less, as an independent party, reduces the all-India centre to a sort of coordinating body which periodically meets to adopt some resolutions, with no guarantees for the execution of these decisions. The C.C. should be a body to both deliberate and execute decisions. If it reduces itself to a mere resolution-making body, meeting from time to time, the cardinal principle of democratic centralism inside a Communist Party gets under-

mined. A centralised theoretical-ideological outlook and practice, a uniform political-tactical line and a Leninist organisational line are a must for a proletarian revolutionary party. Any slackening in this regard, in course of time, would reduce the Party into a sort of coordinating body to pool the experiences of different states, to exchange ideas and to adopt some good agreed resolutions.

If a core of comrades is not consciously planned and built to guide and lead the all-India revolutionary movement, the all-India bodies of different class and mass organisations can neither be formed nor functioned effectively. Nobody disputes in theory that our Party should have its own all-India trade union centre, kisan and agricultural labourers' centres, youth, student and women's centres, and above all, the Party centre. To discharge the work of these centres efficiently, scores of competent comrades are required.

Where do these comrades come from? The Party centre has no Party unit under its direct jurisdiction from which it can allocate cadres for the work of running these all-India centres. If the State Committees, especially the stronger ones, do not consciously contribute to the building of these all-India centres by providing competent comrades, they are in danger of becoming anaemic and ineffective. The way we were unable to set up many of these all-India organisations for a long time and the way the existing ones are undermanned go to show the lack of awareness on this score.

The issue should not be reduced to one of states having or not having such cadres to spare for central work. It is nobody's contention that cadres are plentiful in states and they are not sparing them. The issue is whether the leaderships of the State Committees are conscious of this, and are acting up to it. Similarly, a tendency of reluctance to opt for central work is also seen on the part of several comrades, the reasons for which will have to be gone into. If competent all-India centres do not exist and function, the tendency on the part of the states not to rely on such centres for guidance and lead, is bound to take the upper hand. What does this lead to except the strengthening of a federal outlook in the Party organisation?

Take the Party centre. The concept of C.C. centre, in practice is equated to the work of a P.B. centre. This, again, in its turn gets reduced to the work of those PBMs and CCMs who are relieved of

their Party responsibilities in the states. Thus the number of central Party functionaries gets reduced to some ten or twelve in all. Can a team of ten or twelve central Party functionaries cope with the work of running an all-India Party centre? The T.U., kisan, youth, student, women, agit-prop, states, our group in Parliament, etc., are to be guided in their functioning. The weeklies, central schooling, the work of Party organisation, maintaining international relations, etc., are too many serious jobs for a team of ten or twelve to do minimum justice to them. Do all our CCMs and State Committees realise the enormity of the task, the failure of which is bound to foster federal tendencies?

All-India consciousness grows among comrades by constantly tackling all-India problems of the class and mass organisations and the problems of all-India Party building, and by implementing the Party's political-tactical line in different states and at different turning points. It cannot be imparted by merely preaching about it.

The Central Committee document of September 25, 1981, also points out certain other shortcomings. They are: the other weaknesses and shortcomings noted in the Salkia report—individualism, bureaucratism, lack of disciplined work, etc. also appear to be continuing but are not self-critically examined by the State Committees. Most of them have failed to examine how far and in what forms these weaknesses express themselves in their own work and in the work of district and other committees in the state. Those of them who have made some effort towards this have made nothing more than some formal "self-criticism".

Like federalism, bureaucratism, individualism and lack of disciplined functioning should be considered not in terms of the subjective failings of individual but as the cumulative results of the inner-Party struggle which is over three decades old.

The principle of the individual submitting to the unit, the minority within a unit to the majority and the lower units to the higher units became the main casualty of the prolonged inner-Party struggle and the incorrect ways in waging that struggle. Even the most revolutionary, self-sacrificing cadres may, under these circumstances, become (as many have in fact become) self-seeking, unwilling to make sacrifices for the revolutionary cause.

This is the objective background against which the subjective failings of individual comrades have to be assessed.

The Salkia report underlined the necessity “to insist that every Party member carried out the responsibilities as laid down in the Party constitution”. “At present”, the report went on, “even the minimum duties are not carried out by a large number which reduces the Party to an amorphous conglomeration of individuals and saps the basis of the Party”.

Although the Salkia report proceeded to place the direct responsibility to ensure this discharging of responsibilities, receiving regular reports and taking proper steps to improve the situation on the state and lower committees, no State Committee appears to have succeeded in acting up to this directive of the Plenum.

What is the result? The annual renewal of Party membership has degenerated into a ritual of collecting the membership dues and, in the case of functioning units, also of the levies accumulated for a year. There is no check-up of the work done by the member, its positive and negative features, on the basis of which the decision is taken whether or not the member deserves to be allowed to continue as Party member.

Nor is the position better in the case of the functionaries of Local Committees, District Committees or State Committees, their periodical meetings doing other jobs but not that of checking up the work done by each member. Even when Party conferences are held and election to Party committees take place, there is no basis on which to assess the worth of comrades who are holding the posts of secretariat or committee members. The “panels” proposed before the conference, therefore, are matters of a mere formality, it being impossible for anybody to defend or challenge the inclusion of somebody whose name finds a place in the panel.

From the top to the bottom, therefore, the fundamental principle of Party organisation as laid down by Lenin—the principle of each Party member’s work being checked up and assessed by the Party unit of which he or she is a member—is involved in practice. Restoration of this principle thus assumes overriding importance.

This should obviously begin at the top. Part of this concerns the state of affairs in the work of the P.B. and the C.C. This we propose to deal with in a later part of this report. Here, therefore, we deal with the State Secretariats and State Committees.

The Salkia report had drawn attention to the following as an evil practice in various Party committees: "In the absence of job division, one or two comrades, especially the secretary, often function in the name of committees leading to (i) concentration of power and bureaucracy, (ii) inefficiency, (iii) undermining the importance of collective functioning . . . It is, therefore, necessary not only to divide jobs at each level, stop the over-concentration of responsibilities in a couple of comrades and seriously work for a collective leadership which will check every activity of the Party—from journal to conduct of mass organisations, political line and Party building".

Collective Functioning—Some Suggestions

We may say on the basis of information available to us that the situation remains as it was at Salkia. The functioning of state, district and other Party committees is such that to quote the Salkia report, there is no "sense of participation among Party members in shaping Party policies. This finds expression in conferences, etc., where alone a large number gets the opportunity to express themselves".

Those of us who attended the Plenums that were held in April and May had an experience of this, and it may repeat itself in State Plenums or Conferences which may be held in the next few months. It is, therefore, necessary that changes are made in the mode of functioning of State and District Committees along the following lines or with necessary modifications generally to suit conditions in each state.

(a) All members of the Secretariat should be full-time functionaries of the State centre, their programme of work laid down and performance checked up collectively by the Secretariat.

(b) Those Secretariat members who are available at the centre should meet everyday for half an hour, exchange views and information and take appropriate decisions. The conclusions

arrived at and decisions taken at these daily meetings should be recorded in writing and made available to the other members of the Secretariat when they come to the Party centre.

(c) A full meeting of the Secretariat should be held at least once a fortnight. All Secretariat members should attend these meetings. In case of failure to attend the full meetings and the daily meetings when the comrade is present at the headquarters, the reason for the non-attendance should be recorded in writing and reported to the State Committee when it meets next.

(d) On the basis of the above records, the Secretariat should present to every State Committee meeting a work report which includes a gist of the work done by every Secretariat member.

(e) Along with the work report of the Secretariat, the Fractions and Sub-Committees of the State Committee should also present written reports to every meeting of the State Committee. State Committee meetings would then become the forum at which the work of the committee's functionaries is assessed

(f) The non-Secretariat members of the State Committee should, apart from doing their jobs as laid down by the District Committees, also undertake some work on behalf of the State Committee. The exact nature of the jobs, the ways of doing it, etc., should be decided by the State Committee which should, at the next meeting, receive a written report from the member concerned.

(g) Such written reports from the Secretariat and other members of the State Committee plus written reports from every District Committee (which should be insisted on) would make State Committee meetings business-like, capable of assessing the work of the Secretariat and the Committee as a whole and of its individual members. This will remove the lag in organisation—lack of check-up on the discharge of responsibilities—in so far as it concerns the State Committee.

(h) The above rules may be applied more or less as they are in the case of bigger District Committees and with necessary modifications in other districts.

These are just a few suggestions for the consideration of State Committees. What modifications are considered necessary may be made in them but, in making such modifications, the idea

should not be lost sight of that the need is to create a collectively functioning team—a team of which every member makes his or her best contribution which is collectively assessed.

This particular mode of functioning undoubtedly involves a large amount of written reports which may appear inconvenient to begin with. It would, however, make the meetings more business-like, less time-consuming. It would also help the transformation of Party functioning from personal to collective.

Ideological Work

Connected with the task of restoring collective functioning is that of what the Salkia report calls “overcoming the ideological weaknesses”. It appears that the essence of this task is misunderstood, equated with the running of schools for theoretical education. The Salkia report, on the other hand, explicitly stated that this was a question of “replying to the challenge of reactionary ideologies by exposing their class roots” and “the lack of ideological struggle” as the main weakness of the Party.

For waging this struggle, of course, it is necessary to run Party schools for theoretical education with specially selected teachers drawn from those who have the necessary intellectual equipment. This, however, is inadequate, firstly because the school—even if it is a permanent institution taking batch after batch for fortnightly, monthly or longer durations—would cover only a small minority of our cadres; secondly, the “ideological struggle” envisaged in the Salkia report is the process through which the entire Party, all members from top to bottom, engage the proponents of alien ideologies in *day-to-day* combat on the developments (local, statewide, countrywide and international) on which the alien ideologies fight the proletarian ideology. This battle is *not waged in the class room but in streets, villages, the columns of the press and on public platforms.*

Just as in the case of class struggle on the economic and political planes, so on the ideological plane, too, it is the collective leadership of the Party at various levels that should engage the adversaries in combat. It should, therefore, be the responsibility of every Party unit from branch upwards to make

constant reviews of the issues on which the ideological struggle is waged, the gains and losses made by the Party in the struggle, etc. The job of reporting from the top to the bottom and from the bottom upwards should, therefore, include what is taking place in the field of the ideological struggle.

The State Committees' responsibility in leading the ideological struggle, however, does not end with the bringing out of the daily, the weekly, the monthly or other journals and publications. They should be integrated with the work of collectively checking up the work of every State Committee member, Sub-Committees and Fractions directly under the Committee and of the District Committees. The work report of each individual unit participating in and leading the class struggle in the economic, political and ideological fields, the reviews and discussions within every Party unit, should cover the collective and individual performance in all the three spheres of class struggle. No Party meeting will thus take place without assessing the positive and negative results of the Party's struggle in all the three spheres of Party activity.

The two tasks laid down in the Salkia report—"Overcome the ideological weakness" and "Streamline the Party organisation"—are thus interconnected. The first is an essential pre-requisite for the second and vice-versa. It is the lack of awareness of this interconnection that has made the State Committees reduce the question of "overcoming the ideological weakness" to one of running schools for the teaching of theory, while streamlining the organisation is considered from the purely formal point of view of enforcing discipline. The point is to bring about a proper integration of ideological and organisational work.

This integrated ideological-organisational work, however, should not be confined to state, district and other committees of the Party alone. It should be done by the fractions and sub-committees of the Party as well—of course, under the direct guidance and leadership of the corresponding Party committee. For, while the mass membership of trade unions, kisans sabhas, etc., are by and large interested in the economic struggle, Party members who are active in these mass organisations should themselves be interested, and make others interested, in questions

connected with the political and ideological struggle. Party members working in the mass organisations, therefore, should make it a point to lead the non-Party members in the political and ideological struggles. This alone would help the Party to “convert elementary democratic consciousness into socialist consciousness” as directed in the Salkia Plenum report.

Fractions and sub-committees, however, are not, unfortunately, used for this purpose now. They are seen only as a formal mechanism through which some technical-organisational problems faced by Party members working among the non-Party masses are dealt with. Fractions and sub-committees, therefore, do not perform the real functions which, on the basis of the principles of Party organisation, should be discharged by them.

Work of the Parliamentary Group

It is to be noted here that the C.C. meeting of June 1981, had also endorsed a P.B. resolution on the functioning of our Party group in Parliament—a resolution which explains the situation regarding the work of our Party group. Much improvement is not noticeable since then.

The Salkia report on organisation made sharp criticism of the failure to “make revolutionary use of the legal possibility available to us, including the forum of Parliament and state legislatures”.

A review of our work in Parliament, the state legislatures, local self-governing institutions, will reveal that we do not always rise to the occasion and use these forums in a Marxist-Leninist way.

No doubt, in these legislatures, etc., our voice is raised on behalf of the people. We oppose all anti-people measures. But this is not enough for Communists. These institutions should, for us, be a big forum to expose and unmask the class policies of the ruling classes, demarcate us from others and win new allies.

Efficient and effective functioning in the legislatures to discharge our responsibility as Communists requires constant preparation and attention on the part of our MPs and MLAs. This is often neglected. Several of our MPs pay hardly any attention to Parliament and even fail to attend important sessions. Our intervention in Parliament debates and proceedings is not effective.

The MPs seem to be neither under the control of the C.C. nor the State Committees and they fail to take the tasks allotted from the centre for all-India work. The MPs in both the houses of Parliament will have to work under the direct guidance of the P.B. and C.C. so far as their parliamentary work is concerned.

More than two years have passed since the Salkia Plenum made the above critique of the functioning of our parliamentary group. The weaknesses mentioned above have not been removed. Regarding the functioning of the just-concluded session, the P.B. noted with appreciation the criticism made by the Parliamentary Office unit of the Party centre. It agreed with the criticism that neither the P.B. members responsible for parliamentary work, nor the MPs have done their job as enjoined upon them by Party documents. There have been occasions when MPs speaking on the floor of Parliament and otherwise went against the accepted line of the Party damaging the cause of the revolutionary movement and giving help and relief to the class enemy. In two cases the P.B. had to censure the comrades concerned.

Political developments of the last four years have put our Party at the centre of the stage. Every other party—whether ruling or opposition—has been proved ideologically and politically bankrupt and organisationally weakened. We along with other Left parties as well as those opposition parties which are prepared to work in cooperation with the Left, are coming out as the only force to provide a real alternative to the ruling Congress(I) as well as to the bourgeois opposition parties.

This position of the Party among the people is reflected in Parliament by way of our group in the Lok Sabha having come out as the biggest single opposition group in that house. Although not in such a key position, we are in considerable numbers in the Rajya Sabha as well. This is a position which could have been used effectively to project our Party and its policies on the floor of both the houses of Parliament if only the weaknesses subjected to criticism at Salkia had been removed.

Unfortunately, however, our functioning in Parliament has remained as bad as ever, is even going from bad to worse. On innumerable crucial issues directly affecting our Party politically and our class and its allies economically, our presence in

Parliament is not felt by the people. Groups far smaller in number having far lesser impact on the political life of the country, are making their presence felt much more effectively only because they are functioning collectively with a view to using all available opportunities to project themselves and their policies. At a time when the ruling party is out to single out our Party and the Left movement for attack making it necessary for our MPs to be vigilant, their attendance is deplorably meagre. Even among those who attend, there is no coordination on the basis of guidance given by the leadership of the group and on important political issues guidance from the P.B. This is leading to disastrous consequences.

Having discussed the state of affairs in the parliamentary group, the P.B. decided to remedy the situation immediately. In its drive to implement the Salkia Plenum decisions, it decided that—

1. A committee consisting of Comrades Samar Mukherjee, Balanandan, P. Ramamurti, Satyasadhan Chakraborty, Susheela Gopalan, Rupchand Pal, Sudhir Giri and Sunil Moitra was constituted to look into the work of the members in formulating issues and provide guidance. Comrade Samar Mukherjee was made the convener of the committee.
2. During the session all MPs are under the P.B.'s discipline.
3. The Leader and Deputy Leader will leave Delhi only with the permission of the P.B.
4. A circular to the District Committees that they must request the P.B. to release a particular M.P. if they want him or her for any purpose during the session. The M.P. should not leave without the P.B.'s approval.
5. MPs should remain in the house during the session.
6. Weekly meetings should be attended by all MPs. Important issues be discussed in the meeting and subjects allotted.
7. The parliamentary office should be properly guided and a separate comrade should be deputed for the work of the Rajya Sabha.

While most of these are yet to be pursued and implemented, comrades in our parliamentary office have pointed out that there has been some improvement in the matter of preparing questions

well before the sessions, and, during the sessions, preparing calling attention notices, adjournment motions, etc., preparing Bills and also amendments to Government Bills, dealing with the large number of representations that are received from all parts of the country. Through all this, the office has been rendering help to our MPs to raise various issues of the people in Parliament.

Central Organs and Their Circulation

One of the most vital political-organisational links between the Central Committee and the State Committees as well as the entire Party membership, is the central organs of our Party, *People's Democracy* and *Lok Lahar* weekly in Hindi, which began to be brought out after the Salkia Plenum, and *Lok Lahar* Urdu fortnightly. These journals, especially *People's Democracy*, are covering the activities of our Party and mass organisations, commenting on current political developments in the country and also trying to meet some of the urgent political-ideological requirements of the Party. The key and important role that our Party's central organs play need not be re-emphasised here, as it is known to all our State and District Committees.

But the state of the circulation of *People's Democracy* and *Lok Lahar*, both Hindi and Urdu, is very poor, and it does not correspond with either the growth of our Party and the mass movements or the political requirements of the day.

The circulation of *People's Democracy*, including sales and subscriptions, which stood at 16,210 at the end of the year 1978, came down to 15,740 by the time of the October 1981 C.C. meeting.

The following is the chart of Statewise circulation of *People's Democracy*:

	1978 November	1981 October
1. Andhra Pradesh	935	860
2. Assam	1,040	830
3. Bihar	1,140	830
4. Punjab including Chandigarh	595	620
5. West Bengal	6,100	6,857
6. Kerala	577	560

	1978 November	1981 October
7. Tamil Nadu including Pondicherry	1,384	1,430
8. Maharashtra	823	764
9. Delhi	732	625
10. Uttar Pradesh	518	409
11. Orissa	456	547
12. Tripura	265	316
13. Madhya Pradesh	280	260
14. Rajasthan	103	163
15. Gujarat	106	88
16. Himachal Pradesh	62	28
17. J & K State	48	90
18. Karnataka	698	397
19. Andamans & Nicobar	25	15
20. Foreign	132	131
21. Haryana	48	90
22. Meghalaya	49	16
Total:	16,210	15,740

It should be mentioned here that in running these central organs of our Party, the Party centre is incurring a monthly loss of Rs. 25 thousand, i.e., three lakh rupees annually. These Party weeklies of the C.C. which are being run with such heavy expenditure and labour by the editorial teams and the contributing PBMs, are not being treated and utilised as they should be. It is no exaggeration if it is to be characterised as gross neglect on the part of most of the State Committees.

The figures of *People's Democracy's* circulation show that there is a fall of 470 copies during the last three years, since our Salkia Plenum in December 1978. The fall is seen in most of the states, and some small and marginal increases are found in West Bengal, Orissa, Tripura and Tamil Nadu. In Kerala it had gone down from 577 to 560 at one stage, and the explanation that most of the material from *People's Democracy* is being translated and published in *Chinta* weekly, is no explanation for such a poor circulation of *People's Democracy* in the highly literate Kerala state.

The total fall of *People's Democracy* circulation in the Hindi-speaking states was around 800 copies, and the explanation that it is due to the bringing out of our Hindi weekly and Urdu fortnightly is only a half-truth, as there still exists vast scope to increase *People's Democracy* circulation among the English-knowing readers in the Hindi-speaking states, and our State and District Committees have not been taking the issue seriously. It is virtually left to spontaneity, devoid of any organised effort.

But in the last three months after the October C.C. meeting, circulation of *People's Democracy* has gone up to 17,700. Of this increase 800 come from West Bengal and 600 from Kerala. The Kerala State Committee after its Plenum has been conducting a campaign for raising *People's Democracy* circulation.

The circulation of Hindi *Lok Lahar* which stood at 13,942 in October 1981, has also gone up to 15,554 in these three months.

As for Urdu *Lok Lahar*, its circulation, in round number, does not exceed 4000.

The growth of our Party, mass movement and the Party's increased political influence do not at all reflect in the circulation of our central organs. Probably the same holds good with the State Committees' daily and weekly organs in different languages. A Party, which has come to acquire a voting base of 152 lakhs, cannot afford to be smug and complacent, if the circulation of its language dailies, weeklies, etc., does not exceed more than two lakh on an all-India scale.

Even Hindi *Lok Lahar*, which the C.C. expects our State Committees to use effectively as the agitator and organiser of our Party in this vast region of the country, is not put to proper use. But it appears that no such endeavour is made by any State Committee in the Hindi region. The simple fact that its circulation in U.P., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Haryana does not exceed 3070, 2610, 1320, 1990 and 530 respectively goes to reveal that its circulation, among the 280 million people of these states, is only 9520 and shows our weakness. The same is the case with the Urdu fortnightly. The editorial comrades are exerting their best efforts to continuously improve the papers and both the

Hindi weekly and Urdu fortnightly are appreciated by the readers. Hindi *Lok Lahar* carries all the material published in *People's Democracy*.

The decision of our Salkia Plenum to pay special attention to the expansion of our Party and mass movement in the Hindi-speaking states may remain on paper, if these State Committees fail to utilise the special assistance the C.C. centre has provided by bringing out the Hindi weekly and publishing necessary literature.

The C.C. wants to tell the Party Congress that there is much to be improved in the running of *People's Democracy* and the other central organs. But the minimum manpower required for editorial work is not yet available. We have not succeeded, so far, in setting up a proper information bureau for marking, cutting and filing newspaper clippings, a job which requires a politically developed comrade to handle it.

The central organs, *People's Democracy* in particular, are also handicapped by the absence of regular and timely reports from most of the states. Hardly any criticism or suggestion for improvement are forthcoming from the state and district centres of the Party. The CCMs, too, rarely write to *People's Democracy* or *Lok Lahar*.

People's Democracy is also handicapped—in a way this handicap is all the more for the Party centre—by the absence of any apparatus to translate the important editorials, articles and reports from our language dailies and weeklies from different states. The P.B. can neither learn from them nor is it able to help them with timely criticism and suggestions or appreciation. Thus centralised and united agit-prop work is becoming extremely difficult, with all the harmful consequences that accompany it.

The C.C. must bestow special attention to rectify the mistakes in this regard, and to improve the central organs and to increase their circulation in a big way.

Problems of the Party Centre

In discussing the problems of the Party centre, its progress, shortcomings and the future tasks that face us in this regard, it is necessary to have a retrospective view of the issue since we broke

away from the CPI and organised separately in the CPI(M) in 1963-64. The leadership of the till then united Communist Party of India had evolved in the course of four decades or so since the early 1920s. The split in the Party naturally brought a split in the leadership, 85 members of the then National Council opting for the CPI and only 32 of them coming with the CPI(M). Hence, in forming the new Central Committee and Polit Bureau, a new team of comrades, with varied levels and experiences had to be forged. Many of the CCMs, including the PBMs, had to be Party functionaries at the states level, and it was difficult to equip the Party centre with the necessary personnel. The nature of the problem will be easily understood from the following statement in our Political-Organisational Report of the Eighth Party Congress, in December 1968, full four years after the formation of the CPI(M) in 1964:

“At the Central Committee level, though we have now a C.C. of 31 and P.B. of nine, actually the comrades available as full-time functionaries are only four PBMs, the remaining five being attached to Kerala, West Bengal or Punjab and the Hindi region. Though some of these PBMs discharge certain jobs on behalf of the P.B., in so far as they go to help some neighbouring states or some other fronts part-time, it is an acknowledged fact that at the central level, for lack of cadre, we are not functioning the trade union, kisan, student sub-committees, nor are we able to organise education, prepare syllabus, organise writers and publish necessary political and theoretical booklets on current problems, nor effectively produce our Party papers and agitational material, nor help different State Committees organisationally, nor are we able to plan national campaigns and see that they are implemented. This is the case at the state level as well.”

Could we effect any basic change in the working of the Party centre after what is described above in December 1968? Let us remind ourselves of what was stated on the subject in December 1978, at the Salkia Plenum, full ten years after the Eighth Party Congress.

The P.B. members should devote themselves exclusively to the tasks assigned by the P.B. and the C.C., dual responsibility should be ended at the earliest. To fight the tendency towards federalism

it is necessary in the first place to strictly observe the existing rules and norms which are violated. But this is not enough. The centre should act as a real centre, giving effective guidance to the states. At present all important issues affecting the states are decided by the State Committees with hardly any guidance from the centre.

To be able to function as an effective all-India guiding centre, it is essential that the C.C. and the P.B. should constantly discuss the problems of the mass movements and their guidance. The lack of such discussion and decision of the C.C. leads to a frontist outlook among the mass leaders which is harmful. The C.C. office is completely undermanned and the secretarial staff requires immediate expansion. It is the common task of all to restore collective functioning at all levels. Above all, it is the task of the C.C. and the P.B. to ensure collective functioning and eliminate all manifestations of individual functioning.

The resolution on organisation, emphasising the need and urgency of utilising the new opportunities opened for building the unity of Left and democratic forces, stated, "this is possible only if the weaknesses of the present period are quickly overcome. Instead of an effective centre, the previous years saw a growingly weak centre with the majority of the PBMs not working at the centre, with dual responsibility continuing as before. The work of the Party centre became minimal, the centre attending to only absolutely necessary and pressing political-organisational jobs. This led to individual functioning on the part of P.B. members, undermining collective functioning and adoption of collective decisions.

What does the Central Committee document dated September 25, 1981, circulated to all State Committees, say on the subject of the Party centre and its functioning?

The P.B. has been trying to implement the Salkia line as it concerns the need for effectively-functioning Party centre. Seven PBMs out of ten have, for the last three years, been working from the centre, with no organisational commitments to any particular state. It is this that enabled us to give collective organisational assistance to the states, while tackling the problems of an all-India nature.

It should, however, be admitted that Comrades Ramamurti, Samar Mukherjee and Balanandan being burdened with CITU and parliamentary work, their services are not fully available for the political functioning of the P.B. as in the case of the other four. This is being rectified.

The introductory paragraphs of this report would show that, subject to the above limitations, all the seven PBMs have been participating in the work of the centre either in writing for the Party organs, attending to the routine work of the Party centre, visiting states for Party organisational or mass organisation work. They have been reporting on the work they individually do to other comrades, thus making the work of each a part of the collective work of the P.B. This is the improvement that has been registered in the work of the Party centre since Salkia.

This, however, is defective in one sense. Three PBMs are not involved in the day-to-day work of the P.B. They only attend the full meeting of the P.B. which is ordinarily held once in six weeks to two months for two-three days. In other words, the inadequacy arising out of some PBMs being the main functionaries of the State Committees, referred to in all the earlier documents on organisation, still continues.

The C.C. document, referring to the work of the CCMs in relation to their work for the Party centre, had the following to say:

The CCMs today confine themselves to attending the meeting of the C.C. where they raise the problems of their states and to back home to the states. They do not consider themselves to be part of the collective body, the C.C., undertaking certain tasks given to them by the C.C., reporting to the C.C. on the discharge of these tasks, etc. They, therefore, do not feel competent to participate in the policy-making process of the C.C., except to the very limited extent of expressing themselves on all-India issues from the point of view of their own states.

This should change in favour of a new practice according to which, whenever C.C. meetings are held, every CCM takes upon himself the responsibility of doing something specific in carrying out the decision taken at that meeting in the state concerned

as well as in some other state. He or she should report to the next meeting of the C.C. on the work done following this decision.

To conclude the point of the Party centre and the work of the P.B., as it stands today, the only noteworthy improvement registered in the work of the P.B. following the decisions of the Salkia Plenum, is the collective functioning of the seven PBMs who have been working from the centre, with no organisational commitments to any particular state.

This improvement in the collective functioning of the PBMs has helped the P.B. to give collective thought to the political-organisational problems of the states and to the tackling of the problems of an all-India nature, arising from time to time. It has practically put an end to the old practice of entrusting one or the other PBM to the political-organisational work of one or the other state—a practice which makes the task of the particular PBM difficult and complex and deprives the P.B. of the opportunity of giving collective thought to the problems of the state or states under discussion. This has helped the process of unifying the PB and also the C.C. on a series of political-organisational questions that were cropping up from time to time.

The P.B., in its meeting on June 17, 1978, immediately after the Party Congress, had taken the following decision, and it was endorsed by the C.C.: “Looking after the states: it was decided that the old system of individual PBMs looking after the states be given up and the P.B. as a whole should look after the Party organisation. Any P.B. member who is sent to any state should submit a written report. The State Committees should be asked to inform the P.B. about their meeting.”

The P.B. has introduced the practice of sending more than one PBM to the states, which are in need of central assistance, and also pool the experience from time to time, and issue to issue. To cite some examples Comrades E.M.S. Namboodiripad, B.T. Ranadive, Basavapunnaiyah and Balanandan attended the Kerala State Secretariat and Committee meetings. Comrades Ranadive and Ramamurti and the late Comrade Balasubramanyam attended two Tamil Nadu State Committee meetings during the last one year. Comrades Samar Mukherjee, E.M.S. Namboodiripad and

Basavapunnaiiah attended to the work of the Tripura, Assam and Orissa state units. Comrades Ranadive and Surjeet were attending to several of the Hindi-speaking states, especially Bihar. Comrades Samar Mukherjee and Ranadive were regularly attending the M.P. State Committee meetings. Comrades Ranadive and Basavapunnaiiah attended the Maharashtra State Committee meeting. Several PBMs, besides Comrades Jyoti Basu and Promode Dasgupta attended some of the West Bengal State Committee meetings during the last two years. This process, though taxing and exacting on the energies of the PBMs, is proving more helpful in collective understanding of the problems and in arriving at relatively correct and united decisions on them.

Resume of P.B. and C.C. Meetings since the Tenth Party Congress

Since the Tenth Party Congress, sixteen meetings of the Central Committee have been held, which means that a C.C. meeting was held at an interval of three months on the average

The main task before the C.C. to be discharged immediately was the implementation of the resolutions of the Jullundur Party Congress, and to carry out the decision to hold the Plenum on organisation before December 1978, with a view to unifying the entire Party on the new political-organisational line. The C.C. can rightly claim that there has been radical improvement in the functioning of the C.C. The meetings were more prepared and all the important ideological, political and organisational issues were dealt with. The Party's political line was further developed to meet the requirements of the changing situation. The Salkia Plenum on Party organisation was an important event in the life of the Party, setting right some mistaken concepts on Party building, and in giving direction to overcoming the weaknesses. It can be claimed that except on the issue of the July crisis and events that closely followed it, on which some differences surfaced, on all other issues the decisions of the C.C. were more or less unanimous. That is why the C.C. and the Party as a whole today stand more united than at any period in the past. To substantiate this point we mention below the problems that were dealt with in various C.C. meetings.

I. *April 1978*: The Central Committee elected the General Secretary and the Polit Bureau. This was the first C.C. meeting after the Party Congress.

II. *June 10 to 14, 1978*: This meeting discussed reports on the national and international developments since the Party Congress, decided on the venue, dates and representation for the Party Plenum; it elected the Central Control Commission, discussed the work report of the P.B. and the functioning of the Party centre, our attitude to the friendship and solidarity organisations; adopted resolutions on West Bengal and Tripura panchayat elections and finalised the review report of the Party Congress. It authorised the P.B. to finalise the report on the national and international situation and to circulate them as inner-Party documents. The C.C. incorporated the relevant points of these documents in the communique which was adopted and issued by it.

In relation to Party organisational matters, it took three important decisions, i.e., to reconstitute the Bihar Secretariat and State Committee, to reconstitute the Karnataka State Committee and to give up the method of individual P.B. members looking after the states. It decided that the P.B. should collectively do the job.

III. *September 27 to October 1, 1978*: This meeting was convened to discuss the organisational report prepared for the Salkia Plenum. Apart from the organisational report, the meeting also discussed the current political situation, the report on West Bengal, the formation of the Coordination Committee in Maharashtra, communal reservation, and the anti-defection Bill. It adopted rules for the working of the Central Control Commission. It was decided that the organisational report should be circulated as a P.B. draft and the C.C. will meet at the time of the Salkia Plenum.

IV. *December 23 to 28, 1978*: This meeting was called in connection with the Salkia Plenum preparations. It discussed the draft report on organisation, the draft resolution on organisation, the resignation of Comrade P. Sundarayya from the P.B., and the draft resolution for the Plenum on the political situation.

Salkia Plenum

The C.C. meeting was followed by the Salkia Plenum which met from December 27 to December 31, 1978, and adopted the report on organisation, resolution on organisation and a resolution on the political situation. The Plenum also adopted resolutions on cow-slaughter and the Autonomous District Council for the compact tribal areas in Tripura.

V. *April 4 to 7, 1979*: The C.C. had some exchange of opinion of certain ideological issues. It discussed the national political developments, adopted a document and decided to circulate it as an inner-Party document. It discussed the reports of the AIKS and SFI sessions and also about the proposed CITU session. It appointed the C.C. Sub-Committees for the CITU and Kisan Sabha. It heard reports about the situation in West Bengal and Tripura. It adopted a statement incorporating national and international developments.

VI. *July 19 to 21, 1979*: This meeting was called to discuss the political situation following the resignation of the Janata Government. The meeting discussed the document placed before it by the P.B. on the political developments and the July crisis and adopted it. The meeting also endorsed the proposal to hold the central Party school from August 8 to 17, 1979.

VII. *August 15 and 16, 1979*: This meeting was called specifically to discuss the political situation that developed after the fall of the Janata Government and the formation of the Janata(S)-Congress(S) alliance Government, led by Charan Singh. It had before it two documents, one on the attitude towards the Charan Singh Government and the second, a C.C. statement. Sharp differences of opinion were expressed in the C.C. on the attitude towards the Charan Singh Government. The issue was ultimately decided by a vote—23 supporting the P.B.'s position and 13 opposing and three members remaining neutral.

VIII. *September 7 to 9, 1979*: The meeting was held after the dissolution of the Lok Sabha and announcement of new elections. The meeting discussed the election tactics and election manifesto

and unanimously adopted both the documents. It also adopted a communique on political developments and authorised the P.B. to release it. It authorised the P.B. to give a fund call, and to finalise the list of candidates.

IX. *January 27 to 30, 1980*: The main agenda was to review the election results.

Some difference of opinion was expressed on the election review. The difference related to the July crisis and subsequent developments and our Party's role in them. Finalisation of the review was postponed although it was agreed that it had to be finalised in spite of differences. But the C.C. wanted further discussion before clinching the issues. This meeting also discussed the proposal to form a Left bloc in Parliament and unanimously decided not to form it. It discussed the Left-Democratic Front of Kerala and cleared the Party's stand by stating that this front should not be confused with the central slogan of Left and democratic front, and the name was given by the consensus of the alliance parties of the front which had been formed to fight against the Congress(I)-led front in Kerala. The C.C. discussed the situation in Afghanistan and adopted a resolution. It unanimously adopted a statement on the political situation.

X. *March 14 to 16 1980*: This C.C. meeting discussed the current political situation, heard a report on relations with fraternal Parties and discussed the situation in Assam. It also discussed the proposal to hold a convention on centre-state relations and on price-rise. It unanimously adopted two documents, one on current developments which was meant for inner-Party circulation and the second, a C.C. communique for the press.

XI. *June 26 to 29, 1980*: The meeting discussed the Lok Sabha election review which had been kept pending. It discussed the review of the Assembly elections and also the situation in Assam and Tripura. The C.C. authorised the P.B. to finalise the review on the Assembly elections; the differences in the C.C. on the parliamentary election review persisted and the review was

adopted, 25 supporting and nine against. The difference again was on the assessment of the events after the July crisis.

XII. *October 23 to 26, 1980*: The C.C. heard the reports of the visits of delegations to North Korea, Romania, China and the Conference of World Parliamentarians for Peace. It discussed the situation in Tripura and Assam. The main item for discussion was a report on the implementation of the Salkia Plenum decisions. After discussion it was decided to send a circular to all states, asking them to prepare reports on the implementation of the Salkia Plenum decisions and hold Plenums in West Bengal, Kerala, Tripura and Uttar Pradesh.

It was decided to set up an all-India organisation of agricultural workers. All decisions were unanimous.

XIII. *February 4 to 8, 1981*: This C.C. meeting discussed four documents, one on the decisions of the October C.C. meeting, i.e., review of Salkia decisions, second on the peasant upsurge, third on mass organisations and fourth, the C.C. communique. It resolved the controversies that had arisen on the question of the peasant upsurge and the functioning of mass organisations. After discussion the documents were unanimously adopted. The C.C. decided to issue the Party's fund appeal.

XIV. *June 24 to 28, 1981*: This meeting discussed three documents, i.e., report on political developments, report on the implementation of the decisions of the Salkia Plenum and the C.C. communique. It adopted all the documents unanimously. It also decided the venue and dates of the Eleventh Party Congress.

XV. *October 27 to 31, 1981*: This meeting dealt with a very heavy agenda. Apart from the main item of the draft political resolution for the Eleventh Party Congress, it discussed the resolution on Punamia, resolution on Kerala developments, resolution on Assam developments, resolution on the Punjab situation, on the November 23 demonstration, on the IMF loan, on the war danger, and adopted all resolutions unanimously. The meeting also decided upon the issue of Party Congress delegations.

XVI. *November 28 to 30, 1981*: This meeting finalised the draft political-organisational report.

P.B. Functioning

Although more P.B. members were not available for exclusive work at the Party centre, there was perceptible improvement in the functioning of the P.B. There were regular exchanges of views on the national and international developments. There was better preparation for the C.C. meetings, and better guidance was made available to various fronts and the State Committees. Starting and running of the Party organs in Hindi and Urdu, setting up of all-India organisations of youth, women and agricultural workers, dealing with the situation in Tripura and Assam and helping those State Committees are all due to the collective functioning of the P.B.

In this period of four years since the Jullundur Congress the *P.B. had held 33 full meetings*. Apart from these full P.B. meetings, *50 meetings were held which six members attended mostly*. But sometimes the number was four, five or seven and the minutes were recorded. All these meetings, of course, would not provide a full picture of the functioning of the P.B. unless one takes note of the fact that the PBMs, working at the centre, were constantly exchanging opinions on various issues which had come before the Party during this period. This helped in unifying the P.B. and C.C. All the political-organisational problems were collectively dealt with by the comrades working at the centre. The practice of more than one PBM attending the meetings of State Committees, tackling their problems, reporting back to the P.B. and C.C., also helped in coming to a unified understanding on the political-organisational problems facing different states. This does not mean that we should be content with the present work of the Party centre and the functioning of the P.B. Not only more cadre and P.B. and C.C. members are required to work from the centre, but a lot of improvement in the functioning also has to be effected if the Party is to discharge all its political-organisational responsibilities.

THE CPI(M) IN DIFFERENT STATES

West Bengal

The achievements scored and the advance made by the Party in West Bengal during the last four years are praiseworthy, they add to the pride of our Party. In this state, which was subjected to semi-fascist terror during the years 1972 to 1977, the Party won a resounding victory in the assembly election of June 1977. The Left Front, headed by the CPI(M), swept the polls, winning 228 assembly seats out of a total of 294. The CPI(M) secured 177 seats, and acquired a predominant position in the state's legislature. This strength has made possible the stable functioning of the State Government which provided protective armour to the struggles and organisations of the different classes and sections of the people in West Bengal. The favourable national and international conditions, our Party's political-tactical line and the able functioning of the Left Front Government—all have enabled the Left Front Government of West Bengal to almost complete its full term of five years, and serve the cause of the people, with all the severe limitations imposed on the State Governments under the present Constitution.

In the Political-Organisational Report of the State Committee of West Bengal it was correctly stated that "as a result of the preservation and extension of democratic rights and the programme of the Left Front Government being implemented, the mass organisations of workers, peasants, students, youth, women, etc., have grown in a big way. In the countryside the agricultural workers and peasants have experienced on a wide scale the difference between 'this Government' and the previous State Governments of the bourgeois-landlord classes".

The state unit of the CPI(M) has conducted numerous struggles of the workers, peasants, middle class employees, youth and students, and also had organised scores of mass political actions in defence of the Left Front Government, against the most vicious and violent attacks by the Congress(I) and other opposition parties in the state.

The fact that as many as 282 activists courted martyrdom during the last four years goes to show that the big advances made in our movement demanded big sacrifices from our Party in West Bengal.

The Left Front Government, which came into office in June 1977, conducted statewide panchayat elections which had not taken place during the last 15 years, and in the case of anchals for 18 years. The elections were held for 56,000 seats, leaving 4000 seats. The CPI(M) contested 47,000 seats, while other parties in the Left Front like the RSP, Forward Bloc, etc., shared around 7500 seats.

The Left Front bagged around 38,468 seats out of the 56,000 and the tally of different parties in the front is as follows: CPI(M)-34,445; RSP-2057; Forward Bloc-1903; others in the Left Front-63. In the three tiers of the system, i.e., Panchayats, Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads, the Left Front secured 3242 Panchayats, 324 Panchayat Samities and 15 Zilla Parishads.

The other political parties secured seats in these elections as follows: the Congress(I)-5234; Congress(S)-69; Janata-900, other non-party candidates-9671; and the CPI-961. This total comes to 16,835 seats.

Coming to the Lok Sabha election of January 1980, the Left Front and the CPI together obtained 11,085,440 votes, in round figures. i.e., 54 per cent of the total votes polled. In this the CPI(M)'s share was 8.2 million votes in round figures, i.e., 40 per cent.

Mention should be made of the fact that the Congress(I) which secured only 30.2 per cent of the votes in the June 1977 assembly election improved its position in the January 1980 election, securing 36.50 per cent of the total votes polled. This increase came about because a section of the voters, who had voted for the Janata and the Congress(U) in the assembly election, cast their votes for the Congress(I) when they found that the Janata and Congress(U) were ineffective.

Again, in May 1981, elections were conducted to 86 municipalities out of a total of 89 in the state. These elections took place after 12 to 20 years, during which period no elections had been held to these municipalities. The Left Front, together with the CPI, obtained majorities in 68 municipalities. The share of the CPI(M) in the vote was 33.5 per cent of the total polled votes. Out of the 977 seats won by the Left Front and its allies, the CPI(M)'s share was 697 seats.

All these victories scored by the Left Front and the CPI(M) go to show that increasing numbers of the people are being mobilised behind the CPI(M) and the Left Front led by it in West Bengal. But we should remember that a sizable voting strength, around 50 per cent, is still with the bourgeois-landlord parties like the Congress(I), Janata, Congress(S), etc., even though they are badly divided amongst themselves at present.

Membership of the Party and mass organisations in West Bengal is as follows:

	1978 February	1981
	(In round figures)	
Party Membership	33,720	79,190
CITU	539,170	620,100 (1979)
Kisan Sabha	1,285,000	3,860,990
DYFI	234,190	738,000
SFI	145,800	210,370
Mahila	236,150	470,720

The total votes secured by the CPI(M) in West Bengal during the June 1977 election were 51 lakhs, the total membership of all the mass organisations in 1978 was around 25 lakhs.

Similarly, when our Party secured 82 lakh votes in the January 1980 election, the total membership of the mass organisations in which we are working stood at 65 lakhs in 1981. (This figure includes teachers and employees.)

These figures of 1977-78 and 1980-81 show that the people who voted for us are many lakhs more than could be organised by us in different class and mass organisations. Thus the CPI(M)'s political influence over the mass of the people in West Bengal is much bigger than is reflected in the strength of the mass organisations. The State Committee's Political-Organisational Report says:

"The three years following the Plenum have witnessed some changes in the situation. The membership of the mass organisations at the time of the Plenum was around 25 lakhs; now it has reached the figure of 65 lakhs. At that time the number of Party members

was less than 40,000, it is more than 80,000 in 1981. This progress is remarkable. While expanding Party membership, attention has been given to the call of the Plenum to change the class composition of the membership. The Plenum called for the recruitment of new members from the working class and other sections of the working people, and to arrange for their education and promotion.

"The result obtained while attempting to put this call into effect is reflected in the scrutiny reports filed by 12 districts (four districts did not submit scrutiny reports within the stipulated time). Analysing the scrutiny reports of all the 67,557 members of various units in these 12 districts, it is found that among them 13,393 are workers, 12,167 are employees, 10,501 are agricultural labourers, 24,117 are poor peasants, 5135 are middle peasants, and others account for the remaining 2244. The aggregate number of members from the working class, agricultural labourers and poor peasants is 37,510, that is 56 per cent of the total membership; but adding employees to this the figure goes up to 49,677, that is 73 per cent of the Party membership."

Before concluding this brief resume of our Party and mass organisation activities in West Bengal, it should be noted that out of the total Party membership of 80,000 in 1981, more than half joined the Party after 1977. Most of them have not been given elementary Party education and schooling. Branch Secretaries, too, could not be educated and trained properly. This poses a serious and stupendous task before the Party.

Similarly, the circulation of our Party weekly and daily falls far too short of the potentialities. Their circulation neither reflects our Party's strength nor the strength of our class and mass organisations in West Bengal. The report admits:

"The Plenum directed that the circulation of Party journals should be increased. But the circulation of *Ganashakti*, *Desh Hinaishi* and *Hindi Swadhinata* has not increased according to our expectations. It should be acknowledged that not all the committees and units took the task of selling Party papers seriously. However, the special numbers of the daily sell well, some of the special numbers sold 50,000 to 57,000 copies. Propaganda pamphlets are sold in large numbers, but almost all the local

committees show their weakness in organising sustained political propaganda through the dailies and weeklies."

The question should be seriously discussed by the State Committee and ways and means devised to speedily overcome this serious shortcoming. Without big improvement in this regard, political education for our Party and mass following becomes impossible.

The Political Report of the West Bengal State Committee has mentioned certain shortcomings, under the heading "Failures, Weaknesses and Causes". We reproduce it below:

"Although the Party has made considerable progress over the past few years in terms of movements and organisation, such progress falls short of what could be achieved under the present favourable conditions.

"The membership of the Party and mass organisations should have increased further. In the last Lok Sabha election it was found that the rate of increase in our vote (20 per cent) was lower than that of the Indira Congress (30 per cent) and this trend has been noticed in the industrial areas, towns and in some rural areas.

"On this the State Committee stated rightly in its resolution: Because of our failure in raising the effective political consciousness within the Party and among the people, the progress and the growth of membership of the Party and the mass organisations has not corresponded to the real possibilities which exist. It is not possible to effectively raise the political consciousness of the people and their organisations without holding regular Party classes, popular lecture series, and increasing the circulation of the dailies and weeklies. With the increase in political consciousness and through propaganda and organisational work, it should be possible to expand further the Party and the mass organisations.

"Although contact has been established with the people, it should be closer than it is. It was the decision of the State Committee that popular participation should be secured in the administration, particularly in the panchayat work, and decisions should be taken after consultations with the people. It was felt that without this participation, various complexities and weaknesses are bound

to appear. Since the economic resources of the Government are inadequate, as also the ability to help and provide relief in comparison with the vast needs, without collective discussions and decisions of the villagers and without the creation of a proper climate, divisions, disunity and quarrels are bound to arise among them.

'Wherever work has been undertaken under collective leadership, and in consultation with the people, the membership of our Party and the Krishak Sabha has expanded, and the unity of the Party has been strengthened. Where this directive has not been followed, and where the pradhans have functioned individually, inevitably the work there has been dogged by organisational weaknesses and village quarrels, and a bureaucratic mentality has made itself felt. In the absence of frank discussions with the people, corruption spreads. Without accepting collective leadership and people's cooperation in the administration, panchayats and municipalities, the disease of a bureaucratic attitude and other vices cannot be eradicated. For getting over this weakness, what is needed is organised political education. While adopting stern disciplinary actions against corruption, arrangements should be made alongside for the political education of the workers.

"In many areas disunity and conflict among the Left-wing forces is creating serious obstacles in implementing the pro-people programme of the Government.

'If the unity achieved at the higher level of Party organisation does not properly percolate to the lower levels, then there would be problems in working among the people and the enemy would gain advantage. Our Party will have to take the initiative to build unity within the Left Front. The basis for any decision should be the protection of the interests of the poor and the middle classes in the village and against the rural vested interests. Irrespective of their party affiliations, the basis for our work should be the principle of protection of the interests of the poor and middle classes—and if that is to be done, the Party should rise above village feuds, personal squabbles and selfish interests and establish this principle which will widen and strengthen the unity in the Left Front.

"These issues assume a great deal of importance when we are searching for solutions to administrative and movement related problems among the people. Because of non-application of these principles our progress is being hampered in many areas and our failure is surfacing. When seeking close contact with the people, or increase in popular support, we should keep these things in mind.

"When running the Government, panchayats or other organisations, work is not always done according to collective decisions and through the direction of the concerned Party committees. Our experience is new in these organisations. But we should remember that mistakes committed while working individualistically destroy harmony in the Party, create confusion among the people, and popular support is forfeited, which are serious matters. In many cases such defects have been noticed. Even when not very substantial, this defect has dangerous potential, and stern measures should be taken against it.

' Generally the Chief Minister and other ministers perform their official duties in consultation with the Party leadership. But it must be admitted that we have made no provision for a Party review of the work done by the ministers, MPs, MLAs, Panchayat Pradhans, Samiti Sabhapatis, Parishad Sabhadhipatis and others holding official positions. This is a serious weakness of the State Committee. Except for general discussion with the MLAs in some meetings, and two meetings with the sabhadhipatis of the Zilla Parishads, the State Committee made no arrangement for the review of the work by ministers, MPs, MLAs, Panchayat Pradhans and others holding official positions. In some areas and districts many discussions have taken place with the panchayat leaders, but at the state level this weakness in failing to organise a review and issue proper directives remained. It is vital to make occasional reviews by the State and District Committees with those involved with the administration at various levels. The importance of maintaining close contact with them by the Party leadership is immense.

"Because of our habit of a long period of working as an opposition party and the lack of close contact with the Party

leadership, our role in the Assembly has not made much impact on the minds of the people, although we are the biggest party. It is true that on various questions our position has been stated, answers have been given on many issues, yet the fact remains that despite being such a big party, we have not been able to draw the attention of the people through our work in the Assembly. Similarly, while on various issues our position has been stated in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha by our MPs, and they have replied to many slanders against our Party, they have failed to create pandemonium on issues like the continuous slander against the Left Front Government and West Bengal, false statements against the Chief Minister, the Party Secretary and others on the problems of West Bengal, despite the false statements being continually made, by raising a storm through strong attack against them. These weaknesses have remained because of the absence of close contact of the MPs and MLAs with the state leadership. This weakness will have to be corrected.

"The work of the ministers and others involved with the administration will continue in future. We must arrange for regular organisation of Partywise contact, so that the Party is involved in all types of work. There should be no shirking of responsibility here. A great deal of work is being done about which the Party remains ignorant, as a result gaps remain in our propaganda campaign.

"In the absence of Partywise discussion there is a tendency for our leaders and workers associated with different levels of the administration to be full of themselves and bureaucratic, individualistic, legalistic and formal. In future we will have to give special attention to these. The state and district leaderships should rectify these mistakes.

"Although the State Committee has provided right leadership on all the urgent and major political and organisational questions, we should admit that it has failed to arrange proper coordination between the Party and the Cabinet, in fully implementing the Salkia decision on organisation, and in keeping the Party members and the people informed and conscious regarding all our activities. Despite the unfavourable conditions and difficulties we have failed

to maintain strict vigilance in implementing the accepted resolutions. To accomplish this, the Party Secretariat and state centre will have to be further strengthened. It is not enough to take a correct decision, it is equally important to see that it is applied in detail. What is being said here about the state leadership and the state centre, applies equally to the district leadership and the district centre.

"Although the influence, organisation, work and responsibility of the Party have increased, the number of key workers has remained unchanged. With so many types of jobs imposed on a comrade, none of them can be properly done. The number of workers has to be increased. Jobs should be redistributed at all levels of Party committees so that the work can be performed regularly and properly. No comrade should be responsible for more than one major activity.

"Because of the present pattern of functioning, a great deal of work remains undone. The letters which go to District Committees from the State Committee on various problems are not handled or replied to with speed. The same can be said about the State Committee, too—lack of proper job division, and work remaining undone for months. For that reason it is necessary that work is redistributed at all levels in order to ensure the speedy disposal of work, without which work would be left unattended to at all levels. Failure to get the work done in time makes the comrades lax in their work, and destroys their confidence in the committee. We should get over these defects of loose functioning and lack of work discipline. Without this we will not succeed in working properly in the Party, mass organisations, Government, municipalities, panchayats, etc. We should keep the people informed and alert in time on all issues. The habit of working punctually and in a disciplined manner should be acquired.

"Above all, we need to create political consciousness on a large scale among the people. In order to bring about a qualitative change in the existing situation in our state, and to change the correlation of class forces, it is necessary to bring about a wide and higher level of consciousness. Through sustained political campaigns over years by the Party and the mass organisations, the democratic

consciousness of the people of West Bengal has been enhanced. That is why they do not become victims of communal or provincial divisiveness, national disunity, conflict between people from various linguistic groups and states, and separatism and secessionism. They are able to confront these reactionary forces and attitudes through democratic consciousness. But to march forward in order to attain our goal such consciousness will have to be transformed into socialist consciousness. Unless we succeed in inculcating socialist ideas in the workers, peasants and working people, there is a danger of their being influenced by bourgeois ideology. Subject to bourgeois influence, they might feel frustrated with their existing situation—hence it is necessary to present before them a picture of what the future holds out for them. They should be made conscious of the superiority of the socialist system. This should be our biggest political task. Through incessant political campaign our organisational and other defects, deviations, weaknesses, and failures can be rectified."

Kerala

The Salkia resolution on organisation had pointed out: "Our political campaigns have not made any significant change in the correlation of political forces in the state. The anti-CPI(M) coalition that was formed in 1969 continued to block in the advance of the Left and democratic forces; the little rifts and fissures that came out on occasions did not lead to any major change in the political situation of the state".

This political weakness has since been overcome. The anti-CPI(M) front was broken, replaced by a new Left-Democratic Front including three Left parties as well as the Congress(S), the Kerala Congress and the All-India Muslim League. This in a way restored the state's political scene to what it was in 1969: the absence of a section of the Muslim League is partly made up by the presence of a section of the Kerala Congress and the Congress(S).

Although the Left-Democratic Front formed in the latter half of 1979 disintegrated two years later, leading to the fall of the LDF Government, the impact of the change is lasting. The CPI and the RSP continue in the front; so does the All-India Muslim League.

As for the Congress(S) the departure of a section of which from the front started the process of the LDF Government's fall, another section of it including six MLAs is still with the Front. The four parties that still remain in the front are jointly carrying on a massive political campaign for the dissolution of the state legislature and the holding of fresh elections. A bitter battle is now going on between the LDF and the Congress(I) camps—within the Congress(S), too, between the advocates and opponents of unity with the Congress(I) and the Kerala Congress.

Such a realignment of political forces in the state which led to the 21-month long LDF Government has had its impact on the growth of the mass movement and the position of the Party. Party membership increased during this period from 67,366 in 1978 to 104,085 in 1981.

However, as pointed out by the State Committee in its report presented to the state conference, the extent of dropouts during these very years should cause concern. The dropouts for the year 1978 was 10.5 per cent, for 1979—17.5 per cent, for 1980—14.5 per cent and for 1981—18.5 per cent.

Facts are not available explaining why such large-scale dropouts have been taking place. It requires study.

The membership of the CITU was at the time of the last conference (January 1978) about two lakhs. It has now gone up to 276,000. The districtwise break-up shows increases of 49.5 per cent in Trivandrum, 35.7 per cent in Quilon, 52.9 per cent in Alleppey, 29.4 per cent in Kottayam, 97.4 per cent in Idukki, 42.9 per cent in Ernakulam, 69.4 per cent in Calicut and 48.4 per cent in Cannanore. In the four other districts, it appears, there has been either marginal declines (six per cent in Wayanad) or stagnation.

Membership of the Kisan Sabha has gone up from two and a half lakhs in round numbers in 1978 to 420,000 in 1981.

Membership of the agricultural labour organisation increased from 164,000 in 1978 to 380,000 in 1980.

The two together had a membership of 410,000 in 1978, compared to the present membership of 780,000.

The youth organisation with a membership of 167,000 in 1977 grew to 520,000 members in 1980. The still not completed scrutiny for the year 1981 shows a membership of 800,000.

The women's organisation had a membership of 102,000 at the time of the state conference which was for the year 1977. It registered an increase to 281,000 in 1980-81.

The SFI membership grew from 79,000 in 1978 to 173,000 in 1980. The not completed scrutiny for the year 1981 shows a membership of two lakhs which is estimated to go up to two and a half lakhs.

The total membership of all mass organisations, including those of middle class employees, now stands at two and a half million.

Everyone of these mass organisations has been running a series of campaigns and struggles both on issues that directly concern the class, stratum or section to which the organisation concerned caters as well as on general political issues. They, along with allied organisations are, in fact, the solid base on which the struggle for a realignment of political forces was waged before the formation of the Left Democratic Front. Since its formation, they together with the masses allied behind the other constituents of the Left Democratic Front, have been fighting for the preservation of the unity of the front and to protect the LDF Government against attacks from the Congress(I)-led opponents of the front. The unity of these mass organisations today forms the basis on which the struggle for the broadening of the front and the isolation of the Congress(I) is being fought.

It has also to be mentioned here that of the total 977 panchayats in the state, elections were held to 931 panchayats of which 511 were won by the CPI(M).

The three months that have elapsed since the fall of the LDF Government has been a period in which the widest-ever masses have mobilised themselves behind the LDF and against the Congress(I)-led front. Beginning with the reception in the state capital to the outgoing ministers when the LDF Government resigned, there have been innumerable meetings, rallies, demonstrations, jathas, etc., organised by the constituents of the LDF separately or by all of them together. The CPI(M)'s district conferences culminating in the state conference in the first week of December were the biggest among these demonstrations and rallies.

None of the constituents of the Congress(I) front separately or jointly could dream of having such demonstrations and rallies. The assumption of office by the Congress(I)-led minority

Government, imposed on the people by the Governor under instruction from the Centre, did not evoke any enthusiasm among the people—not even among the supporters of the parties concerned. On the other hand, it led to statewide militant protests from the people. The police as well as the goondas set up by the Congress(I)-led front and the RSS gangs pounced upon the demonstrators. The number of LDF activists killed or injured during this period goes up to over 40.

Such growing mass support for the LDF is the result of:

(a) a basic change in the all-India political situation exposing the bankruptcy of the ruling Congress(I) as well as such bourgeois-landlord parties of the opposition as refuse to adopt Leftist positions in policies or to cooperate with the Left, indicating that the broadening and strengthening of the unity of the Left and democratic forces is the only way of advance for the people;

(b) the remarkable work by way of serving the people carried out by the LDF Government through various measures which give relief to the people; and

(c) the systematic work carried on by the units of the Party at all levels and by the mass organisations led by our Party in popularising the measures adopted by the LDF Government and exposing those who betrayed the LDF. Party units of other constituents of the LDF and the mass organisations led by these parties, of course, played their role, but the CPI(M) being the strongest constituent of the LDF, its role is greater.

Some of the measures adopted by the Government which have enhanced the prestige of the LDF Government may be indicated.

The LDF Government had an impressive record of maintaining the best public distribution system in the country. During the Onam festival season, prices normally shoot up beyond control. But during the two Onams since the LDF Government assumed office, all the essential articles, vegetables, clothes were supplied to the people at reasonable prices through public distribution outlets. This acted as a check on the open market itself.

Under the Government's labour policy the emoluments of the workers and employees went up and they were able to get their Onam bonus without strikes and struggles. Pensions were

sanctioned for agricultural workers, old people and widows. Unemployment allowance was granted. Relief was given to workers in the crisis-ridden traditional industries like cashew, coir and handloom. Fishermen were helped to form cooperatives and given financial help. Peasants got relief from indebtedness.

These and other measures have endeared the Government to the people at large. They have also provoked the opponents of the LDF, including the Prime Minister herself, to declare that the LDF is "looting the treasury". The common people in the state, however, know that, had not the Government adopted these measures, their condition would have been far worse, while, of course, the "looting of the treasury" by the landlords, capitalists, top bureaucrats and the leaders of the anti-LDF political parties would go on.

The most significant service rendered by the LDF Government to the people, however, was its police policy. Like the 1957 and 1967 Governments earlier, the LDF Government declared—and tried to put into practice—its policy of non-intervention of the police in the struggles of the working people. As opposed to the Congress(I) whose leaders demanded that preventive detention should be resorted to in order allegedly to "curb the activities of the hoarders and blackmarketeers", the LDF used the public distribution system. Both preventive detention and public distribution having the same initials, the question was posed: which P.D. is really effective in curbing the anti-social activities of the blackmarketeers, hoarders, etc.? The answer was that, while preventive detention did not in reality curb the hoarders and profiteers, the public distribution system did, though to a limited extent, as is seen in the success attained by the Maveli stores, Onam fares, etc. Here, therefore, is the contrast between the bourgeois-landlord policies of the ruling Congress(I) and the pro-people policy of the LDF.

This, however, angered not only the Congress(I) and its allies in the opposition but a section within the LDF itself. Congress(S) leader A.K. Antony and his colleagues, followed by Kerala Congress leader Mani and his colleagues, took objection to the police policy which in fact was a demand for the use of the police in favour of the landlords and capitalists as used to be done by the

Congress Governments. The notorious slogan of 'breakdown of law and order" was raised by the Congress(I)-led opposition from outside and by the Congress(S) leaders from inside the LDF. The monopoly press in and outside Kerala, of course, lent their columns for this campaign. Having run this campaign for several months, the Congress(S) leaders thought it opportune in the latter half of 1981 to demand that the home portfolio should be taken away from the CPI(M) minister. This demand was subsequently endorsed by the Kerala Congress leader who, too, followed in walking out of the LDF, leading to the fall of the Government.

This brings out the real political character and complexion of the LDF that was formed in the latter half of 1979. Although formally headed by the CPI(M) Chief Minister, the CPI(M) had only 35 members in a 141-strong Legislative Assembly. Within the LDF Legislature Party itself, the CPI(M) was just 35 out of 93. Furthermore, two of the constituents of the LDF have a long tradition of having been part of the ruling Congress Party—the Kerala Congress till 1964 and the Congress(S) till 1978. Although in the ranks of both these parties anti-communism was getting more and more weakened, their leaderships had a strong undercurrent of anti-communism. Neither of them, therefore, could tolerate for long the Left-oriented policies of the LDF Government. The propaganda of the Congress(S) directed against the functioning of the Home Department and the cry about the breakdown of law and order were in reality a demand that the police should be used to suppress the workers and the common people and protect the vested interests.

The struggle within the LDF culminating in the fall of the LDF Government, however, has consolidated the unity of the three Left parties and the All-India Muslim League, while creating division in the Congress(S). At the same time, the ranks and the following of those parties which are allied to the Congress(I) and joined the latter in forming the minority Government, are not at all enthusiastic about the anti-LDF line pursued by their leaders. Together with serious rifts within the Congress(I) itself, this discontent within the parties that are allied to it opens up the possibility of broadening the existing LDF and isolating the Congress(I).

The Salkia report on organisation had pointed out that though "the Kerala Party has to its credit an enormous amount of work by way of preparing the material for the education and re-education of Party members, for involving them in the evolution of Party policy and in the battle of ideas waged against the class enemy", the state leadership has no programme of "using this immense material for the education and re-education of Party members and sympathisers as well as for waging the battle of ideas for Marxism-Leninism and against alien ideologies". This weakness persists, as is revealed in the data supplied by the State Committee in its organisational report to the state conference.

The daily *Deshabhimani* can be a powerful weapon in the struggle against the well-organised propaganda of the class enemy. With the pre-eminent position occupied by the Party in the public life of the state, it should be possible to raise its circulation to several times what it is. However, even the target fixed at the April State Plenum of the Party—100,000 copies—has not been fulfilled.

Although it is a full-size paper as any other (bourgeois-run) paper and although it has features which should attract all sections of readers, there is no political guidance worth mentioning from the state Party leadership. The result is that the content of the paper does not satisfy the rank and file Party members and sympathisers.

The managerial-organisational aspect of running the paper also leaves room for rectification and improvement. The type of daily that *Deshabhimani* is, it should be possible to reach it to all such centres of distribution as are used by the bourgeois papers. There is, however, no conscious planning to do this.

The Party is also running two weeklies—*Chinta*, the political-theoretical weekly, and *Deshabhimani* weekly which is of a literary and cultural character. The former uses almost the entire material of *People's Democracy* and, besides, adds its own material. One regular feature of this weekly is the readers' questions and Comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad's answers.

This, therefore, can be used for the education of Party members, for getting them involved in free discussions within their units, if only the State Committee organises through the District Committees the work of "creating a mechanism in every district

where the branch secretaries in a particular area or locality are called once a month where a Party leader from the District Committee makes a report on current developments and burning problems of the day" as laid down in the Salkia report as one of the means of streamlining the Party organisation. *Deshabhimani* daily and *Chinta* weekly can also be used for raising the level of understanding of Party members through constant reporting to them, encouraging them to express themselves on current developments and thus make them participants in the evolution and implementation of Party policy. The state leadership, however, has failed to do it.

Deshabhimani weekly, as mentioned above, is a literary-cultural organ. Unlike other similar weeklies in the language which (with one or two honourable exceptions) cater to the base instincts of their readers, and are, therefore, widely circulated, this weekly keeps a high standard. Its content is appreciated by discerning activists in the field of culture. Together with the erstwhile *Deshabhimani* Study Circle which has now been broadened into the Progressive Artistes' and Writers' Association, and several other literary and cultural organisations, this weekly can be used for developing a broad platform of radical, scientifically-oriented writers and artists committed to the struggle in the cause of the working people.

This requires organised leadership and guidance by the state and lower-level leadership of the Party. However, as in the case of *Deshabhimani* daily and weekly, here, too, the state leadership fails to pay the necessary attention.

A new institution has of late come into being which can help the work of the Party in organising the battle of ideas—the A.K. Gopalan Memorial Centre of Education and Research in Scientific Socialism. While its facilities can be used for organising schools for the Party cadres, the institution can be used also as the centre from where the battle of ideas is waged. The two-day seminar on the occasion of the silver jubilee of the formation of Kerala state, with "A Quarter Century of the State of Kerala" as its theme and divided into four sessions devoted to politics, industries and labour, agrarian and peasant, education and culture respectively, was

extremely useful. It brought together a large number of academics, political activists, trade unionists, functionaries of other mass organisations, etc. Seminars on other subjects, if organised properly from time to time, can bring together Party and non-party intellectuals along with the activists of various political parties and mass organisations for exchange of ideas. The institution can also invite Marxist intellectuals from all over the country to deliver a few lectures at a time which suit Party and non-party students of scientific socialism.

All these require (a) minimum technical facilities such as a well-equipped library and other requisite material, and (b) proper ideological-political leadership from the state leadership of the Party under the guidance of the P.B. and C.C.

Before we conclude this, a weakness of the state leadership should be mentioned: although the State Committee consists of comrades who have behind them rich experience of leading mass struggles and building the Party, they have yet to develop themselves into a collectively functioning unit. Regular meetings of the State Committee are, of course, being held; so are Secretariat meetings. These meetings, however, are not properly prepared. Though sub-committees are formally in existence, they do not in general function. The result is that subjects which should be initially examined by the sub-committees are directly brought before the Secretariat and State Committee which leads to lengthy and unbusiness-like discussions. Furthermore, members of the Secretariat and State Committee, except those who are permanently working at the centre, do not have proper coordination of their work.

These and other defects in the functioning of the leading units of the Party have been identified more than once, following which some decisions were also taken. They, however, have for all practical purposes remained on paper. The question why this has happened, who is responsible for which lapse, what steps are to be taken to remove these weaknesses, etc., have not been properly discussed. In the absence of such review, criticism and self-criticism in relation to each member of the leading units, the preparation of the panel to be presented before the state conference

was unsatisfactory. There was no assessment of the work of each member of the outgoing committee. No proposal could, therefore, be made that such and such comrades being ineffective should be dropped from the new panel. Every member of the outgoing committee found a place in the panel for the new committee. Since, however, new comrades had to be taken, the numerical size of the committee was increased.

At the district level, too, with one or two exceptions, the same procedure was adopted. This obviously requires serious examination and rectification.

If these weaknesses of the Party leadership are overcome and if a well-planned scheme is worked out for educating and re-educating the entire Party on the basis of the all-India line adopted at this Party Congress and for applying the line to the specific conditions of Kerala, the Party in the state can make still further advances organisationally as well as politically. For, all the parties of the bourgeois-landlord ruling classes are everyday proving more and more bankrupt, making the people at large look forward to the CPI(M) as the one effective force playing a leading role in providing an alternative to the Congress(I). A far bigger party than it is today, with its organisation streamlined as envisaged at Salkia, is an essential factor for mobilising the disillusioned millions on the basis of the Tenth and Eleventh Congress decisions.

Tamil Nadu

Our Party in Tamil Nadu which had to face the serious ideological challenge of the DMK and the AIADMK, besides the challenge of the authoritarian party, has registered important successes both as regards the expansion of the Party and the expansion of mass organisations. Our Party's membership has increased from 8598 in 1977 to 19,578 in 1981. Membership figures have doubled not only in number, but there is considerable improvement in quality and the collection of levy and donations. Our Party leads various organisations with a total membership of five lakh with about 150,000 workers, two lakh agriculturists and agricultural workers, 60,000 youth, 60,000 women and 10,000 students. Our Party, besides, works among lakhs of unorganised

sections. Yet our membership bears no relationship to our activities, and the opportunities before us. Our trade union membership was 80,000 in 1978. Since then it has increased to 150,000 with 250 unions affiliated to the CITU.

We have a strong agricultural workers' base with 60,000 membership in Tanjore. Now a Statewide agricultural workers' organisation with a total membership of 90,000 has been formed in May 1981.

During 1977-78, our kisan membership was 80,576, in 1980-81 it is 158,800. The policies we have followed since 1972 and our approach to the developments in Tamil Nadu obstructed our growth and expansion. Thousands of peasants were imprisoned, many lost their lives in firing. From ordinary kisan workers to rich peasants, overcoming all caste feelings, all participated in the movement. But we showed indifference to the movement because the landlords had placed themselves at its head. Instead of understanding that demands like reduction in electricity charges, debt-relief, fair price for agricultural produce came as a consequence of the policies of the Central Government, we concentrated our attention on the landlord leadership with its opposition to wage-increase of agricultural workers.

The democratic women's organisation is functioning for the political, economic and social problems of women. Eight years have passed since its formation. Three state conferences have been held. In 1978 the membership was 30,000. In 1979 it was 45,000 and in 1980 it was 61,000.

There has been some improvement on the student front. The membership rose from 5000 in 1979 to 10,000 in 1981.

Since the last conference of our Party, the Tamil Nadu Progressive Writers' Association has functioned continuously and its membership has grown. During this period two state conferences were held. The Association was started during the Emergency with a membership of only 542, consisting mainly of writers and poets. At the second conference, the membership rose to 994. Now it has spread to 12 districts with 110 branches and a membership of 1989.

The Party's daily *Theekkathir* has a circulation of 6000, *Senmalar* monthly has a circulation of 7000 and Party's pamphlets of 10,000.

The State Committee, following the line of united mass actions in mass organisations, coupled with independent activity, has been able to register progress in mass influence by initiating and participating in innumerable struggles of the people, strikes of the working class and agricultural workers, peasant agitations, women's agitation against atrocities and for better rights, and anti-price-rise movements. The CITU unions have waged protracted struggles during the course of which murderous attacks were made on our comrades (Comrade Govinda Rajan was stabbed). The trade unions have undergone new experience in joint actions but it has not been mastered. The CITU unions, however, have by and large neglected the cause of the working women. The intervention of the Party on all mass fronts has been continuous. The Party's Assembly Group did a big job in exposing the anti-labour and anti-people policies of the AIADMK Government while keeping its links with the masses of the AIADMK. In the debates and battles in the Assembly, our Party was able to secure the attention of the people.

The Party was able to make headway because it steadfastly carried forward the line of the C.C.—the line of fighting the authoritarian Party and of approach to the two state parties as democratic parties.

The Party allied itself with the AIADMK in the Assembly elections to fight the Congress(I) and its allies and defeated them at the polls. But the Party had to fight the AIADMK's vacillations and anti-labour policies, expose its overtures to the Congress(I), without falling a victim to the factional politics of the rival DMK.

The main theme of our election propaganda was that Tamil Nadu should give a democratic verdict through the poll against Indira Gandhi who had dismissed the Tamil Nadu Government in an authoritarian manner. Following the decision of the Delhi convention of six parties, the Party in Tamil Nadu took steps to bring together the Left, democratic and oppositional forces.

Our Party, the CPI, Forward Bloc and Kamraj Congress are continuously engaged in this task. The Congress(S) and Lok Dal associated with these efforts on issues of their choice. Parties like the Progressive Muslim League, Christian Democratic Front,

Dravida Kazhagam (Thangaraj group) also took part in this movement. A joint movement was conducted highlighting issues and problems like the NSA, presidential form of Government, price-rise, democratic rights and communal disturbances. Though this movement is described as Left-Democratic Alliance by some parties, our Party is striving to develop it only as a broader platform for the defence of democracy and democratic rights. The AIADMK kept itself out of this entire movement. All this has broadened our base as well as the base for anti-authoritarian resistance, and forged new ties with the followers of the DMK and the AIADMK.

Simultaneously, with our decisive battles for the demands of the masses, joint mass actions, we are strengthening the unity of the Left and democratic forces. The unity of the Left forces has been strengthened with growing understanding between our Party and the CPI, though difficulties continue to crop up.

The State Committee reviewed the working of the Party in the light of the Salkia Plenum directives. It reported to the conference on the weaknesses, shortcomings and violations noted, and decided to take steps to overcome them.

The Party is now taking the ideological battle against the Dravidian ideology and Tamil chauvinism. The report submitted to the conference observed: 'Our Party has advanced in all sections during this period. Our influence has increased due to the firm political stand we took. Vast sections of our people give us more and more hearing. Mass organisations have increased their strength. From the branch and district conferences we could see that the political consciousness, the capacity to implement the Party's line and the unity of our comrades have considerably grown.'

Andhra Pradesh

Our Party and the mass organisations it has been shaping and building in Andhra Pradesh have registered encouraging progress in the years between the Tenth and Eleventh Congresses of the Party, though it is nowhere near the heights which the Communist movement in Andhra had reached in the mid-1950s.

The following figures show the extent of the progress in Party building, the building of the class and mass organisations and in strengthening the Party's agit-prop mechanism.

Party membership which stood at 9600 in the year 1978, has increased to 15,300 by the middle of December 1981.

The CITU membership during the same period increased from 35,000 to 45,000.

Kisan Sabha membership which stood at 67,000 in 1978 has grown to 150,000 by now.

The Agricultural Labour Union which was having 150,000 members in 1978, has 200,000 members in 1981. Thus both the Kisan Sabha and Agricultural Labour Union together have membership of 350,000.

The DYFI has increased its membership from 43,000 in 1978 to 67,000 by now. The SFI membership which stood at 23,000 has reached 43,000. The Democratic Women's Association has increased its membership from 10,000 in 1978 to 42,000 in 1981.

It is heartening to learn that 40 per cent of the two lakh members of the Agricultural Labour Union are women. This is exemplary.

The CPI(M) has secured a majority in six hundred village panchayats and in seven panchayat samitis. It has only an eight-member group in the Legislative Assembly, though it happens to be the largest opposition group in it. It speaks of the extreme weakness of the opposition, both in the Assembly and among the people, leaving the ruling Congress an unchallenged political force in the state.

The state unit of Andhra Pradesh was running only a weekly, with a circulation around 10,000. It has been made into a daily from August 1, 1981. The people's reception to our daily, *Prajasakti*, is to be seen in its circulation which now stands at 15,000. A Rs. 10-lakh fund for the paper, and another Rs. 20 lakh for the Local, District and State Committees were collected in the year 1980-81.

The State Committee has conducted three schools of one week's duration each, the first between May 12 and 18, 1980, the second between May 20 and 26 and the third during June 5-11, 1980. In all, in 14 districts and the state centre, as many as 102 short-term schools were conducted during 1978-81. The total number of comrades who attended these schools is 5682.

But note should be taken of the fact that the political level of the average Party member is low, and the participation of the mass of members in Party and mass activities is not what it should be. A sustained effort is necessary to educate them, discipline them and thus consolidate the Party. The age and weak health of several State Committee leaders impose severe limitations on satisfactorily coping with the tasks of Party organisation, mass movements, work in the legislature, running of the Party daily, etc. The State Committee's leadership will have to devise ways and means to overcome this difficulty.

There have been innumerable struggles of workers, peasants, agricultural labourers, youth and students, for wages, for house-sites and surplus land distribution, for student and youth demands, against repression and on several other people's demands.

Our Party had conducted these struggles both independently, on its own, and together with other opposition political parties which joined us in united actions.

The floor of the Legislative Assembly and Council was used effectively to focus these mass issues and struggles, and the presence of our leading comrades like Comrades P. Sundarayya and M. Hanumantha Rao in these bodies, has enabled us to act as the people's spokesman.

The scale of murderous attacks on the CPI(M) by the landlord class, with the full backing of the Congress(I) State Government, can be seen from 61 killings of CPI(M) activists during the two years between 1979 and 1981 in the state. Another seven people were shot dead by the police in different agitations. In one district of Warangal alone, 26 of our cadres and activists were murdered by the goondas of the Congress(I) and Naxalites, with the full backing of the police and the State Government.

It is distressing, and highly disturbing, to note that as many as ten out of these 61 murders were committed by the anti-socials belonging to the CPI.

As many as 6000 persons were subjected to beatings and tortures by the police during the last four years. More than 7000 persons were implicated in false cases; 470 villages suffered police raids

and people's properties estimated at Rs. 16 lakh worth were either looted or destroyed; and 20 women belonging to our Party following were raped.

Several comrades of our Party, outside Andhra Pradesh, express their anxiety as to why the Communist movement in Andhra Pradesh has been weakened and why it has lost the pride of place it had attained in the early 1950s. It may be of some use to give some background, so that most of our present Party members, who have joined the CPI(M) after 1964 and 1970, may be benefitted by knowing certain developments in Andhra Pradesh.

The leadership given by the Communist to the struggle for the formation of Andhra and Visalaandhra, in organising the movements of workers, peasants, agricultural labourers, youth, students and women, and in leading innumerable militant peasant struggles, especially the historic peasant partisan struggle of Telangana against the most oppressive landlordism and medieval rule of the Nizam, had endeared the Party to the vast masses of the people. The sustained work carried on amongst the people and the great sacrifices made under the banner of the Red Flag, in which as nearly as 4000 people gave their lives and tens of thousands faced imprisonment, torture and untold sufferings between 1934-35 and 1950, had made the Communist Party the single biggest political party amongst the Telugu-speaking people, and the leading state unit of the Communist Party of India.

The strength of the Communist movement in Andhra could be gauged from the results of the first general elections held in February-March 1952, when Communist and Communist-supported Independents swept the poll in some eight politically advanced districts of the Andhra and Telangana regions. The CPI and its allies had won as many as 19 seats in the Lok Sabha, and nearly 80 seats in the Assemblies in the Andhra and Telangana regions, trouncing the stalwarts of the Congress party. Again when a mid-term poll took place in Andhra, in the middle of the year 1955, the CPI stood alone against the formidable anti-Communist united opposition, and secured 30 per cent of the votes polled. In some districts such as Krishna, Guntur, West Godavary and East Godavary, the CPI was able to secure 49, 40, 42 and 35 per cent of

the total votes polled in these districts. That was when the Communists' political influence was at its highest peak in the state in the year 1955.

In the course of conducting the five-year-long armed peasant partisan struggle of 1946-51, serious disputes and differences arose in the Andhra state unit of the CPI, some holding the view that it was correct to defend the gains of the peasantry against the combined armed forces of the Indian Union and others opposing it and holding the view that the so-called police action against the Nizam, in September 1948, was aimed at liberating the people of Hyderabad. The issue boiled down to one view upholding the partisan resistance as basically correct, and the opposite view arguing that it was basically sectarian and Left-adventurist after the intervention of the Indian Union armies. The leadership of the State Committee was split into two.

From this political divide followed the corresponding organisational dispute, one viewpoint demanding the reorganisation of the State, District and Taluk Committees of the Party, removing from these committees most of the cadres who were upholding that partisan resistance was a correct tactic, and replacing them with those who held the view that it was Left-adventurist and terrorist. In the State Committee leadership, the majority held the view that cadres and leaders who were in the partisan struggle, through thick and thin, should continue in their respective posts in the Party. This dispute ended in the separation of the Telangana part of the CPI from the Andhra Party dividing the Visalaandhra State Committee into two, the Andhra and Telangana Committees. Though formally the two remained in one CPI, the relations between comrades holding the two contending political-organisational views, were seriously affected, finally leading to the crystallisation of two distinctly opposed political and organisational trends.

The electoral defeat in the Andhra mid-term election, in which the State Committee leadership expected and estimated a majority in the Assembly and the formation of a democratic non-Congress Government, had resulted in another round of political division inside the Party, especially in Andhra. One section held the view

that the defeat was due to the popular and progressive policies of the Nehru Government, which our Party had grossly underestimated. The other view did not agree with it, and maintained that the defeat was due to the combined anti-Communist united front, and it should not lose sight of the fact that as big as 30 per cent of the total polled votes was secured by the Party, though it was a defeat in terms of securing a majority of seats in the Assembly.

The two differing political-organisational viewpoints which came to be crystallised in 1950-51, and again in 1955-56, got hardened, assuming two sharply opposed trends inside the state leadership of the Party. The state Party conference, which was held in February 1956, witnessed a virtual split, when the two wings put forth two different political lines, as seen in the pre-Congress discussions of the Fourth Party Congress held in April 1956.

The two deviations, Right-revisionist and Left-adventurist, played havoc with the Communist movement in Andhra though these had their damaging and devastating impact on the entire Communist movement in India. Two-thirds of the state's leadership, at the taluk, district and state-level, deserted, first, to the Right-revisionist camp and, second, to the Naxalite Left-adventurist camp. Whatever future historians may write about its proud share of contribution in fighting for a correct Marxist line along with the rest of the state Party units in India, the state unit of Andhra had to pay a very heavy price in this entire process. The cadres and leaders who had grown during 25 to 30 years between 1934 and 1964, got divided, two-thirds of them deserting to the camp of the CPI and the CPI(ML), and one-third remaining with the CPI(M).

The weakened state of the Left movement is clearly seen from the fact that the CPI(M) and the CPI together could poll only nine per cent in the 1967 election, eight per cent in the 1971 and 1977 elections and 7.3 per cent in the 1980 election. In several districts in the state, either our Party is extremely weak or in some, non-existent. In the total 20 districts in the state, we have in all a membership of more than 15 thousand. While 12,450 of this membership come from six districts, all the other 14 districts together have not more than a total of 2600 or so in round figures.

This weak state of our Party and mass movement will have to be taken into serious account in choosing the issues, planning agitations and campaigns, choosing the forms of struggles, devising proper ways and means to defend our Party and mass movement against the cruel attacks of the enemy classes and in undertaking patient and sustained work to once again nourish the powerful Communist movement in Andhra Pradesh and restore it to its glorious heights of the early 1950s.

Bihar

In Bihar our Party's rural units are facing murder and attacks at every step from the landlords and the police. The agrarian situation there has revealed a high pitch of intensity and any effort to forge even an elementary organisation calls forth unprecedented tension created by landlords helped by dacoits and the police. A Party MLA has been openly threatened with murder by police officials because he dares to fight landlords who have illegally grabbed thousands of acres of land. Another MLA of our Party has been involved in a false murder case to suppress the movement. But our Party is facing the situation heroically.

The P.B. has paid much attention to Bihar during the whole period since the Tenth Party Congress, because, on the one hand, there are tremendous possibilities of developing the Party in Bihar and on the other, a good section of the Party leadership continued to oppose the Party line even after the Party Congress. The P.B. had to reorganise the State Committee and the Secretariat but that also did not help. In spite of the best efforts by the P.B. and C.C., the State Committee and the Party as a whole could not be unified behind the Party's political-organisational line. The State Committee was again reorganised in 1981 and the State Secretary was changed. The report on the implementation of the Salkia Plenum decisions adopted by the C.C. in its June 1981 meeting had to state: "Proceedings of the State Committee meeting in May reveal that some comrades continue their opposition to the Party line on the question of peasant agitation for remunerative prices and united morcha of the peasants. The task of unification of the Party is by no means even half complete.

"This was painfully revealed during the Secretariat meetings when discussing the serious inner-Party situation in some districts. S.S. Shrivastav's stand (1) on election of new office-bearers to the SFI, (2) reorganisation of the Ranchi District Committee, and (3) discussion on the state of affairs in Champaran District were violative of Party norms and irresponsible in the extreme.

"Individualist methods of functioning are doing a lot of harm to the Party. Since the reorganisation of the State Committee and replacement of Shrivastav by Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, there has been no unified campaign to explain the situation and the Party line. This task has to be discharged. But in the meantime all manifestations of individualism should be curbed."

There has been some improvement since June 1981. The new State Committee took certain steps to overcome the weaknesses and to unify the Party. It would be an exaggeration to say that the Party stands unified in Bihar and factionalism has been curbed, but the unanimous acceptance of the political-organisational report of the State Committee by the State Conference and the election of the new State Committee with an overwhelming majority indicate that the process of unification has started.

One fact needs to be mentioned here and that is that in spite of the differences and division in the Party, the Party as a whole remained active, mobilising the masses, and that led to a significant advance of the Party and mass organisations and extension of its influence. Apart from the bandhs and demonstrations organised in Bihar independently and jointly, its participation in all-India actions like the March 26 kisan rally, the student-youth demonstration of September 15 and the workers' rally of November 23 surpassed all.

As a result of these activities Party membership which stood at 3737 in 1977, increased to 6300 in 1978, 8212 in 1979, 9017 in 1980 and to 11,224 in 1981.

Kisan Sabha membership which was only 24,000 in 1977 increased to 46,000 in 1978, 74,550 in 1979, 113,574 in 1980 and 125,000 in 1981.

The CITU membership which stood at 35,000 in 1977 and 1978 rose to 57,456 in 1979, 67,796 in 1980 and is estimated to be about 80,000 in 1981.

The DYF membership was only 4500 in 1977, remained at 5000 in 1978, went up to 20,000 in 1979 and doubled in 1980 reaching the figure of 40,000.

The SFI membership was 6000 in 1977, rose to 15,000 in 1978, came down to 4300 in 1979 but again increased to 12,500 in 1980.

The Democratic Women's Association has just been started. The Bihar unit of the Party also enjoys good influence among middle-class employees.

In relation to class composition of the Party also, the position in Bihar seems to be better. Out of 296 delegates and eight observers who attended the state conference, 232 came from the industrial working class, agricultural labour, poor and middle peasants.

If the Party in Bihar had heeded the advice of the P.B. and C.C., and had unified itself behind the political and organisational line, the progress in Bihar could have been much more. Among all the Hindi-speaking states, there is a more favourable situation in Bihar for the growth of the Party, firstly because the social tensions are very acute, and secondly, the Left movement is comparatively strong.

The Bihar Party unit has not been able to fully utilise the central Hindi and Urdu organs of the Party and their circulation is low compared to the strength and influence of the Party. This weakness has to be immediately overcome.

The Party has worked out concrete tasks in the state conference. The Party can make rapid advance by implementing them.

Maharashtra

The report of the Maharashtra State Committee states: "The one thing that sharply stands out from this picture is that although during the last seven-eight years, the Party and the mass organisations under its influence led and participated in a number of mass struggles and campaigns of the people, resulting in the growth of their effectiveness, this has not found reflection in the growth of the Party and the mass organisations led by it. The Salkia Plenum of the Party has correctly placed its finger on these weaknesses of the Party in Maharashtra. It states: 'This marginal increase in membership should, however, be seen against the

background of the political prestige and authority of the Party in Maharashtra. Our Party and the mass organisations led by us have played a significant role in developing the campaigns, movements and struggles of the working class, Adivasi peasants, etc. These, however, have not been consolidated into a political organisational base of the Party'."

Party membership has now only marginally increased by 600 to 3000. The CITU membership is unable to cross the 60,000-mark, reached earlier and at present stands at 58,000. Kisan Sabha membership has increased this year to 40,000. It is restricted mostly to the Adivasi areas. There is no future for the Party unless the movement extends to the vast mass of the peasantry. The shramik mahila organisation has spread to a number of districts and plays an important role in organising women's resistance to high prices and violation of women's rights and atrocities against women. It is able to intervene on occasions to protect the rights of working women in different concerns and industries.

It is in the student front that there has been constant and rapid progress. The membership of the SFI has risen from 8700 in 1980 to 31,000 in 1981; thanks to the persistent work of our comrades. The successful organisation of the all-India SFI conference in Bombay, the warm response it evoked from all districts which sent volunteers and the success of the multifarious activities connected with the conference show the rapid strides taken by the organisation.

Similarly the successful organisation of the all-Maharashtra Adivasi conference attended by thousands of Adivasis, the new awakening among them as evidenced in their speeches and the mass rally of Adivasis, all bespeak a new upsurge and the hold that the Party has secured over them. The formation of an Adivasi Samiti, the decision to start an Adivasi Patrika, to take the problems of regional development and launch an agitation for it, are bound to lead to new mass developments.

The influence of the Party has increased on several other fronts. Party comrades head important mass organisations. Its influence among the college teachers' organisation has increased. In these organisations Party members and leaders are at the head of mass actions. The Party has also increased its influence among bank employees.

During this period the CITU has been at the head of all joint actions on the trade union front. It organised, along with others, several bandhs, strikes, demonstrations and marches. Participating in all-India calls, organising strikes on local issues, against price-rise, etc., the CITU, following the line of trade union unity and united actions, has succeeded in strengthening the unity of the central trade unions and federations.

Despite this, the Party conference recorded that the independent activity of the CITU unions lagged behind. No doubt, a number of CITU unions led dogged and prolonged strikes extending over months. But these were not enough to put the independent activity of the CITU as a focal point of mass resistance. On the contrary, busy with joint activities, some of our unions failed to react to the situation in their concerns, to the shifts among the workers, the discontent rising among them, with the required militancy. This led to loss of some of our unions and helped the rise of an apolitical leadership.

Our agricultural workers' organisations fought a number of battles in this period. Also the kisans organised a number of morchas.

But despite the warning given by the Party that the peasantry was moving and in the absence of clear-cut demands put by us, its discontent would be garnered by the vested interests, the Party in Maharashtra failed to react to the developments. The Party failed to understand the depth of the peasant upsurge unleashed under the leadership of Sharad Joshi. It also underestimated the importance of the peasant march organised by several parties. Its participation could have been much more fruitful had it understood the deep-seated discontent of the peasants.

The Party was placed in a favourable position in 1977 after the parliamentary elections. Its understanding with the Janata Party, following the Party's role during the Emergency, secured for it three seats in Parliament. In the Assembly elections, it secured eleven seats and the work of our MLAs in the Assembly, functioning as part of the opposition, further enhanced the prestige of the Party.

During the Parliament and Assembly elections, hundreds of new people and activists came into contact with the Party, but the Party failed to consolidate them into its permanent following and draw them inside the Party. It was necessary to engage them in continuous political activity and also school the most advanced among them. The Party failed to do either.

The Congress(I) Government collapsed, a favourable situation was created in Maharashtra with the formation of a new ministry formed on the basis of a coalition of the Janata Party, Sharad Pawar Congress, Peasants' and Workers' Party, Republican Party. Our Party declared its support to the ministry taking into consideration its 40-point programme. Our Party did not join the Progressive Democratic Front of these parties but we functioned in a coordination committee consisting of this front and ourselves.

The Party clearly understood that while supporting the ministry, we should be its fearless critics also when required; that we should have the maximum of our independent and broadbased activities.

But it is here precisely that weakness developed and a certain tailist tendency was observed, leading to neglect of independent mass activities.

After the 1980 elections and the return of the Congress(I) to power at the Centre and in the state, the Party again resumed the task of uniting broad oppositional forces.

The Congress(S), Janata and Left parties came together on several issues to fight the policies of the Congress(I). Agitations were carried on against corruption, demanding the resignation of Antulay. Earlier, several joint agitations were carried on against price-rise, for working class demands, etc. The most outstanding performance was the joint peasant march which drew tens of thousands of peasants, led to the premature closing of the Assembly session and arrests of thousands of peasants, including our leaders and peasant followers.

In this period, after the Bhatinda Congress of the CPI, Left unity has been strengthened with the growing joint actions. There is greater understanding with the Peasants' and Workers' Party also. There is greater cooperation between the three parties. The Left forces, however, are weak and require constant joint activity to march ahead.

The Party's understanding with the Republican Party has grown to a certain extent with our unequivocal stand on reservation for Scheduled Castes, and opposition to the anti-reservation Gujarat agitation, and our Party's line and outlook on this question. Much needs to be done to make the mass of the RPI to join the common democratic and class movement.

Despite many weaknesses and failings, the Party in Maharashtra implemented the C.C.'s line of building a broad forum of resistance to authoritarianism, working for Left and democratic unity and for joint mass activities.

The State Committee self-critically examined the working of the Party in the light of the guidance of the Salkia Plenum. It held a number of meetings to discuss the weaknesses and detailing out the many deviations, distortions and weaknesses in the functioning of the State Committee, its Secretariat, the Secretary and its individual members. The conference endorsed the report and steps to overcome these shortcomings were unanimously adopted.

Punjab

The Salkia Plenum report had stated the following about the position of the Party in Punjab:

"Our Party in Punjab has the distinction of having gone through the various phases of the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement, beginning with the pre-First-World-War groups of revolutionaries abroad. Marxism-Leninism as an ideology and as a movement therefore came naturally to Punjab. The successive struggles made by the early groups of Communists and the organised Communist Party since it was formed have made the ideas of Communism popular among the people of Punjab. When the CPI was divided into Rightists and Marxists, a large number of veteran Communists joined the CPI(M).

"This is the capital on which the CPI(M) since its formation has been working, to become a political force to be reckoned with. It has always been in a position to make effective intervention in the politics of the state, because of the by-no-means negligible influence which the Party exerts in the rural areas. In the communally-divided politics of the state, our independent position in the rural areas has enabled us to get temporary allies and win elections.

' This, however, has a negative side. The state's politics is stricken with communal strife and tensions. While it was the question of a Hindu-Muslim-Sikh communal equation in pre-independence Punjab, it is today the Sikh and Hindu question. While maintaining a correct approach to the political parties in the state, our own Party has to carry on a consistent ideological struggle against the communal appeals and strengthen democratic values and outlook. Perhaps, there has been a tendency to overlook the importance of this struggle and satisfy ourselves with the tactics addressed to the immediate present. This has to some extent hampered our progress.

"It should however, be noted that the Party is making serious efforts to enrol members into the mass organisations. The growth of the SFI, the youth organisation and the Dehati Mazdoor Sabha should be particularly noted, their membership for the year 1977 being 21,000, 11,000 and 13,600 respectively. The Kisan Sabha is more or less marking time, while the CITU is making slow progress (present membership 20,000) Out of the eight members in the Assembly and one member in the Lok Sabha it is gratifying to note that five MLAs and the M.P. come from the Scheduled Castes. This must be fully utilised to strengthen our movement among the agricultural labourers.

"The Party has a membership of 4500. It runs its own daily in the Punjabi language with a circulation of 4000, which after being suspended for some time earlier, has now been restarted. The Party in the state has built up a tradition of collecting funds from the masses, but as the reply to the questionnaire shows, a tendency has, of late, been growing of depending more on collections from individuals than from the masses.

"The class composition of the Party membership according to the State Committee is five per cent working class, 15 per cent agricultural labourers, 20-25 per cent poor peasants, 40-45 per cent middle peasants, ten per cent other middle strata and five per cent rich peasants".

There has been notable improvement in Party-building, building of mass and class organisations, developing mass movements as well as in intervening in the complex political situation in the state.

Party membership which stood at 4519 in 1978 has increased to 6448 in 1981.

The CITU membership during the period between the Tenth and Eleventh Congresses has grown from 20,000 to 30,000. Kisan Sabha membership in this period has increased from 57,272 to 99,214, and the membership of the Agricultural Workers' Union from 21,940 to 55,151. Both together have doubled their membership making a total of 154,365.

The SFI has increased its membership from 20,000 to 25,000 and has been able to acquire important positions in the two universities of Patiala and Amritsar. The DYFI has increased its membership from 20,000 to 39,000.

The newly formed Democratic Women's Association has been able to enrol 9000 members.

Apart from these organisations, the Party today exercises good influence among the middle-class employees whose organised strength would not be less than 200,000.

There has been a change in the class composition of the Party also. One-third of the Party members from Jullundur district come from agricultural labourers. Twentyfive per cent of the Party members in Amritsar district are industrial workers. Forty per cent of the Party members in Patiala district are either industrial workers or agricultural labourers. Fifty per cent of the Party members in Bhatinda district come from industrial workers and agricultural workers. Taking the state as a whole, eight per cent of the Party members are from industrial workers and more than 20 per cent from agricultural labourers.

But the State Committee has noted in its organisational report that out of 12,188 villages in the state, Party work is confined to about 3000 villages. Out of a total Party membership of 6448, 4464 come from the five districts of Jullundur, Sangrur, Amritsar, Ludhiana and Hoshiarpur, and in the remaining seven districts, it is only 1500. Another weakness to be noted is that the Party's influence in the cities and towns is very little. The advance made in the working class in some centres is no doubt having its impact on the cities. Lawyers, teachers and other sections of the intelligentsia have started looking towards the Party.

The Party in Punjab took the initiative in organising the united actions of the peasantry during 1980-81 and was able to build a powerful united movement for remunerative price, decent wages for agricultural workers and against busfare-rise culminating in the gherao of the Assembly. In this struggle the peasantry following our Party, the CPI, Akali and others were drawn together into action. Youth and student organisations were also constantly in struggle on various issues. The increasing influence of the Party was seen in the participation of Punjab contingents in the kisan rally of March 26, the youth and student demonstration of September 15, and in the November 23 rally of the working class at the call of the National Campaign Committee.

Learning from the conclusions of the Salkia Plenum, the Party paid serious attention to political campaigns. When the Akalis, due to their factional quarrels, began raising extremist slogans and foreign-inspired elements became active and raised the slogan of Khalistan to disrupt the growing democratic movement, and the extremist organisation Dal Khalsa organised the hijacking of the Indian Airlines plane and vitiated the whole atmosphere in the state rousing communal passions, the Party launched a campaign against the disruptive communal forces.

The Party has in its fold today sufficient young cadre and it has taken some steps to train them, but Party education requires more attention because the ideological level of the Party is still low.

The discussions in the state conference proved that the Party was more unified today behind the Central Committee's line, and in spite of the complex situation, there are tremendous possibilities of advance. The breakthrough in the industrial workers and agricultural workers and the growth among the students and youth point out to this potential.

We are sure that our Party in Punjab would do its best to overcome its weaknesses to take its rightful place in the Communist movement in the country.

Uttar Pradesh

Uttar Pradesh has always been a weak state for the Left and democratic movement in general and our Party in particular Ever

since our break with the revisionists, we have been marking time. We also had serious losses due to Naxalite disruption. At the time of the Tenth Party Congress, two separate committees were functioning in U.P.—eastern and western. The combined Party membership of both the committees stood at 4350 and Kisan Sabha membership at 61,000.

After the Salkia Plenum, the two committees were combined into one State Committee and in 1980 the Central Committee decided to hold a Party Plenum in U.P., with a view to discussing the organisational weaknesses in the light of the Salkia Plenum and to take steps to overcome them. This Plenum was held on May 26, 27 and 28 in Kanpur and was attended by Comrades Ranadive and Surjeet from the P.B. The organisational report for the Plenum was twice discussed by the P.B. before it was presented to the Plenum. The discussions in the Plenum proved to be useful and created new confidence in the cadre to develop the Party and the mass movement in U.P., utilising the favourable situation created by the political line pursued by the Party.

This is noticed in the growth of the mass and class organisations and increase in the sale of Party journals.

Party membership has increased from 4350 in 1978 to 5349 in 1981. Out of this, more than 700 joined the Party in 1981.

Since the 1979 state conference of the CITU, 40 new trade unions have been affiliated to the CITU and the Party's influence has grown among middle class employees.

Kisan Sabha membership in 1981 has nearly reached the one lakh figure. The SFI which was nominally existing earlier has now a membership of 9000. The activities of the Janwadi Naujawan Sabha are growing and new units are being formed in more and more districts.

The women's organisation also is in the process of formation.

After the Kanpur Plenum, the circulation of Party journals, especially Hindi *Lok Lahar*, has increased rapidly reaching the figure of 3342.

The improvement in the activities of the Party in U.P. also was shown by the impressive participation in the March 26 kisan demonstration, in the youth and student rally and in the November 23 working class rally.

The Party's activities have spread to 42 of the 51 districts of U.P. although they are still limited to small pockets.

Another encouraging factor noticed is the attraction of educated youth towards the Party. The Credential Committee report showed that out of 171 delegates at the state conference, nine were below 25, and 85 between 25 and 40, 57 between 40 and 60 and only 18 above 60. As for educational qualifications, there were 17 who had completed the intermediate course, 91 graduates and 13 post-graduates.

The Jamaat-e-Islami and the RSS have become very active in U.P. Attacks against Harijans have been intensified. For the advance of the Party in U.P., it is necessary to counter caste and communal politics and fight against social oppression.

Assam

The Eleventh State Conference of the Assam unit of the CPI(M) was held from January 5 to 8, 1982, in Gauhati. It was attended by a total of 135 comrades, 129 delegates and six observers.

The class composition of the delegates, as given by the Credential Committee, is as follows:

Five were workers, 24 poor peasants, 27 middle peasants, nine rich peasants, two landlords and 68 from the middle classes.

Party membership in the state which stood at 4750 in 1978, has gone up to 7120 in 1981.

The current total membership of the mass organisations is 156,000. The break-up is: CITU 20,000, Kisan Sabha 83,000, DYFI 18,000, SFI 23,000 and Mahila 12,000.

The Assam state unit of the CPI(M) has been going through trying times during the last two years, facing aggressive attacks from the chauvinistic and communal forces led by the AASU and Samgram Parishad. There were 400 attacks on our activists of the SFI, DYFI, Kisan Sabha and T.U. Many were killed. This separatist and chauvinistic frenzy resulted in violent attacks directed against the linguistic and religious minorities. Three people were killed in Cachar and mass killings took place in Kamrup where hundreds lost their lives and thousands were rendered homeless.

It may be stated here that this separatist agitation has brought the administration and life in the state to a standstill, even the Lok Sabha elections of January 1980 were not allowed to be held in Assam.

The Janata Government of Golap Borbora, and subsequently the defector's group of the Janata led by Hazarika, had actively assisted the separatist movement in different ways. The RSS, BJP, Amra Bangalee, Viswa Hindu Parishad, Anand Margis and such other reactionary forces had become active participants in it. The BJP and RSS, by lending their cooperation and active support to this agitation, have gained some foothold among sections of the people.

Our Party, which was lending support to the Janata State Government till the middle of 1979, had to withdraw its support and oppose it from September 1979, due to the pro-RSS and pro-secessionist stance of that Government.

Our Party in Assam has braved all these attacks, taken up a principled stand on the so-called 'foreigners' issue, exposed the separatist and secessionist character of the Assam agitation, rallied the Left parties and groups on one platform to fight against the conspiracies of the agitators and their foreign imperialist patrons and secured the admiration of the democratic and progressive forces in the state and the entire country.

It has succeeded in some measure in advancing the cause of Left unity, united actions on issues with other opposition parties and in the struggle against the authoritarian Congress(I).

It has eleven members in the Legislative Assembly, and could put them to good use for serving the people and building the mass organisations and leading mass struggles.

More details cannot be given here, as the conference report reached the Party centre very late, on January 12, 1982.

But the state unit of Assam, during the period under review, has added a glorious page to the proud history of our Party, as a party that stands up against chauvinism and communalism and for the defence of national unity, secularism and democratic progress.

It is to the credit of the Assam state unit of the CPI(M) that it sent a delegation of 52 to participate in the March 26 kisan

demonstration in Delhi, 250 to the youth and student demonstration on September 15, and as many as 600 to the November 23 working class demonstration in Delhi.

Orissa

This state has the distinction of having thrown up the first non-Congress bourgeois Government in a state. The Ganatantra Parishad which subsequently transformed itself into the Swatantra Party became so powerful in the 1950s that the Congress itself had to come to an alliance with it after the second general election. That party had its strong support from the former rulers of the states in Orissa which were merged into the Indian Union to form the present Orissa state.

During the days of princely rule in the major part of the state, the freedom movement grew strong in many of them. A section of the democrats who fought against the princely rulers subsequently joined the Communist movement. The strong Communist movement in the two neighbouring states—West Bengal and Andhra—also exercised a powerful influence on the undivided Communist Party of India which had been able to have a few of its leaders elected to the Orissa Assembly in the fifties.

Subsequently, however, the Party got weakened. The split in the Communist Party had a particularly damaging effect on Orissa where most of the state leadership of the undivided party went with the CPI. However, even after this split the CPI(M) had come to enjoy a certain amount of mass influence in the districts of Puri and Balasore. The bulk of the Party membership and the mass organisations in the state come from these two districts.

Taking the figures of Party membership for the year 1981, it is seen that out of 2388 Party members, 886 (more than one-third) come from Puri; still another 631 (more than one-fourth) come from Balasore. Then come Ganjam and Cuttack with 297 and 225 respectively.

During the period that has elapsed since the last Party conference, there has been some improvement both in Party membership and in the membership of mass organisations. The total Party membership in 1978 was 1303 which rose to 2388 in 1981. As for

the mass organisations, CITU membership has gone up from 5000 to 10,000 which excludes 20,000 workers and employees not affiliated to the CITU but are led by our comrades. Kisan Sabha membership has risen from 16,000 in 1978 to 20,000 SFI, and DYFI memberships stand today at 10,000 and 11,000 respectively. The SFI, in fact, won in 26 college unions in 1980 as against three in 1978. In 1981, however, it was defeated in some major colleges, though it won various posts in 27 colleges. These mass organisations are all running various campaigns and conducting struggles.

The CPI(M) won chairmanships in Jaleswar, Bhadrak and Nayagarh in the civic poll. Unity of action with the CPI and some other opposition parties has been growing. But the progress of united action was hampered because the inner-Secretariat and inner-State Committee situation became further complicated because of serious differences. A majority of the state and district leadership of the Party, in fact, failed to appreciate properly the correctness of the Jullundur line of Left and democratic front and broad platform of anti-authoritarian struggle. It was this, along with other long-standing organisational problems that stood in the way of unitedly implementing the election tactics worked out by the Central Committee for the 1980 Lok Sabha and state Assembly elections.

The P.B., therefore, had to assist the State Committee by repeated attendance of P.B. members in State Committee meetings and in organising a five-day Party school attended by about 45 state and district cadres of the Party. The discussions initiated by the P.B. helped the State Committee to come to a more unified understanding now. We are giving below an extract from the State Committee's report to the Party conference held in Cuttack from December 21 to 24:

"Our tactical line during the July crisis helped us to develop closer relations with the CPI. On the other hand, our relation with the socialist group inside the Janata Party had been strained. Also in the bitterness in our relation which had developed with the ruling Lok Dal, no positive change took place nor did they soften their attitude towards our movements.

"The general opposition in our state Party towards Janata rule and the feeling that we had been tagged with the Janata Party led to a positive opinion towards withdrawal of support from the Morarji Government. But comrades were not being able to grasp the attitude of our Party for realignment of political forces to prevent the authoritarian Congress(I) from exploiting the situation, nor were they expressing favourable views. Our support to the Charan Singh Government, when Congress(I) was supporting it, to break its dependence on the Congress(I), had created doubts among members and supporters about the Party line. In addition to this, because of our strained relations with the ruling Lok Dal of Orissa, comrades were generally not prepared to accept our alliance with it to fight out authoritarianism. The deficiency in the understanding of our tactical line regarding the danger of authoritarianism and wage a struggle against it by building up a broad forum uniting with all possible forces and not to allow the authoritarian forces to come back to power, had created many illusions.

"Due to these illusions in the leading committees like the SC and DCs, we were unable to initiate campaigns immediately among Party members and followers regarding the changed correlation of political forces and the struggle against authoritarianism at this stage. While the tactical line of our Party had not taken full shape, we had not been able to put anything before the people except having a mass meeting addressed by Comrades E.M.S. Namboodiripad and Promode Dasgupta in Cuttack. At this juncture, before the necessary propaganda campaign had started, though Comrade Jyoti Basu's speech at the anti-authoritarian and anti-communal student-youth rally was overwhelmingly applauded and Biju Patnaik was not allowed to speak, it did not help us in a positive way."

Rather, it further aggravated the already existing differences. Differences on political-tactical questions, however, were not the only factor which prevented the growth of the Party. Differences on organisational questions, liberalism with regard to some serious mistakes, failure to thrash out the disputes and differences in time and in a Marxist-Leninist manner, and, above all, the lack of

collective functioning at the level of the State Secretariat finally created a situation almost of factional groupings and near paralysation of work at the state centre. This was reflected in the Cuttack conference of the Party in December. The intervention of the P.B. members in the conference and the healthy criticism from several delegates helped the comrades concerned to turn a new leaf in collective functioning.

If these weaknesses concerning the political-tactical line and the organisational functioning of the Party leadership are overcome, the Party here has a very bright future. For, the leading cadres constitute a combination of old and experienced comrades with a large number of youthful and enthusiastic comrades. The activity of the Party is related to all the major fronts, the only exception being mahila. Orissa probably is the only state where there is no single woman member in either the SC or any DC and where there was no woman delegate in the state conference.

Karnataka

This state shares with Andhra Pradesh the distinction of having had uninterrupted Congress rule. Only for a few months in 1979-80 was the then Chief Minister (Devraj Urs), the leader of a party which challenged the authoritarian Congress(I) "Himachal Command". He, too, had to give in after the 1980 January elections to the Lok Sabha.

Outside politics, too, Karnataka is backward in comparison to every other state in south India. It has never had a powerful caste and other radical socio-cultural movements as in Andhra, not to speak of Andhra and Kerala which have had radical socio-cultural movements since long.

Political opposition to the ruling party is naturally obscured by obscurantist trends. Socio-cultural and even political movements assumes the forms of the demands of backward castes. A leader like Devraj Urs who claims to be radical in the "class struggle" equates the demands and movements of backward castes as "class struggle".

This has created fertile soil for the sprouting and growth of such apparently "Left" movements as the Christian Le-

There have of late been signs of a bid being made, both separately and jointly, by the Christian Left, the Dalits and the Naxalites for the radical youth who are increasingly being attracted towards Marxism. The target of these groups is what they call the "Communist establishment", particularly the CPI(M), which is accused of "betraying the revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism".

The application of the Jullundur and Salkia line of forging Left and democratic unity and building the mass revolutionary party cannot be discharged in this state unless the open obscurantist ideologies of the bourgeois-landlord political parties and groups as well as the apparently "Leftist" ideologies of certain Christian groups, the Dalits and the Naxalities are exposed.

Recent international and national developments, however, have created a situation favourable to a successful struggle against these ideologies, to the work of consolidating the Left and democratic forces and developing the CPI(M) as a mass revolutionary party. This was seen in the response received by the Party in its efforts to forge unity of action among the various Left and other anti-authoritarian forces and to organise united mass struggles and movements of the working class, peasantry and other sections of the working people. Never before since the formation of the Party in the state over four decades ago was it in such a favourable position to make an impact on the politics of the state.

It should, in this context, be noted that although formed in the latter part of the thirties and the beginning of the forties, the CPI(M) has never had an impact on the politics of the state. Only in a few pockets like South Kanara, parts of all segments of Bangalore, Mysore, Coorg and parts of North Karnataka did the Party lead any mass organisations like Sabha or other mass organisations worth mentioning. In South Kanara and Kolar was the undivided Communist Party to have any of its candidates returned to the state legislature. The big industrial and educational centres of the state were virtually neglected by the undivided CPI—a state of affairs which was handed down to the CPI(M) when it broke up into two groups.

This state of affairs was rationalised in the name of applying to Karnataka the organisational line of the P.B. and C.C. since the CPI(M) adopted the resolutions of 1967 and 1973 on organisation. Self-satisfied complacency masquerading as revolutionary perspective and principles of Party organisation made the state leadership of the Party increasingly withdraw into its own shell at a time when there were possibilities for expanding its political and organisational work to the big industrial and cultural centres in the state.

This wrong political-organisational outlook, combined with organisational practices which were a denial of the principles of democratic centralism, created a very serious inner-Party situation. Federalism and bureaucratism nailed down in the Salkia documents had a field-day in the functioning of the state leadership of the Party. When the last state conference was held before the Jullundur Congress, the then Secretary of the State Committee turned down the advice of the General Secretary and Comrade P. Ramamurti who attended the conference with regard to the formation of the new State Committee and Secretariat. Taking place as this did against the background of continuous violation of all norms and forms of Party organisation and since these anti-Party practices were carried on even after the Party conference, the P.B. had no alternative but to reorganise the State Committee elected at that conference and place the entire question before the C.C. Reference was made to this reorganisation in the Salkia report on organisation.

The erstwhile secretary and three other members of the State Committee who were removed from their positions challenged the decision and formed a rival "party". Within a few months, however, it became clear that almost the entire mass of Party members and supporters was with the P.B. and C.C. of the CPI(M) and that the defectors were completely isolated. The Chickmagalur election campaign participated in by the General Secretary, two other P.B. members and two Chief Ministers from among the all-India leaders of the Party, became the first test of the new state leadership out of which it emerged with credit. Almost the entire middle cadre of the Party in the state was mobilised for the Party's independent campaign in favour of the jointly set-up opposition

candidate fighting the Congress(I) leader. The former state secretary and his colleagues were exposed as a spent force being used against the CPI(M).

Having thus earned a place in the political map of the state, the Party began to intervene in every political development. The state leadership took up every political question that was agitating the people of the state and tried to build unity of action with all other opposition, particularly the Left, parties. At the same time, it acted independently of other parties by way of building the fighting organisations of the people, organising or participating in mass struggles and forming Party units wherever struggles and movements were organised. As a result of these (independent and joint) activities, the Party was able to lead or participate in several struggles such as the Malaprabha farmers' agitation which got intensified in July 1980 and later spread to the entire state; organisation of a big worker-peasant rally in Bangalore on December 12, 1980, jointly organised by the CPI(M), CITU and the Kisan Sabha; the subsequent joint kisan agitation in which three other parties—the CPI, the Congress(U) and the Lok Dal—cooperated with us and formed the Peasants' and Workers' Struggle Committee; the organisation of a statewide peasant jatha which held a demonstration before the Assembly; the prolonged strikes in the MICO factory as well as in public sector industries; the political campaign run against minister Ibrahim, member of Parliament F.M. Khan, etc; the protest strike against some anti-working class measures of the Gundu Rao Government and so on.

Through all these struggles and other activities of the Party among the working class, peasantry, middle-class employees, students, youth, women, artistes and cultural workers, etc., the Party in the state has broken its earlier isolation. Although still a small force in relation to the big size of the state and the immensity of the problems to be faced, it is trying with increasing success to fan out to all sections of the people, becoming a centre of attraction to all the progressive, secular, democratic forces in the state. This is reflected in the growth of the mass organisations led by the Party as well as in the organisation of the Party itself.

Party membership in Karnataka in 1979 was 1996, in 1980—1759 and in 1981—2196. The CITU membership in 1979 was around 32,000, it rose to 45,000 by 1981. The membership of the State Kisan Sabha was around 13,000 in January 1978 and increased to around 30,000 by 1981. The SFI membership rose from 3300 in 1978 to 6257 by 1981. The DYFI membership is 7400, and of the Democratic Women's Association 2250.

The State Plenum of the Party held in December 1980 and the state conference a year later summed up the experience of all these activities and assessed the growth of the Party organisation and of the mass organisations led by the Party. It was revealed that, in contrast to the earlier position, i.e., being confined to a few districts, the Party and the mass organisations had by then spread to all the districts of the state, though in many of them its existence and functioning were only in the initial stage. There is every reason to expect that in the rapidly changing political situation in the state and outside, the existing organisation will be consolidated and rapidly expanded to newer and newer areas, newer and newer sections of the people.

This naturally raises a number of, what the Salkia Plenum called, "problems of growth". The P.B. and C.C. will have to help the State Committee to find solutions to these problems, in the light of the political-tactical line evolved at this Party Congress. However, in the light of experience gathered by the P.B. and C.C. so far, certain of these very important problems may be noted here.

It has already been mentioned that a determined struggle has to be waged against certain trends and movements which are apparently "Leftist" and which are making a bid for the radical-minded youth. The Party leadership has to carry on a consistent struggle against those who represent these trends and movements. The state leadership appears to lack vigilance in this matter, adopting a liberal attitude towards these groups. While overcoming this weakness, appropriate tactics will have to be worked out with a view to winning over those who are being carried away by the false professions of the leaders of these groups.

Similarly, consistent struggle has to be waged against some specific manifestations of bourgeois and revisionist ideologies

which had appeared earlier and many appear again in Karnataka. How to combine this ideological struggle with united action with all radical forces in the socio-cultural and political fields is the question to which that State Committee will have to address itself under the guidance of the P.B. and C.C.

An equally important problem is the fact that, since the erstwhile leadership of the Party in the state was replaced by a new leadership in 1978, an impression has been created—and was voiced at the 1980 Plenum as well as in the 1981 state conference—that the entire pre-1979 history of the Party should be written off as of no consequence. The arduous job done by the pioneers of the Party over forty years ago, the mass movements built up in some pockets in the forties and fifties, the existence today of leaders, members and supporters who represent the growth of the Party in this entire period—all these are forgotten as if the Party was newly born in 1979. Some comrades participating in the discussions at the State Plenum and the subsequent conference, in fact, put the problem crudely: "The white-haired (the old leaders and members) should make way for the black-haired (new leaders and members)". This nihilist way of substituting the bourgeois theory of the 'generation gap' for the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle has not been fought with sufficient vigour. This job has to be undertaken now.

Finally, the organisation of the state Party centre requires improvement. For, although the pre-1979 practice of naked bureaucratism does not exist any more, the practice of democratic centralism is yet to be established. Collective functioning with individual responsibility, constant check-up of the work of State Committee and Secretariat members, collective guidance by the Secretariat to the district and lower level committees—all these have to be ensured. While recognising the improvement that has in fact taken place during the last few months, the work done in this direction has to be carried forward.

Rajasthan

In the report of the Salkia Plenum it was noted that "in Rajasthan, the Party and the mass movement led by it have been weak. There has been considerable improvement in trade union work. There

has been no advance whatsoever on the kisan front since the Sikar conference. Recently there is some progress in the work in the student front".

But even at the time of the Salkia Plenum, the state of the Party organisation was very bad and the Rajasthan State Committee was the only State Committee which had not provided answers to the questionnaire sent to prepare the report for the Salkia Plenum. In fact, all the weaknesses of the Party organisation pointed out in the report and resolution of the Salkia Plenum are applicable to Rajasthan, whether it is federalism, absence of collective functioning, extreme individualism and bureaucratism. The Party here, instead of working as a team, had become a one-man show. Although State Committee and Secretariat meetings were being held, neither were any written reports properly prepared nor were any serious discussions on political-organisational problems held. Even the decisions of the Salkia Plenum were not discussed in the State Committee and no reporting was made lower down. The P.B. had many times discussed the sad state of affairs in the functioning of the Party organisation in Rajasthan and sent P.B. members to help the State Committee. But the pattern of functioning could not be changed there.

In the report on the implementation of the Salkia decisions adopted by the C.C. in June, we had to note that "the organisational position of the Party, the State Committee and its Secretariat in particular, appears to be going from bad to worse". The P.B. had one round of discussion with the State Secretariat and had decided to have another round followed by a State Committee meeting and Party Plenum to discuss the state of affairs in the Party organisation.

The individualistic and bureaucratic functioning of the State Secretary led to a serious mistake being committed by him completely violating the political-organisational line of the Party for which he was removed from all Party posts. When the C.C. asked him to come to Delhi and work under it, he refused to abide by the decision and began indulging in disruptive activities for which he along, with Dhanda and Jha, was expelled from the Party. His supporters tried to disrupt the state conference by diverting

the whole discussion to the assessment of individuals but they failed to achieve their ends because of the sense of loyalty to the Party shown by the leading cadre of the state which was represented in the state conference. The State Committee's report was unanimously adopted and the new State Committee also was elected unanimously. We are sure that the Party will be able to fight the disruptive activities and rally the Party members behind the Party. For this some help from the Centre would be required to educate the cadre and to explain the political-organisational line.

In Rajasthan also, the Party has good potential for advance. Leading personalities of the anti-feudal struggle at the time of the princely states had joined the Party and have been working under its flag since they carry with them the revolutionary traditions of dedication to and sacrifice in the cause of the democratic movement, and the peasantry in particular. The Party also commands good influence in the economically developed district, Sri Ganganagar. Recently it had penetrated into the tribal belt of Dungarpur. This provides the possibilities of strengthening the peasant movement.

Party membership in Rajasthan was 956 in 1977, it increased to 1352 in 1978, 1736 in 1979, 1758 in 1980 and stands at 2124 in 1981. This membership is very small as compared to the influence which the Party commands in the state. Out of this, 1665 members come from the eight districts of Sri Ganganagar, Dungarpur, Jaipur, Kota, Churu, Sikar, Udyapur and Alwar, and only 459 from the remaining 14 districts.

The membership of the CITU which was 21,608 in 1978 came down to 21,109 in 1979 and has increased to 25,233 in 1980.

Kisan Sabha membership was 26,220 in 1979, came down to 12,331 in 1980 and again increased to 35,200 in 1981.

The membership of the SFI was 4040 in 1979, it rose to 8925 in 1980. The DYF membership stood at 9600 in 1979 and increased to 22,600 in 1980.

The Party exercises influence on the middle-class employees also and a beginning has been made to organise the Democratic Women's Association.

The new State Committee is more united and it is expected that learning from the experience of the past and by overcoming the

weaknesses in the Party organisation, the Party in Rajasthan will be able to make headway.

Delhi

The state unit of Delhi has significant advances to its credit since the Jullundur Party Congress and the Salkia Plenum. Not only has its influence in the working class increased, it has also increased among the students, middle class employees, teachers and other sections of the intelligentsia. It has led many struggles in this period and launched political campaigns also. The way Party comrades have worked during all-India actions—in organising the programmes of the kisan rally, youth-student demonstration and workers' march to Parliament—shows the growth and development of the Party in Delhi. Mobilisation of a large number of workers from Delhi, Faridabad and Ghaziabad in the March 26 kisan rally helped in forging worker-peasant unity on the 12-point charter of demands. Similarly, its work to make the November 23 workers' rally successful has enhanced the prestige of the Party.

The State Party unit operates not only in the Union Territory of Delhi but also is responsible for work in Faridabad and Ghaziabad which are administratively part of Haryana and U.P.

In 1977, Party membership was 457 which has increased to 727 in 1981. The number of branches has increased from 67 to 90. In terms of class composition, 72 per cent of the membership comes from the working class and the rest from the middle-classes. Sixtythree per cent of the membership is below 35 years.

There are 25 wholetimers working under the State Committee who are regularly paid wages from its own resources. The levy collection which was Rs. 27,668, in 1968 has gone up to Rs. 47,537 in 1981 up to November. Apart from the levy, the committee has a system of annual fund collection.

The CITU membership was 29,232 in 1978, went down to 21,759 in 1979, and increased to 26,306 in 1980. Out of this, about 10,000 each are in the centres of Ghaziabad, Faridabad and Delhi. In fact, in Ghaziabad and Faridabad, the CITU has become the largest trade union organisation both in terms of membership and the number of unions affiliated to it. So far as Delhi

is concerned although there is a growth in small-scale engineering units, we have not been able to break the stagnation in the textiles.

Among the middle-class employees, in certain unions, our comrades hold dominant positions.

On the student front also there is some advance. The SFI is the major force in the JNU. It has also enhanced its influence in the Delhi University, but the State Committee report does not mention concrete figures of membership. The DYF was set up in October 1980. Its membership stands at 4772.

The Democratic Women's Association has been started and has enrolled 2100 members. Seven primary committees have been set up.

Our Party has significant influence among the college teachers in the Delhi University for over a decade and our comrades held the post of DUTA presidentship also.

Although the Party is expanding its activities on other fronts, too, sufficient attention is not being paid to the sale of Party organs a fact which has been noted by the state conference.

Haryana

The Party is a small one in Haryana, yet it has made advance in general. Party membership in 1981 is over 800 while it was 350 in 1979. This number, however, does not reflect the influence the Party has developed in the working class, peasantry, students, teachers and middle class employees.

The significant factor in the growth of the Party in Haryana is the large inflow of educated youth from among the peasantry and other sections of the people. This is indicated by the fact that in the recent state conference of the Party, 27 delegates were post-graduates and 13 graduates out of 84 delegates who attended the conference.

District Committees have been formed in all the districts of the state except Gurgaon. While there has been a set-back in the district of Karnal due to factional quarrels, in Hissar, Rohtak and other districts the Party has made advance.

The biggest single weakness is the absence of a state centre to act as the planning, coordinating and leading centre of the Party. With the help of the P.B., concrete steps have been decided upon to be immediately taken.

The Party has definitely made a breakthrough on the trade union front through the CITU. Excluding Faridabad, which organisationally forms a part of the Delhi State Committee, CITU membership is over ten thousand. It is the dominant force in the textile, engineering and rubber industries in the state. This growth in the state has been attained facing goonda terror organised by the owners and the repressive machinery of the state.

Unity of workers and peasants has been specifically expressed in many struggles unleashed by the working class and the peasantry in the state.

The kisan upsurge that was witnessed in the entire country during the last two years embraced the kisans of Haryana state as well. The Kisan Sabha actively participated in the united struggles for remunerative prices for sugarcane and the strikes resorted to by the peasants to achieve them. The Kisan Sabha led the struggles, along with other kisan organisations, for non-payment of enhanced electricity rates, for regular supply of electricity to the rural areas and against lining charges, etc. But the Party did not pay attention to building the peasant organisation. Kisan Sabha membership is only 6000.

The membership of SFI is now 4500, compared to 2400 in 1980. It is widely organised in the universities of Haryana, Hissar, Rohtak and Kurukshetra. It has won union elections in colleges and dominates in the Agricultural University. It has waged several statewide struggles and faced severe repression from the state Government on several occasions. It has its state centre.

The DYF is being organised. Its membership now is only 2200.

The Party's influence among middle class employees is considerable—among teachers in schools and universities, electricity employees, etc.

In the kisan rally of March 26, the youth and student march in September and the workers' rally on November 23 in Delhi, participation from Haryana was unprecedented and quite large.

The main problem in Haryana today is that of building a state centre and the education of cadre.

Himachal Pradesh

The Party in Himachal Pradesh is weak, but it has started picking up. Party membership in number is still small. In 1977 it was 70, it has grown to only 271 in 1981. District Committees have been established in Mandi, Kangra, Una, Simla and Solan districts.

Kisan Sabha membership at present is 6000. Its committees exist in Solan, Mandi, Hamirpur, Kangra, Simla, Rampur, Una and Bilaspur. Kisan struggles have been led by the Party. In September 1979, it led struggles for distribution of surplus land among the landless, for an organised public distribution system and for relief in drought-stricken areas. For the realisation of these demands, public meetings, dharnas and demonstrations were held before district and tehsil headquarters and charters of demands were submitted. Peasants participated in large numbers in the Sundernagar march on November 8, 1980. A Simla march was organised on April 8, 1980, also with five other opposition parties.

A State Coordination Committee of the CITU was formed in September 1979 in the Sundernagar convention, followed by a regular First State CITU Conference this year (1981). Fiftyfour delegates and 13 observers participated in the conference representing a membership of 2500. Our comrades also work in the joint H.P. Electricity Workers' Union with a membership of 1500.

Significant progress on the middle class employees' front has been made. The non-teaching employees of the Simla University conducted their protracted struggles and the union is led by a State Committee member.

Significant beginnings have been made on the student front. The SFI leadership led a 45-day-long struggle in the university. This spread to several colleges in the state. The SFI won the president's post in the Simla University in 1979, along with the Left Student's Front winning two-thirds majority in the total elected posts. In 1981, the SFI-AISF combine won three out of the four seats in Himachal Pradesh University election. In 1981, the SFI has won majority in ten colleges out of a total 25 in the state. The

SFI membership in the state is now (1981) 1500. The state SFI centre has now been constituted.

A beginning has been made in regard to DYFI. Its membership is now 400 (1981).

Jammu & Kashmir

The whole unit of the Party in Jammu & Kashmir state had become the victim of the Left-adventurist line in 1968 and joined the Naxalite movement.

It was in 1979 that a number of leading comrades from the Valley realised their mistake and decided to form a unit of the CPI(M) in the state. In consultation with the P.B., an Organising Committee was formed. But in a short period of two years, and despite many obstacles, the Party unit has made remarkable progress, fighting not only the vested interests but also in direct confrontation with the Islamic fundamentalists organised under the flag of the Jamait-e-Islami which has become very active in Kashmir.

Party membership in 1980 was 175, it rose to 200 in 1981.

Work among peasants was begun in 1980 and Kisan Sabha membership in 1981 is 12,000.

The SFI has been formed and its membership is 3400.

Steps are being taken to form the DYF.

The Party exercises good influence among the middle class employees.

The sale of Urdu *Lok Lahar* is about 1000.

The Party is making good advance in spite of tremendous difficulties.

Gujarat

The Party unit in Gujarat had remained very weak, even during the days of the united Party. It could not make any advance till after the Jullundur Party Congress. But after the Jullundur Party Congress and the Salkia Plenum, notable advance has been made by the Party in Gujarat.

Party membership in Gujarat was only 150 in 1978, it increased to 200 in 1979, 414 in 1980 and has gone up to 650 in 1981. It is

spread over ten districts. But 411 members out of the total come from the two districts of Bhavnagar and Ahmedabad.

The Kisan Sabha has been revived and its membership has gone up from 8000 in 1978 to 21,000 in 1981.

In the same period, CITU membership has gone up from 10,000 to 21,000.

Earlier, the SFI existed only in one district, Bhavnagar. Now its units have come up in four more districts, Sabarkantha, Ahmedabad, Surat, Baroda, and its membership stands at 4200. The DYF units are also being formed. A batch of 258 students and youth participated in the September 15 march in Delhi.

A Coordination Committee of the Democratic Women's Association has been formed in the state.

Two hundred delegates and 25 observers attended the state conference held on January 2 and 3. Among them were more than 20 women, educated youth, factory militants, Adivasi peasants and landless labourers. The conference was indicative of the possibilities of development of the Party in Gujarat.

Madhya Pradesh

Madhya Pradesh is one of the largest Hindi-speaking states in India though in population it is smaller than U.P. and Bihar. It is a very backward state with strong feudal influence over the masses, a large section of which belong to tribal communities. Both democratic and Left movements are very weak in the state. The recent growth of the Party and the mass organisations should be judged in this background. When the united Communist Party was split in 1964, the majority of the state leadership remained with the present CPI and the section which joined the CPI(M) was not in a position to function effectively as the state leadership. For a considerable period the Chhattisgarh region where the Bhilai steel plant and various collieries are situated was put in charge of the West Bengal State Committee.

One important step in this advance of the Party was taken through the Third State Conference held in 1978 at Bhopal. The newly elected State Committee started functioning throughout the state including the Chhattisgarh area. A state centre was set up

and a number of regional committees were formed to give close guidance to the lowest unit. The CITU and some other mass organisations started functioning at the state level. Both the Party and mass organisations have made further advances during the last four years. The following facts reveal this.

At the time of the third conference in 1978, the number of districts where there were Party units were only ten. But now the number of districts to which the Party organisation has extended is twenty seven. The number of Party members has increased from 350 (1978) to 1050 (1981). Now in several districts District Committees have been formed. When the CITU had its first convention in 1973 the membership was only 6000. But its last state conference was held in Ujjain on the basis of a membership of 30,000. The CITU has extended its base further. Other mass organisations such as the SFI, Kisan Sabha, Democratic Youth Federation, etc., have been formed and have started functioning at the state level. SFI membership has increased from 6157 (1978) to 7335 (1981). The circulation of Party organs has also increased though much below what is required and possible. *People's Democracy* circulation was 280 in November 1978, now it is 306. *Lok Lahar* circulation was 1320 in November 1981 and is 1538 now and Urdu *Lok Lahar* circulation is 195 copies.

The Party's general influence among the masses is also growing, especially in those areas where we have worked in comparison with the decline of the influence of other parties. The following comparative figures of two elections in the Bhilai constituency is evidence of this. In the parliamentary election in 1980, in the Bhilai Assembly constituency the votes polled were as follows: Congress(I)—31,000; BJP—20,959, CPI(M)—8900.

Assembly election in 1980: Congress (I)—20,959; CPI(M)—12,177; BJP—11,140.

Our Party became second in place of the BJP which was second in the parliamentary election.

Our Party's capacity to mobilise the masses has also increased. This was demonstrated during the three central rallies in Delhi on March 26, September 15 and November 23 last year. But all these should not lead us to the conclusion that we have become a big force in Madhya Pradesh politics. Though we are growing, we are still a very small force though we have become a force which the

ruling party and the Government cannot ignore. Our Party and the trade unions have become the special targets of attack and repression. The state leadership of the Party is trying to build up united movements to fight repression and the anti-people policies of the Governments of the Centre and the state.

Trade Union Front

During the last four years, there has been hardly any report from any State Committee reviewing the trade union situation, implementation of the Party line and the experience of joint and united actions. Nor is there any report on the activities of our unions, their struggles on behalf of the workers and for increased membership. It can be, therefore, said that central guidance for the trade union movement has been minimal and mostly confined to certain all-India organisations. In the matter of guidance also available members of the P.B. Sub-Committee were consulted, otherwise the decisions were taken in the presence of P.B. and C.C. members and then were circulated. The C.C. Sub-Committee met only once or twice.

During the last four years, trade union activities of the Party, its participation, etc., have increased rapidly and the Central Committee has to evolve a new machinery to keep pace with them and give its proper guidance. It has to be remembered that a mature leadership is developing in many organisations, a leadership capable of guiding the activities of its organisation. Party guidance is to be ensured.

In the absence of reports it is difficult to reach a definite conclusion. But whatever evidence is available shows that very few State Committees of the Party are guiding the movement in their states—with a plan and with effective understanding of the problems cropping up.

Party members are now leading a number of mass organisations. They have emerged as big mass leaders of lakhs of employees—Bihar, West Bengal, Punjab. The Federation of Medical Representatives' Associations of India, under our leadership, has secured a wide base and international recognition. But this activity is not properly centralised.

It is however to be noted that despite the rising struggles of the workers, and the worsening of the economic situation, the mass

membership of our trade unions in many place is not increasing. The CITU organisations have lost the earlier momentum and further advance can be registered only through proper planning and close attention to the working of the organisation. The registered membership of the CITU for 1978 was only ten lakhs or so (many of our unions do not send returns to the Registrar and no State Committee bothers about it). The latest membership figure for West Bengal is 6.5 lakhs which cannot be considered to be sufficiently big—with all that the Left Front Government has done for the workers. Many of our major unions are not able to enrol more than 30 per cent of the employed workers.

In some states there is a set-back and stagnation due to failure to respond to the mood of the workers and the rising militancy. This has enabled non-political leaders to score over us. But the State Committees concerned did not wake up to the situation.

The Policy Statement of the Party gives an idea of the priority for certain sections. State Committees in their planning must devote greater attention to this part.

The 1980 elections, and the period preceding it to a certain extent, disrupted the process of trade union unity that was being achieved. It was this unity which led to the scuttling of the Industrial Relations Bill of the Janata Government. But immediately after the Congress(I) victory, it was difficult to bring all the trade unions together, so demoralised were the opposition parties. It took nearly a year of persistent efforts to get the struggle of trade union unity going. The result of this struggle leading to the November 23 march and the January 19 strike are described elsewhere.

Our CITU unions, employees' organisations, have endeavoured steadfastly to build trade union unity. They have achieved success and helped the working class to come together and also champion the demands of the agricultural workers and the people.

In this struggle there have been mistakes also, sometimes succumbing to the pressure of the CPI or forgetting our independent activity. It is sometimes forgotten that without increased independent activities trade union unity will not be strengthened and get a sound base, and without it, the reformist influences and ideology in the trade union movement cannot be fought.

The Party had to decide on the formation of a separate bank employees' organisation for the north-eastern zone. This was necessary in view of the offensive of the revisionist leadership of the AIBEA which was bent on disrupting our mass unions in West Bengal. The formation of the organisation is well-received in the eastern zone and is getting response from other areas also. At present we have promised an all-India signboard for the organisation asking our comrades to confine their activities to the eastern zone. Voices inside the fraction are being raised to remove the restrictions to confine to the eastern zone.

It may be said that the trade union organisation under our Party's influence have become a vital force in the all-India trade union movement, that we are to a certain degree able to set the pace by our initiative and goad the other organisations into action. It is all the more necessary to streamline our work, Party's guidance and establish proper methods for functioning of fractions and Party guidance. It is above all necessary that State Committees of the Party send regular reports on trade unions and busy themselves with the task of guiding the movement in their states and above all teach the cadres from a constant review of our struggles and activities.

The weakness in Party-building has been repeatedly noted by the Central Committee. Despite big mass struggles led by our trade union leaders, Party membership does not correspond to our influence. It is not known whether any State Committee has consistently planned to overcome this weakness.

Building of United T.U. Movement

The question of taking initiative in building an all-India united movement on common issues facing the working class was discussed in the CITU General Council meeting in Cannanore in September 1980. Since then, the CITU centre has made repeated attempts to contact the central T.U. leaders to come together against the anti-working class policies of the Government.

The promulgation of the National Security Ordinance, the scuttling of the LIC agreement despite court awards, the suppression of the loco running staff agitation and the indefinite strike of 125,000 workers of public sector units whose head-

quarters are in Bangalore from December 26, 1980, created a common background for coming together. After a preliminary meeting of the central trade unions in the third week of January 1981, a meeting of the central trade unions and national federations was convened on February 22, 1981, which decided to resist the offensive of the Government and a phased programme was chalked out culminating in a one-day strike of public sector employees on March 11, 1981. Over a million workers in the public sector joined the strike all over the country.

The 1981 budget imposed heavier burdens of taxation on the poor people. The high rate of inflation has resulted in a sharp decline in the real wages of the workers. The meeting of the central trade unions and federations at the end of March felt the need to revive the National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions and organise the All-India Trade Union Convention against Price-Rise and Anti-Labour Policies of the Government in Bombay on June 4, 1981. The response to the convention was excellent. Eight central trade unions and 40 national federations participated in the convention. The total number of delegates participating was over 3000. The Maharashtra State Committee of the CITU played a prominent role in organising the convention.

To divert the attention of the people, a section of the HMS leadership in Bombay organised a big demonstration just on the eve of the convention on identical issues. The HMS did not enthusiastically participate in the rally after the convention. Our failure to mobilise the working class in good strength was also responsible for the small rally held after the convention at Shivaji Park.

However, the deliberations of the convention were inspiring to the delegates since it expressed united determination to face the challenge of the capitalist onslaught. The convention not only discussed the immediate economic demands of the working class but also the economic policies of the Government and the growing authoritarianism of Indira Gandhi's Government. The common agreement on criticising the major economic policies of boosting multinationals, big business and landlords was an important achievement of the convention. It further expressed solidarity with

the demand of the peasantry for remunerative prices and higher minimum wages for agricultural workers. These demands were never raised so prominently on the trade union platform in the past. The convention gave a call for statewide conventions, a massive demonstration before Parliament in November and a one-day all-India general strike whose date was to be announced at the rally before Parliament.

After the convention, the Union Government promulgated the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance which evoked strong reaction among the workers. The National Campaign Committee gave a call for observance of August 17, 1981, the opening day of the monsoon session of Parliament, as a black day to protest against the draconian ordinance. Big rallies were organised in major cities and industrial townships which highlighted the growing urge for unity among the workers.

The workers' response to the state-level and region-level conventions was magnificent. The decisions of the all-India convention were endorsed in these conventions. Except for the disruptive role played by the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) in the Bihar, Orissa and Karnataka conventions, there was no untoward incident in any of the state conventions. In West Bengal the CITU State Committee could not unite with the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) in view of the past experience about their disruptive role and separate committees were formed in the state.

On November 3, 1981, an All-India Protest and Demands Day was observed to popularise the demands raised by the Bombay convention. By and large it was well observed. The day also served the purpose of popularising the march to Parliament on November 23, 1981.

The march to Parliament was the biggest demonstration of working class solidarity. Compared with the earlier demonstrations, this time the participation from far-away places was quite significant. The contingents from the industrial federations and State Government Employees' Federation were also quite sizable. Central Government employees in Delhi joined the demonstration in good strength. Almost all sections of the working class rallied in the demonstration which created a good impact throughout the

country. In the rally the call for one-day all-India general strike on January 19, 1982, was given which was enthusiastically supported by all the participants in the rally.

Seeing the impact of the rally, the INTUC leadership announced the holding of a rally before Parliament in the third week of December to be addressed by the Prime Minister which, however, could not materialise. It shows the growing isolation of the INTUC as the result of the unity achieved under the banner of the National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions.

The leadership of the AIRF developed cold feet and started saying that the one-day strike would not be possible for them. They advocated indefinite strike action knowing full well that others would not accept the proposal. The leadership of the National Federation of P&T Employees similarly opposed the strike action on the plea of break in service. The leadership of the All-India Defence Employees' Federation, though advocating a one-hour strike on January 19, 1982, did not seriously prepare for any action. However, the All-India State Government Employees Federation gave a call for strike. In banks and insurance most of the federations supported the strike call. The National Campaign Committee tried its best to persuade the railway leadership to join the strike action, but it did not respond positively.

Preparation for the strike among the industrial working class were comparatively better. In Bangalore and Hyderabad, all the public sector units prepared well for the strike action. In West Bengal and Bihar, calls for bandhs were given. The support given by all the opposition parties to the strike action created a further favourable atmosphere. Despite repeated threats issued by the Prime Minister and several Congress Chief Ministers, including the "shoot at sight" order of the Bihar Government, the working class could not be cowed down by these threats.

Problems of Industrywise Functioning

The Party had to pay more attention to the industrywise functioning after the Jullundur Party Congress. We were associated with various all-India wage negotiations in different industries and we had to build up coordination in those industries to bring pressure

through mass movements on the authorities during wage negotiations.

In steel, we were included in the National Joint Consultative Committee for the steel industry at the beginning of 1978 and we had to play an important role in achieving better agreements. We had to go alone in organising strikes and other mass actions since others were not prepared for a joint movement. Our independent campaigning created a good impact on the steel workers. Our comrades also took the initiative in launching the struggles of the contract workers in the steel industry and achieved some success. On January 8-10, a successful all-India convention of steel workers was held in Durgapur which was attended by over 600 delegates and observers. It decided to form the Steel Workers' Federation of India with its headquarters in Durgapur.

In the coal industry, the CITU was included in the Joint Bipartite Committee for the Coal Industry (JBCCI) and the coordination committee of our unions was meeting regularly to decide the policies. We also launched a continuous movement of coal workers. A joint strike of six lakh coal workers was also organised on March 6, 1979, and preparations were going on for an indefinite strike from May 18, 1979. Ultimately, the Government was forced to withdraw its directive and agree to give substantial concessions to the coal workers amounting to over Rs. 130 crore. The prestige of the CITU went up after the agreement. We held an All-India Coal Workers' Convention in Raniganj in April 1981 which was a good success. The convention decided to form the All-India Coal Workers' Federation. More attention is necessary to develop our activities in this important sector.

Our activities in the HSCL also have increased and we were in the joint forum to negotiate a wage agreement. The management, however, resorted to retrenching the regular workers by giving more jobs to contractors. Our unions had to fight against this through long-drawn struggles in Kudremukh, Hyderabad and other centres. On April 7, an all-India convention of HSCL workers was held in Durgapur which reviewed our activities and decided to strengthen the movement for higher wages and for job security.

We were included in the joint bipartite machinery in the BHEL and our representatives played a leading role during the wage settlement arrived at in January 1980. In port and dock also, we were recognised by the Government in 1977 and we participated in wage negotiations. We pressed for better wages and terms and service conditions and got improved results due to our role. In the Reserve Bank, due to the tenacity shown by our comrades, we could get better terms than the agreement signed by the AIBEA leadership. The centre had to intervene in several other national and local negotiations. The work of guiding all the industrywise negotiations was done from the CITU centre.

Prior to the Jullundur Congress, we had formed federations in plantations, road transport etc. Demands for formation of many more federations are coming from the unions and the Party has to pay proper attention to them. We have coordination in bidi, cement, rayon and engineering industries.

There are about 50 all-India federations where our comrades are occupying leading positions. We have not yet been able to review our activities in these organisations and evolve a proper machinery to give guidance to them.

Due to the absence of Party guidance to these federations, at times Party comrades are working against Party comrades which has brought down the image of the Party before the non-Party elements. Issuing leaflets against each other, joining hands with non-Party elements against Party comrades have also taken place. Failure of the Party to intervene in time has caused immense harm to the activity of the Party.

The Party has no knowledge about the decisions taken from time to time by these organisations. At times, organisations are formed without the knowledge of the Party, due to initiative of the comrades at lower levels. These organisations are joint and united involving all sections of employees. However, the Party's guidance to them should be ensured so that Party activity is properly strengthened among the Party comrades working in these national-level mass organisations.

The task of organising women workers is callously neglected by our unions. To create awareness about the problems of working

women, an all-India convention of working women was held in Madras on the eve of the Fourth Conference of the CITU. It evoked good response from various sections of women and an all-India Coordination Committee was constituted in the convention. The Coordination Committee met from time to time reviewing the activities. To popularise the activities, a bulletin is being published since 1981. The State Coordination Committees have taken up the problems of working women and have achieved success in solving some of the problems.

Another convention was held on the eve of the workers' march to Parliament in November 1981. Despite paucity of time, it was well attended and focussed attention on some of the burning problems of women workers.

It is still observed that in several units, though women workers are large in numbers they do not find place in union bodies. The Party has to ensure that these tendencies are curbed so that women workers are adequately represented in the union bodies.

Despite growth and expansion in activities and mass influence of the trade unions led by our Party, their membership does not show any corresponding rise. In some states, it is either stagnant or shows signs of decline. This clearly indicates lack of proper functioning of the Party apparatus in the mass organisations. This also is being reflected in marginal rise in Party membership on the T.U. front, barring two or three states.

We have not been able to evaluate the struggles conducted under our leadership in all the states. There is no self-critical review of our achievements and shortcomings in these struggles as a result of which the rich experience gained in them is not properly analysed. This leads to our failure to educate our own cadres and to make the lessons of any local struggle the property of the entire Party. This aspect has been emphasised on several occasions in the past but we have not yet been able to make any breakthrough in this regard.

As a result of lack of proper check-up of our T.U. activities from time to time, some serious trends are visible inside the Party which, if not properly checked in time, will lead to corroding our entire activity. Cases of signing anti-working class agreements,

undemocratic functioning of trade unions, misuse of union funds, succumbing to management's pressure during negotiations have been brought to the notice of the Party on some occasions.

Bureaucratism, individual functioning, etc. are also raising their heads in our T.U. organisations. Legalism, economism and localism are still having their sway in our activities. It is therefore necessary to combat these trends so that the Party can overcome these weaknesses as soon as possible.

The task of educating T.U. cadres is still neglected by us. Since the Jullundur Party Congress, the CITU has conducted 11 T.U. classes in different states covering about 500 T.U. functionaries. Yet in view of the magnitude of the problem, the work done is symbolic. It is necessary to take expeditious steps, so that the education of our activities gets top priority in our activity.

Since the Jullundur Congress, the international relations of the CITU have increased considerably. Now we have direct relations with trade unions in the USSR, China, Korea, Vietnam, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, France, Italy, U.K., Cyprus, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Cuba, Australia, Japan and Iraq.

Recently, our delegations visited the USSR and China for bilateral talks on development of friendly relations. Our relations with the WFTU have further improved and we are participating in the Tenth World Trade Union Conference in Havana. Delegations from the USSR and China participated in the All-India Steel Workers' Convention. A delegation from the USSR participated in the All-India Jute Workers' Convention.

These international relations are likely to grow in future.

Kisan Front

At the Salkia Plenum in December 1978, when we discussed the problems of Party organisation, we also briefly dealt with the weakness of our peasant movement, its causes and the necessity to overcome them. The Salkia Plenum report in para 155 had stated:

"Our Kisan Sabha has grown to 23 lakhs. However, it has to be remembered that 55 per cent of this membership comes from

West Bengal and the two states of West Bengal and Kerala constitute 75 per cent of the membership. The bulk of the rest is shared among the three states of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Punjab. Despite achievements in a few states, the weakness of our kisan movement is patent and constitutes a grave shortcoming. Neglecting immediate concrete demands and emphasising basic propaganda slogans, failure to understand the importance of unity in action with other kisan organisations, failure to review our own mass movements and inability hitherto to pick up the multifarious issues facing the peasantry, constitute the sources of our weakness. Another reason has been our failure to carry on ideological propaganda against the feudal barriers—caste, etc.—to bring about unity among different sections of the peasantry.

"Many of these weaknesses were assessed in 1976 and the effort is being made to overcome them. The Tasks on the Kisan Front, adopted by the C.C. in the year 1967, was aimed at liquidating the legacies of right-revisionism on the kisan front and also to make a Marxist-Leninist assessment of Congress agrarian reforms. That resolution of the C.C. notes that as a result of the inroads made by capitalism into agriculture and the agrarian reforms carried out by the bourgeois-landlord Government, certain changes are brought about in the class structure of the rural areas'. Narrating some of the changes and pointing out how 'two kinds of class antagonisms exist side by side—antagonism between the rural workers and employers, and secondly, between the peasantry as a whole and the landlord class as a whole', and how 'the second antagonism has the most vital and urgent practical significance', the resolution enjoins on us that, "it is on these lines that our Party was called upon to make a concrete study of the class changes brought about in the countryside, assess them properly and work out its agrarian strategy and tactics'. It is further emphasised that 'it is imperative that we study the present agrarian conditions more closely and carefully, so that our efforts to tackle the complex and difficult problem of peasant unity should succeed and the unity of the entire peasantry is forged anew on a new and correct class basis.'

Neither the State Committees nor the C.C. could undertake such a study of the agrarian problem so far, even though it is more than

ten years since we planned it. But it so happened that without either such concrete study of the class relations in the rural side or reviewing our work on the kisan front following the adoption of the "Tasks on the Kisan Front", the C.C. had to take up another set of new problems posed in 1972-73 and to adopt another resolution "Certain Agrarian Issues". This also did not help in making a breakthrough on the kisan front. The C.C. therefore adopted another document in 1976. The Political Resolution of the Tenth Party Congress states:

"In the document adopted by the C.C. in 1976, after pointing out how the central slogan of land redistribution still remains a propaganda slogan and has not yet become a slogan of action, it is stated that the kisan movement led by our Party, while projecting the land seizure and its redistribution slogan as the central propaganda slogan, and while organising struggles for waste land, forest lands and the so-called 'surplus land' under the ceiling Acts, will have to channelise many other agrarian currents like the question of wages of rural workers, the issue of rent reduction, the abolition or scaling down of peasant indebtedness, fair price for agricultural produce, reduction of tax burdens, and abolition of landlord and police zoolum, against corruption, etc., so that all these currents might be harnessed into one big agrarian stream. Otherwise, the maximum peasant unity isolating the handful of landlords and their hirelings cannot be achieved.

"These corrections should no doubt help the kisan movement to move forward. However it is necessary to correct another shortcoming also. The Kisan Sabha has made very little effort to pursue the line of united action and agitation with other organisations or groups, local or statewide, and has chosen to remain within its own shell." (Political Resolution, Page 48)

Certain proposals and discussions in the P.B. and C.C. about formulating two prices for agricultural commodities, one for the toiling peasants and another for the landlords, and the second for organising the poor peasantry in one organisation along with agricultural labour, thus converting the Kisan Sabha into an organisation of middle and rich peasants, etc., were the outcome of the lopsided and wrong outlook pointed out above. This, too, was corrected in the C.C. resolution of July 1976.

The 1967 C.C. resolution on "Tasks on the Kisan Front" gave a correct orientation regarding the agricultural workers. Our comrades have been moving to organise the agricultural labourers. However, it cannot be said that we have achieved big successes in this direction. Experience in some states has made the State Committees concerned to arrive at the conclusion that while forming part of the general kisan movement, separate organisations of agricultural labourers should be formed. The advanced movements in some states demand an all-India organisation of agricultural labourers. Recognising the dual nature of agricultural workers, the agricultural workers' organisations where they are separately organised must coordinate their activities with the Kisan Sabha. They should also have growingly closer relations with the trade union movement.

Again the resolution on Party organisation pointed out the harmful tendencies in the functioning of mass organisations and stated:

"Our understanding about the democratic functioning of mass organisations is often defective and suffers from sectarianism. Several committees and comrades handle mass organisations as if they are subsidiaries of the Party and pay scant attention to functioning them democratically. At the same time, there is another harmful tendency in evidence. Several Party members leading mass organisations tend to function them independently, bypassing the Party."

To overcome the weaknesses it laid down: "Further rapid progress, overcoming the weaknesses in these mass organisations, cannot be achieved unless the Central Committee periodically discusses the problems of mass organisations, their all-India experience, tactics and offers effective guidance. But this has been a weakness and failure of the Party centre which should be overcome. The State Committees have a similar responsibility. Besides, it is necessary that the Central and State Committees ensure democratic functioning of the mass organisations and effective supervision over the functioning of Fraction Committees to enable the Party fulfil its guiding role in relation to the mass organisations."

After three months of the Salkia Plenum- we tried to further concretise the problems and remove the weaknesses of the kisan movement in the General Secretary's report to the Twentythird Conference of the All-India Kisan Sabha in the following words:

"The account given of the present agrarian situation presents in a nutshell some of the major issues confronting the peasant movement today, and also some of the lessons we have learnt over the past few years during various phases of our struggle during the early seventies, during the dark days of the Emergency rule, and over the last two years of Janata Party rule, and also through the working of the Left Front Governments in West Bengal and Tripura. These show how the crisis is affecting the agrarian sector and how it is spreading over the whole country, covering all the main crops, ecological zones, occupations and activities in the rural sector. These also show that not only the poor and marginal farmers and the landless labourers are at the receiving end of the attacks on the livelihood of the people which has been launched by the Government, but even the middle peasants and a good section of the rich peasants have not been spared. Issues of low agricultural prices, rural indebtedness, high interest rates, inadequacy of institutional finance, heavy taxation, shortage of inputs and storage facilities, and the dependence on moneylenders and big traders and monopolists for marketing, and market manipulations—all these concern practically all sections of the peasantry. This development has now created a real possibility of building up a broad-based movement of the peasantry against landlords, moneylenders, big traders and against an extortionist Government which serves their interests.

"To what extent it would be possible for us to take advantage of this situation would largely depend upon our success in building a strong, impregnable organisation. It is a matter of regret, therefore, that so far our organisation has failed to live up to its tasks and to make the most use of the opportunities which have been laid open in front of our movement. Keeping the task we have set before ourselves in view, it is necessary to identify and analyse the main weaknesses of our organisation and then to work out the methods by which such weaknesses can be eliminated. One obvious

weakness is the lopsided development of our organisation, which is revealed by the membership figures from various states. Out of the 23 lakh members of the Kisan Sabha, more than 55 per cent come from one state alone, West Bengal, and while we are rightly proud of our comrades from that state, it does not reflect well on the organisation in the rest of the country. Worse still, West Bengal with Kerala accounts for more than 75 per cent of the membership, while the addition of three more states—Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Punjab—practically accounts for all but a few percentage points of the aggregate membership. While not belittling the sacrifice and contributions made by the comrades from other states, the picture which emerges from these figures of our organisation is not a flattering one, and cannot be of much comfort to us. Again, while this is the picture of our own organisation, are the other kisan organisations doing better? In fact, even if we take all the kisan organisations into account, including those affiliated to the CPI, Janata, Congress and other parties, the aggregate membership is not likely to exceed 50 lakhs in a country of 66 crores of people of whom more than 80 per cent live in the villages and more than 70 per cent depend upon agriculture for their livelihood. In other words, the stark reality is that only a very insignificant proportion of the total peasant population of our country has so far been organised by anybody, whether ourselves or any other organisation, irrespective of their political colour or creed. Some of the survey reports show that only one per cent of the agricultural labourers are organised into trade unions and two per cent of the peasants are organised in peasant unions."

Here we have also to take note of the disruption caused by the activities of the Naxalites in various parts of the country. The most pernicious part of their activities is their attempt to pit agricultural workers and landless tribals against the rest of the peasantry. The ruling classes are doing all they can to keep the peasantry divided, even the agricultural workers from the poor peasants. The Naxalites, from their end, are doing the same—disrupting the unity of the peasantry and sabotaging the struggles of both the agricultural workers and tribals and the rest of the peasantry.

The organised kisan movement has to expose and isolate these Naxalite elements and relentlessly pursue the path of building peasant unity.

What can be the explanation for the existing weak state of the organised kisan movement in the majority of the Indian states? One fundamental reason is, of course, the low level of development of the Left and democratic forces in general in these states. The kisan movement is never and can never be an isolated phenomenon, it is always closely linked with the general level of political awareness in the areas, including the activities of their mass organisation. But no less important are some of the basic weaknesses of our own organisation and its method of functioning. In this report we cannot do more than present some of the basic weaknesses of our own organisation and its methods of functioning which are as follows:

First, we do not always give sufficient attention to the spontaneous struggles which are initiated by the common people themselves against social oppression, eviction, injustice and so on. Almost everyday we come to hear or read about these, many of which take place in states where our organisation is weak. They reflect the widespread discontent of the peasantry under the existing social system and the participants often show a great deal of militancy in facing state repression. If we are sufficiently alert and prompt it should be possible to give these spontaneous actions proper organisational shape, to articulate the popular feelings in terms of clear-cut class slogans, and to sustain those struggles through our leadership, rather than let them peter out after a spontaneous outburst.

Second, our activities are not so organised as to enable democratic participation of the common peasants in decision-making, in formulating demands and conducting struggles. Although through our activities we often succeed in drawing a large number of kisans towards us, the nature of functioning often puts a barrier between ourselves, the leaders of the organisation and the masses, who are prevented from taking a more active interest in the running of the organisations. Unless such barriers are removed, a rapid expansion of the membership of the Kisan Sabha will not be possible.

Third, the slogans, though correct in terms of our own subjective awareness of the situation, often fail to rally the peasants because they are not in tune with their own understanding of the situation and level of consciousness. Unless this mistake is rectified, and the slogans are worked out taking into account the concrete reality, including the subjective understanding of the general mass of the peasantry, there is a risk that not only they would not listen to us, instead they would rally behind the vested interests and reactionaries, and often behind communal or chauvinistic slogans.

Fourth, our functioning suffers because we seldom take the trouble of analysing in depth concrete issues facing our movement or undertake specific studies with detailed collection of data. As we have already mentioned, our country is too vast and diverse to allow broad generalisations, and if they are uniformly and mechanically applied to a particular situation, it is fraught with serious risk. It is for this reason it is an important task of all the units to undertake such concrete studies for a proper understanding of the agrarian structure, the correlation of class forces within it, the nature and extent of capitalist penetration in the agrarian economy and its interactions with the feudal or semi-feudal social relations, the specific characteristics of the region and its implications for cropping pattern, labour demand, political struggle, and other matters of direct organisational and political importance for our functioning.

Fifth is our neglect of the training and development of the cadre. Many of these cadres come in contact with our movement through democratic mass struggles on one issue or another. But apart from what they learn through their participation in the struggle and the day-to-day functioning of the organisation, very few of our units at any level undertake the task of imparting political education to them and raising their level of consciousness to a point which is commensurate with the needs of the agrarian revolution. Henceforth, we should accord this task the priority it deserves and recognise that without enhancing the quality of our hard-core workers even a massive quantitative expansion in membership might come to nothing in case of severe repression or a sudden adverse change in events.

Sixth, it is deeply distressing to note that barring a few exceptions, practically none of our organisational centres—whether at the district, state or all-India level—properly function or maintain communications with the other units whether below or above. In many cases, Kisan Sabhas do not have their own separate offices, and there is no regular routine functioning; records are not maintained, correspondence is not filed, and information is not made available to meet a variety of needs of the regions—e.g., about the procedures for getting bank loans, about various schemes for the benefit of the poor peasants, labourers and sharecroppers which are offered by a number of Governments, cooperatives, small industries, panchayats and so on. Many of these activities are undoubtedly dull and lack glamour, and might appear to be insignificant and of lesser importance than some other tasks but we should realise that all these help to build the movement, to organise our actions, and in their own inconspicuous way, even help to strengthen our militant struggles and confrontations with the repressive forces of state power.

Lastly, one of the most important weaknesses of our organisation is inadequate understanding of the need and scope for united action. Let us admit that there is a great deal of sectarianism amongst us—sectarianism towards the spontaneous struggle, as well as towards other mass organisations of the peasantry. Let us also admit that given the smallness of our organisation in relation to the vast size of the peasantry in our country, we, on our own, are incapable of bringing about a qualitative transformation in the agrarian situation in the country as a whole. We need allies with whom we can join hands on the basis of a common programme, and together with whom, we can emerge as an effective and organised force at the national level. We need allies who would help us in uniting the peasantry against its common enemies. And let us be realistic enough to recognise that united action with other political and peasant bodies would not by itself eliminate differences between us in terms of programmes and policies, although the common experience of participation in a united struggle might bring the cadres of various organisations together. When we join hands with other organisations it is with a clear understanding, that such

differences exist, and this might be reflected in the implementation of decisions and might even occasionally give rise to some fiction and conflict in the relationship between us. But these should not deter us from joining hands with them, and fighting together from a common platform against the main enemies.

There is another point that needs to be stressed, and that is regarding the functioning of the basic units of the Kisan Sabha. While some meetings are held at the central level, state and district levels and even taluka levels in some places, in most parts of the country, functioning of the basic unit is virtually non-existent. One of the prime requirements to tone up the organisation, to expand it and strengthen it, is the regular and proper functioning of the basic unit of the Kisan Sabha, taking its policies and slogans to the mass of the peasantry and mobilising them behind these policies and slogans. Without such effective functioning at the level of the basic unit, the present ferment in the peasantry cannot be channelised into an organised movement. To ensure this, effective cadres are required who are trained for work in the Kisan Sabha at various levels. This, of course, entails collection of adequate funds for the organisational work of the Kisan Sabha, to maintain proper offices and the necessary cadres, specially cadres from among the agricultural workers, whom we should more and more recruit and train.

There has been improvement after the Varanasi conference. Apart from the unprecedented advance in West Bengal, and the further strengthening of the movement in Kerala, Tripura and Andhra Pradesh, advance has been made in other states, too.

The year 1980 witnessed an unprecedented upsurge among the peasantry leading to united actions involving all sections of the peasantry throughout the country, especially in regard to the question of remunerative prices for agricultural produce. Big movements have been conducted in Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, Karnataka, Bihar, Haryana, U.P., Gujarat and other states.

These are not ordinary struggles. Peasants have fought in the past, too, on specific demands in various parts of the country. Today, though not coordinated yet, the peasant struggles are enveloping

the whole country, and they are fighting on common demands—the demand for remunerative prices for their produce, the most important among them, followed by other demands for reduced prices of agricultural inputs, an end to the exorbitant increase in taxes and levies and relief from the enormous debts heavily weighing them down. In some states, these movements are being joined by agricultural labourers who are struggling for higher wages, debt-relief and for employment. The working people also are demanding the supply of essential commodities at reasonable prices through a public distribution network.

Initially, in some states, the peasant discontent was channelised by the landlords and other elements who were out to compensate themselves for the reduction of fertiliser subsidies, etc., disclosing push and pull between the bourgeois-landlord partners. But once the discontentment was unleashed, it gathered its own momentum threatening the basis of official price policies directed to beating down the peasant.

This widespread peasant upsurge which we are witnessing today, is unparalleled in the history of post-independent India. It aroused the peasantry even in those states where the Left and democratic movement and the organised peasant movement are very weak. The peasants in hundreds and thousands came into action creating road-blocks, stopping buses, organising marches, gheraoes of state Assemblies, courting mass arrests, defying the bullets and lathis of the police and adding to the number of kisan martyrs by shedding their blood in defending their interests. Though it started spontaneously in some states, it acquired a countrywide character, forcing various Congress(I) Governments to give significant concessions.

The new upsurge is causing great concern to the Congress(I) rulers. They resorted to severe repression against these movements including the use of the National Security Act. But these repressive measures have not been able to cow them; in fact, they led to the further isolation of the ruling party.

This is happening in the background of the deepening crisis of the capitalist economy which with its inflation, unemployment, etc., has engulfed the whole capitalist world, and has its further

impact on the crisis-ridden economy of our country, leading to galloping inflation, unprecedented price-rise, growing unemployment and ruination of the peasantry. We have repeatedly stated that behind the deepening crisis is the capitalist path of development which the Indian ruling classes are pursuing in collaboration with imperialism. These policies have led to the ruination of the peasantry. The pauperised peasantry has added to the immense increase in the number of agricultural workers. The number of those below the poverty line has risen from 45 per cent in 1962 to 62 per cent now.

Behind all this is the intensification of the crisis of the agrarian economy which has become all-pervading today, affecting all sections of the peasantry, from agricultural workers to the rich peasants. The agrarian crisis is getting further intensified every passing day. This enables us today to unite all sections of the peasantry. The peasant upsurge has sufficiently indicated this.

But the Congress(I) rulers want to hide the bankruptcy of their policies and are trying to dab the movements as politically motivated, with a view to creating disruption in the united movements so that they are able to throw the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the peasantry which is one of the most unorganised sections in our country, which they feel would not be able to resist the onslaught.

The peasants have belied the hopes of the Congress(I) rulers and have joined the united movements irrespective of their political affiliations defying all types of repression and suppression. This is causing serious concern to the rulers.

This six-party convention in the last week of September 1980 gave an impetus to these movements. Many forms of actions were resorted to in different states strengthening the united movement of the peasantry. The six parties' memorandum submitted to the President at the beginning of the winter session of Parliament gave further fillip to these developing movements. These movements embraced all sections of the peasants irrespective of their political affiliations. The demand of the peasantry regarding remunerative prices was focussed during the winter session and was supported by a large number of MPs including those belonging to the Congress(I).

The meeting of the All-India Kisan Council, held in Trichur from November 29 to December 1, had a thorough discussion on this question and unanimously adopted a resolution fully supporting united actions and called upon the units of the All-India Kisan Sabha to participate in the movements which were on in several states for remunerative prices and to organise united actions with different organisations of the peasantry.

The landlords were trying to utilise this situation to set up an all-India platform under their leadership and to be at the head of these movements. A meeting was held in Hyderabad at the invitation of Narayanaswami Naidu which announced the formation of an All-India Farmers' Organisation. Another meeting was called by Bhanu Pratap Singh in Delhi for the same purpose. But invitations for the meeting were extended to all organisations. This meeting was attended by representatives from many states belonging to all political parties except the Congress(I), as also non-party personalities. We participated in the convention and were able to influence its decisions. A resolution supporting the peasant movements and on remunerative prices was adopted, a Central Kisan Coordination Committee was set up and a call was given to observe January 17 as Kisan Solidarity Day.

The peasants' response to the agitation created panic in ruling party circles and the Congress(I) was forced to demonstrate its peasant strength in the capital. It decided to organise a demonstration in support of Indira Gandhi, spent crores of rupees (Rs. 100 crore, it is rumoured), and employed a huge number of trucks and buses to bring the demonstrators to the capital. It did succeed in bringing large numbers, but everyone could see that it was not a spontaneous demonstration of the peasants. The press noticed it; the citizens took note of it. And they also noted the difference when, a few days later, the kisan march organised by the six parties walked the streets of the capital with waving banners and angry slogans.

The March 26, 1981, rally was the biggest achievement of our struggle to mobilise larger and broader sections against Government's policies. Now all sections of the peasantry, including agricultural workers, were brought in, and participation of the largest number of organisations was ensured.

These movements have given new confidence to the peasantry and our participation, though belated, has helped us to forge links with the peasantry even in those states, where our Party is very weak, like Karnataka, Maharashtra and Haryana. In Andhra Pradesh, there is a revival of the peasant movement after many years. Although the Left-led Governments were not in the forefront in giving leadership to these movements and we were not their initiators, our efforts to rally the six parties have no doubt helped the development of these united movements and our Party has been able to make its impact felt.

These movements have enthused our Party even in the areas where we are very weak. This was reported by many comrades in the AIKC meeting. This is a serious effort in developing united actions of the peasantry, the importance of which can be underestimated only at the cost of the peasant movement.

As a result, the membership of the All-India Kisan Sabha has gone up from 2,291,980 in 1977-78 to 4,116,102 in 1978-79, 4,526,243 in 1979-80 and 5,734,814 in 1980-81, although the bulk of the membership still comes from the three states of West Bengal, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal alone contributing 38 lakhs.

The question of setting up an all-India organisation of agricultural workers had been under discussion for many years. This has been finally clinched and the All-India Agricultural Workers' Union has been formed. We hope that this will give an impetus to the agricultural workers' movement throughout the country and will strengthen it tremendously.

It is more than 25 years that we have been constantly emphasising the necessity of overcoming our weaknesses among the peasantry. But for a few states, we have not yet been able to overcome this weakness. It must be realised that without mobilising and organising the peasantry, neither the struggle against authoritarianism can be successfully fought nor any advance be made in building the unity of Left and democratic forces. The struggles launched by the peasantry during the last two years in various parts of the country and our limited intervention on the basis of the understanding of the 1976 document shows that today not only can a breakthrough in the peasant movement in weaker

areas, especially in the Hindi region, be made, but they can also release the kisans from the caste influences and other obscurantist ideas. This can be done if we overcome the weaknesses pointed out in that document. The experience of West Bengal, Kerala, Tripura and Andhra Pradesh has shown that the peasant movement can be built by taking up various issues affecting the peasantry, and during the course of such struggles, building the unity of agricultural workers and peasants. The developments of the last three years vindicate the stand taken by the Party on the agrarian front and the new confidence which it has created among the cadre working on this front.

But the weaknesses pointed out in the Salkia Plenum have to be overcome. Cadre at all levels have to be allocated and the functioning of the committees at all levels radically improved.

There is no doubt that the main activities of the Kisan Sabha are conducted at the state level and it is here that the Party State Committees and such other committees have to pay special attention. But it would be wrong to minimise the role of the all-India centre to exchange experience, to co-ordinate activities, build solidarity with the developing movements as well as to provide guidance as far as possible. It is to be mentioned in this respect that although the Polit Bureau and the C.C. have been providing guidance to the All-India Kisan Sabha centre, the sub-committee set up by the C.C. could not function. The two meetings which were called proved to be a failure because of various reasons. So far as the AIKS centre is concerned, it continues to be very weak. Therefore, it is of the utmost necessity that the State Committees provide effective cadre for the AIKS centre. Similarly, it is necessary that the agrarian sub-committee also properly functions.

Today the peasantry is feeling very much discontented. The ruling party is bent upon throwing the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the peasantry, intensifying the agrarian crisis leading to further unrest. There are tremendous possibilities of developing the peasant movement. If we do not take the initiative, other parties of the ruling classes will be able to divert their discontent into disruptive channels.

It is also necessary to expose the game of the divisive forces so that the democratic movement is strengthened.

**All-India Kisan Sabha Membership for the years
1977-78, 78-79, 79-80, 80-81**

Sl. No.	Name of State	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	Fixed quota for 1980-81
1.	West Bengal	12,84,992	28,45,709	31,82,965	38,60,544	40,00,000
2.	Kerala	2,54,210	2,81,476	3,43,759	4,20,788	4,50,000
3.	Kerala ALU	1,64,820	1,06,144	2,17,460	2,36,817	3,00,000
4.	Andhra Pradesh	65,550	1,00,000	86,400	1,50,000	2,00,000
5.	Andhra Pradesh ALU	1,45,400	1,50,000	1,35,000	1,99,311	2,50,000
6.	Tamil Nadu	81,500	1,26,400	1,28,740	1,58,406	2,50,000
7.	Punjab	57,272	70,524	58,565	99,214	1,00,000
8.	Punjab ALU	21,940	33,526	29,702	55,151	75,000
9.	Bihar	47,000	1,27,400	85,400	1,20,000	2,50,000
10.	U.P.	63,196	58,582	64,360	95,202	1,00,000
11.	Assam	27,000	38,000	42,000	83,544	1,00,000
12.	Tripura	10,000	67,083	70,092	80,240	1,00,000
13.	Maharashtra	26,500	32,000	10,000	40,600	75,000
14.	Rajasthan	20,000	30,000	10,000	35,400	50,000
15.	Karnataka	—	18,211	16,000	30,000	75,000
16.	Gujarat	—	18,000	11,600	21,800	30,000
17.	Orissa	14,000	15,157	6,200	20,000	30,000
18.	Jammu & Kashmir	2,000	2,000	7,000	12,400	20,000
19.	Madhya Pradesh	1,000	—	3,000	9,000	15,000
20.	Himachal Pradesh	1,600	2,000	4,000	6,000	10,000
21.	Haryana	4,000	4,000	6,000	3,600	20,000
Total Membership		22,91,980	41,26,212	45,18,243	57,38,017	65,00,000

Youth Front

According to the decisions of the Salkia Plenum, the building up of an all-India youth organisation was considered necessary to expand the work of youth organisations which had been functioning for some time in several states, each with its own charter of demands, flag, experience and outlook. In face of the deepening economic crisis and growing discontent, the exploiting classes were trying to divide, confuse and mislead the youth of our country. It was imperative to mobilise, unite and organise a much wider section of the youth than had been done hitherto, on the basis of correct aims, objects and programme.

In 1979, when an All-India Anti-Communal Convention was held in New Delhi, the available youth comrades from all parts of the country had met to discuss the prospect of setting up the all-India youth organisation. After some preliminary discussion, during the convention on the Assam issue in Delhi in April 1980, a meeting of activists was again convened, and the All-India Youth Conference Preparatory Committee was set up. Under the guidance of the Party centre, this committee took the initiative to discuss several questions related to the building up of the organisation; it collected the existing state-based youth organisations' constitutions and documents and exchanged views and experiences. After some months of preparation, the draft documents of the youth organisation were placed before the first conference in Ludhiana in November 1980. The Ludhiana conference was attended by delegates from state level organisations, many of them with different names, flags and constitutions. It was only after a three-day conference that a more unified understanding, programme, name and flag could emerge. The Democratic Youth Federation of India thus came into existence.

During the last fifteen months, after the Ludhiana conference, the DYFI has made good progress. This could not have been accomplished without serious effort from the DYFI centre to popularise the unified understanding and evolve a common outlook. It was decided to take this understanding to the state, district and local level youth organisers through special conventions, conferences and general bodies in order that this message of the Ludhiana meet could reach the widest possible sections of the youth. It is to be noted with satisfaction that the common name, flag, aims and objectives and programme have come to be widely accepted and have created great enthusiasm among the youth in all parts of the country.

In order to facilitate this process, the central leadership of the youth organisation visited all the states and published the conference documents immediately after the Ludhiana meet—8000 in English and 5000 in Hindi—and all the state DYFI committees printed them in their respective languages. They were immediately made available in at least ten languages.

In the period that followed, with a view to strengthening the united and common understanding of the organisation, nine state conferences were held very successfully and they elected their respective new state committees. They are West Bengal, Assam, Orissa, U.P., Delhi, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Punjab. In two other states, Madhya Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh, it was possible to set up only state organising committees. In Maharashtra, certain centres have developed and there is every possibility of setting up a state-level organisation provided the comrades take it up seriously. In Gujarat, the organisation had held a convention in the state capital. There is contact with Jammu and Kashmir. In the states where the youth organisations have just begun their activities, the Party should take interest and provide guidance at the state, district and local levels.

Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan and Haryana held their state conferences before the Ludhiana conference and popularised the understanding through special conventions and meetings. Tripura and Bihar, too, held special meetings for this purpose. However, the conferences of these two latter states are still due to be held and it has been suggested that they hold them in the immediate future.

Unless a broad-based youth movement is built, a genuine mass youth organisation cannot develop. In order to build this, it is the primary task to enrol the maximum number of members from the mass of the youth of the country. In the Ludhiana conference, delegates from 16 states had participated, representing 1,293,623 members. Maharashtra and Gujarat also participated, but without membership. In the two months that followed, the membership had increased to 1,543,461. On the basis of this development, it was decided to enrol 20 lakh members in 1981. A separate chart giving the statewise membership is given at the end.

An analysis of the figures shows that most of the States have made serious efforts to increase their membership, especially West Bengal, Kerala, Tripura, Orissa, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. The Assam unit of the DYFI, in spite of the vicious attacks of the separatist agitators, had made creditable progress. In Delhi, Madhya Pradesh and Himachal, too, membership has increased.

Maharashtra and Gujarat have started enrolment. However, in Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Bihar and Punjab, in spite of the fact that youth have participated in democratic struggles and other popular activities during this period, the membership had declined. Our Party in these states should note the gap between the participation in activities and struggles and the enrolment of membership. The U.P. and Haryana, too, can do better.

Although the DYFI has not yet built up an effective centre, it has succeeded in setting up a central office from where it maintains regular contact with the states, reply to their queries and is trying to help them. Since the formation of the organisation, the centre has sent 26 circulars to guide and direct state-level functioning. However, the progress is modest and there is still room for big improvement and methods for doing it will have to be devised.

The Central Secretariat and Central Executive Committee of the DYFI are meeting regularly and reviewing the movement and other activities. In the intervening period, the Secretariat has met seven times. The CEC met four times with a written organisational report each time. This has helped to coordinate and guide state-level activity. The practice of issuing statements on all issues of all-India importance has been introduced. The DYFI has been keeping constant contact with other Indian and foreign youth organisations from the centre.

The DYFI initiated independent activities to mobilise wider sections of the youth on several occasions, such as the observance of December 1, 1980, April 20 to 26, and August 15, 1981, as days to highlight the urgency of the struggle for national integration, and against imperialist conspiracies. It gave the call for anti-imperialist action from time to time.

Apart from these activities, the DYFI has encouraged its state and lower units to organise many-sided popular activities to draw even the most backward sections of the youth into regular organised activity. It has organised sports and games, cultural programmes and youth festivals, campaigns against illiteracy, science clubs, relief work and blood donations and observance of birthdays of Subramania Bharati, Picasso, Bhagat Singh, Rabindranath Tagore, Prem Chand, etc. Seminars and discussions were organised on

several issues such as communalism, secessionism, and on socialism. Library activities and a continuous campaign against decadent culture have also been reported from different states. However, it is necessary to emphasise the need for such activities, especially in the weaker states, where there is often a tendency to overlook them. The State Committees of the Party should make special efforts to educate the comrades working on the youth front.

Apart from these cultural, sport and literary activities, the DYFI independently mobilised the youth against authoritarianism, ESMA, NSA, and also on economic issues affecting the mass of the common people like price-rise, busfare-hikes, etc. These activities helped the youth organisers to come into contact with different sections of the youth. The campaigns in defence of the Left-led Governments as well as the popularisation of their policies, have greatly encouraged the youth attracting them to the DYFI.

The most successful campaign, however, was in giving the lead in highlighting the urgent problems faced by the youth today: unemployment and illiteracy. On March 28, most states observed Anti-Unemployment Day and organised demonstrations, rallies, etc. In continuance of the movement the centre worked together with other youth and student organisations and succeeded in setting up a Student-Youth Action Committee. It raised the slogan: "Jobs for all, Education for all". This slogan caught the imagination of young people all over the country and 25 lakhs of youth signed the charter of demands.

This could not have been achieved without a two-month-long organised campaign conducted at the state, district and local levels in all states. More than ten lakh handbills were issued; one and a half lakh booklets were published; 80,000 posters were put up; 1000 letters to members of Parliament were written. A regular press campaign, wide-ranging wall-writing activity, group and street-corner meetings, rallies were undertaken. All these culminated in the biggest ever youth-student rally before Parliament on September 15, 1981. In this rally, while other youth and student organisations took part, the youth and student wings of the CPI abstained. This rally had definitely increased the influence of the DYFI among the students and youth of the country.

It is heartening to note that not only all the 19 states were represented, but also the major contingents came from the Hindi-speaking areas, especially Bihar.

In the developments leading to the September 15 rally in Delhi, both independent functioning and joint activity with other youth and student organisations were combined. In fact, since the formation of the DYFI, the organisation has been working actively for the development of a united youth movement. Not only have a number of other youth and student organisations come with it for evolving common action and a common viewpoint through regular joint meetings, the CPI's youth and student wings are also now joining in these meetings. Moreover, other youth and student organisations, too, are becoming far more active as a result of successful joint activity. Thirteen youth and student organisations came out in support of the January 19 industrial general strike with a student strike as well.

This year the completion of the first year of the formation of the DYFI was observed on November 3 as Foundation Day throughout the country.

The formation of a broad-based mass organisation for the youth on the all-India level is a new experience for the democratic movement. As a result many problems face it at present. For example, in some states the youth organisation is seen as limited to only unemployed young men; in some others women have specifically been excluded and the organisation becomes exclusively for males. In yet other states, there is opposition to dual membership in mass organisations. This reflects a lack of clarity as to the exact role and the scope of the youth movement. It is precisely this failure to come to grips with the needs and demands of a youth organisation such as the DYFI that results in a failure to go beyond those on the periphery of the democratic and radical movement, often ignoring large sections of middle class youth who today are being misled into different divisive and disruptive movements and agitations. In some states, there is also a tendency to rely on spontaneity and a neglect of organisational consolidation. This can only be remedied by the intensification of day-to-day activities, based on the programmatic understanding of the DYFI.

The following proposals are being made for better functioning on the youth front:

1. At the centre, a Party Sub-Committee has been functioning. Many states have not yet set up similar Party Sub-Committees to guide the youth movement at the state level. Efforts should be made to set up the Sub-Committees in district and local units also.

2. The Party committees, at various levels, should seriously apply themselves to assist the youth movement in their respective areas by providing concrete guidance to cadres working among the youth.

3. Specific cadres should be allotted by the Party committees to function as wholtime workers for building the broad-based youth movement and they should be educated with this role in view.

4. Democratic functioning will have to be developed at all levels of the organisation. Without democratic functioning the mass organisation cannot develop as it should. The Party will have to provide guidance for the cadres working on the youth front.

DYFI Membership-1981
(Reported up to December 1981)

1. Andhra Pradesh	50,000	(Paid)
2. Assam	20,000	(..)
3. Bihar	40,000	(Reported)
4. Delhi	4,700	(Paid)
5. Haryana	2,000	(Reported)
6. Himachal Pradesh		(No Report)
7. Karnataka	10,000	(Reported)
8. Kerala	800,000	(Reported & partly paid)
9. M P.		(No Report)
10. Orissa		(No Report)
11. Punjab	33,498	(Paid)
12. Rajasthan	20,000	(Reported)
13. Tamil Nadu	44,784	(Paid)
14. Tripura	45,000	(Reported & partly paid)
15. U.P.	7,000	(Paid)
16. West Bengal	966,428	(Reported & partly paid)
17. Maharashtra	1,680	(Paid)
18. Gujarat		(No Report)
19. Jammu & Kashmir		(No Report)
Total:	20,45,090	

Student Front

The Third All-India Conference of the SFI was held on February 21-24, 1979, in Patna. This conference took two important decisions. First, the line of forging the broadest possible unity of students in action on common demands was evolved, on which was based a concrete set of demands around which such unity was possible (detailed in the "Appeal to the student community" adopted by the conference). Secondly, it was decided that a functioning all-India centre should be set up in Delhi, which, amongst other things, was specifically entrusted with the task of regularly publishing the SFI journal, *Student Struggle*, and running the SFI central office.

The Fourth All-India Conference held in Bombay on December 25-27, 1981, reviewed these decisions and reiterated them, correcting some of the wrong tendencies that had surfaced during the 33 months.

During this period, SFI membership rose from 412,706 to 714,074 (detailed membership table is appended).

In three new States, the SFI has been able to expand its influence. New State Committees have been formed in Himachal Pradesh and Manipur. Regional Committees have been set up separately in Jammu and Kashmir.

The SFI, during this period, has not only consolidated its position as the largest organisation of democratic-minded students but has emerged as the chief initiator of united struggles at the all-India and states' level.

Subsequent to the Third SFI Conference, several efforts were made to forge unity with other student and youth organisations on common issues, with the slogan of "defence of democracy" as the focal point of these efforts. Patient efforts succeeded in bringing together seven student and youth organisations at an all-India convention for democratic rights, educational reforms and employment in June 1979.

The follow-up of this convention was, however, not in the manner it was hoped. Owing to the rapid political changes that were taking place during this period, and the consequent disarray of the student and youth organisations of the bourgeois opposition

parties, effective implementation of the programme of action adopted by the convention was not possible. Notwithstanding this, this convention broke fresh ground in the sphere of united actions and helped in evolving a more meaningful and working understanding between the SFI and other organisations. This could be utilised for advancing the cause of the student movement in various states.

During the following period, the SFI was able to mobilise the students on the slogan of 'anti-authoritarianism, anti-communalism' in various parts of the country. Many of its activists participated in the general elections of January 1980.

In April 1980, at the initiative of the SFI, seven student and youth organisations organised an All-India Convention for National Integration. This convention focussed the dangerous dimensions of the chauvinist agitation in Assam and further strengthened the efforts to forge unity on common issues.

The beginning of the 1980 academic year saw large-scale attacks on the student community. The mass discontent of the student community against the deteriorating economic conditions and shrinking employment opportunities took the shape of united and militant student actions in various states. These actions were met with repression. The main issues varied from state to state. In Punjab, Haryana and Karnataka, rise in bus fares was the issue, and in Orissa, it was mainly against blackmarketing, hoarding and consequent price-rise (effective intervention by the SFI prevented this movement from taking an openly anti-Marwari character). In all these struggles, the common factor which emerged was the large-scale mobilisation of the students in defence of their democratic rights and to better their economic lot.

The same period also witnessed certain disturbing and negative aspects of the student movement. In a period of mass discontent, while it is possible on the one hand to forge unity of democratic-minded sections, it is on the other hand fertile soil for reactionary forces to lead astray the student movement. The chauvinist agitation in Assam and the anti-reservation stir in Gujarat were primarily spearheaded by students.

The SFI, in April 1981, taking stock of this situation, decided that a programme of action on common demands of education and employment which would cut across these divisions amongst the student community should be evolved. Accordingly, the SFI, CEC raised the slogans of "education for all, jobs for all" and the "one crore signature campaign" and proceeded to unite other student and youth organisations on these demands. The result was the impressive student-youth march to Parliament on September 15, 1981.

It was also decided to hold the Fourth All-India Conference in December 1981/January 1982 in accordance with the SFI constitution's requirement of holding the conference once in two years. This was further necessitated by the fact that a large number of state-level leaders had moved to other fronts. This gap in leadership had to be filled. It was decided that the conference would be held in Bombay for its obvious advantages. Initially, some Bombay comrades were reluctant. But the preparations for the conference gave a big boost to SFI membership and greatly enthused them. On the whole, the Bombay Committee has done good work and the conference was successful.

During this period, though the SFI has been able to evolve an understanding of united actions and stressed the need to unite the student community on issues as opposed to the designs of the divisive forces to further fragment it, there are however certain wrong tendencies that persist. These were pinpointed in the report adopted at the Fourth SFI Conference.

Based on the concrete experience of united actions in various states, a tendency arose to shun united actions on the ground that other organisations were reaping the benefit from our work and mobilisation. While underlining the urgent need to overcome the fragmentation of the student masses, the Fourth Conference noted that "in the present context the ruling classes are interested in further fragmenting the student movement while we are interested in overcoming this". The report further stated that "though their (other organisations) association may be formal, the greater the number of organisations the greater the appeal to the student masses".

Another wrong tendency, though not as strong as the earlier one, was also pinpointed. In the name of united actions, there was a tendency in some places to disregard and bury the organisational identity of the SFI and tail behind others. The Fourth Conference noted that independent mobilisation was the strength on which united actions can be forged. Therefore, while continuously appealing to other organisations, they should be drawn into united actions on the basis of the SFI's strength.

The overall experience during this period has been that through such united actions it has been possible to strengthen and expand the student organisation in many areas. This, on the other hand, helped broadening the united fronts and strengthening united actions in many areas.

Apart from the AISF and AIYF, the student and youth organisations of the RSP and the Forward Bloc and the student and youth organisations of the Lok Dal and Congress(S) have been cooperating with the SFI. Of late, the student and youth organisations of Bahuguna's Democratic Socialist Front and Chandrajit Yadav's Jantantrik Lok Dal are in contact with it.

There has been a general feeling amongst these organisations that through united actions, the SFI has been gaining more. This has led them at times to embark on independent actions after talks for joint actions had begun. The AISF/AIYF's 'Job or Jail', Lok Dal's court-arrest programme on unemployment relief, Congress(S)'s cycle rally on employment were all actions taken after talks had been initiated for a joint programme.

But despite this, on the basis of the SFI's strength and correct demands, it has been able to draw these organisations into joint struggles at various levels.

The leadership of the Lok Dal student and youth organisations, since the fall of the Janata Government, are reluctant to enter into joint programmes of action with the SFI. They have repeatedly emphasised that unless our leadership clarifies issues with their leadership they will not be in a position to join forces with us at the all-India level.

They are, however, not antagonistic and, in various states, have been participating in joint programmes. Their influence is mainly in the Hindi-speaking areas and only in a few areas are they a decisive force.

The Congress(S) student and youth organisations' central leadership is very cordial with the SFI. They are very weak in most parts of the country. In Kerala, they joined the authoritarian and anti-democratic forces against the SFI.

The AISF and AIYF have not displayed any sincere desire to strengthen united actions during this period. They had to be literally forced to join some actions. Even where they joined, their attitude was not healthy. Their entire effort would be to project themselves at the expense of other organisations and often give an inflated account of their strength. For the September 15 rally, despite sincere efforts, they stayed away from the Action Committee. Similar is the experience in various states.

Next to the SFI, however, they are that most organised Left and democratic force in the student movement. Of late their attitude has been better and the January 19 student strike will be an occasion to test their commitment to united struggles.

The ABVP/JVM, the student front of the RSS/BJP, is the strongest organised force amongst the students, especially in north India. At the all-India level no efforts have been made to draw them into joint actions. The main reason for this has been the refusal of the AISF/AIYF to participate with them. In some states they have been forced to join common struggles.

During this period the SFI's understanding with the student youth organisations of the RSP and Forward Bloc has considerably improved at the all-India level.

In accordance with the decision to shift the Party centre and the central offices of the mass organisations, the SFI centre started functioning from Delhi after the Third SFI Conference. Due to lack of any experience in this regard, it took some time to set up the centre. But on the whole, there has been a marked improvement in central functioning. A central team of the President, General Secretary and a Joint Secretary, assisted at times by other SFI Secretariat members, was able to maintain coordination between the movements of various states, visit states and attend their meetings. The centre has also been able to react to various developments at the all-India level and give timely calls on various issues. The proper functioning of the centre has in a large measure helped in successfully implementing joint actions and coordination with other student-youth organisations.

Notwithstanding these positive developments, there have been some weaknesses. The centre will have to be further strengthened, in order to study the problems facing the students and intervene effectively at the educational policy-making level. This is also required for more timely intervention in developments of national importance and to send people to various states. In the past there have been lapses in this direction with regard to Assam, Aligarh and later Gujarat. Though the members of the central team have been able to function the central office and tour the states, a lot more attention and time will have to be paid by the members of the team to this.

One of the major reasons for this relative weakness is the inadequate response from the states towards fulfilling financial quotas, responding to circulars and sending timely information. Though, of late, the situation is improving, there is still a lot to be done in this direction. In this regard it should be noted that the lead expected of the stronger State Committees has not been forthcoming.

Since June 1980, the SFI journal is being published regularly. Its circulation now varies between six and seven thousand. Though the form, content and quality are satisfactory, there are some weaknesses and there is scope for improvement. The publication has to be regularised. Secondly, there has been no editorial board-based functioning. Thirdly, the contents should be reoriented to reach the high school and average students.

An attempt is being made to maintain its independent identity. In this manner, we have been able to reach to a wider section of students.

Though the subscriptions are increasing steadily, the State Committees have not taken up this task seriously and fail to clear their dues promptly. Until before the Fourth Conference, the dues had reached the staggering dimensions of Rs. 15,000. Though a bulk has been cleared, a substantial amount of close to Rs. 6,000 remains.

During this period, there has been an improvement in the functioning of the State Committees in many states. Members of the central team have been attending these meetings and properly

guiding the discussions. However, more attention has to be paid by the Party Committees to strengthen this functioning, stressing the importance of strengthening the primary units.

Though SFI membership has increased substantially there are large pockets of influence that have to be brought into the fold of the organisation. There have been instances where the SFI's prestige and following are large but membership is not commensurate with it. The Fourth Conference noted the need to overcome some weaknesses in the understanding of mass membership and the need to orient the organisation towards regular and intensive membership drives.

The Fourth Conference further noted the need to diversify SFI activities so as to appeal to the widest sections of the student community. Emphasising the need to correctly implement the slogan of "Study and Struggle", the conference decided the State Committee should pay adequate attention to this aspect, and noted that "study, struggle and membership and membership drives should be our constant and combined activity".

During this period, the SFI organisation has been put to severe stress and strain. Fourteen comrades have been murdered by the forces of reaction. Many more were subjected to physical assaults, intimidation and academic victimisation. The SFI unit in Assam, in particular, withstood the severest of these attacks and emerged unscathed out of this experience.

During this period, the SFI has been able to develop fraternal relations with student-youth organisations of some socialist countries and other organisations. Forced to recognise the SFI as a main force in the Indian student movement, these organisations led by the Komsomol of the USSR have opened dialogue with it. On three occasions, SFI representatives visited the USSR for talks. A Komsomol delegation was to have come to India at SFI invitation, but they cancelled it at the last minute. They are still hesitant to openly associate with the SFI bilaterally. The SFI is in correspondence with the All-China Students' Federation and regular correspondence takes place.

Apart from this, the SFI has relations with the student and youth organisations of Cuba, Vietnam, GDR, Yugoslavia and Afghanistan, the General Union of Palestinian Students, African National Congress. The student organisations of Iran and Nepal are in contact with it.

Through exchanges with these organisations the SFI has been able to effectively explain its programmatic understanding and position on various issues.

A central Party school for student Party comrades was held in December 1980. Comrades E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Basavapunraiah and Surjeet held these classes.

In August 1981, an SFI-level school was organised for the comrades from the Hindi-speaking areas in Morena (Madhya Pradesh).

Through these schools, the general understanding of student comrades on important issues has improved

During this period, the Party centre has been giving regular guidance. Initially, the student fraction consisting of the secretariat members used to regularly meet the P.B. Later, in 1980, one PBM is regularly looking after the front and a three-member sub-committee consisting of Comrades M.A. Baby, Nepal Bhattacharya and Sitaram Yechury was constituted. Members of this committee regularly maintained contact with the Party centre.

On February 1, 1981, a detailed note on the relation between the Party and the SFI mass organisation was submitted to the P.B. (This note is appended.) Suggestions on this basis of these observations were also made. Subsequent developments show that though some improvement has taken place, yet it is not to the desired level. In order to further strengthen the mass organisations the Party committees should improve fraction committees' functioning and refrain from openly associating with SFI functions and conferences.

The central Sub-Committee should be formalised and regular meetings should be held. At the states' level the fractions should be strengthened and the Party committees should regularly discuss and review the work of the student front.

A NOTE TO THE P.B. FROM THE STUDENT FRACTION

On Organisation

The P.B., consequent to the discussions with us in June 1979, had asked us to submit a brief state-wise report on the state of the Party-student mass organisations link. The information was collected at the CEC fraction in July 1979. In view of the political developments that have taken place since then, we were advised to submit this report after the mid-term elections for necessary action.

A. STATES WHERE PARTY FRACTIONS/SUB-COMMITTEES EXIST AND FUNCTION PROPERLY

(a) *West Bengal*: A joint student-youth sub-committee under the Party State Committee functions looking after Party assessment and guidance. Similar sub-committees exist at the district level.

Two wholetimers at the state level and around 75 at the district level.

(b) *Kerala*: State-level Fraction Committee and district level Fraction Committees functioning. Decision taken to organise unit level Party committees.

Twelve wholetimers for the whole state.

(c) *Tripura*: A joint student-youth Sub-Committee functions at the state level.

(d) *Assam*: A joint student-youth Sub-Committee functions at the state level and similar committees function at the district level.

Two wholetimers at the state level.

(e) *Orissa*: A joint student-youth Sub-Committee functions at the state level. Similar district level committees started but *not* functioning properly.

Six wholetimers at the state level. All six are members of the state SFI Secretariat.

(f) *Andhra Pradesh*: A seven-member student fraction function under the supervision of the Party State Secretary. District level fractions in some districts.

Nine wholetimers at the state level.

(g) *Punjab*: A state-level fraction functions and similar fraction functions in the districts. However in *Chandigarh* which works in coordination with Punjab no such fraction exists.

(h) *Delhi*: A five-member student fraction under the Party State Committee. One wholtimer at the state level.

B. STATES WHERE FRACTIONS/SUB-COMMITTEES EXIST BUT REQUIRE MORE ATTENTION

(i) *Maharashtra*: All the SFI committee members are Party members and they function as the fraction. A fraction for Bombay district is being formed. The SFI exists in very few districts. No wholtimer.

(j) *Karnataka*: Sub-Committee at the state level exists. In some districts student Party branches exist but no fractions formed and there is lack of proper coordination. One wholtimer at the state level.

(k) *Haryana*: State level Party Fraction formed in May 1979. No district level committees. No wholtimer

(l) *Bihar*: The SFI State Secretary is a member of the Party State Committee. The SFI is suffering due to organisational problems and improper Party-mass organisational coordination.

C. STATES WHERE NO FRACTION/ SUB-COMMITTEE EXISTS

(m) *Tamil Nadu*: There is no Party-mass organisation link in the form of a fraction or sub-committee, though there is one wholtimer on the student front.

(n) *Madhya Pradesh*: There is no fraction or sub-committee at the state level though there is a Party fraction in one district, Gwalior, consisting of 22 members. There is no wholtimer.

(o) *Uttar Pradesh*: Recently the SFI units of west and east U.P. have been merged into one State Committee. No fraction of sub-committee has been formed yet. There is one wholtimer at the state level regarding whose wages no decision has been taken and this is adversely affecting the SFI functioning.

(p) *Rajasthan*: There is no information regarding the functioning of any fraction or sub-committee.

(q) *Gujarat*: The SFI in this state is confined mostly to the district of Bhavnagar. There is no information regarding the existence of any fraction.

D. STATES WHERE SFI HAS RECENTLY GROWN

(r) *Himachal Pradesh*: The SFI has recently led a long-drawn agitation in the Himachal University and has later won the union elections convincingly. SFI work in some districts is progressing. Proper organisational structure and guidance is required.

(s) *Jammu & Kashmir*: Some comrades are working actively as the student front and once the educational institutions reopen in March it is expected to gain momentum. Proper attention and guidance is required. In view of the nationalist sentiment present there, it was suggested that instead of SFI, the J & K Students Federation could be adopted as a name initially and could be affiliated to the SFI at its first conference.

On the basis of this information, the following points are suggested:

(1) The Party State Committees should discuss and review the work on the student front regularly.

(2) More attention and adequate encouragement should be given by the Party in states classified under section B.

(3) Proper Fractions/Sub-Committees should be set up immediately and attention paid towards their development in states classified under section C.

(4) It should be made a regular practice that before the mass organisation meeting all matters should be properly clinched in the Fraction/Sub-Committees.

Subsequently, the first state conferences of the SFI were held in Himachal Pradesh and Manipur, prior to the Bombay SFI conference. In J & K a regional convention was held in Jammu and SFI committees have been formed in both the regions.

SFI MEMBERSHIP CHART

State	1973 membership at the time of 2nd Conference January 1974	1978 membership at the time of 3rd Conference February 1979	1981 membership at the time of 4th Conference December 1981
Andhra Pradesh	7804	23,294	43,324
Assam	4765	27,576	23,626
Bihar	3662	10,556	28,381
Delhi	140	2350	1690
Gujarat	600	1800	4230
Haryana	4000	4585	3882
Himachal Pradesh	—	—	5165
J & K	—	—	1526
Karnataka	5100	4500	5172
Kerala	43,893	1,15,386	2,25,081
Madhya Pradesh	—	6157	7335
Maharashtra	—	5507	31,856
Manipur	—	—	1610
Orissa	3014	5409	9823
Punjab	6515	20,000	25,000
Rajasthan	1100	10,000	10,000
Tamil Nadu	3400	2215	8158
Tripura	8533	21,812	25,500
Uttar Pradesh	3037	6026	8976
West Bengal	64,378	1,45,636	243,200
Total	1,62,491	4,12,706	7,14,074

Women's Front

Only ten months have passed since the founding conference of the All-India Democratic Women's Association in March 1981. At that time it had 12 lakh members in the states of Kerala, West Bengal, Tripura, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Delhi, Punjab, Bihar, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Assam. The central office has been set up in Delhi. A state conference has been held in Karnataka, meetings of activists have been held in Uttar Pradesh and Orissa. At the all-India level, the following actions have taken place:

(a) An all-India day was observed on September 29 by the AIDWA to highlight the issues of price-rise, attacks on democratic rights, deterioration in the law and order situation, threat to national integration. This day was observed in West Bengal, Kerala, Tripura,

Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Delhi, Bihar, Rajasthan, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh.

(b) All the State Committees launched campaigns against the unfair court verdict on the Rameezabee rape case (Andhra Pradesh).

(c) All the State Committees campaigned on the question of the release of women political prisoners in Egypt.

(d) At the initiative of the AIDWA, a united march of 700 women from ten women's organisations was held in Delhi on August 5 on the issues of price-rise, atrocities on women, and against the NSA and attacks on democratic rights.

Although the AIDWA's organisational strength has been growing (as indicated by the growth in membership) since March 1981, it has been most marked in the North Indian Hindi belt. The organisations in Punjab, Bihar, Rajasthan, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh are making steady progress. The Delhi Committee, in particular, has taken up the problems of women in an imaginative manner as indicated by the way they took up the case of the recent dowry-burning incident of a young pregnant bride and forced the in-laws to return the dowry worth lakhs of rupees. This had a great impact in the area.

It has to be noted that although the AIDWA is probably the biggest all-India women's organisation, it has still to touch the broad sections of women in the country. The concept of mass organisation has been accepted by the Party but it has not yet gone deep into the rank and file cadres. There is, in fact, resistance from the cadres to draw wide sections and we continue to work only within the Party periphery and among sympathisers. To bring a broader section of women into the organisation, it is necessary to take up not only general issues (such as price-rise) but also the specific problems concerning women. Although symposiums, seminars and agitations are being held to popularise the problems of women, it is only a beginning and has yet to reach the villages and gain an all India dimension. This needs to be considered by the entire Party.

Considering the mass membership and large participation of women in struggles, their strength in the Party, in its higher committees and at the leadership level is meagre. In Kerala, for instance, lakhs of women workers are participating in struggles

and their militancy and heroism are an accepted fact and their literacy level is also high, but they constitute only 2700 of the 104,000 Party membership. In Kerala, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, the women's movement has been developing since the 1940s and women participate in all political activities and the organisations have lakhs of members. But what is the increase in Party membership? It is a fact that we have failed to develop women cadres not only in the Party and its higher committees but also in the higher committees of the trade unions and Kisan Sabhas, even where women have participated in all struggles. It has to be examined why other mass organisations have been able to provide cadres to the various fronts, only the women's organisations have failed to do the same. Why this trend is continuing has to be analysed. In fact, it could be said that there is stagnation in the development of women cadres. How many full-time cadres are there within the AIDWA?

Within our socio-economic set-up, the social attitude and outlook is still feudal and fental practices regarding women are dominant. Women themselves remain backward owing to ignorance, superstition, lack of education, economic sub-servience, inferior status in marriage, inheritance, etc. Therefore, special and conscious efforts have to be made to reach the broad sections of women in our country. Emphasis must be placed on the political education and cadre-building among the militant women members. A great barrier and drawback is the backward and feudal attitudes prevailing within our own Party towards women in general and a lack of awareness and interest in the special problems of women.

At a time when problems confronting women are agitating the minds of more and more people, many women's groups have sprung up to utilise this opportunity. Many of them are groups organised by some foreign church missions, imperialist-funded. Government-sponsored, etc., which seek to divert the women's movement away from the democratic movement.

If conscious efforts are not made to draw women into the struggle of toiling people and into the democratic movement, the women's movement will develop away from the progressive and Communist

movement in the country. This will be disastrous as women are the backbone of social change. The Party must realise this and give due importance to this problem and take immediate steps to rectify this weakness.

These issues have direct relevance to the building of the AIDWA itself. The central office set up in Delhi is functioning with a skeleton staff, an office secretary working part-time. The majority of its 15 state units need help from the central office for their development. Besides, new issues confronting women are coming up everyday—such as legislative changes regarding rape, dowry, marriage, equal wages, etc. The organisation has to study these issues in order to educate the rank and file cadres and members. In addition, to develop an all-India outlook, there is an urgent need for a bulletin. For all this, a central office is necessary. Unless the State Committees, particularly the major State Committees, allot cadres for the central office, it will not be possible to carry out the responsibilities and duties of the organisation.

Other Resolutions Adopted By The Eleventh Congress of The Communist Party of India (Marxist) Held At Vijayawada on January 26-31, 1982*

Comrade Balasubramaniam

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep sense of grief at the passing away of one of the most valued comrades, Comrade A. Balasubramaniam, member of the Polit Bureau of the Party.

Ever since he joined the Party in the early forties, he had self-sacrificingly worked for the cause of the working class and Communist movement.

Comrade Balasubramaniam was a staunch fighter against right-revisionism in the CPI and in the course of the struggle against it, took a leading part in building and developing the CPI(M) in Tamil Nadu. He was equally staunch in the fight against the Left-adventurism of the Naxalites and for safeguarding the Party's ideology, political line and organisational principles.

Comrade Balasubramaniam handled comrades with great care to rear them, but he was never liberal where Party norms, forms and its organisational principles were concerned.

He was an uncompromising fighter against the Dravidian ideology and Tamil chauvinism and fought them courageously even in the most trying times.

He was a member of the Central Committee of the Party ever since it broke from the CPI, having been elected at its Seventh Congress in Calcutta and re-elected in the Eighth (Cochin), Ninth (Madurai) and Tenth (Jullundur) Congresses. At the Tenth Congress, he was elected to the Polit Bureau of the Party. He was

*Published in the compilation of the Documents of the Eleventh Congress of the CPI(M)

the Secretary of the Tamil Nadu State Committee of the Party from the early seventies till his death last September.

The Party Congress pays its revolutionary homage to the memory of Comrade A. Balasubramaniam and conveys its heartfelt condolences to his sorrowing family.

Comrade Jaipal Singh

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its grief and shock at the sudden passing away of Comrade Jaipal Singh, member of the Central Committee and Secretary of the Delhi State Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). In his death, the Party has lost a devoted, loyal and self-sacrificing comrade.

Comrade Jaipal Singh travelled a long way from the British Indian army to the central leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). While a Major in the army in the pre-independence days, Comrade Jaipal Singh was taken into custody by the British army authorities and charged with leaking out a top secret document after the Communist Party of India had exposed "Operation Asylum", a British imperialist conspiratorial plan to liquidate the leadership of the freedom struggle. He was held in Fort William in Calcutta from where he escaped—by itself a stupendous task.

After the escape he joined the Communist Party and went underground and remained underground for over a decade. But the Government of India continued to persecute him on the charges the British imperialists had levelled against him and finally got him convicted and jailed on one of those charges.

During the period he was underground, Comrade Jaipal Singh did invaluable service in the cause of the Party, going to the help of the major struggles fought in that period under the leadership of the Party. His army background became one of the greatest assets of the Party. He helped the peasant partisan struggle in Telangana, the armed struggle of the Tripura and Manipur tribal people, the struggle in Kakdwip in West Bengal.

When the Communist Party of India split, Comrade Jaipal Singh firmly rejected right-revisionism and joined the

Communist Party of India (Marxist). He was arrested and detained during the period of the Emergency. He was the Secretary of the Delhi Regional Committee and of the Delhi State Committee of the Party. At the last Congress of the Party at Jullundur, he was elected to the Central Committee.

Comrade Jaipal Singh's simple way of life, his devotion and loyalty, his capacity for making sacrifices endeared him to everyone who came in contact with him and earned their respect. The Party has suffered a heavy loss in his death.

The Party Congress dips the Party's Red Banner in revolutionary homage to Comrade Jaipal Singh. The Congress extends its heartfelt condolences to his wife, two sons, daughter and the rest of his family.

CONDOLENCES

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) mourns the death of **Comrade Alexei Kosygin**, outstanding leader of the Soviet Union and Soviet people, member of the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Premier of the USSR for several years.

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep grief at the passing away of **Comrade M.A. Suslov**, member of the Polit Bureau, veteran of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at the age of 79.

Comrade Suslov led the delegation of the CPSU to the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of India held in Vijayawada in 1961.

Comrade Suslov had been suffering for long from tuberculosis and the end came with a heart attack.

The Party Congress pays its tributes to Comrade Suslov and conveys its heartfelt condolences to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Congress mourns the death of **Comrade Ton Duc Thang**, veteran leader of the Communist Party of Vietnam, member of the Central Committee of the CPVN, and President of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The Congress mourns the death of **Comrade Soong Ching Ling**, an outstanding personality of the democratic and

Communist movement of China for decades and Honorary Chairman of the People's Republic of China at the time of her death.

The Congress mourns the death of **Comrade Josip Broz Tito**, leader of the anti-fascist liberation struggle of the Yugoslav people who headed the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav State till the time of his death.

The Congress mourns the death of **Comrade Nguyen Luong Bang**, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and Vice-President of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam at the time of his death.

The Congress mourns the death of **Comrade Luigi Longo**, veteran leader of the Italian Communist Party and its Chairman at the time of his death.

The Congress mourns the death of **Agostino Neto**, leader of the Angolan people's struggle against Portuguese colonialism and head of the free Angolan Republic.

The Congress mourns the death of **Comrade Jack Wodds**, a prominent leader of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

The Congress conveys its heartfelt condolences to the Communist Parties to which these leaders belonged.

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) mourns the deaths of **Comrade A.V. Kunhambu**, long-standing leader of the kisan and Communist movement of Kerala and member of the Kerala State Committee of the CPI(M), and **Comrades Pattiam Gopalan, K. Padmanabhan and K. P. Joseph**, members of the Kerala State Committee of the CPI(M).

The Congress mourns the death of **Comrade Dinesh Mazumdar**, a pioneering leader of the democratic youth movement, member of the West Bengal State Committee of the Party and Government Chief Whip in the West Bengal Assembly.

The Congress mourns the deaths of **Comrade Harnam Singh Chamak**, member of the Punjab State Committee of the CPI(M), and **Comrade Hardit Singh Bhattal**, a long-standing leader of the Communist movement in Punjab.

The Congress mourns the death of **Comrade Ramanand Singh**, Kisan Sabha and CPI(M) leader of Bihar who met a tragic death at the hands of armed dacoits.

The Congress mourns the deaths of Comrade Ibotombi Singh, Secretary of the Manipur Committee of the Party, Comrade Abdul Razak, member of the Gujarat State Committee of the Party, Comrade Saroj Chandra, member of the West Bengal State Committee, Comrade B. K. Paliwal, Leader of employees and member of the Delhi State Committee of the Party, and Comrade T. Balan, member of the Tamil Nadu State Committee of the Party.

The Congress mourns the death of Comrade Chandra Singh Garhwali who, while in the British Indian Army, refused to obey orders to open fire on freedom-fighters and suffered long imprisonment for it and who later joined the Communist Party and remained with the CPI(M) till his death.

The Congress mourns the deaths of Comrade Dinen Bhattacharyya, veteran trade union and CPI(M) leader, and Comrade Jyotirmoy Bosu, an able parliamentarian for fifteen years without a break and Chief Whip of the CPI(M) Group in the Lok Sabha.

The Eleventh Congress of the CPI(M) mourns the deaths of Comrade P. C. Joshi, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India for over a decade, Comrade G. Adhikari, for decades a leader of the Communist Party of India, and Comrade Bhupesh Gupta, member of the Central Secretariat of the CPI and a veteran parliamentarian.

MARTYRS

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) pays its revolutionary homage to the martyrs who laid down their lives in the cause of the Communist, working people's and democratic movements.

Among them are 215 comrades of West Bengal, mostly victims of Congress(I) hoodlums, 72 comrades of Kerala killed by RSS and Congress(I) elements, 25 of them since the resignation of the Left-Democratic Front Government in October last, 49 in Tripura killed by extremists and Congress(I) elements, 31 comrades of Bihar killed by landlords' and employers' hirelings and the police, 61 in Andhra Pradesh killed by Congress(I) and Naxalite elements, four comrades in Assam

while bravely facing the secessionist agitation, two agricultural worker comrades in Orissa killed by Congress(I) landlords.

Many others have sacrificed their lives—workers, agricultural workers, peasants, students, youth, women—in the course of struggles in other states.

The Party Congress is proud of these comrades who fought in the cause of the Party and the working people, remained steadfastly in their posts and laid down their lives.

This Congress pledges that our Party will cherish their sacrifices, and will carry on the struggle for the cause for which these comrades made the supreme sacrifice.

The Party Congress conveys its heartfelt condolences to the families of the martyred comrades.

WAR DANGER

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its grave concern over the growing danger which threatens to plunge the world into a nuclear holocaust. It regards this development as a danger to the existence of mankind and calls upon all people of goodwill in India to be aware of the danger and resist it.

The Congress is of the opinion that the danger to humanity emerges out of the aggressive imperialist policies of the USA which is intent on obstructing the progress of the world socialist forces and regaining the domination it has lost over the former colonial world.

The US imperialism in pursuance of its policy of aggression has embarked upon the gigantic programme of armaments in the name of achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union and countering an imaginary Soviet threat. It has reversed detente and rejected the SALT II agreement on the limitation of strategic armaments. The decision to deploy Pershing missiles in western Europe constitutes a direct threat to the USSR. These missiles, with a range extending from 1000 to 2500 kilometres, bring the European part of the USSR under the threat of a direct attack from West German soil. There is already talk in US imperialist circles of a tactical nuclear strike in Europe. If the war-mongers

are not checked in time, the world will be faced with the destruction of millions of lives, of towns, cities, communities and whole countries.

The talk of limited nuclear war with neutron warheads, etc., is clear deception to lull the vigilance of the people. Never in recent years were the war incendiaries so active, never before had they the means to carry out their genocidal designs.

The USA conceals its designs for global domination under the guise of meeting the threat from the Soviet Union of its security. It urges its allies to extend NATO operations to the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf. It has organised a quick deployment force to intervene in West Asia and has converted Diego Garcia into a naval-air base and acquired new bases in Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Driven out of Iran it hopes to convert Pakistan into an operation base utilising the prevailing differences between Pakistan and India.

The Eleventh Party Congress expresses its satisfaction that the popular forces in the world are seized of the danger and are ranging themselves against it. The mighty demonstrations in London, Paris, Brussels, Rome, Bonn, Helsinki for peace, the peace marches of women and the rising determination in the working class to oppose the trend towards war, in the background of the great peace movement of the world, can assert its will over the aggressors. In the USA itself the American people are resisting the Reagan Administration's policy of arms race which brings economic miseries for them. The peace movement of our time can prevent the impending catastrophe. The Eleventh Congress considers it an urgent task of the working class and all progressive sections to combat this danger, expose and unmask imperialist plans before the people and mobilise all peace-loving anti-imperialist forces to save the world from nuclear devastation.

WEST ASIA

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) denounces the Zionist Israeli rulers for the illegal annexation of the Golan Heights in defiance of UN decisions and world public opinion. Earlier, Israel had in similar fashion

annexed East Jerusalem and declared it the country's capital. The annexation of the Golan Heights belonging to Syria is the latest in the continuing aggression that Israel has been committing on the Arab world. All these criminal acts are directed at splitting the unity of the Arab world, and especially against the Palestinian Arab people's struggle for a state of their own.

The Israeli Zionists are refusing to vacate the Arab land occupied by them by aggression. Instead, they have been setting up Jewish settlements, one after another, on the Western Bank of the Jordan to break the contiguity of the Arab areas. They have been engaged in genocidal massacres of the Arab people in the occupied areas. They have been making continuous attacks on Lebanon to destroy the Palestine Liberation Organisation bases situated in the southern part of that country. They bombed and destroyed without any provocation the Iraqi nuclear establishment. And now, they are annexing the occupied Arab territories and making them a part of Israeli territory.

The Israeli rulers would never have been able to continue these aggressive acts of theirs but for the patronage and support of the US imperialists. The US Administration has been arming the Israeli regime to the teeth with the latest, most sophisticated weapons, and has poured billions of dollars into Israel to strengthen the Zionist regime. The Agreement for General Cooperation between the USA and Israel guarantees Israel all US support in its aggression on the Arab world. By its recent veto in the UN Security Council of a mild resolution, which called on countries to voluntarily impose sanctions against Israel, the US imperialists again assured the Israeli rulers of their full backing for all their expansionist activities.

The Eleventh Congress of the CPI(M) denounces the US imperialists for the support they are giving to the predatory Israeli Zionists.

The Congress notes with satisfaction that all the Arab countries, including those friendly to the USA, have unanimously condemned the US veto in the Security Council. The Congress expresses its hope that the Arab world will strengthen its unity which alone is the guarantee of victory in the struggle against the Israeli aggressors and their US imperialist patrons.

The Eleventh Congress of the CPI(M) extends its solidarity with the Arab people and reiterates the Party's full support to the Arab world and demands that the Israeli aggressors vacate all occupied Arab territory and withdraw all the Jewish settlements established there. The Congress extends full support to the Palestinian Arab people's demand for a state of their own and reiterates that only the vacation of aggression by Israel and the establishment of the Palestinian state can solve the problem in West Asia and secure peace in that region.

US Provocations in South America

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its strong denunciation of the US imperialists for their provocations against the people of South America and the progressive Governments there, especially socialist Cuba.

Ever since the triumph of the 1959 revolution, Cuba has been facing aggressive actions by the US imperialists who cannot tolerate this socialist outpost in the western hemisphere. The undeclared secret war carried out by the USA against Cuba during the last 22 years—subversive actions, sabotages, bacteriological warfare and assassination plans—is the longest ever of this type in the region.

The Eleventh Congress notes that the upsurge of the guerrilla struggle in El Salvador, the sharp economic crisis in the majority of the countries, threats and pressures by the USA, and the firm defence of their sovereignty by Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada are the characteristic features of the situation in Latin America today.

The Salvadoran revolutionary forces are advancing, the guerrilla struggle in Guatemala is accentuating and the revolutionary forces of Nicaragua are consolidating themselves. The formation of a broadly representative, revolutionary front in Surinam marks an important step forward in the process of changes launched in that country in February 1980.

The France-Mexico agreement recognising the revolutionary forces of El Salvador as politically representative, and the

identity of views on the situation in the area expressed by Fidel Castro and Mexican President Portillo, have given a further fillip to the revolutionary movement in Latin America.

All this has panicked the US imperialists. They consider Cuba as the biggest threat to them in the western hemisphere, and have drawn up contingency plans for Central America and the Caribbean, with punitive strikes readied against Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada, along with plans for direct intervention in El Salvador. In their interventionist activities, the US imperialists are relying on the reactionary regimes in Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Haiti. But all these regimes are facing intense crises, and opposition from their own people.

The Eleventh Congress of the CPI(M) extends its solidarity and support to the people of Cuba and the rest of Latin America and wishes them speedy successes in their struggle against the fascist dictatorships and the US imperialists who prop them up.

Kampuchea

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its revolutionary greetings to the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea which is successfully overcoming the ravages created by the counter-revolutionary Pol Pot regime and rebuilding the shattered economy and society of the country.

The US imperialists, who were ignominiously thrown out of the three countries of Indo-China in 1975, are making desperate efforts to stage a come-back. Ever since the Kampuchean people, with the fraternal help of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, overthrew the Pol Pot regime, the US imperialists have been using Thailand for organising armed incursions into Kampuchea with the Kampuchean counter-revolutionaries given shelter in that country. They are trying to internationalise the Kampuchean issue with the help of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, by debates and resolutions in the United Nations. They continue to give recognition to the Pol Pot representative in the United Nations, a place which rightfully belongs to the Heng Samrin Government of Kampuchea.

Unfortunately, the People's Republic of China also, with its strained relations with Vietnam, has taken a hostile attitude to the Heng Samrin Government.

The Eleventh Congress of the CPI(M) denounces the imperialist conspiracies against the People's Democratic Republic of Kampuchea and reiterates the support of the CPI(M) to the stand of the three countries of Indo-China that any discussion of the Kampuchean issue in the United Nations or any international conference is counter-productive, that the countries of the ASEAN should bilaterally or jointly hold discussions with Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, and that such discussions alone can lead to stability and peace in the South-East Asian region. This proposal is born out of the conviction that the imperialists should not be allowed to intervene again in the Indo-Chinese countries and should be kept out of South-East Asia in the interests of the region as a whole.

The Eleventh Congress of the CPI(M) wishes all success to the people of Kampuchea in the rehabilitation of their economy rapidly so as to embark on the building of Socialism in their country.

Afghanistan

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its revolutionary greetings to the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan for successfully leading the people on the path laid down by the Saur Revolution.

Though rebuffed by the timely assistance given by the Soviet Union to the Afghan Government, the US imperialists are still not reconciled to the reality that their plans to reverse the course of history in Afghanistan, to plant a Government pliable to them in that country, have met with defeat.

The US imperialists are continuing their efforts to subvert the Karmal regime. They are training the tribal chieftains and big landlords who have escaped to Pakistan. Pakistani soil is being used for these subversive activities and arms are being supplied by the USA and Egypt among others. Incidents are being created inside Afghanistan to create a feeling of insecurity among the people.

Despite all these imperialist-inspired activities, the Eleventh Congress of the CPI(M) notes with appreciation that the Karmal Government has stabilised itself, is expanding its control to newer areas throwing out the counter-revolutionaries from there, and rebuilding the economy on the path of democratic advance. Notable successes have already been achieved.

Both the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan have again and again declared that Soviet troops would be withdrawn from the country as soon as the condition for withdrawal is created, the condition being that all outside interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, all attempts at subversion from outside, should cease. In its proposal for a political settlement, the Afghan Government has expressed its willingness to enter into talks with Pakistan and Iran, bilaterally or trilaterally, in the presence of a UN representative. The refusal of the Pakistani military regime to respond to this eminently reasonable proposal only shows that Pakistan is bent upon facilitating the US imperialist subversive activities against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

The Eleventh Congress reiterates the full support of the CPI(M) to the people of Afghanistan and the People's Democratic Party in their struggle against the internal counter-revolutionaries and their imperialist patrons abroad. The Congress wishes them all success in the building of their economy and society in a new direction.

Recognise the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) greets the Polisario freedom-fighters and the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic which they have established in Western Sahara after winning spectacular victories over the Moroccan reactionary regime which is trying to annex that territory.

This new African republic fighting to uphold its independence from Moroccan aggression, has been recognised by many countries including 26 member-states of the Organisation of African Unity and has the full backing of the OAU.

The Eleventh Congress demands that the Government of India accord immediate recognition to the Government of the SADR and establish full diplomatic relations with it and support its cause in the international organisations and the non-aligned movement.

The Party Congress extends its full solidarity to the freedom-fighters of Western Sahara, the Polisario and the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic.

Southern Africa

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its militant greetings to the people of Namibia and South Africa who are engaged in a grim struggle against the white racist regime in Pretoria.

The oppressive, racist regime would have been wiped out by the fighting people, and Namibia would have won its independence, but for the all-out support it is getting from the imperialist powers in violation of the sanctions imposed by the United Nations.

The Eleventh Congress denounces the white racist regime of South Africa for the continued illegal occupation of Namibia, persistently violating UN decisions on the independence of Namibia. The Congress denounces the racist regime for the monstrous repression it has unleashed on the Black people of South Africa with mass killings, jailing and torture. The Congress denounces the racist regime for the repeated aggression it commits against Angola and Mozambique. The Congress denounces the imperialist powers, first and foremost the USA, for the support they give to the racist regime, and their manoeuvres to impose a puppet regime on Namibia, by-passing the South-West African People's Organisation, the sole representative of the Namibian people, recognised as such by the United Nations, the non-aligned movement and world public opinion.

The Eleventh Congress reaffirms the CPI(M)'s solidarity and support to the Namibian freedom-fighters and demands that the UN plan for Namibian freedom be implemented immediately

without any further delay, prevarication, qualification or modification as is being attempted by the imperialist powers.

The Eleventh Congress extends its militant greetings to the fighting Black people of South Africa and the African National Congress who are heroically fighting the white racist regime for their liberation and pledges all support to them.

Racism in UK and Canada

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep concern at the deterioration of race relations in the capitalist countries of the West, particularly in the UK and Canada.

The Government of the UK did not hesitate to insult Indian women entering Britain by forcing them to undergo virginity tests. Over the last one year serious conflicts broke out, the worst being the series of riots in the cities of the UK in July 1981, which have made the Indian and other racial minorities feel insecure. Besides, using the riots as an excuse and following the Scarman report, the powers and authority of the police force have been strengthened to the disadvantage of the Black minorities, given the known racist attitude of a great majority in the police force. Violent attacks on the Black minorities are continuing, along with the sustained campaign for the forced repatriation of the Black immigrants.

These attacks have been intensified after the passing of the new Nationality Bill which blatantly discriminates between the Black immigrants from the Commonwealth countries of Asia, Africa and the West Indies, and the nationals of the European countries and immigrants from the Commonwealth countries like Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The strong opposition to the Nationality Bill voiced by both the immigrant groups and the democratic people has been completely ignored by the Conservative Government of the UK.

The Congress congratulates the Indian Workers' Association (Great Britain) which in cooperation with immigrant organisations and the democratic forces of Great Britain is fighting against the racist forces and the Racist Act.

This Congress calls upon the Government of India to take a forthright stand against racism, and to take necessary and adequate measures for the protection of Indians against racist attacks and the discriminatory policies of the British and Canadian Governments.

Indo-Pak Relations

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) notes with extreme concern the serious threat to peace in the Indian sub-continent created by the collaboration of the Pakistani military regime with US imperialism, acting as its pawn in the region to further the US designs for global domination.

After being thrown out of Iran, after being rebuffed in Afghanistan, the US imperialists have been using the Pakistani dictatorship as its instrument for intervention in the region. A massive programme has been undertaken to arm Pakistan with very sophisticated weapons including the F-16 fighter planes. Despite all denials by the military regime's spokesmen, it is known that the Zia-ul Haq dictatorship has given naval facilities to the USA near Karachi and air base facilities in Peshawar. The US Administration which has been refusing to honour its commitment to supply fuel for the Tarapore nuclear plant on the plea that the newly enacted US law does not permit the supply of such fuel to India, did not hesitate to make the necessary amendments to US laws to supply Pakistan with weapons, even though it is known that Pakistan is working on a nuclear bomb and should normally not have been eligible for US arms supply.

This special consideration has been shown by the US imperialists to the military regime of Pakistan with the sole purpose of exerting pressure on India, to supplement the arms-twisting that is being done by imperialist financial agencies like the World Bank and IMF, to force India to retreat from the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation and abandon its stand on a number of issues, especially on Afghanistan, which is not to the liking of the USA. The supply of F-16 fighters and other modern weapons to the Zia-ul Haq dictatorship has brought the danger of war to India's doorstep.

It is to cover up this entire sordid game that the Pakistani military regime has come up with the proposal of a no-war pact between India and Pakistan. In the background of the military dictatorship arming itself to the teeth, this proposal cannot be considered as anything but a smoke-screen to cover up the US-Pak designs against India.

It is also to be noted that Pakistani spokesmen are repeatedly saying that a no-war pact will not add to or subtract anything on the Kashmir problem, from the Simla Agreement. This, in fact, is the only problem that the Pakistani regime has been raising again and again to sour relations between the two countries. But the Pakistani regime wants to keep it out of the scope of the no-war pact. Instead of discussing and settling this issue bilaterally as agreed to by the Governments of the two countries, the Pakistani regime is trying to internationalise the issue. This is certainly not conducive to improving bilateral relations.

It is while receiving arms supplies from the USA and keeping the Kashmir problem simmering, that Pakistan proposes the signing of a no-war pact between the two countries. The Eleventh Congress of the CPI(M) cannot consider it as a proposal born out of any genuine desire for maintaining peace in the sub-continent. On the other hand, the Congress wishes to warn the Indian people that as long as the military regime of Pakistan plays the US imperialist game, there cannot be any peace or stability in the sub-continent.

The Eleventh Congress extends its full solidarity and support to the people of Pakistan in their courageous struggle for democracy, all vestiges of which have been suppressed by the Zia regime. They are suffering untold travails under the so-called Islamic laws which the military dictatorship has introduced. The Congress wishes the suffering neighbouring people speedy success in their struggle for restoration of democratic rights.

The Eleventh Congress calls on the people of India to be aware of the danger that is being mounted on our north-western border.

The Party Congress calls on all patriotic forces in the country to take it as their urgent task to educate the people on the gravity of the situation and rally them to foil the conspiracy that the US

imperialists have hatched against our country in collusion with the Pakistani military regime. This is not a task that can be left to the Government alone.

January 19 General Strike

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) warmly congratulates the National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions and the millions of workers, employees, newspaper employees, teachers, intellectuals, youth, students, and women who participated in the one-day countrywide industrial general strike on January 19, 1982, and blazed a new trail in the development of people's resistance against the anti-people and anti-working class policies of the authoritarian Indira regime. Such a mighty action was possible because of the unity of the working class in the first instance, and the support lent by various mass organisations like the Kisan Sabha, agricultural labour organisations, women's, youth and students' organisations and by the CPI(M) and all opposition parties.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her Congress(I) Governments in the states had taken all repressive steps like preventive arrests of the thousands of the leaders of the movement under the NSA, invoking the ESMA, terrorising the workers by deploying the police, CRP, BSP and other forces and threatening wage-deductions, break in service, withdrawal of recognition of unions and other measures against all those who participated in the strike.

Indira Gandhi called on her party to intervene to defeat the call for strike. The Union Home Minister and Congress(I) Chief Ministers held out threats of ruthlessly suppressing the strike. The Bihar Government issued a shoot-at-sight order. The Government-controlled media worked overtime to create an impression that the strike was going to be a flop by a propaganda barrage of unions which mushroomed overnight not taking part in the strike. Finally, all efforts having failed, anti-social elements and hoodlums, under the leadership of the INTUC(I) and Congress(I) MPs, MLAs and even in some cases of Ministers,

were let loose on the striking workers on the day of the strike, as a result of which two workers in Kerala were stabbed to death and many injured throughout the country. The police opened fire on striking workers in Tamil Nadu, Khammam (Andhra Pradesh) and Varanasi (U.P.) killing ten persons and injuring many.

Undeterred by the Goebbelsian propaganda and braving all the attacks, over twelve million workers and employees in steel, coal and mines, engineering, jute, port and docks, plantations, textile, road and transport, chemicals, workers in public sector factories, in banks, LIC, General Insurance, State Government employees, university teachers and other sections of employees and workers took part in the strike all over the country. Although a call for bandh was given in West Bengal, Tripura and Bihar only, popular support to the call of general strike turned into spontaneous bandhs in Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Karnataka and many other parts of the country. Especially in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura, the bandhs were total and unprecedented, paralysing all normal activities, despite attacks by hoodlums organised by the Congress(I) and a High Court directive to the Government of West Bengal to give protection to the so-called loyal workers. In West Bengal and in parts of Bihar, the railways also came to a standstill. For the first time the working class in Jammu and Kashmir joined the mainstream of the Indian workers' struggle.

Though the strike was only for a day, repressive measures are still continuing. In Haryana, the managements of Haryana Concast and Hansi Cooperative Spinning Mill have terminated the services of all workmen who participated in the strike. Many of those arrested have not been released yet. Show-cause notices have been given to several thousands of workers. The Party Congress denounces these steps and demands the immediate release of all victimised workers and withdrawal of all penal measures forthwith.

The Congress pays homage to the memory of the martyrs whose lives were taken by Congress(I) hoodlums and in police firings while working for the success of the strike, and sends its heartfelt condolences to the members of their bereaved families.

This mighty united action of the working class is indicative of the fact that the united trade union movement has started discharging its responsibilities not only to the working class but also to the peasantry, agricultural workers and the other sections of the people. The working class movement is emerging as a powerful anti-authoritarian democratic force aiding the popular struggle against the forces of dictatorship.

West Bengal Election

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) fully endorses the decision of the Left Front Government of West Bengal to hold a general election in the state by March 15, 1982.

The Party Congress urges upon the Chief Election Commissioner to fix the exact date for the election in consultation with the Government of West Bengal according to the provisions laid down in the Constitution itself, and facilitate the securing of the verdict of the electorate.

The Congress(I) leaders who have been shrilly voicing all sorts of slanderous charges against the Left Front Government, instead of availing of the opportunity to go to the people with their allegations, are doing all they can to get the elections postponed. That the pleas they put forward, especially the one on defective electoral rolls, which has also had the support of the Prime Minister, are thoroughly spurious is clear from the statement of a West Bengal Congress(I) leader that even if the revised lists are satisfactory, the elections should not be held as demanded by the Government of West Bengal.

Defeated in the panchayat elections, the Congress(I), to avoid facing the electorate, decided on a so-called boycott of the municipal elections. The victory of the Left Front in the November by-elections to the Assembly has further unnerved the Congress(I). The in-fights of the faction-ridden Congress(I) in West Bengal are fought in the streets murdering each other and it is getting more and more discredited among the people, and the party is in no position to face the electorate

The leaders of the Congress(I) are afraid of fighting a free and fair election and are demanding the postponement of the election for as long as possible so as to get their demand for imposition of President's rule in the State conceded, and make an attempt to rig the election as they did in 1972. If they are allowed to succeed in these reprehensible tactics, it would signify an attack not only on the democratic rights of the people of West Bengal but on the country's Constitution and parliamentary democracy themselves. The Party Congress is confident that all forces ranged against authoritarianism will foil this attempt to subvert democratic rights.

The Congress greets the Left Front Government, the West Bengal unit of the CPI(M) and other constituents of the Front, for sincerely and successfully implementing the Government's programme, and endearing themselves to the working people of West Bengal.

The Eleventh Congress of the CPI(M) notes with satisfaction that several opposition parties and the national press have extended general support to the demand of the West Bengal Government for holding the Assembly election in March 1982.

The Party Congress appeals to all democratic forces, all opposition parties, groups and elements, to lend their support to the decision of the Left Front Government to hold the election in March and ensure that it is held overcoming all Congress(I) opposition.

Kerala Situation

The machinations of the Congress(I) and its Central Government, assisted by the Congress(S) rebel group led by A. K. Antony and the Kerala Congress (Mani) who defected from the Left-Democratic Front, resulted in the resignation of the Government in Kerala after 21 months of meritorious existence. The arguments trotted out by Antony and his cohorts in defence of their crass betrayal have been exposed as a thin veil to hide their move to merge their own party in the Congress(I). The noise they made about the so-called breakdown of law and order under the LDF Government is but an echo of the vested

interests who were sore with the policy of the LDF Government which refused to side with them to suppress the toiling people in their struggles. They also seek by such tactics to sidetrack the attention of the people from the murderous attacks on the CPI(M) and CITU cadres indulged in by the RSS and Congress(I) goondas.

But with all these machinations, manoeuvrings and horse-trading the Rightist alliance under the leadership of the Congress(I) could not muster more than 67 MLAs in a house of 141. It was the bounden duty of the Governor to dissolve the Assembly and call for fresh elections as soon as the LDF Government resigned on October 20. But the Governor, under the behest of the Congress(I) and the Central Government, recommended a spell of President's rule and keeping the Assembly in animated suspension. This was a reprehensible tactic to provide ample time to the Congress(I) with its meagre 17 members to resort to horse-trading and all such mean methods knock together a majority.

All these manoeuvres ignobly failed and when the Governor invited Congress(I) leader K. Karunakaran to form the Ministry in the last week of December, he was unable to prove convincingly that the Congress(I) and its allies had a majority in the legislature. The figure was the same old 67 in a house of 141. Still, the Congress(I), which was decidedly trounced in the last election, was allowed to form the Ministry with the fond hope that ministerial power would be a powerful lever to indulge in horse-trading to knock together a slender majority which, however, has eluded them till today. This is a gross abuse of constitutional powers vested in the Governor.

The Eleventh Congress of the CPI(M) unequivocally condemns this abuse and violation of the Governor's power as a further indication of the drive towards authoritarianism.

Now that the political horse-trading exercise has failed, the leaders of the Rightist front parties in Kerala have begun to hint at the possibility and necessity of fresh elections in the near future. This once again justifies the demand raised by the LDF for fresh elections as the only way out of the political impasse in

Kerala. But the Rightist front and its minority Government are dragging their feet and making a last-minute attempt to win a nominal majority in the ensuing Assembly session, so that they can preside over the destinies of the state during the next election. Can there be a worse fraud on the people of Kerala and the Constitution of India?

While the all-India leaders of the Janata Party have been loud in their protestations of opposition to the authoritarian forces led by the Congress(I), some of their spokesmen are showing equivocation and procrastination on the role of their five MLAs in Kerala. This has fanned the fading hopes of the Congress in the state. We hope the Janata Party will stick to its policy of opposition to the authoritarian forces, refuse to lend a helping hand to the collapsing edifice of the Congress(I) minority ministry in Kerala, formed against all the canons of political decency and democracy.

The short period since the resignation of the LDF Ministry has witnessed the unleashing of police and goonda raj in the state, first under President's rule and then under the dispensation of the minority ministry. More than 25 CPI(M) cadres including two SFI and one DYFI worker, and CITU activists were murdered during these three months by RSS and Congress(I) goondas. Lock-up torture which disappeared under the Nayanar Ministry has again raised its ugly head as a norm of police behaviour. The widespread police action against the January 19 general strike and the gruesome attack on students in the University Senate House and campus are but the latest instances of the type of repression in store for Kerala in the coming days. The minority ministry of Karunakaran is, meanwhile, busy undoing the series of relief and reform measures adopted by the Nayanar Ministry. Pensions to agricultural workers and unemployment allowances to youth are reported to be the priority items for Karunakaran's axe.

The Eleventh Congress of the CPI(M) condemns this reversal of the police policy and attempts to cancel the relief and reforms measures of the LDF Government in Kerala. It demands the immediate dismissal of the minority ministry, dissolution of the Assembly and immediate fresh election in Kerala.

TRIPURA

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) congratulates the people and the Left Front of Tripura for the recent massive victory of the Left Front candidates both in the three Assembly by-elections and the election to the Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council. The election results show the defeat and isolation of the divisive and secessionist forces and the strength and advance of the forces of democracy and unity which was disrupted in a big way by the June 1980 disturbances, only a year and a half ago by the Amra Bangalee and Tripura Upajati Juba Samity with the support of the Congress(I).

The Congress is of the opinion that the unity reformed between the Upajati and non-Upajati people and the autonomy granted to the Upajati people of Tripura under the auspices of the Left Front Government will have far-reaching effect throughout India and particularly in the north-eastern region where the divisive and secessionist forces backed by imperialism are very active.

Being isolated and defeated in their game to stall and disrupt the elections, the divisive and secessionist forces with the support of the Congress(I), have resorted to the tactics of individual murder and terror and to utilise the discontent of the people to create law and order problems for the Left Front Government. Only constant vigilance and intervention by the democratic forces is the guarantee of the unity already achieved.

The Congress pays homage to the memory of those who have laid down their lives for the noble cause of unity and for democratic advancement of Tripura.

ASSAM

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its vehement protest against the imposing of a minority Congress(I) Government on Assam, ignoring the repeated claims of the Left and Democratic Alliance which together commanded a clear majority of 65 members in the State Assembly of 119 on the date of installation of the Gogoi Ministry. This blatant abuse of the powers of the Governor who acted as a willing tool of the ruling Congress(I) party, has totally exposed the authoritarian character of the Indira Gandhi Government.

The Party Congress calls upon the Government of India to retrace its steps immediately, dismiss the minority Congress(I) ministry and allow the leader of the majority Left and Democratic Alliance to form a popular ministry in the state.

The Party Congress of the CPI(M) is aware that the people of Assam have certain grievances about the backwardness of their state, the neglect by the Centre and so on. This is a direct result of the policies pursued by the Congress rulers of the country.

Divisive elements, aided by foreign imperialist agencies, have been exploiting these grievances of the Assamese people to rouse chauvinist sentiments and mobilise them behind their secessionist agitation on the so-called "foreigners" issue. Some state leaders of the Congress(I) have not only supported this agitation but have also been active participants in it.

Even while attacking the minorities, linguistic and religious, the secessionist agitation leaders have made the democratic movement, especially the CPI(M) and the democratic mass organisations, their special target, because they have taken up the secessionist challenge and are steadfastly campaigning for a democratic solution of the foreign nationals problem. The Party Congress condemns the violence, killings and other atrocities perpetrated by the agitationists and the secessionist forces behind them.

The Eleventh Congress expresses its appreciation of the steadfast struggle the Assam unit of the Party has waged in defence of the unity of the people of Assam and the integrity of the country. Four Party comrades have been killed and many injured for courageously propagating the Party's principled stand. The Assam unit of the Party has also been exerting all its efforts to mobilise as many parties, groups and individuals as possible in the struggle against the secessionist and chauvinist forces.

The Party Congress reiterates the Party's stand that the only democratic solution to the Assam problem which will do justice to all sections of the people will have to be based on 1971 as the cut-off year, all those who had entered the state before then being treated as Indian citizens; an impartial machinery to go into the cases of those who entered the state after 1971 taking into

account the country's Constitution, citizenship laws, electoral rolls and international commitments. All this has to be accompanied by measures to remove any genuine grievances which the people of Assam have.

The Party Congress calls on all the democratic forces in Assam to rally to such a democratic solution of the foreign nationals issue and isolate and defeat the secessionists and the imperialist agencies supporting them. The Congress calls on the democratic forces all over the country, all those interested in preserving the integrity of the country, to give every support to the democratic forces in Assam.

Atrocities on Harijans

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its strong indignation at the growing atrocities on Harijans in most parts of the country, especially the Congress(I)-ruled states. Mass killings of Harijans, razing of their homes, looting of their property and rape of Harijan women by upper-caste landlords, their hirelings and the police have become common occurrences in these states.

Despite the tall talk of equality and equal rights for the Harijans, the shameful reality is that the social oppression of the Harijans continues unabated. They are forcibly evicted from the land and if they try to resist, their blood is split. If they ask for increase in wages, for possession of the land allotted to them, they are ruthlessly suppressed.

In violation of all the statutory provisions to safeguard their rights, the Harijans are subjected to discrimination in every respect—in education, in employment, in the matter of residential accommodation and even in the matter of drinking water. Whatever funds are spent in the name of Harijan welfare hardly ever reach them, and they continue to remain the most exploited strata of the society.

Since Indira Gandhi's return to power, over 50 Harijans have been killed in Bihar alone, and in dozens of places their bastis have been burnt down by landlords. Congress(I) hoodlums have played a major role in committing these atrocities.

In U.P., the recent massacres in Deoli and Sadhupur shocked the conscience of the entire nation. In Mainpuri district alone, to which these two villages belong, 46 Harijans have been killed in the last 18 months. In the name of anti-dacoit operations, innocent Harijans are shot down in cold blood. In the background of the general breakdown of law and order in this Congress(I)-ruled state Harijan-baiting has become a common practice of the landlords and their hirelings, the police and anti-social elements belonging to the Congress(I).

In Orissa, in the Kanas area of Puri district, a Congress(I) state minister personally instigated, along with some MLAs and gangsters, the attacks on Scheduled Caste fishermen villages with guns, bombs and other lethal weapons, in the presence of the police on several occasions.

Though not on such a mass scale, heinous crimes against Harijans are committed in Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and other Congress(I)-ruled states as also in Tamil Nadu.

In shining contrast is the situation in the Left-led states where no such atrocities on Harijans take place because the Governments of these states give all protection to the Harijans in the matter of land, wages, equal rights, etc., and the landlords are deprived of support from the police and the local administration. Within days of the resignation of the Left-Democratic Front Government in Kerala and the installation of the minority Congress(I)-led Government, a Harijan family with five members including two children of six months and six years, were massacred by a landlord in connection with a land dispute.

The root cause of these atrocities on Harijans is the failure of the Congress rulers to give land to the Harijans, guarantee them decent wages and set up an effective machinery to protect their rights. All the Congress plans including the 20-point one have not made any discernible change in the situation.

The Eleventh Congress of the CPI(M) calls on all Party units and members to be in the forefront in protecting the lives and property of the Harijans and the honour of Harijan women, to rouse the conscience of the people against the indignities heaped on the Harijans and mobilise them to support their struggle

against social oppression. This Congress calls on the Party units and members to draw this most exploited section of our people, large numbers of whom are agricultural workers, into the common mass organisations and give them strength and confidence in their struggle.

The Party Congress calls on all democratic-minded people in the country to stand by the oppressed and exploited Harijans and give them all support in the struggle for social equality and economic advance.

Communal Riots and Defence of Rights of Minorities

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its grave concern over the periodic occurrence of communal riots in various parts of the country. The Muslim mass becomes the object of incendiary and murderous attacks by Hindu chauvinists with the connivance of administrative personnel during the riots. The RSS hand is seen in organising such riots as exposed by many reports of enquiries including the recent one on the Jamshedpur riot.

The Muslim minority also is discriminated against and ill-treated under the bourgeois-landlord rule notwithstanding constitutional proclamations. Apart from being economically oppressed, they are discriminated against in the sphere of language, culture and jobs. Even in states where their population is substantial, the Urdu language has not been given the status of second language.

In contrast to this in the states of West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala where the Left and democratic movement is strong, despite the numerous attempts to fan communal tension, the communal forces are not allowed to do mischief and the rights and interests of the minorities are protected.

The CPI(M) has always defended the Muslim minority and raised its voice against discrimination and oppression.

But taking the country as a whole, overwhelming sections of the Muslim masses today stand alienated from the common class and democratic movement. This weakness is being used by

reactionary elements like the Jamait-e-Islami with an appeal of Islamic fundamentalism in order to disrupt the democratic and working class movements. This appeal also is directed towards creating a feeling of separate nationhood among Muslims to undermine national unity. They serve the interests of imperialism and indigenous religious reaction. They are also in a position to blackmail the Congress(I) and its Government to make reactionary concessions.

The Eleventh Congress of the CPI(M) appeals to the Left and democratic forces in the country to rouse the consciousness of the people against the forces of communalism, to help the minorities to win their just demands and to frustrate the designs of fundamentalists. The future of the Muslim mass lies in joining the democratic movement which alone can be the guarantee against attacks of communal forces and also guarantee their just rights.

Tribal Unrest

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep concern over the conditions of the Scheduled Tribes who even after 35 years of independence are deprived of human existence, sold as bonded labour, deprived of their lands by the usurers, their young girls sold into the flesh market. They are not helped to develop their dialect nor their culture and even the constitutional provisions of the sixth schedule are not allowed to be used to protect their social, cultural and economic interests.

Only in the states of Tripura and West Bengal are their special problems recognised and democratic rights ensured to them and all efforts made to protect their interests. But in the Congress(I) states not only are they denied their just rights but no consistent fight is put up against their slavery. This situation has led to growing unrest in the tribal areas of the country, especially in the north-eastern region.

Alienated from the rest of the country and the common democratic struggle, Adivasi areas are proving ideal ground for some foreign Christian missions to spread the message of separation from the rest of the country. Their revolting conditions

also enable parties like the Jharkhand Party to mislead and keep Adivasis away from the common movement.

The Eleventh Congress of the CPI(M) calls upon all Left and democratic forces to fight this imperialist propaganda boldly and expose the machinations of these foreign missions. This can be done provided they wage a united struggle to stop the process of their expropriation and free them from the clutches of usurers and landlords. This Congress supports their demand for regional autonomy for compact tribal areas and calls upon Party units and all democratic forces to fight for this. The emancipation of Adivasis cannot be achieved in isolation from the Indian people's struggle against exploitation and for democratic rights. The CPI(M) calls upon all Left and democratic forces to ensure the participation of this most exploited section in the common struggle.

On Train Disaster

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its profound shock at the train disaster near Agra yesterday (January 27), when the Dakshin Express collided head-on with a moving goods train leading to the tragic death of 70 passengers. A large number of passengers have sustained injuries among whom the condition of a few is very serious.

The Congress notes with concern the growth of such serious accidents in the Indian railways, causing deaths of large numbers of passengers, creating a feeling of insecurity in the railway travellers. These indicate the general deterioration in the management and maintenance of the running of the trains, in the observance of safety rules, replacement of overaged rolling stock, etc. This Congress holds the railway administration wholly responsible for these accidents. It demands of the Government to set up a thorough probe to find out the real causes for these accidents and take appropriate measures to stop their recurrence.

The Congress conveys its heartfelt condolences to the families of those killed and injured and demands adequate compensation to them.

On Draft Political-Organisational Report

At the end of the discussion on the Draft Political-Organisational Report, the Eleventh Congress of the CPI(M) unanimously adopted the following resolution:

The Congress approves the work of the P.B. and Central Committee as explained in the Political-Organisational Report of the Central Committee. It authorises the new Central Committee to finalise the report, in the light of the various suggestions and criticisms offered by delegates to the Party Congress.

Messages of Greetings Received From Fraternal Parties and Read Out Before The Eleventh Congress of The CPI(M) Held at Vijayawada on January 26-31, 1982*

From the Central Committee, Communist Party of Vietnam

On behalf of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the working class of Vietnam and the people, we would like to express our warm and fraternal greetings to the Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

In the past years your Party has made great contributions to the struggle of the great people of India for prosperity and social progress, as well as to the common struggle of the peoples in Asia and the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

We wish the Communist Party of India (Marxist), all Communists in India, the working class of India and the people new successes in their noble cause.

The Communist Party of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people sincerely thank the Communist Party of India (Marxist), the forces of peace and democracy and the people in India, for their warm support to the Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation in the past and the cause of socialist construction and defence of their fatherland at present.

May the solidarity and friendship between our two parties and peoples be ever consolidated and developed. Good success to your Congress.

From the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea

The Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea warmly congratulates the Eleventh Congress of the Communist

*Published in the compilation of Documents of the Eleventh Congress of the CPI(M).

Party of India (Marxist) and, through the Congress, extends hearty greetings to the entire party members and the working people of India.

We are convinced that your Party's Congress will contribute to the strengthening and development of the Party and to the struggle for the country's democracy.

We are rejoiced over the successes made by the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in the struggle to defend democratic rights and the vital interest of living of the working people and to ensure unity with all the progressive forces of the country and extend our solidarity with it.

Believing that the existing friendly and cooperative relations between our two parties will be more developed and strengthened in conformity with the ideal of independence, friendship and peace, we avail ourselves of this opportunity to wish wholeheartedly great success in the work of your Party's Congress.

From the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and all our militants, we convey to the delegates to the Eleventh Congress of your Party our fraternal and revolutionary greetings.

We admire the consistent and anti-imperialist struggle maintained by the CPI(M) in defence of the working class and people of India, as well as its firm solidarity with the cause of the fighters for freedom, peace and socialism all over the world.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity to reaffirm our gratitude for the solidarity shown by you to the Cuban Revolution, facing the imperialists' aggressions and threats which today become more imminent and dangerous, due to the mad warmongering policy of the new U.S. Administration.

Wishing you great successes in the work of the Congress from which, undoubtedly, your Party and the unity of the Indian people will become stronger. We would like to reiterate, once more, our willingness to continue strengthening the relations between our two parties.

From the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party

On the occasion of the Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) on behalf of the Romanian Communist Party, on behalf of its General Secretary, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, we are extending to you, delegates to the Eleventh Congress of the CPI(M), to all Party militants warm and comradely greetings along with our message of friendship and solidarity.

The Romanian Communist Party, the working people from the Socialist Republic of Romania are following with sentiments of sympathy the activity which the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is carrying on for the promotion of the fundamental interests of the working people and friendly Indian people, for the strengthening of the unity of action of the working class, of all democratic and progressive forces, for the defence and consolidation of the national independence for independent socio-economic development of the homeland, for the triumph of the ideals of liberty, democracy and progress.

Devoting all forces and its capacity for work and creation to the fulfilment of the programme of building of the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Romania's Advancement Toward Communism, the Romanian people are pronouncing and consequently demonstrating for stopping the aggravation of the international situation, for resumption and continuation of the policy of detente and collaboration, for the litigious issues between States only by way of talks, for cessation of the arms-race and the fulfilment of general disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, for the building of a new international economic order, for the defence of the fundamental right of peoples all over the world to liberty, peace and life.

"Socialist Romania, the entire Romanian people"—Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu underlined—"are firmly determined to do everything for strengthening the collaboration and solidarity with all peoples and all peace-loving forces all over in the just and great struggle for disarmament and collaboration, for a better world."

The Romanian people are carrying on vigorous and ample mass manifestations through which they demand firmly to put an end to the arming policy, stopping of the deployment and development of new nuclear missiles, reduction and gradual elimination of all types of armaments and nuclear missiles as well as the use of atomic energy for peaceful goals exclusively, for the happiness of man, for the progress and civilisation of mankind.

The Romanian Communist Party is developing large links of collaboration with Communist and Workers' Parties, Social-Democratic and Government Parties, with the movements of national liberation, with other democratic and progressive forces, firmly acting for observing of the principles of independence and autonomy, full equality in rights, esteem and mutual trust, the right of each Party to independently establish its political line, the strategy, the revolutionary tactics, according to the specific conditions in which the Party is carrying on the struggle and activity, to the will and fundamental aspirations of peoples. Wishing full success to the proceedings of the Congress, we are reaffirming, on this occasion, our satisfaction in connection with the good relations of friendship and comradely collaboration established between our Parties and we express our conviction that these relations will further develop in the interests of the Romanian and Indian peoples, the solidarity of anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive forces to the cause of peace, independence, liberty, understanding and collaboration between peoples.

From the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of the Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), please receive on behalf of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, our comradely greetings and best wishes for the successful and fruitful work of this highest gathering of your Party.

It is with great pleasure that we express our conviction that your Congress will significantly contribute and lend fresh impetus to the efforts your Party is exerting together with progressive forces of your country in the struggle for the social progress and well-being of the people of India.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our wish and readiness to develop further the relations and cooperation between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) based on the principles of independence, equality and full respect for the independence of the struggle for socialism. Such cooperation shall further promote the traditionally friendly relations between the people of our two non-aligned countries, the cause of peace, social progress and socialism in the world.

From the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party

On the occasion of the Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), we extend our congratulatory greetings to the Congress delegates and all Party members. We hope your Congress succeeds in ensuring the way for India, a non-aligned country, to play an active role in defending national self-determination and world peace, carrying ahead the struggle of the Indian people for democracy and social progress, consolidating the Party ranks and developing the unity of the democratic forces.

Together with all forms of imperialist and hegemonist dominations, the arms-race between opposing nuclear military blocs being stepped up unrestrictedly in vicious circle, is seriously endangering world peace and national sovereignty and represents an important factor of pressure on people's lives. In Japan where American armed forces, including nuclear units, are stationed under the terms of the Japan-U.S. Military Alliance, an arms expansion is imposed to substitute the U.S. Seventh Fleet which is despatched to the Indian Ocean, resulting in reduction of the welfare and education budget. Japan is now on the road to militarist power, while a retrograde revision of the constitution is being planned. Opposing the Reagan conception of limited

nuclear war, we are demanding that Japan not be turned into a nuclear battlefield and are struggling resolutely for abrogation of the Japan-U.S. military alliance.

In the present international situation, a total ban on nuclear weapons and dissolution of military alliances are ever more important, decisive tasks for the defence of world peace, national sovereignty and human rights in all countries. This is fully affirmed by the reality developing in world politics. These tasks are inseparably linked with the struggle for serving the North-South problem and establishing a new international economic order. We resolutely oppose all manifestations of imperialist aggression and hegemonist intervention, and never condone violation of the sovereignty of other nations from whichever side of the military blocs. We firmly oppose any attempt to justify perpetuation of military blocs and arms-race unrestrictedly developing between them based on the "military equilibrium" doctrine.

We hope relations of friendship and solidarity will be developed in an appropriate way between the Japanese Communist Party and the CPI(M) as parties working in their respective countries, both in Asia, but in different historical and social conditions.

From Lars Werner, Chairman, Left Party Communists (VPK) of Sweden

On the occasion of the Eleventh Congress of your Party, we send our warm greetings of anti-imperialist solidarity to the delegates and through them to all the militants of your Party.

Your Congress—like ours that took place a month ago—is held at a critical moment. The U.S. imperialism is launching vicious attacks upon the independence of many third world countries and liberation movements, especially in Central America. They are building up their Rapid Deployment Force and military installations like the Diego Garcia base thus militarising the Indian Ocean for the sake of the oil of the Middle East.

At the same time, the arms-race between the two major military blocs threatens the world with a nuclear holocaust. In

Europe, the institution of a military regime in Poland has caused bloodshed in that country. As is true everywhere, attempts to solve political problems through repression is fruitless. As a result, tension has increased internationally.

At our Congress, peace, disarmament and solidarity were very important issues, including the struggle for a Nordic nuclear-free zone as a first step towards a nuclear-free Europe and the banning of all nuclear weapons.

Although we are far away, we follow developments in India with keen interest and rejoice at your Party's successes. We wish your Congress fruitful deliberations leading to further advancement of your struggle for the interests of Indian workers and peasants, for better living conditions, democracy, peace and independence.

From the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Mauritius

We wish, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Mauritius, our warm comradely greetings of friendship and militant solidarity and full success on the occasion of the holding of your Eleventh Congress on January 26, 1982.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Mauritius is convinced that your Congress, through the decisions and resolutions which will be adopted, will mark a very important moment in the struggle undertaken by the Communist Party of India (Marxist) to serve the working class of your country and to fulfil their deepest aspiration for liberty, progress and welfare.

We seize this opportunity to reaffirm our sincere wish to work in the future, too, with the Communist Party of India (Marxist) for the strengthening and development of a closer collaboration for the common benefit of our two peoples and for the advancement of socialism and Communism.

From the Central Committee, Lao People's Revolutionary Party

On the inauguration of the Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), we, on behalf of the

members of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, would like to convey our warm salutations and congratulations to all delegates and Indian Communists (Marxists).

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) is now struggling against the capitalist oppression in the interest of the working people, peace, democracy and socialism.

We should like to preserve our solidarity with the struggles of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

We are satisfied that the relations between our two parties have proceeded on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the cause of peace and socialism.

We wish great success to the Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) which is in the interests of the Indian people and also wish the Indian Communists new achievements in their struggle.

From the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain

Fraternal greetings on the occasion of your Eleventh Congress. We wish you all success in your future activities. We express our solidarity with the Indian workers in their struggle.

Report of The Credential Committee Placed Before The Eleventh Congress of The CPI(M) Held at Vijayawada on January 26-31, 1982*

The Party Congress elected us to the Credential Committee and we are submitting our report to you.

We distributed in all 584 forms among the delegates and observers and received them back duly filled in.

The total number of delegates and observers for this Congress as decided by the C.C. was:

Delegates	548
Observers	44
Total	<u>592</u>

Of the delegates Comrade Jaipal Singh, C.C. member, passed away on the eve of the Congress. Comrade P. Ramamurti has been ill and so could not attend the Congress. Comrade Jyotirmoy Bosu was elected a delegate but died before the Congress.

In addition one delegate each from Maharashtra, Rajasthan, U.P., and Kerala two (in all five), could not attend the Congress.

Two observers, one each from U.P. and Himachal Pradesh, also could not attend the Congress. Total not attending, eight.

On the basis of the forms submitted we present the following report to you.

We would also record some salient information emerging from this record.

OLDEST AND YOUNGEST DELEGATES

Comrade Ganesh Ghosh	— 81 Yrs.
Comrade B. T. Ranadive	— 78 ..
Youngest delegates	— 25 .. (6 Comrades)
Youngest observer	— 23 .. (Shailendra Saily)

*Published in the compilation of Documents of the Eleventh Congress of the CPI(M)

JAIL SENTENCES (Longest)

Com. Ganesh Ghosh	— 29 years
„ Kishori Lal	— 25 years and 2 years
(Colleague of Bhagat Singh)	underground
Com. Sukumar Sen	— 19 years and 3 months
„ Benoy Choudhury	— 12 years and 10 years U.G.
„ Gopen Roy	— 13 years
„ Nripen Chakravarty	— 12 years and 6 years U.G.
„ Alluri Shriman Narayan	— 10 years and 2 years U.G.
„ Saroj Mukherjee	— 11 years
„ Mahadev Saha	— 12 years
„ H. K. S. Surjeet	— 10 years and 2 years U.G.
„ M. K. Kelu	— 12 years
„ Bejoy Modak	— 12 years
Com. Dinkar Mehta	over 10 years jail, arrested 22 times. One delegate arrested so many times that he has lost count.

UNDERGROUND

Com. Radhika Bhattacharya	— 14 years 6 months
„ Promode Dasgupta	— Over 10 years
„ E. K. Nayanar	— 11 years
„ P. Sundarayya	— 12 years
„ P. K. Chandranandan	— 12 years 6 months

Comrade Laxmi Sehgal, formerly of the INA, is an observer.

Chief Minister: Jyoti Basu, Nripen Chakravarty.

Latest to join Party: Liladhar Sharma (1980).

<u>Age</u>	<u>Total</u>	Education	
Below 25	6		
26-30	26		
31-40	112	Primary	107
41-50	159	Secondary	173
51-60	167	College	98
61-70	88	Graduate	107
Above 70	26	Post-Graduate	99
	<u>584</u>		<u>584</u>

Class Origin		Mass Organisations	
Working class	72	Ordinary member/ office bearer	55
Peasantry	74	District Committee	118
Poor-landless	39	State Committee	273
Middle peasant	132	All-India	81
Rich peasant	21	Journalists	12
Landlord	42	Publications	9
Middle class	204	Nil	36
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	584		584
Party Life		Jailed-Detained	
Before 1942	112	Nil	120
Before 1947	82	Less than six months	135
Before 1964	228	Less than one year	6
After 1964	147	Less than three years	148
After 1978	15	Less than five years	75
	<hr/>	Less than ten years	53
	584	Above ten years	17
			<hr/>
			584
Through mass movement		Underground	
Trade Union	150	Nil	226
Kisan	106	Less than six months	66
Middle Class	51	Less than one year	41
Students-Youth	237	Less than three years	146
Women	13	Less than five years	58
Others	27	Less than ten years	34
	<hr/>	Above ten years	13
	584		<hr/>
			584
Status in the Party		Wholetimers	
Unit member/Secretary	41	Party	401
Local Committee- Secretary/member	6	Trade Union	50
Taluka and Area Committee member/ Secretary	11	Kisan Sabha	31
District Committee member/Secretary	199	Agricultural labour	7
State Committee member/Secretary	287	Middle class employees	17
Central Committee	40	Students	9
	<hr/>	Youth	12
	584	Mahila	10
		Others	10
			<hr/>
			547*
		*37 not on Party wage	

Income: Monthly			Administrative Posts	
Below	Rs. 250	—142	Assembly	18
Below	Rs. 500	—258	Local bodies	4
Below	Rs. 1000	—114	Elected to	
Above	Rs. 1000	— 48	Nil	369
Nil		— 11	Parliament	27
Annual			Assembly	88
Below	Rs. 1000	— 1	Municipalities	9
Below	Rs. 5000	— 1	Local bodies	88
Above	Rs. 5000	— 9	Syndicate and Senate	3
		584		584

In the end may we be permitted to make two suggestions in this regard.

1. Please have a standard Credentials Committee form ready and ask the delegates and observers to fill it in and bring it along with them. This can make filling in, tabulation and comparison a better work.

2. If possible, please compare these findings with those of the Credentials Committee report of the Tenth Congress. That comparison should help. With revolutionary greetings.

1. Puthalath Narayanan
2. P. B. Rangnekar
3. Sailen Das Gupta

**Central Committee Elected by
The Eleventh Congress of
The Communist Party of India (Marxist)
Held at Vijayawada on
January 26-31, 1982**

The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) decided to have a 45-member Central Committee and elected 42 members to the C.C. with three more to be coopted later.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) E. M. S. Namboodiripad | (22) L. B. Gangadhara Rao |
| (2) B. T. Ranadive | (23) Nripen Chakraborty |
| (3) M. Basavapunnaiyah | (24) Dasarath Deb |
| (4) P. Ramamurti | (25) A Nallasivam |
| (5) Promode Dasgupta | (26) M R Venkataraman. |
| (6) Jyoti Basu | (27) R. Umanath |
| (7) Harkishan Singh Surjeet | (28) Ramdass |
| (8) Samar Mukherjee | (29) Nrisingha Chakraborty |
| (9) E. Balanandan | (30) M. K. Pandhe |
| (10) Saroj Mukherjee | (31) Desraj Chadha |
| (11) Krishnapada Ghosh | (32) Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi |
| (12) Benoy Choudhury | (33) Satwant Singh |
| (13) Monoranjan Roy | (34) Gurcharan Singh Randhawa |
| (14) Abdullah Rasool | (35) Achintya Bhattacharyya |
| (15) V. S. Achuthanandan | (36) Nandeshwar Taluqdar |
| (16) E. K. Nayanar | (37) S. Y. Kolhatkar |
| (17) T. K. Ramakrishnan | (38) Ahilya Rangnekar |
| (18) Suseela Gopalan | (39) Godavari Parulekar |
| (19) P. Sundarayya | (40) Sivaji Patnaik |
| (20) M. Hanumantha Rao | (41) Chandubhai Patel |
| (21) N. Prasada Rao | (42) Shankar Dayal Tewari |

Polit Bureau elected by the C.C.

E. M. S. Namboodiripad, B. T. Ranadive, M. Basavapunnaiyah, P. Ramamurti, Promode Dasgupta, Jyoti Basu, Harkishan Singh Surjeet, Samar Mukherjee and E. Balanandan.

General Secretary: E. M. S. Namboodiripad

Speech Concluding The Eleventh Congress of The CPI(M)*

E. M. S. Namboodiripad

Comrades, our Congress is coming to a close. We are all going back to our respective places to undertake the responsibilities cast upon us by the Congress.

We go back with the consciousness of the heavy responsibilities cast on us and with confidence that these responsibilities can be discharged. The deliberations of this Congress and our conclusions on the political and organisational questions show that it is on the activity of all our Party members and friends of the Party, of the mass organisations led by our Party that the future of the country depends. We can effectively fight back the attacks being launched on the Party, the Left in general and on the mass movement by the authoritarian and divisive forces within the country and imperialism from abroad if only we work actively and tirelessly on the basis of the political-organisational line worked out by this Congress.

The magnificent response that we have been receiving from the people in all parts of the country, literally from Kanyakumari to Kashmir, from Assam to Gujarat, gives us confidence that we shall be able to shoulder the responsibilities that have fallen on us.

All the comrades who are working in the trade unions, kisan sabhas, agricultural labourers' organisations, student, youth and mahila organisations will have to take up innumerable problems in the next few months. Big struggles are breaking out daily. The January 19 strike is an indication of the extent to which people are getting discontented. People at large, their fighting mass

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organisations and the political parties are going into action. The governmental authorities and the ruling party with their goondas are also coming into action to thwart our attempts to organise united resistance. We are, therefore, going back to our respective places to take up the tasks that have been left after the January 19 strike and to organise still greater, and still more united, struggles that are bound to break out in the next few months.

Most probably, elections will be held in West Bengal and Kerala in the next three/four months. The authoritarian ruling party at the Centre is, of course, trying to launch attacks on the democratic movement, posing the question whether it will permit these elections to be organised in a free and fair manner, or whether it would resort to various tricks. We have in either case to organise ourselves and be prepared for a big political battle. Our comrades in these states are faced with arduous tasks. I am sure that the discussions we have had and the conclusions that we have arrived at in this Congress will help them to discharge those tasks.

In discharging these political tasks and in organising mass struggles, we are not alone. We are receiving cooperation from various other political forces who are more and more coming into united action. Whether they come with us on all issues, or only on a small number of issues, unity of action with them makes our job easier than earlier. But still, the tasks are extremely difficult and the main responsibility of facing these tasks rests on our Party because ours is the biggest Left party and one of the biggest opposition parties.

This Congress has convinced us that we have a policy with which we can discharge our tasks. Of course, we have differences among us which come out sometimes in a very sharp manner, as they did at this Congress. All that is part of the game in revolutionary politics. Differences are bound to arise but they will be resolved in a revolutionary way. Our Party, the Communist movement in the entire world, has developed a particular Party method of resolving differences, having free and frank discussions within the Party, in the Party manner. We resolve our differences through inner-Party discussion, arriving at

conclusions unanimously or by majority and then testing these conclusions through actual practice. It is this test of practice that has helped us to correct the mistakes that creep in. We are sure that this time, too, the test of practice will help us to resolve those differences which still remain unresolved.

The bourgeois press in our country has been speculating on our internal differences, expressing their hope that this will lead to a split in the Party. They have been spreading all sorts of stories. It must, therefore, be a matter of disappointment to them that in spite of all differences which we do not conceal, we are able to arrive at conclusions on the basis of which we can go into united action.

The discussions at this Congress have shown that, while we can resolve a number of differences which have appeared, we are capable also of finding ways and means of resolving those differences which have not yet been resolved. We are thus going back with the determination that we shall adopt the proper Party procedure, proper Party forms and norms, through which the remaining differences will be resolved.

Let us be very clear that this is not the first or the last time when differences are appearing among us. Differences will arise in the future too, as they did in the past. In fact, it is one of the laws of development of the Communist movement in the entire world that inner-Party differences are resolved through Party methods. Whether it is unanimous or by majority, the entire Party carries out the decision and then reviews, revises it if found necessary on the basis of experience. It is in this manner that differences have been resolved all over in the world Communist movement. We are determined to adopt the same approach in our country.

What is happening in other, i.e., bourgeois and petty bourgeois, political parties? They either gloss over the differences, or so fight them out as to split the party. We have found that party after party is getting split. Seeing this process, the bourgeois press correspondents and political commentators have been speculating on the same process taking place in our Party. We, however, have a different approach and method to solve the ideological,

political and organisational problems. We are determined to adopt the procedure, the norms and forms, befitting the mass revolutionary party of the working class. We were able to deal with the problems which were posed in this Congress. We now go back to our respective places with the determination that the same method will be adopted in future.

This Congress has called on us of the P.B. and C.C. which, though newly elected, is by and large the continuation of the old, to shoulder a heavy responsibility. It is on us that has been laid the responsibility of resolving the still unresolved differences and carrying out the decisions of the Congress. On behalf of the P.B. and C.C., I assure you that each one of us will do our utmost to deserve the trust reposed on us by you, try to discharge our tasks to our best capacity.

I take this opportunity to express our sense of gratitude which we of the P.B. and C.C. owe to all of you delegates who have patiently sat through the whole session, listened to our speeches, made your contributions to the debate, sometimes sharply criticised us and through that helped us, enabled us, to steer the proceedings of the Congress, helping the entire Congress to arrive at its conclusions.

I take this opportunity to express our sense of gratitude to the Presidium who successfully piloted the discussions and effectively discharged their tasks. They deserve our heartfelt thanks.

Let me, on our behalf and on your behalf, thank the comrades in Andhra Pradesh who undertook a heavy responsibility and discharged it well. They have fed us well, they have entertained us well, they have given all facilities for us to conduct our proceedings. Above all, they have shown that Andhra Pradesh which had at one time written glorious pages in the history of the freedom movement, of our own revolutionary movement, but had, unfortunately, later, gone into more unfortunate days, is now coming up again. We were inspired by the magnificent show of the volunteers today. We were pleased by the devoted service rendered to us by the volunteers during the last few days. The young men and women have spent days and nights to serve us.

Let me take this opportunity to thank them all, express the hope that they will, with the same devotion they have shown in serving us, show that they can work in building the revolutionary movement here. I have no doubt in my mind that the growing generation in Andhra Pradesh, like their elders earlier, will be worthy of the martyrs of Telangana and other districts of Andhra Pradesh about whom we are all proud.

I express our thanks to the friends who donated magnificent sums to the Reception Committee here to make this Congress a success. A few months ago, I had the very pleasant experience of coming here and participating in the inauguration of *Prajasakti* daily. At that time, I saw how our old friends and sympathisers who were unhappy over the fate that overtook our Party and movement during the last two/three decades were happy that a new light was opening to our Communist movement in general and particularly to our Party. In this very hall a magnificent meeting was held which reminded me of the 1940s. I vividly remember 1944 when we had the magnificent All-India Kisan Sabha session in this very city of Vijayawada. I was very happy to find that all those friends who were helping us through thick and thin—those who are a little better off as well as ordinary people—contributed their half-rupee, one rupee, etc., to enable our comrades in Andhra Pradesh to bring out the daily and make it a people's paper. All those friends and comrades helped us in conducting this Congress as well. Let me take this opportunity to thank them all.

The donations received from the people could not have been brought into such useful work had it not been for the disciplined manner in which the Reception Committee has been functioning during the last couple of months. The Reception Committee, as you know, consists of our veteran comrades in Andhra Pradesh. Let me in the end thank them on your behalf.

A Fitting Finale to Eleventh Congress of The CPI(M) Held at Vijayawada on January 26-31, 1982*

Report of The Open Session and The Historic Rally Concluding The Eleventh Congress

Vijayawada has become Errawada (Red City), said the volunteer comrades who came early in the morning to the delegates' camp on January 31. When we went round the city a little later we found this was no exaggeration.

Red flags were fluttering everywhere, red buntings and festoons hung across the streets. Unending streams of people were on every road holding aloft tiny red flags, most of them with red badges on their shirts and saris. And there were the uniformed volunteers, men in red shirts and brown trousers and women wearing red blouses and saris.

From the roof of the Kalakshetra Hall could be seen buses and trucks arriving one after another, from early morning, occupying every inch of parking space available near the banks of the Krishna River.

Agricultural workers, poor peasants, industrial workers, employees, other sections of the peasantry, women, students, youth and other sections of the people had come in small and large groups in continuous streams from far and near.

Red flags in their hands, many had come with their families and even babies in arms; many walked bare-feet, they came from the poorest sections. A volunteer force of 3000 controlled and directed the people. Not a policeman was in sight, nor was there any need for one, for the entire people intermingled in a comradely spirit imbued with a common purpose—to attend the rally and to affirm their solid support for their Party.

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The thunderous success of the rally, and the arrangements made meticulously to the last detail, were the result of the painstaking efforts put in by the Andhra Pradesh State Committee of the CPI(M) over several weeks. The volunteers had been drawn from every district in the State, indicating the Party's expansion in recent years. And although the majority of the participants in the rally came from the adjoining areas, there were groups of people in the rally who had also come from every district in the State. Around 200 trucks had brought them from far-off places. Industrial workers, agricultural workers and peasants had also come from adjoining Tamil Nadu, from as far away as Coimbatore.

By the afternoon of January 31, it was almost impossible to move on the main roads and streets of Vijayawada, so densely packed were they with people moving towards the site of the rally—the banks of the River Krishna.

No central demonstration could have marched through these streets. A number of delegates had formed into a procession to march from Balasubramaniam Nagar to the venue of the rally. Soon we found that we had joined another procession in front, and a little later we found that other processions had joined us. This was happening in all the main thoroughfares. All that distinguished us from the others in what had become a long procession by then were the slogans raised in different languages—Bengali and Hindi, Assamese and Oriya, Marathi and Gujarati, Malayalam, Tamil and Kannada.

Because the response to the rally had been so great, the organisers had decided to hold it on the sands of the Krishna, for the simple reason that there was no other place in the city that could have accommodated such a huge number. The vast area was brightly lit with 250 floodlights and 250 tubelights (with a generator kept as standby in case of power failure), and water pipelines had been specially laid to the venue of the rally.

As the people slowly made their way towards the banks of the river, one of the two main streets that they had to go through bore an immense signboard renaming it as "Comrade Jaipal Singh Marg". Finally, just before coming upon the river-bank, the people had to climb a small elevation. And, as one reached that point,

suddenly the vast rally site could be seen below in the sands, with thousands upon thousands of people already assembled there and thousands more making their way to it. Party-leaders estimated that the rally was five-lakh strong, but the people would not be satisfied until you agreed with them that there were at least a million people present. Most of the newspapers reported that there were five to ten lakh people in the rally. What impressed everyone was the large number of women participating in the rally. A West Bengal delegate said, we have held huge rallies in Calcutta, but the number of women in the Vijayawada rally is much larger than is usual in Calcutta rallies.

The rally began at 5 p.m. with P. Sundarayya, Secretary of the Andhra Pradesh State Committee of the CPI(M), introducing to the people Polit Bureau and Central Committee members seated on the 20-metre-high dais.

The first to address the rally was E.M.S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary of the CPI(M), who thanked the people for their magnificent turn-out. He said that in the last 40 years, this was perhaps the biggest rally of any political party in Andhra Pradesh. By organising the Congress the Andhra comrades had acquired confidence and he was convinced that they would rewrite history more gloriously than 40 years ago.

E.M.S. reported on the discussions at the Congress and said that they had shown that the Party was growing not only in Andhra Pradesh but in the other States as well. Simultaneously, Left and democratic unity was also growing as also the strength of the mass organisations. He said that the people now stood on the eve of big struggles.

E.M.S. said that the Political Resolution and the Political-Organisational Report had been unanimously adopted by the Congress and also that the new Central Committee had been unanimously elected. He then explained some of the salient points of the resolution and report. He emphasised the danger of war being created by the imperialists and said that the CPI(M) was a partisan of peace and aligned itself with the socialist countries against the war-machinations of imperialism.

B.T. Ranadive recalled the great Telangana struggle and said it was the biggest heritage of the Party. He said the sacrifice of those young men and women of that struggle would one day enable the working class to topple the present system and build a new society.

He, however, warned that, going by the last four years' performance of the ruling classes, the coming period for the working class and peasants would be one of far greater trials and sufferings. The last four years have seen prices rising, peasants being evicted from their land and unemployment growing. Now, according to the Government's own estimates, unemployment would rise further, fewer house-sites would be available for the urban and rural population and prices would depend on the dictates of the IMF from whom the Government had borrowed Rs. 5000 crores. B.T.R. said if we are to live in this country as human beings, then the challenge has to be taken up to change the existing policies of the Government.

Mighty Wave of Resistance

He said that there was a mighty wave of resistance all round and, in face of this, the Government was turning panicky. When the peasants came out on the roads in a big way to demand remunerative prices, the Government replied by shooting down a hundred peasants. The three big marches of the working class, peasants and youth in New Delhi last year, followed by the mighty January 19 strike, showed that the resistance, in spite of repression was growing. This resistance needed to be further strengthened because the Government by stepping up its attacks against the common people sought to turn them into slaves.

Simultaneously, the Indira Government was plotting Left-led Governments. In Kerala, it had already installed a minority Government, while it was trying to topple the Left Front Government in West Bengal. It was, therefore, the duty of the entire people to defend these Governments which had brought about pro-people legislations. The Party called upon the people to build the widest front in defence of democracy and to defeat the policies of the Central Government.

B.T.R. said that U.S. imperialism was also plotting to promote divisive forces in the country. It was abetting Pakistan in its war preparations, so that by making Asians fight Asians it could not only keep the entire area in instability, but take it into some kind of slavehood. In this context, the Indo-Soviet Treaty had always stood the country in good stead and that was the reason for forging close relations with the socialist countries.

Jyoti Basu, Polit Bureau member and Chief Minister of West Bengal, greeting the participants in the rally on behalf of the people of West Bengal and the Left Front Government, said that he was reminded of the 1950s when the Communist Party was a mighty force in Andhra Pradesh. The fighting people of Andhra Pradesh were once again showing that it was only through more and more struggles that the present system could one day be changed.

Government That is Different

In West Bengal, the Left Front Government had been carrying on its administration in every sphere of life for the last four and a half years and the people had come to realise that this was a Government different from that in the Congress(I)-run States. After defeating the Congress in successive elections, the Left Front had emerged since 1977 as the most powerful force. Since then it was the only Government to have given Government employees the right to strike and allowed even policemen to build their own organisations. There was no law in West Bengal to prohibit strikes or to detain people without trial. The exploited tribals, Scheduled Castes, minorities and others knew this was the only Government that protected them. People were now comparing the programmes and performance of the Left Front Government and that of the Congress(I)-ruled States and the Congress(I) was worried and alarmed at this.

The Congress Government was taking this as a danger signal. Jyoti Basu warned that no attempt should be made to suppress the Government and people of West Bengal, because unlike in 1972, this time the people were not alone, but had the support of all democratic people and sections throughout the country. If free and fair elections were to be held the Congress(I) would be routed. He

assured that just as in the past four-and-a-half years, in West Bengal the struggles in future would be taken forward. And the Central Government would face the biggest ever struggle if the West Bengal Government was toppled.

Situation in Tripura

Comrade Nripen Chakraborty, Central Committee member and Chief Minister of Tripura, greeted the rally on behalf of the people and the Left Front Government of Tripura, which comprises one of the seven sisters of the north-eastern region. All the nationalities of the region had participated in the national movement with the expectation that it would be treated equally for development. But today it was one of the most neglected areas, although there was no dearth of natural wealth.

The tribals, who were in a majority in some areas, were made the worst victims of the crisis of capitalist development and often came into the clutches of moneylenders and traders. As a result, when discontent broke out, one section was put against another. The forces of destabilisation were at work in the entire region. The Congress(I) which had no base in the entire region sought to take advantage of these forces of destabilisation.

The two major ethnic groups of Tripura had worked together during the last 34 years of struggle, so that since 1978 the Congress(I) had been defeated in all elections at all levels. Since then, to safeguard the interests of the tribals, the Tribal Autonomous Council had been set up.

Godavari Parulekar, Central Committee member, greeted the rally on behalf of women, especially the 700 Adivasi women who had recently attended an Adivasi Conference of the Party. She said that just as the mighty waters of the river Krishna were not a mere trickle, so also women were a mighty force and must come forward and take their rightful place in the people's struggles.

Harkishan Singh Surjeet, Polit Bureau member, said that the mighty rally showed that the people of Andhra Pradesh, the workers, peasants and toiling masses, were in search of an alternative. Having experienced Congress(I) rule, they now looked to the CPI(M) for building such an alternative, for the Indira Government had shown

after coming to power with a massive majority in 1980 that it was able to do nothing for the people.

M. Basavapunnaiyah, Polit Bureau member, while greeting the rally said that with the holding of the Congress and the rally, the Red Flag was on its way to regaining its past glory in Andhra Pradesh. At first hesitant to hold the Congress in Andhra Pradesh the State unit of the Party was encouraged by Kerala and West Bengal and later found tremendous response among the people of the State.

He said that since the break in the Communist Party, the CPI(M) had proved through its strength, as demonstrated in elections, that it was increasingly obtaining the people's support. This showed that decisions were taken neither in Moscow nor Peking, but by the people. The Naxalites who broke away identified their enemies as the Soviet Union and the CPI(M), but not the bourgeoisie and landlords. He said that they were nowhere today, and, in fact, had become accomplices of bourgeois-landlord rule.

He said that people all over the country were now looking to the CPI(M) as the Party that would build Left and democratic unity to forge an alternative to change the present system. This was becoming more obvious since the Indira Government could not solve any of the economic or political problems confronting the country and the other bourgeois-landlord opposition parties were incapable of providing an alternative.

P. Sundarayya concluded the meeting with a short speech.

The rally was followed by a highly-appreciated cultural programme.

CPI(M) Central Committee's Greetings To Polisario*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its revolutionary greetings to the Sahrawi people and the Polisario Front on the occasion, on February 27, of the Sixth Anniversary of the foundation of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic which has been recognised by the Governments of fifty countries.

After the Spanish withdrawal from Western Sahara in 1975, Morocco occupied the mineral-rich northern part and Mauritania the southern part. In August 1979, Mauritania signed a peace agreement with Polisario and withdrew from Western Sahara. But the reactionary regime of Morocco is carrying on a war against the Polisario and the SADR to annex Western Sahara. All the efforts of the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity, the majority of whose members recognise the Government of the SADR, to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Western Sahara problem have been thwarted by King Hassan's regime. The Polisario and the Government of the SADR which are in effective control of 95 per cent of Western Sahara is now rightly demanding that the Moroccan regime should directly negotiate with the SADR for a peaceful settlement. But the Moroccan regime is refusing to talk with the Polisario for a cease-fire and referendum in Western Sahara.

The U.S. imperialists are backing the reactionary Moroccan regime of King Hassan with weapons and advisers and, according to latest reports, with troops also. It is this U.S. support which enables Morocco to continue its war of annexation.

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CPI(M) Central Committee's Greetings To Polisario 413

The CPI(M) denounces this U.S. imperialist intervention and the Moroccan regime's war against the people of Western Sahara.

The CPI(M) extends its fullest support to the Polisario and SADR in their heroic struggle for the self-determination of the people of Western Sahara.

Communique Issued By The Central Committee Of The CPI(M) Following Its Meeting Held In Calcutta On February 26-28, 1982*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) met in Calcutta from February 26 to 28, 1982, with Samar Mukherjee in the Chair.

After finalising the Political-Organisational Report adopted by the Vijayawada Congress, with amendments as indicated by the Steering Committee of the Congress, and deciding on the lines along which reporting in the Congress is to be made, the Committee considered the international and national developments during the one month that has elapsed since the Party Congress.

Attacks on People

The Central Committee expressed its strong condemnation of the continuing attacks that are being made on the living standards of the people by Congress(I) Government at the Centre. The latest is the additional burden of Rs. 535 crores imposed by the budget for 1982-83. This had been preceded by the hike in post and telegraph charges, and Railway fares and freight charges. Directives have been issued to the State Governments to jack up electricity rates and transport charges on the ground that State Electricity Boards and Transport Corporations are running at losses. Despite all the Governments' claims of having controlled the inflation, retail prices continue to rise. The fact that the all-India consumer price index has reached the all-time high of 462 shows that the cost of living is continuously going up. All this is making living costlier and costlier. In addition direct

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attacks are being made on the emoluments of the employees with various measures aimed at wage-freeze—impounding of additional dearness allowance instalments, and of increases in house rent allowance, city compensatory allowance and so on.

The CPI(M) had warned when the Government of India took the IMF loan that such attacks on the living standards of the people were part of the terms dictated by the IMF and accepted by the Government. Every policy measure of the Government is proving this to the hilt. The C.C. appeals to the people, to all opposition forces, to resist these new burdens and force the Government to withdraw them.

Intensified Repression

Hand in hand with this imposing of new burdens goes the intensification of the attacks on the democratic and trade union rights of the working class and working people to suppress their mass protests against the growingly intolerable conditions of living. Sixteen industries notified as essential industries have been brought under the purview of the National Security Act. The National Security Act was liberally used in the attempts to suppress the January 19 industrial general strike, and in many cases the large-scale victimisation that was resorted to in connection with the strike has not been vacated. The Finance Minister has issued a directive in regard to wage negotiations in the public sector that any increase in wages has to be linked to production increase. It is with such all round attacks that Indira Gandhi's Government is launching the "year of productivity" which she has announced.

Disregard of Parliament

The Congress(I) rulers continue their relentless attack on Parliament which was demonstrated when they hiked post and telegraph charges through a notification after Parliament had already been summoned. The Chairman of the Rajya Sabha himself had to admonish them for this. Even after the Railway Budget was presented, the Chairman of the Railway Board made the statement that suburban fares would have to be raised, but the

Opposition was thwarted from hauling him up for this palpable contempt of Parliament.

The ruling party not only disregards Parliament but also shows the utmost disregard for the Opposition in Parliament and the legislatures in the State where they rule. The National Development Council is being reduced to an ineffective body with the Central Government refusing to take it seriously in regard to policy matters.

The denigration of the Judiciary reached a new height this week when well known Congress(I) lawyers tried to intimidate a Supreme Court Bench in the West Bengal election case. The Law Commissioner's proposal for taking cases concerning the Constitution away from the Supreme Court is an attempt to facilitate subversion of parliamentary democracy and has been rightly opposed by democratic lawyers.

And the Prime Minister herself in some of her recent statements gave new dimensions to the continuing Congress(I) onslaught on the Press.

Fear of Defeat

Another front of the Congress(I) attack is the Left Front Government of West Bengal. The election in West Bengal, after the Election Commission had accepted the State Government's proposal for advancing it rejecting the Congress(I) allegations against the voters' list, is sought to be stalled by the Congress(I) through any and every method. First, the cry of breakdown of law and order was raised. When that did not click, the baseless charge of bogus electoral rolls was raised—the Prime Minister herself joining in. When that was debunked, the Congress(I) has now gone to the law courts to somehow delay the election—a ploy to which they had resorted at the time of the elections to the panchayats, municipalities and University Senate. As on those occasions, today also it is the fear of sure defeat that haunts the Congress(I) leadership.

"Casting Vote" Government

In Kerala, despite the "satisfaction" of the Governor that the Congress(I)-led front had a majority, and claims to the same

effect by the Congress(I) leaders including the Prime Minister herself, the minority character of the Government when it was installed has become evident. Even after all the horse-trading, to facilitate which alone the Assembly had been kept in suspension, and getting three Janata Party MLAs to defect from their party and one Independent to support the Government, it was proved eight times during the course of two days that the Government could survive only on the basis of the Speaker's casting vote. Such is the mockery to which the Congress(I) rulers have reduced the parliamentary democratic system. The C.C. demands that this Government be dismissed, the Assembly dissolved and a fresh election held at the earliest.

After the installation of the Congress(I)-led Government, attacks on Harijans have begun in Kerala and are on the increase. There is a general breakdown of law and order in the State. The Congress(I) is conniving with RSS elements to attack and murder CPI(M) cadre. And the Congress(I)-led Government is reversing the progressive policies of the previous LDF Government by doing away with the agricultural workers' pension, unemployment relief, etc., and taking away from the Public Service Commission powers regarding certain categories of recruitment.

Minority Ministry

In Assam, after the fall of the first minority Government of Anwara Taimur due to defections from the Congress(I) another minority Government of the Congress(I) has been imposed on the State. The very formation of the Ministry saw four new defections from the Congress(I). On the day the present Chief Minister was invited to form the Government, the Opposition parties' front had given a list which conclusively showed that they had the support of the majority in the Assembly and they alone had the right to form the Government. But the Congress(I)—Parliamentary-Party-Secretary-turned-Governor of Assam rejected their claim and allowed the minority Congress(I) to form the Government. The powers of the Governor were once again abused by the Congress(I) rulers. The C.C. demands the

dismissal of this Ministry. It demands that the Opposition parties' front which has a majority in the Assembly be called to form the Government in the State.

In Tripura, the Congress(I) which was routed in all the elections since December 1977, has openly joined hands with the Tripura Upajati Juba Samiti and the chauvinist Amra Bangalee to create conditions to call for the imposing of President's rule on the State.

No Question of Co-operation

The Congress(I) rulers, on the one hand, make virulent attacks on the Opposition and, on the other, call for Opposition co-operation to tackle "national issues". The C.C. wants to make it clear that there can be no question of co-operation with a ruling party which continuously attacks the living standards of the people and their democratic rights, which does everything to subvert the Parliamentary system, denigrates the Judiciary and the Press, and which is unable to solve any problem of the people because of the basic policies it purposes.

Breakdown of Law and Order

Another aspect of the situation which is causing serious concern to all sections of the people is the ever-deteriorating law and order situation in the States under Congress(I) rule. Only the other day, one of the most wanted dacoits held a three-day *darbar* in his village in Uttar Pradesh without the slightest hindrance from the police and administration. It is well known that some Congress(I) legislators had met him, that the police force from the area had been withdrawn. This is nothing but telling the people in the villages that neither the police nor the administration is there to help them, that they are entirely at the mercy of the killer dacoit gangs. The links between some Congress(I) leaders and these gangs, the connivance of the police and the administration with them make the people feel all the more insecure. The situation is not much different in other States including the Capital City of Delhi right under the nose of the Union Home Ministry.

Attacks, atrocities and murders of Harijans have been a regular feature, but the general breakdown of law and order has made their position even more precarious. Last month a number of tribals were killed in Bastar in a police firing. More recently, in Kestara in Durg district in Madhya Pradesh, fourteen Harijans were burnt alive or killed in cold blood. The complicity of some Congress(I) leaders in these murders is well known. In Hyderabad, a Harijan procession on Republic Day to protest against the atrocities on Harijans was first given permission and later banned, lathi-charged and tear-gassed. Crimes against Harijans take place almost every day despite all the claims of the Congress(I) rulers to the contrary.

Forces of Disintegration

What should also cause alarm is that the threat to national integration and the country's unity has in no way diminished; it has, in fact, grown to dangerous proportions.

The recent riots in Pune, Solapur, Baramati, etc., again highlighted this. It was reported in the Press that elements from the Shiv Sena, the Congress(I) and the BJP were involved. What is even more disquieting is that the Viswa Hindu Parishad and other Hindu communal organisations like the Hindu Ekta Andolan, Patit Pawan, etc., are using various methods like organising of Jagran weeks and fortnights, to rally the youth of the majority community for provocations against the minority. These rabidly communal organisations played a big role in the communal riots in Maharashtra and their activities should constitute a serious warning to all secular forces in the country. The issue of cow-slaughter which had remained in the background for some time, is being again brought out to vitiate the atmosphere.

The Islamic fundamentalists are also, from the other end, whipping up minority communalism. The recent Indian Union Muslim League Conference in Kerala heard speeches, the purport of which was that capitalist democracy and Communism had both failed and Islamic fundamentalism was the only way out. It is to be noted that Congress(I) Chief Minister K. Karunakaran

addressed the conference. The Jamait-e-Islami has also stepped up its activities holding conference in various parts of the country to rouse minority Communalism.

In Assam, while the bilateral talks and the later trilateral talks remain deadlocked, the secessionist leadership of the agitation is going ahead with more and more extremist programmes like the imposition of their own curfew, and their own 'police' to enforce the curfew as on Republic Day. They are bent upon leading Assam into the same disturbed conditions as in most of the other parts of the North-Eastern region where in places like Manipur insurgent activities are on the increase. In Assam and in the rest of the North-Eastern region, the hand of imperialist agencies which are working overtime for the disintegration of India, is being more and more clearly seen. The Congress(I) which initially supported the agitation in Assam for its narrow ends and Opposition parties which have taken an opportunist stand towards the agitation cannot escape the responsibility for the growth of the forces of disintegration. The C.C. is proud that the Party's Assam unit and mass organisations of workers, students, youth bravely faced the agitationists' curfew on Republic Day, and with other Left and democratic forces, are fighting back the secessionist forces and working for a correct solution of the Assam problem which will do justice to all sections of the people inhabiting the State.

The ruling party has demonstrated its incapacity to solve any of these serious problems, whether it is attacks on Harijans and Adivasis, communal riots or the forces of disintegration. The dictatorial way the Party is being run, the in-fightings that are rocking the party in every State make it all the more incapable of tackling these problems.

In-Fights in Ruling Party

No elections have been held in the Congress Party since Indira Gandhi assumed its supreme leadership, it is a party run by nominations. In course of time, this practice of nomination has been extended to Chief Ministers. The unceremonious dismissal of Anjaiah is only the latest instance. Anjaiah himself had been

sent to Andhra Pradesh to replace Chenna Reddy who had also been removed by the High Command. Now B. Venkataram has been nominated Chief Minister of the State. Antulay had to go after the High Court judgement on his cement deals, and Baba Saheb Bhonsle was nominated as Maharashtra's Chief Minister. Earlier, Rajasthan Chief Minister Pahadia had been replaced by S. C. Mathur. What is common about all these nominees is that they are loyalists and sychophants, prepared to do anything for their patron. The idea is that nobody should be able to build a base for himself or herself in any State and become too powerful. The result is the devaluation of every post in the ruling party except that of the one leader in whom all powers are concentrated. This situation, far from putting an end to the in-fights in the party, has only intensified them. In West Bengal, the PCC(I) and all the district committees were nominated by the centre. That only led to a fresh outbreak of dissidence, faction fights and physical attacks. When the dethroned President of the PCC(I) was entrusted with the responsibility of checking the electoral rolls, again by the supreme leader, that led to a fresh inner-party crisis. This is inevitable in a party in which democracy has been liquidated, and with such a party as the ruling party it is inevitable that problems get worse, not solved.

Imperialist Threat

These serious developments in the country are taking place at a time when the imperialist threat to and pressure on India is mounting. The Pakistani military dictatorship, with the backing of the U.S. imperialists and the arms deal with the U.S.A., is bent upon keeping up tensions in the sub-continent and perpetuating conditions of instability. The no-war pact manoeuvre of the military dictatorship has been exposed by its raking up of the Kashmir issue in the U.N. Human Rights Commission and dictator Zia's subsequent statement that there will be no change in Pakistan's stand on Kashmir. The military leadership of Pakistan is playing the U.S. imperialist game in the sub-continent and poses a serious danger to the security of India.

The U.S. imperialists are continuing to encourage and support the forces of disintegration inside the country. Allowing Khalistan protagonist Jagjit Singh Chauhan to stay in the United States is part of this support to the reactionary forces.

The C.C. notes with concern that the BJP and some elements in other Opposition parties in their opportunism not only refuse to see the seriousness of the danger but try to screen the U.S. imperialists and their accomplices in the Pakistani military dictatorship. The C.C., at the same time, is happy to note that popular opposition to the military leadership is growing in Pakistan and extends its solidarity and support to the people of Pakistan who are heroically fighting for their democratic rights and a democratic Pakistan.

The threat that U.S. imperialism is posing to India has to be seen against the background of the dangerous and bellicose moves it has been making in various parts of the world. It is getting ready to attack Cuba and Nicaragua to suppress the liberation struggle of the Salvadoran people. It has imposed sanctions against the Soviet Union and Poland and is pressurising its reluctant Western allies and Japan to impose similar sanctions. It is out to torpedo the talks on the limitation of medium-range missiles in Europe so as to station new missiles in Western Europe and directly threaten Soviet territory.

It is the task, above all, of the Left parties to rouse and mobilise the people against the danger of a thermonuclear war being created by the imperialists and to foil the U.S. imperialist conspiracies against our country.

Strengthen Joint Actions

The C.C. appreciates that the Opposition parties are moving more concertedly in the current session of Parliament on issues concerning the people. This is of great help to expose the Government's policies, to oppose its anti-people measures and give support to the struggles of the people outside.

A healthy development in some of the bourgeois Opposition parties is that while some elements try to take these parties to the Congress(I), others are resisting such moves and declaring in

favour of co-operation and united action with the Left parties and forces.

The C.C. is happy at the strengthening and advance of the Left Fronts in West Bengal and Tripura, the strengthening of Left unity in the country in which the understanding between the CPI and CPI(M) and the widespread mass activities of the Left parties, their joint mass action along with other democratic and Opposition parties and forces in defence of democratic rights, in defence of the working class and working people, inside Parliament and outside, have played a big role. There is every need to consolidate and further strengthen Left unity since it has a pivotal role to play in mobilising the broadest forces in the struggle against authoritarianism and in building the Left and democratic alternative to bourgeois-landlord rule. The Central Committee appeals to all Left parties, to all democratic forces, interested in advancing the struggle against authoritarianism and for a Left and democratic alternative, to strengthen further the joint mass actions in defence of the people.

Central Committee's Appeal For Party Fund*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) appeals to all friends of the Party, all those who hold dear the cause of building the unity of Left and democratic forces, to make liberal contributions to the Party Fund of Rupees Five Lakh that is now being collected for the expenses of the Party during the year 1982.

The Eleventh Congress of the Party held just over a month ago has reiterated the need for building Left and democratic unity as the national alternative to the bourgeois-landlord regime.

Over thirtyfour years of bourgeois-landlord rule over the country has shown the utter bankruptcy of the policies pursued by the ruling and Opposition parties of the bourgeois-landlord classes. Hence the call for building the Left and democratic front on the basis of a 23-point programme of Left and democratic unity, spelt out in the Political Resolution adopted by the Party Congress.

The programme of Left and democratic unity is opposed to the programmes of all the parties of the bourgeois-landlord classes—the ruling as well as the Opposition. While the initiative for building this front has no doubt to be taken by the CPI(M) and other Left parties, the bankruptcy of the policies of the ruling classes has made large sections in all other political parties veer round to the Left and democratic programme as the way out of the country's crisis. What is thus envisaged is a very broad front in which Left, democratic, secular and patriotic forces from all walks of life, from all political parties can come together and fight for democracy, secularism, world peace and internal reforms.

*Published in "PEOPLES DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, March 14, 1982.

The reports made at the Party Congress showed the struggle for Left and democratic unity is being successfully waged not only in States and regions where the CPI(M) and other Left parties have been traditionally strong but all over the country. However, the advance made is insufficient and slow. It is, therefore, necessary that the agitational, propaganda and organisational work of the Party is increased manifold, so that those who are increasingly being brought within the fold of the struggle against the policies of the ruling classes are organised and brought into united militant actions.

The reports made at the Party Congress as well as those that are being received everyday also show that, parallel to the growing unity of Left and democratic forces, still broader unity of action is developing among the Opposition parties and forces in resistance to the authoritarian moves of the ruling party. Following the historic all-India general strike of January 19, trade unions in various States and in various industries are going into united actions, bringing into their fold the organisations of the working class and middle class employees having ideological and political differences. In the parliamentary arena, too, the unity of the Opposition is developing. It is in the interests of all the Left and democratic parties that this broader unity against the authoritarian moves of the ruling party is strengthened.

As an inseparable part of the struggle for building the Left and democratic unity, the CPI(M) has to expose the aggressive moves of imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism. It has to join hands with all forces of peace in strengthening the resistance to war, the movement for the destruction of nuclear and other weapons of war.

While this is a world movement embracing every continent, every country, we in India have particularly to face the U.S. manoeuvres in the Indian Ocean, in West Asia and, above all, in the military ruled Pakistan on India's own borders. Part of the imperialist intrigues against India is the whipping up of such divisive forces and movements as caste and communal riots, dissemination of such divisive ideologies as Hindu Rashtra and Islamic fundamentalism, the organised activities of foreign Christian missions, the Khalistan movement in the North-West, separatism and secessionism in the North-East, etc.

All these tasks enjoined on our Party make it necessary that the organisational slogan raised by the Party over three years ago—the Salkia Plenum's slogan of "mass revolutionary party"—is all the more important today. Only a party organisation which is far more extensive, embracing far more sections of the people but based on the strict principles of Marxist-Leninist organisation, can discharge the responsibilities which the present day situation has imposed on the Party. Party organs from top to bottom require to be strengthened manifold which requires the generous financial assistance from all members and friends of the Party.

The Central Committee recalls with pride and gratitude that the earlier calls by the Party have been magnificently responded to and hopes that this time too, our friends will respond to our call and fulfil the Party fund target.

Polit Bureau On The Supreme Court Order Dismissing The Writ Petition On Assembly Election In West Bengal*

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) welcomes the order issued by the Supreme Court dismissing the writ petition filed on behalf of the Congress(I) and some other parties challenging the conduct of the Assembly election in West Bengal.

It was surprising, the Court said, that the Counsel for the petitioners challenged this constitutional validity of the Acts and Rules under which all the elections have so far been conducted in the country since 1952.

The Congress(I) in West Bengal has been striving its utmost to delay the election of the State Assembly so that when the term of the present Left Front Government comes to an end in June this year, President's rule can be clamped on the State, and elections held under Central rule so as to enable the Congress(I) to rig the election as it did so brutally and violently in 1972. The cry of collapse of law and order was raised first and when that failed, the plea of defective electoral rolls was raised. The Congress(I) challenged the integrity of the officials and enumerators engaged in the preparation of the electoral rolls and of the entire electoral machinery. The Prime Minister herself joined her voice to this campaign saying that 30 per cent of the voters on the rolls were bogus, and she said this even before the rolls were published! Such unheard-of tactics were directed to pressurise the Election Commission. When the Election Commission, after conducting on-the-spot enquiries, declared that the allegations about the electoral rolls were baseless, and announced the date of their publication, the Congress(I) approached the Calcutta High Court

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, April 4, 1982 CPI(M) Polit Bureau statement was issued in New Delhi on March 30, 1982

in another bid to stall the election. That this was a despicable conspiracy against democracy became evident when, during the hearing in the Supreme Court, Congress(I) Counsel A. K. Sen told the Counsel for the Left Front, Somnath Chatterjee, that "elections should not be held under you" (the Left Front Government).

The very same party wanted the elections in Kerala to be held under its own leader in the State, Karunakaran, who was, therefore, allowed to form a minority Government. The plan was to let this minority Government remain as a "Care-taker Government", after the vote-on-account was passed with the Speaker's casting vote. The consciousness of the Legislators in Kerala foiled the game in the State.

The verdict of the Supreme Court has now removed the obstructions in the way of the West Bengal election being held in May.

The P. B. hopes that the unscrupulous methods adopted by the Congress(I) in West Bengal and Kerala will spur democratic forces in both the States to united actions to ensure the electoral victory of the Left Front in West Bengal and the Left-Democratic Front in Kerala.

Polit Bureau's Appeal To Voters in Kerala Before Elections Announced In May 1982*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) appeals to the voters of Kerala to return the Left-Democratic Front, defeating the Congress(I) Rightist front, in the forthcoming elections to the State Legislature.

The Left-Democratic Front was in office for 21 months in 1980-81. Elected with a massive mandate, it started implementing the programme placed before the electorate in the January 1980 elections. Such electoral promises as pension for the agricultural labourers and allowance for the unemployed youth; concessions to the workers and middle class employees as well as the peasantry to the extent possible under the highly-centralised administrative set-up and under the conditions of acute financial and economic crisis; decentralisation of the administration through legislation providing for District Councils, etc., were being fulfilled. Obstacles, however, were put to the process by a section within the Left-Democratic Front assisted by the Congress(I)-led Opposition.

Refusing to pursue the repressive policies initiated and implemented by previous Governments in the State, the Left-Democratic Front Government protected the working class, peasants and other sections of the working people fighting for their legitimate rights. It refused to fall in line with the Congress(I)-ruled Central and State Governments in using the NSA, ESMA and other anti-democratic measures. It organised an efficient system of public distribution of essential commodities, giving much-needed relief to the people at large. The system of

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, April 18, 1982

public distribution in the State was appreciated throughout the country and provided a clear contrast to the anti-people policies pursued in Congress(I)-governed States.

The Congress(I) and other Opposition political groups were understandably uneasy at these achievements leading to increasing popularity of the Left-Democratic Front, with the corresponding weakening of the political positions of the Congress(I) and its allies. They, therefore, organised a violent campaign against the Left-Democratic Front collaborating with the RSS, the Naxalites and other anti-social forces.

Within the Left-Democratic Front, too, the Congress led by A. K. Antony and the Kerala Congress (Mani group) did their best to sabotage the working of the Government and with this end collaborated with the Opposition in its toppling game. This was a clear breach of the promises made by them to the electorate. They went a step further and joined the Congress(I)-led Opposition to form a minority Government with the blessings and cooperation of the Central Government.

The Congress group led by A. K. Antony was thus going back on its political commitment to fight the authoritarian Congress(I). It is now on the way to merging itself with the Congress(I) headed by the same Karunakaran against whom Antony rallied his ranks for several years.

The Kerala Congress (Mani group) is also going back on the political position consistently adopted by it ever since it formed itself as a party in 1964. The two main planks on which its leaders had broken with the then Indian National Congress and formed the Kerala Congress were State autonomy and defence of the interests of cultivators. The new combination that they have now entered into will force them to betray the two causes and surrender the lakhs of peasants in Kerala to the vested interests protected by the Central Government.

When the Antony Congress and the Mani Kerala Congress joined hands with the Congress(I)-led Opposition to topple the Left-Democratic Front Government, they shared with the Congress(I)-led alliance the hope of organising further defections

from the Left-Democratic Front, get a vote on account passed, dissolve the Assembly and have the elections ordered with the minority Government continuing as "caretaker".

The P. B. is gratified to note that these calculations proved wrong. The first session of the Legislature convened under the advice of the minority Government showed that it was entirely dependent on the Speaker's casting vote for survival. The expected defections did not take place; all the constituents remaining after the defection of the Antony Congress and the Kerala Congress stood firm to their electoral promises; dissidence, in fact, developed within the Antony Congress and the Mani Kerala Congress, rethinking began also in the Janata Party.

While expressing satisfaction that the calculations of the congress(I)-led front have thus gone awry, the P. B. would like to draw attention to the immensity of the task facing the Left-Democratic Front in the State which is facing the powerful combination of all kinds of vested interests which, besides, enjoy the support of the Central Government and the Governor's administration in the State. Particular mention should be made of the role played by the Governor of the State who acted and is acting as the willing tool of the Congress(I) rulers at the Centre in allowing the formation of the minority Government and in hastily dissolving the Assembly even without completing the process of the Rajya Sabha election.

The administration in the State headed by such a Governor and controlled by the Congress(I) ruling at the Centre is bound to resort to all sorts of tricks to falsify the will of the electorate. It is, therefore, the task of all those who are interested in defending democracy to foil the game being played by the Congress(I)-led front.

The P. B. appeals to all the members, friends and units of the Party in Kerala to realise their responsibilities in fighting the opportunist combination knocked together by the Congress(I). The political line adopted by the Party at the Vijayawada Congress is a powerful instrument with which to defeat the authoritarian moves of the ruling party and consolidate the Left and democratic forces. The broadest possible mobilisation of all

sections of the people behind the Left-Democratic Front which has issued its own joint manifesto, the widest possible popularisation of the Party's own political line as indicated in the Vijayawada resolution and the sustained work done by every member and friend of the Party in ensuring the electoral victory of every candidate put up by the Left-Democratic Front—these will constitute significant contributions to the development of the Left and democratic front throughout the country, while enabling the Left and democratic forces in the State itself to continue the good work done by the earlier Left-Democratic Front Government.

The P. B. appeals to the members and friends of all other Left, Democratic and Opposition parties in the State to consolidate the gains made by the recent reorganisation and broadening of the Front of the State. The joint propaganda and organisational work to be undertaken now which, it is to be hoped, will culminate in the electoral victory of the Front will further strengthen the movement initiated when the Left-Democratic Front was formed before the January 1980 elections.

The P. B. appeals to the people of Kerala to realise that the cause of democracy, national unity and the conditions of the working people are all threatened by the opportunist combination of parties and groups led by the Congress(I). The leader of that combination is the very same Karunakaran who became notorious for carrying out the authoritarian policies of the Emergency regime, torturing and killing dozens of honest patriots and who, therefore, was hunted out of the Chief Minister's position by some of those who are today trying to bring him back. The combination includes such opportunist elements as the leaders of the NDP and SRP who differ sharply on the question of reservation but who joined together in bringing the hated authoritarian party back to office. It includes also some leaders of the Muslim and Christian minorities who have no qualms of conscience in joining hands with the RSS in its attacks on secular forces. It is they who are trying to involve the Congress(I)-led combination to have some sort of understanding with the BJP.

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These opportunist moves of the various parties and groups that have joined together in the Congress(I)-led combination have raised the serious danger of Hindu revivalism, posing a threat not only to minority religious communities but also to the Scheduled and other backward castes in the Hindu society. The Congress(I)-led combination thus constitutes a serious threat to democracy, to national unity and integration and to the organised movement of all sections of the working people.

P.B. Appeals For Election Funds*

**Statement Dated April 13, 1982 Issued in New Delhi
for Election in West Bengal and Kerala in May 1982**

The West Bengal and Kerala State Committees of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) are in the midst of a serious electoral battle against the forces of the authoritarian and dictatorial ruling Congress(I) and its allies. It is well-known that these two States and their revolutionary and democratic movements have emerged as the two strongest bases and outposts of the Left and democratic forces, bearing the major brunt of the struggle against the authoritarian rule of the Congress(I). The present electoral battle in both these States is politically very significant not only for the democratic future of the people of these two States but also for the entire people of India—and every State in the Indian Union.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) earnestly appeals to all the well-wishers and supporters of the Party and the Left and democratic movement to come forward and liberally contribute to the heavy election expenditure that has to be incurred by these two States. The donors are requested to send their contributions directly to the concerned State Committees or to the Central Committee Centre at Delhi.

The P.B. hopes that the people will respond liberally and speedily to its appeal.

Central Committee Office, Communist Party of India (Marxist), 14, Ashoka Road, New Delhi-110 001.

West Bengal State Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist), Muzaffar Ahmad Bhavan, 31, Alimuddin Street, Calcutta-700 016.

Kerala State Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist), A.K.G. Centre, Azhikkodan Raghavan Road, Trivandrum-695 001.

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P.B. Condemns Attacks On Party Workers In Kashmir*

Statement Dated May 4, 1982 Issued in New Delhi

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its severe condemnation of the Jamait-e-Islami for its brutal attacks on CPI(M) leaders and activists on May Day in Kashmir. The hoodlums belonging to this ultra-reactionary organisation first tried to disrupt the May Day rally and later waylaid and assaulted with lathis and other weapons Comrade Mohammed Yusuf, Secretary of the Jammu & Kashmir State Committee of the CPI(M), and other Party workers who were with him. The Jamait-e-Islami elements then extended their attack to neighbouring areas like Balsoo, Tarigm, where houses belonging to CPI(M) workers were attacked, people were beaten up, women were molested and property was looted. Five persons belonging to the Jamait-e-Islami have been arrested for these attacks, but the administration is moving only half-heartedly against the culprits.

The Jamait-e-Islami, backed by opportunist political elements inside the State and encouraged and supported by Islamic fundamentalists and imperialist agencies from abroad, has been indulging in destabilising activities in Jammu & Kashmir and has made the CPI(M), CITU and Kisan Sabha its main targets of attack.

The Polit Bureau demands that the State administration take stern action to punish the Jamait-e-Islami elements responsible for the May Day attack on CPI(M) workers.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, May 16, 1982

Central Committee Statement On May 19 Elections And Post-Election Situation*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its heartiest congratulations to the West Bengal State Committee of the Party and the Left Front for the magnificent victory it has scored in the State Assembly election of May 19, 1982. The C.C. greets the people of West Bengal for giving this great victory to the Left Front. The C.C. is happy to note that all State units of the Party extended their solidarity to the Left Front in West Bengal, as well as to the Left-Democratic Front in Kerala.

The voting figures unmistakably demonstrate the massive endorsement of the policies of the Left Front by the people of West Bengal. They also reveal that the Left Front has made further advances in securing mass support. Even in Calcutta City where the defeat of some Ministers has been played up by the monopoly-controlled Press as an indication of the erosion of urban support to the Left Front, the figures reveal that the Left Front has secured 141,669 votes more than the Congress(I) and its allies—the Left Front vote increasing by 135,632 and the vote of the Congress(I) and the Janata coming down by 5412. The Left Front secured 50.52 per cent of the votes in Calcutta City while the Congress(I) polled only 43.42 per cent of the votes, and along with its allies, 45.50 per cent.

In five districts—Burdwan, Nadia, Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar and Darjeeling—the Congress(I) drew a blank with the Left Front winning all but one of the 67 seats in these districts, the lone exception being the seat won by a Gurkha League candidate. The

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, May 30, 1982.

Janata Party which had secured 29 seats in the 1977 Assembly election, this time took a hostile attitude to the CPI(M) and Left Front, virtually becoming an ally of the Congress(I), and as a result, did not win a single seat. Most of those who supported the Janata Party in that election had switched their support to the Congress(I). Even then the Congress(I) could secure only 49 seats as against the Congress tally of 20 in 1977. The Left Front increased its tally of seats in the Assembly from 230 to 238.

The BJP, Muslim League, the Naxalites and other divisive forces could not win any seat, while the SUC's strength has been reduced from four to two. The Congress(I) has suffered a crushing defeat in West Bengal.

The Congress(I) had tried every trick—the hue and cry about law and order and faulty electoral rolls and finally resort to court proceedings—to get the Assembly election postponed so that President's rule could be imposed on the State after the five-year term of the Left Front Government was over and the election rigged in the Congress(I)'s favour as in 1972. But the massive protest movement in West Bengal itself, the support to the demand for election as proposed by the Left Front Government by all Opposition parties and the Supreme Court judgement foiled this conspiracy of the Congress(I).

Once the election date was fixed by the Election Commission, Congress(I) President and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi ran a campaign of tirades against the Left Front, especially the CPI(M). She charged the CPI(M) with indulging in the politics of murders and violence, with the policy of confrontation with the Centre, with squandering resources and not doing anything for the development of the State and the people's well-being and so on. The electorate of West Bengal has massively rejected all these slanderous charges and reiterated their confidence in and support to the Left Front and the CPI(M). This election held for the first time under a Left Front Government which was completing its five-year term of office, was entirely peaceful, free and fair.

This solid victory of the Left Front and the CPI(M)—the Left Front winning a four-fifth majority and CPI(M) winning a majority for itself in the Assembly—will tremendously reinforce

the struggle against authoritarianism, against the divisive forces and forces of destabilisation, for the consolidation of the Left and democratic forces and advancing among the people the Left and democratic alternative to bourgeois-landlord rule.

The C.C. greets the Left-Democratic Front and the State Committee of the Party, and the voters of Kerala, for their massive support to the front and the CPI(M) which has emerged as the single strongest party in the Assembly. Though the Left-Democratic Front in Kerala did not win a majority of seats in the Assembly, its showing in this election has been impressive.

Reminiscent of the "liberation struggle" of 1959, the Congress(I) knocked together all the communal and casteist forces in a front along with all the anti-Communist parties, to face the LDF. Even then this casteist-communal combination could win only less than a lakh votes more than the LDF, a difference of just one per cent. The election results show that the LDF has strengthened its mass base and increased its popular support. They also show that the Congress(I) in Kerala has become abjectly dependent on the communal and casteist forces to secure an electoral victory.

While in Cannanore, Calicut, Palghat and Trivandrum districts, the LDF improved its position, with Trichur district divided equally, it was in Ernakulam, Idukki, Kottayam, Wynad, Malappuram, Quilon and Alleppey where parties based on the Christian, Muslim, Nair and Ezhava population have considerable influence, that the Congress(I)-led front has been able to secure more seats than the LDF. But for this reactionary communal-caste combination, the Congress(I) would have been reduced to the same pitiable position as in 1967 when the then Congress could secure only nine seats in the Assembly.

As against this combination, the LDF has not only put up a good performance, it has secured notable political gains. The ideological-political campaign the front conducted against the Prime Minister's slanderous charges in the same way as in West Bengal, will have its lasting impact on the politics of the State. This should be inspiring for the Left and democratic forces in the rest of the country.

The C.C. greets the electorate of Garhwal for inflicting a big defeat on the Congress(I). The ruling party had tried to postpone the by-election in this Lok Sabha constituency but had to ultimately bow to the decision of the Election Commission. The Congress(I) propaganda that H. N. Bahuguna had won the seat in 1980 because he fought on the Congress(I) ticket has been completely exposed by his present victory as the candidate backed by all the Opposition parties. The C.C. greets the Party members in Uttar Pradesh and cadres of the student, youth and other mass organisations who braved Congress(I), hoodlum attacks and campaigned successfully for Bahuguna.

The Jabalpur Lok Sabha seat has also been wrested from the Congress(I) by the BJP. The Congress(I) could win only three of the seven Lok Sabha by-elections. The Congress(I) could defeat the CPI(M) candidate in the Sahebganj Assembly constituency in Bihar only by naked violence and large-scale rigging. It lost the Karchana Assembly seat in Allahabad district which it had held previously to the Democratic Socialist Party.

In Haryana and Himachal Pradesh the Congress(I) has been defeated by Opposition parties like the Lok Dal and BJP. These two States also could have been decisively taken away from the Congress(I) if only the Opposition parties had worked in better unison. Regrettably that did not take place. Even then the Congress(I) has not been able to win majorities in the two states. In Haryana it could win only 36 of the 90 seats, while in Himachal Pradesh its tally is 31 in a House of 68. The Congress(I)'s opportunistic politics of organising defections has met its' Waterloo in both the states, most of the defectors who went over to the Congress(I) in 1980 and enabled that party to form the State Governments being rejected by the people.

While the struggle against authoritarianism has been strengthened by these defeats of the Congress(I) and the increased support which the Left and democratic forces have won in West Bengal and Kerala, the challenge still coming from the forces of authoritarianism should in no way be minimised. What has taken place in Haryana should alert the democratic forces. Despite the Congress(I) losing the election, the Congress(I)

leader has been sworn in as Chief Minister. The Constitution and all democratic norms have been trampled underfoot. The Chief Minister himself admitted that he had the backing of only 42 members, while the Lok Dal leader had agreed to physically produce 47 members in his support. After asking him to do so, the Governor, meanwhile, had the Congress(I) leader sworn in as Chief Minister without even insisting that he also physically prove his support, and even before the Assembly was formally constituted.

Opposition parties which met the Rashtrapati have demanded the dismissal of the Haryana Governor and of Bhajan Lal and an opportunity for the Opposition to prove its strength and form the Government in the State. The C.C. endorses these demands.

The swearing in of a minority Congress(I) Chief Minister in Haryana is not an isolated incident. In Assam, twice minority Governments were imposed, once even after the Opposition had physically presented the majority of the Assembly members to the Governor. In Kerala, after the resignation of the LDF Government, a minority Government led by the Congress(I) was installed which fell ignominiously after 80 days.

The swearing-in of the Congress(I) Chief Minister in Haryana is to give the opportunity to that party to indulge in horse-trading and fabricate a majority. Financial allurements, positions and privileges and even threats are being held out for this purpose. The authoritarian party is bent upon resorting to any and every anti-democratic means to impose its rule even after an electoral defeat and in that process another sordid chapter is being added to the story of all-pervading corruption in the country.

The Prime Minister herself while saying during the election campaign that she was not planning to have a Presidential form of Government, asked at the same time what was wrong with the Presidential system in the United States and France. This shows that the plans for the scuttling of parliamentary democracy and introducing a Presidential form of Government are far from given up. The attempts to have a committed Judiciary, a pliant Election Commission, etc., continue. The danger posed by the authoritarian forces is real and has to be combated with all the might of the democratic and Opposition forces.

Indira Gandhi came back to power in 1980 with a massive majority. But in two and a half years' time the situation is totally different. Her mass support has been considerably eroded. She came to power promising a performing Government. But the gap between promises and performance has been so wide that the people are fast getting disillusioned. Added to this is the unseemly in-fighting that goes on in the ruling party and the corruption it generates whether it is cement distribution or land and house allotments. The Indira Gandhi Government has not lifted its little finger to give any relief to the people crushed by the burdens of the crisis. On the contrary further big attacks have been made on them through increasing of railway fares, postal charges, administered prices and so on, they are still victims of the high-price regime. A concerted onslaught is being made on the wages and dearness allowance of workers and employees, their right to form unions, collective bargaining, etc., is being severely curtailed through the use of NSA, ESMA, etc. At the same time the industrial and other policies are being amended to give still more concessions to the multinationals and monopolists. The bitter fruits of the IMF loan are already there. At the insistence of the World Bank, the Central Government is directing State Governments as in Tamil Nadu to resort to distraint proceedings against the peasants to collect loan arrears even while the peasantry all over the country is being denied remunerative prices for its produce. Not only that, the producers of commercial crops have been hard hit by the liberal import policy of the Central Government.

The discontent that is being generated by such policies is being expressed by the electorate. But the danger in the situation is that this discontent is also being garnered by the Right opposition parties like the BJP in Himachal Pradesh where the strength of the Left and democratic forces is negligible. The discontent is also being utilised by the divisive forces and forces of destabilisation, encouraged and supported by imperialist agencies, to strike blows at the unity and integrity of the country.

The ruling party itself has made repeated compromises with casteist and communal forces as in Kerala now and with such

divisive forces as the Jharkhand, Uttarkhand, etc., in West Bengal, thus giving encouragement to these reactionary forces.

What is of even more concern is that the Congress(I) rulers in the name of putting down insurgency, especially in the North-Eastern region, are suppressing all civil liberties of the people. The result is that the democratic forces with whose help alone the forces of disintegration can be fought, are prevented from raising their voice and mobilising the people. Under the Disturbed Areas Act, the Government has assumed powers to hand over such areas to the control of the army. This has already happened in the case of Assam, Manipur, etc., and sections of the army brasshat are now demanding that parts of Tripura should also be declared as disturbed areas. The Government is thus trying to meet the forces of destabilisation and disintegration with the bureaucracy and the army while the democratic forces which can effectively fight these reactionary forces are kept bound hand and foot. This only gives further strength to the reactionary forces and allows the foreign imperialist agencies to intensify their nefarious activities.

This is happening not only in regard to the forces of disintegration. The Prime Minister during her campaign spoke everywhere about the external threats to the country. But, instead of exposing before the people, U.S. imperialism which is mounting the threats and pressures against India, she concentrated her attacks precisely on those forces—the CPI(M), the Left and democratic forces—which are mobilising the people against the imperialist danger. This only weakens the struggle against the external threat.

Against this background, the impressive performance the Left and democratic forces in West Bengal and Kerala has immense significance. Unlike the bourgeois Opposition parties, the Left and democratic forces have been consistent fighters against the forces of authoritarianism, against the forces of destabilisation, against the imperialist conspiracies against our country, for the preservation of the parliamentary democratic system and the democratic rights of the people. Whenever they are in office, despite all the limitations and constraints, they have done their utmost to serve the people.

The post-election situation is full of dangers, it is also full of opportunities.

Prospects have been opened up for common resistance to the forces of authoritarianism, to those who conspire against the parliamentary democratic system, to the onslaughts that are being made on the people. The President of the Republic is to retire in July and a new President has to be elected. The Chief Election Commissioner is retiring in June and a new incumbent has to be chosen. The Congress(I) leadership will use these opportunities to have a President who will act as its yes-man, and a subservient Election Commission. The packing of the Supreme Court with "committed" Judges is already on the agenda. All this calls for urgently organising broad resistance to the forces of authoritarianism, to oppose the Presidential form of Government, fight against the plans to make the Judiciary totally subservient to the Executive, against attacks on civil liberties and fundamental rights, etc. The C.C. of the CPI(M) appeals to all democratic forces, to all Opposition parties, to rally to and strengthen this broad platform to defeat the forces of dictatorship.

Bright prospects have been opened for further consolidating the Left and democratic forces, advancing their unity and projecting the Left and democratic alternative before the people of the whole country. The CPI(M) is pledged to consistently carry on this struggle for Left and democratic unity and the Left and democratic alternative. The C.C. calls on all the Left and democratic forces in the country to rally against the forces of authoritarianism, the imperialist conspiracies against and pressures on our country, against the forces of destabilisation and disintegration, against the pro-monopoly, pro-multinational policies of the Congress(I) rules, for the defence of the working people and the common masses. The election results should give confidence to the Left and democratic parties and forces that this is a task which can be undertaken and fulfilled with success.

C.C.'s Homage To Georgi Dimitrov*

On The Occasion Of His Birth Centenary

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) pays its homage to the memory of Georgi Dimitrov, a great leader of the international working class who occupied for years the most important post in the international Communist movement—the post of the General Secretary of the Communist International, founded by the great Lenin.

Born in 1882, a hundred years ago, this great son of the working class and people of Bulgaria started his career as a printing press worker at the age of fifteen. Learning the facts of exploitation from his own life, the irreconcilable contradiction between the working class and the capitalist class, he took no time to join the Socialist movement of his time and enlist himself as a member of the Social-Democratic Party.

Joining his Socialist understanding with the active movement of the working class, he plunged himself into the trade union movement of his country and was soon elected to the General Council of the Revolutionary Trade Union of Bulgaria. His indefatigable activities and leadership of big strike battles won him the love and affection of the workers and he was returned as the workers' representative to Parliament uninterruptedly from 1913 to 1923.

His bold espousal of the interests of the working class and exposure of the bourgeoisie in Parliament combined with mass struggle outside brought on him the wrath of the bourgeoisie and the reactionary monarchical regime and he had to face severe persecution and repeated imprisonment.

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For his speeches, for leading the strikes, for his exposure of the policies of the Government, he was repeatedly arrested and jailed, and on as many occasions the mighty protest of the working class rescued him from his persecutors. The fascist Government passed two death sentences on him but it could not execute those.

Dimitrov's activities soon extended to the international field and he represented the Bulgarian trade unions and workers and the Social-Democratic Party (Left-Wing Socialists) at international conferences like the Second Balkan Conference (1915). His participation roused the hostility of the Romanian police who deported him from Bucharest.

His outstanding and devoted work in the Party "Left-Wing Socialists" led to his election to the Central Committee of the Party in 1903 within six years of his joining it. Since then, Dimitrov continued to be a member of the Central Committee, organising and participating in all the conferences of the Party. He soon became the leading figure and guiding spirit behind the Party, offering timely Marxist guidance to the Bulgarian Party and saving it from many a mistake.

Dimitrov started his political career in an era which saw the comparatively peaceful growth of capitalism, when capitalism was developing into a worldwide system of imperialism. The comparative progress of capitalism led to many an illusion in the labour movement leading to class-collaborationist distortion of Marxism by the leading lights of Social-Democracy. Ideas about peaceful parliamentary path to Socialism, rejection of revolution, modification of the concept of class struggle were being widely spread among the workers.

This was a period when the First World War—an imperialist War—was being prepared and Social-Democrats were largely preparing the ground for the betrayal of the working class. The period when Dimitrov started his political career saw the birth of the Russian Social-Democratic Party and the great fight waged by Lenin to preserve the purity of the Marxist doctrine. Lenin waged an international struggle against the reformism of international Social-Democracy and branded the reformist leaders as traitors when they supported the imperialist war efforts of their

bourgeoisie. He declared that with this turn the Second International had collapsed, and called upon the working class to turn the imperialist war into a civil war, remaining faithful to the teachings of Marx.

Georgi Dimitrov remained loyal to Marxist teachings and saw the imperialist character of the war. On September 7, 1915, he alongwith other members of the Parliamentary group of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Left-Wing Socialists) issued a leaflet asking the workers to resist being drawn into the war. He continued his opposition to the war by attacking the criminal budgetary policy of the Government which provided for military credits. The class collaborationist outlook of Social-Democracy had spread illusions about achieving Socialism through parliamentary means. But Dimitrov could not subscribe to such a distortion. Fully believing in class struggle and revolution, he supported the decision of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian C.P. to lead an armed uprising against the dictatorial Government on September 22, 1923. The uprising despite the heroic role of the masses, could not succeed, and the main insurgent forces had to leave the country.

Dimitrov was inspired and influenced by the victory of the October Revolution. He raised his voice for peace with Russia when the proletarian Government offered to end the war, he denounced Wrangel and all those who helped him in the civil war in Russia.

Correctly understanding the mighty significance of the October Revolution, this great proletarian fighter realised that the destiny of mankind, the future of the working class and the peoples of the world was now linked up with the existence, progress and strengthening of the proletarian State created under leadership of Lenin.

Dimitrov could not attend the Foundation Conference of the Communist International. Nor could he attend the Second Congress of the Communist International as he was arrested on his way to Moscow. But he attended the Third Congress of the International and since then played a more and more active part in the activities of the International, first under the guidance of Lenin and then of Stalin.

At the session of the Fifth World Congress of the Third Communist International, Georgi Dimitrov was elected a Candidate Member of the Executive Committee of the Third Communist International.

At the session of the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in Moscow in 1928, Dimitrov made a report "on the Measures to Fight Fascism and the Yellow Unions", and at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, he made a report on the Resolution to Fight Against Fascism.

But the fascist danger continued to grow.

In 1933, Hitler's Nazi Party had come to power in Germany, which was made possible by the rejection by the Social-Democratic leaders of the offer of united front in the previous elections by the Communist Party of Germany. In order to impose emergency, abolish freedom and the fundamental rights of the people and the working class, and prepare for war, the Nazis set fire to the Reichstag (the building of the German Parliament), proclaimed that the Communist Party was responsible for it as a signal for an immediate armed, rebellion against the State.

Georgi Dimitrov, who was then living incognito in Germany, was arrested along with some other Bulgarian emigre Communists and arraigned before the Supreme Court of Germany on a charge of conspiracy and plotting to overthrow the Government by armed rebellion, and the fire and destruction of the Reichstag.

Then followed one of the most famous trials in history. Defending himself without the aid of any lawyers, Dimitrov turned the tide against the prosecutors. Despite formidable obstacles put in his efforts by the court, he managed to put his accusers, Hitler's Nazi regime, in the position of the accused. He not only defended himself to repel the charge against him but also defended powerfully the Communist Party of Germany, the internationalism of the Communist Parties the world-over and the Communist International.

His powerful defence and exposure of the machinations of the Nazi regime, roused all Communists and democrats all over the

world, which compelled the Supreme Court to acquit Dimitrov and all the other accused in the case. The trial ended in a fiasco for the Nazis mainly and primarily because of the efforts of Dimitrov.

By the time the Seventh Congress of the Communist International met in 1935, fascism had become a big danger threatening war and democratic liberties and the Parliamentary system all over Europe. Hitler had massacred thousands of Communists in Germany and established his supreme rule. Mussolini was engaged in expanding his fascist empire. Both the fascist Powers had combined with Franco to fight and destroy the republican regime in Spain.

The dark forces of world imperialism were encouraging Hitler to launch a war against the Soviet Union whose plan for collective security was rejected by the British and French imperialist circles.

In each European country fascism was forging ahead exploiting the corruption and degeneration of bourgeois regimes and pretending to talk in favour of the small man.

The one force that could have smashed the fascist advance and saved the people stood divided, thanks to the treacherous role of the Right Social-Democratic leaders. The mighty trade union movement of Western European countries, the big Social-Democratic Parties and the militant Communist Parties were powerful enough if united to check the fascists. But the Social-Democratic leaders with their strong anti-Communist outlook were more hostile to the Communists than the fascists. Repeated offers of united front, joint actions against fascism in defence of democracy were rejected by them. Inside the Communist Parties also there was plenty of confusion. All were not completely aware of the qualitative change in the situation with the emergence of the fascist danger. Some continued to judge bourgeois democracy only in relation to proletarian democracy and could not see the necessity of defending it against the fascist onslaught.

Suspicious of the Right Social-Democratic leaders because of their systematic treachery, they could not easily visualise the

prospects of trade union unity and united front. Many were confused about the character of fascism.

It was the historic achievement of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International when Dimitrov played a leading role to burst through all this confusion and vacillations and put a clear-cut line for the world working class in its fight against fascism and war. Dimitrov rose to great heights in elucidating this international line and arming the world working class with a new determination and confidence to defeat fascism, the implacable foe of the working class and the peoples of the world.

"The accession to power of fascism is not an ordinary succession of one bourgeois Government by another, but a substitution of one State form of class domination of the bourgeoisie—bourgeois democracy—by another form—open terroristic dictatorship. It would be a serious mistake to ignore this distinction, a mistake liable to prevent the revolutionary proletariat from mobilising the widest strata of the working people of town and country for the struggle against the menace of seizure of power by the fascists, and from taking advantage of the contradictions which exist within the camp of the bourgeoisie itself."

"In reality, fascism usually comes to power in the course of a mutual and, at times, severe struggle against the old bourgeois parties, in the course of a struggle even within the fascist camp itself—a struggle which at times leads to armed clashes

Dimitrov pointed out that had the Social Democratic leaders of Germany not split the unity of the working class, fascism could have been prevented from having access to power

But along with the lack of working class unity, he also mentioned neglect of the peasantry as one of the reasons for the success of the fascists. The reforms of the Social Democrats based on economism led to anti-peasant policies. Conquered, fascism also attained power for the reason that the proletariat found it all isolated from its natural allies. Fascism attained power because it was able to win over large masses of the peasants, owing to the fact that the Social-Democrats, in the name of the working class, pursued what was in fact an anti-peasant policy."

Dimitrov pointed out "whether the victory of fascism can be prevented depends first and foremost on the militant activity of the working class itself, on whether its forces are welded into a single militant army combating the offensive of capitalism and fascism".

Secondly, it depends on the existence of a strong revolutionary party, correctly leading the struggle of the working class against fascism.

Third, it depends on a correct policy of the working class towards the peasantry and the petty-bourgeois masses.

Fourth, it depends on the vigilant and timely action of the proletariat.

To the millions of European workers who were asking how to resist fascism, Dimitrov gave the watchword of the United Front and called for joint action of the two international's—the Second and the Communist International.

Dimitrov pointed out that such unity will have wide repercussion drawing into the struggle millions of the unorganised proletariat and millions from the non-proletarian strata. But trade union unity, united front of the working class was not enough. It had to be aided by the formation of a wide anti-fascist Popular Front. "The success of the whole struggle of the proletariat is closely bound up with the establishment of a fighting alliance between the proletariat on the one hand and the labouring peasantry and basic mass of the urban petty bourgeoisie who together form the majority of the population even in the industrially developed countries on the other."

Giving the two key slogans of anti-fascist popular front and working class unity, Dimitrov laid stress on the achievement of trade union unity and abandoning of all sectarian practices and considerations. He rightly blamed the reformist leaders for their splitting tactics. At the same time he warned, "Had the German comrades better understood the problem of trade union work of which comrade Thaelman spoke on many occasions, there understandably would have been a better situation in the trade unions at the time the fascist dictatorship was established. Testifying to the sincerity of the Communists he said, "We are

definitely for re-establishment of trade union unity in every country and on an international scale.

"We are for a single international federation of trade unions organised by industries. We stand for one international of trade unions based on class struggle."

"We are for united class trade unions as one of the major bulwarks of the working class against the offensive of capitalism and fascism. Our only condition for uniting the trade unions is struggle against capital, against fascism and for internal trade union democracy."

This was both a principled position and one which took into account the concrete situation created by the advance of fascism.

It is no exaggeration to say that this inspiring call helped the entire world trade union movement to score big successes.

Attaching supreme importance to the leading role of the Leninist Party, Dimitrov called for consolidation of Communist Parties. He reminded that to establish the united front the importance of the leading role of the Communist Party increases extraordinarily.

The Seventh Congress met in the midst of the growing massive struggles of the colonial peoples against imperialism. In the forefront was the Communist Party of China.

Dimitrov approved "the initiative taken by our courageous brother party of China in the creation of the most extensive anti-imperialist united front against Japanese imperialism and its Chinese agents. . ."

He said, "In India the Communists must support, extend and participate in all anti-imperialist activities, not excluding those under the leadership of national reformist leadership".

Under Dimitrov's leadership the Seventh Congress pointed out the danger of imperialist war and described fascism as the firebrand of war. It called upon all sections of the working class and progressive humanity to unite and hold a powerful peace front.

Today when the U.S. imperialists are preparing a nuclear holocaust for the world and threatening the Soviet Union, the words of Dimitrov must inspire people to fight the new menace.

Dimitrov upheld the Leninist banner of proletarian internationalism. "At the present moment history has entrusted a great mission to the international proletariat to save mankind from the barbarity of fascism, from the horrors of the new imperialist slaughter it is now preparing."

He added "The international proletariat considers the victory of Socialism in the USSR as its greatest acquisition. This victory is a triumph of international proletarian solidarity, a basis and source of inspiration of the working class in the future struggle."

Dimitrov lived to see the complete vanquishing of fascism and liberation of Eastern Europe. The line laid down by the Seventh Congress enabled the Communist movement to rally its forces against fascism in Europe and imperialism in the colonies, leading to the biggest world upheaval.

Thanks to it the Communist Parties of Europe were able to place themselves at the head of the anti-fascist resistance, and in Eastern Europe, helped by the mighty Red Army, were able to establish Socialist regimes.

In the colonial world the basis of imperialism was shattered with the liberation of China and the freedom of India.

After the liberation of Bulgaria, a new task fell on Dimitrov—the task of leading his country to Socialism. Putting his own teachings into practice, relying on the Party as the leading force, and basing on the Fatherland Front, this great proletarian revolutionary successfully negotiated the problems of the transitional power and, helped by the USSR, was able to establish a Socialist society of firm foundations.

His passing away deprived the world proletariat of one of its most illustrious leaders.

The C.C. of the CPI(M) pays its homage to the memory of this undaunted proletarian fighter and leader, who combined in his person firm attachment to the Marxist-Leninist ideology and indomitable personal courage and confidence arising from it.

Gauhati Explosion*

CPI(M) Demands Government Action

The Assam State Committee of the CPI(M) has expressed its grave concern at the explosion of a high-powered time-bomb in the Fatasil Bazar in Gauhati causing the deaths of twenty-four innocent persons and grievous injuries to many others. This dastardly action deserves condemnation from all.

The Assam State Committee notes that a spate of terroristic activities with bomb explosions and harrassment of people have been started anew. The incident at Fatasil Bazar is the latest in the chain of violent incidents taking place, such as bomb-throwing at Gohpur and assault on innocent people in different parts of the State.

It is surprising that so far the Government with its strong paraphernalia is neither able to detect the master-minds behind the terroristic activities nor is it taking the people into confidence to identify and isolate these forces, though huge quantities of incendiary materials had been unearthed in different parts of the State. It seems that instead of politically isolating these forces, the Government is attempting to suppress the democratic forces and their unity.

The Assam State Committee has said that this sort of terroristic activities will help the anti-people and anti-national forces, much to the detriment of the people as a whole.

The State Committee condemned these terroristic activities and demanded that the Government take immediate measures against the terroristic activities and bring the culprits to book. The State Committee also demanded that the Government acquaint the

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, June 20, 1982

people with what steps have been taken against those from whose houses dumps of explosives had been unearthed.

The State Committee appealed to the people of Assam to be on guard against these terroristic activities and rise unitedly to fight and isolate these forces of terrorism and destabilisation. Only eternal vigilance of the people can help maintain the hard-won gains of the people.

Solidarity With Palestinian People*

**Polit Bureau of CPI(M) Issued Statement
Dated June 21, 1982 in New Delhi**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) denounces the Israeli Zionist rulers for the genocidal war of aggression they are carrying on in Lebanon to liquidate the Palestinian Arabs and their liberation forces. The air, sea and land invasion of Lebanon has resulted in the killings of not only Palestinian liberation forces but also hundreds and hundreds of Lebanese civilians. The brutalities of the Zionist aggressors in this war surpass their own bloody record in the earlier four wars fought in West Asia.

The Polit Bureau denounces U.S imperialism, but for whose military, political and economic support, the Israeli war-maniacs would never have dared to launch this aggression and continue the bloodshed defying world public opinion and United Nations resolutions.

While many Arab Governments have offered their verbal sympathy and support to the Palestinian liberation forces, the tragic fact remains that the Palestinians have been left alone to fight the formidable Israeli war machine built with US help. The West Asian war in 1973 saw the entire Arab world united against the Zionist expansionists. That unity was broken with the late Anwar Sadat's betrayal and the US-Israeli-imposed Camp David agreement. Today, the reactionary rulers of many of the Arab countries, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, the Gulf countries, etc., consider it more important not to offend the US imperialists or draw the Israeli aggressors on themselves, than uniting the entire Arab world to militarily face the aggressor and throw him back. The

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, June 27, 1982

disastrous result of this is that Begin and Co. are going ahead with their plan to partition Lebanon and make the southern part of the country a client State of Israel. The Israeli rulers are pursuing a well worked out line of suppressing for ever the Palestinian people's right for a State of their own, to change the correlation of forces in West Asia and emerge as a super-Power in the region. And if they are succeeding in it at the moment, it is because of the treachery of reactionary Arab rulers.

The Palestinians are fighting valiantly, ready to make any sacrifice, to defend their liberation movement and advance to their cherished goal of a Palestinian Arab State. Their undisputed leader, Yasser Arafat has appealed to all peoples of the world, and especially the non-aligned movement, to give all support to the Palestinian people at this hour of their gravest trial. Anti-imperialist, freedom-loving forces everywhere have to respond to this appeal and extend all possible help to the fighting Palestinian people.

The Polit Bureau calls on all party units and party members to observe *June 28 as Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people*. On that day, along with the mass organisations and freedom-loving people organise mighty demonstrations all over the country to condemn the US-backed Israeli aggression and extend the fullest solidarity and support to the Palestinian people and the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

CPI(M) Sends Medicine To P.L.O.

The Delhi State Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) observed the Party's call to observe June 28 all over the country as solidarity day with the fighting people of Palestine and the Palestine Liberation Organisation. A delegation of the Delhi State CPI(M) consisting of Prakash Karat, Secretary, and Shadiram, Secretariat member, led by E. M. S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary of the CPI(M), went to the PLO Embassy in New Delhi and presented the first consignment of medicines for the PLO in Lebanon.

E. M. S. Namboodiripad, handed over the four boxes of medicines to PLO Ambassador Faycal Aouidah and extended the Party's full support to the PLO's heroic struggle against the Israeli aggression in Lebanon.

The Delhi State Committee is collecting more medicines and the second consignment will be handed over next week. In the present consignment, dispensable syringes, tetanus toxoid, bandages aspirin, antibiotics and analgesic pain-killers were handed over.

P.B. On Karnataka Joint Convention Of CPI And CPI(M)*

The following is the text of the statement issued by the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in New Delhi on June 27, 1982:

The Joint Convention of the CPI and the CPI(M) in Karnataka has led to a lot of confusion and speculation in the bourgeois Press. Claims on behalf of some CPI leaders that the Convention gave a lead to the two parties to come together, supported by statements of a like kind in the CPI Press, added to the confusion.

The P.B., therefore, called members of the Karnataka Secretariat to explain the situation and clarify the confusion.

The Secretariat members themselves were taken aback at the tendentious versions in the bourgeois and CPI Press about the aims of the Convention. They expressed their disapproval that their efforts to promote mass activity and actions through joint efforts should have been exploited to create illusions about Party unity.

The P.B. approved the desire of the Karnataka Secretariat to promote joint actions and activities of the two parties on mass and political issues.

The P.B., however, pointed out that Joint Conventions of party members were not a correct forum for promoting these activities. This forum presumes a closeness of understanding and approach on vital issues not only current but ideological—a closeness which is not there between the two parties.

The Joint Convention which is welcomed by the CPI leaders, overstates the common understanding and will prove harmful to

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 4, 1982.

the development of common mass activities. The CPI(M) is desirous that the process of common understanding and activity which has begun should not be disturbed by unfounded claims of unified understanding on basic issues.

The P.B. further brought to the notice of the Secretariat members that the joint statement accepted by the Convention ran contrary to the Party line on important issues. It reduces the concept of the Left and democratic unity to an electoral and Ministry-making formula. The statement, besides, ignores the need of a broad forum of resistance to fight the menace of authoritarianism. The Secretariat members realised that the statement suffered from these lacunae.

The P.B. endorsed the Secretariat's desire to develop joint mass actions with the CPI in Karnataka and strengthen Left unity.

Solidarity With The Palestinian People*

**Circular Issued By The Polit Bureau of CPI(M)
For Observance of June 28, 1982**

*The following is the text of the Polit Bureau Circular on the observance of June 28, 1982 as Day of Solidarity*with the Palestinian People:*

Dear Comrades,

You must have been following the developments in West Asia where a very serious situation has arisen. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, has in a message to Fidel Castro, Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement pointed out that the "Israeli aerial, maritime and land-based bombardment of Beirut had transformed it into a hell that involves its women, children and civil population".

The freedom and sovereignty of Lebanon has been violated and the heroic Palestinian forces are in danger of annihilation.

This is no sudden development. It has been long in preparation. Nor are the Zionists exclusively responsible for what has been happening in that part of the world. American imperialism together with its European allies and West Asian collaborators has been doing its worst to see that the most effective force of resistance to Zionism and imperialism, i.e., the PLO, is wiped out. The Israelis are their tools in this game.

The attack on Lebanon and on the Palestine Liberation Organisation is part of the attack on the entire anti-imperialist part of the Arab world. In June last year, the Israelis bombed the nuclear reactor in Iraq. Then followed the bombing of Beirut. In December last year, the Zionists proceeded brazenly to annex the

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, June 27, 1982

Golan Heights. Speculation started that the Israelis were planning a march into South Lebanon.

The imperialist Powers for their part helped the Zionists in these aggressive moves, rather than joining hands with the Arab peoples and their friends in the anti-imperialist part of the world in barring the path of the Zionists' advance. It was and continues to be a repetition of the 1930s when the imperialists gave all-out assistance to the Italian and German fascists to acquire and annex their neighbouring countries.

The conscience of humanity has been aroused to the danger posed by Zionism. There was a virtual boycott in the United Nations of the Zionist aggressor, the Israeli Prime Minister Begin when he started addressing the General Assembly. An agency message appearing in *The Times of India*, dated June 20, says:

"Of the 157 members of the United Nations, two-thirds refused to attend Mr. Begin's speech because of the country's aggression on Lebanon and its disregard for the Security Council resolution calling for urgent withdrawal of its invading forces from Lebanese territory.

"Many of the 55 members States present in the Assembly were not represented by their heads of delegation, and of the ten European Community countries, seven sent only junior officials, President of the General Assembly Ismat Kittani; was also absent."

It is necessary that this and other manifestations of people's indignation against the Israeli aggressors is given concrete and living form in our country, too. Our Party has a special duty to throw its full weight into the mass campaign, mobilising the people for giving support to the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples and to the Arab peoples in general.

You are, therefore, requested to organise, either independently under the auspices of the Party or jointly with other anti-imperialist forces, a powerful mass campaign of protest against the Israeli aggression and imperialist connivance with it.

It is suggested that June 28 be observed by the Party as a day of solidarity with the fighting peoples of Lebanon and Palestine

when meetings, demonstrations, etc., are organised. If, however, joint observance on any earlier or following dates is possible and other anti-imperialist organisations can be rallied, the date may be changed.

While the speeches to be made, pamphlets and other agitational material to be prepared, etc., for this campaign should put the focus on resistance to American imperialism and its Zionist ally, collaborators of imperialism in the Arab world like Saudi Arabia and Egypt should also be exposed. Islamic fundamentalists in general have virtually connived with the Zionist aggression by refusing to defend Lebanon and the PLO in their hour of danger.

The Government of India has joined the rest of the non-aligned community in denouncing Israeli aggression and promised material aid to the PLO and the Lebanon Governments. While appreciating this, we should demand that the Government should do still more by providing assistance to the heroic Palestinians and Lebanon.

Every Party member and sympathiser should be made conscious of his or her responsibility to mobilise the people in support of the Plestinians, the Lebanese and the Arab people in general. Let it be noted that the Vijayawada Congress of our Party pointed out self-critically that we are lagging behind in discharging our international tasks. Organising a powerful mass campaign on this issue now can well prove the beginning of rectification in this respect.

P.B. On Language Issue In Karnataka*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its grave concern at the Government and Legislature of Karnataka adopting a language policy which is opposed to all democratic principles.

All the democratic organisations, parties and individuals had expected that, after the country became free, the people inhabiting the various states would be liberated from the iron grip of the foreign language which, for one and a half century, had been forced in the people as the language of administration and medium of instruction in educational institutions. The replacement of English by the people's own languages, with complete equality of all Indian languages as the languages of administration and the medium of instruction—this was what was expected of democratic Governments at the Centre and in the States.

However, even after 35 years of Independence, English continues to dominate the administrative and educational life of the country; it is yet to be replaced by the languages of the people. The responsibility for this sad state of affairs rests on the leaders of the ruling party who are in control at the Centre and in the States including Karnataka.

The Karnataka unit of the ruling party further added to this confusion by putting classical Sanskrit language on a pedestal higher even than Kannada or any minority language of the State. The so-called "three-language formula" was so applied in the State that Kannarese children could have their education without studying their mother-tongue; they could choose Sanskrit, English and Hindi in accordance with the three-language formula.

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This naturally roused the resentment of the Kannadigas who rightly demanded that Kannada should occupy the pre-eminent position in the educational sphere of the State. This legitimate desire of the Kannadigas, however, was diverted into chauvinistic anti-language channels by interested parties. Factions and groups within the ruling party, opposed to the Governments of the day, whipped up passions among the people. Instead of directing the people's anger to the foreign language still continuing to dominate the administration and education, they turned their guns against sister languages spoken by minorities in the State.

Instead of giving a rebuff to these disruptors and making Kannada the language of administration and medium of instruction in the State, while ensuring the right of the linguistic minorities to get their children educated in the mother-tongue, the Government and the Legislature of the State succumbed to the chauvinistic demand of imposing Kannada on the linguistic minorities of the State, while continuing to keep English in its predominant position.

The Polit Bureau is proud that the State unit of the Party has been fighting for the principles laid down in the Party Programme, namely, "English, in the fields of administration, legislation, judiciary and as the medium of instruction in education shall be discarded, replacing it with the national languages. Right of people to receive instruction in their mother-tongue in educational institutions; the use of the national language of the particular linguistic State as the language of administration in all its public and State institutions, as well as its use as the medium of education in the State up to the highest standard; provision for the use of the language of a minority or minorities or of a region where necessary in addition to the language of the State shall be implemented. The Urdu language and its script shall be protected".

The implementation of these principles, it can be seen, will lead to the replacement of English by Kannada, with protection for minorities in the State, while it protects the Kannadiga minorities in other States. The P.B., therefore, hopes that all other parties and organisations in Karnataka will put pressure on the Government of the State to abandon the course of confrontation with the minorities and solve the language problem in a democratic way.

CPI(M)'s Message to 12th Congress of The League of Communists of Yugoslavia*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its warm greetings to the Twelfth Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, to all the delegates to the Congress, and through you, to the entire people of Yugoslavia.

The people of India and our Party have great admiration and regard for the heroic struggle waged by the people of Yugoslavia during the anti-fascist war. This struggle and the great sacrifices made, have been a source of inspiration for the people of India and the working class in its struggle for gaining national independence. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) wishes the people of Yugoslavia progress and prosperity in the years to come.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) considers the danger of war, particularly of nuclear war, threatens the entire humanity because of the criminal policies pursued by U.S. imperialists. A war means the world will come face to face with destruction of millions of lives of towns, cities, communities and whole countries. Our Party considers that the main thrust of the war preparations of imperialists is directed against the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries with a view to re-establishing imperialist global domination. The fact that the American imperialists are converting Europe into a launching pad for their war against the Soviet Union, endangers the life and security of the entire people of Europe itself. We on our part think that it is the elementary duty of proletarian internationalism to oppose the

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, July 18, 1982

war plans of the imperialists and defend the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries. We hail the huge peace demonstrations that have taken place in all the major cities of Western Europe, especially the massive demonstrations in West Germany at the time of U.S. President Reagan's visit.

Imperialist war preparations are not limited to Europe alone. They are extended to Asia also. They are creating tensions between India and its neighbouring countries, they are fully arming military dictatorships in this region. It is in this context that our Party considers that the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation is of special significance, not only for the defence of India's sovereignty and integrity, defence of peace in this region but also to ensure world peace. It is in this very same context, that our Party never hesitated, in supporting such measures of the Government which contribute to strengthening world peace, non-alignment and opposition to any machination of imperialism.

We in our country face a situation under conditions different from yours. You have already organised a revolution in your country, whereas we are yet to do so. We are engaged in uniting and leading fierce mass struggles of the working people against extreme poverty, unemployment, increasing prices, etc. The number of sick industrial units in the large, medium and small-scale sectors has surpassed 25,000 units in number. Unemployment has reached the figure of 40 million. Peasants are denied remunerative prices and the agricultural labourers fair wage. The percentage of people living below the poverty line has increased to 60. It is the policy of planning, of building capitalism without eliminating the pre-capitalist forms, especially in land, that had led to this predicament.

These perilous economic conditions have led to contracting huge loans from the International Monetary Fund, on the basis of conditions impinging on the sovereignty of our country and of our parliament. It has opened the floodgates to multinationals which has led to mounting attacks on the living and working conditions of the working people. Vast sections of our people are

drawn into struggle against these attacks. They are met with the severest repression like police firings, detention without trial on a large-scale, murders of leaders and cadres of party and mass organisations.

Particularly the working class has come under the worst attack. While wage-freeze is being forced on them, new enactments totally banning strikes have been passed. New laws restricting and mutilating even the existing trade union rights are proposed to be enacted. The right to collective bargaining itself is being attacked. Step by step, democratic liberties are being curtailed. Attempts at destabilisation of popularly elected majority Governments are on. In some cases minority Governments are thrust on the people.

Taking advantage of the discontent arising out of this, U.S. imperialism is inciting divisive and secessionist forces within the country, posing a real threat to our country's unity.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) is working for the unity of all Left and democratic forces in the country to defeat this offensive, trying to build a broad platform of resistance to prevent the march towards authoritarianism and uniting patriotic resistance to defeat the imperialist machinations. The Left Front Government of West Bengal headed by the CPI(M) which was returned again to office last month with a massive electoral mandate, the continuance of the Left Front Government in Tripura headed by the CPI(M), the emergence of a more cohesive Left and democratic front in Kerala headed by the CPI(M) are acting as beacon lights in the discharge of our national tasks.

The CPI(M) is confident that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the people of Yugoslavia will stand by the working class and people of India in solidarity with their struggles.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) once again expresses its solidarity for the prosperity and progress of the people of Yugoslavia and wishes success to the Twelfth Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

With Revolutionary greetings.

Communique On P.B. Meeting*

A meeting of the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) was held in Delhi on August 6 and 7, 1982. It surveyed the major developments since the last Party Congress and assessed the work of the Party Centre during this period. A meeting of the Central Committee will be held from the 27th to the 30th of this month.

International developments during this period have increased the danger of a nuclear war involving the destruction of millions of lives, of towns, cities, communities and whole countries. The last Party Congress had called on the entire Party, the working class and all progressive sections to fight this growing danger.

Campaign Against War Danger

It is a matter of satisfaction that a joint move has been made by six parties including the CPI(M) to organise a countrywide mass campaign for peace culminating in a massive rally in Delhi on October 4, 1982. The P.B. directed all members and units of the Party to make the utmost endeavour to develop this joint action. It appealed to all anti-imperialist forces in the country to make the campaign a complete success.

The P.B. directed all its trade union activists to mobilise and unite the working class and different trade union centres to observe September 1 as Anti-War Day as decided by the WFTU.

Apart from the central issue of nuclear war, threatening mankind, the six-party campaign is directed at two issues which are of immediate relevance to India:

1. The Israeli attack on Lebanon with the declared objective of destroying the PLO.
2. Imperialist intrigues in the Indian Ocean and the arming of the military regime of Pakistan.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, August 15, 1982.

It is, therefore, to be hoped that all sections of the Indian people will join the campaign for which the initiative has been taken by the six parties.

The Polit Bureau noted with satisfaction that the members and units of the Party have been actively engaged in mobilising the people in solidarity with, and rendering assistance to, the heroic fighters of the PLO.

Anti-Imperialist Task

Regrettably, however, the people at large are not yet aware of the serious threat to humanity arising from the aggressive moves of imperialism to unleash a nuclear war, or of the consequences to India of the American intrigues on the Indian Ocean, in West Asia and on the borders of India. Far from making the people aware of these dangers, leaders of the bourgeois political parties are making them complacent and repeating various forms of anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda. Some of the Opposition parties directly help the imperialist propaganda and support the Israeli moves against the Arab countries in general and against the Palestinians in particular. It is the task of all anti-imperialists to counter this pro-imperialist propaganda.

The unity of the people against the aggressive moves of imperialism, as envisaged in the six-party appeal, is, in the opinion of the P.B., the best guarantee for safeguarding Indian independence and defence of world peace.

While noting with satisfaction that on the issue of Israel's war of aggression on Lebanon to destroy the PLO and to dismember Lebanon, the Government of India came out against American imperialism, the P.B. urged the Government to adopt a forthright stand as the Israeli action is a major move of U.S. imperialism to reverse the entire course of events in West Asia.

P.M.'s Visit to USA

The P.B. is of the view that the Prime Minister's recent visit to the USA has not yielded any tangible positive results as being broadcast by sections of the big bourgeois Press. It was, as one American weekly put it, a largely ceremonial exercise in letting bygones be bygones.

From all accounts, it appears that the Prime Minister's visit was primarily intended to seek additional "aid" to rescue the crisis-ridden Indian economy and industry. The results seem to be utterly disappointing, even though Mrs. Indira Gandhi offered several concessions in case the U.S. was willing to export technology and capital in a big way. The small concessions of release of "aid" funds do not and cannot provide real relief to the hardpressed Indian economy. The much-debated agreement on the supply of fuel to the Tarapur plant by France is no big victory for India to gloat over. The differences with the USA on India's right to reprocess the spent fuel still persist; the problem arising therefrom has only been postponed.

The U.S. efforts to drive a wedge between the USSR and India, disentangle India from the Indo-Soviet friendly relations, have met with no success. The Prime Minister's reiteration of India's stand on the issues of Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Israel's aggression, etc., is welcome and constitutes a mild rebuff to the U.S. and its aggressiveness.

Crisis of the Economy

The crisis of the Indian economy has been and is getting intensified. The much-talked-of "success in containing inflation" has proved absolutely baseless. Wholesale as well as consumers' prices are admittedly rising. There are other indications of the crisis like growing unemployment, closures and lock-outs of factories, etc. Prolonged strikes have been going on in several industries including textile and jute. Budgetary deficits, deficits in the balance of international trade and payments, are also increasing.

The only "solution" to these problems sought by the Government is to try to secure large-scale "aid" from the World Bank, the IMF, etc. The economy, therefore, is moving in a vicious circle—foreign "aid" creating conditions which render more and more "aid" necessary.

The working class and other sections of the working people are, under these conditions, obliged to fight in defence of their living and working conditions. This is met with repressive

measures. The three anti-labour legislations introduced in Parliament and the Press Bill adopted in Bihar are the latest examples of the Government's attack on democracy. These will, no doubt, be, and are being, resisted by the trade unions, journalists, political parties, etc. It is to be hoped that this joint resistance will continue and gather more and more strength.

Menace of Divisive Forces

The Polit Bureau expressed its grave concern that the divisive forces against which the Party Congress had given a grim warning are assuming menacing proportions. The separatist Sikh movement represented by the Khalistanis, the Dal Khalsa, the Bhindranwale group, etc., have all come together with even the Akali Dal joining them in a united movement against the unity and integration of the country. The P.B. greeted the members and units of the CPI(M) in Punjab for organising a Statewide movement against the separatist and disruptive moves.

The State of Jammu & Kashmir where the Islamic fundamentalists are on the offensive against all secular democratic forces, together with Assam and other North-Eastern territories, are other centres where divisive forces continue to be active and are fully supported by imperialist forces from abroad. Far from countering these disruptive moves—whether they are made in Punjab, Jammu & Kashmir or the North-Eastern region—many of the political parties in the country are giving aid and encouragement to them.

Particularly dangerous in this context is the ideology of Hindu Rashtra which is sedulously propagated by Hindu communal organisations like the RSS, the Viswa Hindu Parishad and so on. The CPI(M) has always held that the other divisive forces cannot be effectively fought unless the Hindu Rashtra ideology and the organisations based on it are fought.

Move Towards Authoritarianism

The ruling Congress(I)'s move towards authoritarianism was seen in the use of the Haryana Governor to make the leader of the defeated Congress(I) the Chief Minister of the State who, in his

turn, used all his powers to organise defections from the Opposition. It was seen also in the insistence of that party that the President of the Indian Union should be one who "speaks on the same wave-length as the Prime Minister".

Inside the organisation of the ruling party itself, democratic functioning continues to be denied in practice as well as in theory. The Chief Ministers, PCC chiefs and all other functionaries of the ruling party are shuffled and reshuffled with the sole purpose of making them fully subordinate to the so-called "High Command".

This enables the most corrupt of them to carry on as they like, as was seen in the Antulay case. Even when some of these corrupt practices are exposed as was done in the notorious Antulay case, efforts are made to cover them up, so that their collaborators in the higher echelons of the party are safe.

While the Congress(I) is thus increasingly being exposed before the people as authoritarian, corrupt and faction-ridden, the bourgeois Opposition parties have proved their inability to provide a viable alternative. Apart from the personal and factional squabbles among the leaders, the major fact that stands in the way of the unity of bourgeois Opposition parties is that they have no alternate policies as against the socio-economic policies of the ruling party. Only the parties and organisations of the Left have a programme which is fundamentally opposed to the programmes of the ruling as well as the Opposition bourgeois parties.

Develop United Actions

Despite this weakness of the bourgeois Opposition parties, the P.B. noted with satisfaction that united actions had been developing on a number of political issues among the trade unions and other mass organisations.

The major trade union centres are uniting more and more on working class issues while the kisan organisations led by the CPI(M) and CPI respectively have agreed on joint campaigns on some specific issues. Other mass organisations like those of

students, youth, women, teachers, etc., have also been joining hands to fight common battles. The P.B. appealed to all members and units of the Party to develop this unity of action.

West Bengal Left Front

The P.B. heard the West Bengal Chief Minister's report on the latest situation in the Left Front and endorsed the line adopted by the State unit. It expressed the hope that the other constituents of the Front—the RSP and Forward Bloc in particular—will extend their cooperation to the Chief Minister in resolving the problems, maintaining and strengthening the unity of the Left Front.

Polit Bureau On The Police Revolt*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) protests against the firing on policemen and civilians in Bombay which resulted in admittedly no less than four killed and several injured. When full facts are known, the number of killed is likely to go up; the number of those injured, too, is yet to be known.

The ostensible ground for this wanton firing is the agitation of the policemen. The very fact that, within hours of the firing and other attacks on policemen, the Government of Maharashtra decided to set up a committee to go into the grievances of the policemen, with instructions to report in three months, explodes the "theory" that the policemen resorted to "hooliganism" and were "indisciplined". Any impartial person can see that, if only timely steps had earlier been taken to redress the grievances of the men in consultation with their organisation, yesterdays' unfortunate developments could have been avoided. The P.B. expresses its sympathy and sense of solidarity with the men fighting for their just demands.

The P.B. cannot but note that Bombay does not stand alone. Something similar has been brewing in Haryana. As early as in 1979, the general discontent of the masses was finding reflection in the ranks of the police and other sections of the State's armed forces. The CPI(M) has always supported and now supports the legitimate demands and struggles of policemen. So have other democratic parties and organisations. Even the Congress(I) leaders had warned the Janata Government about the

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consequences of the Government not attending to the grievances of the policemen as spelt out in the Police Commission's Report.

In Maharashtra itself, the policemen have been using their organisation to ventilate their grievances. When they found that the normal channels of communications between the Association and the authorities were not useful in sorting out the problems, they demonstrated on August 15. The Government's reply was to resort to punitive measures against the leaders. The Government is thus playing with fire by trying to 'bring under control' the growing manifestations of discontent among the men.

The brutal repression now resorted to against the police force in Maharashtra, and proposed to be done in Haryana, is an extension of the method adopted whenever any section of the working people launches struggles for the realisation of their legitimate demands. The Government of Maharashtra which has resorted to firing on policemen has, for seven months, been callously looking on while the textile workers are on strike for their legitimate demands. In fact, it was under the cover of preparing to meet the 'Jail Bharao' move of the textile workers that the Government moved the CRP and BSF which, as is now admitted, was intended "to spring a surprise" on the constables, facilitate their disarming and the detention of the leaders and activists of their organisation. The workers of Bombay are naturally sympathetic to the policemen.

The P.B. appreciates the call given by the Maharashtra unit of the CPI(M), CPI, Janata Party and the PWP, supported by the trade unions, for a 24-hour Bandh on Thursday in solidarity with the policemen. The P.B. hopes that all democratic parties, groups and individuals will join in making the Government see reason, stop repression and concede the just demands of the policemen.

C.C. Report On Major Developments Since The Eleventh Party Congress*

**Adopted in The Meeting of The Central Committee of
CPI(M) Held in New Delhi on August 27-30, 1982**

The seven months that have elapsed since the Vijayawada Congress are marked by a further aggravation of the world capitalist crisis. All the contradictions spelt out in the Political Resolution of the Party Congress have got further intensified.

Against this world background, the economic and political policies of the ruling classes in India are making the crisis of the system here still graver. The growth of the authoritarian forces; the development of common resistance to authoritarianism; the consolidation of Left and democratic forces on a programme opposed to the programmes of all bourgeois-landlord parties—all these are taking place against the background of the further aggravation of the economic crisis and the virtual breakdown of the political-administrative apparatus in the country. They together have made it both possible and necessary for the CPI(M) to expand and strengthen its activities, consolidate its organisation and develop unity of action with all the forces that can be united culminating in the emergence of Left and democratic unity.

Danger of Nuclear War

Analysing the international situation, the Political Resolution had focussed attention on the danger of a nuclear war being prepared by American imperialism—a war which will be far more destructive than any waged in human history. That danger has grown still further.

*Published as a booklet and also as a Supplement to "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", of September 12, 1982

American imperialism is giving expression to its determination to make Western Europe the theatre of the third world war in which nuclear arms will be used against the Soviet Union. Its spokesmen have publicly announced that they are preparing for a protracted nuclear war against the Soviet Union which may last even 5 years. Although having some reservations the NATO Powers in general are going along with their senior partner and allowing their countries to be used as theatre of the most destructive war in human history.

The Soviet leaders have in this period taken one initiative after another to avert the impending catastrophe. The unilateral declaration pledging the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, together with a fervent appeal to the other nuclear powers to make a similar declaration, was widely welcomed. Prior to this, the Soviet Union had declared that it would not install any more medium-range missiles in the Western part of the USSR in the hope that USA would not station Pershing-II and Cruise missiles in Western Europe. The United States however refused to make any positive response to the Soviet initiatives, making it clear that its leaders are determined to pursue the path of unleashing a nuclear world war.

These Soviet initiatives bring out the contrast between the aggressive ruling circles of imperialism headed by the United States and the peace-loving peoples and Governments of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries. Behind this contrast concerning questions of war and peace lies the contrast between the two systems—the crisis-ridden capitalism and crisis-free socialism.

Capitalist countries are today going through a new phase of their economic crisis, with growing numbers of unemployed, increasing costs of living, budgetary and external trade deficits, etc., all of which are getting intensified and creating serious social problems. Against the burdens of this intensified crisis the working class is fighting big battles in all the capitalist countries. Official documents including the latest World Bank and IMF reports for 1982 show that what are called "developed countries" are feeling the pinch of the crisis.

Among the methods which the leaders of the capitalist world can think of for solving the problems arising out of this crisis is the allocation of large amounts for the production and accumulation of destructive arms and armaments for use by themselves and sale to the reactionary regimes in the Third World. Manufacture of arms is thus one of the major weapons in the hands of the ruling circles of capitalism to "solve" the "problems of the market" in an ever-shrinking capitalist world.

For the Socialist countries, on the other hand, defence preparedness, though an unavoidable necessity, since without it imperialism will deal heavy blows against them, entails diversion of a part of scarce resources from Socialist construction to defence expenditure. This, as the Political Resolution of the Eleventh Congress pointed out, is one reason for the recent slow-down in production growth-rates in the Socialist countries.

It is natural, under these circumstances, that large sections of the people who have not completely dissociated themselves ideologically from capitalism are nevertheless appreciative of the stand adopted by the Soviet Union and its allies on questions of war and peace. The various initiatives taken by the Soviet Union are getting hearty response from people throughout the world, cutting across ideological and political differences.

A powerful peace movement is developing, particularly in Europe and Japan. Massive rallies and peace marches opposing nuclear war and demanding peace have been taking place in all countries including those which are ruled by monopoly capital. Huge demonstrations have taken place in Paris, Rome, Brussels, London, Bonn, Helsinki. At the time of Reagan's visit to Western Europe specially, these protests assumed huge dimensions. Peace March 1982 became one of the biggest rallies against war in Europe. High-placed personalities in the NATO alliance, now retired, have openly come out against USA's nuclear war preparations. Workers, peasants, intellectuals, small traders, men, women and children have come together in these protests.

In the United States itself, public opinion is building up with leading personalities from all walks of life, including those who

have held high positions in the administration and the military apparatus, openly expressing their opposition to the war programme of the Administration. New York saw a million-strong Nuclear Disarmament March which had as its background the Jobs with Peace and Nuclear Freeze Movements covering grass-root levels with local bodies in most parts of the country voting for cuts in arms-spending. This massive expression of public opinion has forced the Reagan Administration at times to resort to new manoeuvres to appease public opinion while in fact pursuing its policies to prepare for a protected nuclear war.

In Japan, the one country whose people suffered nuclear devastation, the anniversary of the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki this August saw huge demonstrations and rallies with the slogan of "no more Hiroshimas, no more Nagasakis" and in opposition to the U.S.-Japan Security Pact.

The world peace movement and militant organisations of the working people like the World Federation of Trade Unions, are striving to consolidate this public opinion into a powerful worldwide movement against war and for peace. In our country, the trade unions are at the moment working to make the observance of September 1 as Anti-War Day in accordance with the call given by the WFTU a complete success. Preparations are also going on for the Peace Rally in New Delhi on October 4 in response to the appeal of six parties.

Inter-Imperialist Contradictions

The Political Resolution of the 11th Congress had underlined the fact that, though the imperialist powers are by and large united against the Socialist and the Third World countries, they are by no means united among themselves. The conflicts among the ruling circles of the developed capitalist countries have been finding expression in various ways. Particularly serious are they on economic questions.

In the name of "punishing" the Soviet Union for what is happening in Poland, the United States imposed a ban on all types of trade deals with the Soviet Union. Particular objection

was taken to the gas pipeline deal with the West European countries have entered into with the Soviet Union. However, West Germany, France and even the United Kingdom have defied the American directive in this respect and are going ahead with the deal as originally planned.

It should be noted in this connection that the very United States which is insisting on a ban on the gas pipeline deal between the West European countries and the Soviet Union, is relaxing its earlier restrictions on wheat export to the USSR. This drives home the point that, while the ruling circles in the United States do not want to deprive the wheat-producing farm lobby of the profit that will accrue from the deal with the Soviet Union, they do not want to apply the same principle when it comes to the question of West European countries pursuing policies to salvage their economies.

As has been pointed out by the spokesmen of the West European ruling circles, the gas pipeline deal with the Soviet Union would help them not only to get gas at cheap rate but also to ease the crisis that is affecting several industries which produce the tools and equipment for the gas pipeline. The United States is thus waging a war against its rival monopoly groups in the West European countries under the cover of war with the Soviet Union.

This is revealed in a number of other cases as well. What is called a regular "steel war" is in fact now going on between the United States and some of the West European countries as well as with Japan. The United States claims that it is facing ~~un-~~ competition from the steel-producing firms in Western Europe and Japan and is therefore, erecting high tariff ~~walls~~. Europe and Japan are naturally taking protective measures ~~to~~.

This, however, is only one example. In the conditions in ~~the~~ cut-throat competition has developed among the monopoly groups in various capitalist countries, tariff wars are being waged by each country to "protect" its own industries from rivals in other countries. Economic wars among the various monopoly groups is thus built into the system and goes on simultaneously with the preparation for a nuclear war.

Working Class Vs. Capitalism

The ruling classes in the imperialist countries are seeking to throw the burdens of their crisis on the back of the working class. Inflation and recession going hand in hand have meant unprecedented attacks on the working class in these countries. Unemployment has reached the highest dimensions. In the USA the percentage of unemployed to the work force is 9.8, i.e., ten million, the peak recorded in the slump of the thirties, in the U.K. it is 12.7 per cent, three million, for the EEC as a whole it is nine per cent. Further, the so-called "monetarist" policies being pursued by the U.S. Administration and the British Government have meant massive cuts in the allocation for social welfare measures which the working class has won through long years of struggle and sacrifices.

The working class in the developed capitalist countries is naturally not taking these attacks without resistance. Big working class struggles are taking place all over the capitalist world in defence of the living standards of the workers.

The Israeli Aggression

One of the most serious developments of the last seven months is the naked invasion of Lebanon by Israel. The U.S. imperialists have been arming the Israeli rulers with the latest weapons and giving them all aid precisely to prepare for such aggressions in West Asia which they have declared as an area of their "strategic interests".

Although universally condemned, with the Security Council General Assembly of the United Nations demanding with unanimity that the Israeli forces should stop aggression and withdraw from the country, the aggressors have been carrying on with impunity. Using its right of veto in the Security Council, the United States has successfully prevented the United Nations from acting in defence of the victim of aggression, though the majority in the UN is opposed to, and even the Western European partners of the United States are unhappy over its stand.

At the same time, the United States through its special emissary, Philip Habib, is trying to blackmail the Lebanese, the PLO and Syria into submission to the Israeli demand: under cover of "negotiations" for a "peaceful settlement" of the Palestinian question Habib helped the Israeli aggressors to get the PLO out of Lebanon. In fact the Habib mission was right from the beginning calculated to assist the aggressor in his schemes, it was only concerned with the withdrawal of the PLO from Lebanon, never with the withdrawal of the Israeli aggressors from that country. This is now followed by the Israeli demand that Syria too should withdraw its troops from Lebanon, and even more preposterous, the Lebanese nationalist forces should withdraw from the capital of their own country.

Although the world public opinion is completely opposed to the Israeli action and sympathetic to the PLO, Lebanese nationalist forces and Syria in their resistance to the aggression, the victims of the aggression were put to great disadvantage. The reactionary ruling circles of many of the Arab countries and the West Asian region were not prepared to render the necessary assistance to those who were fighting for freedom and national sovereignty.

Even the ruling circles of Lebanon which is now under direct attack, are not united in defending their country against the Israeli aggressors; a section of them in fact is acting in collusion with the aggressor, trying to use the opportunity to settle scores with their rivals in the country. The U.S.-Israeli combine has exploited these dissensions to plant a Phalangist stooge of theirs as the President of the country despite the opposition of the nationalist forces to him. Lebanon is again on the verge of a civil war which can easily turn into another West Asia war.

The heroic resistance put up by the PLO, however, has made it clear that the Israeli aggressors have not been able to achieve what they aimed at when they launched their aggression. They have not been able to "destroy" the PLO. This in fact has been the most costly and the longest war waged by Israel without winning its objective. For the first time in the history of Israeli's wars against the Arabs, it has lost a large number of its armed

personnel, including officers, in the present war against the PLO. And for the first time also, anti-war sentiments have been openly demonstrated right inside Israel.

Nor is there any end in sight to the West Asian conflict. It is becoming clear that, whatever the manner in which a particular operation (like that in West Beirut at the present moment) ends, the PLO as an organised political-military force will continue till the Palestinian State is established as the homeland of the Palestinian people. This exposes before the Arab peoples the treacherous policy adopted by their ruling circles and paves the way for Arab unity against the aggressor.

The realisation of this is making larger and larger sections of people both in Israel and in the United States see the bankruptcy of the policy of using Zionism as the faithful agent of American imperialism in its drive against the militant national liberation movement in West Asia.

The Indian people have shown, and continue to show, their solidarity with the fighting Palestinians and their comrades in Lebanon and other Arab countries. Our Party took the initiative, wherever it is a considerable force, to mobilise popular support to the PLO and organised collection of money and material in aid of the PLO. In the six-party campaign against war and for peace, too, solidarity with the PLO and the demand for vacation of aggression by Israel from Lebanon finds a prominent place.

Third World Vs. Imperialism

Although the West Asian region happens at the moment to be the major theatre of direct conflict between imperialism and the Third World countries, the conflict continues in various other regions. Some of these deserve special mention.

One is the Indo-Chinese region where a new coalition of the Pol Pot regime and other reactionaries in Kampuchea headed by the former Head of State Sihanouk has come into existence.

The declaration of Vietnam that the improvement in conditions has made it possible for it to withdraw a part of its military forces from Kampuchea and that this will be followed by other measures if the neighbouring countries

cooperate has shown that what is called "the Kampuchean problem" can only be solved politically through talks among the parties concerned. This has paved the way for further approaches being made to improve the relations between the three Indo-China countries and the five ASEAN countries. It is to counteract this that the new coalition has been brought into existence. The principled and flexible policy adopted by Vietnam and its Indo-Chinese neighbours will, it is to be hoped, help the defeat of this new move.

Another important development that took place in this period was the conflict between Argentina and the United Kingdom on the question of the Malvinas (Falkland) islands. It was a patently colonial war unleashed by the United Kingdom. The United States' support to the United Kingdom led to a still further isolation of the United States in the Latin American and Caribbean region. Every country in the region, regardless of political differences among them, supported Argentina against the United Kingdom and the USA; as for the Socialist countries, were all in support of the anti-colonial cause and therefore against the United Kingdom and the United States.

Still another hot-spot is Southern Africa where the racist regime of Pretoria, with imperialist backing, as Israel in West Asia is not only violating all the United Nations' decisions regarding the independence of Namibia but is also committing aggression against Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe in order to suppress the South-West African People's Organisation, which is leading the struggle of the Namibian people and is recognised as the sole representative of the Namibian Liberation movement. The U.S. imperialists, in the same way as they have disrupted Arab unity by imposing the treacherous Camp David agreement with the help of the late Anwar Sadat, have been trying to break African unity symbolised in the Organisation of African Unity. Morocco which is trying with the help of U.S. arms and "advisers" to annex Western Sahara whose people led by the Polisario have established the independent Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic, and other reactionary regimes of Africa as that of Zaire, recently torpedoed the Sixteenth Summit of the OAU.

The U.S. imperialists, at the same time, are holding war threats against Cuba and Nicaragua and are engaged in armed interventions to suppress the Liberation movements in, El Salvador, Guatemala and other Latin American countries.

While the U.S. imperialists are exerting all their efforts to disrupt anti-imperialist unity in the various continents and suppress the national liberation movements with assistance to fascist juntas, their neo-colonialist policies are coming into conflict with the entire underdeveloped world. The attempts to pass on the burdens of the crisis of the capitalist system to the Third World countries have further sharpened the contradictions between imperialism and the Third World.

Though the reactionary regimes of many of the underdeveloped countries are themselves crisis-ridden and amenable to U.S. imperialist pressure.

The openly announced plan of the Reagan Administration to finance political parties and organisations in Third World countries to destabilise Governments not to the liking of the USA, something so far done covertly, but now to be done overtly, will still further sharpen the conflicts between many of the Third World regimes and imperialism.

Threat Posed to India

Coming to the region around India, American imperialism is intensifying its activities in the Indian Ocean and on the borders of India. The universal demand for turning the Indian Ocean into an ocean of peace raised by all the littoral and hinterland States including India and supported by the Socialist countries, is arrogantly rejected by the United States. Nearer home, the military regime of Pakistan is being armed to the teeth, making it a base of operations ostensibly against Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, but in fact against India.

The six-party campaign for peace and against war has, in fact, raised questions concerning the direct threat posed to India from these activities of imperialism, thus bringing out the integral connection between the worldwide struggle for peace and our own struggle for the preservation of freedom and national sovereignty against imperialist-backed aggression.

Prime Minister's U.S. Visit

As pointed out in the Vijayawada Congress Political Resolution, on several questions of foreign policy, the Indira Gandhi Government has been adopting a correct stand. This is not to the liking of some of the bourgeois Opposition parties and the media supporting them. They accuse the Government of making a "tilt" towards the Soviet Union, while in fact they want a tilt to the American side. There has also been a concerted campaign against the PLO in which some bourgeois Opposition parties are participating. The United States ruling circles took this into account in making their preparations for Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's visit to their country.

The most important issue on which the Indira Gandhi Government is in conflict with the United States being the arming of Pakistan, it was suggested on the eve of the Prime Minister's visit that the United States would be prepared to give arms to India as well.

Still another issue on which Indo-U.S. relations have been strained being the supply of fuel for the Tarapur atomic plant, proposals were made to continue the supply through France. The aim was to make a breakthrough in Indo-U.S. relations which, in turn, would lead, it was hoped, to the undermining of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Cooperation and Friendship.

The main objective of American imperialism, however, failed. The Prime Minister made it clear at the very outset she was not interested in any form of military purchases as suggested. In her subsequent pronouncements while in United States, as well as afterwards, she reiterated her Government's well-known stand on a number of issues—bilateral as well as international. India's relations with the Soviet Union, the Israeli attack on Lebanon, the situation in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, the Indian Ocean and the arming of Pakistan—on every one of these issues, the well-known position of the Government of India was asserted.

Though, on the question of fuel supply to the Tarapur nuclear plant, the Prime Minister publicly differed with the Reagan Administration by asserting India's right to reprocess the spent fuel, the agreement that was reached with the USA on this issue

was a going-back on India's declared policies. The Government of India had, in November 1981, less than a year ago, rejected the U.S. proposal for the supply of fuel to the Tarapur plant by a third party. This stand was reversed by the Prime Minister while in the United States. The agreement to buy the fuel from France, as is now known, will mean that India will have to give up its entire policy regarding inspection and safeguards of the country's nuclear plants.

The question is: why was India forced to adopt such a *compromising position*? The answer obviously is that, in view of the economic crisis which is growing in intensity, India's ruling classes cannot but depend on private multinational firms and the Governments of the United States and the other developed capitalist countries.

It should be noted that a major part of the time spent by the Prime Minister in the United States was used for meeting businessmen to whom she made public appeals for helping India. The further instalments of the loan from the IMF, 'aid' from international agencies, etc., depend on a "proper climate" being created by the Prime Minister and her Government. It was perhaps to create this "proper climate" that the compromise on the Tarapur fuel issue was made.

The IMF Deal As It Works

This throws revealing light on the claims made at the time the Government decided to apply for the massive loan from the IMF. The loan was claimed to be necessary for "tiding over a temporary problem". The deficit cannot be met, it was claimed, unless massive "aid" from the World Bank, the IMF, etc., was forthcoming. On the other hand, such "aid" would help tiding over the temporary crisis, making the economy really self-reliant. The then Finance Minister, Venkataraman, had gone so far as to claim that, since the economy was "looking up", it might not be necessary even to draw the last instalment of the IMF loan.

The working of the economy after the deal was made and the loans were received, however, shows that, far from making the economy self-reliant, the conditions imposed by the IMF are

leading to a deterioration in the balance of trade and payment. In the name of making production "export-oriented", imports are liberalised in a world situation in which not only is there cut-throat competition in the capitalist world market but the price parity goes against the Third World countries.

The World Bank and the IMF reports for the current year estimate that the low-income countries of the world including India would require continuing "aid" for their development during the 1980s. This is making India go in for large-scale borrowing not only from international agencies like the World Bank and the IMF, but also commercial banks abroad.

While the IMF loan has thus proved to be a factor which leads to a deterioration of the country's external economic relations, it has had its adverse impact on the internal economy as well. The "conditionalities" imposed by the IMF include dealing more and more heavy blows against the living conditions of the working people.

Withdrawal of food and other subsidies which give some relief to the consumers as well as the smaller producers including peasants, the enhancement of the rates at which electricity, transport, the railways, the post and telegraph and other services are to be provide to the people; increases in indirect taxes which affect the common people, restrictions in increasing the emoluments of the workers and employees, credit-squeeze which hits the medium and small industries the hardest—all these are included in the package of policies proposed by the IMF and accepted by the Government.

The budgets of the Central and State Governments for the current year contain many of these proposals, the net impact of which is to increase the cost of living of the mass of the people. The same was the case in the earlier budget, too.

In between budgets, new imposts are made raising the cost of living. All this is reflected in the steady rise in the index of consumer prices. Even with regard to the rate of inflation as calculated on the wholesale price index, the earlier claims of a fall since the Government came to power have proved false.

The mid-term appraisal of the Sixth Plan made by the Planning Commission indicates that a choice has to be made: either raise another Rs. 10,000 crore by way of additional taxation and enhancement of railway, electricity, transport, irrigation, etc., rates, or cut in Plan outlay.

There are other indications of the aggravation of the economic crisis, the most important of which is the rapid growth of unemployment. Though incomplete in giving a full picture of unemployment, the Employment Exchange register shows that, during the last one year, 17 lakh names were added to it. The Employment Exchanges are known to be not giving a correct picture of actual unemployment since the majority of the unemployed, particularly those in the rural areas, do not register themselves.

The magnitude of unemployment is enhanced by the closures, lock-outs and the strikes that have been taking place all over the country; the Maharashtra textile strike which has now entered the eighth month and the closures of several mills and factories including jute mills in West Bengal show the gravity of the problem.

The mass of peasants and other sections of the rural poor and middle classes are also subjected to a dual attack; they bear the burdens of the falls in the prices of what they produce as well as the escalation in the prices of consumption goods and of agricultural inputs. The same is true of the artisans and other small-scale producers. The domestic market being tied to the world capitalist market, it subjects all these sections of small and medium-scale producers to the exploitations of the world monopolies whose grip on the Indian economy is being tightened.

It is therefore natural that the industrial and agricultural workers, peasants and middle class employees, small and medium entrepreneurs, etc., are all forced to fight for their very existence. Each of them separately and all of them together—locally industry-or-production-unitwise, district or statewise and even at the all-India level—have to organise themselves and demand that the policies pursued by the Government be reversed. That is why the trade unions and all-India federations agreed among themselves to form a National

Campaign Committee, and, after organising an all-India General Strike on January 19, are now carrying on a united struggle on several common issues.

Working Class Struggles

The textile strike in Bombay has entered its eighth month. The millowners who have been making crores of rupees in profits have been refusing to concede the legitimate demands of the workers. And now they are getting the full support of the Government. One of the main reasons why the strike is continuing is that the Government insists on keeping the INTUC-affiliated Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh as the recognised union while the prolonged strike has shown that this union does not have the support of the workers.

In West Bengal, the jute workers have had to go on a one-day strike to get the implementation of agreements. The jute barons who have misused the Rs. 300 crore given by the Central Government are asking for phased closures of the mills in their offensive against the workers.

In the public sector, every effort is being made by the authorities to police wages and dearness allowance through the Bureau of Public Enterprises. Against this onslaught on their emoluments and for other demands, workers in the BHEL, steel and coal industries have already held their conventions to chalk out programmes of action to defend their emoluments and a convention of all public sector workers and employees is scheduled in October for the same purpose.

The National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions in which all the non-INTUC trade unions and federations of middle class employees are participating, have taken the initiative in organising these conventions and leading the struggle of the employees and workers in the public sector. The NCC has rightly opposed the tripartite committee for the textile industry as a move to delay dealing with the demands of the striking textile workers. It has also rightly decided to boycott the Labour Conference which the Government has called, after the Central Government has unilaterally, without any consultation with the central trade

union organisations, adopted such a draconian measure as the Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill, which takes away from the working class its hard-won rights to trade union organisation, collective bargaining, and above all, the right to strike. It is the Government of India which is working up a confrontation with the workers and employees all over the country.

That is again why the Kisan Sabhas led by the CPI(M) and the CPI decided a month ago to organise joint conventions on the problems of cultivators of several food and commercial crops. This and other joint movements would undoubtedly help strengthen the struggles of particular classes, strata and sections of the people.

Women on the March

One of the most notable features of this period has been the development of a women's movement of unprecedented dimensions. Women are marching on the streets in angry demonstrations against dowry, bride-burnings, etc. It is a spontaneous outburst of wrath which has immense significance for the democratic movement. The Party should understand that the struggle of women against injustices is not just a struggle for social reform but an integral part of the Indian people's struggle for democracy and Socialism. The advanced sections among the women are already building up a movement against discrimination against women, for equal wages for equal work, for adequate employment opportunities, etc. The Party at all levels should give all the necessary help to channelise these spontaneous outbursts to make them a part of the democratic movement and give proper organisational shape to this growing women's protest.

It is significant that even the personnel of the police forces are making active protests. The police forces have long-standing grievances which the Congress(I) rulers have refused to consider. That their demands are justified can be seen from the fact that the Maharashtra Government has appointed a Committee to go into their grievances and the Haryana Government has conceded the major demands of the policemen, in both cases after their

agitations. Both in Maharashtra and Haryana, while the State Governments have been forced to recognise the justness of the policemen's demands, they have resorted to vindictive measures like large-scale dismissals, arrests and detention of leaders of policemen's organisations and derecognition of their unions and associations. These repressive measures will only create more resentment in the police forces paving the way for bigger outbursts in the future. What is immediately required is to withdraw all the victimisation measures, restore the recognition of the policemen's unions and negotiate with them to redress their grievances.

Struggle for Change in Government Policies

The mass struggles that are being unleashed as indicated here would also raise questions of basic socio-economic policies. The problems which the working class, the peasantry, the middle class employees and other sections of the working people are faced with and for which they are trying to find solution, are all inseparably connected with the capitalist path of development pursued by the ruling classes for 35 years. While fighting for immediate demands therefore, the people will be faced with more basic problems of the path of development being pursued by the ruling classes.

The CPI(M) and its allies in the Left Opposition sharply differ on this from the parties of the bourgeois Opposition or, to use an expression current in the daily press, the "non-Left Opposition".

The Left Opposition as a whole, of course, with differences in emphasis, challenge the ruling party on the basic socio-economic policies pursued by it. Involved in the conflict between the ruling party and the Left Opposition are the attitude to the world capitalist system, the necessity for uncompromising opposition to it, the approach to agrarian and other issues of an anti-feudal character, struggle against the growing Indian monopolists, etc.

The bourgeois or "non-Left" Opposition parties, on the other hand, by and large, agree with the ruling party on all these questions, the differences which one or the other bourgeois party has with the ruling party being of a marginal character. That is

why efforts are being made to unite what are called the "non-Left" Opposition parties.

Such efforts were made in the last seventh month-period as well. Not only did they end in fiasco but the very parties which attempted to knock together a "united opposition" minus the Left parties have been unable to preserve their own unity.

The one bourgeois Opposition party with roots in the rural areas of North India, the Lok Dal, is today in the process of disintegration. Still another party the Congress(S), has for all practical purposes ceased to be an all-India party, its West Bengal, Maharashtra, Kerala, Assam, etc., units going different ways. The Janata too is unable to preserve its internal unity and cohesion.

The reason for this failure of the bourgeois Opposition parties should be sought not in the limitations and shortcomings of their individual leaders but on their policies. None of them in fact has a policy opposed to basic socio-economic policies of the ruling party. They therefore cannot rally the people behind them, as the ruling party and the parties of the Left Opposition can do.

At the same time, the bourgeois Opposition parties are forced to take account of the growing democratic consciousness of the people. That makes them join hands with the Left parties inside Parliament and Legislatures to oppose the reactionary policies of the Congress(I) Government. With the Congress(I) rulers plan of packing the judiciary with "committed" Judges, with the prospects of the Congress(I) winning a two-thirds majority in the Rajya Sabha soon, and with the introduction of such Bills as the Bihar Bill to muzzle the Press in the wake of the National Security Act, Essential Services Maintenance Act, etc., the bourgeois Opposition parties are also apprehensive of another Emergency being clamped on the country. Despite the disintegration of individual bourgeois Opposition parties, all the opposition forces come together to resist these measures. This strengthens the struggle against authoritarianism and vindicates the stand of the Left especially of the CPI(M), of building a broad platform against authoritarianism.

Simultaneously, big struggles are being fought in the country, mostly led by the Left forces. The unity of the Left forces is thus getting strengthened opening up the prospects of projecting the Left and democratic alternative and building the unity of the Left and democratic forces.

The Struggle Against Divisive Forces

The one bourgeois Opposition party which is not subjected to internal crisis as the others is the BJP. Not because it has a programme or policy different from those of the ruling party. On basic socio-economic questions, its approach is the same as of the ruling party.

Where the BJP differs from the ruling party and from other bourgeois Opposition parties is its open commitment to the ideology of Hindu revivalism through the RSS which is the most consistent proponent of that ideology and to which organisation the leading lights of the BJP belong. This, however, has the disadvantage that, with this ideological outlook guiding it, the BJP cannot become the leader of a bourgeois alternative to the ruling party, since the masses rallied behind the ruling party and the major Opposition parties will not give their support to parties which are based on such revivalist and obscurantist ideologies as the Hindu Rashtra, Islamic fundamentalism, separatist movements inspired by foreign Christian missions, Sikh separatism, etc.

This is not to deny the mischief that the revivalist and the obscurantist forces as represented by the RSS working through the BJP, the Jamait-e-Islami and other Islamic fundamentalists aided from abroad with petro-dollars, etc., foreign Christian missions, various groups of Sikh separatists, etc., are capable of doing. In fact, they are active and able to move the masses wherever the forces of Left Opposition have not established themselves as a viable political force that can challenge the ruling party.

The Assamese and other separatists in the North-Eastern region, the Hindu and Sikh separatists in Punjab, the Jamait-e-Islami in Jammu & Kashmir, etc., have become a

menace not only to the peace and security of the regions concerned, but also to the unity and security of the country as a whole.

So, too, in the rest of the country are the fissiparous forces speaking in the name of "forward" and "backward" castes, majority and minority religious communities, linguistic majorities and minorities, etc., being used to create divisions and disruptions among the people where the CPI(M) and its Leftist allies have not become a sufficiently united force to beat all these divisive forces back.

The example set by the Left Fronts in West Bengal and Tripura and the Left-Democratic Front in Kerala should in this context be noted. In none of these States is the Hindu revivalist ideology of the RSS strong enough to challenge the Left.

In West Bengal which is relatively free from the casteist, communal and other divisive forces, the Left Front Government has completed its five-year term, had fresh elections and won a magnificent electoral victory.

In Tripura where the ruling party has been trying to whip up chauvinist passions among the tribals and Bengalis against each other, the Left Front led by the CPI(M) has been able to hold such disruptive forces as the Anand Marg and its Amra Bangali organisation and the TUJS at bay. Here, too, the Left Front is on the point of completing its five-year term and winning the next election when it is held.

In Kerala, where the Muslim and Christian communities together constitute over 40 per cent of the population and where the ruling party rallied behind it the bulk of the reactionary leaders of the two communities, the CPI(M), together with its allies in the Left-Democratic Front, has been able to win impressive gains: as against the combination of all "forward" and "backward" castes as well as the Muslim and Christian religious minorities behind the Congress(I), the CPI(M) and its allies succeeded in securing 47 per cent of the votes and 45 per cent of the seats in the May 19 elections. This is because, through the systematic struggle against the bourgeois-landlord regime of the Congress(I) and against the caste-communal separatism, the

CPI(M) has won to its side substantial sections of the masses belonging to all castes and communities in the State.

In the rest of the country where the CPI(M) and other Left parties are weaker, the divisive forces of one or another kind are able to create explosive situations. Even in these States and regions, however, courageous battles are being waged against the divisive forces and for the preservation of unity and national integration. The CPI(M) is playing an important role in this.

In Assam, the separatist forces have been at work for almost three years. They had the powerful support of the BJP, the Janata and several other parties and groups of the bourgeois Opposition for whom any stick is good enough to beat the Congress(I) with. Had it not been for this opportunism of some of the bourgeois Opposition parties, the so-called "problem of foreign nationals" could have been solved in a democratic way.

The Congress(I) for its part is interested in converting itself into the ruling party in the State through opportunistic manoeuvres, rather than finding a democratic solution to the problem.

It is a matter of satisfaction that the CPI(M) and six other parties have been carrying on a principled struggle against the power-hungry opportunism of the ruling Congress(I) and the pro-separatist opportunism of some of the bourgeois Opposition parties.

In the State of Jammu & Kashmir where the Islamic fundamentalist Jamait-e-Islamic is creating havoc by its propaganda for separation of the State from the Indian Union, CPI(M) cadres, though small in number, are carrying on a courageous and principled struggle for national unity. Neither the National Conference nor the Congress(I) is taking up the battle against the separatists while the RSS, Viswa Hindu Parishad and the Virat Hindu Sammelan are fostering communalism among the Muslims by themselves championing the cause of Hindu communalism.

In Punjab, the ruling Congress(I) itself is divided into factions each of which stands behind the Hindu and Sikh separatists. The RSS acting through the BJP, and the Sikh extremists acting

through sections of the Akali leadership are creating tensions among the two communities reminiscent of the pre-partition Sikh-Muslim tension. Even the CPI, with its orientation towards one of the two Congress factions and unconcealed hostility to the Akalis without making any demarcation between sections in the Akali Dal, helps keeping up the tension. We can take legitimate pride in the fact that the CPI(M) cadres have been fighting against heavy odds and working for real unity of the different sections of the Punjabi people among themselves and with the democratic movements in the rest of the country.

In Karnataka where the Congress(I) Government of Gundu Rao is inciting the Kannada-speaking people against the linguistic minorities, the CPI(M) is fighting for the defence of the linguistic minorities while supporting the Kannadigas' aspirations to replace English with their language.

In all parts of the country, the Party fights for unity and against caste, communal and other disruption.

Dissidence in Congress(I)

An important development of this period is that the ruling Congress(I) is afflicted with internal troubles which are in some ways comparable to what is happening to the bourgeois Opposition parties. The Congress(I) being the ruling party, however, its leaders are able, to a certain extent, to "contain" dissidence within their party. Even then, things have come to ahead in almost all Congress(I)-ruled States, the "high command" being helpless in the face of powerful dissident groups challenging and defying the authority of the leadership.

The most serious case arose in Maharashtra whose Chief Minister Antulay had to be asked to step down and permission had to be given to launch prosecution against him. Even after his corrupt practices—dubious methods for collection of crores of rupees for his private trusts, allocation of cement, etc.—became public knowledge, the Congress(I) leadership did everything to protect him. But the limit was reached when the High Court verdict against Antulay came. He could no longer be protected and had to go. But his very going has created a major problem of dissidence in the Congress(I).

Maharashtra's Antulay is not a solitary case. His successor Bhosale, Gundu Rao, Anjaiah, J. B. Patnaik and the rest of the present and former Congress(I) Chief Ministers have all been charged with corruption by people in their own party. Corruption of those in office is breeding dissidence in those who are denied the loaves and fishes of office. This dissidence in the ruling party has assumed such serious dimensions in several States that official candidates for the Rajya Sabha and Legislative Councils have either been defeated or could only scrape through very narrowly.

A new dimension was added to the phenomenon of "dissidence" by the revolt of the Prime Minister's daughter-in-law who is using the name of her deceased husband to consolidate the forces of dissidence on a countrywide scale. There is widespread suspicion that the "Maneka factor" and the "Antulay factor" together would pose a serious threat to the internal unity and cohesion of the ruling party.

It is too early to estimate whether this will lead to another split in the Congress(I). The one factor that possibly prevents such a development is that the would-be rebels are so lacking in an independent mass base, so dependent on the "madam's" patronage that few would go to the extent of actually revolting. As against this, however, is the absolute helplessness of the leadership which makes it extremely difficult for it to take firm disciplinary measures against the rebels. There are instances in which, as happened recently in Haryana, those against whom disciplinary actions were taken during the election were pardoned after the elections, going to the extent of being taken into the ministry.

Erosion of Congress(I) Influence

The ruling party's standing among the people is in the meantime, increasingly being eroded. No more the people look upon it as the party that can "deliver the goods". Not only have its promises concerning improvement in the economic situation been proved hollow, but its credibility as the political head of the administration is being increasingly lost.

Never before has it happened that the Chief Minister of a State thought it necessary to step down on the ground that his administration had failed to curb the anti-social activities of dacoits. On these grounds it is doubtful whether any other Chief Minister belonging to that party can occupy that office.

For, U.P. under the new Chief Minister is no better than earlier. In the neighbouring State of Bihar, all the Opposition parties, the people at large and considerable sections within the ruling party itself are separately or jointly agitating against the Chief Minister and his Government. In these and other Congress(I)-ruled States, MPs, MLAs and functionaries of the ruling party are being exposed as acting in collusion with smugglers, blackmarketeers, dacoits, organisers of rapes and other atrocities on women and other weaker sections of society.

The capital city of New Delhi has itself become notorious for daylight robberies, murders, women-burning and other anti-social activities indulged in among others, by those who are very close to, if not the leading lights of the ruling party. As for political corruption, the leaders of the ruling party have to strain every rule of parliamentary procedure, as they did in the Kuo oil deal, to prevent open debate and exposure of their men and women going up to the highest.

The ganging up of the Congress(I) with the Shiva Sena in Maharashtra, RSS and all communal and casteist forces in Kerala, Naxalites in Andhra Pradesh, Anand Marg, and Amra Bangali in Tripura, etc., has shown that the ruling party has no scruples and is prepared to make the most opportunistic and unprincipled alliances to fight its opponents, especially the CPI(M).

It is against this general background that the CPI(M) efforts to join hands with all other Opposition forces to preserve democracy and at the same time to consolidate the Left and democratic forces on a programme opposed to the programmes of all bourgeois-landlord parties have registered some gains.

The May 19 elections, known as "mini-general elections", culminated in the historic victory of the Left Front in West Bengal, in the impressive record of the Left-Democratic Front in Kerala, in the significant victory of Bahuguna in the Garhwal

Lok Sabha constituency, in the defeat of the Congress in three of the four States where elections were held and in several by-elections—all of which together constituted a signal political defeat for the ruling Congress(I). It also brought out the revealing truth that, while the Left or Left-Democratic Front in the States where they are strong could make big advances, the bourgeois Opposition parties are unable to project themselves before the people as viable alternatives.

After the elections, however, it was generally recognised that the Opposition had to act in unison if the ruling party was to be prevented from imposing its will on the opposition and on the people at large. Efforts were, therefore, made in which the CPI(M) played a by-no-means insignificant role in organising united resistance to the anti-democratic methods adopted in Haryana after the elections. This was followed by the united stand of the Opposition on the election of the new President after Sanjeeva Reddy's term expired. All the Opposition groups in Parliament did, in the meantime, coordinate their activities which culminated in the no-confidence debate on August 16.

United mass actions on a number of issues have also developed, cutting across all party-political barriers. Resistance to the Bihar Press Bill in which journalists and other democratic forces united on a countrywide scale deserves special mention. The complete boycott of question hour by the reporters in Parliament and several State Legislatures, with which almost all the Opposition groups expressed solidarity, is a significant development. Resort to lathi-charges in Bihar to meet this joint opposition to the Press Bill shows the depth to which the ruling party is sinking, while the call for a one-day protest strike by journalists indicates growing resistance.

CPI's Role

It is worth noting in this connection that the CPI which has consistently opposed the very idea of common resistance to the authoritarian moves of the ruling party has thought it prudent to modify its original position. Even as late as during the Haryana agitation against the Governor's action, the CPI leaders had

dissociated themselves from united action. They, however, found that they would be completely isolated from the democratic masses if they continued this position. They, therefore, joined the rest of the Opposition in the later stages of the Haryana agitation, during the Presidential election and all subsequent developments.

This appears to have raised a controversy among their ranks which found reflection in the leadership itself. The session of their National Council held a month ago is reported to have witnessed a serious debate on the correctness of having joined the common resistance. Though the Council in the end endorsed the leadership stand, it should be noted that no less than 20 members voted against it.

Ever since the Jullundur Congress of the CPI(M), the CPI leaders have consistently expressed their disagreement with the slogan of "broader platform of resistance" given by our Party for supplementing and strengthening the slogan of Left and Democratic Front. Their claim is that, while they stand for the concept of Left and Democratic Front, the CPI(M) dilutes it by adding the broad platform which, they allege, seeks to cover up the incorrect idea of "all-in Opposition unity".

While apparently standing for Left and democratic unity, the CPI leaders are actually reducing the very concept of Left and democratic unity to an electoral front of Opposition parties minus the BJP, the Akalis, etc. State, district or local units of the CPI(M), too, are sometimes taken in by the CPI propaganda as was seen in the Joint Communique issued by the Karnataka State Committee of the two parties.

Though issued a fortnight after the historic victory of Left Front in West Bengal and the impressive record of the Left-Democratic Front in Kerala, the joint communique did not have a word hailing these significant gains of the Fronts led by the CPI(M). On the other hand, the bloc of legislature groups in the Karnataka Assembly was held out as the model to be applied "inside and outside the Legislature".

This should be seen against the background of the claims made by the CPI leaders in their public pronouncements that, all the bourgeois Opposition parties being in doldrums, the Left parties

should join together and project themselves as the real alternative. On the basis of this arrangement, they propose that the Left parties should in all elections put up the maximum number of candidates, refusing to adopt such election tactics as would ensure the isolation and defeat of the Congress(I), while the Left Opposition demarcates itself from the Right Opposition.

West Bengal Developments

Recent developments in West Bengal where the Left Front and Ministry was taken to the brink of break-up is a timely warning against complacency. That partial-critical situation has, of course, been tided over. The incident, however, shows that the mere fact of the constituents of a particular Front being Leftist in complexion does not make it free from internal difficulties.

Many of the Left parties being essentially petty bourgeois in class composition and ideological make-up, are susceptible to the limitations and shortcomings of their class basis. It was this that made them consider the portfolios allotted to them five years ago as theirs in perpetuity, any demand for their reallocation being looked upon as illegitimate intrusion into their rights.

Some of the constituents of the Left Front seem to think that consensus means that anyone of them in their partisan interests can veto any reasonable and necessary measure sacrificing the interests of the Left Front and the people of the State as a whole. One constituent, at least, of the front has gone to the extent of mouthing the slanderous accusations of the Congress(I) and other enemies of the Front that the major partner of the Front, the CPI(M), is resorting to a campaign of political murders. This is not conducive to the consolidation and strengthening of the unity of the Left Front.

It should also be mentioned that the very same parties which took the Front to the brink of a break-up had objected to the expansion of the Front by taking in the CPI. The attitude they adopted is, therefore, likely to create problems in future too unless the CPI(M) as the leader of the Front adopts a firm line on the need for developing the Front as the common instrument of all the Left and democratic forces, while making all the

necessary accommodation to the partners in the interest of preserving the unity of the Front.

Immediate Tasks

The Party, in this situation, has to undertake a number of tasks immediately. It has to work for the success of the October 4 Peace March; further strengthen the movement against the Bihar Bill to muzzle the Press and organise opposition to every authoritarian attack on democratic rights; ceaselessly struggle against the divisive forces to safeguard the unity and integrity of the country.

The Party has to fight for immediate relief to the drought and food-stricken people; give protection to the agricultural workers and Harijans; for remunerative prices for agricultural produce; rally support to the programmes of the National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions; and extend all support to the growing women's movement.

Communique On Central Committee Meeting of CPI(M)

Held in New Delhi on August 27-30, 1982

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), meeting in New Delhi on August 27-30, 1982, reviewed the developments that have taken place in the last seven months since the Eleventh Congress of the Party.

The Central Committee was gravely concerned at the serious drought which has severely affected vast areas of the country—especially in West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Eastern and Central U.P., Rajasthan, Maharashtra and the Telangana and Rayalaseema areas of Andhra Pradesh. Millions of people, agricultural workers and the rural poor first and foremost, have been rendered virtually destitute. Starvation deaths have already taken place and the people are helplessly watching the darkening shadow of famine conditions. Rice-prices have already risen and the prices of other foodgrains are bound to follow. To add to the misery of the people there has been the annual visitation of furious floods killing many and destroying property on a large-scale.

The Central Government has failed to help the States to meet this calamitous situation, while whatever relief is being distributed in Congress(I)-ruled States is vitiated by corruption and nepotism.

The C.C. demanded from the Centre adequate supply of foodgrains to the affected States, funds for relief work and to provide work to agricultural workers and poor peasants, suspension of collection of all Government dues, agricultural loans, stringent action against blackmarketeers and hoarders and

immediate launching of long term programmes for massive irrigation and flood control.

Worsening Economy

The C.C. discussed the economic situation in the country and found that it had become much worse in this period, aggravated by the abject surrender to the International Monetary Fund and the acceptance of its enslaving conditionalities.

In the background of this deepening economic crisis have come further attacks on the people and their democratic rights as seen in the recent anti-labour enactments, the Bihar Bill to muzzle the Press and so on. The C.C. congratulated the working class and other sections of the people for developing common resistance to these attacks.

The C.C. viewed with concern the intensified activities of the separatist and divisive forces in Assam and the rest of the North-Eastern region, in Punjab, Jammu & Kashmir and other areas. The Congress(I) Government, instead of tackling the problems to find democratic solutions, demonstrates its utter helplessness to meet the situation and is floundering.

West Bengal Left Front

The C.C. expressed its satisfaction that the problem of division of some of the big portfolios in West Bengal has, for the time being, been solved. The C.C. hoped that this would lead to the strengthening of the Left Front. The C.C., at the same time, noted that a scientific reorganisation of portfolios has yet to be done. What was of concern to the C.C. was that some of the Parties in the Left Front were taking consensus to mean that anyone of them can veto even the most reasonable and necessary measures in their partisan interests, sacrificing the interests of the front and the people of the State as a whole. Even more damaging is that one constituent of the Front is echoing the slanders of its enemies, the Congress(I) especially, that the major front partner, the CPI(M), is organising a campaign of political murders. The C.C. wishes to warn that such activities will not be conducive to consolidating the unity of the Left Front and further strengthening it.

Prime Minister's U.S. Visit

The C.C. reviewed the outcome of the Indian Prime Minister's recent visit to the USA. Taking advantage of India's difficult economic situation and the leverage which the IMF has got, the U.S. imperialists were exerting pressure on India to water down its foreign policy of non-alignment and loosen its close ties with the Soviet Union. The C.C. noted that the Government of India did not succumb to this pressure, but stood by its friendly relations with the Soviet Union and reiterated its position on such issues as Kampuchea, Afghanistan, Indian Ocean, new world economic order, etc. But on the question of fuel for the Tarapur nuclear plant the pressure seems to have worked. The agreement which the Prime Minister signed in the USA is a going-back on India's declared positions. Specifically, the proposal for supply of fuel by a third party had been rejected less than a year ago. That position has now been reversed.

The Central Committee also reviewed the fast deteriorating international situation and held the U.S. imperialists directly responsible for it. Not only has the USA budgeted for the biggest ever defence expenditure, the top brass of the Pentagon are seriously talking of a protracted nuclear war lasting even five years. While directing the edge of their nuclear war-drive against the Soviet Union in Europe, the U.S. imperialists are active in other parts of the world igniting local wars, any one of which can endanger world peace.

But for the military, economic and political support provided by the U.S. imperialists in ample measure, the Israeli Zionists would not have dared to wage the genocidal war in Lebanon to liquidate the Palestine Liberation Organisation. The Palestinian liberation forces, with the support of Lebanese nationalist forces fought heroically but, let down by the reactionary Arab regimes, had to withdraw from Beirut to continue their struggle from elsewhere. The situation still remains explosive in Lebanon with the Israeli rulers demanding the withdrawal of not only Syrian forces from Lebanon but of Lebanese nationalist forces from their own capital city, and a Phalangist stooge of Israel becoming the President of Lebanon in an election boycotted by the nationalists.

Against the background of this situation, and the U.S. escalation of its military presence in the Indian Ocean and the arming of Pakistan, the C.C. reviewed the peace movement in India and called on all Party units, mass organisations and all peace-loving forces to make the Day of Peace on September 1, called by the WFTU, and the Peace March in Delhi on October 4, called by six parties, grand successes.

Result of IMF Loan

Discussing the internal situation, the C.C. viewed with alarm the worsening economic situation. The prices of essential commodities are rising steadily, with the Government itself stoking the price-rise by jacking up administered prices including the issue price of foodgrains. Lay-offs, retrenchments, closures are taking place on a large-scale throwing tens of thousands of workers out of jobs. The Sixth Plan is in doldrums with none of the targets likely to be attained and a shortfall already of Rs. 10,000 crore. While the Central Government is putting up administered prices, the State Governments are being asked to gather more resources through further taxations, hiking of transport charges, power rates, irrigation levies, etc., the burdens of which will further bend the backs of the common people. The balance of payments position has deteriorated and reached alarming proportions with the import of 2,500,000 tonnes of wheat from the USA and the purchase of petroleum products exceeding the earlier estimates. It is clear that the Government will not be able to limit the current accounts deficit to the IMF prescribed 2.1 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product. The C.C. laid the responsibility for this situation squarely on the Government of India and its acceptance of the IMF conditionalities for cutting down and abandoning subsidies, import liberalisation, credit-curbs, making public sector undertakings and utility services profit-making enterprises, concessions to monopolists, open door to multinationals, etc.

Authoritarian Measures

The growing discontent of the people generated by their difficult economic conditions is sought to be put down by the Congress(I) rulers through authoritarian measures to suppress all their rights. The monsoon session of Parliament has already adopted two of the proposed four anti-labour legislations. The Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Act, particularly, takes away the hardwon rights of the working class to organise, collective bargaining, and above all, the right to strike. The Union Government, through the Bureau of Public Enterprises, is trying to police the wages and emoluments in the public sector which will be a lead to the private employers. The struggles of the workers and other sections of the working people are sought to be suppressed with brutal police measures, the NSA and ESMA liberally brought into operation.

The C.C. greeted the working class and other sections of the working people—teachers, doctors, engineers, middle class employees, who are organising common resistance to the Government's onslaught. It specially congratulated the National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions which has successfully organised Joint Conventions of workers in the BHEL and steel and coal industries and is now preparing for a convention of all public sector employees.

Women on the March

The Central Committee noted that there was an outburst of wrath of unprecedented dimensions amongst women in the country, especially in the Northern States. Women who have hardly ever seen the outside of their homes are marching on the streets angrily denouncing dowry and bride-burnings, rapes and other crimes against women. The advanced sections are organising movements for equal wages, more employment opportunities and against discrimination against women. This new awakening of women is of tremendous significance to the democratic movement. The Central Committee greeted the women's organisations which are organising and leading these struggles and extended all support to them.

The C.C. noted that the police forces were also being affected by the general discontent among the people and they had gone on agitations in Maharashtra and Haryana. C.C. members from Maharashtra described the two days of upheaval in Bombay city. The morale of the policemen and their families, the support of the working class to them, especially the striking textile workers, the solidarity actions of the common people were all reminiscent of the days of the RIN revolt in 1946. The Government resorted to severe repression, using the army, CRP and BSF. The C.C. condemned the repression, extended the Party's support to the policemen's demands and warned the Government that if their genuine grievances were not redressed, there would be bigger outbursts in the future. It congratulated the Opposition parties, trade unions and other mass organisations for organising a successful Bombay bandh in support of the policemen.

Members of the Central Committee from the Congress(I)-ruled States reported on the situation in these States, especially the rampant corruption, the breakdown of law and order, increasing attacks on Harijans and agricultural workers, growing crimes against women, etc.

The Bihar Bill to muzzle the Press is directed to suppress all this from being published in newspapers and journals, to prevent the people from knowing the misdeeds of the Congress(I) rulers. The C.C. member from Bihar gave details of the corruption of the Jagannath Mishra Ministry, and the connivance of its leaders with landlords in the large-scale killings of Harijans and agricultural workers in the name of containing "extremists". This is the State against which the Supreme Court has made strictures again and again on various counts.

Resistance to Press Bill

The C.C. noted with great satisfaction the tremendous countrywide resistance that has built up to the draconian Bihar measure. It congratulated the journalists and their organisations, the Opposition parties, mass organisations and all democratic-minded people who have joined the opposition to the Bill, not confining it to Bihar or to the journalist community. In fact this

resistance has been the most magnificent one in recent days to an authoritarian measure. The C.C. condemned the brutal, pre-planned lathi-charge on journalists in Patna on August 21 and on other sections of protesting people on subsequent days. It demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Black Bill and called on all democratic sections of the people to intensify their movement to force its withdrawal, as, otherwise, it will be the precursor of similar draconian measures in other Congress(I)-ruled States, spelling the doom of freedom of the Press in the country. It extended the Party's full support to the protest strike called in the newspaper industry on September 3.

The C.C. was concerned that the separatist and divisive forces had become more active in this period. In Assam the agitation has been going on for three years and August 15 this year was observed by the agitationists by imposing a so-called "people's curfew" on the State. Insurgency in other North-Eastern States continues, while every attempt is being made to inject the poison into Tripura. The C.C. discussed the tripartite talks on Assam and reiterated the Party's stand that elections should be held in the State in such conditions that safeguard the rights of the linguistic and religious minorities which should be ensured through a democratic solution of the "foreigners" issue. The C.C. decided to await the outcome of the tripartite talks on September 1, to make the Party's assessment of the latest situation.

Situation in Punjab

The report of the arrests of Akali leaders and activists came when the C.C. was already in session. The situation in Punjab had become extremely dangerous with two hijackings in the course of a fortnight, an attempt on the Chief Minister's life and so on. The Akali Dal's decision to launch its morcha on August 4 on demands which included the demands of the extremists also, only strengthened the extremists following the Dal Khalsa and Bhindranwale. The Government was also adding fuel to the fire with reports of "deaths in encounters" which the people knew were killing of arrested persons in police custody. The extremists, their hands strengthened by all this are rousing the Sikh masses in

the name of "saving the Panth". The arrests of the Akalis have only gone to worsen the situation and play into the hands of the extremists. The C.C. demanded the release of all the arrested Akalis and called on the Government of India to call an all-party meeting to effectively fight the divisive forces. The Government should also not delay the consideration and decision on demand like inclusion of Chandigarh and other Punjabi-speaking contiguous areas on the basis of village as the unit in Punjab and referring the river-water issue to a Supreme Court Judge. It should immediately enact the All-India Sikh Gurdwara Act and stop all interference on the democratic functioning of Gurdwaras. The C.C. congratulated the Punjab unit of the party for the campaign it has organised and called on it to intensify the struggle to isolate and defeat the Sikh extremists and Hindu communalists to maintain peace in the State and the unity of the Punjabi people.

The C.C. noted that the situation in Jammu & Kashmir also had become serious with the Jamait-e-Islami on the one hand, and the RSS, BJP, Viswa Hindu Parishad on the other, rousing communal passions. The Islamic fundamentalists are already raising the slogan of an independent Kashmir. The C.C. congratulated the State unit of the Party, a small force at present but which is bravely fighting the secessionist and communal forces.

While discussing the activities of the divisive forces, C.C. members from Tamil Nadu spoke of the recent incidents in Kanyakumari, Pulyangudi and other places in the State instigated by the Hindu communalists. On the other hand, Islamic fundamentalists are also becoming active in the State. A Muslim League M.P. recently wrote that what unites Muslims is not the nation which they inhabit but their religion. The Muslim League is an ally of the Congress(I) in Kerala and West Bengal.

Disapproval of T.V. Decision

The CPI(M) had stated earlier that Congress policies had created the problems which are being exploited by the separatist and divisive forces, encouraged and aided by the imperialists, to strike blows at the unity and integrity of the country. While these

problems are already there, the Congress(I) Government is creating new problems. In this context the C.C. disapproved of the Union Information and Broadcasting Ministry's decision to impose daily telecasts of what is called "national programmes" on the regional centres of Doordarshan. The C.C. said this was not conducive to national integration and demanded its cancellation.

The C.C. discussed the situation in Tripura and endorsed the demand of the State Government for holding of Assembly elections on December 19 in the State.

After reviewing all these developments of the last seven months, the C.C. came to the conclusion that while the forces of authoritarianism are seeking to push through their attacks on democratic rights and the parliamentary democratic system itself, resistance to these forces is also growing. Opposition parties inside and outside Parliament, central trade unions, federations of middle class employees, mass organisations of students, youth, women, organisations of teachers and other professionals are all taking up the challenge and fighting back every attack on democratic rights and living standards.

The conflict between all the Opposition parties and the ruling party is being witnessed in Parliament in the struggle against the reactionary measures brought forward by the Government. This is an index of the growing democratic consciousness of the people, a factor which the bourgeois Opposition parties cannot ignore. They are also afraid of the imposition of another Emergency when such anti-democratic measures as the Bihar Bill to gag the Press are mooted. All this further strengthens the struggle against the forces of authoritarianism.

Growing Unity of Left Forces

At the same time, big mass struggles, mostly led by the Left forces, are taking places against the authoritarian steps being taken by the Government to suppress trade union and democratic rights. As a result the unity of the Left forces is growing, opening up prospects for the Left forces to project the Left and democratic alternative to bourgeois-landlord rule and build the unity of Left and democratic forces. The Central Committee noted with

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satisfaction that the line laid down by the Party's last Congress in Vijyawada is being patiently and systematically worked out by all Party units, and is yielding results, though slowly, in the desired direction.

To carry forward this work, the Central Committee has laid down certain immediate tasks to further strengthen the struggle against the anti-democratic authoritarian policies of the Government, carry forward the mass struggles, isolate and defeat the separatist, and divisive forces, protect the Harijans and agricultural workers, help the women's movement, fight against the famine conditions that are looming ahead and for relief to the people.

**Condolence Resolutions Adopted
By The Central Committee of CPI(M)
in Its Meeting Held in New Delhi
on August 27-30, 1982***

(a) COMRADE BHULLAR

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) mourns the death of Comrade Fauja Singh Bhullar, member of the Punjab State Committee and Secretary of the Amritsar District Committee of the Party.

The Central Committee remembers his devoted service of 62 years from the age of 18 in the cause of Indian freedom and the Communist movement. He was active in the Akali movement which was then a part of the freedom movement, he was among the first to join the Workers' and Peasants' Party when it was formed in Panjab in 1927, he was a founder-member of the Communist Party of India when it was formed in the State in 1934. He was for three years Secretary of the Amritsar District Congress Committee.

The whole of his active life was spent in organising workers and peasants without any thought of his personal comforts. His simple life of struggles and sacrifice was an inspiration to the younger generation of Communists. For his political activities he had to spend eleven years in jail and four years underground.

When the Communist Party of India split in 1963-64, Comrade Bhullar remained firmly with those who were fighting against revisionism and rallied the majority of the following of the party in Amritsar behind the CPI(M).

The Central Committee pays its homage to this veteran of the Communist movement and sends its heartfelt condolences to his bereaved family.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 5, 1982.

(b) COMRADE PANKAJ ACHARYA

The Central Committee of Communist Party of India (Marxist) mourns the death of Comrade Pankaj Acharya, member of the West Bengal State Committee of the Party and an outstanding leader of the democratic women's movement.

Comrade Pankaj earned her Party membership in 1944 and was initially active in the trade union movement. She joined the democratic women's movement and was in its forefront. In 1973, she was elected General Secretary of the West Bengal Ganatantrik Mahila Samiti and at the founding conference of the All-India Democratic Women's Association in 1980, she was elected one of its Vice-Presidents.

She was detained for a year under the Defence of India Rule in 1962. Comrade Pankaj joined the CPI(M) in 1970. The Party in West Bengal and the all India democratic women's movement have lost a valuable comrade in the passing away of Comrade Pankaj Acharya.

The C.C. pays its homage to her memory and sends its heartfelt condolences to her bereaved family.

(c) COMRADE SOHAN SINGH JOSH

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep sense of grief at the passing away of Comrade Sohan Singh Josh, a long-standing leader of the Communist movement in Punjab.

Comrade Josh entered the political field as an anti-imperialist freedom-fighter in the Akali movement, and like many others, came to the Left movement. He presided over the First All-India Conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Party in Calcutta at the end of 1928. Almost all of its Executive Committee members including Comrade Josh were involved in the Meerut Conspiracy Case. After his release from jail in 1934, he took the initiative in organising the Communist Party in Punjab and also became a leader of the Congress in the Province.

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He was for some time Secretary of the Punjab State Committee and of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India. At the time of the split in the Party, he remained with the CPI and was member of its National Council.

The C.C. pays its homage to the memory of Comrade Josh and sends its heartfelt condolences to his bereaved family.

Central Committee Resolution On Arrests in Punjab*

**Adopted in Its Meeting Held in New Delhi
On August 27-30, 1982**

The round-up of Akali activists in the night of August 27-28, 1982, throughout Punjab is nothing but an act of provocation which is bound to worsen the situation and play into the hands of the extremists who are out to create communal tension in Punjab and intensify the movement for separatism. Earlier, too, the Congress(I) Government, by killing many people under the cover of "encounters" instead of putting them on trial, had provided grist to the mill of the extremists.

Our Party has sharply opposed the Sikh extremists and has exposed their anti-national activities. The Party has also warned the Akali leadership of the necessity of demarcating from them so that genuine grievances are not allowed to be utilised for the disruptive and separatist activities of the extremists. Our Party conducted a Statewide campaign for communal peace and against the threat to the unity and integrity of the country.

The Government and the ruling party have failed to rouse the people against the disruptive activities of the extremists. It has not even placed the facts in its possession about the activities of the extremists through a White Paper. Earlier also, the statements of the Chief Minister were an indication of the inept handling of the situation. The present step will further worsen the situation.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) condemns this action of the State Government and demands the release of all the arrested. The Central Committee urges the Central Government to call an all-party meeting in order to effectively fight the divisive forces. The Government should also not delay the consideration and

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi September 5 1982

decision on the demands of Punjab such as inclusion of Chandigarh and Punjabi-speaking contiguous areas with village as the unit, reference of the canal water dispute to a Supreme Court Judge. The Government should immediately enact an All-India Sikh Gurdwara Act and end all interference in the democratic functioning of the Gurdwaras. The C.C. warns the Government that failure to solve the problems bristles with the danger of disruptionist forces spreading their tentacles in other parts of the country.

The C.C. calls on the people to be vigilant against the extremists and maintain peace in the State and the unity of the Punjabi people.

CPI(M)'s Greetings to Vietnam*

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its revolutionary greetings to the people and the Communist Party of Vietnam on the joyous occasion of the Thirtyseventh Anniversary of the founding of the Democratic (now Socialist) Republic of Vietnam on September 3, 1945.

Though the successful August 1945 uprising led to the establishment of the DRVN, marking the triumph of the Vietnamese people over French colonialism and Japanese fascism, instead of the peace they desired to start building a prosperous Socialist Vietnam, they had to spend thirty of the thirty-seven years since then in a war of national resistance against the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

They had to face the most sophisticated arms including toxic weapons that the U.S. imperialists had produced, they had to face genocidal massacres, the large-scale destruction of their land and environment, the razing of their factories, homes, hospitals and schools in repeated carpet bombings.

Facing all this, led by the Workers (now Communist) Party of Vietnam, headed by the venerable Ho Chi Minh, the heroic Vietnamese people defeated the biggest and most powerful imperialist country and on May Day, 1975, presented a magnificent gift to the anti-imperialist forces of the world—the complete liberation of Vietnam, which, after the Great October Russian Revolution, the historic victory over fascism in the Second World War and the Great Chinese Revolution, was the most important event which contributed further to changing the world situation in favour of the forces of peace, freedom, democracy and Socialism.

*Published in "PEOPLES DEMOCRACY" New Delhi, September 5 1982

In their glorious struggle, the Vietnamese people had all the moral, political and material help of the Socialist countries, the sympathy and support of people everywhere in the world and of the Governments of many newly independent countries. That solidarity and support continue today.

When the Vietnamese people celebrate the anniversary of their liberation this year, there is again a troubled situation in their region—South-East Asia. After the Socialist Republic of Vietnam extended its fraternal support to the Kampuchean people to overthrow the despotic Pol Pot regime, the U.S. imperialists have been arming and helping the Pol Pot remnants and other Kampuchean reactionary elements based on the territory of Thailand, in their attempts to destabilise the situation in Kampuchea and reverse the course of history there. Thanks to the firm unity of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea and the support they have from the Socialist countries and all progressive forces in the world, the U.S. imperialist ambition to stage a comeback in Indo-China from where they were thrown out ignominiously seven years ago, has been thwarted.

The CPI(M) welcomes the new proposals made in July last by the Foreign Ministers of the three countries of Indo-China for a partial pull-out of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea (which has been implemented), creation of a safety zone on the border of Kampuchea and Thailand and holding of an international conference on South-East Asia. These proposals are directed towards the elimination of imperialist interference not only in Indo-China but the whole of South-East Asia and will have the support of all anti-imperialist forces.

The U.S. imperialist intrigues have meant an enormous strain on Vietnam's economy. The CPI(M) is happy to note that despite that, Vietnam is advancing on the path of Socialist construction as evidenced in the figures of Plan fulfilment in the first half of 1982.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) has always extended its support to the cause of the Vietnamese people and will continue to do so in the future. The relations between the people of Vietnam

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and India are close and friendly and are getting stronger. The fraternal relations between the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) are valuable and will go on flourishing.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) once again extends its revolutionary greetings to the people and the Communist Party of Vietnam and wishes them further successes in the struggle against U.S. imperialist machinations and in the building of Socialism in Vietnam.

On The Agreement For Fuel For The Tarapur Plant*

Statement Issued By The Central Committee of CPI(M)

While it may be conceded that on foreign policy issues Prime Minister Indira Gandhi did not yield to American pressure, it must be stated that the agreement she made with President Reagan on the Indo-US Agreement of 1963 on the supply of enriched uranium for the Tarapur atomic power plant, was a definite climbdown on the part of India. This is all the more regrettable in the background of India's consistent fulfilment of its obligations throughout and the consistent breach of the agreement by the United States for the past seven years, and in view of the commendable advance we have made in research and development in this field and research and development talent available in the country.

Far-Reaching Consequences

This will have far-reaching consequences on our independent programme of a nuclear power sector and research and development.

The 1963 agreement had provided for the uninterrupted supply of low enriched uranium as and when required by India, for the running of the Tarapur power plant for a period of thirty years.

In article VI of the agreement, India made its position clear that it was accepting external safeguards and controls in Tarapur by the USA (to ensure that the material produced out of the US supplied fuel was not used for making atomic weapons), *purely in consideration of the fact that the fuel will be supplied—and supplied exclusively—by the United States.* (Emphasis added)

The agreement also provided for the reprocessing of the spent fuel. Article II-E specifies that "when any special material used in

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 12, 1982.

the Tarapur energy station requires reprocessing, such reprocessing may be performed in Indian facilities upon a joint determination by the parties that article VI of this agreement may be effectively applied or in such other facilities as may be mutually agreed". The joint determination is limited to the safeguardability of the facilities with regard to the fall-out of radio-activity from Indian or any other agreed facilities while in use.

India's right under the agreement to reprocess the spent fuel was unambiguously recognised by the US Administration in an analysis prepared by *the US Congressional Research Service for the Sub-Committee on Arms Control, Ocean, International Operations Environment of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee as late as in January 1982, and other official documents of the US.*

This agreement was entered into despite the Non-Proliferation Treaty to which India had rightly refused to subscribe as being highly discriminatory and putting obstacles to the efforts by the developing nations for their own nuclear power programmes.

USA Applies Pressure

The agreement worked without any hitch till 1976. But from 1977, the Carter Administration began putting pressure on India to accept the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

For this purpose, the USA went on delaying supplies. The delays went on increasing. Meanwhile, the U.S. Congress passed the Non-Proliferation Act. Using that Act as a pretext the USA went even to the length of denying supplies on many an application by the Government of India.

By 1966, however, India had developed its own indigenous reprocessing facilities by the indefatigable efforts of our research personnel at the atomic research centres. After furnishing detailed information of the designs of the facilities so developed, India requested the USA to undertake the joint-determination exercise. The United States informed India through a letter in September 1967 of Mr. Myran E. Kratzer, Assistant General Manager for International Activities in the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, to N. Srinivasan of the Fuel Reprocessing Centre of the Bhabha

Atomic Research Centre (BARC), that "the information submitted (by India) to the AEC's office on safeguards and materials management with your letter of June 1967, *indicates that the designs of India's reprocessing facilities permit effective application of the safeguards arrangements provided for in article VI of the U.S.-India Agreement for cooperation in the civil uses of atomic energy.*"

He also stated that officials of the U.S. Energy Research Administration "would be visiting India shortly to review the physical security arrangements at the Tarapur atomic power station, including security plans for the reprocessing and the associated storage facilities."

Going Back on Commitment

Despite repeated requests, the U.S. went back on its commitment and it has refused to undertake this joint-determination exercise to date. It took shelter under the plea that the 1963 agreement "does not specify any time-frame for undertaking this joint-determination exercise."

As supplies from the USA became doubtful, the Government of India notified the U.S. in an aide-memoire dated January 14, 1981, that "if the United States Government is not in a position to perform its obligations and if no positive assurances in this regard are received before the end of February 1981, the Government of India would be constrained to make alternative arrangements for the efficient and continued operation of the Tarapur utility."

Then started three rounds of talks between the Indian team consisting of Eric Gonsalves, Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs, and H.S. Sethna, Secretary of the Ministry of Atomic Energy, and the U.S. team headed by Malone in February, June and November 1981 in Washington and Delhi alternately.

When, after the second round of talks, it became clear that the agreement could not survive P.V. Narasimha Rao, Minister of External Affairs, announced in Parliament that "what remained to be done is to arrange for a decent burial of the agreement", and added that, "even if there has to be a burial it has to be decent. We chant 'Mantras' even in a funeral procession."

During the three rounds of talks the U.S. delegation insisted "that new sources of supply should simply be accepted by India." The Government of India firmly rejected this suggestion. It stated, "under article VI of the 1963 agreement, it is clearly mentioned that India accepts safeguards only because it is limiting its resources of fuel to U.S. supplies of enriched uranium. The safeguards are the result of the supplies of U.S. fuel. *The question of a new source of fuel for Tarapur does not arise at the moment, as we intend to run the plant with Mixed Oxide Fuel (MOX) using plutonium obtained from reprocessing the spent fuel.*" (Emphasis added)

Alternative Fuel

It also stated that India had taken pre-emptive action precisely to avoid dangers of this kind and developed its own alternative fuel (MOX) and asserted: "Safeguards resulted *solely or exclusively from the supply of the U.S. fuel in the absence of which the entire agreement would be void.*" (Emphasis added)

At one point Sethna bluntly and categorically stated that: IAEA safeguards will not be acceptable to us. If there is no supply there can be no safeguards. *In our view, no Government can accept such a condition.*" (Emphasis added)

The Indian team after pinpointing the restraint exercised by India, "precisely for the benefit of our relations with the US," asserted: "But there is a limit to which we can go on being accommodating. Apart from pressing technical reasons, we are also answerable to our public opinion. *We have a right to abrogate the agreement on grounds of material breach.*" (Emphasis added)

The Indian delegation also informed the US team of the "unanimity in the Parliamentary Consultative Committee on the point that we would not accept continuing obligations after the termination of the 1963 agreement. If India were to go in for a new source of supply, safeguards could have been considered. *This is ruled out since the supplies are to be indigenous.*" (Emphasis added)

The Indian team quoted in support of its position article 27 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, which clearly and categorically stated that "no Government could refuse to perform

its treaty obligations because of its internal laws." The U.S. team repeatedly urged India to accept supplies from a European country (France or Britain). These proposals were firmly rejected by the Indian team till the end, obviously under instructions from the Government of India. This was completely in accordance with the policies pursued for twenty years, except for a slip by Morarji Desai in 1978 when he visited the USA. However, he managed to quickly retreat and salvaged the position when Carter visited India by declaring that safeguards and international inspection should be applied equally and without discrimination to all countries including those that produce nuclear weapons.

USA's Blackmail

During these negotiations in 1981, Malone of the U.S. team announced that "it (if India decided to terminate the agreement) could have considerable adverse effects on bilateral relations. There is no doubt that the reactions in the Congress would be sharp. It might legislate against India. It might be better if India could give more consideration to this before coming to a final conclusion."

All this had no effect on the Indian team, which stuck to its position. Finally, Malone drew India's attention "to the risks such an action and time-frame might face from the U.S. Congress." He pointed out that *"the current legislation governing the U.S. Export-Import Bank specifies that if a country that has accepted the safeguards materially violates, abrogates or terminates any guarantees or other undertaking to the United States made in an agreement for civilian nuclear cooperation, EXIM Bank credits to it shall cease. The question would also arise of what might happen on the front of economic assistance or in the multinational institutions."* (Emphasis Added)

This veiled threat was also reflected in a diplomatic note received from the USA by India in January 1982.

In the next meeting of the Parliamentary Consultative Committee, instead of the decent burial of the agreement that the External Affairs Minister had promised, Srimati Gandhi announced that "first, the decision on the 1963 agreement would have to ensure the continued operation of the power station.

Secondly, it would have to be taken within the context of national interest and *overall bilateral relations with the U.S.*" (Emphasis Added)

With a critical economic situation and inflation raging in the country, compounded by lack of resources for the modest Five-Year Plan, and the yawning gap in balance of payments, India, obviously, shuddered at the prospect of aid from U.S. and international financial institutions drying up. Moreover, India was then negotiating a massive loan of Rs. 5500 crore with the IMF, in whose decisions the United States plays a decisive role.

Mrs. Gandhi's Climb-Down

The result was that Srimati Indira Gandhi knuckled down under these threats, climbed-down from, and compromised, the unanimous national position firmly held for 20 years.

All the declarations against accepting supplies from a third country, and the firm affirmation that the Government of India was answerable to public opinion, which was reflected by the unanimous view of the consultative committee of Parliament that we should go in for the indigenously developed technology, was given up. The Prime Minister accepted the proposal that the U.S. had been pressing, for substituting France as the supplier of the fuel within the framework of the 1963 agreement.

All the subsequent statements of India's right to reprocess the spent fuel is just an attempt to cover up this climb-down. The 1963 Agreement provides for reprocessing in two circumstances. First, when a joint determination of safeguardability has been made. But the loophole is that no time-frame has been provided for commencing and completing this exercise. As stated before, the U.S. utilised precisely this loophole.

Secondly, India can reprocess the spent fuel only if the agreement is breached during its pendency, i e. till 1993, by non-supply of fuel by France.

But even this may not be possible because the French are now insisting on full-scale safeguards as prescribed by the International Atomic Energy Agency, and the latest safeguard guidelines of the 'London Club' of suppliers of which France is a member. This

means the 'perpetuity' and 'pursuit' clauses must be accepted. The implications are that the safeguards and external supervision will not cease at the end of the 30 years' timebound 1963 Agreement, but will continue in perpetuity at Tarapur.

Thirdly, the safeguards will apply not only to the Tarapur power station but to any establishment in which any material obtained by reprocessing the spent fuel at Tarapur may be used.

Vast External Control

Without using the plutonium obtained from the spent fuel at Tarapur, the fast breeder reactor at Kalpakkam, developed and fabricated indigenously, cannot be run, until and unless India develops an alternative fuel based on thorium.

Even if India agrees to safeguards at Kalpakkam, the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre at Trombay, the pride and prime centre of India's nuclear research, will come under French safeguards and supervision. This is so because the reprocessing facilities of the spent fuel are located there.

Fourthly, the United States, which has ceased to be a supplier, will also have a finger in the pie.

Thus our entire research and development activities will be subject to external control and interference.

The Government of India had been sufficiently forewarned of these dangers by top scientists of our nuclear establishments including our foremost and world renowned scientist, Raja Ramanna. Apart from this, our experience with France has been very excruciating. Earlier, they had offered to supply fuel for running the Kalpakkam fast breeder reactor till we develop our own fuel. Negotiations had advanced to the crucial point of clinching a firm agreement when the French went back and broke off the negotiations. After all imperialists are of the same hue everywhere.

And yet, economic compulsions of the Indian Government's own making, by its heavy dependence on aid from the 'Aid India' Club and the United States in particular, have landed the Government in this mess.

Greatest Loss

The greatest loss for the country is not only the Rs. 40 crore spent in developing our own alternative fuel through the devoted, determined, patriotic and self-sacrificing efforts of our talented scientists, technologists and design engineers in the various nuclear research establishments throughout the country, but also their morale. They have been badly let down. It is significant that in the later negotiations that took place in the first half of this year, our atomic scientists and engineers were kept out.

The most damaging aspect of this *volte face* by the Government of India is the debilitating effect on our research and development personnel not only in the nuclear research establishments but such personnel in all other fields who are bound to feel frustrated that their research and development efforts will not be put to use in the country and will be a sheer waste. This loss is inestimable.

Above all, our entire self-reliance programme in nuclear power development has been seriously damaged.

Acceptance of this demand of France would be tantamount to accepting the Non-Proliferation Treaty and surrendering our sovereignty in nuclear development.

All these facts, including the minutes of the 1981 rounds of negotiations are available to Congressional members of the U.S. and some are found in Congressional reports. They are also referred to openly in the mass media of the USA. But in India these are kept a closely guarded secret and the Executive has usurped dictatorial powers to do what it likes with the fate of the country's economy without any effective check by Parliament.

Abrogate the Agreement

The C.C. demands the abrogation of the agreement with the USA substituting France as the supplier, running the Tarapur power station with our own indigenous Mixed Oxide (MOX) fuel thus ensuring our national programme of development of nuclear energy.

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The C.C. urges all parties to demand the abrogation of the 1963 India-U.S. agreement forwith and to start running the Tarapur plant with our own fuel. It urges them all to ensure that they will mobilise the patriotic support of our entire people to withstand economic blackmail and be prepared to undergo any sacrifice to ensure our economic sovereignty and efforts at self-reliance.

On Policemen's Agitation*

**Resolution Adopted By The Central Committee of
CPI(M) in Its Meeting Held in New Delhi
On August 27-30, 1982**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its support to the legitimate demands of the policemen.

The C.C. strongly condemns the severe repression resorted to by the State Government of Maharashtra to suppress the policemen's agitation. Bombay City was handed over to the army, CRP and the BSF. People were fired upon, killing at least four persons, they were wantonly beaten up in the streets and in their homes. A large number of policemen have been dismissed or suspended, the leaders of their organisations have been arrested and detained.

In Haryana, too, the State Government has resorted to large-scale dismissals of policemen after they wore black badges on Independence Day and held demonstrations.

That the demands of the policemen are just is clear from the fact that the Maharashtra Government decided to set up a committee to go into the grievances of policemen, and that the Haryana Government has conceded their demands. That the two Governments took these steps only after the policemen began their agitations makes it clear that all other avenues to get their grievances redressed had been blocked by the authorities.

The C.C. notes that this is not the first time that policemen have been forced to go into agitations. They have long-standing grievances. In addition, the discontent of the people generated by the economic hardships they are facing is also affecting the police and other armed forces of the State. Instead of attending to the

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 12, 1982.

policemen's grievances as recommended by the Police Commission, the Commission's report itself has been buried fathoms deep.

The Maharashtra and Haryana Governments may feel self-satisfied that they have been able to suppress the police agitation in their States. The C.C. would like to warn them that the large-scale dismissals of policemen, detention of the leaders of their organisation, the de-recognition of their associations and other repressive measures will only add to the resentment of the police forces paving the way for bigger outbursts in the future.

The C.C. congratulates the people of Bombay, especially the working class and the striking textile workers, for giving all support to the policemen and their families, and the political parties—the CPI(M), CPI, Janata party and the PWP—and the CITU and other trade unions and mass organisations for organising a successful 24-hour bandh in Bombay in solidarity with the policemen and against the severe repression.

The C.C. hopes that all democratic-minded people, parties and organisations will continue to make efforts unitedly to make the Government see reason, end all repression and concede the just demands of the policemen.

Resolution On Drought And Floods*

**Adopted By The Central Committee of CPI(M)
in Its Meeting Held in New Delhi
On August 27-30, 1982**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its grave concern at the serious drought as a result of inadequate rainfall in several parts of the country.

In West Bengal, due to the drought 30 lakh acres of land in 13 out of 16 districts will remain without cultivation. Due to inadequate precipitation in the catchment areas of the DVC, Mayurakshi and Kansabati dams, the supply of canal water would be extremely inadequate. If food is not rushed immediately from outside, there is a danger of starvation looming large in certain acutely affected areas.

In Bihar, in most of the districts the drought is extremely severe. In the Legislative Assembly, reports of starvation deaths were raised even by MLAs from the ruling party. Epidemics have broken out due to malnutrition in some districts but the local administration is totally callous to the problem.

In Orissa, after last year's drought, this year's cyclone and tidal wave in early June followed by drought till August, there has been large-scale loss of human lives, property and agricultural production. Price of rice has shot up to Rs. four a kg., agricultural workers have no work and there is widespread starvation. Instead of the Congress(I) Government giving adequate relief, workers of opposition parties and mass organisations engaged in relief work are lathi-charged and in one place fired upon also.

Madhya Pradesh, Eastern and Central U.P., Rajasthan, Maharashtra and the Telangana and Rayalaseema areas of Andhra Pradesh have also been severely hit by the drought. In

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Tamil Nadu, in Tanjore district, which is said to be the granary of the State, only 1.5 lakh acres out of 4.5 lakh acres have been brought under cultivation because of inadequate monsoon rains. Other districts have also been affected and generally drought conditions prevail in most parts of the State.

Since the major part of the drought-affected areas is rice cultivating, this situation would add to the scarcity of rice in the country. Already in West Bengal, the price of rice has increased to Rs. 3.50 or Rs. 4.00 per kg. and it continues to rise further. It will also affect other kharif crops and there is a danger of rise in prices of all foodgrains.

Moreover, agricultural workers who have no work have virtually become destitute. The drastic curtailment of funds and allotment of foodgrains by the Government of India to the National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) at the dictates of the IMF has made matters worse for these workers.

While the country has been reeling under drought conditions, the occurrence of floods in some parts of U.P., Bihar, Orissa, Tripura and Assam has created a serious situation in the Northern and Eastern regions. In U.P., according to official estimates, 92 people have died in the floods while several thousands have become destitute. The relief measures of the Government are totally inadequate. This has added to the miseries of the affected people. The conditions of the agricultural workers after some days will be extremely critical since they will cease to get any work.

It is, therefore, necessary that the Government of India should immediately take up the programme of rabi cultivation in consultation with the concerned State Governments with a view to compensating the loss of the kharif crop. Without such a programme it would not be possible to reduce the food scarcity and provide jobs to agricultural workers and poor peasants.

The Central Committee, therefore, draws the attention of the Government of India to the serious drought and flood situation in the country and demands that the following measures be taken immediately to save the situation:

1. Immediate supply of adequate quantity of foodgrains to the affected States so that regular supply of rations can be ensured.

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2. Immediate sanctioning of adequate funds to the affected States to provide jobs to agricultural workers and poor peasants through the NREP Scheme.

3. Immediate sanction of adequate funds to the State Governments so that relief work can be carried on in flood, and drought-affected areas.

4. Suspension of collection of all Government dues and agricultural loans in the flood and drought-affected areas.

5. Strong and effective action against blackmarketeers and hoarders who are taking advantage of the situation to fleece the poor people.

6. Immediate launching of a long-term programme for massive irrigation and flood-control to avoid recurrence of such droughts and floods, so as to avoid the colossal loss of national wealth.

The Central Committee calls upon the working class, peasantry and other sections of the people to build up a powerful movement in the country so that the Government of India is forced to accept these demands without any delay.

P. B.'s Homage To Sheikh Abdullah*

Immediately on hearing the report of Sheikh Abdullah's passing away, the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) said in a statement on September 9, 1982:

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is deeply grieved at the passing away of Sheikh Abdullah. In him the country has lost an outstanding leader of the national movement.

He led the struggle of the people of Jammu and Kashmir against the autocratic regime of the Maharaja, he was a leading figure in the States' People's Movement, an integral part of India's freedom struggle.

Above all, he will be remembered for his dedication to secularism and his contribution to the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to the Indian Union.

The Polit Bureau sends its heartfelt condolences to the bereaved family of Sheikh Abdullah.

Comrade Harkishan Singh Surjeet, member of the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M), in a condolence message to Dr. Farooq Abdullah, expressed his "deep sorrow at the passing away of Sheikh Saheb".

Sheikh Abdullah entered the political scene nearly five decades ago challenging the autocratic princely rule in the State of Jammu and Kashmir and soon became a leader of the State's People's movement for responsible Government in the princely States. It was his secular leadership that transformed the Muslim Conference into the National Conference of Jammu and Kashmir and later facilitated the smooth accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India.

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The National Conference which then contained all the Left and progressive forces in the State formulated the Naya Kashmir programme under which landlordism was abolished without compensation in the State—something which the Congress rulers have refused to do in the rest of the country.

Whether in Chief Ministership or under detention, Sheikh Abdullah was a factor which could not be ignored as far as the State of Jammu and Kashmir was concerned.

Protest Against Centre's Action in Tripura*

**Statement dated September 21, 1982 Issued By The Polit
Bureau of CPI(M) in New Delhi**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly protests against the decision of the Central Government to declare certain parts of Tripura as disturbed areas.

The Chief Minister of the State had more than once been asked by Central authorities to give his concurrence to such a step. He however objected to it saying that this extraordinary step would put serious obstacles to the political mobilisation of the people against the forces of destabilisation. Tripura is the only State in the North-Eastern region where separatist and divisive forces have been kept in check, mainly because of the CPI(M)'s untiring work to maintain the unity of the tribal and non-tribal people.

The Central Government which has now unilaterally declared certain areas of Tripura disturbed had earlier rejected the Tripura Government's request for a battalion of the CRP to assist the State Government in maintaining law and order. This makes it clear that the Central Government is interested in riding rough-shod over the State Government, rather than preserving law and order through the State Government.

The P.B. notes that the State unit of the Congress(I) and its allies have been using one pretext after another to bring Tripura under Central rule at least before the elections to the Legislature due to take place a few months hence. They have been giving active assistance to such forces of destabilisation as the TUJS, Amra Bangalee, etc., so that the cry of "break-down of law and order" might be justified. All these efforts have failed because of the energetic political-administrative measures adopted by the Left

Front Government and the unity of the Left parties. The Centre's declaration of some parts of the State as disturbed areas has been done despite the opposition of the State Government to it and it has come at a time when there have been no large-scale disturbances in the State. The CPI(M) had warned when the Disturbed Areas Act was passed that it would be used to curtail the powers of State Governments. This is what has been done in Tripura now against the Left Front Government of that State.

The P.B. notes with satisfaction that the three constituents of the Left Front and the CPI in the State have jointly protested against this decision of the Central Government. It hopes that all the democratic parties and organisations in Tripura as well as in the rest of the country will jointly put pressure on the Central Government to retrace its steps and help the State Government to preserve law and order and facilitate peaceful polling in December as proposed by the State Government.

CPI(M)'s Greeting To China*

On the happy occasion of the Thirtythird Anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its revolutionary greetings to the Communist Party of China and the people of the PRC.

The Chinese people, led by the Communist Party of China, added a glorious and inspiring chapter to the history of liberation struggles. The CPC, uniting all the patriotic forces of the country, led a prolonged armed struggle against the imperialist backed reactionary Kuomintang regime, facing immense trials and sacrifices. The CPC worked out masterly tactics in the war of resistance to Japanese aggression, and after the defeat of the Japanese militarists carried on the armed struggle against the Chiang Kai-shek regime till final victory.

The victory of the Great Chinese Revolution in October 1949, the greatest event after the Great October Russian Revolution and the victory over fascism in the Second World War, contributed a lot to undermining the positions of imperialism and changing the correlation of forces in the world in favour of the forces of peace, freedom, democracy and Socialism. A proletarian revolution has since then taken place on the door-step of the USA in Cuba, the complete liberation of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea has been achieved. It was the advance of the forces of Socialism, the growing strength of the Socialist countries in all spheres—economic, political, military—that gave a big fillip to the national liberation

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movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America leading to the collapse of the old colonial empires and the emergence of scores of newly independent countries.

People's China, a backward and poor country at the time of liberation, has registered tremendous advances since then despite the enmity of the imperialists to the new Republic and later unfriendly relations with the Soviet Union. The decade of the "cultural revolution", as is now admitted by the CPC leadership itself, was a big setback in all spheres for China. Enemies of Socialism were gleefully prophesying the collapse of the Socialist system in China. But the inherent strength of the Socialist system will always assert itself to correct mistakes and deviations. The serious and prolonged self-criticism undertaken by the CPC shows the strength of the Communist Party to frankly assess its errors and ruthlessly eliminate them. The distortions and mistakes of the "cultural revolution" period are being corrected and China is again on the road of steady advance. Production of steel in china in 1981 was 35.6 million tons, electricity 309, 300 million kwh, coal 620 million tons, crude oil 101.22 million tons, cement 84 million tons and chemical fertilisers 12.39 million tons. The output of foodgrains in the same year was 325.02 million tons. The Report of the recently held Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of China says, "we have put an end to years of social turbulence and brought about a political situation characterised by stability, unity and liveliness. Socialist democracy and the Socialist legal system are being gradually perfected, equality and unity among all our nationalities have been strengthened anew, and the Patriotic United Front has expanded further. Thanks to this political situation, the present period is one of the best since the founding our of People s Republic". The CC of the CPI(M) is happy at the successes scored by the Communist Party of China in the struggle to liquidate the serious mistakes and distortions of the recent past.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) hopes that the correction of the distortions and mistakes of the "cultural revolution" period in the internal sphere will also be extended to the foreign policy sphere which is still dominated by the theory of two super-Power equating the Socialist Soviet Union with the imperialist USA. This

is at a time when the US imperialists are feverishly preparing to unleash a nuclear war, when it is the task of all Socialist forces, along with the peace forces of the world, to defend peace.

The imperialists are active in all parts of the world to bring newly independent countries under their neocolonialist domination. The disunity in the world Communist movement, in the Socialist camp, especially between the two big Communist Parties and Socialist countries, the USSR and China, does give encouragement to imperialism to launch its offensives against freedom and democracy. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) has always raised its humble voice for the restoration of the unity of the world Communist movement and the unity of the CPSU and the CPC and the USSR and the PRC, to meet the growing menace of war and aggression posed by imperialism. We deem it our fraternal Communist duty to continue to raise our voice in this regard without any rancour towards any Communist Party or Socialist State. The CC of the CPI(M) is confident that Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism will reassert themselves, and the unity of the world Communist movement will be restored, strengthening immeasurably the worldwide struggle against imperialism. We look forward to the People's Republic of China taking its rightful place in this struggle and making its mighty contribution to its success.

We welcome the efforts that are being made by India and China to reforge friendly relations between the two countries. We are happy to note that the talks between the two sides are proceeding smoothly and with all success to them.

The CC of the CPI(M) once again extends its revolutionary greetings to the Communist Party of China and looks forward to its due contribution to the great cause of peace, national liberation and Socialism.

Polit Bureau Deplores Delhi Incidents*

**Statement Dated October 12, 1982
Issued in New Delhi**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) deplores the incidents which took place around the Parliament House which led to the police firing and death of four persons and widespread destruction of properties on October 11, 1982.

While it is the legitimate right of all political parties and mass organisations to demonstrate before Parliament in order to press their demands, care should be taken to ensure that disruptive elements do not take hold of the situation. This is all the more necessary in the present context of rising communal tension in Punjab.

The P. B. is of the opinion that neither should the authorities nor the Akali leadership stand on prestige. They should enter into immediate negotiation to ease the situation.

The P. B. appeals to the democratic and secular forces in Punjab to unite and overcome the challenge of the disruptive forces in Punjab.

CPI(M)'s Greetings To The Soviet Union*

On the Occasion of The 65th Anniversary of The Great October Revolution

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its warmest revolutionary greetings to the Communist Party and the people of the Soviet Union when they are celebrating the sixtyfifth Anniversary of the Great October Russian Revolution on November 7.

The anniversary this year comes at a time when the U.S. imperialists, in their drive towards re-establishing imperialist domination over the world and subjugating all peoples, are making feverish preparations to unleash a nuclear war which will spell the destruction of all mankind. The imperialist war plots are mainly directed against the Soviet Union, the first Socialist State in the world, whose birth, sixtyfive years ago, signalled the doom of the system of colonial domination of the imperialist system.

Spurning all the Soviet initiatives and proposals to safeguard peace in the world and establish peaceful co-existence between countries belonging to different social systems, the U.S. imperialists are manufacturing and stockpiling weapons which are hundreds of times more lethal than the atom bombs used against the people of Japan in 1945. Monstrous weapons like the neutron warheads which destroy only human life but leave all property unscathed have been invented and are being produced on a mass scale. Cities and towns, countries and continents, can be razed to the ground in a matter of minutes with these inhuman weapons. Missiles of tremendous destructive capacity like the Pershing and Cruise are being sited in the western part of Europe to directly hit Soviet territory from West German soil.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, November 7, 1982.

The imperialists are preparing the war against the first Socialist State which they had wanted to destroy right from the days of its birth. Crisis-ridden imperialism needs war while for Socialism peace is an essential condition for its steady all-round advance. This is again being confirmed by the present world situation.

The aim of the imperialists is to destroy the Socialist Soviet Union, destroy all the gains of the world working class movement. The aim of the U.S. imperialists is to restore the old colonial system with U.S. domination all over the world. It was the magnificent contribution of the Soviet Union that was responsible for the defeat of fascism in the Second World War and a radical change in the correlation of forces in the world which sounded the death knell of the old colonial order. Our own country, India, and a number of other countries in Asia and Africa won their independence helped by this changed world balance of forces. Today, the old colonial system has virtually been liquidated.

The U.S. imperialists want to resurrect it with themselves as the supreme power. They are already pursuing this aim in various parts of the globe. The Israeli aggression in West Asia is part of this U.S. imperialist game. So also the U.S. interventionist activities in Chile, El Salvador, etc., in Latin America.

The U.S. imperialists are no less active in the Indian sub-continent. The beefing up of the Diego Garcia base in the Indian Ocean, the arming of the Pakistani military regime and the encouragement given to it to develop nuclear weapons are all intended to intimidate and subjugate India. These measures are supplemented by encouragement and support to disruptive and separatist forces inside the country with the same purpose of weakening India and pressurising it into submission. The U.S. imperialists' war plots thus constitute a constant danger to India.

The people of India are not yet fully aware of the seriousness of this menace. And there are forces which are active to keep them in ignorance.

The Government of India sometimes speaks about the danger from outside to India. But this is purely formal. The ruling party does not rouse and rally the people to fight against this danger. In fact, its adherence to the theory of super-powers, equating, the

U.S. imperialist enemy with the Socialist friend, keeps the masses aloof from the anti-imperialist struggle. The bourgeois Opposition parties seem totally unconcerned with the serious international situation and the war danger. They are only concerned with their narrow partisan electoral interests and manoeuvres. They keep totally silent about the danger that is posed to India by U.S. imperialism. Both the ruling party and the bourgeois Opposition parties thus disarm the people before the U.S. imperialist machinations.

But the Indian people can neither be silent nor neutral on such a life-and-death issue as the nuclear war being plotted by the U. S. imperialists against the Socialist Soviet Union. The Indian people were inspired by the victory of the Great October Russian Revolution and that gave fillip to India's freedom struggle. Today the Soviet Union and Soviet aid, especially the Indo-Soviet treaty of friendship and cooperation, help India to withstand imperialist pressure, to defend its sovereignty and continue with its policy of non-alignment. In the struggle between imperialism and Socialism, in a situation when the U.S. imperialists are preparing for the destruction of the Soviet Union, the Indian people can never be non-partisan. Their sympathy and solidarity should be with the Soviet Union which upholds the cause of peace and Socialism.

The CPI(M) has always loyally adhered to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In today's world situation it considers it of the highest importance to discharge the proletarian internationalist task of fighting against the imperialist war conspiracies, laying them bare before the Indian people, and rallying them to the Soviet Union and all other peace-loving forces in the world.

It is with the fullest realisation of this task that the Central Committee once again extends its revolutionary greetings to the Communist Party and the people of the Soviet Union.

CPI(M) Condemns Detention of Ghaffar Khan*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) denounces the arrest and detention of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan by the Pakistani military regime of Zia-ul-Haq. The Frontier Gandhi, as he has always been known, is the oldest living leader of India's freedom struggle against British imperialism. He was imprisoned for long periods by the alien British rulers, but after the birth of Pakistan, too, he has been incarcerated for more than half the time by the rulers of the new-born State.

His latest 'crime' is that he has been taking part in political activities, that he has been calling for the unity of the Pakhtoon people, that he is opposed to the military regime's connivance with the U.S. imperialist-sponsored conspiracy to subvert the people's Democratic regime in Afghanistan.

The military dictatorship of Zia-ul-Haq which has banned all political activities to suppress the demand for election and restoration of Parliamentary democracy, which is out to stifle the aspirations of the Pakistani people belonging to various nationalities, which is resorting to the most barbaric measures in the name of establishing an Islamic State, is meeting with the growing resistance of all strata of the people of Pakistan. A reactionary military dictatorship cannot naturally countenance the activities in defence of democracy of a personality of the stature of the Frontier Gandhi. That the military dictator ordered the detention of Ghaffar Khan on the eve of his first-ever visit to India is an affront India and Pakistan who had fought to end British rule in the sub-continent.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, November 7, 1982

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The Polit Bureau demands the immediate release of the Frontier Gandhi, it calls on the Government of India to make it known to Zia-ul-Haq in the most unequivocal terms that the people of this country severely condemn the arrest of the Frontier Gandhi and the ruthless suppression of democracy in Pakistan.

CPI(M) Polit Bureau's Homage* To Leonid Brezhnev

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) conveys its hearts felt condolences to the members of the Communist Party of Soviet Union and the people of the USSR on the heavy loss they have suffered in the passing away of Comrade Leonid Brezhnev.

It is a loss also for the peace-loving humanity who will remember with gratitude the untiring work turned out by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev in spite of his failing health to mobilise the people throughout the world against the aggressive moves made by the imperialists to plunge the world into a destructive nuclear war.

Polit Bureau Members B. T. Ranadive, Harkishan Singh Surjeet, P. Ramamurti and Samar Mukherjee went to the Soviet Embassy in New Delhi on November 12, 1982 and placed a wreath before Comrade Brezhnev's portrait and signed the condolence book.

Comrade Promode Dasgupta CPI(M) Polit Bureau's Homage*

With deep grief The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) announces the passing away, in Beijing on November 29, 1982 of Comrade Promode Dasgupta, member of the Polit Bureau of the Party, Secretary of the Party's West Bengal State Committee, Editor of the Bengali theoretical quarterly Marxvadi Path and Chairman of the Left Front of West Bengal. Comrade Promode was in Beijing for medical treatment for his chronic bronchial ailment.

When the P.B. pays its revolutionary homage to Comrade Promode Dasgupta, it recalls the immense contribution he made to the struggle against revisionism inside the united Communist Party of India and to building the CPI(M) as a revolutionary party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Comrade Promode played the leading role in guiding the Party in West Bengal in the most difficult days of the semi-fascist terror in 1972-76, in building the CPI(M) in West Bengal as the most powerful Party in the State and was one of the architects of the electoral victories of the Party in 1967 and 1969 and especially in 1977 and again in 1982.

Comrade Promode was born on July 7, 1910, in Faridpur district now in Bangladesh. While a student in the Brajmohan College in Barisal (now in Bangladesh) he joined the revolutionary group Anusheelan to fight against British imperialism. Those were the days when the revolutionary youth of Bengal believed that with their individual heroism they can defeat the imperialist rulers and win the country's freedom.

*Published in **PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY**, New Delhi, December 5, 1982.

After joining Anusheelan, Comrade Promode shifted his political activities to Calcutta. He was arrested in connection with the famous Machua Bazar Bomb Case in 1929 along with a number of others like Satish Pakrashi, Sudhansu Dasgupta and Satybrata Sen. Some of them were convicted and sentenced to imprisonment, while there was not enough evidence to convict Comrade Promode. But he was detained under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act. He was for eight years in various jails in Bengal and in the Deoli detention camp. He was released in 1937.

Comrade Promode earned his membership in the CPI on May 1, 1938, and began working among the dock labour in Calcutta. He worked as the Secretary of the Calcutta District Committee of the Party and was underground for some time during the period of the Second World War. Later, he was arrested and was released after the legalisation of the Party in 1942.

It was then that Comrade Promode organised the press of the Bengal Committee of the Party and the publication of its first Bengali weekly *Jan Yudh* and later *Swadhinata* daily. During the attack on the Party in 1948-51 immediately after India attained Independence, Comrade Promode worked underground for some time and was arrested and detained in jail for the rest of the period.

After he came out of jail in 1951, he took a leading part in reorganising the Party in West Bengal and resuming the Publication of *Swadhinata* daily.

Comrade Promode was elected Secretary of the West Bengal State Committee of the Party at the Burdwan State Conference prior to the Sixth Party Congress in Vijayawada in 1961. He remained in that post till his death. He was elected to the National Council of the CPI at the Fifth Amritsar Congress of the Party in 1958 and to its Central Executive Committee in 1961.

The inner-Party struggle against revisionism which had begun on the eve of the Fourth Congress of the Party reached a climax at the Vijayawada Congress. Comrade Promode was one of the leading comrades who participated in this struggle against revisionism since the Sixth Congress. Later then Naxalite Left-adventurism came on the scene and the Naxalites began their annihilation campaign with the CPI(M) as their main enemy, the

Party in West Bengal under the leadership of Comrade Promode fought a bitter political battle to expose the Naxalite ideology and isolate and defeat the Left-adventurists and to defend the Programme of the Party and its organisation.

At the time of the India-China war in October 1962, a section of the leadership of the CPI was arrested and detained. Comrade Promode was one of them. From inside jail, Comrade Promode and other leading Comrades guided the party members in West Bengal in the struggle for Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. He was among the last to be released in West Bengal in 1964. He was in the leadership which organised the Tenali convention which gave the call for the Seventh Congress of the Party. Just a few days before the Seventh Congress, Comrade Promode and other West Bengal leaders of the Party were arrested and detained. After the Congress, the Party in the rest of the country was also attacked by the Congress rulers and most of the Central, State and District leaders were detained. From inside jail, Comrade Promode and others again gave guidance to consolidate the achievements of the Seventh Congress and strengthen the Party. He was elected to the Polit Bureau at the Seventh Congress, a post which he held till his death.

The Left and democratic movement, the CPI(M) especially, has suffered a grievous loss in the passing away of Comrade Promode, a dedicated Communist who lived the life of a revolutionary facing all difficulties, sufferings and sacrifices for more than five decades. He led the Party in West Bengal through various vicissitudes, defending it in periods of direct attack as during the years of the semi-fascist terror, while at the same time utilising all the legal opportunities that were available. He played a major role in forging and strengthening the Left Front in West Bengal.

The P. B. calls on the entire Party to remember and cherish the invaluable contribution made by Comrade Promode to the building up of the CPI(M), and to imbibe the spirit of his dedicated revolutionary life.

The Polit Bureau dips the Party's Red Banner in homage to Comrade Promode Dasgupta and extends its heartfelt cond. to Comrade Promode's bereaved sisters and brothers.

Message From China On The Demise of Comrade Promode Dasgupta*

Message from the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China said:

On November 29, 1982 the condition of Comrade Promode Dasgupta deteriorated. Our hospital made all the necessary arrangements, but they did not succeed. At 13.45 hours (Peking time—11-15 a.m. Indian standard time) Comrade Dasgupta passed away.

At the time he passed away, Comrade Zhang Hsiang San, a former Vice Minister and now State Counsellor, in charge of the International Department of the C.C. of the CPC, Comrade M. Basavapunniah member of the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M), and Comrade Buddhadev Bhattacharyya, member of the West Bengal State Secretariat of the CPI(M), were at his bed-side.

During the period when Comrade Dasgupta was undergoing medical treatment in the hospital, Comrade Zhang Hsiang San and Comrade Chao Shen, member of the Secretariat, had been visiting him.

The message further said:

Comrade Promode Dasgupta was an important leader of the CPI(M) and had dedicated his whole life to the cause of Communism in India. His death is a great loss to the CPI(M) and the Communist movement in India.

We express our deep condolences on the passing away of Comrade Dasgupta, a comrade dedicated to the cause of Communism and a friend of the Chinese people.

We request the C.C. of the CPI(M) to convey our sympathies to the family of Comrade Promode Dasgupta.

Condolence Function in Beijing On The Demise of Comrade Promode Dasgupta*

In the evening of December 4, 1982 Comrade Promode's body, draped in the Party flag, was kept in a hall for the Chinese comrades to pay homage. Senior Chinese leaders along with the small Indian community came to pay their last homage.

Among those who came were Qiao Shi, Alternate Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and head of the International Liaison Department of the C.C. of the CPC, Zhang Xiangshan, Adviser of the International Liaison Department. Jiang Guangha, Deputy Head of the International Liaison Department. He Xiquan, Bureau Director of the ILD, Li Chuxin, Deputy Bureau Director in charge of Reception.

Floral tributes were paid by the doctors and other staff who had struggled hard, and to the end, to cure and then save Comrade Promode. They included Lin Juncai, Superintendent of the Beijing Hospital Wu Weiran, Deputy Superintendent of the Beijing Hospital, Zhang Huifen and Quian Yijian, Chief Physicians of the Department of Internal Medicine.

Wreaths were placed by Ahilya Rangnekar, member of the Central Committee, CPI(M), and Somnath Chatterjee, M.P. who were in Beijing as part of the Indian delegation to the commemoration of 45th death anniversary of Dr. Kotnis, member of the medical team sent by the Indian National Congress during China's liberation struggle, Arun Patwardhan, Minister in the Indian Embassy in Beijing, on behalf of the Ambassador, Mr. A. P. Venkateshwaran, and Indian Embassy staff members, Indian experts working for various Chinese organisations, the representative of the PTI and on behalf of five Indian students studying Chinese at the Beijing language Institute.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, December 12, 1982

Polit Bureau Statement On Kerala*

Statement Dated January 4, 1983 Issued in New Delhi

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) supports the demand made by the Opposition in Kerala for a public enquiry into the tragic incidents at Alleppey on December 28 and in Trivandrum on December 30. Investigation by the Crime Branch of the Kerala Police as ordered by the Government would be totally ineffective in the circumstances in which the incidents took place.

The ruling coalition in Kerala, as is well-known, consists of several caste and communal parties each with conflicting positions on several questions including reservation for backward communities. Their presence in the coalition Ministry is utilised on the one hand by the RSS and other Hindu communalists and on the other the Jamat-e-Islami and other Islamic fundamentalists to extend their activities.

It was against this background that the year's Prophet Day was observed throughout the State. While the observance was generally peaceful in the State, it led to clashes between the processionists and the police in Alleppey where one person was killed in police firing.

Protest demonstrations against the Alleppey firing, in which democratic elements from all parties joined, were sought to be utilised for provocations by the RSS and Islamic fundamentalists. They were, however, foiled in their game by the secular democratic elements in all other parts of the State. It was only in Trivandrum that they succeeded in organising dozens of arson and other anti-social acts.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, January 9, 1983

Although the orgy was going on right under the nose of the Chief Minister and his colleagues, the police allowed the miscreants to work havoc for several hours. That this was not an aberration of the officials of the department but was under the orders of the Government has been admitted by the Chief Minister himself. The people are entitled to know as to why the Government chose this course.

This naturally is a question beyond the competence of a police investigation, however high-placed the investigating officer may be. No less than a public enquiry by a commission in whose impartiality all sections of the people have confidence will serve the purpose.

The opposition Left-Democratic Front has made this demand which cannot be rejected by the Government if it does not fear an enquiry which brings out the truth of the shady deals between the Ministers concerned and communalists of the Hindu and Muslim variety. The P.B. hopes that democratic public opinion in Kerala and outside will make the demand irresistible.

The P.B. appeals to the members and friends of the CPI(M) and of other Left and democratic parties in Kerala, as well as democratic and secular elements in the ruling parties to see the danger involved in the encouragement given by the coalition to Hindu and Muslim communalists. The recent incidents in the State like some earlier incidents like the Tellicherry riots a decade ago would tarnish the image of the State which has been free from communal conflicts and riots.

Polit Bureau On Assam Election*

**Statement Dated January 17, 1983 Issued
in New Delhi**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) notes that the efforts made by the ruling party to amend the Constitution with a view to imposing President's rule for a third successive term in Assam have been defeated and the time-table for holding the election in that State has been announced.

The Polit Bureau is conscious of the unsatisfactory conditions in which the Assam elections are being held. Being conducted with the 1979 voters' list, the election will deprive tens of thousands of men and women who have come of age during this three-year period, of their constitutional right to cast their votes. Holding elections under these unsatisfactory conditions, however, is the only alternative to the amendment of the Constitution for the prolongation of President's rule which will surely set a precedent for the denial of democracy wherever the ruling party wants it.

The Polit Bureau is of the opinion that the responsibility for this situation in which a choice has to be made between the anti-democratic amendment of the Constitution and the holding of elections with an unsatisfactory voters' list should primarily rest with the ruling Congress party, but it should be shared by the short-lived Janata Government as well as the chauvinist and separatist forces, each of whom in its respective way has used the Assam situation for its own partisan end.

The Congress party which had an unbroken rule at the Centre and in the States for the first two decades of Independence made opportunistic compromises with all sorts of divisive and

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separatist forces in order to perpetuate its rule. Today, too, the Congress(I) is having open alliances with the separatist TUIJS in Tripura and with over half a dozen caste and communal organisations in Kerala; the Congress(I)-Shiv Sena alliance continued for a long time in Bombay, until it was discontinued by the Shiv Sena.

In creating the present situation in Assam itself the Congress(I) has played a by-no-means insignificant role. It failed to redress the genuine grievances of the people arising out of the backwardness of the State. The shameless manner in which that party which secured only eight seats out of 126 in the 1978 elections became a party of 53 through defections and then formed two minority Ministries exposed the democratic pretensions of that party. The proposal made before the Opposition parties concerning the amendment of the Constitution to extend President's rules was the disgraceful end of this opportunist policy.

The Janata, BJP and Lok Dal which have today given the call for boycott of the forthcoming election, however cannot absolve themselves of the responsibility for having created this situation. It was, in fact, under the Janata Government headed by Chief Minister Borbora that the agitation against the so-called foreigners was initiated; the successor Government headed by Hazarika actively assisted the "anti foreigner" agitation. Both Borbora and Hazarika sought the support of the agitators for their Government. The present BJP, Janata Party and Lok Dal which were the constituents of the former Janata whose Chief Ministers were in office in 1978-79, also were and are in support of the agitation and have now openly come out with the slogan of boycotting the election along with the All Assam Students' Union and the All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad.

The CPI(M), along with several other Left and democratic parties, stood firmly against this separatist agitation. It saw in the "anti-foreigner" campaign a movement directed against the linguistic, ethnic and religious minorities in Assam. The so-called "foreigners" are in fact either Indian citizens from other States of India who have gone and settled in Assam as in other States of

India, or refugees who have come to Assam as to other States from the territories of former Pakistan. The problem of refugees—either from East or West Pakistan—is common to several States and territories of Eastern and Western India. The "anti-foreigner" movement in Assam is thus directed against lakhs of Indian citizens who are mostly the unfortunate victims of the once united India into the present-day Indian Union, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The very approach of the "anti-foreigner" movement is thus violative of the political and moral basis on which the present-day Indian Union rests.

The CPI(M), along with its Left and democratic allies also sees in the "anti-foreigner" movement in Assam, as in similar movements in the other States and territories in India, a force of destabilisation in whose creation and working American imperialism plays an important role.

The CPI(M), along with other Opposition parties, cooperated with the Central Government in trying to find a solution to the intractable problem of Assam. Participating in the successive meetings of the Opposition parties which, together with the representatives of the Government and the Assam agitators, tried to find a solution to the problem, the CPI(M) had insisted that no solution would be lasting or helpful unless it took into consideration the interest of the ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities in the composite State of Assam.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) warns all the parties who have given the slogan of election boycott that they are really putting their full weight behind the separatist agitation in Assam. It is evident that this is an integral part of the insurgency in different States in the North-East, aimed at detaching these States from the Indian Union. It is equally known to all the informed and politically literate persons that U.S. imperialism lends its support to all these separatist movements in the country in its diabolical aim of dismembering our country. Any party which ignores this really objectively plays into the hands of imperialist machinations against the nation, no matter what plea is put forth in support of separatist agitations such as the present Assamese movement against the so-called "foreigners".

We appeal to these parties and their leaders to revise their disastrous decision of boycotting the ensuing elections in Assam, and join all Left and democratic forces in Assam to fight against the Congress(I) machinations and ensures free and fair elections in Assam and also to fight the growing menace of separatism and national disintegration.

The CPI(M) along with other Left and democratic allies in Assam, is participating in the ensuing elections with a view to defeating the ruling Congress(I) and foiling the game of the separatist forces in Assam and mobilising all the healthy forces living in the present State of Assam and for the unity and integrity of the Indian Union, and against all the secessionist forces in Assam.

The CPI(M) demands that the Congress(I) Government at the Centre should ensure free and fair elections, providing protection against the violence of the separatist agitators. It also demands the reversal of its policy of utilising the State machinery for advancing its selfish interests and discriminating against the Left and democratic forces which alone have been conducting the genuine struggle for National integration.

The CPI(M) appeals to all the progressive and democratic-minded forces in Assam to join hands with the rest of the country's Left and democratic forces which alone can ensure justice to all the legitimate demands of all the Assamese, and to redress their genuine grievances. It calls upon the Janata Party, BJP and Lok Dal to desist from their declared path of boycott of elections in Assam, a path which only gladdens the hearts of our national enemies and saddens all the democratic and patriotic forces in the country.

Polit Bureau Statement On Korean Situation*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) views with concern the escalating war danger in the Korean peninsula with the U. S. imperialists finalising their plans to knock together a U. S.-Japan-South Korea triangular military alliance directed against not only the Democratic People's Republic of Korea but against the entire peoples of Asia.

The U. S. imperialists have been frantically preparing for another war in Korea and have shipped into South Korea, nuclear and other mass destruction weapons in large quantities. Military provocations are daily being mounted against the DPRK as part of these war preparations.

The move to finalise the U. S.-Japan-South Korea triangular military alliance is part of the bellicose U. S. policy in Korea and the Asian strategy of the U. S. imperialists in which Japan has been given a prime role. The U. S. imperialists are further strengthening their aggressive alliance with Japan, stepping up Japan's militarisation and rearming and drawing it into the execution of their war policies in Korea and Asia, directed to preventing the reunification of Korea.

The Japanese imperialists and the South Korean fascist puppets, under the instructions of the U. S. imperialists, have already tightened their military tie-up through the unification of the standards of arms and communication network system, exchange of military information and personnel, etc. The U. S. imperialists are now hatching a plot to reorganise the "combined command" of their troops in South Korea and the puppet army into a "combined

command" of the U. S. troops, Japan's "self-defence forces" and the puppet army of South Korea.

The move to form such a triangular military alliance poses a grave threat to peace and security not only in Korea but the whole of Asia. If the U. S. imperialists ignite a new war in Korea, it will not be a local war as in 1950, but may spread easily into a new global war.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M), taking note of this dangerous situation that is developing in the Korean Peninsula, demands that the U. S. imperialists put an end to their military interference in Korea, accede to the DPRK's proposal to replace the agreement of 1952 with a peace agreement, withdraw their troops from South Korea and the rest of Asia and refrain from endangering the peace in Korea and Asia.

The Polit Bureau reiterates its support to the DPRK's proposals for the peaceful reunification of Korea without any outside interference as it is the only step to wipe out another flashpoint of war in Asia.

Communique On Central Committee Meeting*

Held in Calcutta On January 25-28, 1983

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) greets the people of Tripura, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka who inflicted a crushing defeat on the ruling Congress (I) in the three States where Assembly elections were held on January 5, 1983.

These elections came three years after the re-emergence of the Congress(I) as the ruling party at the Centre and in most of the States. They followed the May 1982 elections in which the Left Front in West Bengal was once again voted into office by a massive majority, while the Congress(I) was defeated in Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. They show unmistakably that the people in the country who reposed confidence in the Congress(I) in the 1980 elections, are getting disillusioned.

This crushing defeat at the polls is bound to intensify the political crisis through which the ruling party has been going. The so-called 'dissidence' in the ruling party has started getting intensified. The image of Indira Gandhi as 'the greatest vote-catcher' for the ruling party having been shattered in the two States which have all along been under Congress rule since Independence, all those in the ruling party who are dissatisfied with the high-handed functioning of their supreme leader are bound to be emboldened, with no fear of the consequences of defying her dictates.

The C.C., however, desires to warn all the democratic forces in the country that, although electorally defeated, the ruling party is not going to give up its anti-people and authoritarian policies. New manoeuvres are bound to be resorted to in order to embellish its image before the people. These, however, can be defeated by the

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united will of the people if only the progressive forces, particularly the Left forces make serious efforts to unite all those who are interested in beating back the offensive launched by the ruling party, in preserving and defending democratic institutions and in bringing about democratic measures in the socio-economic and political fields.

This, however, requires that the Left forces should exercise vigilance against and foil the attempts of certain reactionary forces to divert the growing discontent of the people along lines which are disruptive of the unity of the nation. For, as the CPI(M) has warned again and again, these divisive forces are not operating in a vacuum but in concert with imperialist Powers who are out to Balkanise India. These efforts have, in fact, attained a measure of success in Assam, in the other States and territories of the N.E. region except Tripura, in Punjab, etc., where separatist forces have been threatening the unity of the country.

The C.C. records with pride that in all these regions CPI(M) cadres have been heroically fighting the separatist forces and trying to unite all the forces that are interested in preserving national unity. The C.C. cannot but note in this connection that, far from helping this struggle against disruption and destabilisation, the ruling party is playing an opportunist role with a view to advancing its own partisan cause against national interests. Some of the Opposition parties, the BJP above all, have also been giving all sorts of encouragement and assistance to the secessionist forces.

Assam

The C.C. heard reports from Assam where the openly pro-secessionist policies pursued by some of the Opposition parties and the opportunism showed by the ruling party have created an extremely serious situation. The process of election to the Assam Legislature which has remained virtually suspended for more than three years would have been avoided if the Left and democratic forces had not unitedly raised their voice against the proposal for indefinite continuance of President's rule made by the Central Government and supported by some Opposition parties as well as by the separatist agitators.

Having thus found that the issue is put for the people's verdict, the separatist agitators and their supporters in some Opposition parties, (BJP and Janata above all), have declared a boycott of elections and unleashed terror against those who participate in the election as well as against the voters who desire to exercise their franchise. The C.C. appeals to all the democratic forces in the country to condemn this anti-democratic stand of the agitators and their supporters in the Opposition political parties. The C.C. hopes that the people of Assam will courageously face the test and defeat the game of the agitators by returning the Six-Party Alliance of Left and democratic parties.

Tripura

The C.C. heard reports on the heroic battle waged by the CPI(M) and other Left forces in Tripura against the Congress(I) TUJS alliance supported by the Janata, the former CFD and other anti-Communist forces in the State. The coming together of all these forces for fighting the Left Front gave encouragement to those who want to disturb the peace in Tripura and destabilise the entire region. When their original aim of preventing the holding of the election was defeated, they tried to win an electoral victory by terrorising the voters. Defeated in this objective, too, they proceeded after the election to continue their provocative campaign of murder, arson, kidnapping. The Congress(I) in the State and at the Centre not only does not help in isolating these secessionist forces but are actually helping them in their disruptive game. The C.C. hopes that all the democratic forces in the entire country will join the CPI(M) in greeting the thousands of courageous fighters in Tripura who are facing this grim situation.

Punjab

The Central Committee heard with grave concern the reports of what has been happening in Punjab where, because of the opportunism of the ruling party and of some Opposition parties, the extremists in the Akali party have been enabled to set one section of the Punjabi people against another. All the reasonable proposals for the solution of disputed questions, made by the

CPI(M) and supported by a wide spectrum of public opinion, failed to evoke the necessary response from the ruling party. Had it not been for this unhelpful attitude of the ruling party, the Akali extremists and their Hindu opposite numbers could have been isolated, and peaceful relations between the various segments of the Punjabi people restored. The C.C. is happy to note that the intervention of the Opposition parties has helped in the bringing together of the Government and the Akali leaders and paved the way for finding a solution to various issues in dispute. The C.C. hopes that, at least at this stage, the Government will carry forward the consensus that emerged among the Opposition parties and the Akali leaders.

Seen in this all India context, the C.C. considered it significant that, while inflicting a crushing defeat on the ruling Congress(I) in the three States where elections were held, the people rejected the claim of the BJP that it along can develop into a national alternative to the Congress(I). In none of the three States was that party returned as a sizable force. Where the Left forces are organised and have become a viable alternative as in Tripura, the people voted the Left Front into office. In the other two States where there is no such Left alternative capable of immediately replacing the Congress(I), they voted the Telugu Desam and the Janata-Kranti Ranga alliance respectively. The CPI(M) thanks the voters of Tripura who once again reposed their confidence in the Left Front and hails the action of the people of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka in defeating the Congress(I).

Andhra Pradesh

The C.C. shares the concern of party members and friends throughout the country that, while as in the rest of the country, our Party and other Left and democratic forces in Andhra, too, were in the forefront in consistently fighting against the authoritarian Congress(I) rulers, the electoral fruits of this struggle were reaped in that State by a party which came into existence less than a year before the election. The Left parties and their allies could not be seen by the people as a viable alternative to the hated Congress(I) rule. It was in the Telugu Desam that the people

saw an alternative to the misrule of the Congress(I). We do note that its electoral estimates went wrong in Andhra Pradesh, resulting in an electoral set-back.

The C.C. however wants to put on record that, in spite of the electoral set-back suffered now, the Party in Andhra Pradesh is in a position to rapidly overcome the present electoral defeat. Not only has it long traditions of devoted work and struggles in the cause of the common people but there has been a revival of its activities and expansion of its mass base. This was seen in the massive mobilisation on several occasions and in the series of mass actions organised by the Party, independently as well as jointly with other Left and Opposition forces. A correct policy of independent mobilisation of the people by the Party and joint work along with other Left and democratic forces can undoubtedly pave the way for a new advance of the Party in Andhra Pradesh.

New Possibilities for Advance

Considering the overall political situation in the country, the C.C. expressed the opinion that new possibilities have opened for the advance of the Left and democratic forces to consolidate their strength, for the anti-authoritarian forces to launch new counter-offensives to the offensives launched by the authoritarian Congress(I). The weakening of the authoritarian party will further strengthen the forces fighting against the bourgeois-landlord ruling classes in their attacks on the living standards of the working people, the Left and democratic parties in projecting their own alternative to the policies and programmes of the ruling as well as the Opposition parties of the ruling classes and those who want to bar the path of the ruling party towards authoritarianism. They will also strengthen the forces of struggle in defence of State autonomy since the authoritarian party's drive towards centralisation of power has received a hard blow.

The C.C. is conscious that there are forces in the country which would try to convert the defeat of the ruling party into an opportunity for the reactionary pro-imperialist and separatist forces to advance. It is at the same time confident that the Left and democratic forces which are increasingly forging their unity will be able to counteract these nefarious moves.

Condolence On Comrade Brezhnev*

Adopted in The Central Committee Meeting of
CPI(M) Held in Calcutta On January 25-28, 1983

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in deep sorrow mourns the death of Comrade Leonid Ilych Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. In his death, the CPSU and the Soviet people have lost their great leader, and the international Communist movement one of its outstanding personalities.

Comrade Brezhnev, as the leader of the CPSU and the USSR, will for ever be remembered as a great fighter for world peace, a world statesman who used all his power to save the world from the devastating nuclear war being prepared by the U.S. imperialists and bent all his efforts to safeguard the safety and peace of the entire humanity. At the same time the USSR continued to build up its defence might which has so far held the hands of the imperialist nuclear war-maniacs.

Despite the arms-race forced by the imperialists for which precious resources had to be diverted, the period of Comrade Brezhnev's leadership brought about new successes to Socialist planning in the USSR and widespread prosperity and well-being for the Soviet people. In the same period, other Socialist countries were helped to develop their economics and defence potential, and a number of Socialist countries were knit together in common mutually beneficial economic activities.

The C.C. recalls that it was when Comrade Brezhnev was at the helm of affairs that Indo-Soviet friendship and cooperation

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developed further and the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation was signed and tested.

The C.C. notes with satisfaction that the new leadership of the CPSU and the Soviet Union has decided to continue vigorously the policy of defending peace against the imperialist war threats, of strengthening relations between the Socialist countries, and of forging closer relation with India.

The Central Committee pays its revolutionary homage to Comrade L.I. Brezhnev and conveys its heartfelt condolences to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Guilty In Assam*

**Statement Dated February 20, 1983 Issued By The
Polit Bureau of CPI(M) in New Delhi**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) repudiates the propaganda of the leaders of the Assam agitation that the General Secretary of the CPI(M), E.M.S. Namboodiripad, during his election campaign in Assam, has directed his speeches against the local Assamese-speaking population to appease "foreigners". Some leaders of Opposition parties, particularly of the BJP, who are boycotting the election and backing the secessionist agitationists to the hilt, have been making similar statements. Seeing the evil consequences of their own policies and to evade responsibility they have now taken to motivated propaganda against the CPI(M) and other democratic forces.

The CPI(M) has all along been advocating a democratic solution to the problem of "foreigners" in Assam fully protecting the rights of all those non-Assamese-speaking people who are either Indian citizens already or are entitled to Indian citizenship. The CPI(M) has all along been calling on all the democratic forces in Assam, among the Assamese-speaking population and in the religious and linguistic minorities, to come together to isolate and defeat the secessionist elements leading the agitation. The CPI(M) has always worked to defend the unity of the people inhabiting Assam and the protection of the rights of all section of the people equally. The CPI(M) has always been telling the people of Assam that while they have to struggle for solutions to whatever genuine problems they have, they should not be misled into a wrong track as wanted by the secessionists. For all this the CPI(M) has drawn the special ire of the agitationists and its cadres have been killed and maimed.

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Facing this murder and mayhem, the CPI(M) has courageously carried on its campaign in Assam.

The CPI(M) has also been sharply criticising the Government of India for its mishandling of the situation, relying only on the bureaucracy and following a line of drift. This also is responsible for the present situation.

The Polit Bureau is grieved at the violent incidents taking place in Assam in which innocent lives are being lost. It is precisely those who are falsely charging the CPI(M) with appeasing "foreigners" who are responsible for the ghastly situation that has arisen in that State. For more than three years they have been agitating for the deportation of the non-Assamese-speaking people on the ground that they are all "foreigners", and dividing the people of Assam by rousing linguistic chauvinism and communal passions. Their agitation has all along been violent and the violent has reached a crescendo in their attempt to prevent the holding of the election. The leaders of the Opposition parties who have been helping the agitation and further incited the agitationists by their election boycott call are equally guilty for the present situation in Assam. It is in continuation of their policy of dividing the people of Assam that they are carrying on their campaign of lies against the CPI(M) and the Left and democratic forces.

The Polit Bureau wants the people in the whole of the country to appreciate the courageous struggle of the democratic parties and forces in Assam and calls on them to rally to the support of these democratic forces to defeat the secessionist game of pitting the minorities against the Assamese-speaking people.

On Developments in Bangladesh*

Statement Issued By The Polit Bureau of CPI(M).

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) severely condemns the Martial Law regime of Bangladesh for the mass arrests of political leaders, including leaders of the Awami League, the Communist Party of Bangladesh, Workers' Party and others.

Martial Law Administrator Ershad, in his bid to Islamise the country to propitiate the reactionary rulers of oil-rich West Asian countries, had come into conflict first with the students of Dhaka University in regard to the observance of the Language Movement Day on February 21, and Islamisation of education making the Arabic language compulsory. They were also demanding the restoration of democratic rights. The students were able to force the military dictator to allow them to observe February, 21 in the traditional manner. But Ershad, in consonance with his threat of toughening the Martial Law, began the suppression of the students with the strength of the army and police and patronage to Islamic fundamentalist student groups. The political leaders who had denounced the military regime for the terror let loose on the students were in a closed-door meeting to assess the situation when they were rounded up.

General Ershad, like his counterpart in Pakistan, is on the road to perpetuating the military dictatorship, suppressing all democratic rights of the people, in the name of establishing an Islamic regime in Bangladesh.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) extends its fullest solidarity and support to the people and democratic forces of Bangladesh and demands the release of the arrested leaders and stopping of the brutal repression on the students and people by the Martial Law regime.

P.B. Condemns New Railway Imposts*

**Statement Dated January 25, 1983
Issued in New Delhi**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) vehemently condemns the hikes imposed by the Congress(I) Central Government in railway fares and freight charges to the tune of Rs. 488.90 crore and in postal and telecommunication rates to the tune of Rs. 70 crore. It is total mismanagement that has caused these increases without offering any benefit to the railway and P & T users and the workers and employees concerned.

These additional imposts have come in the wake of increases in these charges last year. Instead of taxing the wealthy sections and the luxury articles they consume, the common people are being squeezed more and more by the Congress(I) rulers.

These huge increases will affect particularly the middle and lower sections of the society. The hefty rise in the monthly season ticket prices in suburban services will hit hard workers and middle-class employees. The burden of the increase in telegraph charges, price of money order forms, etc., also falls on these sections.

The jacking-up of freight charges will lead to an all-round price-rise of essential articles throwing more burdens on to the common people.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls on the Opposition parties in Parliament, and the people, especially their mass organisations, to unitedly resist these heavy and unwarranted imposts and force the Government to withdraw them.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, March 6 1983

Decisions of The Central Committee Meeting Held on April 5-7, 1983 in New Delhi*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) met in New Delhi for three days from April 5 to 7, 1983.

The meeting was attended by all CCMs and PBMs except Jyoti Basu, Manoranjan Roy and Krishnapada Ghosh, for health reasons, and P. Ramamurti who had gone for a medical check-up. Harkishan Singh Surjeet presided over the meeting.

The C.C. reviewed the major developments during the two months since it met at Calcutta in the last week of January, 1983.

The C.C. endorsed the P.B.'s assessment of the recently held meeting of the Non-Aligned nations and its deliberations which go a long way in strengthening the struggle for world peace, and in defence of the vital interests of the people of the Third World against imperialism.

The C.C. views the appointment of the Sarkaria Commission to review Centre-State relations, which the CPI(M) has been demanding for a long time, as a reflection of the universal recognition of the validity of such a demand. The CPI(M) has always held the view that a large-sized multinational State like India cannot remain strong and stable unless the widest democracy and fullest autonomy for its constituent parts are guaranteed in word and deed.

The C.C. demands that the terms of reference of the Commission should include a comprehensive examination of the working of the Constitution as a whole to strengthen the federal principle. It also cautions that unless a consistent political struggle is carried out on the question of Centre-State relations,

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the appointment of the Commission may become yet another delaying tactic of the Congress(I) to stall the actual restructuring of Centre-State relations.

The C.C. has adopted two resolutions on the developments in Assam and Punjab, expressing serious concern over the deteriorating situation in both the States. It is sharply critical of the Central Government's failure in tackling these two issues properly and in time, especially the secessionist agitation in Assam which has virtually assumed the character of armed insurgency.

The C.C. is of the considered view that the Central Government has miserably failed in tackling the so-called foreigners issue of Assam, for years conducting endless negotiations with the leaders of the All-Assam Students' Union and the All-Assam Gana Sangram Parishad who had been heading a secessionist movement. Neither the Government nor the Congress(I) party took the people into confidence and placed the issues squarely before them in order to mobilise democratic opinion against the agitators and their anti-national movement.

The Assam agitation, as events have proved, is directed against the non-Assamese minorities, especially against the Bengalees, both Hindu and Muslim. The C.C. holds the agitation leaders directly responsible for the massacre of thousands of innocent people in Assam and notes with grave concern the sinister role played by the RSS in directing the violence and terror against the Muslim minorities who settled in Assam as peasants and workers some decades back.

It is reprehensible that the Central Government failed miserably in providing protection to the voters against the terror gangs of the agitators, and in conducting the elections democratically. The Congress(I) party, harping on the fear psychosis of minorities, utilised the atmosphere of terror to further its narrow partisan ends and to manipulate a fake electoral victory for it.

The C.C. condemns the stand of political parties such as the BJP and Janata Party which did everything to actively support the Assamese agitators in terrorising the public and stalling the

democratic process of elections in Assam. It is really strange and extraordinary that these political parties, who profess faith in the Constitution and the democratic electoral process, have joined the Assamese agitators—those who have been stalling all elections during the last three years, openly declaring their opposition and hostility to all democratic, electoral processes until their demand for excluding the names of the so-called foreigners from the existing electoral list was conceded.

The C.C. holds the Assam agitations mainly responsible for destroying the democratic electoral process by resorting to the terrorisation of the electorate in the State, thus enabling the authoritarian Congress party to bag an electoral 'victory' in the troubled situation of Assam, and in defeating the Left, democratic and progressive forces which contested elections on a principled and democratic platform.

The C.C. warns the people about the sinister hand of U.S. imperialists in actively encouraging the agitationists and their incendiary and insurgency forms of struggle—all with the diabolical aim of dismembering the country.

The meeting of the C.C. called upon its Party members all over the country, to launch a sustained mass campaign in cooperation with other Left and democratic forces, exposing the menacing character of the Assam agitation and the harmful role played by some political parties which are seeking to utilise the situation for their narrow, anti-national and partisan ends.

The C.C. strongly condemned the police firing on Akali agitationists and expressed its deep grief at the kills of life of 26 people, and injuries to several hundreds. It demanded a judicial enquiry.

It held the Congress(I) Governments at the Centre and the State responsible for total mishandling of the entire issue of Akali agitation in Punjab, which only provided grist to the mill of Akali extremists who were indulging in violent attacks on their opponents and who were raising the slogan of independent Khalistan. It appealed to the dominant leadership of the Akali party to strive their utmost in preserving the unity among the

Punjabi-speaking people of the State—Sikhs and Hindus—and to come forward with a forthright condemnation of the cult of violence preached and practised by the Akali extremists.

The C.C. called upon all political parties interested in the early and peaceful settlement of the problem in Punjab, to take the initiative in settling the dispute since differences have already been narrowed down.

The C.C. meeting hailed the Left-Democratic Front in Kerala which won a resounding victory in the by-election from Nemom constituency, snatching the seat traditionally held by the Congress(I).

It also expressed its serious concern at the growth of the casteist and communal forces in the State which are directly and indirectly being encouraged by the Congress(I)-led United Front Government. It took note of the grave menace of the RSS which is trying to capitalise on the casteist and communal atmosphere that has come to prevail in the State.

The Central Committee heard the report on the coming panchayat elections in West Bengal and endorsed the assessment of the situation made by the State Committee and agreed with the electoral line worked out by it.

The C.C. noted with satisfaction the measures taken by different State Committees of the CPI(M) regarding the observation of Marx's death anniversary, and decided to utilise the entire year 1983 for popularising the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, upholding and defending it from all the Right and Left attacks.

Central Committee's Resolution On Kerala*

Adopted in Its Meeting Held in New Delhi
On April 5-7, 1983

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) greets the Left-Democratic Front and the people of Kerala for having secured a convincing victory in the by-election from the Nemom constituency on March 1. The increase in the LDF vote by 8,000 and the reduction in the Congress(I) vote by 4,000 over the May 19 voting figures, shows the extent of disillusionment that is taking place in the people of Kerala.

This clear indication of a change in the Kerala electorate's attitude has come at a time when the people in the entire country are moving more and more away from the Congress for the simple reason that they are seeing with their own eyes the recent failure of the Congress(I) to fulfil the promises made to the electorate in the 1980 elections. In Kerala itself, the people have seen how every promise made during the May election was broken during the nine months when the Congress(I)-led front remained in office.

One of the promises made during the May election was that the Congress(I)-led front, if voted into office, would protect the peace-loving people from the "chaotic" situation created by the LDF Government. "Law and order" which allegedly "had broken down" would be restored and people could live a peaceful life. As opposed to this promise is the reality that the police has been liberally used against the legitimate struggles of the workers, peasants and all other sections of the working people when they go on agitations and struggles for the realisation of their legitimate demands. The Congress(I) and RSS goondas are

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having a field day with full protection from the police. The extent to which the police was being used in an anti-people way and creating a sense of helplessness among all sections of the people was seen in the notorious incident in Trivandrum on December 30, 1982; the police were kept as helpless spectators when two communal groups took the law into their own hands and played havoc with the life and property of peaceful citizens; the scene continued for 12 hours.

The other electoral promise was that, since the Congress(I)-led front would be working in cooperation (and not in confrontation as the LDF did) with the Central Government, there is greater possibility of the legitimate rights and demands of the State being acceded to by the Centre. The extent to which this hope was falsified is shown by the fact that one of the constituents of the ruling front—the Kerala Congress-led by Joseph—has been obliged to come out in direct action against the policies of the Central Government. This is a trend which cannot but reflect itself in the ranks and the masses following every constituent of the ruling front. For, people are seeing with their own eyes that the welfare measures adopted during the LDF Government are, one by one, being scuttled, adding to the miseries of the people who are suffering due to the negative attitude of the Centre to the demands of Kerala.

The Central Committee is confident that the new trend manifesting itself in several parties that are constituents of the ruling front would make it possible for developing united struggles on the burning issues of all sections of the working people and against the policies of the Congress(I) at the Centre and the anti-people opportunism of the leaders of the Congress(I)-led ruling front in Kerala. It appeals to the Party units in the State to take full advantage of the favourable opportunities to develop united struggles.

Central Committee Resolution On Assam*

**Adopted in Its Meeting Held in New Delhi
On April 5-7, 1983**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its sense of abhorrence and indignation at the massacre of hundreds of innocents in Assam during and after the elections. It expresses its deep sympathy for the sufferers—Assamese-speaking and minorities who were made the victims of the unscrupulous politics of reactionary forces opposed to Indian unity. The Bengali-speaking people, the Muslim minority and the tribals were the special targets of this violence. The Central Committee calls for adequate relief and measures to rehabilitate the sufferers. It calls on all to create an atmosphere of unity and friendship which is necessary to ensure the return of thousands of Bengalis, Nepalis and others who have crossed to West Bengal and other States.

The Central Committee warmly applauds the heroic role of our Party Comrades, members of the SFI, CITU, Kisan Sabha, DYFI, who gallantly stood by the people of Assam, risking their lives. Many of them fell victim to the agitationists' terror and became martyrs to the cause of Indian unity. The Central Committee pays homage to their memory.

The Central Committee expresses high appreciation of the role of the CPI(M) and other Left parties, their mass organisations, the Congress(S) and the six parties, all of whom during the elections held-up the banner of unity and faced the terror of the agitationists.

The Central Committee condemns the Congress(I) Government for its failure to protect the Assamese-speaking and the minorities against the terror gangs of the agitationists. The Congress(I) leaders did not mobilise democratic opinion to isolate and defeat the

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secessionists; some of them made a communal appeal adding fuel to the fire. Administrative steps without mobilising political support led to indiscriminate police measures bringing grist to the mill of the agitationists.

The Committee holds the leaders of the All-Assam Students' Union, and the All-Assam Gana Sangram Parishad directly responsible for the massacre of innocent people from amongst the linguistic (Bengali) and religious (Muslim) minorities. The incitement against them as foreigners who should be driven out, the poisonous propaganda spread over years led to the ghastly massacres at several places. In these attacks against minorities the RSS played its usual role. Its members were taking an active part in the campaign of incitement and riots. The penetration of the RSS into the secessionist movement has exacerbated the communal situation in Assam.

The Committee condemns the callous opportunism of some bourgeoisie-landlord parties—the BJP and Janata—who have done everything to cover up the mass murders and refrained from uttering a word of condemnation against those responsible for them.

The Central Committee warns the people of India that behind the Assam agitation and the murders of innocents lies the sinister hand of U.S. imperialism which is out to divide and weaken India to dominate it. India was once divided on communal lines by the British. Now the U.S. imperialists are busy at the same game. Their hand has been revealed through financial backing, foreign propaganda and ideological support. The people can neglect this sinister reality only at their own peril.

The AASU, and its allies, frightened by the prospects of elections, were prepared to vote for continued President's Rule giving a legal right to the Indira Government to rule Assam without reference to the people. This, they thought, would help the AASU to play the role of the sole spokesman of the Assamese-speaking people and wrest concessions for anti-national secessionist purposes.

The leaders of the Opposition bourgeois parties, the BJP and Janata which always aver their loyalty to democracy revealed their callous attitude when they supported Presidential Rule and opposed

elections. For their factional politics, their petty aims, they were prepared to sacrifice every moral and political principle, including the right to vote, people's verdict and national unity.

The opposition to elections on the insistence of the AASU meant acceptance of the veto of the agitationists to erode people's rights and stall democratic and constitutional processes.

The firm refusal of the CPI(M) and other Left parties to extend President's Rule gave an opportunity to the people of Assam to give their verdict. Terrified at the prospect of facing the people, the AASU, encouraged by some bourgeois Opposition parties, decided to oppose the elections. But they knew that left to themselves the people would go in for voting and the boycott would be a fiasco.

The boycott was therefore to be enforced through terror, bombings, murders, kidnappings—all of which were certified as more democratic than elections. The ghastly murders at Nellie, Gohapur, the massacre of innocent men, women and children, the burning and attacks were all the direct result of this infamous anti-election campaign. The murders, given full publicity by the foreign Press, were used to discredit India in the world Press and at the Non-Aligned Conference. The secessionist outlook of the agitators stood nakedly exposed when these people tried to internationalise the dispute at the Summit Conference. And their patrons and financiers from the USA immediately took up the question in the name of protecting human rights. The BJP and Janata have consistently supported these secessionist manoeuvres.

The Central Committee congratulates the Left Front Government, the Left forces and the people of West Bengal, who have prevented the forces of communalism and chauvinism from creating mischief. The plight of tens of thousands of Bengali refugees coming from Assam did provide ammunition for the anti-national unity elements but the Left forces were able to defeat them.

The overwhelming majority secured by the Congress(I) in the elections has brought ridicule on the ruling party. The AASU terror was directed against the CPI(M) and the Left, and the refusal of the Congress(I) to ensure sufficient protection led to the defeat of the Left forces—an objective commonly desired by U.S. agencies, AASU, parties such as the BJP and the ruling party.

But the secessionists were equally rebuffed in the elections. The terror and gangsterism showed that the people did not voluntarily boycott the elections.

The formal conclusion of the electoral process has put the secessionists in a quandary. The demand for revision of the electoral rolls, and the agitation based on it, has lost some of its relevance. The inhuman massacre has boomeranged on the agitationists rousing the minorities to take a militant position to fight atrocities. The constant bandhs, non-cooperation, leading to loss of livelihood of lakh, of people are creating a sense of weariness among the people, and isolating the leaders.

Unable to maintain the mass tempo, the secessionists have decided to temporarily withdraw the agitation. But this is not the whole truth.

Now they seek to rely on trained squads to spread terror, and organise insurgency with the supply of weapons from outside the country. This is a difficult period for the country

The armed attack on Indian unity has to be fought and repulsed. The Government will be unable to contain it on the basis of administrative measures. Without mobilising the people of Assam— Assamese-speaking and minorities—and rousing them to defend unity, the battle cannot be won. But there are enough democratic forces in Assam, forces standing for unity, which properly mobilised, can give an effective answer to secessionist insurgency. The CPI(M), the Left parties, the democratic forces in Assam and other parties like the Congress(S) will have to play leading role in this.

The Central Committee calls on all Party units all over the country to organise a powerful campaign, along with all other Left and democratic forces, to make the people aware of what is at stake in Assam and give all support to the Left and democratic forces there who are bravely resisting the violence and terror of the secessionist-agitationists.

Polit Bureau On Current Situation*

**Statement Issued Following Its Meeting Held in Calcutta
On June 1-2, 1983**

A two-day meeting of the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) was held in Calcutta on June 1 and 2, 1983. All members were present.

The P. B. greeted the electorate of West Bengal who once again reposed their confidence in the Left Front, thus confirming the fact that the six-year-long administration of the State by the Front headed by the CPI(M) has the support of the people of West Bengal. The P. B. realises the enormous difficulties raised before the Left Front by the concerted propaganda of the Congress(I) and its allies, together with the big monopoly Press which did its utmost to run the Left Front Government down.

The P. B. congratulated the activists of the CPI(M) who faced all these difficulties and made it possible for this second defeat of the Congress(I) in the course of a year. It, however, noted that the Left Front did not show that unity and cohesion which was necessary to meet the Congress(I) offensive; had it not been for this drawback, the victory of the Left Front would have been till more decisive. The P. B. is satisfied that the State Committee and all the comrades of the CPI(M) in West Bengal did their utmost to preserve the unity and cohesion of the Left Front but their efforts failed because of the unrealistic claims made by some of the constituents. It hopes that correct lessons will be drawn from this experience by everybody concerned.

Opposition Meet

The P. B. considered the report submitted by its member, Comrade Basavapunnaiyah on the discussions that took place among

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the leaders of 14 Opposition parties held in Vijayawada on May 28. It expressed satisfaction that, despite the ideological and political differences among them, participants in the meeting agreed "that the integrity and unity of the country threatened today as never before during the last three decades and a half of our existence as a free nation. The threat to national unity and integrity emanates mainly from the failure of the ruling party at the Centre to find timely and acceptable solutions to certain urgent problems of the people, and of different areas. The meeting noted with deep concern that national unity was also being threatened by the fissiparous tendencies, communal and casteist forces, as also some of the ominous pronouncements of the members of the ruling party including the Prime Mnister."

The Vijayawada meeting of the Opposition leaders also drew attention to Union-State relations and demanded that "the Sarkaria Commission be enlarged and its terms of reference be drawn up only after consultation with the State Governments and the Opposition parties in Parliament'. The meeting pointed out "that there need not be any confrontation nor is there any threat to national unity from the demand over the review of Union-State relations. Effective steps have to be taken for evolving a concept of federalism and devolution of power".

The P. B. noted that, having drawn attention to the above-mentioned vital problems facing the nation, the meeting decided to continue the process of consultation. The P. B. expressed the hope that the agreement on the above questions would be followed up and the people mobilised around these issues.

Assam and Punjab

The P. B. expressed grave concern at the continuing state of destabilisation in Assam. It heard the report made by the two C. C. members from that State, Comrades Achintya Bhattacharya and Nandeshwar Talukdar. The agitationists' attacks on the cadres of the CPI(M) and other Opposition parties as well as on the minorities are continuing. Several thousands have had to leave their hearths and homes and are living as refugees inside Assam itself as well as in some neighbouring States. The P. B. learned that there are

38,000 refugees in West Bengal. The P. B. demanded that immediate steps be taken to stop the attacks and to create conditions for the refugees to go back and resume their normal life. The P.B. was happy to note that four Left parties—the CPI(M), the CPI, the RSP and the FB—have issued a joint appeal to make the people all over the country aware of the serious situation in Assam and the danger this constitutes to national unity and integrity. It called upon all Party units to cooperate with other Left and democratic parties to develop a joint campaign in pursuance of the four parties' statement and hoped that every party and organisation who has the cause of national unity and integrity at heart will join this united campaign.

The P. B. considered the continuing deadlock in the efforts to solve the problem in Punjab. The main responsibility for this lies on the ruling Congress(I) and the Central Government which failed to use the several opportunities that came for a settlement with the Akali leaders. This failure on the part of the Central Government has only helped strengthen the extremist elements among the Sikhs and create communal tensions. The P.B. hoped that the initiative taken now for talks will be further pursued and a settlement arrived at.

Economic Situation

The P. B. noted that the reported recommendations submitted by the Panel of Economic Advisers of the Government of India belie the hopes nurtured by the ruling party and its leaders regarding the beneficial consequences of the IMF loan for which the contract was signed by the Government of India. The report makes it clear that, while some temporary relief has come from the loan, the problem will get still worse when the time comes for the repayment of the loan. This will lead the Government to still further loans, each instalment of them further tightening the noose of foreign monopolies on the national economy. The P. B. called upon all the patriotic elements to see the danger involved and unitedly fight the policies which have led to this grave situation.

The P. B. noted that this danger had arisen in an international background in which imperialism headed by the United States is

engaged in such economic and political policies as increase the danger of nuclear war and intensify the exploitation of the common man throughout the world, particularly those in the Third World countries.

The recently held Summit of seven developed countries had on its agenda the consideration of the serious world economic situation. Some leaders of these very countries, including the French President, had drawn attention to the acute problem faced by the Third World countries, giving support to the demand of the Non-Aligned Movement for a restructuring of international economic relations. United States President Ronald Reagan, however, blocked any discussion on these grave economic problems forcing the participants of the Summit to take a common stand against the Soviet Union in the negotiations on nuclear arms. The Summit on economic questions was thus transformed into a forum to increase the danger of a destructive nuclear World War which will further worsen the living conditions of the common people throughout the world.

Neither the Panel of Economic Advisers nor the Government of India is aware of the danger that this constitutes to the Indian people. Furthermore, the Panel recommends that the taxation policy of the Government should be so revised as to draw into its net several sections of the people who are out of it. However, the Panel does not have any proposal to bring into the taxation net the large number of monopoly capitalists and big landlords who are notorious tax-evaders. Nor does it propose other measures to augment the non-tax resources of the Government and to prevent wasteful expenditure. The Panel's proposal on the taxation of the "unincorporated sector" is thus capable of becoming an instrument of further fleecing the common man. The P. B. called upon all the Left and democratic parties, organisations of the working people and all those who are interested in the reversal of Government policies to unite in struggle against these policies.

P.B.'s Appeal For Rs. 5-Lakh Party Fund*

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) appeals to all its friends and well-wishers in the country and abroad to make liberal contributions to the Rs. Five-Lakh Fund of the Central Committee to which collections are now being made.

The State, District and Local Committees are making collections to a common fund out of which they will send their fixed quotas to the Central Committee as directed and use the balance for their own expenditure. Friends and well-wishers of the Party, therefore, may either make their contributions to any of these committees or send them directly to the Central Committee, to Comrade Desraj Chadha, 14, Ashoka Road, New Delhi.

This year's fund collection, as of all previous years, is intended to cover the normal expenditure of the Party in carrying out the tasks laid down at the Eleventh Party Congress. The work carried out during the year that has elapsed has helped the Party to develop a strong and united peace movement; to fight against the divisive and separatist forces, to win new successes in forging the unity of Left and democratic forces; to develop broad-based movements of the working class, the peasantry and all other sections of the democratic movement; to offer joint resistance to the anti-democratic and anti-people policies of the ruling Congress(I) and thus to realise the Party's aim of building broad resistance to authoritarian moves.

The successes attained in all these forms of activity make it necessary that the work of the Party is still further strengthened during the current year. Hence this appeal for funds to enable the Party to expand its activities throughout the country.

Political developments since the Eleventh Congress of the Party, held nearly a year and a half ago, fully confirm the analysis made at the Party Congress and show that the policies of the ruling Congress(I) are facing growing opposition from the people of our country. The people are coming more and more in united actions to resist the burdens imposed on them by the Central and State Governments of the Congress(I). People also resist the attacks launched on their civil liberties and democratic rights which sometimes forces the Government to retrace its steps, as the Jagannath Government had to do in the case of Bihar Press Bill. The authoritarian forces, however, have shown that, despite such setbacks in one place or another, they are determined to pursue their course. This makes it necessary that the work undertaken by the Party along with the rest of the democratic movement is still further strengthened.

The coming period is going to be a period of big struggles. The peasantry is being denied remunerative prices at a time when prices of all essential articles are shooting up. The consumer index for industrial workers has reached another peak and the workers and employees have to fight for wage-increases, dearness allowance to fully neutralise the rise in the cost of living. Unemployment is already high and more and more workers are being thrown into the ranks of the unemployed because of retrenchments, lock-outs, etc.

The economic situation is getting worse and worse and all sections of the people are undergoing sufferings. The policies pursued by the imperialist countries are such as to throw more and more burdens on the underdeveloped world. Further, the borrowings from the IMF and World Bank are enabling them to dictate what economic and financial policies the Government of India should pursue which again are directed to increase the burdens on the people and add to their miseries. The Congress(I) Government's policy of open door to multinational and concessions to the Indian monopolists will also cause more sufferings for the people. Our Party has to take the initiative to forge united actions and struggles to defend the interests of the workers, peasants, employees and all other sections of the people who are under attack.

The Left Front Governments of West Bengal and Tripura, led by our Party, are doing all that is within their capacity to give relief to the people. But this good work of theirs is hampered by the policies of the Central Government. In the case of West Bengal for instance, the comprehensive Land Reforms Bill is yet to get Presidential assent years after it has been sent to the Centre. In the matter of allocation of finances, supply of foodgrains, drought and flood relief, etc., the Centre's policies are unhelpful. All this has brought the question of Centre-State relations to the forefront. The recent meeting of fourteen Opposition parties in Vijayawada, in which our Party also participated, has rightly focussed attention on this question. The struggle for more powers for the States has to be fought even more vigorously in the coming period.

Our comrades in Assam are heroically fighting against the separatist forces and the imperialist agencies that are behind them. Many comrades have been martyred but our Party carries on the struggle steadfastly.

In Punjab, the Centre's procrastination in dealing with the democratic demands of the Punjabi people has created a very tense situation already in the State. This has strengthened the hands of the extremists among the Sikhs and the communalists. Our Party, other Left and secular forces, while supporting the democratic demands, are waging the struggle for maintaining communal harmony against heavy odds.

Whether in Assam or in Punjab, the role of some of the bourgeois-Opposition parties, especially the BJP, is disruptive and anti-national.

All this makes it necessary that the Left forces represented by the CPI(M), the CPI, RSP and the Forward Bloc, together with friends belonging to other organisations and parties who see eye to eye with the Left on several issues strengthen their unity and carry on the struggle to forge a Left and democratic alternative to the ruling Congress(I) as well as to the bourgeois Opposition parties.

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The attitude to recent developments on the world scene, marked by the growing threat of a world war involving the use of the most destructive nuclear weapons and the widespread resistance to these moves from all corners of the world, demarcates the Left and democratic Opposition from the parties of bourgeois Opposition. Our Party can claim credit for developing mass resistance to the aggressive moves of imperialism.

The Party Centre, if it is to guide and coordinate all these activities, needs adequate funds. The Polit Bureau, therefore, appeals to all the members and units of the Party to make the fund collection a resounding success, so that the entire Party from the Central Committee down to the Branches can discharge the onerous responsibilities which have been put on them by the Eleventh Party Congress. We appeal to every worker, peasant and agricultural labourer, middle-class employee, men and women belonging to all other sections of the common people, in the interest of defending their living and working conditions, to help the Party serve them still better in the coming year.

Polit Bureau Statement On Punjab*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) issued the following statement to the Press in New Delhi on June 14, 1983:

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep concern at the deteriorating situation in Punjab which, if not tackled immediately, can lead to very serious repercussions not only for the State of Punjab but for the country as a whole. Already the communal atmosphere in the State is very much surcharged and not a day passes without somebody being either killed or attacked by the extremists. Extremists of all hues are busy rousing communal passions, disrupting the unity of the Punjab people. Even the State administration does not remain without being affected.

With the June 17 'rail roko' call by the Akali leaders approaching nearer, the State Government and the Central Government have started using threatening tones, and the State Government has already started rounding up Akali workers in the name of precautionary measures.

The CPI(M) has time and again denounced the activities of Sikh extremists who, by raising separatist slogans like Khalistan and indulging in terrorist acts, are not only vitiating the communal atmosphere but are also threatening the unity of the country. Their Hindu counterparts also, in the name of defence of Hinduism, are not lagging behind in disturbing communal harmony. But the Akali leadership has openly dissociated itself from the demand of Khalistan and expressed its faith in the unity

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, June 19, 1983.

of the country. Moreover, after the acceptance of the religious demand of the Akali leaders, the other demands have no communal colour and have the support of all political parties of Punjab. And with the help of Opposition parties, the differences between Punjab and Haryana had been very much narrowed down. Therefore, it is the drift on the part of the Central Government and mishandling by the State Government which are responsible for the present situation.

The Akali agitation is more than ten months old. Even before the agitation began, there were talks between the Akali leadership and the Central Government for over a year, but without any agreement on any issue. After three months of the agitation, when the Central Government initiated the talks with the Akali Dal in October 1982, through the mediation of Swaran Singh, the differences were very much narrowed down, and whatever difficulties were there were not insurmountable. The Akali Dal, in its bid to reach a negotiated settlement, again postponed its programme of action to November 19, giving three weeks to the Government to consider its demands.

From the reports, one could make out that a solution was in sight on November 18, but the Government decided otherwise. Again, when Opposition parties intervened and a tripartite conference was held in December-January, the differences were further narrowed down. In fact, settlements could be found to practically all other issues except the territorial dispute. But on the eve of the Non-Aligned Summit, the Government unilaterally announced the acceptance of the religious demands and thought that it would be able to create a wedge between the Akalis.

The Akalis in this situation chose to launch a "rasta roko" movement in April. The Government dealt with it with the roundup of thousands of Akali workers and indiscriminate firing on that day, causing the deaths of 23 innocent persons and injuries to hundreds. This was condemned by all the Opposition parties. The Akalis subsequently announced their programme of action for June 17, giving a clear two and a half months time to the Government. But the Government, from its narrow political angle, was interested in communal polarisation in view of the

Jammu & Kashmir election and was not interested in an immediate solution of the Punjab problem, forgetting that the worsening of the situation in the border State, at a time when the Pakistani military dictatorship is being armed by the U.S. imperialists, can prove dangerous for the security of the country. It was only after the Prime Minister left for her foreign tour that a letter was addressed to Sant Longowal for talks. According to the Sant's Press briefing, the letter was full of pious wishes and did not deal with the concrete issues.

It is known to all that the Government has no objection to accepting the religious demands of the Akalis. Of the remaining three major demands, the one for restructuring of Centre-State relations has already been accepted with the appointment of the Sarkaria Commission. The only care the Government has to take is not to give a narrow interpretation to the terms of reference of the Commission. The water dispute is also said to be settled. On the third demand regarding Chandigarh and other territories, a rational solution is not difficult to find.

The P.B. demands that the Government give up the policy of drift and take a decision on the basis of the accepted principles without harming the interests of any State.

The P.B. appeals to the Akalis to denounce the activities of the extremists and not allow any untoward incident to take place on June 17.

The P.B. also seeks the cooperation of Opposition parties to help in finding a solution and to force the Government to accept the genuine demands to save Punjab from a catastrophe.

The P.B. appeals to the people of the State of Punjab to oppose the divisive forces and defend the unity of Punjabis by all means.

On Terms of Sarkaria Commission*

**Statement Dated June 9, 1983 Issued By The
Polit Bureau of CPI(M) in New Delhi**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) notes that the firm and united stand adopted by the Opposition leaders and non-Congress(I) Chief Ministers who met in Vijayawada on May 28, has made the Central Government have a second look at the terms of reference given to the Sarkaria Commission. The Commission is now empowered to go into the entire question of Union-State relation without being obliged to confine itself to "the framework of the Constitution", as had been laid down in the Prime Minister's statement in Parliament.

The Polit Bureau, however, notes that the terms of reference lay down that the Commission will "have due regard to the scheme and framework of the Constitution which the founding fathers have so sedulously designed to protect independence and to ensure the unity and integrity of the country," etc. While the CPI(M) has always fought in defence of the unity and integrity of the country, it considers that to counterpose the question of unity of the country to autonomous powers for the States is totally wrong. In a multinational country like India, the unity of the country can be preserved and a strong Centre built only if the States are strong and enjoy autonomy. This objective can be achieved only by strengthening the federal structure providing for a strong Centre dealing with defence, foreign affairs, communications, currency and so on, while the States have all the powers to plan their development in the best interest of the people.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, June 19, 1983

The Sarkaria Commission was set up on important issues relating to the Centre-State Relations

The actual working of the Indian Constitution has, in fact, led to increasing erosion of the powers and functions of the States, many of which were, one by one, taken over by the Centre. This Central intervention even went to the extent of dismissal of a number of democratically elected State Governments. This was no doubt due partly to the fact that for the major part of the last 33 years of the working of the Constitution, the same party ruled at the Centre and in a majority of the States. That, however, is only a partial explanation. Continuous encroachment by the Centre into the functions, powers and responsibilities of the States was also due to the manner in which the Central, the State and the Concurrent Lists were prepared and incorporated into the Constitution.

This experience of the 33-year-long working of the Constitution is missed by the Government when it saddles the Sarkaria Commission with the responsibility of preserving the unity of India to the exclusion of States' autonomy.

The Opposition leaders and non-Congress(I) Chief Ministers who assembled in Vijayawada on May 28 had made it clear that the struggle for State autonomy does not mean any confrontation with the Centre. The Opposition is as interested as the leaders of the Central ruling party in ensuring adequate powers and functions for the Centre. This however, cannot be ensured by laying one sided emphasis on a "strong Centre" as is done by the Central Government. What is in fact required is a review of the working of the Constitution with a view to removing the distortions either in the provisions of the Constitution itself or in the manner in which it has been working for 33 years.

The Polit Bureau, therefore, demands of the Central Government that it give such clarifications as enable the Sarkaria Commission to go into all aspects of Union-State relations, and make recommendations not excluding necessary amendments to the Constitution. It appeals to all the Opposition parties to devise ways and means by which the Sarkaria Commission sees its way to make recommendations to strengthen the autonomy of the States as much as the unity of India.

A Hostile Visitor From USA*

Statement Issued By The Polit Bureau of CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has issued the following statement in New Delhi on June 28, 1983:

Shultz is visiting India not as a messenger of goodwill for the country or the sub-continent. His visit is in pursuit of U.S. policies which are hostile to this country and the people of the sub-continent.

Successive U.S. Governments have been pursuing a policy of blackmailing this country into submission and the Reagan Government does not lag behind.

The U.S. Government has treacherously broken agreement on Tarapore and is using all its pressures to compel India to give up its freedom in regard to nuclear development.

It is pouring arms into the sub-continent, selling F-16 war planes and other war material to India's neighbour, whose only purpose is to promote conflict between the two countries.

It is strengthening its military base in Diego Garcia and is sabotaging the holding of the conference on making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

It is forcing India to divert a substantial part of its budget to defence expenditure when millions require help to tide over hunger and disease. The U.S. imperialists are, besides, bent on destabilising India. Their hand in the divisive conflict in Assam has been clearly revealed. Even the Prime Minister, usually reticent on such moves, is compelled to admit the reality.

However, the U.S. does not care to conceal its designs against this country. The U.S. Ambassador at U.N. openly talked about dismemberment of India. And the U.S. Ambassador in India made a provocative statement on the Khalistan movement in Punjab.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, July 3, 1983

The U.S., besides, is pursuing a policy of economic blackmail through the IMF and World Bank. They have scuttled the UNCTAD talks and added to the crisis and economic difficulties of developing countries. It is known they use their economic links and penetration for CIA activities against the interests of our country. Shultz will do everything to apply economic and political pressure on behalf of the multinationals. He is also likely to pressurise the Government of India to give up India's defence preparedness and nuclear development programmes.

All patriotic forces must protest against this visit and the USA's hostile policy towards the country. They must warn the Government against any surrender to US pressure. Above all they must raise their voice against U.S. plans of war and nuclear carnage. All sections must denounce the monstrous plans for nuclear war and the U.S. conspiracy against the freedom and integrity of our country.

CPI(M)'s Polit Bureau Communique*

A two-day meeting of the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) was held in New Delhi on July 10-11, 1983.

The P.B. greeted the people of Agartala who reposed their confidence in the Left Front and its Government in Tripura by returning the Left Front candidates in all the seats in the Agartala Municipality. It should be recalled that in the January elections, the Left Front had lost two of the four seats for the Assembly from the area constituting the Municipality. In term of percentage of votes, the Left Front had secured a little less than 50 per cent of the valid votes in the Assembly election; within six months, the percentage of votes, polled in the Municipal elections rose to 57 per cent, belying the false propaganda of its adversaries that the Left Front was losing among the people.

The Congress(I) in the State and a section of the TUJS, however, are adopting the course of confrontation with the Left Front and its Government. They have the open support of the central leadership of the Congress(I) which cannot tolerate any non-Congress(I) Government—least of all, a Left-led Government—functioning in any State. The P.B., however, hopes that the ranks and masses owing allegiance to the Congress(I) and the TUJS will realise the harm done by the disruptive moves made by their leaders. It is a matter of satisfaction that a section of the TUJS has given open expression to their sense of disillusionment and are demanding a change in the policy of their leaders.

In West Bengal, the P.B. noted that the Congress(I) is carrying on a hate campaign against the Left Front and its Government, inciting their followers to violence. Their ambitious plan of gaining

*Published in "PEOPLES DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, July 17, 1983.

a "smashing victory" in the panchayat elections and using it to unleash a "movement to oust the Left Front Government", having been foiled, the Congress(I) leaders have been making open calls to their followers to liquidate the cadres of the Left Front, particularly the CPI(M).

The role played by Central Minister Ghani Khan Chowdhury in rousing hatred among the people and inciting the dastardly mass killing in his home district, Malda, taking the lives of 13 followers of the CPI(M), has been widely reported in the Press. Far from denouncing this dastardly act and trying to bring his followers back to reason, Central Minister Ghani Khan Chowdhury justified it, calling this mass murder "spontaneous popular upsurge against the politics of killing indulged in by the CPI(M)". The Polit Bureau appeals to all those who have the interest of democratic norms of political life at heart to denounce this method resorted to by the Congress(I), West Bengal with the full support of the central leadership.

In view of this aggressive attitude adopted by the Congress(I), it is in the Polit Bureau's view necessary that the relations within the Left Front, strained during and immediately after the panchayat elections, are once again taken back to cordiality and cooperation. While taking note of and supporting, the measures taken by the State Committee of the CPI(M) in this respect, the P. B. appeals to all the constituents to respond to the call of the times and strengthen the unity which alone will help defeat the foul conspiracies hatched by the Congress(I) and other enemies of the Left Front.

The P.B. expressed its concern that the dialogue on Assam has reached a stalemate. The people of Assam are suffering from the consequences of the continuous alienation of the various sections from one another. While a good section of the refugees in Assam itself have left the camps, the majority of those who are in West Bengal are still in the camps.

The P.B. noted the deterioration of the political situation in Kerala where the various castes and communal groups who have been rallied behind the ruling front are emboldened to make conflicting claims against one another. The Congress(I)-led Government pursues such policies as set one caste or community

against another. Never before in the history of the State has it been gripped with such caste and communal passions leading to violence and riots. People are more and more coming to realise that the responsibility for this lies with the Congress(I) policy of appeasing the ambitions of the leaders of caste and communal groups in their anti-CPI(M) politics.

The P.B. reviewed the two meetings of Opposition parties held in Vijayawada in May, and in New Delhi in June. While they were not intended to give birth to a national electoral alternative, the coming together of all Opposition parties helped the evolution of a consensus in the struggle against the authoritarian moves of the ruling party.

The Punjab Situation

The P. B. welcomes the initiative taken by the New Delhi meeting of Opposition parties which adopted a resolution on the still unresolved problem of Punjab. The resolution adopted by the Opposition leaders correctly pointed out that the problem remains unresolved only because the Congress(I) leadership and the Central Government refuse to carry out the consensus of the tripartite conference held about three months ago. The inordinate delay on the part of the Central Government in implementing the consensus of the tripartite conference is adding fuel to the fire. The P.B.

expresses its concern that this is leading to extreme communal

The P. B. appealed to the Akali leaders to see that statements emanating from some Akali leaders concerning the "Sikhs as a nation" is doing great harm to the country as a whole and alienating the Akalis from the democratic movement in the country.

The P.B. condemned the extremists for organising violence and murder.

The P.B. extended its full support to the visit being organised by the Opposition parties to areas of tension in Punjab with a view to bringing the people of all communities together to fight the virus of communalism and growing violence.

The P.B. noted that the next meeting of Opposition parties is being held in September in Srinagar and that the main question to

be considered will be Centre-State relations. The P.B. decided to prepare a memorandum setting forth its views on the questions which come under the consideration of the Sarkaria Commission and circulate it among all Opposition parties whose leaders will be assembling at the Srinagar meeting.

Reviewing the economic situation, the P.B. noted that the claims of "progress", "stability", etc., continuously made by the ruling party, are being falsified. Not even Government spokesmen can deny the fact of price inflation which has been gathering momentum from week to week.

While this affects every section of the working people, natural calamities like droughts and floods have made matters worse. Relief of various kinds is being increasingly demanded, even the Congress(I)-led State Governments being obliged to join in making the demand. The P.B. hoped that united movements will be developed around some of the most urgent questions of the people's life and that all the mass organisations of the working people will cooperate among themselves and with democratic Opposition parties in developing common resistance.

Attacks on Working Class

The P.B. expressed concern at the organised attacks on the working class in general, CITU unions in particular. The gruesome murder of CITU activists and their relatives in Modinagar, police lathi-charge in the Panipat National Fertiliser Factory and the Himachal Tractor Factory—these are some of the recent incidents. The P.B. denounced the way in which the police was colluding with the managements and their agents among the workers with a view to disrupting the growing unity of the working class.

The unity of the working class however, is developing not only on economic issues and in struggles to win their demands. Workers and their organisations are joining hands in the political struggles for defending democracy and in the worldwide struggle for peace.

Recalling the peace rally organised in New Delhi last year and considering the fact that the danger of a nuclear war has become still more serious, the P.B. resolved to cooperate with all those

who jointly sponsored the last year's rally to further develop and strengthen the movement.

The P.B. hoped that the call given by the "World Assembly for Peace and Life Against Nuclear War", held in Prague, to develop the movement against the nuclear arms, as well as the call of the World Federation of Trade Unions to observe September 1 as Anti-War Day will be responded to.

It appealed to Party members and units to make them a success.

The P.B. expressed its sense of solidarity with the Palestinian and other peoples of West Asia who are fighting against American imperialism and Zionism, as well as to the fighting people of Southern Africa, Central America, the Caribbean and of Korea in their struggles.

The P.B. expressed satisfaction that united actions are developing among the mass organisations and political parties in defence of people's living standards, for democracy and for peace. These united actions will, it is confident, draw the mass following of all parties. A crucial role, however, has to be played in developing unity of action and broadening it as much as possible, by the Left parties. The P. B. pledges the CPI(M) to discharge its responsibility in this respect.

P.B. Condemns Malda Carnage*

Statement Dated July 7, 1983 Issued in New Delhi

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) severely condemns the carnage organised by Congress(I) elements in Chandmoni Malopara village in the Malda district of West Bengal, in which 14 persons belonging to the CPI(M) were killed, many injured, a 15-year-old girl kidnapped, and 45 huts burnt down. The main target of the Congress(I) gangsters was Abdul Bari, a member of the District Committee of the CPI(M) and a newly elected Zilla Parishad member. Among those killed were his uncle and two of his sons; the girl who has been kidnapped is his daughter.

The Congress(I) has been making ceaseless efforts to create an atmosphere of violence in West Bengal. During the recent Panchayat election campaign, 27 workers of the CPI(M) had been killed by Congress(I) elements. As far as Malda district is concerned, the Left Front Chairman has directly indicated Union Railway Minister Ghani Khan Chowdhury for making inflammatory speeches threatening to let loose a blood-bath. The Malopara massacre is a direct result of the atmosphere created by these provocative speeches.

Defeated in all the elections held in West Bengal since June 1977—Assembly, Lok Sabha, local bodies, the latest being the Panchayat election—and after trying in vain to disrupt the unity of the Left Front, the Congress(I) in West Bengal is resorting to physical liquidation of CPI(M) cadres, with the full backing of its central leadership.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, July 17, 1983.

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The Polit Bureau holds the all-India leadership of the Congress(I) along with its State unit, responsible for the violence in West Bengal.

· The Polit Bureau appeals to all those who are interested in the preservation of democracy to raise their voice to denounce the Congress(I)'s terror tactics against its political opponents.

P.B. Denounces Killings in Sri Lanka*

Statement Dated July 27, 1983 Issued in New Delhi

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its sense of horror at the large-scale massacre of Tamil-speaking people in Sri Lanka.

The P.B. denounces these killings and holds the Sri Lanka authorities responsible for these cruel happenings. It seems from reports that those who are responsible for the protection of citizens' lives are themselves taking a hand in these murders. It is reported in the Press that all the passengers travelling in a bus from Jaffna to Colombo were killed. The same fate was meted out to some passengers of another bus. In Colombo itself more than 100 people were killed and thousands rendered homeless.

These gruesome happenings could have easily been avoided had the present Government settled the question of the Tamil minority in accordance with democratic norms. In fact the Government of Mrs. Bandaranaike had held out the promise of autonomy to the Tamil-speaking areas, thus assuring the minority of the protection of its culture and language. The present Government has failed to fulfil these assurances. The P.B. warns that bourgeois-landlord Governments know no other way of dealing with the minority problem except inciting the majority against the minority. The same process is going on in Sri Lanka. The struggle for justice to the minority is an integral part of the struggle of the people for economic emancipation and democratic rights. All democratic forces in Sri Lanka, irrespective of the communities to which they belong, must come together to protect the unity of the country, do justice to the minority and ensure economic advance of the people.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, August 7, 1983

P.B. Expresses Concern On Developments in Sri Lanka*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses grave concern at the continuing political crisis in Sri Lanka which has led to the loss of hundreds of lives and destruction of property. It expresses deep sympathy for the tens of thousands who went through days of agony, many of whom had to lose their near and dear ones; many have already become, and more are likely to become, refugees from their homes. The P.B. associates itself with the countrywide demonstrations of solidarity with the victims of ethnic violence.

The P.B. regrets to note that the manner in which President Jayewardene of Sri Lanka is dealing with the situation will, far from restoring normalcy and finding a democratic solution to the problem of the two major ethnic groups that inhabit the country, lead to the loss of Sri Lanka's own freedom and sovereignty, pose a serious threat to the freedom and integrity of all its neighbours, including India.

Five months after the non-aligned conference held in New Delhi, attended by President Jayewardene himself and where a stirring call was given for the unity of the non-aligned countries against imperialism, Jayewardene's Government has reportedly been seeking the "military assistance" of the United States and Britain for the solution of his country's internal problems. Although this report has been formally denied by the Sri Lankan authorities, there is reason to believe, as External Affairs Minister Narasimha Rao told the Indian Parliament and the people, that there is substance in the report.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi August 7, 1983.

These moves were being made at the very time when the Foreign Ministers of seven countries in the region, including Sri Lanka, were meeting in New Delhi to devise measures for cooperation among themselves in various fields. It was hoped that the deliberations and decisions of this meeting would strengthen not only the relations among the countries of the region but the Non-Aligned Movement as a whole. It was at such a moment that instead of taking the friendly assistance of the neighbouring countries, including India, to solve the immediate problems arising out of the recent incidents and trying to find a democratic solution to the ethnic problem, the Sri Lankan authorities made approaches to imperialist Powers for military assistance.

The Government of India has made it clear that India's policy is friendship and cooperation with every neighbouring country. While the Government and people of this country are naturally concerned with the fate of hundreds of thousands of Sri Lankan citizens of Indian origin, they have no intention to interfere in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka. Regrettably, however, the public media in Sri Lanka, including those which are known to be close to its President, have launched a virulent campaign against India, characterising the expression of the Indian people's legitimate concern for the human rights of the Sri Lankan citizens of Indian origin as interference.

The Polit Bureau notes that the Sri Lanka Government has taken the most undemocratic step of banning the Communist Party of Sri Lanka and two other Left parties, many of whose activists have been arrested. It expresses its sense of solidarity with these parties and hopes that they will fight against heavy odds in developing the unity of the common people belonging to the Sinhalese, Tamil and other ethnic-linguistic groups.

It is significant that, along with the anti-India tirade and the attack on the Left parties, the ruling circles are making the Socialist countries another target of attack. Circles close to the President have made a public demand that the diplomatic representations of the Soviet Union and the GDR in Sri Lanka should be sharply curtailed.

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The Polit Bureau is confident that the democratic people of Sri Lanka, belonging to various ethnic and linguistic groups, will realise the danger that the policies adopted by their Government constitute to their country, its freedom, democracy and all-round progress.

The Polit Bureau urges on the Government of India to take every measure, in cooperation with the Government of Sri Lanka, to provide assistance for the suffering people of that country and to impress upon the Government of Sri Lanka the serious implications of inviting the imperialist Powers to intervene in the internal affairs of their country.

On Military Dictatorship in Pakistan*

Statement Issued By The Polit Bureau of CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) greets the people of Pakistan who are in the midst of a valiant struggle against the tyrannical military dictatorship of Zia-ul Haq. All the major political parties, sinking their differences, have joined hands to lead the Movement for Restoration of Democracy and the holding of elections under the 1973 Constitution.

The people of Pakistan have been ground down by successive military dictatorships. The military dictatorship of Zia-ul Haq, which has turned itself into a surrogate of U.S. imperialism, has been the most oppressive and despotic. This dictatorship has subverted the 1973 Constitution, banned all activities of political parties, suppressed all democratic rights of the people, and in the name of implementing Islamic laws committed barbarous crimes against the people. The military dictator's plan, announced on August 12, is for the continuation of the Martial Law regime for at least another 18 months, for amending beyond recognition the 1973 Constitution, for setting up a National Security Council which will perpetuate the army's present role, along with the promise of holding elections by March 23, 1985. Political forces and the people of Pakistan have overwhelmingly rejected this travesty of restoration of democracy. Even the Jamait-e-Islami, an ally of the military dictator, has found the plan unsatisfactory.

The present movement is the outburst of the people of Pakistan living under suffocation by the total denial of democracy. With death-defying courage, they are facing the police and the army.

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Railway stations, prisons, Government offices are being attacked. The working class, middle class, lawyers, women, students are in the van of the struggle. The military dictatorship has come down on the movement with its heavy hand of repression—firings and killings, inhuman floggings, and harsh jail sentences—handing over district after district to the army. But the popular movement gathers strength. In fact, braving the monstrous repression of the military regime, the movement has expanded from its storm-centre Sind to Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier, and the call has gone out to the people of Punjab to take their place in the fighting ranks.

The Polit Bureau denounces the brutal repression of the military dictatorship of Zia-ul Haq and extends the fullest support of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) to the fighting people of Pakistan. The P.B. is confident that they will win, get rid of the military dictatorship and be able to shape their future in a democratic Pakistan.

CPI(M)'s Proposal On The Question of Centre-State Relations*

Placed Before The Meeting of The Opposition Parties Held in Srinagar, Kashmir, On October 5-7, 1983

The question of Centre-State relations has acquired great importance in the context of the growing alienation between the Centre and the constituent States.

This alienation, arising from constant attacks and erosion of the powers of the States, is growing in the background of the assaults of divisive forces to disintegrate Indian unity. The situation encourages the U.S. imperialists to blatantly support secessionists and conspire against Indian freedom.

To stop the process of alienation between the Centre and the constituent units of the Indian Union, is therefore urgently necessary in the interests of Indian unity.

Unity of the Country

This problem of internal unity is to be solved in the context of the situation which India is facing from outside.

India has seen at least two wars. Today also the U.S. imperialists are arming the military rulers of Pakistan with sophisticated weapons compelling India to divert more resources for its defence.

*This Document was published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", of September 4, 1983 well before the meeting of the Opposition Parties held in Srinagar. The following leaders of the Opposition Parties were invited to attend this meeting at Srinagar: E. M. S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary of CPI(M), Jyoti Basu, Chief Minister of West Bengal, C. Rajeswar Rao, General Secretary of CPI, Chandrasekhar (Janata), H. N. Bahuguna (D.S.P.), Sharad Pawar (Congress-S), Ram Krishna Hegde, Chief Minister of Karnataka, Unnikrishnan (Congress-S), Chitta Basu (Forward Bloc), Sant Harchand Singh Longwal (Akali Dal), Tridib Chowdhury (R.S.P.), Chandrajit Jadav (Janabadi), N. T. Rama Rao, Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, Jagjivan Ram, I. K. Gujral, Mir Kassim, Farooq Abdullah and many others.

Refer Document under Appendix (ii) of this Volume covering the Statement on Centre-State Relations adopted in the meeting of the Opposition Parties held in Srinagar.

Our Party stands for the unity of the country and fights all forces of disintegration; we definitely stand for an effective and efficient Centre capable of defending the country, organising and consolidating its economic life, and adequately armed with powers to discharge its other jobs like foreign policy, communication, foreign trade, etc.

Unfortunately, this urge for unity among the people, their desire that India should be protected against external aggression, has been exploited by the ruling party to appropriate dictatorial powers to the Centre, abrogating and eroding the powers of the constituent States. The ruling party's idea of a strong Centre is a dictatorial Centre carrying out its behests. The fact that the notorious 42nd Amendment of the Emergency days reduced the States to the position of a subordinate dependent of the Government of India showed that an attack on their powers was an inevitable requirement of authoritarian rule. The question of Centre-State relations therefore not only relates to the question of defending Indian unity, it has become an issue in the struggle between the forces of dictatorship and democracy.

Central Domination

This is not accidental. The Constitution that was framed after Independence contained the seeds of Central domination. It reflected the needs of the capitalist path and development which required India as a unified single homogeneous market. It reflected the needs of the big capitalists allied with the landlords, who considered demands of democracy, more powers for States or equality of languages as obstacles to their economic growth and political power.

The Programme of our Party states: "It is but natural that in such a situation the contradiction between the Central Government and the States should have grown. Underlying these contradictions often lies the deeper contradiction between the big bourgeoisie on the one hand and the entire people including the bourgeoisie of this or that State on the other. This deeper contradiction gets constantly aggravated due to the accentuation of the unevenness of development under capitalism."

The pro-vested interests policies of the Centre, the economic crises, the impoverishment of the masses resulted in increased attacks on democratic rights and the rights of the States.

This process was accompanied by abject economic dependence of the States on the Centre. The Centre decides the amounts of public borrowing to be done by the States; it monopolises credit made available by the banking sector and makes the States dependent on ad hoc grants sanctioned by it. All this together with the method of determining the size of the State Plan reduces Planning in the States to a mockery and makes it an adjunct of the Central Plan, to be curtailed or expanded according to the convenience and needs of Big Business which dominates the thinking in Central Plans. Backwardness and perpetuation of unevenness result from this. Planning in States is not geared to the needs of the people of the States or to the genuine need of all-India development.

Extreme Centralisation

Over the years this concentration of political and economic power at the Centre has grown, eroding whatever federal elements there were in the Constitution. The Emergency with its 42nd Amendment Act brought the process to a climax. The provision under the 42nd Amendment Act to send Central Reserve Police to the States without the prior consent of the State Governments, the further provision that these forces when deployed in the States would take their orders only from the Central Government epitomised the process of extreme centralisation.

The Centre was armed by the Constitution with sufficient powers to intervene and deal with any problem arising in any part of the country. Added to this are the powers which the Centre assumed for itself during the thirty-year-long rule of one party when most of the States were often used against Opposition parties duly elected in State elections. By misusing the Governors' power, minority Ministries of the ruling party were installed and the verdict of the electorate was nullified.

Similarly, by withholding Presidential assent to Bills passed by State Legislatures the Centre has succeeded in sabotaging

progressive legislations passed in the interests of the people. The agrarian legislation passed by the Left Front Government of West Bengal has yet to receive Presidential assent though months have passed since the Legislature voted it. The measure to grant recognition to trade unions on the basis of secret ballot passed by the earlier Left Front Ministry was killed using the same device of withholding assent. A measure passed by the LDF Government of Kerala met with the same fate. Consent was withheld from a Bill duly passed by the Tamil Nadu Legislature.

Equality and Autonomy

It is clear that the unity of India and preservation of democracy, coordination of planned economic development and other basic tasks cannot be achieved without the political process of coordination of the activities of the Central and State Governments. That is why our Party proposes real equality and autonomy for States. Without this sense of equality and autonomy in the State sphere, Indian unity will not be strong and the feeling of being one people and one country will be weakened. Against the attack of divisive forces what is required is a strong sense and urge for unity, and States' autonomy will go a long way in fulfilling this need. The State Legislatures and Governments must have sufficient freedom and powers to fulfil the desires and mandates of the people electing them. Denial of this reduces the constituent federal units to the status of dependencies, and lops off one arm of Indian democracy.

Our Party does not believe that a correct solution of the question will *ipso-facto* solve the problems of the Indian people. Their solution relates to changing the basic structure of society. But arming the States with autonomous powers, relaxing the dictatorial grip of the Centre and the ruling party will help the people to fight the grip of the vested interests on the States and Central Government.

Today the party which rules at the Centre is not the ruling party in several States. This gives added urgency to the question of a proper redistribution of powers between the Centre and the States. The problem is not easy of solution without mass pressure.

Because a proper solution demands a drastic cut in the dictatorial power of the ruling party, the ruling party will not easily agree to shed its power.

Party's Proposals

Taking into consideration the necessity of maintaining an effective Centre, combined with the urgent need to expand the powers of States to protect Indian unity and democracy, we make the following proposals:

I. To protect States' Autonomy, an amendment to Article 248 should be made to the effect that the Legislature of a State should have exclusive power to make any law with respect to any matter not enumerated in the Union or Concurrent List, as against the present provision which reserves this right to Parliament. In other words, the residual powers of the federation should lie with the States and not with the Centre. The States have to act in such a way while exercising their full rights in their own spheres that they do not transgress the spheres allotted to the Central Government; the latter, too, on its part should not interfere in the sphere of States, both legislative and executive. Article 249 giving power to the Centre to legislate on a subject in the State List under the plea of national interests should be deleted.

II. While enlarging the scope of the States' sphere, we must also try to preserve and strengthen the Union authority in subjects that could be carried out only by the Central authority and not by any single State, such as defence, foreign affairs including foreign trade, currency and communication and economic coordination. In areas, such as planning, fixing of prices, wages, etc., the Centre may not only coordinate but also issue general directions. In the matter of Planning and economic coordination, however, the Centre will have to conform to the general guidelines laid down by the National Development Council, in which the States will have representation along with the Centre. At the moment, neither the Council nor the Planning Commission is specifically referred to in the Constitution. This lacuna may be closed by introducing a separate article which should also state clearly that the composition of the Planning Commission will be

determined by the National Development Council. Loans and grants for developmental purposes are now the prerogative of the Planning Commission. It is thus important that the States have some say in the manner of operation of the Commission.

III. Heavy industries and power or irrigation schemes which concern more than one State have to be kept in the Union List, so that there can be a common policy. In matters concerning industrial licensing, etc., major modifications in regard to allocation of powers between the Centre and the States are called for. The list in the Seventh Schedule should be reformulated so that states may be given exclusive powers in respect of certain categories of industries.

The right of the Central Reserve Police or other police forces the Union Government may raise to operate in the States should be withdrawn. The subject of law and order and the police should be fully in the States' sphere and the Centre should not interfere with its own specially created forces.

Allocation of Finance

IV. The articles regarding the Finance Commission and distribution of revenues should be amended to provide for 75 per cent of the total revenues raised by the Centre from all sources for allocation to different States by the Finance Commission. This is necessary to end the mendicant status of the States. In what proportion and on what principle this 75 per cent of the total realisation should be divided between the States should be decided by the Finance Commission. It should not be the job of the Finance Commission to decide on the proportion of revenues to be distributed between the Centre and the States. Its task should be only to keep the proportion that each State should get from the total financial realisation by the Centre, 75 per cent of which is to be allotted to the States. Article 280, Clause 3 Sub-Clause(a) which provides for "the distribution between the Union and the States of the nett proceeds of the taxes which are to be or may be divided between the Union and the States", should be omitted and the entire clause be redrafted so as to make it clear that it is the duty to the Commission to make recommendations to

the President as to the allocation between the States of their respective share of the proceeds. The States must also be accorded more powers for imposing taxes on their own, and to determine the limit of public borrowing in their respective cases. To achieve these objectives the Seventh Schedule enumerating Union, States and Concurrent Lists should be suitably amended.

V. Articles 356 and 357 which enable the President to dissolve a State Government or its Assembly, or both, should be deleted. In the case of a constitutional breakdown in a State, provision must be made for the democratic step of holding elections and installing a new Government as in the case of the Centre. Similarly, Article 360 which empowers the President to interfere in a State administration on the ground of a threat to financial stability or credit of India should be deleted.

VI. Articles 200 and 201 which empower the Governor to reserve Bills passed by the Assembly for President's assent should be done away with. The States' Legislatures must be made supreme in the State's sphere and no interference by the Centre in this sphere should be allowed on any ground.

VII. In order to enforce the principle of equality of the federating units and to further protect States' autonomy, it is suggested that election to the Rajya Sabha should also be directly by the people at the same time as Lok Sabha elections. States must have equal representations in the Rajya Sabha. Both Houses must have equal powers.

All-India Services

VIII. All-India services like the IAS, the IPS, etc., whose officers are posted to the States but remain under the supervision and disciplinary control of the Central Government, must be abolished. There should be only Union services and State services and recruitment to them should be made respectively by the Union Government and the State Government concerned. Personnel of the Union services should be under the disciplinary control of the Union Government and those of the State services under the disciplinary control of the respective State Governments. The Central Government should have no jurisdiction over the personnel of the State services.

IX. A correct approach to the languages of the people is necessary in the interests of Indian unity and promoting a sense of equality.

Our Party is of the view that in the course of growing economic, social and intellectual intercourse, the people of the different States of India will develop in practice the language of inter-communication most suitable to their needs. This natural process will be hindered rather than helped if Hindi, the language of the largest linguistic group in the country, is sought to be imposed on the other peoples. While our Party is all for encouragement to the learning of Hindi by non-Hindi-speaking people, we are of the view that the equality of all Indian languages in Parliament and Central administration should be recognised. Members of Parliament should have the right to speak in any Indian language and simultaneous translation will have to be provided for in all other languages. All Acts, Government orders and resolutions of the Centre should be made available in all Indian languages. The use of English in the field of administration, legislation, judiciary and as the medium of instruction in education should be discarded replacing it with the people's language of the State concerned. The right of the people to receive instruction in their mother-tounge in educational institutions as well as its use as the medium of education in the State up to the highest standard should be recognised. The Urdu language and its script should be protected. The Eighth Schedule should be amended to include languages like Nepali.

X. The present electoral system enables a party with a minority of votes to secure a majority of seats in Parliament or the Legislature. The disastrous consequences of this were seen during the Emergency when the Congress(I) Government elected on a minority vote, introduced authoritarian rule riding roughshod over the rights of the States and the people. It is therefore necessary to introduce the system of proportional representation and provide for the right of recall.

XI. The present special status of Kashmir within the Indian Union should be retained.

Polit Bureau Communique*

**Issued After Its Meeting Held in New Delhi
On September 3-4, 1983**

A two-day meeting of the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) was held in New Delhi on September 3-4, 1983.

The meeting warmly greeted the trade unions, other mass organisations, political parties and other friends of the peace movement who made the observance of September 1 as the Day of Struggle for Peace a magnificent success. Massive demonstrations were held in Calcutta, other urban and rural centres of West Bengal as well as in Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and other States. They showed that the Indian people are not behind their sisters and brothers in other countries in the determination to wage an uncompromising struggle against the warmongers.

Imperialist Threat

It is necessary now in the P.B.'s opinion to carry forward and strengthen the peace movement. For, defying the will of the people throughout the world, including their own countries, the imperialists headed by the USA are putting into action their nefarious plan of installing the Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe. The ruling circles of the UK and the FRG have come out in full support of the American plan, taking the first steps towards carrying it out. The month of December when these designs will be fully carried out will thus be crucial. The P.B., therefore, resolved to intensify the struggle of which demonstrations of September 1 were the beginning.

Although Europe occupies a central place in the struggle between the forces of peace and those of war, there is no part of the world

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which is free from the offensive of imperialism. Central America and the Caribbean, West Asia, Southern Africa, South and South East Asia—all these are declared to be "areas of vital interest" for imperialism. The ruling circles of many of these countries are liberally financed to arm themselves to the teeth and to launch attacks on the democratic movements in their own countries, as well as on their peace-loving neighbours.

Our own country is facing the impact of these policies, as is seen in the arming of the militarist ruling circle of Pakistan and the activities of pro-imperialist elements in some other neighbouring countries.

The P.B. conveyed its sense of solidarity to the courageous fighters of the democratic movement in Iran, particularly the leaders and members of the Tudeh Party who are facing inhuman repression from the reactionary circles of the country. It joined all those who are demanding that the torture of Tudeh Party leaders and activists inside the Iranian prisons be put an end to and that they be released. Among those who are imprisoned and tortured in jail is the General Secretary of the Tudeh Party, comrade Nooredin Kianoori.

Support to Pak People

The P.B. warmly greeted the people of Pakistan who, under the leadership of several political parties who have come together in the Movement for Restoration of Democracy, are fighting the military regime. Their struggle is part of the struggle of the people of all the neighbouring countries who are facing the danger of being turned into the bases of operation for American imperialism and their losing their national independence.

We the people of India are interested in the success of the Pakistani people which is seen in the spontaneous demonstrations in support in our country of the courageous fighters for democracy in Pakistan.

The P.B. noted that several political parties in the country are unaware of the serious danger which imperialist policies constitute

to our freedom and sovereignty. Many of them therefore, show an attitude of total indifference and cynicism towards the peace movement; they bracket the aggressive United States with the peace-loving Soviet Union as "two super-Powers".

This attitude of hostility to the Socialist Soviet Union and attachment to United States reached the highest point in the open denunciation by the BJP and Lok Dal of the support given by the Government to the democratic movement in Pakistan as "interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan." The P. B. is happy that the Left and democratic forces have disassociated themselves from this stand.

The P.B. associated itself with those in India or abroad who deplored the loss of 269 passengers in a South Korean aircraft which violated Soviet air space. It, however, noted that this sad incident is being used by American imperialism and its allies to whip up anti-Soviet hysteria throughout the world. It noted further that the South Korean aircraft was being closely followed by an American aircraft which has been officially admitted to be engaged in reconnaissance within Soviet territory. It is, therefore, clear that behind the tragic loss of human lives is the provocative actions in which the United States and its South Korean ally are engaged.

Working Class Lead

The P.B. greeted the trade unions and all-India federations of workers and employees who made the Second All-India Convention of the National Campaign Committee a magnificent success. The resolutions adopted at the convention would help the strengthening of the unity of the working class which is the basis of the broader political unity of radical and democratic forces. The convention took the initiative in rallying the workers and middle classes behind the movement against nuclear war. The convention demanded involvement of the working class in the formulation and implementation of production plans on the basis of the satisfaction of the workers' demands. This and other resolutions would help the evolution of national policies alternative to the policies of the ruling classes.

The P.B. noted that this lead was given by the organised working class at a time when the policies of the ruling party are leading the country towards a serious crisis. The prices of essential commodities are increasing at an alarming rate. The conditions created by drought and flood in several parts of the country are making it impossible for the common people to make a living. The relief being organised by the Government does not reach those to whom it is supposed to be meant. None of these problems can be dealt with unless the Government consults with the people's organisations and political parties who represent the working class, peasantry and other sections of the common people, and arrives at a consensus.

Opposition Alliances

Reviewing the political situation in the country, the P.B. noted that the formation of the National Democratic Alliance by the BJP and the Lok Dal will not strengthen the struggle for democracy in the country since it is a combination of reactionary forces. It, therefore, welcomed the coming together of the Janata Party, the Congress(S), the DSP and the Rashtriya Congress whose leaders are at the moment working out a common programme on the basis of which progressive forces can be united. It expressed the hope that the CPI(M) and other Left parties will be able to have such working arrangements with the four-party alliance as will help the struggles of the working class and other sections of the working people as well as the political struggles against the ruling party.

The P. B. finalised the documents to be presented at the meeting of the Central Committee which will last for a week from the 10th to the 16th of this month. The documents are (1) a review of the Party's work in the struggle for trade union unity, (2) report on the political developments and the work of the Party since the last meeting of the CC, and (3) report on the three-member delegation which visited China and restored fraternal relations with the Communist Party of China.

Among the political developments which will come under review are the two all-India meetings of Opposition parties held in Vijayawada and New Delhi; the third meeting which will be held in Srinagar on October 4 and 5; the proposals to be made on behalf of the CPI(M) before the Sarkaria Commission; the deterioration of the Punjab situation due to the refusal of the Central Government to accept and implement the consensus of Opposition parties including the Akali Dal; the Assam situation which threatens to become worse due to the recalcitrant attitude of the separatist agitators, etc.

On The American Action Against The Soviet Delegation To The United Nations*

**Statement Dated September 19, 1983 Issued in
New Delhi By The Polit Bureau of C.P.I.(M)**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) condemns the arrogant action of the Reagan Administration in preventing the leader of the Soviet delegation to the U.N. General Assembly from landing in the USA, and in refusing to provide security for him.

The U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar was right in protesting against this action which, it was pointed out amounted to violation of "the Host Country Agreement", providing that the U.S. will not prevent any diplomat of the U.N. member-countries from coming, for any reason whatsoever.

The Polit Bureau agrees with the spokesman of the USSR that this action of the Reagan Administration calls into question the suitability of any city in the United States as the Headquarters of the United Nations.

The direct and immediate result of this provocative action of the Reagan Administration is the hotting up of the cold war, putting still further impediments in the process of dialogue between the Warsaw Pact and NATO Powers with a view to saving humanity from the impending threat of a nuclear war.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 25, 1983.

C.C. Communique On The Current Situation*

**Issued in New Delhi Following Its Meeting
Held On September 10-16, 1983**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) met in New Delhi from September 10 to 16, 1983. The Committee at the outset paid homage to Comrade M.R. Venkataraman, a member of the Central Committee and a veteran leader of the Party.

The Central Committee noted the advance registered by the trade union movement in the country, the growing urge for unity among the workers and employees and the consistent and continuous efforts that are being made by the Centre of Indian Trade Unions to translate this urge into a reality. The formation of the National Campaign Committee was a big step forward in this direction.

The recent second convention of the NCC in New Delhi was the most representative such gathering, so far, of trade unions and industrial federations. The C.C. also noted the weaknesses that still persist because of which the trade union movement is unable to discharge its tasks in regard to the general democratic movement, especially the peasant movement. The Committee again underlined the task of creating political consciousness in the working class and developing it into socialist consciousness. It also emphasised the need to strengthen the unity of the working class, coming all the present weaknesses of the trade union movement.

Peace Campaign

The Central Committee noted with satisfaction that the units of the CPI(M) and other Left Parties, together with the mass organisations led by them, successfully observed September 1 on a countrywide scale, as a Day of Peace and against the War Danger.

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in Calcutta, which saw the biggest demonstration on the day, about two lakh people, including 30,000 women participated in the march. In Kerala, there were impressive demonstrations which culminated in mass rallies in all the cities and towns. In Andhra Pradesh such demonstrations were held in 50 to 60 centres. Members of the Central Committee reported on the wide participation of people in the observance of the day in other States also.

It is in this context that the U.S. imperialist provocation of sending a South Korean airliner into the Soviet Union, and the attempts to use the Soviet counter-action to whip up war hysteria, has to be seen. While the Western Press is playing up only the Soviet veto in the U.N. Security Council, the reality is that the exposure of many details of the manufactured incident in the West itself, the fact that the USA had to exert all its pressure and coercion to get the minimum nine votes for the resolution, and the fact that not all the Western Powers have gone along fully with the USA in its sanctions, have defeated the purpose of this particular provocation.

But the danger to peace remains because the U.S. imperialists are prepared to engage themselves in any provocation to heighten the danger of war, if possible to light the flames of war. Pronouncements made by top military and political leaders in the United States, including McNamara, show that the outbreak of an actual nuclear war may take place any time unless the anti-imperialist forces prevent the war mongers from carrying out their conspiracies. Hence it is necessary that the beginning made on September 1, should be continued and carried forward.

Imperialist Interventions

The Central Committee noted with concern the direct intervention of U.S. imperialism with troops, weapons and aircraft carriers and supersonic planes in Central America to overthrow the Sandinista Government in Nicaragua, liquidate the liberation struggle of the Salvadoran people and put pressure on Cuba.

The C.C. also noted with alarm, the direct U.S. intervention in Lebanon with a view to partitioning that country and bringing it

under the control of U.S. imperialism and Israeli Zionism, to pose a permanent threat to the Arab world. The C.C. was also concerned with the situation in Southern Africa where the racist regime of Pretoria is not only refusing to grant freedom to Namibia according to the U.N. resolution but is also committing aggression on neighbouring front-line States. The situation in North Africa is also causing concern with the U.S.-French military intervention in Chad.

The Central Committee expressed its solidarity with the peoples of Latin America, of West Asia, especially the people of Lebanon and the Palestinians, and of Africa.

The C.C. expressed its solidarity with the courageous fighters of the democratic movement in Iran, especially the leaders and members of the Tudeh Party, including its General Secretary Comrade Nooredin Kianoori, who are being jailed and tortured inhumanly. It demanded an end to this repression and torture and the release of Tudeh leaders and members.

Pakistan, Sri Lanka

The Central Committee conveyed its warm greetings to the people of Pakistan and their leaders whose glorious movement for the end of the military dictatorship, restoration of the 1973 Constitution and democratic elections, has entered its second month despite brutal firings, jailing and flogging. Major political parties in that country have demanded a reversal of the military regime's foreign policy which is making Pakistan a base of U.S. imperialist operations in the region. The victory of the Pakistani people will be a big blow to the U.S. imperialist schemes, and at the same time, will enable the Pakistani people to enjoy the rights and liberties of a democratic regime with which they can steadily march along the lines which they themselves choose for their country.

The C.C. associated itself with the sentiments expressed by the Indian people in support of the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka which is under attack by the majority Sinhala chauvinists. From our own experience in our country we know how the vested interests and imperialist agencies exploit such problems to create and nourish divisive forces. The Indian people want the unity of the Sinhala

and Tamil peoples of Sri Lanka to be preserved and strengthened. The C.C. congratulated the Tamil Nadu Committee of the Party for taking a stand for unity and integrity of Sri Lanka and fighting the chauvinistic demand for Indian intervention in that country.

Crisis Deepening

Despite the propaganda gimmicks of the Union Ministers and other Government spokesmen, the C.C. noted that the living conditions of the people were getting worse and worse. Even the doctored official statistics show that the level of prices of all essential commodities has reached unprecedented heights. Unemployment, too, is growing at an alarming rate—not only are the new entrants to the labour market unable to get jobs, but those employed are increasingly being thrown out. Ever more and more tax burdens are being imposed on the people. The people over vast areas of the country who have been badly affected by severe drought and flood are undergoing indescribable sufferings because of Government's callousness in regard to giving them relief.

While all this is adding to the miseries of the common people, the Central and State budgets as well as the figures of foreign trade show that the country's economy is going from bad to worse. Reports prepared by the Reserve Bank of India and the Prime Minister's Council of Economic Advisers, as well as foreign institutions like the IMF and World Bank, emphasise the point that India's economy will face an acutely critical situation in the next two to three years. It is becoming more and more clear that so long as the Government pursues the same economic policies which it has been pursuing for over three decades, the country cannot get out of the serious crisis in which it has landed itself.

Explosive Situation

The discontent arising out of this economic situation is sought to be utilised by the divisive forces to expand their activities. There is a total breakdown of law and order in a major part of the country. Complete chaos and anarchic conditions prevail in the ruling Congress(I) party. There is a breakdown of the ruling machinery itself. The bureaucracy is reigning supreme, the judiciary is bypassed and Governors grant pardon to circumvent convictions

by the Court. Authoritarian attacks on civil liberties and ordinary laws, should cause concern in all democratic minds.

The warning from the developments in Pakistan and Sri Lanka is that if the economic and other problems are not solved, if Centre-State relations are not put on a just basis, the situation will explode.

Assam and Punjab

The C.C. discussed the situation in Assam, getting worsened because of the recalcitrance of the agitators and the renewal of their separatist movement. The C.C. reiterates the Party's stand that only those who have infiltrated into Assam after 1971 should be identified and treated as foreigners. Any going back on this accepted position by the Government of India to propitiate the agitators will be a betrayal and will only further worsen the situation. The Party at the same time stands for effective safeguarding of the borders so that no further infiltration takes place.

In Punjab, the situation has deteriorated further because of the Central Government's refusal to accept and implement the consensus of the Opposition parties including the Akali Dal. In spite of the helping hand given by Opposition parties, the Government has created a situation in that State which has enabled the reactionary and disruptive elements to seize the initiative. The Government's policy is disrupting the unity of the country.

In Kerala, Indira Gandhi and her party joined hands with all the communal and casteist forces and the recurring crisis in the ruling front is a result of this. It is forced into a situation where it has to give more and more concessions to the communal and casteist forces just to be able to stay in office. The C.C. congratulated its Kerala unit and its allies in the State for the powerful and continuous campaign waged among the people against casteism and communalism.

Maintain Initiative

The C.C. discussed the recent developments in the Opposition. It noted that the formation of what is called the National Democratic Alliance of the BJP is an effort to bring about the maximum

Opposition unity to isolate the Left forces which are the consistent fighters against authoritarianism and in defence of the people. The other combination is the United Front of four parties which has expressed its readiness to work with the Left parties. This is a welcome development. The CPI(M) stands for every effort to isolate the authoritarian party. But it wants to stress that the people do not automatically change merely because they are discontented. Their discontent can be channelised onto the right lines only if mass struggles are organised not only on immediate economic and civil liberties issues, but against the basic policies of the Congress(I) Government, and the initiative is kept in the hands of the Left and democratic forces. Many of the bourgeois Opposition parties do not take this into account and seem to think that just by a few of them coming together, the situation in the country can be changed.

Most of the non-Left Opposition parties also do not have in their programme the struggle against the danger of war, against the imperialist pressures on our country, against the divisive forces, which have the support of imperialist agencies, to disrupt the unity and integrity of the country. Some of them even encourage the divisive forces, and many of them leave the country defenceless against imperialism and its accomplices. They do not realise that they are leaving the initiative in the hands of the authoritarian ruling party which poses as the champion of the struggle for preserving the independence of the country against imperialist machinations of preserving the unity and integrity of the country against the divisive forces, and with that pose, rally the people behind it. The experience is that if the Opposition parties do not take up the struggle against imperialism and the divisive forces, they will actually be weakening the struggle against authoritarianism.

Left Fronts' Advances

The Left Fronts wherever they exist, have advanced precisely because they have consistently taken up the struggle against imperialism—against the danger it creates of a nuclear world war and against its conspiracies in the sub-continent, the struggle against the divisive forces in defence of the unity of the people and integrity of the country, against authoritarianism in defence of the democratic rights and civil liberties, against the anti-people

policies of the Congress(I) Government in defence of the living standards of the people.

Left Front Governments have succeeded in increasing their popular support because of the alternative policies they have put forward and are implementing, despite all the serious limitations on their powers. They have used their legislative majority not just to stay in office but to implement measures to serve the people and to safeguard and extend their democratic rights and civil liberties, and to improve living conditions, unlike the Congress(I) Governments. They have always supported the struggles of the working class and working people and helped them win their demands. Thus the Left Front Governments' reliance is not only on their legislative majorities but on the growing mass support of the people. Instead of seeing this, slander campaigns are unleashed by the Congress(I) against the Left Front Governments. Unfortunately, some individuals of the Opposition parties are also not immune to this disease.

In this situation that has emerged, the C.C. has called on all Party units to play their role in the struggle against imperialism, against the divisive forces, in defence of democratic rights and civil liberties, in defence of the living standards of the people, and to make all efforts to have the maximum possible united action.

The C.C. called on all the Left forces to preserve and strengthen their unity and not allow any scope to any disruptive tendencies and activities.

The C.C. welcomed the restoration of Party to Party relations between the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the Communist Party of China and endorsed the work of the Party delegation to the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It heard a report from Comrade Jyoti Basu on his visit to the Soviet Union and his talks with the representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Resolutions Adopted by The Central Committee*

**In Its Meeting Held in New Delhi
On September 10-16, 1983**

(a) On Lebanon

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) notes with serious concern the dangerous situation that has developed in Lebanon with the direct military intervention of the US and French imperialists in that country. The armada of the US Sixth Fleet and a contingent of French ships are lying off the Lebanese coast. The US F-14 planes and French fighter planes from aircraft-carriers are constantly flying over Beirut and the city is often shelled from the ships. What was introduced into Lebanon as a "peace-keeping force" has turned into an interventionist force.

The so-called "redeployment of Israeli forces" is the beginning of the establishment of an occupation regime in Southern Lebanon and eventual annexation of this area. Simultaneously, the Israeli aggressors are threatening to strike at Syria.

This "redeployment" was done to provide room for US troops and it was arranged to provoke inter-communal clashes. The pretext was thus created for the US troops as well as French troops to intervene militarily in Beirut and the mountain areas of Lebanon. Clearly the intention is to divide Lebanon into US and Israeli occupation zones and turn it into a protectorate of the two aggressors.

The C.C. denounces the US imperialist-Israeli Zionist aggressors and demands that they put an end to their plots in Lebanon. The C.C. extends its support to the Lebanese people in their struggle to maintain the unity, security and territorial integrity of their country and for the restoration of its violated sovereignty. The C.C. hopes that the entire Arab world, especially Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organisation, will unitedly face and defeat

the imperialists and Zionists, win the just right of the Palestinian people for a State of their own and for the vacation of aggression of Arab territories.

(b) On Central America and Caribbean

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) denounces the USA's intervention with its troops and weapons in Central America and the Caribbean in an effort to destroy the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua, liquidate the liberation movements in El Salvador and Guatemala, and surround Cuba with reactionary Governments. Progressive opinion in the USA itself is alarmed at this US intervention comparing it to the Vietnam war.

In the joint US-Honduran military manoeuvres, the USA is using 5000 of its own troops; the USA has already started deployment of forces off the coasts of Nicaragua and the rest of Central America and the Caribbean, which is becoming a virtual blockade of Nicaragua. With the coup in Guatemala organised by the USA, the imperialists have further prepared the stage for direct attacks on Nicaragua. In the present day tense world situation, such adventures by the US imperialists can create an explosive situation.

The Contadero group of countries has expressed its opposition to this US action and called for negotiated settlements to problems of the region. The C.C. welcomes this stand.

The C.C. expresses its solidarity with the people of Central America and the Caribbean and is confident that the Nicaraguan revolution will defend itself and march forward, that the Salvadoran and Guatemalan liberation forces will triumph.

(c) On The Mass Movement In Pakistan

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) hails the people of Pakistan who have entered the second month of their heroic struggle against the tyrannical military dictatorship of Zia-ul Haq. All the major political parties of Pakistan, sinking their differences, have joined hands to lead the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy, demanding the restoration of the 1973 Constitution and the holding of democratic elections.

The people of Pakistan have been ground down by successive military dictatorships. The Martial Law regime of Zia-ul Haq is the most oppressive and despotic. This dictatorship has subverted the 1973 Constitution, banned all political activities, suppressed all democratic rights of the people, and in the name of introducing and implementing Islamic laws, committed barbarous atrocities on the people. The military dictatorship has allowed the US imperialists to use Pakistan as a base for their machinations in the region.

The present movement is the outburst of the Pakistani people living for long under suffocation by the total denial of democracy. With great courage they are facing the police and the army. The working class, middle classes, lawyers, students, women are all in the van of the movement, which has now expanded from its storm-centre, Sind, to Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier as also Punjab.

The military dictatorship is seeking to suppress the movement with monstrous repression—firings, and killings, inhuman floggings, harsh jail sentences and heavy fines. Braving all this, the movement is gathering momentum and expanding.

The Zia dictatorship had not expected that the movement would attain this sweep. The dictator is now resorting to his usual tricks to perpetuate the Martial Law regime by talking about his readiness to have talks with the political leaders and hold election even before March 1984. The leaders of the movement have rightly rejected this and have reiterated their demand for the immediate ending of the Martial Law regime.

The C.C. also notes with satisfaction that leaders of major political parties have demanded a reversal of the military regime's foreign policy of making Pakistan a base of US imperialist operations in the region.

The C.C. denounces the brutal repression unleashed on the people by the Martial Law regime. It is confident that the Pakistani people will win, and their victory will be a big blow to the US imperialist schemes, and at the same time will enable them to enjoy the rights and liberties of a democratic regime with which they can steadily march along the lines which they themselves choose for their country.

Tasks On The Trade Union Front*

**Document Adopted By The Central Committee
of The CPI(M) At Its New Delhi Meeting On
September 10-16, 1983**

The 1967 document of the Party explained in detail the tasks that our Party as a Marxist-Leninist Party has to discharge in conducting trade union struggles. Many of these tasks have been left undischarged. Meanwhile many changes have taken place in the country and outside. India's trade unions have gone through many and varied experiences and are facing new problems created by the economic situation and the sharpening of the political struggle.

All this requires a clear understanding of the present situation to arm our cadres and workers, in the context of our revolutionary responsibilities, to adopt correct methods and tactics to conduct the daily struggles of the working class.

The earlier document outlined the immediate tasks in the following words: "Our immediate task is to effect the maximum mobilisation of the working class to arrest the looming offensive of the capitalists and the Government which is under the constant pressure of the American imperialists. For this purpose we want to pursue the tactics of united front while simultaneously carrying on a fight against the revisionists and reformists on the trade union and political front. We regard our trade unions, our independent strength, to be the basic force in the struggle for working class unity and we attach utmost importance to strengthen and develop the mass base of our unions. We are conscious that in the coming struggle we will be faced with repression, attacks on trade union rights and we are determined to evolve methods of functioning despite all this.

*Published as a booklet.

“By pursuing correct methods of proletarian democracy in our unions, and strike committees, by developing them in joint unions, we intend to broaden the trade union movement and bring the rank and file into the picture as an active force. By our work in reformist unions and unions of the revisionists we continue to press our fight for unity and overcome the resistance of the leadership of the union. By linking the daily struggle with the major political issues, with the defence of the poor peasants and agricultural workers, with the fight against American imperialism, we intend to take the trade union struggle out of the confines of economism and reformism. And by raising the revolutionary consciousness of the workers, by bringing them nearer the Party, by establishing the leading role of the Party in the trade unions...we prepare the working class to discharge its historic role of leading the People’s Democratic Revolution on the basis of the workers’ and peasants’ alliance.”

The leading role of the working class consists primarily in leading the peasantry for the agrarian revolution. This leadership can come only through a workers’ and peasants’ alliance, the working class actively supporting the struggle of the peasantry, fighting for its demands and coming out as the champion of the interests of the peasants and agricultural workers.

The last part is the most important part for the Party, for its links the Party’s trade union work with its revolutionary activities and objectives.

Our Party does not regard the working class as just one of the oppressed and exploited sections of the society. We are the Party of the working class which has a special leading role to play in the revolution. Our Party, in its Programme, lays stress on working class leadership in the People’s Democratic Revolution.

Our Programme says: “The People’s Democratic Front cannot attain victory except under the leadership of the working class of India and its political party. Historically no other class in modern society is destined to play the role and the entire experience of our time demonstrates this truth.” (P. 44)

The Tasks document says: “The working class as a class can play its historic, political class role in the People’s Democratic

Revolution if the trade union struggle where it gains its initial consciousness trains it, disciplines it and raises its consciousness to discharge its political obligations.”

It adds: “For the Marxist-Leninist Party the tasks on the trade union front do not comprise only the tactical line of running the trade unions as organs of daily struggle for the effective defence of the economic interests of the working class under given conditions. While defending the daily interests they aim at organising a disciplined working class with revolutionary consciousness, drawing it nearer the Party, with its best elements joining the Party in hundreds enabling the class as a whole to play its historic political role in the revolutionary struggle.

“Herein lies the main difference between the revisionist, reformist and opportunist outlook on trade union struggle and the Marxist-Leninist outlook.”

The experience of the last few years and the result from our trade union activity reveal that this consciousness is very shallow; that the Party and the cadres and leaders working in the trade union movement do not estimate their activities on this front in the light of this task enjoined by Marxism-Leninism on us.

The resolution of the Salkia Plenum laid its finger on the spot when it said: “Yet it cannot be said that the Party and Party members have succeeded in doing communist work in these organisations. The Tasks on the Trade Union Front warned against the deep-rooted tendency of economism. The Party and its members have not succeeded in elevating the consciousness generated in the trade union struggles to higher socialist consciousness. A large section of the workers under our influence has not gone beyond Left-democratic consciousness though consistently voting for our Party and the Left in general.” (Report, P. 48)

The situation has not improved since this observation was made and the earlier deep-rooted outlook and practices have not changed.

The growth of the Party and the rise of class consciousness arise out of the practical activity of our class. This activity starts

with the struggle for immediate economic demands. Under the guidance of our Party and the trade unions, in the course of struggle gradual elevation of consciousness must take place, so that the character of the struggle and the consciousness with which it is fought continue to change.

The working class of our country has not been inactive during these years. It has been engaged in constant battles with the employers and the Government facing intense repression.

Since 1966 every year more than a million and a half workers have been going on strike. In 1972 the loss of mandays in strikes and lock-outs was 20.5 million, in 1973 it was 20.6 million, in 1974, the year of the railway strike, it was 31.2 million; in 1975, by June when the Emergency was declared, it already exceeded 16 million:

Yet in these years the total Party membership hardly increased. It was 107,000 in 1972; it increased only to 118,000 by 1977.

This means that despite our leadership or participation in these struggles, despite our class actively resisting the capitalists for months, we could not raise their consciousness and draw them into the Party.

In the subsequent years also the working class kept on fighting. The number of mandays lost in 1978 was 27 million; in 1979, 43 million; in 1980, 21 million; in 1981, 25 million.

The 1982 figures surpassed all previous figures recording a loss of 62 million days. Excluding the Bombay textile strike the loss was 43.38 million days.

Party membership increased in these years. It increased from 157,000 in 1978 to 313,000 in 1983, i.e., it has nearly doubled. It is obvious, however, that the Party is unable to claim that a substantial part of this increase is from the working class and the result of the struggles it has been waging.

Figures of working class membership in the Party are not available except for West Bengal. The political-organisational report adopted by the Eleventh Congress quotes the State Party's report to the following effect: "Analysing the scrutiny reports of all the 67,557 members of various units in these 12 districts it is found that among them 13,393 are workers, 12,167 are

employees, etc.” Similar figures are not available from other states. But it is clear that recruitment among workers is lagging and is neglected.

But the failure of the trade unions should not be taken to be the sole reason for the present state of affairs. Surely, during the course of the last decade and a half, when every year more than a million workers were battling, thousands were coming into contact with the Party, attending its meetings, voting for it in large numbers in some states. The inability of the Party to nurture and train them, to take them out of the trade union framework, must be regarded as a collateral reason for the present state of affairs.

Perhaps the document on Tasks on the Trade Union Front mixed the responsibility of the trade unions and the Party and did not sufficiently stress the truth that only the Party can create socialist consciousness, and the creation of this consciousness on the basis of trade union experience alone is beyond the capacity of the trade union organisation. Trade union organisations can utilise their platform to the maximum extent possible to propagate advanced ideas, but even then the experience and consciousness of the mass will be limited. At the same time it should be realised that no one can claim that all our trade union organisations are using the maximum possibilities of the trade union platform to advance the consciousness of the workers.

Sometimes Party members and trade union leaders mistake the anti-Congress feelings and consciousness of the workers as class-consciousness or advanced consciousness. The document on Tasks on the Trade Union Front warns against this mistake. It says: “Some comrades often mistake the anti-Congress consciousness of large sections of the working class for socialist consciousness and thereby exaggerate the level of working class consciousness which leads to the underestimation of the importance of fighting backwardness in the working class...Anti-Congress consciousness is a general feeling of anger against Congress rule without a clear class understanding of the situation and the class forces required to change it. This anti-Congress understanding often fails to see the difference between one political party and another in so far as they both attack the

Congress. The class attack which our Party makes against the class policies of the Congress rule is not distinguished from the anti-Congress denunciation of the revisionists and other Left parties in which they really do not question the basic policies of the Congress..." (P. 49)

The Salkia Plenum report removed the confusion in regard to the responsibility for creating socialist consciousness. It says:

"It should be realised that in dealing with trade union struggle we are dealing with our own class. If our Party fails to develop socialist consciousness from the Left and democratic consciousness created by the present-day trade union struggle, no one else will. Our Party alone can create the consciousness in the best cadres of the working class that the proletariat has to play the vanguard role in the revolution, and that for this, the best among the trade union militants be organised and trained to be brought into the Party." (P. 49)

In spite of this clear understanding things have not changed. The rise in the consciousness of the workers despite our many struggles and political agitations and battles had not gone beyond Left-democratic consciousness so far as our immediate followers are concerned. As for the vast mass of workers, trade union activity for them has no relation with any political activity. They look upon trade unions as an instrument of achieving immediate economic demands and consider themselves free to follow any political party of their choice which means in practice any bourgeois political party including the ruling party.

The mute acceptance of the Emergency, except in the case of Kerala where a call for strike was given—West Bengal was still under semi-fascist terror—and the support lent by the INTUC and AITUC to it, epitomised the level of consciousness. This is economism which supports bourgeois politics.

Why is it that the main mass of workers under the banner of the CITU or other organisations led by us has not attained this revolutionary consciousness, when our Party considers our activity in trade unions as a link in the struggle for developing working class leadership and hegemony in the revolutionary struggle?

There has been repeated criticism of our trade union activity—neglecting political propaganda, ignoring the minimum political tasks that trade unions under our leadership are expected to discharge.

Some of our trade unions and trade union leaders are not only guilty of economism, they do not wish to go beyond factory consciousness, are opposed to industrial federations and all-India unions—afraid to persuade their workers to affiliate their unions to the CITU and, above all, they do not rouse the workers when Government's policies are being formed but wait till the effects of these policies start affecting the workers in their factories.

All these defects and weaknesses in our conduct of the trade unions have to be removed to prepare a solid ground for the Party to rouse socialist consciousness in the minds of the workers. But it will be un-Marxist to ascribe the present state of affairs—the failure to attract workers towards the Party, build the Party and create higher consciousness—solely to the ills of our trade union movement. That will be ascribing a non-existent virtue to trade union consciousness. Socialist consciousness cannot be created without the Party. It is, therefore, necessary to understand what socialist consciousness is and why only the Party can create it.

What Lenin says about socialist consciousness should clear the matter: "Working class consciousness cannot be genuine political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to all cases of tyranny, oppression, violence, abuse, no matter what class is affected—unless they are trained, moreover, to respond from a social-democratic point of view and no other. The consciousness of the working masses cannot be genuine class-consciousness unless the workers learn from concrete, and above all from the topical political facts and events to observe every other social class in *all* the manifestations of its intellectual, ethical and political life, unless they learn to apply in practice the materialist analysis and materialist estimate, all aspects of the life and activity of all classes, strata and groups of the population." ("What is to be Done?")

This is the task that can be discharged only by the Party. The Party has not yet properly started on the road in spite of its realisation that it has to discharge this responsibility. The practical weaknesses have to be uncovered and corrected.

The major weakness seems to be that the Party's direct intervention in working class activity and life is minimal, the major part being left to the trade unions and comrades working in the trade unions.

Direct political activity of the Party among the workers is weak; and whereas in some advanced states such activity is more frequent and widespread, it is confined to some immediate democratic issues, including elections, etc. For the most part this activity partakes of the nature of agitation.

This is certainly too insufficient to create class or socialist consciousness. This is why even though thousands come near the Party as a result of strike-struggles, only a few are enrolled in the Party.

This is natural because the socialist activities of a Communist Party are expected to run on different lines. Lenin divides Party's activities into two types or methods—propaganda and agitation.

Regarding propaganda he says: "The socialist activities of Russian social-democrats consist in spreading by propaganda the teachings of scientific socialism, in spreading among the workers a proper understanding of the present social and economic system, its basis and its development, and understanding of the various classes in Russian society, of their inter-relations, of the struggle between these classes, of the role of the working class in this struggle, of its attitude towards the declining and developing classes, towards the past and future of capitalism, and undertaking of the historical task of international social-democracy and of the Russian working class." This is propaganda—socialist propaganda.

It will be realised that our activities among the workers hardly fall within the category of what Lenin calls propaganda. Propaganda comprises constant and continuous, unceasing efforts to educate the working class in the spirit of scientific socialism and its revolutionary responsibilities. Except for the organisation

of Party schools from time to time where working class attendance is minimal, the Party does not propagate the basic doctrine and outlook by imbibing which alone the working class can become revolutionary.

The Salkia Plenum report correctly observed: "The Leninist Party cannot be built by just propagating the Party's programme and fundamentals of Marxism. It must continually battle against non-Marxian, anti-Marxian indigenous ideologies—Gandhian socialism, Nehru socialism...It is therefore of utmost importance that there is a *centrally directed* ideological propaganda through pamphlets, etc."

This task has certainly not been discharged. Without combating non-Marxian, anti-Marxian indigenous ideologies among the workers, the superiority of Marxism-Leninism cannot be established.

Lenin explains what is meant by agitation: "Inseparably connected with propaganda is agitation among the workers, which naturally comes to the forefront in the present political conditions of Russia and at the present level of development of the masses of workers. Agitation among the workers means that the social-democrats take part in all the manifestations of working class struggle, in all the conflicts between the workers and the capitalists over the working day, wages, working conditions, etc. Our task is to merge our activity with the practical everyday questions of working class life" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 12, P. 329) (not to treat these struggles with contempt dubbing them as economism).

Clarifying the idea further Lenin writes: "The propagandist dealing with, say, the question of unemployment, must explain the capitalistic nature of the crisis, the cause of their inevitability in modern society, the necessity of the transformation of this society into a socialist society etc. In a word he must present many ideas, so many, indeed, that they will be understood as an integral-whole only by a comparatively few persons. The agitator, however, speaking on the same subject, will take as an illustration a fact that is most glaring, the most widely known to his audience, say the death of an unemployed worker's family from starvation, the growing impoverishment, etc., and utilising the fact known to all,

will direct his efforts to present a *single idea* to the 'masses', e.g., the senselessness of poverty; he will strive *to rouse* discontent and indignation among the masses, against the crying injustice, leaving a more complete explanation of the contradiction to the propagandist; consequently the propagandist operates chiefly by means of the *printed word*; the agitator by means of spoken word." ("What is to be Done?", *Collected Works*, Vol. 5)

It will be seen that the work and activity of our Party among the workers is mainly of the agitational character. It generally deals with current political or economic issues not connecting them with the basic socialist stand of the Party. Even the written word—our pamphlets, etc.—are mostly agitational pamphlets focussing attention on some immediate issue. Some comrades mistake these agitational pamphlets or speeches for weapons to create socialist consciousness. Agitation of course must occupy the foremost position at the present stage of our movement. But agitation unaccompanied by propaganda fails to turn into socialist consciousness the awakening generated by trade union struggles.

The Party therefore must overcome these weaknesses. The Party's direct political activity in the working class must increase manifold. It should be in a position to explain its class position to the working class and popularise it. The propaganda of the Party must increase manifold so that the working class learns to connect the immediate issues with the main revolutionary objectives of the Party, with the achievement of socialism. There must be centrally directed ideological propaganda.

It should be remembered that the working class is to be freed not only from bourgeois ideology but also from the influence of feudal ideology. The Salkia Plenum report correctly observed that the battle has "to be carried on against religious obscurantism—casteism, minority and majority communalism, educating the new cadre, and the people in the nature of the class origin of these ideologies. The fight against caste and communal obscurantism is all the more necessary as the ruling classes and their henchmen are constantly using these weapons to divert the people and disrupt the unity of the toilers." (Pp. 52-53)

Neglect of this task by the Party weakens working class consciousness and amounts to forgetting that our revolution has an anti-feudal character also.

The work of individual communists in trade unions often does not fall in the category of communist work. Communists must tell the whole truth to the working class, said Lenin. These comrades often do not see beyond daily trade union work and work as honest trade unionists. They have no time to develop the Party.

Efforts at Politicalisation

The justified criticism about failure to create socialist consciousness does not mean that there has been no change in our earlier practice, or that our trade unions have not made an effort to politicalise the working class.

A number of our trade unions and trade union leaders are consciously working to politicalise the working class and employees and placing before them as much of the current political line of the Party as possible from the trade union platform. Some of them are leaders of their trade unions and in their annual reports they make full use of the scope available to them. They refer to international developments, support the socialist camp, expose U.S. imperialism and the current policies of the Congress(I) Government.

In their journals some of them raise issues which are not normally raised in trade union journals—discussion on the world capitalist crisis, divisive forces etc. They also are perhaps satisfied that they have discharged their responsibilities fully. But this is far from the truth. Nonetheless, a certain conscious effort is there to change the old practice and outlook.

Among the employees' and workers' organisations, a conscious effort to raise the level of understanding is to a certain extent being made in Kerala.

In Kerala, the CITU, some of its unions and some employees' organisations, at some of their conferences, organised seminars on the world capitalist crisis with hundreds of workers listening to the discussion and a number of them participating in it; discussions were also organised on Planning and the Sixth Five-

Year Plan with hundreds of workers participating in them. All our State Committees and a large number of our unions have been focussing attention on the IMF loan and its consequences.

There is a vague understanding that more politics is required; that the trade unions are guilty of economism. The Party's initiative is taken seriously, but the difference between propaganda and agitation is not seen and the best and well-intentioned efforts do not go beyond creating democratic consciousness. At the same time it will be wrong to underestimate the importance and value of the political consciousness generated by our activists and the Party on democratic issues.

One cannot forget the glorious role of our bus and state transport workers during the incendiary bandh organised by the Congress(I) in Calcutta and the role of the workers in the Santaldih power house.

All that we have to remember is that for realising the objectives and aims of the Party, for the working class to play its historic role, far deeper consciousness is required

Component of the Class Struggle

There is no question of belittling the economic struggle of the workers, their struggle for immediate demands in the name of fighting economism. There does perhaps exist such a tendency among a few members. The economic struggle is a component of the class struggle of the working class. To relax our attention to it is to be an accomplice to snapping our Party's links with our own class.

Uniting the Class

The central part of our activity in the trade unions is directed towards uniting the class, through growing trade union unity. All talks of equipping the working class to play its historic role, leading the people, is meaningless if the class does not get growingly united for its economic demands.

The Policy Statement of 1951 correctly stressed the urgent need of trade union unity: "The Party has to build the unity of the working class and make it conscious of its tasks in relation to our

entire people. The existing split in the working class movement which hampers the development of working class struggle must be overcome at all cost in the shortest possible time and united mass organisations of the working class built.”

This is the understanding behind the struggle for trade union unity carried on by the Party and the trade unions under its leadership. That is why the document on Tasks says, “Our immediate task is to effect the maximum mobilisation of the working class to resist the looming offensive of the capitalists and the Government. For this purpose we want to pursue the tactic of united front while simultaneously carrying on a fight against the revisionists and reformists on the trade union and political front.”

The Party and our trade union leaders have pursued consistently this struggle for trade union unity, for uniting the working class, in its economic struggle. And this has certainly led to substantial achievements as will be seen. The results of this struggle demand that it should be pursued with greater vigour to ensure the unification of the class; that all sections of workers under our leadership, all trade unions, should wage this struggle continuously in the circumstances daily facing them, and orientate the movement under their control towards the common united stream.

The struggle for all-India trade union unity had to be waged in changing circumstances. The partners changed. Some vacillated and deserted, others joined us.

The struggle waged over a decade and a half has great lessons. We decided to continue working in the AITUC and through it to work for a broader unity. To this aim we moved for a united platform which was adopted at the AITUC session in Bombay (1966). It contained a number of basic demands including nationalisation of banks, foreign trade and wholesale trade in foodgrains. It also contained a demand for peaceful settlement with China.

But the AITUC leaders were not prepared to coexist with us in the same organisation. They resorted to arbitrary methods, violated norms of trade union democracy, engineered a split, forced us to withdraw from the organisation and start a new organisation, the CITU.

The Party took a timely decision to separate our trade unions from the AITUC, for the leadership was making it impossible for us to carry on our twin fights for unity and daily demands.

But while breaking away from the entire reformist leadership of the AITUC, the Party understood the danger of losing sight of united struggles, and at its formation, the CITU gave a call for unity and asked our trade unions to observe a unity week. This corrected a likely deviation and threw the CITU and the unions affiliated to it in the battle for unity.

In May 1971, a meeting of several organisations was called by the AITUC leadership. The CITU grasped the opportunity to forge common understanding with several organisations.

The meeting in Delhi was attended by the (1) CITU, (2) AITUC, (3) HMS, (4) UTUC (B.B. Ganguli Street), (5) UTUC (Lenin Sarani), (6) All-India Bank Employees' Association, (7) Confederation of Central Government Employees, (8) National Federation of Post and Telegraph Employees, (9) All-India Newspapers Employees' Federation, (10) Indian Federation of Working Journalists, (11) Hind Mazdoor Panchayat, (12) National Federation of AIR Employees, and (13) All-India Defence Employees' Federation. This was an impressive array of trade union organisations. The weakness of the situation was that the CITU which was founded only a year before had yet to prove its independent strength and initiative. The key lay with the Dange leadership of the AITUC and that proved ruinous.

The conference came to a unanimous conclusion on the following demands as a basis for joint campaigning and common trade union actions:

1. Amendment of the Constitution with a view to eliminating the right to property from the fundamental rights so as to expedite the implementation of the directive principles.
2. Elimination of monopoly capital by nationalisation without compensation.
3. Genuine land reforms in the interest of the peasants and agricultural workers.
4. A wage policy providing for rise in real wages.
5. Provision of jobs for all able-bodied adults, and in the interim period unemployment relief.

But what happened to this grand project? It just withered away because it did not suit the political line of the revisionist leaders.

The meeting was called by AITUC President Dange in 1971, just three days before a meeting of central trade unions' representatives summoned by Srimati Indira Gandhi. The INTUC representatives also attended, as observers, this meeting called by the AITUC President. Sharp differences were revealed in the approach of the AITUC President and Comrade P. Ramamurti who represented the CITU. Ramamurti attacked the policies of the Congress(I) and was supported by many others including some leaders of the AITUC. A committee of three including Ramamurti was appointed to draft a declaration on the basis of which speeches were to be made at the meeting called by Smt. Indira Gandhi. Ramamurti's draft was accepted with minor amendments by all and speeches were made accordingly. Dange did not speak at this meeting.

Obviously these developments went against the political line of Dange and his colleagues whose party was moving for closer collaboration with Indira Gandhi—a line which culminated in the open support to the Emergency. A different type of unity was necessary for this policy. Therefore, the committee of three got frozen and efforts for unity withered away. The drafting committee of three was also to look into disputes between trade unions and settle them so that all irritations were removed and the way for better understanding was cleared. But this was now unnecessary for the AITUC leadership and the disputes were never taken up seriously. Following the political alignment the trade union alignment also changed. This resulted in the breaking away of the AITUC from the CITU and other organisations and formation of a Council of Trade Unions consisting of the INTUC, AITUC and HMS with the help of Labour Minister Khadiikar.

The West Bengal State Committee of the CITU took the initiative for united action but the State Committee of the AITUC and other organisations took the position that unless a code of conduct regarding avoidance of physical violence, intimidation, mass terrorisation and criminal murders was agreed upon no

united action was possible. This was echoing the Congress(I) slander campaign against us and an excuse to break with the CITU.

These were the days just preceding the semi-fascist terror in West Bengal when our Party members were being murdered. The Congress(I) was slandering our Party. These slanders were being echoed by the CPI leaders and some leaders of other Left parties to isolate us and fight us. The CPI was disrupting the Left Front in West Bengal to strike a deal with the Congress(I). It was soon to form a coalition ministry in Kerala with the Congress(I) betraying the Left-led ministry.

These policy of collaboration of the AITUC and others wrecked the chances of trade union unity. This has to be borne in mind. Unless the reformists and revisionists willingly give up their class-collaborationist line or are pressurised by their own workers to give it up, trade union unity gets jeopardised.

Subsequent to this period two combinations came into existence. The AITUC, INTUC, and HMS formed a National Council of Trade Unions with official patronage. This unity collapsed because it was divorced from struggle. In fact it was anti-struggle.

On the other hand, the CITU, HMP, UTUC, TUCC, P&T Federation, AIIEA (LIC), all combined in the United Council of Trade Unions which produced important results for the trade union movement.

The struggle for unity now included fight against the anti-unity policy of the rival combination.

In July 1973, the UCTU organised a convention in New Delhi which raised the demand for bonus for all and need-based wage. These demands symbolised the common platform of workers and employees for immediate action. The convention was a great success and rejected the Central Pay Commission's recommendations.

The AITUC and INTUC leaders refused to join it. In spite of them, conventions were organised in most of the states to support the demands.

The need-based wage demand was now taken up by large sections of workers and it figured in the charter of demands submitted by the trade unions.

The activities of the UCTU gave a fillip to the growing urge for trade union unity. They showed that the AITUC leaders could no longer exercise a veto over developing unity. The growing influence and activities of the CITU also contributed to this result. The UCTU played an important role in preparing the ground for the all-India railway strike. It laid the foundation for the unity of central organisations which was necessary for the conduct of the strike.

After the crushing of the railway strike the Government sought to launch a wage-freeze offensive against the entire class and the employees. The UCTU called an all-India anti-wage-freeze convention. Although the INTUC, AITUC and HMS officially boycotted it, it evoked tremendous response, with 1400 delegates attending. They represented central trade union organisations, State and Central Government employees' organisations, the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, LIC organisations, federations not affiliated to any central organisation. Some unions affiliated to the HMS and a section of the HMS Working Committee participated in the convention.

It will be seen that the bloc of the INTUC, AITUC, HMS had started breaking. The AITUC leadership would not join us because the CPI leadership was still wholeheartedly cooperating with Indira Gandhi and was soon to lend its full support to the Emergency offensive against the working class and the people.

Following the all-India convention two hundred conventions were held throughout the country. A significant development was that due to the pressure of workers, the AITUC organisation participated in some state and regional conventions.

A few statewide strikes were organised, one each in Rajasthan and Maharashtra and two in Kerala. The AITUC leaders participated in the Maharashtra strike and in one of the Kerala strikes.

During the Emergency the CITU made efforts to pursue the struggle for unity. It was a very difficult situation, but the UTUC, BMS, HMS, HMP, etc., were approached for a common stand on immediate issues. A joint appeal on bonus voicing the common demand was issued under the signatures of several organisations. A forum for trade union rights was formed in Bombay.

After the end of the Emergency the thread was again picked up with greater vigour. Our LIC comrades took the lead in calling a trade union convention. Meeting in September 1977, it became one of the biggest rallies for unity. The CITU, HMP, HMS, BMS, UTUC, TUCC, railway and defence federations and the State Government Employees' Federation and several other federations were represented. There was intense opposition to inviting the AITUC and INTUC because of the support they had given to the Emergency. This united rally passed an important resolution comprising urgent political and democratic demands together with the immediate demands of the workers.

The platform should have been a weapon of mobilising the working class. But with the formation of the Janata Party Government, some of the organisations chose to mark time. However the unity that was built earlier, and the common demands raised, helped to stall the vicious anti-working class Trade Union Bill moved by the Janata Labour Minister at the Centre. The Congress(I) Industrial Relations Bill was only a carbon copy of the Janata Bill. The Bill could be stalled because the trade union MPs of the Janata Party, some of whom were prominent in forging unity, stood by the workers and unitedly resolved to oppose the Bill.

The HMS was now already in the united front. With the ousting of the Congress(I) from power and the formation of the Janata Party Government at the Centre the AITUC was now willing to join the united front. The anti-unity bloc of trade unions was broken.

The Bhatinda resolution of the CPI made it difficult for the AITUC leaders to continue their cooperation with the INTUC to oppose us and the united movement. However, the tendency still persists. It is more prominent among the close followers of Dange in the AITUC. But even others, during negotiations and on other occasions, are prepared to enter into opportunist compromises with the INTUC to bypass us. Till recently the AITUC leaders were using the Lenin Sarani UTUC against us. Some of them do it even now.

The struggle for unity was carried on from below also, at the union level. Since the formation of the CITU our unions in all states have taken the initiative for uniting trade unions on common issues. We have conducted big struggles along with the HMS, HMP, UTUC and later on with the BMS. We have conducted struggles along with the AITUC and even the INTUC on the local plane.

An important trend in these years was the growing unity of workers and employees in joint conferences, conventions, joint bandhs and actions. In fact, it may be said that no previous period saw such wide statewide and all-India actions, joint actions of employees and workers.

The outstanding achievements of this period were the great railway strike of 1974, the all-India strike of May 5, 1974, the all-India strike of State Government employees, the strike of the loco running staff, the strikes of jute and textile workers, the latter in Tamil Nadu and Bombay.

Return of Indira Gandhi

During the Emergency the HMS and BMS kept pace with us in opposing the authoritarian rule. Subsequently also they continued this line. After the resolution of the Bhatinda Congress of the CPI, the AITUC leadership also came over to oppose the Indira Gandhi rule. The united front now includes all these organisations. A new addition is a section of the INTUC (Dara group) which has broken away from the parent organisation.

The defeat of the Janata Party at the polls and the return of Indira Gandhi to power disheartened the trade union wings of the Janata Party, HMS, BMS, and it was for some time difficult to talk to them of common action and resistance. Without, therefore, the initiative of the CITU and a number of mass organisations led by our comrades, the formation of the National Campaign Committee, the resurrection of the organ for trade union unity, would have been delayed for a long time.

The National Campaign Committee which is based on eight central trade unions, and supported by several federations with huge followings, is today an authoritative voice of workers' and employees' organisations.

Till now the activities of the committee were somewhat circumscribed. Till now it concerned itself merely with the public sector. Its central core is also narrowly based, the big federations having very little voice in shaping policies. These weaknesses will have to be removed as the National Campaign Committee becomes more and more an organ of the united resistance of the employees and workers.

The valuable work which the committee has done in galvanising the workers, uniting them and organising mass actions is there for all to see.

In fact the National Campaign Committee, like the earlier UCTU, has organised some of the most widespread all-India actions.

The Bombay Convention, the November demonstration of the working class in the capital, the historic all-India strike of January 19, 1982, the three-day coal strike are some of the achievements of the committee which have strengthened the sense of all-India unity and class unity and put the INTUC leaders on the defensive.

The formation of the National Campaign Committee, the joint stand of several organisations on common issues, has checked the arbitrary practice of the Government to ride roughshod over workers' interests with the aid of the INTUC. On all important issues the voice of the National Campaign Committee organisations has to be heeded. The inner discussions have led to joint stand on such important issues as recognition of unions on the basis of secret ballot, verification, ILO representation, joint negotiations committee and so on. Many proposed opportunist compromises with the Government could not be carried out, many measures could not be implemented; some measures had to be withdrawn because of opposition from the National Campaign Committee.

The formation of the National Campaign Committee and the importance attached to its activities, the struggle to maintain its cohesion and unity are expressions of the Party's line of trade union unity, for unification of the class in its economic battles. The struggle for trade union unity is an integral part of the

struggle for political unity of the working class under the banner of the Party, to enable it to discharge its task as the hegemony of the People's Democratic Revolution.

The review of our unity struggle shows that the weight of the CITU and our other organisations has increased in the united front and the unity struggle. In the first stage of the struggle the initiative was not in our hands; it was in the hands of the AITUC and others. We entered a second stage when, though the initiative did not rest with us, our role in broadening the struggle was important (UCTU). We have now reached a third stage in which much depends on our initiative and ability to keep all together, understanding the limitations of the present platform as well as its immediate importance.

It is, therefore, necessary that we pursue with vigour the task of building wider and firmer trade union unity as a weapon for the unification of our class in economic battles. In this we will have to fight sectarian self-complacency. The struggle for unity must continue as a central part of our trade union activity. By constantly reviewing our progress we must take note of the changing situation, the changing correlation of forces and adopt new tactics, new organisational forms, to meet the demands of wider and growing unity.

To give the growing unity wider organisational scope we are propagating for a confederation of all trade unions. This proposal was made by us through the CITU four years ago. Things are gradually moving in that direction.

The ambit of the National Campaign Committee is restricted at present. It is obvious that further demands of unity cannot be met by the National Campaign Committee as it is constituted. It is necessary to secure the active involvement of industrial federations and employees' organisations which have been supporting the call of the National Campaign Committee. It is necessary to propagate for a confederation of trade union organisations for exchange of opinions and discussion of common problems.

A common blueprint prepared by such a body on the economic situation outlining policies to deal with the crisis, unemployment and efficient running of industries in the interest of the people will

go a long way to introduce cohesion in the movement and inspire confidence among the people.

The vital necessity to intervene unitedly and urgently in the labour and economic policies of the Government must be fully realised. This cannot be done unless the full strength of the labour movement is mobilised and the movement develops a common understanding. The trade union movement must also express its united will to help in managing the affairs of the economy and industry on the basis of equal status. It must declare its willingness to do so to the Indian people and let them know that it is the Government and the ruling classes that come in the way of labour discharging its responsibility to the society. Such a call on behalf of the united trade union movement will help the trade unions to overcome their self-centredness and recognise their obligation to the society's millions consisting of the oppressed and exploited peasantry.

Limitations of Success

The struggle waged by us for so many years has no doubt produced results. In place of the disrupted and divided trade union movement that obtained when the Policy Statement called for trade union unity, we have growing trade union unity. We are an influential part of a common united movement. Our successes are due to our line; they are due to the fact that our line reflects the growing desire for unity among the mass of workers who, due to the stress of the economic crisis and constant attacks of the Government and employers, feel the urge for wider unity.

These gains could not have been achieved without our independent activity and the strong organised base the CITU and other mass organisations and federations created for us. This was our sanction to plead and work for unity. Unity and united front tactics do not succeed unless the organisation working for it has a growing independent approach to the masses through its independent work. Neglect of such work leads to tailing behind others and jeopardises the struggle for unity.

Notwithstanding the advance in trade union unity, it has to be remembered that it is secured at a low level of consciousness on the basis of certain preliminary demands. The consciousness

reflected here does not show much advance beyond immediate economic demands. Such things as sympathy for the peasantry, for the people, etc., do not figure in this consciousness. A beginning was made in the January 19, 1982, strike resolution, of supporting the demands of unorganised workers, remunerative prices for the peasants and proper distribution of food for the people.

Changing Correlation of Forces

The struggle for trade union unity is an instrument of sharpening the class struggle and sharpening class consciousness. It is an instrument of bringing ever-larger numbers of workers to the point of class struggle, and rejection of the line of class collaboration. It is an instrument of changing the correlation of forces existing inside the trade union movement—the correlation between the forces standing for a revolutionary trade union line and those standing for a movement within the framework of the present system.

A successful united front struggle must result in increasing the influence of the revolutionary line and decreasing the appeal of the non-revolutionary line and organisation. Without this, united actions and struggle will never create the ground for the working class to discharge its historic task.

But some of our comrades do not bother to ask whether the unity struggle and united actions they carry on create any impact on the non-CITU mass, on the mass belonging to other organisations; whether this mass could distinguish between our approach and the approach of others.

Speeches made from the common platform where we are often one among many matter very much in influencing the mass. But such speeches are not scrutinised nor reported, speeches of others are also not scrutinised.

It has been found on occasions that after conducting a joint struggle for months we not only do not gain, but lose heavily to others.

This lack of perspective in waging the unity struggle has to be eradicated from our midst. The link of this struggle with the

struggle to develop working class leadership must be properly understood. The fact that the struggle for trade union unity is also an instrument to fight alien influence in the working class movement should not be missed. The workers must see that we are struggling for a consistent line and should learn to judge all others in terms of our line. If this is not done it will be difficult to overcome the likely vacillations of our partners on critical occasions.

Such change in consciousness cannot come by simply stressing what is common between us and our partners. Criticism will have to be made from other platforms, differences may have to be expressed from the same platform.

It should be realised that the struggle for trade union unity is inseparable from the struggle against reformism and revisionism in the trade union movement. Our present limited success in forging unity on economic issues should not blind us to the fact that our partners have their own political parties and their trade union line is determined by their politics. Their outlook towards the trade union movement is not the same as ours. Perhaps none of them believe in working class leadership of the revolution. Some perhaps think that revolution is not necessary at all. Others are not committed to socialism. We know that we cannot unite all of them on the question of opposing U.S. imperialism as the source of war and aggrandisement. We know that notwithstanding our existing unity, our trade union movement is unable to speak with one voice on the vital question of war. While existing unity should on no account be denigrated, its limited character should be understood. Difficulties will crop up when the struggle gets intensified and they can be removed only by a free discussion of competing lines among the mass of workers.

Lack of International Outlook

A dangerous aspect of the present level of consciousness is the lack of international awareness. It has to be recognised that the trade union movement of our country, under the influence of diverse ideologies is unaware of the struggle that is going on between the two systems. A massive section of the working class

does not have an international outlook, has no pride in the achievements of the international working class and of the socialist countries. It is influenced by bourgeois propaganda and slanders. It is, therefore, unable to play its part in the gigantic struggle against the genocide of humanity.

Proletarian internationalism, responsibility to our people and to the people of the world, demands that the entire trade union movement of our country should actively intervene, expose and isolate the war-mongers and join its voice with the working class and people of the world to prevent a nuclear war. We ourselves have been somewhat lagging behind. But the situation is still worse with some of our partners in the trade union movement. All the constituents of the National Campaign Committee are not agreed on the war danger and its source. The two super-powers theory grips some of them. Some act as if imperialism does not exist. In short, the consciousness about internationalism and the war danger is extremely weak.

This constitutes a danger to the international movement and to our own movement. It should be realised that this is not just lack of interest and consciousness about a positive influence of the bourgeois outlook. It has to be combated seriously. It is our basic duty to do everything to overcome this weakness. Immediately it is our duty to educate and enlighten the workers of all organisations on the war danger, the plans of U.S. imperialism and the importance of the struggle for peace. Our international professions will not be worth much if we do not undertake this task with the urgency and seriousness it deserves.

It is our duty to activate our unions and the workers behind them in the struggle for peace. But they are only a part of the working class. It is our responsibility to draw in the working masses of other central trade union organisations. We must warn the workers that an outbreak of war will not leave Indian hearths and homes unaffected and that indifference may lead to annihilation or enslavement.

It will be easy to mobilise the people as a whole in the struggle for peace if the organised working class takes the lead and shows the way.

The CITU, our trade unions, observed September 1 last year as anti-war day and participated in the mammoth peace demonstration in October in Delhi organised by our Party, the CPI and other Left parties. In Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and West Bengal there were huge mobilisations on September 1. All this was good but it only constituted the beginning.

At the same time the mass mobilisation showed that if the organised trade union movement were to take the lead not only the workers, but the people at large will respond magnificently.

Neglect of Imperialist Machinations

Our Party considers that the present stage of our revolution is anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-big-capital. Our Party endeavours to see that the working class gets ready to play its leading role in this revolution.

But how far is the trade union movement of the country conscious of the existence of imperialism and its machinations against our people and the unity of our country?

In a number of third world countries the trade unions are directly taking the challenge of imperialism and fighting the imperialist conspiracies against their countries. In India the situation is otherwise. Part of the trade union movement does not even acknowledge the existence of imperialism and the danger arising from it to our country. The effects of the IMF loan, the imperialist conspiracies to divide the country go unnoticed by its leaders. They follow the opportunist line of the bourgeois opposition parties which studiously ignore the danger.

This in the first place is the direct result of the ideological policies pursued by the ruling party and the ruling bourgeois-landlord classes. Every effort was made to wipe out the bitter memories of imperialist repression and humiliation and present the independence struggle as a non-violent jaunt and the handiwork of one person—Gandhi.

The new generations of workers entering the labour market since independence were thus emasculated in their anti-imperialist consciousness and were taught not to look beyond India's frontiers. The bourgeois opposition parties adopted the same attitude.

This provided a cover to the loans, economic agreements, concessions to foreign capital, concessions to multinationals, opening the market to more sophisticated products like computers which play havoc with workers' jobs, the veto power of IMF, etc , over Indian taxation proposals.

The major part of the working class led by several trade union organisations is unaware of these developments which spell danger to national freedom.

Equally insensitive is the trade union movement to the conspiracies organised by U.S. imperialism to dismember the country. The U.S. imperialists are striking a blow at Indian unity through the secessionist movement in Assam. They are also behind the secessionist appeal of the extremists in Punjab.

Where does India's trade union movement stand in relation to these attacks? The CITU unions in Assam have waged a relentless fight against this conspiracy exposing U.S. machinations. The CITU in West Bengal has again unmasked the enemies of the people to keep the sense of national unity together. In Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra and other states, CITU unions have exposed this game of disruption.

But the major part of the trade union movement and the working class is guided by the propaganda of the big bourgeois press, which screens U.S. imperialism. They are influenced by the propaganda of the bourgeois opposition parties which sings the same tune.

Such is the situation in the trade union movement. A major part does not see infiltration of imperialism and multinationals in our economy, does not see the conspiracy of dismemberment, and the danger to our freedom.

This is a dangerous situation and if it persists, working class consciousness can never rise higher.

It is one of our important tasks to fight against the absence of anti-imperialist consciousness, and sharpen the working class understanding against imperialism, against U.S. imperialism, the enemy of all peoples.

Fight against Feudal Influence

Apart from the secessionist forces, our country is plagued by other divisive forces—the heritage of the past. Hindu communal appeal, appeal to Muslim minorities' separatism which succeeds because of the discrimination practised against the Muslims, the caste oppression and atrocities on harijans, all assail the growing unity of the working class.

These developments cannot be treated lightly. Two years ago Gujarat saw the textile workers of Ahmedabad split into two hostile camps—one supporting the reservation of jobs for harijans, the other opposing it and demanding its withdrawal. Seventyfive thousand harijan workers came out on a strike to defend reservation. Next day nearly a lakh of workers came on strike to oppose reservation. Class unity was completely split to the satisfaction of the employing class.

The working class and trade union movement must understand that these are not just an expression of casteism. Behind them stand feudal wrongs, lack of equality and inhuman treatment. While these sections suffer from capitalist exploitation like the rest of the workers, they in addition suffer from certain feudal or semi-feudal disabilities. To fight these latter is the common task of the entire working class, part of the struggle against feudal iniquities.

The ruling classes, the Congress(I) party, and the bourgeois-landlord classes seek to divert the discontent into fratricidal channels, pitting one section of workers and toilers (like harijans, etc.) against others or try to wean them away from the common class struggle by offering allurements like reservation of jobs.

The economic crisis, the increased poverty and unemployment, all press heavily on the discriminated sections and make them desperate. Having remained away from the common class struggle they express their discontent in a traditional manner, i.e., by rallying round their caste combination. Thus a just discontent against the present social order gets a distorted disruptive expression undermining class solidarity and unity. It is the duty of the trade union movement to separate this discontent from its traditional expression and make it part of the common struggle.

This cannot be done unless the trade unions recognise that the Muslims, the tribals, the harijans have a separate and genuine grievance of their own which does not arise out of the worker-capitalist relationship. The fight against this must be shared by all sections of the workers (savarnas, etc.) if these discriminated sections are to join the trade union battle.

It cannot be said that our trade union movement, including our own trade unions, is sufficiently aware of this danger, aware of the fact that large sections of these discriminated people are already showing their indifference to trade union organisation. Unless the trade unions recognise this reality, take into consideration that large sections of the workers have vital problems other than the ones relating to the common problems of defending the economic conditions, their appeal will cease to be all-pervasive. They will have to yield ground to sectarian and sectional organisations. In Indian conditions the worker is not free from practising feudal-social discrimination on the ground of religion or caste; this fact our trade unions must grasp in conducting their activities. At the same time the logic of class struggle leads all those sections to rise above old divisions and stand shoulder to shoulder facing starvation and misery. The Bombay textile workers maintained their solidarity and strike for more than a year—a mass composed of diverse castes and divisions, but acting like a class. With proper consciousness and trade unions defending the socially discriminated sections, trade union unity will become impregnable.

Our trade unions must pay earnest attention to this division in our class in the absence of a fight against social discrimination. They must take the lead in propagating against discrimination and preparing the workers to fight against it. They must create an atmosphere of complete equality among the members of trade unions. All this has to be kept in view in carrying out the task of strengthening the trade unions and making them the class representatives of the workers.

Thereby not only working class unity will be maintained, but anti-national agencies which exploit these inequalities to disintegrate national unity will be curbed and checked.

Linguistic Appeal, Sons of the Soil

Another source of dividing the ranks of the workers and sowing discrimination in the country is the chauvinistic linguistic appeal which pits one section of toilers against another, by raising chauvinistic demands. The bourgeois-landlord State Governments and the Central Government have used this appeal by supporting the sons of the soil slogan, i.e., shutting off from certain jobs workers and peoples from other Indian regions and states. This is a weapon used by the ruling classes to divert attention from their bankrupt policies which lead to mounting unemployment and struggle for jobs.

Several Congress(I) State Governments, besides, have issued illegal instructions not to register in the unemployment register names of workers born in other states. The Congress(I) Governments of Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, U.P. and Rajasthan and the Government of Tamil Nadu have issued such illegal and anti-national instructions.

The bourgeois-landlord Government will use every device to disrupt the working class movement. The trade unions must guard against disruption and steer the workers away from linguistic chauvinism.

Our trade unions, in this connection, must understand the supreme importance of all-India organisations, central trade union organisations, industrial federations, etc. The functioning of these all-India organisations, their timely lead to states, their live contact with the constituent units and capacity to intervene and help in local struggles constitute a sure guarantee against localism and linguistic sectarianism.

The workers themselves are increasingly moving towards such all-India organisations through sheer economic necessity. But this spontaneous process by itself is no guarantee against local, chauvinistic and linguistic appeals. However, among our Party leaders, comrades and trade union leaders there is an attitude of regarding all-India organisations as of secondary importance. This perhaps is in relation to the CITU also. This encourages localism, linguism, and plays into the hands of reactionaries.

Some consider all-India organisations and their activities as an encroachment on their authority. This is localism gone mad. Comrades who are Party leaders and who occupy important positions in all-India mass organisations fail to attend all-India meetings. Party committees fail to check whether directives of all-India organisations are carried out.

Rise of local chauvinism, the appeal of linguistic chauvinism has to be fought by greater coordination and activities of all-India bodies. All Party committees should bear this in mind.

Stagnation in industrial advance perpetuating the extremely backward condition of some states, the result of planning addressed to the needs of the big bourgeoisie, the concentration of all economic powers in the hands of the Centre and the refusal to concede equal status to all languages of the people tend to divide the working class linguistically and regionally. To protect the unity of the country and the working class a radical change in Centre-State relations is necessary. Centre-State relations have become an important problem of Indian democracy and unity. The powers of the Centre are used to discriminate against the Left Front Governments of West Bengal and Tripura and curb the growth of Left forces. The trade union movement can no longer neglect this problem. The Centre-State problem is directly related to the problem of Indian nationalities, to ensuring equality for all nationalities. The working class must accept its responsibilities to fight for equality of nationalities, defend the unity of the country and combat regionalism and chauvinism.

In the present situation, it is quite clear that either we succeed in keeping the working class united on the basis of its all-India class outlook and fight back the divisive forces which seek to shatter the unity of the country, or the working class succumbs to divisive forces and the nation gets divided and disrupted. There is no other class which can fight all divisive forces and save the country.

Present Situation

The immediate task and tactics of our trade unions have to be understood in the light of the present situation and the practical

experience of our conduct of the trade unions and the results produced.

The party that introduced authoritarian rule is back in power.

The danger of authoritarianism persists and the trade union movement must throw its full weight to fight it. Opposition to the ruling party does form a basis of the present unity in the trade union movement.

The economic policy of the Government has inflicted inflation, high taxation, high prices, shortages of essential commodities, unemployment and destitution on the country. The mass of poor peasants and agricultural workers are pauperised and they have to face famines, drought or floods alternately without any substantial help from the Government.

The Government has compounded the situation by heavy foreign borrowings. The IMF loan worsened the situation. The Government is now forced to make concessions to multinationals—the most brutal exploiters and avowed foes of the freedom of all peoples.

Popular protest rises when they find the big landlords and capitalists amassing huge fortunes while the country starves. The widespread official corruption, the disintegration of and infights in the ruling party, the growing breakdown of law and order which affects the common citizen, the rise of anti-social crimes, the crisis of the educational system, all lead to mass indignation and isolation of the Congress(I). The rout of the Congress(I) in Andhra Pradesh (1983) and its defeat in Karnataka, its traditional strongholds, underline this process. A major part of the discontent, however, does not get channelised by Left parties but centres round other elements (Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka). The consolidation of the Left Front Ministries of West Bengal and Tripura, despite trying circumstances for the people because of the crisis and the niggardly attitude of the Central Government, bespeaks of the success of our Party and its allies in harnessing the discontent for democratic advance.

The situation is exploited by the reactionary forces who help the imperialist conspiracy of disintegration. Religion, communal appeal, caste appeal, everything is freely exploited to divert mass

anger and disrupt the unity of the toilers to make safe passage for the imperialist conspiracy.

The Government, on its part, seeks weapons of repression to curb people's opposition. The MISA, NSA, anti-trade union legislations and outright police crimes against the people to terrorise them are freely used.

Unable to win back the people in West Bengal and Tripura, the ruling party resorts to slanders and indulges in murders. But the Left Front Governments continue to stand as the advanced outpost of the democratic struggle of the Indian people. The widespread dissatisfaction with the Congress(I) rule leads to a desire on the part of a number of opposition parties to forge an understanding with the Left parties to fight the authoritarian menace and inflict an electoral defeat on the ruling party.

The crisis of the capitalist society has affected India. The latest survey of the Government of India observes: "The lower growth in the current year compared with the last year reflects sluggishness in output in several industries, which achieved peak output levels in the previous year." It is known that public sector steel concerns are using only a part of their capacity because of lack of demand. The mid-term appraisal of the Sixth Five-Year Plan also shows that the targets of the Plan will not be realised. The closure of several jute and cotton textile mills throwing thousands of workers out of jobs, prolonged lock-outs, lay-offs and strikes are the most palpable evidence of the malaise from which the economy is suffering.

By 1981 the number of large sick industrial units had increased from 382 to 421. They increased to 439 by June 1982, according to the Annual Report of the RBI (1982-83). The number of small sick units went up from 22,360 to 26,973 during the same period. The number of job-seekers on the live register of the employment exchange rose from 17.2 million at the end of August 1981 to 19.0 million at the end of August 1982. The number of educated unemployed also rose by leaps and bounds. The minimum wage legislation for agricultural workers except in the Left Front-ruled states has become a farce. There is virtual collapse of labour legislation and their implementation. In this background the demand for nationalisation of industry is growing.

In this situation working class resistance is very intense. Each year more than a million workers strike work. Prolonged strike-battles are waged over months by thousands of workers standing together in the face of starvation and repression. The Bombay textile strike of two lakh workers extending over a year, the Kota Synthetic strike of 5000 workers extending over four months are the latest instances. The barbarous repression that the workers and their families have to experience in the course of these struggles is seen in Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, U.P., Bihar and Gujarat. But the resistance continues; where the employers and Government expect a collapse the battle becomes more determined and intensified. The number of mandays lost in industrial disputes in 1982 rose to 62 million. Excluding the Bombay textile strike the loss was 43.38 million days, still the highest figure on record.

A striking feature of loss in mandays is the loss imposed by the employers' counter-offensive—lock-outs

Year	Mandays lost (in 000)	
	Due to strikes	Due to lock-outs
1978	15,423	12,917
1979	35,804	8,050
1980	12,018	9,907
1981	15,658	10,806

Except in 1979 at least 40 per cent of the total mandays lost was due to declared lock-outs.

To counter the working class resistance Indira Gandhi's Government does not resort only to repression of draconian legislations. It announces so many policy measures flavoured with democratic phraseology to cheat public opinion, and pass on the burdens of the crisis to the workers. It talked about working class participation in management in the first 20-point programme and suddenly dropped all reference to it in the second 20-point programme. Having initially talked directly about restricting wages, it soon gave up the phraseology and talked about a wages and income policy to appear impartial and as a representative of the society at large. It talked about high-wage islands and disparity

in wage standards to create a rift inside the working class and the employees. It imposed the compulsory deposit scheme on central employees but could not extend it to other spheres. This was done in the name of controlling inflation and prices—an appeal to the public. The Government talks about linking wages with productivity, linking bonus with productivity and increased productivity.

The Government is thus waging a battle for public opinion presenting itself as the representative of the general interests of the society against the “sectional” interests of the workers.

Immediate Practice

The situation calls for a continuous fight against the authoritarian danger emanating from the ruling party. It calls upon the trade unions to throw their full weight for the advance of the democratic struggle, for full support to the Left Front Governments. It demands that the trade unions call upon the entire working class to fight such measures like the Bihar Press Bill and other authoritarian attacks, that they should take the initiative not only in rousing the working class, but the entire people.

It demands that more than ever before every effort should be made by our trade unions to forge massive and direct links with the peasantry and agricultural workers. It will be a betrayal if the workers and trade unions do not intervene when the peasants and agricultural workers are in dire need of support and assistance. Without persistent and active support to the demands of the agricultural workers and peasants there is no chance of coming anywhere near a workers’ and peasants’ alliance.

The situation also demands that as before concentrated efforts should be directed to build trade union unity.

But the situation also demands that the trade unions should change their present practice of conducting the activities of the unions. Our trade unions have made little efforts to tackle the problems created by the new situation and expand the narrow framework of their activities. In the first place they must counter Government’s efforts to mislead public opinion and join issues with it on questions of policy.

Most of the unions devote almost exclusive attention to wage questions. Wage questions are of course of primary importance. But a movement which forgets other questions relating to workers' lives moves in a very narrow framework. Such an attitude does not go beyond factory consciousness in a large number of cases.

It is now clear that many attacks on the workers and employees cannot be warded off unless they are fought at the policy-making level and this cannot be done unless the trade unions change their practice and consciousness.

The living conditions of the workers, of the employees, of all sections of the people are decided by budgetary policies, price policies, deficit financing, export and import policies, taxation measures and so on.

They affect not only the working class, the employees, but the country itself. They are sometimes of vital importance to the future of the country—its economic sovereignty, its political independence.

A trade union movement which is silent when these policies are being decided upon, is neither true to the working class, nor true to the interests of the country. Its failure to fight at the policy-making stages compromises the interests of the country and makes the workers' battle for defending their conditions ten times more difficult. And yet the trade unions on the whole have not gone beyond defending the specific interests of this or that section of the workers or employees. They have as yet shown very little interest in policy questions which determine the workers' living conditions. This defence itself becomes more and more difficult unless the movement widens its scope and marshalls its forces to combat the ruling classes at the policy level. The all-India organisations—the CITU, etc.—opine on it, but the fight is not carried on below. This prevents proper exposure of such things as the Government's wages and income policy, productivity-linked wages, workers' participation in management, etc., leaving the worker uneducated in relation to policy matters affecting his life while fighting for wage-increases, etc. Our trade unions must raise the fight to the level of alternative policies, combating Government policies, and exposing them to the workers.

The almost exclusive attention to wages and emoluments prevents this expansion of the framework of trade union activity.

This, however, is not the only weakness. Equally is the failure to tackle other issues seriously. This makes the trade union movement walk on one leg only. There is no doubt that there has been a continuous offensive against wages and the workers have been fighting periodically to resist it. That offensive continues in one form or another and without fighting it the trade unions cannot survive.

But in the course of the last few years other questions have merited attention. It cannot be said, however, that our trade unions have taken sufficient care to meet the situation and broaden their activities.

Inflation, price-rise, high taxation, collapse of the public distribution system, massive unemployment, rapid deterioration in housing conditions, deterioration in health conditions, collapse of labour legislation, discrimination against women workers, violation of international conventions, lock-outs, closures, have become acute problems testing the maturity and effectiveness of the trade unions to rally the workers to solve them. Without this wide extension of activities the trade unions will fail to be the huge mass organisations that they should be.

The 1967 document asked the trade unions to fight against the continuous price-rise and unmask the entire price policy of the Government. It said that the deficit financing of the Government was meant to raise prices, defraud the workers and help capital formation, i.e., transfer wealth from the workers and the people to the capitalists. The result could be attained only through inflationary price-rise. All measures of price-control were fake measures to cheat the people. The workers must, therefore, be roused to fight the basic policies of the Government which inflict a price-rise on them. In practice the trade unions only concentrated on dearness allowance, forgetting the basic policies and the wider context of inflation for the people as a whole.

The same is the story regarding high taxation. The monstrous burdens placed on the people and the working class by successive budgets have evoked hardly any resistance from the movement.

It will be not incorrect to say that a major part of the trade union movement has not even noticed them.

Issues that are common for the people and the working class have been neglected breaking the link with the democratic struggles.

The struggle against rising prices and taxation must be systematically organised by the trade unions and expanded to include popular resistance to them.

With the changing situation in the class struggle, forms of resistance often require change to be effective. The last two years witnessed a massive attack on the workers. Prolonged strikes and lock-outs marked the intensity of the class struggle. The question is how effective has been the workers' resistance under our guidance. Lock-outs, retrenchment, lay-offs deprive thousands of workers of their jobs. Their families are part of the common people. How far have we succeeded in raising public opinion against a lock-out as an anti-social act? Did not our form of struggle make it a question between the workers and employees with the society and public opinion standing on the sidelines?

Housing

Along with unemployment, the workers and employees are faced with the prospect of finding residence in city slums. For a large number of them decent rooms, flats, etc., outside the city slums are banned. The Sixth Five-Year Plan says: "Of the total urban population a fifth is estimated to constitute a slum population. In 1985 the magnitude of such population is estimated to be 33.1 million."

The Government makes a promise of building 29 lakh houses for them, the rest is left to the private sharks.

The housing question has now become a major question for the workers and employees in cities, towns, mining and plantation areas. The deterioration in housing conditions, the enforced existence in slums, the dilapidated conditions of the houses provided by the employers, etc., constitute an attack on the existing living conditions, a deterioration in the quality of living.

In the towns and cities, Government employees and other workers are demanding increased house rent allowances in view

of shortage of residential accommodation. In the plantation areas, in spite of Government aid, the plantation owners refuse to provide housing for the workers.

Our trade unions must give urgent consideration to this question, expose the so-called housing policies of the Planning Commission and defeat this conspiracy to drive the workers to the slums.

Unemployed

The failure to link trade unions with the demand for relief and other demands of the unemployed has been a major weakness of our trade unions, alienating a large section of new entrants to the labour market from the organised movement of the working class. If continued, this policy will have incalculable consequences doing the biggest harm to working class unity and solidarity.

The employers and the Government have already started pitting the unemployed against the employed, pointing to the latter as a privileged section. With the slogan jobs for the sons of the soil, they incite the unemployed youth in one state against workers from the other states.

The trade unions must mobilise their full strength, all their members, to secure unemployment relief to the unemployed and demand that the right to work be included as a fundamental right in the Constitution.

The scheme of unemployment relief in West Bengal is a good lever for trade unions to demand relief in all states. Our trade unions should take the initiative to organise conventions of the unemployed, joint conventions of the employed and unemployed to focus attention on the problem and pressurise the authorities to grant immediate relief. They should unitedly move to pressurise the Government to embark upon policies to check the growth of unemployment.

Our trade unions, along with others if possible, should come out with a document outlining schemes for relief and economic policies and measures to check unemployment.

The magnitude of the problem can be seen from the number of unemployed, as well as the growth rate of unemployment.

Between 1975 and 1981 the growth rate of employment in public and private sector was only 2.3 per cent a year. Compare this with 14 per cent growth in registered unemployment in one year (from August 1981 to August 1982). The number of unemployed increased this year from 17.2 million to 19.0 million.

To rally the unemployed and the working mass it is necessary to expose the fake claims and plans of the Planning Commission. The Sixth Plan claims that its schemes for jobs will provide 34 million new jobs and take care of all the new entrants to the labour market.

Where are these job-seekers to get jobs? Not in organised industry, not in modern industry, but in overcrowded occupations, from which people are fleeing in thousands. "The major employment-generating activities are to be found in agriculture, rural development, village and small-scale industries, construction and public administration" (p. 154), that is, mostly in industries with low-paid and sweated labour. So scattered are these industries that no one will know whether any increase has taken place and to what extent.

The Planners say: "At the present rate of growth the organised sector can provide only four to five million regular jobs in the course of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. This would still leave large numbers for absorption in agriculture, small-scale sector and other unorganised industries," i.e., they must seek employment in agriculture and other non-farm activities characterised by a high degree of underemployment.

The same fate is assigned to the educated. The number of educated unemployed, matriculates, graduates and above, at the beginning of 1980 was estimated at 3.87 million. To meet the total demand for jobs from this sector during the Sixth Plan six million jobs are required. But who will give them jobs? The Planning Commission says that they must provide jobs for themselves. It says: "The increase (in employment in the organised sector) from year to year has been around 0.8 million. Even if it is assumed that in future, increase in the organised sector is wholly taken by educated persons alone we find that there will not be enough room for the educated persons unless they are diverted either into self-

employment or the absorption capacity of the organised industry is increased substantially. The second alternative does not seem to be feasible leaving us the option of self-employment as the major mode of employment.”

The limitations of the capitalist path, its stagnation in industry, is spelt out here and this should form part of the exposure campaign.

Problems of Women Workers

Our Party has focussed the attention of trade unions on this question only recently and it is not surprising if the progress is slow and halting.

It takes time to change the practice of trade unions and also the understanding and consciousness of our Party members. The failure to grasp the importance of the problem, the neglect shown towards it, are part of the deviations arising from the survival of the feudal outlook towards women which dominates our country. There is no doubt that we must make a determined bid to get rid of this outlook.

Due to this outlook the first part of the capitalist offensive against jobs has succeeded easily. Because, as in the rest of the capitalist world, in India also, women are the first victims of the crisis. They are the first to be retrenched, rendered surplus without a protest from the unions.

Between 1973 and 1982, the majority of women workers in the coking coal mines in Bihar working under the Bharat Coking Coal Mines Ltd. were retrenched without any effective protest from the unions or workers. A systematic attack is now being made to ease out women workers from their jobs. They are asked to resign their jobs in favour of their male relatives.

Have the class trade unions of the working class no responsibility to ward off this attack which is being made to avoid payments of maternity benefits, etc.?

International opinion has compelled the Government of India to pass legislation for equal pay for equal work. But it is observed in its breach only. There is hardly any instance where our unions have carried on a fight on behalf of the women workers to enforce equal pay.

It will be apt to quote the resolution of the 11th Congress of our Party:

“Working women in industry and services form a substantial part of the working class and employees.

“A weakness of the trade union movement has been that women’s membership has been very small and women’s participation negligible. Even in industries and concerns where women form the majority of the workers they are hardly to be found among the active leaders and functionaries of the organisations.

“The trade unions by and large neglect the problems of women in their concerns. They do not fight against unequal treatment, discrimination in promotion, etc.

“The trade unions must rectify this weakness by establishing working women’s committees which should help the women members to participate in the union’s activities and impel the union to fight for women’s problems.

“The organisation of these committees under the banner of the trade unions is part of the working class struggle for unity.

“The executive committees of the trade unions should ensure that women workers are elected to the leading bodies of the organisation in adequate numbers and that they participate in adequate numbers in shaping the policies of the union.”

Young Entrants

In all advanced countries the trade unions have a special department to deal with young labour entrants. It is necessary now in India that all our trade unions pay special attention to them, otherwise the future of our movement will be compromised.

Manoeuvring against the crisis, the Government and the employers are now intent on eroding the provisions of labour legislations and depriving a large section of workers of their rights. The young entrants in factories and concerns are the victims of this policy. The employers discriminate against the new entrants who are kept temporary for years. In many places they are treated as contract workers; there is no provident fund, no gratuity, no ESI for them.

By and large there is a tendency to neglect the special demands of the section and concentrate on general demands which for the most part benefit permanent workers long in service. The young and militant sections often get frustrated, lose faith in the common movement and become a plaything of an anarchist individualistic outlook. Their militancy gets misdirected.

It also, in part, explains the rise of non-political leaders challenging the established unions. Rallying the young militants with no tradition of common struggle or class outlook, they are able to channelise their energy by militant talk. Our unions must take note of this problem, bring the new entrants into the fold of the union, and by championing their demands shape their outlook.

Planning, Priorities and Unorganised Workers

The role we assign to the working class in the revolutionary struggle, the help it has to render to the peasantry, demands that the Party should assign priorities to certain industries and there should be a planned expansion of our activities in this direction.

By and large our work is not planned with this in view, though in practice some progress is to be observed. Formation of unions and federations and some strikes in these industries mark our progress. But perhaps the consciousness is still lacking.

The task of organising the workers in the unorganised industries has been fitfully discharged while the number and weight of the workers in these industries has increased immensely. Most of these workers are slum-dwellers, are without any rights and constitute the most militant section of the workers. Neglected in a large measure by the trade unions their militancy is often exploited by reactionary and anti-social elements. When properly organised they form consistent and militant supporters of mass action.

The earlier resolution also drew attention to the tactics to be followed in relation to smaller concerns. It said: "The differing conditions under which workers in small establishments work should be taken note of. We have to organise the mass of workers employed in these establishments which are very numerous in cities like Calcutta and Bombay. In our present state of

organisation they often escape our attention as our efforts tend to concentrate on the bigger factories. In these establishments the worker is face to face with the small employer who himself is often the victim of Government policies and competition from the big capitalists. He is often as anti-working class as the big capitalist and seeks to compensate himself at the expense of the workers. At the same time, because of the small scale of production he is unable to offer the same conditions to the workers as the owners of big factories can."

The necessity of raising policy issues while fighting against the effects of the crisis has already been pointed out. The economic situation has forced the workers and their unions to think of nationalisation of many industries as a concrete demand for immediate agitation and achievement. Only sometime ago nationalisation was considered as a propaganda demand. Today the closure of several jute and textile mills, and their financial mismanagement, have raised before the workers the question of nationalisation of these two industries. Because of the same reason this demand is being raised in connection with a number of other industries. The Central Government's abandonment of responsibility and denotification of certain industries in West Bengal is resented and opposed. The workers now know that without nationalisation of these industries their jobs are not safe, there is no security of employment. The trade unions must make all efforts to draw wide popular support for this demand. They must expose to the people the mismanagement and corruption in the industry and the loss of the society's productive capacity when there is urgent need to use it.

The demand for nationalisation should be accompanied by the demand for democratic management with the help of the workers, their unions and the representatives of the people. The bureaucratic management of the public sector, its corruption and inefficiency create misgivings about nationalisation in certain sections of the people and these must be removed by demanding democratic management with equal status for workers and their unions.

Along with these demands for immediate agitation the following demands have to be popularised: the nationalisation of foreign capital in plantations, industries, shipping and trade, nationalisation of foreign banks, nationalisation of foreign trade and all monopolists, industries. It should be also demanded that no further concessions should be made to multinationals and steps should be taken to stop their entry. The penetration of multinationals—the biggest international foe of democracy and freedom—is becoming a big danger to the working class and the country. The trade union movement must fight this penetration and rouse the working class to move against it.

Taking the trade union movement as a whole it can be stated that it is virtually unaware of the great menace represented by the multinationals. This is the direct result of economism and low consciousness. It is an urgent task of the unions to see that our common movement overcomes this dangerous weakness.

Problems of Productivity, Management and Participation

During the last decade and a half new problems have appeared before the trade unions due to the rise of new industries, the adoption of advanced techniques, and the demand that the productivity of the worker should be standardised and his earnings should be linked with productivity.

Our trade unions have correctly opposed linking of the present wage with productivity which will mean that no increase in the present wage will be allowed without the worker adding to his production. We have correctly contended that the present wage does not do justice to the productivity given by the workers. Our unions have correctly stated that they are prepared to give production according to agreed norms and negotiate wages on that basis.

The employers' and the Government's insistence on linking wages with productivity is a device to present the existing wage as a just compensation for the present productivity.

But this does not mean that a purely negative attitude towards the problem of production, productivity and management is correct. Firstly, modern industries cannot run without norms of

production. All these days they were unilaterally decided by the managements. But with the growing strength of the workers' movement the managements often realise that they cannot be imposed on the worker unilaterally. In such a situation the trade unions must intervene actively and take the matter in their hands. Such matters as job evaluation and others through which more exploitation is sought to be imposed on the workers should no longer be left to the management nor to the joint technical committees of the two sides. The debate and discussion should be carried to the active union cadres and through them to the mass of workers. This is all the more important today because the management's capacity to foist agreements with the help of INTUC leaders is getting less and less.

Secondly, in a country like India where the working class is in a minority, it must succeed in showing that it has a proper social and democratic attitude towards production whose ups and downs affect the common man.

The employers and Government brazenfacedly announce that the problem of inflation, high prices and shortages, all will be solved only if the workers work more and produce more for the people. Large numbers of people are influenced by this propaganda.

It is, therefore, necessary for the trade unions to assure the people that they are interested in solving the problems of production and fighting the difficulties created by the profiteering employers and the bureaucratic managements of the public sector.

The trade unions should expose the mismanagement of the private and public sectors alike, the corruption that is rampant, the use of sub-standard material, the links of some public sector officials with anti-social elements, the loot of national property; they should declare at the same time that they are prepared to participate in management on terms of equality and do their duty by the people. The trade unions should constantly demand such participation and prepare the workers to fight for it.

In the present condition of democratic struggle such participation should not be dismissed as a demand for class collaboration.

The bourgeois-landlord Government and the employers are afraid of such participation. That is why workers' participation in management which was part of Indira Gandhi's first 20-point programme, was dropped from the second 20-point programme. After its announcement neither the Government nor the private sector took steps to introduce it except in a few cases. This participation was also just formal. There was no genuine offer to seek workers' cooperation.

But while the CITU took a correct attitude towards participation in management after exposing the conditions, under which the participation was being suggested, it and its unions did not pursue it as a vantage point to explain the trade unions' attitude towards management of the economy. That is why when participation in management was dropped in the second 20-point programme there was not a ripple of protest from them.

Computers, Productivity-Linked Bonus, etc.

Since the Tasks document was written in 1967, computers and automation are appearing in a big way on the Indian scene. The computer offensive has steadily increased and is being daily intensified. Our Party and trade unions have opposed these job-killing devices which kill jobs by the thousands. The programme of the Left and Democratic Front given in the Political Resolution of the 11th Congress of our Party reiterates our opposition to automation and other measures aggravating unemployment. In consonance with our stand, our unions have fought valiantly against the introduction of computers. The battle was led by the LIC comrades who saw to it that the computer was sent back from Calcutta. Since then the LIC management has not attempted to introduce them again in Calcutta. But the resistance could not be organised elsewhere. In cities like Bombay, Madras, etc., many companies and concerns—LIC, RBI, Railways, etc.—have succeeded in introducing computers. In West Bengal also certain industrial concerns (Durgapur) have been able to put computers into operation.

There is no doubt that a widespread use of computers, etc., will slaughter thousands of middle class jobs as automation and

sophisticated technology are killing jobs of industrial workers. Today in many cases, whether a concern is big or small cannot be decided by the number of employees engaged in it. Some of these concerns with investments of crores of rupees have only a very small complement of workers.

It is necessary, therefore, to study the experience of our struggle, and decide upon proper tactics taking into consideration (1) the uneven development of resistance and the consciousness to back it, and (2) the fact that the offensive means sacrifice of thousands of jobs.

Equally necessary is it to review the experience and results of the struggle against linkage of bonus with productivity. This was a clear attack against what the workers had gained under the Minimum Bonus Act and the Supreme Court judgement declaring bonus as deferred wage. Our trade unions have fought against this linkage and done well. Yet there are reports that some workers and unions have accepted such deals which gave them monetary benefit. This is possible where lower norms of production exist and additional production does not mean much strain. Our experience should be reviewed to devise proper tactics to meet the present situation.

The Warning that was Given

The Tasks document had warned against adventurist and gangster type of leaderships. "In this connection it should be noted that when the organised movement is weak or is lacking in militancy, opportunist trade union leaders use gangster methods to organise new unions and install themselves as union leaders in that factory. They get hold of certain lumpen elements among the workers who terrorise the rest into joining the union. Once having got the backing of the workers they deal with the management indulging in corrupt practices and always attack attempts to start a genuine union.

"Sometimes the leaders of such unions originally start as militant organisers fighting a strike or two successfully. Later on, instead of developing the class-consciousness of the workers to

develop the union, they adopt gangster methods to secure their allegiance and then work hand in glove with the employers. The fight against this type of leadership not only involves ideological struggle, not only demands exposure of its corrupt practices but also requires a fight against the gangsterism organised by it.”

Non-political and anarchic trade unionism is favoured by the ruling classes, the Government, the bourgeois press and the police department. There are reasons to suspect that some recent phenomena are a direct copy of U.S. gangster-type trade unionism.

Added to this is the new phenomenon where the trade union struggle is attacked from the Left. Naxalites and other disruptors are given more publicity by the bourgeois press because they know the real role they play.

The failure to develop minimum political consciousness, the failure to consolidate the following secured in individual struggles or struggles jointly led, the failure to consolidate contacts secured in big electoral upheavals, result in loss of initiative. The phenomenon in Bombay where the revolt against the INTUC union led the workers to accept a non-Left leadership is a case in point. If our trade unions and the Party do not have the minimum contact with the workers then any militant revolt can be taken possession of by a non-class ideology and leadership.

Resistance Forms

The IMF loan, the need to increase exports arising from balance of payments difficulties, the increased imports under the IMF loan which are already affecting Indian concerns and jobs, all are leading to a greater offensive on jobs. Mechanisation, modernisation, automation, preceded by closures, are in the offing. The Party has to take note of this and consider how to adopt an effective form of resistance. .

Work in Reformist Unions

Neglect of work in reformist unions has led to our isolation in cities where we hardly exist in big industries. In Bombay, for instance, there are well-established unions in big factories,

transport, docks, etc. But we do not work in them. Work in these unions wherever they have a sizable following should be considered to be part of our struggle for trade union unity and for expansion of our influence with the workers.

Democratic Functioning of Unions

It seems that what the Tasks document said about democratic functioning and its importance has been ignored by our Party and unions.

The Tasks document gave the following important guidance on democratic functioning, linking it with the leading role of the proletariat: "Though we have decided to discard revisionism ideologically, still we have not discarded it in our methods of mass functioning. At best our trade unions function through the top organisation of the union secretariat, executive or council. The main mass of membership is a passive spectator—an audience at some union meetings, individually approached perhaps once in the year for collection of union dues. This in effect freezes the influence of the union as the main burden of the organisation is borne only by a few top leaders and active workers who are unable to be in touch with the mass of membership and workers.

"There is in our work a lack of bold application of forms and methods of proletarian democracy which really accelerate the radicalisation and activation of broad masses of workers. These consist in drawing members as well as non-members in the task of discussing the policy of the union, shaping its decisions, apart from taking agitation for day to day issues in the factories. The election of delegates to conferences, congresses, in the open mass meetings, or at least the meetings of union members, after explaining to the workers the subjects to be discussed and the line adopted by the union, constitute an important part of this proletarian democracy. This democracy does not consist in observing the rules of the union constitution only. It is only by applying these broad forms of proletarian democracy that the mass of members and workers can be drawn into the daily work of the union and the mass base can be continuously expanded.

“After all it is in shaping the union policy, in participating in union activities at different levels, in its discussion and struggles that the mass is supposed to get the class training and class-consciousness. By our method we are precisely preventing this development and in a factory where we hold absolute sway the entire number of workers do not necessarily join the union.”

Very few realise the great harm that is done by ignoring this all-important guideline. Failure to function the unions democratically leads to bureaucratism. The latter kills all initiative on the part of the mass of workers rendering them incapable of organisation and leadership. It disarms and disorganises the class that has the responsibility of leading the revolution. It hampers the expansion of trade unions, is responsible for the shortage of cadres. And it is one of the causes of stagnation in union membership.

The CITU was started when the AITUC leaders made it impossible for us to function within the common organisation, resorting to disruptive tactics and refusing to observe the normal democratic norms of trade union functioning. In consonance with their political line of collaboration with the Congress(I) Government, they were discouraging and even sabotaging working class actions and strikes relying only on negotiations. This class-collaboration ended in open betrayal in 1975 with support to the Emergency and the banning of strikes.

In this period, therefore, by leading mass actions, by boldly conducting strikes, the CITU could come forward as a militant organisation gaining at the expenses of the AITUC and others. This was the period when our Party and CITU unions in West Bengal had to face semi-fascist terror which cost us the lives of one thousand of our comrades—a number of them active trade union workers and leaders. The AITUC leaders and leaders of other organisations did not even protest against this repression. In fact they were silent partners of the Congress(I) in this attack on us.

This steeled the CITU not only in West Bengal but elsewhere also. In many other states our budding unions had to face extraordinary police repression. Their militant image got fixed in the minds of the people.

Of course the progress was uneven and consolidation was more uneven. The Party and the CITU, following the correct line of trade union unity and united front, helping the formation of the National Coordination Committee of Railwaymen's Strike, contributed to the organisation of the all-India railway strike (1974), which also exposed the vacillating and anti-struggle role of reformist and revisionist leaders. Our valiant Loco Running Staff Association comrades who earlier by organising their all-India railway strike had given a big push to the railway movement, again played a prominent role in the all-India strike enabling their followers to overcome craft narrowness. They enabled the Party and the CITU to pursue vigorously the line of all-in unity during the strike.

In these years the CITU distinguished itself by leading more struggles than any other organisation, though this did not mean that the CITU headed the majority of the struggles. This situation continued and according to an official report, in 1981 also, the CITU led more actions than any other organisation.

The CITU and its unions have registered sustained progress in several directions. It is the CITU and its unions that gave the Party its place in the trade union movement, providing it with the lever to reorientate the entire trade union movement in the direction of unity. The increased weight and initiative of the CITU and its unions in the united movement have been noted. It has to be increased further.

These achievements were possible because of the increased independent activity of the CITU and its unions, the innumerable strikes led by them and the heroism and self-sacrifice with which they fought them. But for this independent activity, the CITU could not have secured recognition from the workers, and from other organisations. But for it the line and policy of the CITU would not have been demarcated from the opportunist lines of others. There are many inside our Party who tend to forget the vital role of our independent activity in building mass actions and trade union unity. It will be suicidal for the CITU and its trade unions to forget or tone down its independent and militant

activities in the name of unity. Our experience abundantly shows that even unity at the negotiating table is possible so long as we do not surrender our independent initiative.

The CITU can take credit for its role in such an outstanding success as the three-day coal strike. The formation of the coal workers' and steel workers' federations constitutes recent achievements in the struggle for industry-based organisations. The Political-Organisational Report adopted by the 11th Congress of the Party observed: "It is however to be noted that despite the rising struggles of the workers, and the worsening of the economic situation, the mass membership of our trade unions in many places is not increasing. The CITU organisations have lost their earlier momentum and further advance can be registered only by proper planning and close attention to the working of the organisation...The latest membership for West Bengal is 65 lakhs which cannot be considered to be sufficiently big—with all that the Left Front Government has done for the workers. Many of our major unions are not able to enrol more than 30 per cent of the employed workers.

"In some places there is a set-back and stagnation due to failure to respond to the mood of the workers. This has enabled non-political leaders to score over us."

There is no doubt that our influence extends beyond our membership and there is vast scope for rapid expansion of the membership of our unions.

The reasons for this state of affairs must be enumerated. Weaknesses in the conduct of the day-to-day work of the trade unions and lack of democratic functioning of the unions have already been noted. Apart from this there is smug self-satisfaction with the advance already achieved. This satisfaction unrelated to the tasks before our Party is a sign of a reformist outlook. It is, besides, not realised that in the first phase of CITU advance it was helped by the divergence that had already taken place between the radicalised workers and the reformist leadership.

Further progress could be secured only by conscious planning to create new consciousness. Our activities also activated the reformists and revisionists to give up their opposition to direct

actions. Fresh demarcation between the fighting workers and reformists have to be brought about by the way we conduct actions and the policies we adopt to meet a changing situation. This means organised planning of which there is not much evidence.

Another defect has to be noted in the functioning of the CITU and other all-India organisations. Most of the office-bearers just do not function for the all-India body. A proper and constant activation of the organisation therefore does not take place.

It will not be wrong to say that unions often have miserable rates of union subscription. They are a mockery of union organisation and loyalty to the union. Low union rates are followed by fund appeals on bonus day or the conclusion of successful wage negotiations—all of which strengthens the psychology that the union is to be paid generously if some benefit is secured. The CITU unions should overcome all the weaknesses which hamper their progress and set themselves the task of winning over the mass of workers still outside their organisation.

In discussing the CITU and its progress we should not be blind to the difficulties it is facing. We must take note of the unheard of repression that the CITU and its unions have to face in many states. In U.P., Haryana, Rajasthan, Punjab, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh our unions have to face murders, mass attacks on workers' residences and families at the hands of organised goondas, rapes on wives of workers, illegal imprisonment and arson and other crimes. The employers resort to mass dismissals or closures and the police organise mopping up operations to terrorise the fighting workers. In U.P. this policy is seen in a blatant form. Kanpur especially has been chosen for vindictive and illegal attacks of the employers and goondas. The workers gave a fitting reply to these outrages by successfully organising the all-India CITU session there in April last. There are some critics of the CITU who want to forget this terror in estimating the progress made by the CITU. The CITU committees in the above-mentioned states have to wage a daily battle for their existence leaving very little time for consolidation.

Federations

Our Party members are now working in a large number of federations and trade unions not affiliated to the CITU. It is necessary to coordinate the activities of our comrades in all these organisations so that a common direction is given to their work and the Party's line in the trade unions gets strengthened and secures a wider appeal.

Some of these industrial federations have been organised under the initiative of the CITU and work directly under its guidance. Others have been in existence for a long time and were formed by the unions directly concerned. A large number of these federations are independent bodies not affiliated to any central organisations. In some of these our comrades occupy leading positions; in others they participate but are not part of the leadership.

All these all-India federations reflect the urge felt by the workers in these industries to have an all-India organisation. They reflect the growing all-India consciousness of these workers. It has to be further developed so that they do not keep themselves aloof from a central organisation. This process has already started through their growing association with central organisations in the National Campaign Committee.

There are seven industrial federations directly working under the guidance of the CITU, with regular fractions functioning in them. There are six others outside the CITU guided by fractions and the Party. There are 21 other federations, where Party members are working but without the advantage of regularly functioning fractions.

It is necessary to end this chaotic situation and provide firm Party guidance in all industries, federations and unions. The common tasks and approach have already been outlined in the document. Yet there are specific tasks in relation to each federation without discharging which the common tasks cannot be discharged. These tasks have to be properly outlined and vigorously pursued.

A common defect of some of these organisations is that most of the office-bearers just do not function for the all-India body. A proper and consistent activation of the body, therefore, does not

take place. It is often reduced to an ad hoc body, meeting on occasions arise, but not constantly working to organise and lead the workers. This defect is shared by some organisations working under the CITU also. The all-India meetings of these bodies are sometimes not attended by leading members and sometimes by an entire state. This hampers the development of an all-India outlook.

The Party

The following significant passage from the Tasks document is still relevant today: "Perhaps the most serious deviation of our trade union cadres, fractions and the Party is the failure to recruit large numbers of workers inside the Party. Even in the strategic industrial centres like Calcutta the working class membership is small in proportion to the hundreds of fighting and militant workers." Is it because we underestimate the class consciousness created in the course of the class struggle or does it arise out of a total underestimation of the role of the Party? The latter is no doubt one of the reasons; otherwise we cannot explain comrades who work day and night for trade unions remaining indifferent to the development of the Party. It is clear beyond doubt that any trade union activity, whatever may be its pretensions to be revolutionary, is purely reformist activity if it does not lead to rapid expansion of the Party among the workers. There are instances of trade unions where we have been working for more than a decade and we are not having even ten Party members.

"This again must change and in the coming struggle and period we must see that the Party develops rapidly. After all we want a mass party and it can arise only in the course of the struggle. But it does not arise spontaneously, it has to be organised consciously through the lever of trade union struggle."

Political-Organisational Report

The Political-Organisational Report adopted by the 11th Congress of our Party observes: "It may be said that the trade union organisations under our Party's influence have become a

vital force in the all-India trade union movement, that we are to a certain degree able to set the pace by our initiative and goad the other organisations into action. It is all the more necessary to streamline our Party's guidance and establish proper methods for functioning of fractions and Party guidance. It is above all necessary that State Committees of the Party send regular reports on trade unions and busy themselves with the task of guiding the movement in their states and teach the cadres from a constant review of our struggles and activities."

In this Marx Death Centenary Year, it is appropriate to conclude with the following words of Karl Marx:

"Too exclusively bent upon the local and immediate struggles with capital, the trade unions have not yet fully understood their power of acting against the system of wage-slavery itself. They, therefore, kept too much aloof from genuine social and political movements. Of late, however, they seem to awaken to some sense of their great historical mission, as appears, for instance from their participation, in England, in the recent political movement.

"Their future—apart from their original purposes, they must now learn to act deliberately as organising centre of the working class in the broad interest of its *complete emancipation*. They must aid every social and political movement tending in that direction. Considering themselves and acting as the champions and representatives of the whole working class, they cannot fail to enlist the non-society men in their ranks. They must look carefully after the interests of the worst paid trades, such as the agricultural labourers, rendered powerless by *exceptional circumstances*. They must convince the world at large that their efforts, far from being narrow and selfish, aim at the emancipation of the downtrodden millions."

On Reagan's Fury*

Statement Dated September 27, 1983
Issued By The Polit Bureau of CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau of The Communist Party of India (Marxist) issued the following statement in New Delhi on September 27, 1983:

The world was awaiting U.S. President Reagan's address to the United Nations to find out whether there was any impact of the powerful worldwide movement against the nuclear war danger on U.S. policies. To its dismay the world finds that Reagan not only does not make the slightest response to humanity's desire for peace, but instead has made a furious onslaught on the Non-Aligned Movement which is a powerful force working against war.

Reagan's fury against the Non-Aligned Movement can be easily understood if it is remembered that the New Delhi summit of the NAM had denounced the USA seven times, and that despite pressures from the IMF, World Bank, etc., it is to the credit of the movement that it has not yielded to these pressures. Reagan now talks about "true non-alignment" which, according to him, should look to the USA for leadership.

Reagan has also made a slanderous attack on the socialist world saying that Socialist countries and many non-aligned countries are part of the Soviet empire, while claiming that the countries of the West are independent and equal. The whole world knows it is U.S. imperialism which supports the apartheid regime in South Africa. seeks to suppress freedom everywhere and make countries subservient to it, even with direct military intervention as in Lebanon and Central America and the Caribbean.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, October 2, 1983

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Reagan's U.N. address shows his discomfiture at not being able to bring the Non-Aligned Movement under U.S. control despite all pressures. The struggle against the nuclear war danger, in defence of world peace, has to be pursued even more vigorously. That would be a fitting answer to Reagan's challenge to the Non-Aligned Movement.

P.B. Statement on Punjab*

Statement Dated October 7, 1983
Issued in New Delhi

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) severely condemns the senseless and brutal killing by Sikh extremists of eight persons in Punjab yesterday. That the victims belong mainly to the other community will exacerbate the communal tension already growing in the State.

The struggle for the just demands of the Punjabi people is directed against the anti-democratic policies of the Congress(I) Central Government. Fratricidal killings and other terroristic actions by extremists only undermine this legitimate struggle.

The Congress(I) Central Government cannot escape the major share of responsibility for the explosive situation that has developed in Punjab. It is the Centre's dilatory tactics and its refusal to accept the consensus for a solution to the Punjab problem worked out by the Opposition meeting in Delhi, that is mainly responsible for the deterioration in the situation. The clamping of President's rule on the State does not in any way solve the problem. On the other hand, with the State also declared a Disturbed Area, there is every likelihood of the police running amuck and intensifying their terror against the people.

The Polit Bureau demands that the Central Government should immediately accept the Opposition consensus and announce its decision to implement it. Even at this stage it should publish a White Paper, as has been repeatedly

*Published in 'PEOPLES DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 16, 1983

demanding by the CPI(M), to name the persons responsible for the heinous crimes in Punjab. Without this, giving a free rein to the police would mean wanton repression on innocent people.

The Polit Bureau appeals leaders of both the Sikh and the Hindu communities to disown and isolate the extremists and communalists in their ranks, and make every effort to defuse the tension and restore communal amity in Punjab.

P.B. On Recent Developments*

Communique Issued Following Polit Bureau Meeting Held in Delhi On November 2-3, 1983

A meeting of the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) was held at Delhi on November 2 and 3, 1983. It reviewed the international and national developments since the September meeting of the Central Committee.

On the international plane, the deterioration noted at the C.C. meeting has further advanced. This is seen in the decision of the USA and its NATO allies to begin the deployment of the Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe which is a big setback to the search for nuclear disarmament. This and the direct intervention of the U.S. and French forces in Lebanon show that the US imperialists have succeeded in netting their allies more firmly in their plans.

The most important development of this period is the naked aggression launched by the US imperialists in Grenada. Although universally condemned, with not a single member of the Security Council voting in favour of this aggressive act, the US rulers are shamelessly defending their action, showing the contempt of the aggressor to his allies.

As against these blatant moves of the imperialists, the P.B. noted, is the unprecedented mobilisation of peace forces throughout Europe, in Japan, in Canada and in the United States itself. Never before has humanity seen such a wide participation of people who have come together on one single issue which involves the question of life or death for mankind.

While expressing satisfaction that India, too, has played some role in this worldwide movement, the P.B. felt that what has been

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, November 13, 1983.

done is inadequate to meet the situation. It is also less than what is possible considering the anti-imperialist traditions of the Indian people. The P.B., therefore, decided to do the Party's utmost to help widen and deepen the peace movement.

The P.B. called upon the Government of India to follow up with vigour and determination the stand of opposition to the US aggression in Grenada. The Commonwealth Conference being held in Delhi this month should be used to rally the international community against the aggressor. The American puppets claiming to "represent" Grenada should be kept out of the Conference.

Coming to the national situation, the P.B. noted that the economy is going from bad to worse. The public distribution of foodgrains and other essential commodities has collapsed, making the life of the consuming public miserable. At the same time, the peasants are denied remunerative prices for their products. The virtual abandonment of the food-for-work-programme, together with large-scale lock-outs and closures, makes the problem of unemployment increasingly critical. The Central Government had to take over the management of 13 textile mills in Bombay, a totally inadequate though welcome response to the crisis in industry. The P.B. is of the view that, considering the inability of the private sector to manage the industry efficiently, nothing less than nationalisation of the textile industry will serve the purpose. The same is the case with the jute industry in West Bengal.

While noting with satisfaction that united struggles are developing all over the country, the P.B. felt that it is necessary to co-ordinate them and direct them towards the struggle for reversal of Government policies. It appealed to all parties and organisations interested in the projection of policies alternative to those of the ruling party to help the development of mass struggles on issues affecting their day-to-day life.

The P.B. heard the report of the Srinagar Conference of Opposition parties which succeeded in hammering out a consensus on one of the most burning political issues—Centre-State relations. It appealed to all those who are interested in the struggle for democracy to unite their forces in the defence of Indian unity with a wide measure of State autonomy.

The P.B. noted with concern the deterioration of the Punjab situation which went out of the control of the Congress(I) Government of the State. The Centre had to intervene and impose President's rule. However, though it is nearly a month since the State has been under President's rule, the extremists are still carrying on their campaign of terroristic attacks. It is evident that the problem cannot be solved by mere administrative measures.

The main responsibility for this is that of the Central Government which refused to utilise every opportunity that presented itself to find a political solution. Even as late as in the last week of October, the Government went back on the promise earlier made by the Home Minister at the Consultative Committee meeting that he would invite the Akalis for fresh talks with no pre-conditions.

The P.B. notes with regret that the Akali leadership which is becoming conscious of the need for communal unity in the State, has not dissociated itself completely from and denounced the terroristic deeds of the extremists. This makes it difficult for the democratic forces to develop a united countrywide movement which alone can force the Central Government to abandon its policy of keeping the tension alive in order to make partisan political use of it.

The P.B. expressed its surprise that the leaders of the ruling Congress(I) who can no more conceal their failure to solve the problems of the country, are trying to hold the Opposition parties responsible for their failures. While they themselves adopt a posture of confrontation with the Opposition parties and the non-Congress(I) Governments in some States, they accuse the Opposition parties and their Governments of adopting the posture of confrontation. They who lay down their own economic, political and foreign policies without prior consultations with the Opposition, make the lying claim that their policies are 'national policies' on which there is a consensus.

The P.B. made it clear that, while the CPI(M) has always been prepared to extend co-operation to the Government on any issue on which the Government takes a correct stand, it is opposed to the basic policies of the Government. It will continue its efforts to unite the forces of Opposition and rally the people for change of Government policies.

P.B. Condemns U.S.A.*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep concern over the grave situation created by the U.S. Administration of Reagan torpedoing the Geneva talks on medium range nuclear missiles in Europe, rejecting every reasonable proposal made by the Soviet Union to find a solution to the problem of the nuclear arms-race, and save humanity from the growing threat of a nuclear war being planned by the NATO Powers headed by U.S. imperialism. In its efforts to establish nuclear superiority for itself by the deployment of the Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Britain and Western Europe, the USA left no option to the Soviet Union but to leave the Geneva talks.

Posing as this does a serious threat to the security of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries as well as to world peace, the leaders of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries are obliged to take appropriate defensive measures. No unprejudiced person can find fault with this Soviet position. The only way to stop the arms race is to give up the deployment by the USA of new missiles in Europe and continue the negotiations between the two sides to reach settlement of the problem.

The U.S. Administration and its NATO partners are defying the European people's voice against the deployment of the new weapons expressed in mighty popular mass demonstrations in Europe, especially in West Germany and Britain. This opposition is reflected in powerful segments in these countries who have come out against the stationing of the new weapons as seen in the stand of the Labour Party and the Social Democratic Party in Britain, the 226 votes

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against the new deployment as against 266 votes for it in the West German Bundestag, a similar vote in Italy, and so on.

The Polit Bureau demands that the Government of India, which has declared itself in favour of peace and against a nuclear war, forthrightly condemn the US-NATO plan to station Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Western Europe, instead of trying to equate the USA and the Soviet Union and blaming both for the present impasse at Geneva. The Government should demand that the USA and NATO give up the deployment of the new missiles so that the Geneva talks can be resumed, a solution found to the problem of the nuclear arms race and Europe and the world saved from a nuclear catastrophe.

Welcome Arafat

Editorial of "People's Democracy" of
May 23, 1982

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, is arriving in India on May 21, for talks with the Government of this country. We extend our heartiest welcome to him.

The PLO is the only representative of the Palestinian people, recognised as such by the United Nations and a number of countries, including India. And Yasser Arafat is its acknowledged leader.

The PLO has been fighting for years for the rights of the Palestinian Arab people, first and foremost for a State of their own. The gradual displacement of the Arab population by Zionists had begun at the end of the last century itself. The period of the British mandate over Palestine from 1923 was a period of large-scale Jewish immigration into Palestine. Imperialism had clearly realised the strategic and economic importance of West Asia. The existence of big oil deposits had been confirmed and because of its location, West Asia was chosen to play a key role in the strategy of confrontation with the Soviet Union, a strategy worked out by imperialism even before the defeat of fascism in the Second World War. The existence of a Jewish State ruled by political forces unconditionally allied to imperialism, became an important factor for the preservation and expansion of the USA, Britain and their allies in the region. The UN decision in November 1947 by a majority vote partitioned Palestine giving 56 per cent of the land to the Jewish population and the remaining 44 per cent to the Arabs. The Zionists had already by then been engaged in military actions to terrorise the Arabs and extend their control. They continued this offensive even after the

UN decision, and drove out 500,000 Palestinians from their homes and took over their land before the Israeli State came into existence on May 14, 1948. This was the beginning of the tragedy of the Palestinian people. In another war of aggression in 1967, the Israeli Zionists extended their occupation to the Sinai, the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank including Jerusalem.

The founding of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation was an extremely important event for the struggle of the Palestinian people against the Zionist aggressors. The PLO became the symbol of Palestinian resistance keeping alive the flame of freedom against the Zionist occupationists. More, the PLO became the embodiment of the aspirations of the entire Arab people, of their struggle against the U.S. imperialist-Israeli Zionist enemies of the Arab people. It is the foremost leader of this organisation who is visiting India now, and he is coming at a time when the West Asian situation has become extremely serious.

The Camp David agreement imposed by the U.S. imperialists with Egypt's Anwar Sadat as a willing accomplice was meant to drive a wedge and break the unity of the Arab World. In exchange for regaining control over the land, Egypt had lost in 1967, Sadat acknowledged Zionist Israel as a superior Power, and while Israel did not make any concessions, it imposed its conditions as a victor and forced Sadat to virtually recognise the sovereignty of the Zionist regime over Jerusalem.

But if the Camp David agreement was meant to allure, Syria and Jordan to enter into similar agreements with Israel, as the U.S.-Israeli aggressors had planned, to make Israel the super-Power of the West Asian region, it proved a fiasco. Even reactionary Arab regimes, close to the United States like Saudi Arabia, had to take a stand against the Camp David accord. Israel has returned Sinai to Egypt (where Israeli troops have been replaced by a so-called "multinational" force composed mainly of Americans), but it has escalated its aggression against the Arab World.

The Zionists have already annexed East Jerusalem and Golan Heights, and are on the way to annexing the West Bank and the

Gaza Strip. Some 1.3 million Palestinians are living in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The Israelis have already appropriated about 38 per cent of the territory establishing 182 Jewish settlements with 120,000 inhabitants. Tel Aviv plans to securely tie the economy of the West Bank and Gaza Strip to the Israeli market; 90 per cent of the trade of these territories is already with Israel. Along with all this goes the most brutal repression. More than 6000 Palestinians have been imprisoned in Israel. Since 1967, a total of 200,000 people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have served terms in Israeli jails. More and more Arab people are being killed and plastic bullets are very fast being replaced by lead bullets. Arab Mayors in the West Bank have been deposed and physically attacked. Continuous aggression is being committed by the Zionists against Lebanon to wipe out the PLO bases in the south of that country. Israeli ruling circles are already considering the permanent occupation of South Lebanon. The single aim of all these aggressive activities is to deprive the Palestinian people once and for all of the right to their own Statehood.

It is the U.S. imperialists who provide the umbrella to the Zionist aggressors. The U.S. imperialists have openly declared their intention to ensure the "permanent military superiority" of Israel in West Asia. They have all along been arming the Israelis with the latest weapons and also shoring up the Israeli economy. They have vetoed every single resolution in the United Nations which calls for even the mildest action against the Zionist aggressors. The U.S. imperialists are utilising the services of some extremist Islamic fundamentalist circles to disrupt the unity of the Arab World and solidarity with the PLO.

Palestinian resistance is also growing. There have been continuous strikes in the West Bank, protest demonstrations have taken place right inside Israel.

This is the present explosive situation in West Asia. The people and the Government of India are pledged to give all support to the cause of the Arab people, to the Palestinian people's struggles for a State of their own. In West Asia the aggressors are U.S. imperialism and Israeli Zionism. There

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should be unequivocal opposition to them without any talk of super-Powers, their activities in the Indian Ocean and so on. The non-aligned summit is fast approaching and this time it is being held in West Asia. All initiatives must be taken, all efforts made, to ensure that the summit devises ways and means to defeat the U.S. imperialist-Israeli Zionist aggressors and that the right of the Palestinian Arabs to their own State is established.

This is what the people of India stand for and it is with the reiteration of their unflinching support to the fighting Palestinian people that they extend their welcome to Yasser Arafat.

Statement On Centre-State Relations*

Adopted By The Opposition Parties
 Their Meeting in Srinagar on 16 October 1983

The following is the Statement adopted by the Opposition Parties at their meeting in Srinagar on 16 October 1983.

1. The nation today is in a state of crisis. The centralisation of power in the hands of the State Government has led to a dangerous drift towards authoritarianism. The freedom struggle of the people, which was the basis of articles 356 and 357, has been suppressed. The centralisation of power is leading to authoritarianism and a disturbing and dangerous drift has to be avoided.

2. The integrity of the nation must emerge from a conscious effort towards harmonisation of the distinct linguistic, ethnic and cultural groups which constitute our great nation. The golden thread created by the freedom struggle still runs throughout the length and breadth of the country; we must ensure that this thread is strengthened in the times to come.

3. We believe that the Constitution, whatever its limitations, is a document of great relevance to the democratic advance of our people and it has to undergo changes keeping in view the experiences and context of the times. It is in this context that this meeting of the Opposition Parties, which is representative of a very wide spectrum of national opinion, has approached the question of restructuring the Union-States relations in its political, economic, legal and constitutional aspects. The meeting believes the appointment of the Sarkaria Commission, though welcome, is an inadequate response to the requirements of the situation.

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4. We are deeply aware of the external threats to the nation's security. We are also conscious of a situation of turmoil in many sensitive areas. As a nation, we have, however, deep inner reservoirs of strength to meet such threats and we have no doubt that the people would vigilantly guard and preserve the priceless treasures of freedom and sovereignty. In this against this background, the Government will expediently solve the problem of Centre-States relations, so that there could be faster and more evenly balanced economic progress for our people. This would also further strengthen the sense of national unity and

Council will deal with

Union and with any

(f) Article 200. This provision was meant to be a federal one, its intention was to come to over shadow its federal character. In the years, because of the prevalence of one-party government, the powers as well as in the States the powers vested in the States have been

6. All this has given rise to many disputes and disputes between the Centre and the States. It is necessary to restore and strengthen the autonomy of the States and to strike a proper balance between the powers of the Centre and the States, so that the character of our multi-religious, multi-lingual and multi-cultural country is preserved.

7. To this end, it is necessary to curtail the arbitrary powers with respect to the States. The dismissal of elected members of State Assemblies and peremptory orders not to hold elections must stop.

8. The institution of Governors has been misused for the purposes referred to above. The record proves beyond a shadow of doubt that, in most cases, the Governors have used their office to serve the interests of the ruling party at the Centre. It is unlikely that they would have acted thus except at the instance of the ruling party. The clear intent of the framers of the Constitution and, indeed, its letter and spirit have been violated in all significant

respects. These are: the appointment of the Governor in consultation with, and with the consent of, the State's Chief Minister; the calibre and stature of the Governors; the security of tenure to which a Governor is entitled, the imposition of President's Rule and the Governor's right and duty freely to discharge his functions without being instructed or dictated by the Centre, especially in regard to the appointment of the Chief Minister and the dissolution of the Legislature. The position of the Governor, we feel, should be in no way different from that of President. We suggest that the Governor should be appointed by the President on the basis of a panel forwarded by the ~~State Government~~ concerned.

9. In this context, we also feel that Articles 356 and 357 which enable the President to dissolve the State Government or Assembly should be suitably amended. In case of a Constitutional breakdown provision should be made for holding elections within six months and for installing a new Government. If, however, election cannot be held, due to such violence as disrupts the normal life making it impossible for a fair and free elections, the President will consult the Inter-State Council as proposed in Article 263. Following that, he will place the opinion of the Inter-State Council before Parliament for decision for the imposition of President's rule for a period not exceeding six months, or otherwise.

10. We are also of the opinion that the following provisions of the Constitution have to be either amended or deleted.

(a) *Articles 200 and 201:* The State Legislature must be supreme in the sphere of legislation on matters pertaining to the State list and no interference by the Centre or the Governor should be allowed on any ground, except in the case of bills which affect the powers of the High Court.

(b) *Article 248 and Entry No. 97 in the Union List:* Article 248 and Entry 97 in the Union list empower the Union with the residuary powers concerning all matters. Such residuary powers, we feel, should rest with the States.

(c) *Article 249*: Article 249, which empowers the Centre to legislate on a subject in the State list under the plea of national interest, should be omitted.

(d) *Article 252*: Article 252, which empowers the Union to legislate on the request of two or more States to pass laws on subjects mentioned in the State list should also be reviewed and amended.

(e) *Article 263*: Under Article 263, the President can establish an Inter-State Council. It must be made mandatory for the President to constitute such an Inter-State Council consisting of the Prime Minister and the Chief Ministers of all States. The Council will deal with all disputes between the States and the Union and with any other matter of national importance.

(f) *Article 360*: Article 360, which empowers the President to interfere in a State Administration on the ground of a threat to financial stability, should be deleted.

(g) *Article 365*: Article 365, which empowers the President to dismiss the State Government for not implementing the directions of the Centre, should be so amended as to prevent its misuse.

(h) *Article 370*: The special constitutional status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir under Article 370 should be preserved and protected in letter and spirit.

(i) A number of other Articles in the Constitution deal with the power and functions of the Governor vis-a-vis his Council of Ministers and Union Government. These articles too should be reviewed.

11. It is also for consideration whether the three lists under Schedule Seven should not be reviewed in the light of our experience over the past three decades.

12. The Officers of the existing All India Services, when they serve in the States, must be under the supervision and disciplinary control of the State Government. If any appeal is to be lodged against any disciplinary action taken by the State Government, the appeal should be referred to administrative tribunals set up for the purpose. The tribunals must be independent of both the State and the Union Governments.

13. The judiciary at all levels must be free from political interference. The judges of the Supreme Court should constitute themselves into a Judicial Council and make recommendations regarding the appointment of judges of the Supreme Court and appointment of judges of High Courts. Before making their recommendations, they should consult the State Governments, the Union Government and the Chief Justices and judges of the High Courts. The advice of the Judicial Council of the Supreme Court should be binding on the President.

14. The impartiality and credibility of the Election Commission is an imperative necessity for free and fair elections. The Election Commission should consist of three members to be appointed by the President on the recommendations of the Judicial Council proposed in paragraph 13.

15. Law and order is a State subject, and the prerogative of the State in the matter must be fully respected. There could be occasions when induction of central police forces may have to be considered. In all such cases, prior concurrence of the State Government must be taken. The meeting is firmly of the view that the Disturbed Areas Act should not be extended to any State without the prior approval of the State Government concerned.

16. As the nation knows, the radio and television are being increasingly misused by the ruling party at the Centre. In a democratic society, the people have the right to know the doings and misdoings of those whom they have elected. They have also the right to know and understand details of various opinions regarding Government policies. A statutory Central Communications Council should be set up. Its membership should include Ministers of Central and State Governments, leaders of political parties and experts. This Council should oversee the functioning of the radio, television and other Government managed media. Similar Councils should also be established at the State level.

Economic and Financial Aspect

17. This meeting is of the view that the present economic imbalances and deprivation and backwardness of many States are

the consequence of the over-centralisation of economic powers and resources. Structural and other factors have inhibited rapid and balanced growth of States and regions. The present highly centralised pattern of economic and financial administration has resulted in a system where priorities are imposed from above and bear diminishing relevance to the aspirations of the people. The supervision and management of projects too have suffered adversely as a result. Given the overwhelming concentration of resources in its hands the Centre has often been discriminatory in its allocation of resources as between region and region and State and State.

18. Currently, as much as 70 per cent of the total resources raised in the public domain is retained by the Union Government, and only 30 per cent is available to twenty-two State Governments. This kind of lop-sided distribution of financial resources is without parallel for a federal polity. The more elastic sources of tax revenue are reserved for the Centre. The States are not allowed any share of the proceeds of the corporation tax, which these days exceed those from the income tax. The Centre refuses to share with the States the yield from the surcharge on income tax. Articles 268 and 269 indicate certain areas of resource-raising which belong to the jurisdiction of the Centre, but the resources thus raised are supposed to be placed with the States; these Articles have, however, barely been taken advantage of. The Centre has, on the contrary, encroached on the State's share of sales taxation through the scheme of additional duties of excise. A number of other arrangements, such as fixing a ceiling on the rate of sales taxation for goods 'declared' to be of national importance, or prohibiting the States from imposing sales tax on exportable goods, have deprived the States of their due share of revenue. The reluctance of the Centre to pay the States appropriate royalty for the exploitation of their mineral wealth is a further source of erosion of resource for the States.

19. It is also necessary to mention the pernicious effect of the recently adopted practice of the Union Government to collect

additional revenue by raising the administered prices of commodities such as petroleum products, coal, iron and steel, cement, aluminium, etc., instead of adjusting the rates of excise duties. The States have been deprived of thousands of crores on account of this practice. Several other instances show how Central taxes have been adjusted in a manner such as to affect the interests of the States.

20. Another example of the States being deprived of their legitimate share of national resources is illustrated by the case of public borrowings from the market. In the 1950's as much as two-thirds of the yield from market borrowings used to be allocated to the States and only one-third was retained by the Centre. In contrast, the Centre now retains as much as 90 per cent, leaving just 10 per cent for the States.

21. While the Union Government can take recourse to created money of unlimited quantum, the overdraft which the State Governments are occasionally forced to take from the Reserve Bank of India is subjected to severe limits and conditions, and carries a heavy burden of interest. Similarly, the States have no control over the destination, or terms and conditions, of advances made by the commercial banks, which currently amount to nearly Rs. 40,000 crore. Such is also the case with the investments of public financial institutions.

22. This meeting demands that the following changes in the financial arrangements between the Centre and the States be immediately brought about:

- (a) The proceeds of the corporation tax and the surcharge on income tax be made shareable with the States;
- (b) The provisions of Articles 268 and 269 be fully taken advantage of;
- (c) The scheme of additional duties of excise be abolished;
- (d) 40 per cent of the yield from every increase in administered prices be passed on to the States;
- (e) A review be made of the principles guiding decisions as regards "declared" goods;

- (f) The royalty payable to the States for their mineral resources be determined on an *ad-valorem* basis in consultation with the States;
- (g) Government's policy with respect to created money drafts be reviewed after due account of the point of view of the States;
- (h) The State Governments be allowed representation, on a rotational basis, on the central and local boards of directors of the Reserve Bank of India, and they be permitted to open commercial banks to serve the interests of the people; and
- (i) An institutional forum be set up for consultations between the Union and State Governments on fiscal issues which are of mutual concern.

23. The role of economic coordination and planning to solve the complex and diverse problems facing our nation can hardly be over-emphasised. Unfortunately, both the National Development Council, intended as the highest policy-making body on social and economic issues, and the Planning Commission, which is an instrument to implement the Council's directions, have functioned in a manner entirely vitiating their original role. Neither the Council nor the Commission has any constitutional or statutory basis. The Council's meetings have been reduced to a ritual; little scope exists to at these meetings for any substantive discussion on the grave issues facing the nation. The Planning Commission has similarly been made an appendage of the Union Government and has failed to reflect, or respond to, the needs of the people at the grassroots. The meeting is of the view that both the National Development Council and the Planning Commission be re-organised after effecting necessary constitutional and statutory changes to ensure proper representation of the States on these bodies; the Commission's relationship to the Council should be clearly defined. The composition and functions of the Commission should be such as to make it a nodal agency between the Centre and States.

24. The present authority of the Planning Commission and the Union Ministry of Finance to offer discretionary grants to the States must be drastically curtailed. Such discretionary transfers now account for more than 70 per cent of the total transfers to the States, and constitute a major source of arbitrary behaviour on the part of the Centre. All financial transfers should belong to the jurisdiction of the Finance Commission. The President should consult the States on the composition and terms of reference of this Commission.

25. In deciding the *inter se* allocation of the aggregate transfers to the States, the first charge must be a minimum ear-marking of funds for the relatively backward areas. The Finance Commission must, in addition, take into account the incidence of poverty and the proportion of *Harijan* and tribal populations while determining the distribution of resources between the States.

26. Under the existing arrangements, 70 per cent of the Central Plan assistance to the States comes in the form of loans. This meeting demands that all such assistance should be treated as grants, and liabilities incurred by the States on this account should be written off. It further suggests that a National Debt Commission be set up to review the other outstanding debts of the State Governments and suggest measures to phase them out; this Commission should also be empowered to review the Union Government's debts.

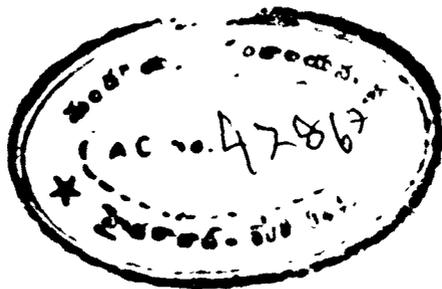
27. The meeting recommends that a National Expenditure Commission be set up, on a permanent basis, to advise and counsel the Union and State Governments on the pattern of their respective expenditures and the scope for economising on them. The relationship between this Commission and the Planning and Finance Commissions should be carefully laid down.

28. It is to be understood that the devolution of resources from the Centre to the States has to be further carried forward within each State to the territorial councils, the Zilla Parishads and other local and village bodies so that the interests of the masses can be truly served.

29. The provisions and working of the Industrial (Development and Regulation) Act, the meeting is of the opinion, must be subjected to a thorough review.

30. The Centre's power to regulate inter-State trade should also be similarly reviewed. For example, the present absurdity, whereby foodgrains can be transported by private trade from one State to another, while a State Government agency cannot do so without the Centre's approval, must be brought to an end.

31. We would also urge that the Union Government be persuaded to assume the responsibility for ensuring the supply of 15 to 20 major foodgrains, industrial raw materials and essential commodities all over the country at a uniform price. The concept of national unity loses much of its lustre if essential articles are not equally accessible in all States, or if some of them are available at uniform prices all over the country while others are not. The Centre should seek the cooperation of the States so that these deficiencies are corrected.



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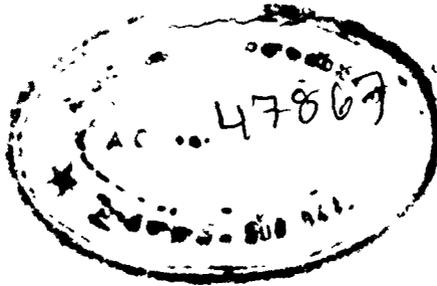
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