

DOCUMENTS OF  
THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT  
IN INDIA



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# Introductory Note

This Volume (Volume No XXI) includes documents of the Communist Movement in India for the period 1984 to 1986

This was also a very important period in the political history of post-independent India. The virulent separatist movement engulfed almost the whole of Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir and very badly affected various regions of Assam and north-east Indian States. The 'Operation Blue Star' which led to armed intervention in the holy shrine of the Sikhs, the Golden Temple, in Amritsar, roused the feeling of the ~~Sikh~~ people all over India. The supply of arms to the separatist forces from beyond the Indian borders made the situation more complicated in Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir and various other parts of India.

When the unity and integrity of India was being challenged by the armed separatist, the Government of India led by Smt. Indira Gandhi carried on one after another political gamble to weaken and remove the anti-Congress(I) Governments in the States and dismissals of Farooq Abdullah's Government in Jammu & Kashmir and N.T. Rama Rao's Government in Andhra Pradesh were the glaring examples of recklessness and subversion of democracy by Indira Gandhi's regime which disturbed the political milieu of the entire country.

The death of Smt. Indira Gandhi by the bullets of her own security guard on 31st October, 1984 revealed the seriousness of the situation that prevailed in India at that time.

We have given all relevant documents on these important political developments of this period in this Volume and we are certain the readers will find them most useful for an indepth study of the political situation that prevailed in India during this period

Following Smt Indira Gandhi's assassination a fresh Lok Sabha election was held in 1985 which was, however, due In this election Congress(I) headed by Rajiv Gandhi, Smt Indira Gandhi's son, secured absolute majority by the swing of "sympathy votes" though the CPI(M) and other Left forces could retain the hold, as before, in States like West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala

But in spite of this massive majority Rajiv Gandhi's Government proved a dismal failure and got itself involved in many scandalous deals It will be relevant to mention here that "Bofors Gun Deal", which scandalously exposed the corrupt activities of the Congress(I) Government subsequently, originated during this period

This Volume also includes documents on these vital developments The review and analysis made by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) on Lok Sabha election results of 1985 are given in full in this Volume. We have also given relevant documents covering the views and political stand of CPI(M) on Bhopal Tragedy, on developments in Sri Lanka and on developments in Tripura and Gujarat

The statement of the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) on Punjab settlement and Assam accord are also given in this Volume

The Twelfth Party Congress of CPI(M), held in Calcutta on December 25-30, 1985, was a major event of this period. The conflict between the ruling party and the people during this period was summarised in the Political Resolution adopted in the Twelfth Party Congress, in the following words

"The elections, because of the special circumstances under which they took place, could not be a proper expression of the conflict between the people and the ruling party, a conflict arising out of the accumulated effects of the ruling party's economic policies "

“Equally monstrous was the additional burden of taxation in these years. The 1985 Union and Railway Budgets imposed a heavy load of taxation of nearly Rs 1,900 crores on the people while giving relief to the capitalists. Huge deficit budgets by setting in inflationary prices have added to the woes of the people. For 1985-86, the estimated budget deficit is Rs 3,985 crores, more than double the estimated figure of Rs 1,717 crores for the last year. Within six months of the presentation of the budget, the deficit has exceeded 5,000 crores of rupees”

“High taxation, deficit financing, and high prices which were considered to be instruments of national planning are now revealed as instruments of transferring the burdens of the crisis to the backs of the people. This should reveal the class character of the economic recovery claimed by the Government in its Economic Survey”

On agrarian crisis the Political Resolution adopted by the Twelfth Congress was very categorical wherein it was pointed out

“The failure of Congress agrarian reforms, the retention of antiquated agrarian relations over a greater part of the country and the continued concentration of land in the hands of small sections, make such crisis inevitable”

In dealing with the challenge to national unity and opportunism of the policies of Congress(I) the Political Resolution categorically stated:

“The ruling party is equally incapable of fighting the forces of obscurantism, of separatism based on caste and religion. When faced by these challenges it stands paralysed and its administration collapses”

It was also noted in the Political Resolution of Twelfth Congress that

“RSS and Hindu communalists forces are aggressively rousing communal passions”

The basic importance of the demand for revision of

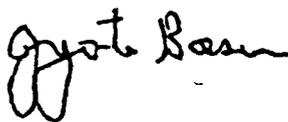
'Centre-State Relation' was reiterated in the Political Resolution adopted by the Twelfth Party Congress. The 'Centre-State Relation' was formulated in this Political Resolution as "an important issue in the struggle against one-party dictatorship" and that "it affects the basic rights of the opposition parties under the Constitution".

The Political-Organizational Report adopted by the Twelfth Congress gave a detailed analysis of the political situation prevailing in every State of India and also revealed the understanding of the CPI(M) on these developments and the steps taken by the CPI(M) to deal with them.

We have given in this Volume the Political Resolution and Political-Organizational Report as adopted by the Twelfth Congress. We have also given other documents adopted by the Twelfth Congress.

The memorandum submitted by the General Secretary of the CPI(M) to the National Integration Council on April 7, 1986 is a very important document included in this Volume. This Volume also includes Com. Harkishan Singh Surjeet's letter to Sant Longowal and to the Prime Minister of India on developments in Punjab. These two documents will help the readers to assess and understand the then situation prevailing in Punjab and the political stand of the CPI(M) to bring about an early solution to the problems of Punjab.

We have included in this Volume 143 documents of the period 1984 to 1986. We are sure the readers will find them most useful to assess and understand the political situation prevailing in India during this period and appreciate the relevance of the policy approach of the CPI(M) in every vital political issue of this period affecting the country.



(JYOTI BASU)  
*Chief Editor*

May 12, 1998

# Foreword

The period from 1984 to 1986 marked with quickest turn of events—assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and sweeping victory of Congress(I) in the thick of gathering momentum of the united movement against the misrule of the Congress(I) And yet the period passed had not been without its compensating features in conformity with what Engels asserted in 1895 in his introductory remarks to Marx's 'The Class Struggle in France' "The irony of world history turns everything upside down"

With the utter disregard to the repeated agreements on Punjab problem, latest one on April 20, 1983, the Punjab situation was allowed to pass into the hands of the extremists, and it boiled down to the 'Operation Bluestar', — flushing out of the extremists from the Golden Temple and unearthing of underground arsenal, an underground maze of tunnels, manholes and bunkers by the army deployed by Government of India Surcharged with religious sentiments, the Sikh Community was deeply anguished and bitterly angry with the Central Government, with the consequent base of extremism, though a large number of the terrorists had been either liquidated or captured Alongside, the moderate Akali leadership had been isolated and lost all grounds to enter into any negotiation Hindu-Sikh polarisation had become even more intense That was the situation which suited the imperialists and extremists who were engaged in disrupting the unity and integrity of the country

While reiterating our constant condemnation of the activities of the extremists of indiscriminately killing innocent people and raising separatist slogans, we expressed our strong feeling that these tragic happenings of June 6, 1984 could have been avoided if only the Prime Minister and the Central Government of the Congress(I) had accepted the proposal of the Opposition parties for a solution of the Punjab tangle. We had repeatedly warned the government that the situation could not be tackled by administrative measures alone and it was necessary to find a political solution to the problem. Otherwise the government would be playing into the hands of the extremists. Even the Akali leadership was demarcating itself from the extremist activities of killing innocent people.

What did prompt the government to resort to delaying tactics? As a matter of fact, the government was prepared to settle with the Akalis if they were prepared to support the ruling Congress(I) government and share power. It was even prepared to settle with Bhindranwale, the extremists' chieftain, forgetting all that he had done, provided he was prepared to help the ruling party to perpetuate its rule. The government never sought the cooperation of the Opposition parties to find out a solution, it was trying to use the Opposition to pressurize the Akalis and then had a political deal with them directly. The narrow interests of the Congress(I) had run supreme over national interests. If the Akali leadership whose advocacy of the slogan of forming a State with Sikh supremacy laid, in the main, the ideological basis of Khalistan, had continued to demarcate itself from the extremists and to join hands with the Opposition parties, the government could be forced to go otherwise and the situation could have been different.

The role of the Hindu communalists, represented by BJP, was adding fuel to the fire. The people of Punjab, both Hindus and Sikhs, have always been opposed to the slogan of Khalistan and desire peace and communal harmony. They were so fed up with the unbridled and nefarious activities of

the extremists that there was no spontaneous reaction amongst them against the flushing out of the extremists from the Golden Temple. It was only when the Akali dissidents led by its stalwarts took up the issue that the extremists, who had been put on the run, again become active. On top of all, far from mobilizing the people against disrupting forces the Congress(I) and its government continued to bank on administrative action. The lack of political will of the government to take recourse to a positive stand, took precedence of all.

At a time when American imperialism was moving all-out to instigate the divisive, communal and separatist forces, in order that India got destabilised, the Congress(I) far from facing the challenge, was using everyone of them to strengthen its position in the respective States.

A horrifying communal massacre took place in Bhiwandi, Pune and Bombay of Maharashtra that had no parallel till then when several hundred people lost their lives, nearly two thousand hutments raged to the ground during an orgy of murder, loot and arson organized by the Shiv Sena, a notoriously semi-fascist organization. It was the Congress(I) which utilized Shiv Sena for its partisan end. Having been thus nursed, the Shiv Sena joined hands with BJP to organize riots. How did the Congress(I) government fail, could be judged from a single fact that only in 1984, 23 communal riots had broken out on the occasion of Dussera and Muharram.

The whole North-Eastern region was faced with serious problem of separatist forces which provided fertile soil for imperialist machinations. Tripura continues to be the exception where, under the leadership of CPI(M), the Left Front government has been maintaining the unique amity between tribals and non-tribals combating all the attempts of the separatist disrupters with whom the Congress(I) is in alliance even now.

The National Conference government in Jammu and Kashmir, a State vulnerable to separatist and fundamentalist

forces aided by imperialist agencies, had been carrying forward its long tradition of unity of the country and integration of Jammu and Kashmir with India. The Congress(I) government at the Centre did never bother about these pertinent issues, it was only interested in imposing its own rule on the State. The toppling game in that State had started immediately after the formation of National Conference government. Failing, the Congress(I) leadership manoeuvred to effect a split in the National Conference and dismissed the Farooq Abdullah government. It unlawfully installed a minority government of 'Splitters' imposing curfew all over the State without even allowing Dr. Abdullah to prove his majority on the floor of the House. All Opposition parties and the Press in general condemned this action of the Central Government which was not simply a blatant attack on democracy but also an outrageous action which would be opening the floodgate of separatist activities in this strategic State further imperilling the unity and integrity of the country. In response to the call of the Party, Punjab Week was observed from July 10 to 17, 1984 throughout the country which along with a series of similar programmes helped the people realise the gravity and correctness of the line pursued by the Party.

Having failed to solve any problem facing the country, the Congress(I) on a toppling spree dismissed Telugu Desam Ministry in Andhra Pradesh in a utterly arbitrary and unconstitutional way. Before that similar conspiracies were hatched in Sikkim and Pondicherry. Prior to all that, the infamous Congress(I) leaders were sent as governors — A. P. Sharma to West Bengal, Jag Mohan to Kashmir and Ramlal to Andhra Pradesh. Apart from persisting economic blockade against Left Front government of West Bengal, the governor A. P. Sharma was openly violating all norms and decency to put hurdles before the Left Front Ministry in West Bengal and associating himself with the conspiracies of West Bengal Congress(I) leaders—all these thoroughly exposing the unscrupulous and nefarious designs of the Congress(I) High

Command on the eve of the Lok Sabha elections. The Opposition parties joined hands together to organize fitting protests by way of giving a call of 'Save Democracy' Day on August 25 which received massive response from the people.

In the midst of all these developments and intensification of mass movements all over the country against the disastrous policies of the Congress(I), Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India was dastardly assassinated at her official residence by Khalistani secessionists patronised by imperialist agencies with the aim of destabilising Indian situation. In the aftermath of the assassination, a communal flare up engulfed vast areas of the country killing thousands. The whole community of Sikhs was, in the main, made target of murder, arson and loot. Utilizing the deep indignation of the people against the heinous assassination, Delhi and its neighbourhood was subjected to mass killing of Sikhs, numbering about a few thousands. Sikh-owned shops, factories, houses and vehicles were looted and destroyed. But the most despicable aspect of this madness was that it was instigated and led all over the country by the leading lights and hirelings of the Congress(I), a fact which has recently been more clearly established by a commission appointed to enquire into the Delhi riots.

The Congress(I) leadership led by Rajiv Gandhi, who became Prime Minister after the assassination of his mother, spared no efforts to utilize the surcharged situation for its electoral interest and announced elections to the Eighth Lok Sabha at the end of December 1984. Our Party in its appeal to the electorate said about our line: "It will be a disaster if the electorate returns the Congress(I) party to power. The CPI(M) calls upon the electorate to defeat the Congress(I) at the polls and take the future of the country in its own hand.

"The CPI(M) works for a new alignment of forces through the elections. They should lead to the defeat of the Congress(I), isolation of the divisive forces and strengthening of secular and Left and democratic forces."

“In the present situation it is not possible for a single party to defeat the Congress(I) What is required is a combination of forces who stand on secularism, who are wedded to fight authoritarianism and save democracy, who support non-alignment and are vigilant enough to protect the country from the machinations of imperialism, who stand for a proper Centre-State relationship and who agree to give immediate relief to the people from high prices, unemployment and inadequate wages”

“The CPI(M) is prepared to support such a combination in the coming elections and is prepared to support a Ministry which is faithful to the above programme. The CPI(M) considers that the decisions of the Srinagar conference of Opposition parties and the Calcutta Conclave should form the basis of such a programme”

“In different States different combinations or political parties are in the field The CPI(M) while maintaining and strengthening the unity of the Left forces is prepared to support these parties and combinations These are the DMKP, Congress(S), DMK, National Conference (Kashmir), Telugu Desam, Congress(I), Janata Party and some others.”

The elections were taking place with a qualitative new situation that emerged with the assassination of Smt. Indira Gandhi. As such election results showed that a basic change in the outlook of the electorate had taken place with the Congress(I) securing four-fifths of the seats—a success which it had never before. Our Polit Bureau and Central Committee made an objective review of the election results

The Polit Bureau observed that, “The discontent flowing from the anti-people policies and practices of the Congress(I) Government was relegated to the background by the shock at the assassination and sympathy for the Congress(I). The Congress(I) party took note of it and while projecting the question of national unity before the people also appealed to the sentiments of the majority community. It is not accidental that during the whole campaign Congress(I) leaders did not utter a word against the RSS Concern for the unity

and integrity of the country threatened by the activities of extremists and separatists of various kinds, led the people to look upon the Congress(I) as the protector of India's unity. This is a feature of the situation which most of the bourgeois Opposition parties failed to take note of. Some of them had seen in the secessionists, communal and casteist forces only an embarrassment for Indira Gandhi rather than a threat to national unity and integrity. After the assassination also they failed to note that the revulsion among the people against the activities of separatist forces would make them rally still closer to the Congress(I).

"The CPI(M) was conscious of this before and after Smt Gandhi's assassination. The CPI(M) in its election campaign had highlighted the question of national unity pointing out that the policies and practices of the ruling party in fact were helpful to the growth of divisive and separatist forces rather than stopping them. Vast sections of the people however felt that the Congress(I) was the only force which could be trusted in the present situation to protect national unity."

The Central Committee opined that in that situation of unity dominating the minds of the people, the call for an alternate government at the Centre became a non-starter. It became unrealistic with the failure of the Opposition parties to unite and present the possibility of a possible alternative. Their indifference towards the question of national unity, their attempts to belittle the dangers further eroded their capacity to discharge the task which the people considered as vital.

The Central Committee noted that notwithstanding the spectacular success of the Congress(I) in securing four-fifths of the seats the Opposition vote was almost equal to that of the ruling party. The deep concern for unity did not sway this huge mass to put their trust in the Congress(I). The Congress(I) vote was by no means an endorsement of the economic and other policies followed by the ruling party. Besides in some States the Congress(I) vote had been reduced as compared with 1980. If the ruling party would

behave as if the Opposition was smashed and was irrelevant it would come to grief. One piece of electoral reform in the direction of proper reflection of people's mind—proportional representation—would give the Opposition an almost equal number of seats.

The Central Committee however recognized that this was a big swing in favour of the Congress(I). It examined the setbacks in West Bengal and Kerala and came to the conclusion that the reverse in these States were not entirely due to the new concern for unity. Other factors were also responsible and both the Central Committee and the West Bengal and Kerala State Committee identified them. The Central Committee called upon the Committees concerned to repair the damage done.

The C C called upon the Left Parties to close their ranks and face the coming Assembly elections unitedly. It was their responsibility to stem the tide of one-party triumph and save the multi-party character of India's democracy.

As expected, this spectacular swing of the people towards the Congress(I) in the Lok Sabha elections evaporated soon after. The Congress(I) lost heavily in some Assembly elections and certain by-elections within two months following the Lok Sabha elections. History was really turning upside down which underlined that the contradiction between the ruling bourgeois-landlord combine and the mass of the Indian people was in no way resolved and discontent among the masses was on the rise resulting in mass movements of the different sections of the people.

After having massive majority in the Parliament, the new Congress(I) government led by Rajiv Gandhi seemed to have changed the policy of drift in tackling the burning problem of Punjab which started assuming serious proportion by that time. Release of Akali leaders and lifting of certain bans etc. were preparing the ground. In the course of subsequent changes, an Accord was signed in the middle of 1985 between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Shiromani Akali Dal President Sant Harchand Singh Longowal on Punjab tangle which was welcomed by all in unambiguous terms and which

was undoubtedly a stunning blow to the extremists. Being isolated, the extremists did not hesitate to commit the gruesome crime of murdering Sant Harchand Singh Longowal that shook the people both Hindu and Sikh. People's urge for peace was again proved by the electoral victory of the Akalis when people ignored the boycott slogan of the extremists. But the inordinate delay in implementing the July 1985 Accord gave rise to many complications out of which the extremists were trying to make capital. Meanwhile Akali Party got weakened because of its vacillations towards the extremists. The Congress(I) Party and the Central Government must share responsibility for contributing to the rapidly deteriorating situation by not implementing the Accord in letter and spirit for 17 months.

The situation in Jammu and Kashmir had also deteriorated as a direct result of the Congress(I) policy of allying with communal forces at the cost of national unity. The same Congress(I) had reached an understanding with the National Conference to share a coalition ministry after inflicting serious damage to the nation. Quite naturally, this coalition displayed its incapacity to save the situation.

During this period, the separatist Gorkhaland agitation in Darjeeling district of West Bengal caused concern. Several Nepali-speaking followers of the CPI(M) laid their lives to defend unity of the people speaking different languages and having different ethnic identities. The role of the Congress(I) and its government at the Centre provided further encouragement to the agitators. Since long CPI(M) stood for Regional Autonomy of this hilly region which was not heeded to by the Congress(I) government. After severe damage, an agreement had been signed among West Bengal government, the Central Government and the agitators giving expression to the same regional autonomy for which CPI(M) had been fighting for decades.

The Assam Accord was also signed in this period. But far from retracing its steps the actions of the Assam Gana Parishad Government had been exacerbating the situation.

It was not only these divisive forces, but the opportunism, chauvinism, casteism and communalism of the bourgeois political parties that were making their contributions to the Process of disintegration with the Congress(I) and BJP heading the list. The situation was quite disturbing at the alarming growth and consolidation of different divisive, communal and casteist forces that were out to exploit the evergrowing mass discontent. In Punjab, Assam, Tripura and Kashmir, a lot of our leaders and cadres sacrificed their lives in defending the unity and integrity. Seldom can any other party claim such a sacrifice. The Left democratic and secular parties have been consistently and courageously challenging the bourgeois-landlord class offensive on our people and fighting for national unity. But with growing strength at faster pace they should be in a position to succeed where the bourgeois opposition parties were failing on burning economic and political issues. That was where the Twelfth Congress of our Party emphasized that was held in Calcutta from December 25 to 30, 1985.

The Political Resolution adopted at the Twelfth Congress said, "Today when the country is in danger, when the task is of fighting authoritarianism, defending national unity and defeating imperialist conspiracies against the country, only the unity of the Left and democratic forces, only the increase of their weight in Indian politics will save the country.

"Only the Left and democratic forces can wage an immediate struggle against mass misery and exploitation of the people, against the dependence of our economy on Western countries, for national unity and a consistent foreign policy of non-alignment, and against the authoritarian danger. Only the Left and democratic front representing the interests of the masses can unite the toilers to clear the road for the advance of democracy.

"The main task of fighting against the authoritarian drive of the ruling party while meeting all the new challenges to the nation, devolves on the Party and the Left forces. The Left and democratic front cannot be growingly built without the growing unity of the Left forces and without their capacity to

launch massive united struggles against the authoritarian regime, its policies of suppressing democracy, its economic policies endangering the independence of the economy and the unbearable burdens being imposed on the masses”

The growing importance of forging this unity was stressed in the Political-Organizational Report of the Twelfth Congress . “No matter what the bombastic declarations of the government are to assure the people that their new economic strategy promotes greater employment, decreases the disparity between the rich and the poor and serves the interests of the country and the common man, these policies are bound to increase the miseries of the masses, bringing them into head-on conflict with the ruling classes and the government. Thus the period ahead of us is a period of rising mass struggles, increasing unity of the democratic and secular Opposition parties and the enhanced activity of the CPI(M) and other Left forces in the country.”

At the same time the Political Resolution pointed out that independent activity of the Party in organizing mass actions, building Left unity and the Left and democratic front must increase very much compared with the past The last four years showed some progress in this direction. But this was too small compared to the needs of the situation and weaknesses of the other partners.

But it was an unfortunate fact that the Left unity did not register progress as envisaged earlier In some respects, the Left unity, the unity between CPI(M) and CPI in particular, had strained It all began with the attack directed on the CPI(M) by CPI when the CPI(M) reformed party-to-party relation with the Communist Party of China in 1983 Since then CPI showed more and more reluctance for united actions And the disunity and bitterness grew between the two parties during the 1984 Lok Sabha elections The Political-Organizational Report while opined for the necessity of ideological struggle against their basic postulates, criticism of their deviation, of their erroneous opinions and tactics, concluded with the importance of strengthening the unity It said, “The CPI(M) pledges to attach

utmost importance to the struggle for Left unity, as an integral part of the struggle for forging of the urgently needed Left and democratic unity

“The CPI(M) is fully aware that several of these bourgeois Opposition parties do not take consistent democratic positions on certain questions. It is also conscious that there will be vacillations in the struggle to forge the unity against authoritarian Congress drive for the perpetuation of its one-party monopoly rule. And yet the importance of rallying these parties for united actions in defence of democracy should not be underestimated.

“The CPI(M) and the other Left parties and groups should always bear the above in mind and act up to it.

“The consolidation of Left unity can be achieved only on the basis of widespread mass actions of the Left parties, their joint mass actions, call for strikes, morchas and demonstrations on issues vital to the life of the people and the nation, and their capacity to attract broader and broader forces in the common struggle.”

One point deserves mentioning here. In consequence of crushing defeat of the Congress(I) in the election to the Andhra, Karnataka and Tripura in 1983, and in the background of rising people's discontent the ruling Congress(I) was facing crisis in every State. The ruling alliance in Kerala headed by the Congress(I) was affected by intensified bickering and conflicts. Considering these developments, a section of the supporters of Left-Democratic Front was encouraged to suggest that initiative should be taken to go in alliance with those in the ruling coalition who were dissatisfied in order to replace the Congress(I) led coalition government with an alternate government. Some leaders of the constituent parties of the LDF were also favouring the proposal. That was, to some extent, affecting the thinking of a section of our leading comrades as well. Discarding the idea, the Central Committee of our Party advised its Kerala unit to concentrate of systematically organizing campaigns on which even section of the masses following the parties of the ruling coalition could be

drawn and that the LDF's political campaign should have its edge directed against the Congress(I) alliance with the caste and communal organisations

Taken as a whole any political manoeuvring with such parties as were being exposed as the representatives of caste and communal separatism would surely deprive our Party of its democratic and secular image, would have compromised our Party's basic stand regarding the communal and divisive forces, while only helping the consolidation and the strengthening of these which serve to disrupt the class and mass organizations that are being built by us for decades. Yet, there were some comrades who failed to realise the dangers inherent in it

After the Parliament and Assembly elections in Kerala in 1984, the question was that of disentangling the Party from the All India Muslim League which was a constituent of LDF. In a Polit Bureau's letter to the Party members in Kerala it was again made clear that the issue involved was broader than the Party's relation with AIML. The issue was raised and well discussed in the Twelfth Party Congress which endorsed the line pursued by the Polit Bureau and the Central Committee.

It was reviewed in the Party Congress that the political line of the Party was tried and tested in the preceding four years. Nevertheless while joint actions on economic issues had increased, including Bharat Bandh called by the Opposition parties on February 28, 1986, against the sharp increase of prices of essential commodities and other programmes of joint action, direct political actions were few.

The Twelfth Party Congress gave a clarion call "The CPI(M) calls upon all progressive forces, the entire Indian people to realise the dangerous situation confronting our country. Our democratic rights are under attack under the authoritarian drive. The self-reliance and independence of our economy is being endangered, national unity is under constant attack, the secessionist, divisive and communal forces are rallying to bury national unity, imperialism is resorting to interventionist devices to destabilise our country and change its policy of non-alignment.

“Who will meet all these challenges? Who will protect our freedom, our unity and independence? Only the people rising in their millions can stay the hands of domestic and international reaction. Only the people fighting poverty and aware of the incapacity of the ruling party to protect national interests will save the situation. The mighty force of our people rising to meet all the challenges will prove a powerful defender of world peace and opponent of U S imperialist war plans.

“The CPI(M) places itself at the service of all people in this great cause of national unity, freedom and social advance. It assures that all its committees, units and members will relentlessly work for the cause of the people”

The contents in this Volume will show the capacity of our Party to meet any eventuality and rise to the occasion for the cause we have been consistently and relentlessly fighting for



(Harkishan Singh Surjeet)  
*General Secretary,*

*Communist Party of India (Marxist)*

May 30, 1998

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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
C C.	: Central Committee
P.B.	: 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
CKK	: Central Kisan Council of All India Kisan Sabha
WFTU	: World Federation of Trade Unions
AISF	: All India Students' Federation
SFI	: Student Federation of India

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

## **Central Committee's Appeal for Donations For C.C. Office Building in New Delhi\***

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is running its Central Office without a building of its own, relying on the assistance of the Party MPs for providing accommodation for the C C office and the staff working there. This cannot continue and the growing needs of the Party and the movements headed by it require adequate accommodation. Hence the need and urgency to construct a building for the C C. in Delhi.

A trust — the A K Gopalan Bhavan Trust — has been set up with E M S Namboodiripad, B T Ranadive, M Basavapunnaiyah, Harkishan Singh Surjeet, P Ramamurti, Samar Mukherjee and E Balanandan, and the C C office will be named A K Gopalan Bhavan.

The efforts of the Polit Bureau to secure a piece of land had failed during the last three years and more. Now at last it has succeeded in securing it. The Central Government has granted some 1200 square metres of land, for which Rs 32 lakh have been paid by the PB. Another Rs 50 lakh are absolutely necessary to complete the building of the office.

The PB has borrowed short-term loans from different State Committees and individual contacts to pay for the land. They will have to be repaid as early as possible in the next two to three months.

It is heartening to inform our Party members and readers that our State Committees such as West Bengal, Kerala,

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Tamil Nadu, Punjab, etc , have come forward to donate their utmost to the C C. Office Building Fund But all this falls too short of the total amount of Rs 80 lakh and more

We appeal to the workers, peasants, middle class employees and other progressive-minded people in the country to liberally donate to our building fund so as to enable the PB and C C to complete the construction of A K. Gopalan Bhavan by the end of the year 1984 We call on all Party committees, units, members and the Party's sympathisers and well-wishers to themselves donate generously to the building fund and collect as much as they can from their friends and contacts.

Send the money as it is collected to A.K. Gopalan Bhavan Trust, 14, Ashoka Road, New Delhi-110 001.

## **Polit Bureau Denounces Congress(I) Tactics\***

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) denounces the campaign of destabilisation organized by the Congress(I) against non-Congress(I)-ruled State Governments, those of Karnataka, Jammu and Kashmir and West Bengal in particular.

Following the notorious "Moiily Tapes" incident in Karnataka, official spokesmen of the Congress(I) asserted their party's "right" to topple the so-called minority Government in the State. The P.B. congratulates the Hegde Government which successfully faced the powerful onslaught of the unscrupulous Opposition and came out with flying colours in the confidence vote in the Karnataka Legislature.

In the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Congress(I) has, for several weeks, been engaged in organizing a campaign of violence and terror against the elected Government. This unscrupulous campaign was publicly commended to the people by the Congress(I) leaders at their Calcutta Plenary Session.

The Plenary Session of the Congress(I) was used also to mount a vicious attack on the Left Front Government of West Bengal, which for nearly seven years has survived all earlier assaults launched against it by the Congress(I) leaders and has thus become the beacon-light for the anti-authoritarian forces throughout the country. It has also become an eye-sore to the Congress(I) party at the Centre and in the State. A Cabinet Minister at the Centre went to the extent

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of repeating his earlier threat, to “throw the Left Front Government into the Bay of Bengal”.

Emboldened by this call from above, and desperate at the growing popular support for the Left Front as seen in the mass rally of January 14, the Congress(I) in the State has resorted to hooliganism

The challenges thus thrown up by the Congress(I) were boldly taken up by the Opposition political parties and non-Congress(I) Chief Ministers, who assembled in Calcutta on January 13, 14, 15. The joint announcement by them at the massive rally on the 14th made it clear that any attack on any one of the non-Congress(I) State Governments would be unitedly resisted by the entire Opposition. The rally also showed that, in the event of any such attack, millions all over the country will rise against the authoritarian move of the Central Government

Unnerved by this unanimity of the Opposition in resisting the Congress(I) attacks on the non-Congress(I) Governments, the Congress(I) has now resorted to the old discredited methods of violence and terror which that party has always been using against non-Congress Governments since the notorious “liberation struggle” in Kerala in 1959. The hooligan attacks launched in Calcutta and Delhi on the Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister and the violence unleashed in West Bengal, show that the growing unity of the democratic Opposition has made the leaders of the ruling party desperate and unscrupulous in using any method against the democratically elected State Governments headed by Opposition parties. The Polit Bureau appeals to all who value democracy to condemn these despicable methods adopted by the ruling party and defend democracy.

## **Homage to Comrade Desraj Chadha\***

**Statement issued by the Polit Bureau of CPI(M)**

With deep grief, the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) announces the passing away of Comrade Desraj Chadha, a member of the Central Committee of the Party. More than four decades of dedicated work and sacrifices in the cause of the Communist and working class movement had shattered Comrade Desraj's health. For years he had been troubled by chronic bronchial problems and in the last few months he had been extremely depressed mentally, and ultimately he put an end to his life. He was 72 at the time of his death.

Comrade Desraj Chadha came into the student movement in Punjab in 1935 and became a member of the Communist Party in 1938, when the Party was illegal. Since 1939, he was working in the Punjab Provincial Committee office of the Party. He was arrested at the end of 1940 and was tortured by the British in the notorious Lahore Red Fort. But as a loyal and conscious Communist he did not let out a word about Party secrets. He was kept in jail during the entire period of the Second War.

Comrade Desraj was elected to the Punjab Provincial Committee of the Party in 1948 and to the Secretariat of the Provincial Committee in 1951. From 1948 to 1952, when the Party was under attack, he worked underground.

When the fight against revisionism began in the Indian Communist movement, Desraj took his position firmly against

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revisionism He was imprisoned in 1962-63 at the time of the India-China war After his release, he took charge of the Central Committee office of the CPI(M) He was imprisoned again in 1965-66 when the Party was attacked immediately after its Seventh Congress

Comrade Desraj was elected to the Central Committee of the Party at the Eighth Congress of the CPI(M) and was reelected at all subsequent Congresses of the Party. He was a member of the Central Control Commission also for a number of years

The Polit Bureau records with great appreciation the nearly five decades of selfless work and the sacrifices of Comrade Desraj His was the dedicated life of a Communist. We dip our Red Banner in homage to him and extend our deepest condolences to his bereaved relatives

## Communique of the Meeting of the Central Committee\*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) met in New Delhi from February 4 to 7, 1984, with Harkishan Singh Surjeet in the chair.

Besides adopting condolence resolutions and separate resolutions on the Demands Day on February 13 called by the Calcutta meeting of Opposition parties, on strengthening the campaign for peace, the programme of action chalked out by the National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions, on the general strike of the jute workers in the country, on the agitation of the peasants of Uran in Maharashtra, and on Indian diplomat Mhatre's murder, the meeting discussed the developments in the international and national scene.

### Danger of Nuclear War

The C C noted that a qualitative change in the international situation took place in December when the Pershing and Cruise missiles were sited in Europe despite Soviet warnings and protests. It became clear that the imperialist Powers headed by the United States were intent on endangering the security of the Soviet Union and creating the danger of nuclear war for the world.

The C C noted that the aggressive moves of American imperialism, which have posed an immediate danger to the Soviet Union and its neighbours in Europe, is a threat to the security of the whole world, no country, no continent is free

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from the threat of American aggression. The U S President and other spokesmen of the U S Administration do not conceal their intention which is to dominate every country, every part of the world, in fact, global domination. They have arrogated to themselves the right to decide which part of the world should be considered as "of vital interest to the United States" and send their armed forces to establish puppet regimes there.

This is what they did in Grenada three months ago and in West Asia. This is what they threaten to do in Nicaragua to confront Cuba, Angola and several other countries of Africa, Latin America and the Caribbeans.

India too is facing the threat, as is seen in the militarisation of Diego Garcia as a base of American arms, the nuclearisation of the American navy operating in the Indian Ocean, the supply of arms to the military rulers of Pakistan, the open incitement to separatist and divisive forces inside the country. By knocking together the bloc of Japanese militarists and south Korean reactionaries under their own leadership, the U S imperialists have created still another seat of tension in the Asian continent constituting a threat to security in this region.

The brutal murder of Indian diplomat Mhatre in the U K by the espionage organization based in Pakistan has fully uncovered the nature of the danger which India is facing at the hands of imperialist puppets.

### **Peace Movement**

All these facts underline the inseparable connection between the threat of a nuclear war faced by humanity and the danger to the national security, unity and integrity of our own country.

The C C. considered it to be its duty, along with its allies, to develop a broad peace movement in India and rally the people to make them aware of the danger which they are facing from the aggressive moves of imperialism. It is a matter of satisfaction that conscious efforts are being made by the trade unions and other fighting organizations of the working people, as well as, by the Left and democratic parties,

to develop a broad peace movement Following the countrywide observation of September 1 as the day of struggle for peace in pursuance of the call given by the World Federation of Trade Unions, the CITU gave a call for intensifying the struggle for peace and fixed December 20 to 28 for still greater mobilization of the people for peace. The Left and democratic parties fully associated themselves with this campaign, leading to massive rallies in Calcutta on December 20 and Cochin on December 28 The success attained in the countrywide rallies and demonstrations are now sought to be carried forward by the all-India convention to be held in Delhi on March 8 and 9 under the auspices of several Left and other Opposition parties in the country. The C.C. hopes that, following the convention too, the activities will be further strengthened.

### **Divisive Forces**

The C.C. noted that separatist, divisive and communal forces of all varieties are active in all parts of the country, seeking to turn every genuine grievance of the people into disruptive movements. The Ekamata Yagna, organized by Hindu communalists, was a provocative action meant to inflame Hindu chauvinist passions against non-Hindus. This received patronage and open support of Congress(I) leaders in several places The C.C. noted with satisfaction that the CPI(M) and other Left, democratic and secular forces campaigned against this Hindu communalist campaign.

Muslim communalists, exploiting the discontent caused by the discrimination against the minority community, are inciting separatism in the community. The C.C. heard reports from a number of States of certain Christian missionaries nurturing separatism, especially among the tribal people.

### **The Assam Agitation**

The Assam separatists have revived their agitation, though their mass base has been eroded to some extent. The C.C. viewed with grave concern the moves being made by the

Election Commission and some Opposition parties to revise the 1971 electoral rolls, instead of the 1979 rolls, for the forthcoming Lok Sabha election in Assam. This would mean disfranchising lakhs of voters. Such a wholesale disfranchisement is nothing but pandering to the chauvinistic demands of the separatist agitators. The C C endorsed the position of the Party as made clear to the Election Commission in its meeting with the representatives of political parties, that the CPI(M) stands by the 1979 electoral rolls with the necessary revision. The C C. noted with great appreciation that the Assam unit of the Party has been fighting, and making great sacrifices in the struggle against the separatist agitationists.

### **Punjab Problem**

The C C was concerned over the continuing stalemate in Punjab for which the sole responsibility lies on the shoulders of the Central Government which refuses to settle the problems in that State in its partisan interests. The Opposition parties have been giving their full cooperation to the Government to find just solutions to the problems concerning Punjab. The Central Government, however, has been rejecting these proposals. The result is that the people in Punjab are being held to ransom by groups of extremists from the Sikh as well as Hindu communalists. The CPI(M) and other Left and democratic forces have been in the forefront in fighting the Sikh extremists and Hindu communalists, in awakening the people of Punjab to the urgent need for communal harmony and saving the State from fratricidal conflicts. The C C. is happy to note that the Opposition parties have prevailed upon the Central Government to resume the tripartite talks between the Government, the Opposition parties and the Akalis. The C C. is confident that if the Central Government really wants a solution, it can be found at the tripartite talks.

### **Economic Crisis**

Notwithstanding the claims made by the ruling party and its Government, the C C noted that the crisis of the economy

was getting more and more serious. The Government's own figures show that, despite the very good crop expected in this year of favourable monsoon, prices of food and other essential commodities are going up rather than down, making the Prime Minister herself declare that price increases are inevitable when the country's economy is developing. The reason for this and other maladies of the economy is, as has been repeatedly pointed out by the Left and democratic forces, the policies pursued by the bourgeois-landlord regime since the country attained independence and which have proved their total bankruptcy. Furthermore the Government is compelled to act according to the dictates of the World Bank and IMF whose "conditionalities" make the Government launch further attacks on the standards of living of the working people. The result is that a large number of industries are going through the crisis of underutilization of capacity, lay-offs, closures, etc. The finances of the Central and State Governments as well as trade balances are such that the country is moving steadily towards bankruptcy—the fate which awaits every developing country which is forced to accept "aid" from the World Bank, the IMF, and private multinational firms.

The claim made by the Government regarding their decision not to draw the last instalment of the IMF loan, namely that it showed improvement in the economic and financial situation, is in the opinion of the C C completely baseless. For, as the figures given by the Government itself show, the state of external trade and payment balances is such that the Government will be forced to go to the private multinational banks for commercial loans at interest rates still higher than those of the World Bank and IMF. The desperate efforts to get a big loan of one to two billion dollars from the Asian Development Bank also shows the bankruptcy of the Government's claims. The balance of external trade and payment, as any other aspect of national economy, cannot improve unless the basic socio-economic policies pursued by the ruling classes since independence are thoroughly overhauled.

### **Opposition Meet**

The C C reviewed the Calcutta Conference of Opposition parties where a number of Left, democratic and secular parties came together and drew up an 11-point charter of demands and called for the development of a countrywide movement in support of the charter. The C C. expressed the hope that the observance of the all-India Demands Day on February 13, 1984, the holding of State conventions in the last week of February and the all-India convention to be held in Delhi on March 30 would be successfully carried out.

The Calcutta Conference, culminating in a massive rally at the maidan, is significant in three respects firstly, the Opposition parties which, in the three previous conferences, arrived at consensus positions on Punjab and Centre-State relations decided to go to the people jointly on issues affecting living conditions, secondly they declared with one voice that the toppling of any non-Congress Government will be resisted by all the Opposition parties, thirdly, the parties which jointly made this declaration and are proceeding to organize united mass movements are of a secular democratic character. The C C hoped that all other forward looking parties and organizations will help the development of this movement.

### **NCC's Campaign**

The C C expressed satisfaction that the National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions is carrying on its struggle against lay-offs, closures, etc., and for the realization of the demands of workers and employees. The NCC is now making preparations for a March to Parliament on April 19. The C C. called upon the entire Party to make this programme a big success.

The resistance of the people, C C. noted, is growing all over the country. Bandhs, jail *bharos*, demonstrations and *dharnas* in almost all the States have marked this determined resistance of the people. The spontaneous outburst of

the peasants in Uran in Maharashtra is an indication of the discontent among the people, especially among the peasantry

The independent peace movement organized by the Opposition parties, the movement for the popularisation of the 11-point charter of demands formulated in the Calcutta Conference and the activities of the National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions have thus become three centres around which the ranks of the fighting organizations of the working people and democratic secular parties are coming together. The C C. called upon every member and unit of the Party, every Left, democratic and secular party, everybody even inside the ruling party who is interested in the struggle against authoritarianism and for national unity and secularism, to wholeheartedly work for the success of these campaigns.

## Resolutions Adopted by the Central Committee of CPI(M) in its Meeting Held in New Delhi on February 4-7, 1984\*

*The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) met in New Delhi from February 4 to 7, 1984. At the outset the Central Committee mourned the death of Comrades Desraj Chadha, member of the Central Committee, P.K. Kurane, member of the Maharashtra State Committee Secretariat, Sunil Basu, member of the West Bengal State Committee, Durgadas Shirali, member of the Rajasthan State Committee Secretariat and Ashok Lata Jain, member of the Delhi State Committee*

*Following are the texts of the other resolutions adopted by the Committee.*

### **(a) Make Demands Day on February 13 A Resounding Success**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) welcomes the programme chalked out jointly by seventeen Opposition parties against the economic policies of the Congress(I) Government which inflates unemployment, poverty and misery on the vast masses of the people.

The C C endorses the demands formulated by the Opposition parties which include such urgent demands of the people as measures to control prices and adequate supply of essential commodities, expansion of employment opportunities, reversal of anti-labour policies, steps against closures,

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 12, 1984  
Refer Document under Appendix (III) of this Volume

lock-outs etc., remunerative prices for peasants' produce, minimum wages for agricultural workers, steps against atrocities on Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, religious minorities, women and other weaker sections of the society, scrapping of draconian laws like the National Security Act, Essential Services Maintenance Act and so on.

The seventeen parties have called for observance of a Demands Day on February 13, 1984, Statewide conventions in the last week of February and a National Convention by the end of March. The C C calls on all party units to prepare for these actions jointly with the other Opposition parties who have chalked out the programme, and make them a resounding success.

#### **(b) Strengthen Campaign for Peace**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) welcomes the initiative taken by eight parties to strengthen the campaign against the nuclear war danger and for world peace. With the deployment of the new U.S. missiles in Western Europe, the danger of a nuclear world war has increased enormously.

The C C. endorses the joint statement issued by the eight parties and calls on all Party units to strive their utmost, jointly with the other parties, to make the people aware of the danger of a nuclear holocaust and mobilize them in the largest numbers in the peace demonstrations to be held in State capitals and in support of the National Convention to be held in Delhi on March 8 and 9, 1984.

#### **(c) Backing to NCC's Programme**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its full support to the programme of action against lock-out, closures, retrenchments, lay-offs and denotification chalked out by the All-India Convention in New Delhi on January 20, 1984, called by the National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions.

The resolution of the convention has clearly brought out

the enormity and gravity of the problem created by lock-outs, closures, retrenchments, lay-offs and denotification and has called for the holding of regional and State-level conventions on these issues by March 15, campaigning on the demands formulated by the convention during the week March 19 to 25, and popularising the March to Parliament on April 19, 1984, so as to mobilize the maximum number of workers for the March and to court arrest on the occasion

The Central Committee calls on all Party units to throw all their weight into making this programme of action a complete success.

#### **(d) Support to Jute Strike**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its wholehearted support to the indefinite strike from January 16, 1984, of over two lakh jute workers in West Bengal and elsewhere. The C.C. notes the great significance of this strike which is a total united action led by all the jute workers' organizations including the INTUC. The C.C. welcomes this all-in unity of the jute workers.

The jute millowners who, for years, have been pursuing utterly reactionary, anti-working-class and anti-national policies, have forced this strike on the workers.

Closures and lock-outs in the jute industry reached a peak in 1983 when 21 mills remained closed at one stage. Thousands of workers have been laid off without compensation. Workload has been arbitrarily and systematically increased with the result that the total work-force in the industry has been reduced from three lakhs in 1947 to just a little over two lakhs now.

Wages in the jute industry have not been revised since 1979. The present wages lag far behind the wages in other major industries. The employers have refused to implement the Raghunatha Reddy award on *badli* workers and have blatantly defied the awards given by the West Bengal Labour Minister in 1979 in regard to introduction of scales and grades and restoration of the pre-Emergency workloads.

It is condemnable that the six nationalised mills, run under the auspices of the Central Government, are also pursuing the same policies as the jute barons. This is in line with the Central Government's consistent appeasement and encouragement of the jute millowners in their profiteering activities. The substantial loans, export subsidies, etc., given to them have not gone to protect the workers or the raw jute cultivators or the interests of the industry itself.

The jute workers have gone on their indefinite strike not only on immediate economic demands, their main demand is for the nationalization of the entire jute industry from raw jute trade to exports of jute goods. The Central Committee gives its full support to this demand for nationalization of the industry under a democratic system of management and popular supervision, as without it there can be no salvation for the industry nor any fair deal to the jute workers and jute cultivators. The C.C., while fully supporting this demand, urges the Government of India to immediately nationalize the jute industry and trade. It gives support to the other demands of the striking workers for upward revision of wages, against the threat of mass retrenchment, for linking the total pay packet with productivity.

The C.C. demands that the Central Government give all support to the efforts being made by the West Bengal State Government to reach a negotiated settlement of the strike.

The C.C. congratulates the jute workers of West Bengal and other States for their successful complete strike. It condemns the U.P. Government for banning the strike by an Ordinance and demands its withdrawal.

The C.C. calls on workers in other industries and on all trade unions and federations to extend their support and solidarity to the striking jute workers.

#### **(e) Support to Uran Peasants' Demand**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) greets the working class and people of Bombay City for the total and successful bandh they organized on

January 31 The C C. congratulates all the Opposition parties in Maharashtra which jointly called for the action in support of the demand of the peasants of Uran and to protest against the brutal police repression on them

The Maharashtra Government is acquiring the lands of these peasants for the Nhava Sheva Port Project A previous Congress(I) Government had agreed to pay a compensation of Rs. 40,000 per acre to the owners. But the present Congress(I) Government decided that it would pay only Rs 27,000 per acre and that, too, for only the agricultural lands and no compensation at all for salt-pan lands The World Bank was pressing the Government for prompt acquisition of the lands and the Government is rushing through the acquisition The peasants protested demanding that they should be paid the agreed compensation of Rs 40,000 per acre. They are mostly small owners and would be ruined if they accept the amount the Government is offering them

The Government let the armed police loose on the protesting peasants and a virtual police raj was set up in the area. The whole area was laid under siege and arrests, lathi-charges and firings were resorted to. Five persons were killed, hundreds of men, women and children were injured, hundreds more were arrested Even Opposition leaders who went to the area to see for themselves the results of the dastardly police attacks and assure the peasants of their support, were arrested.

The Central Committee condemns this inhuman police repression. It extends its full support to the peasants' demand for the earlier agreed compensation and demands that the Government immediately stop the repression and concede the demand of the peasants.

## **CPI(M) Polit Bureau's Statement Issued in New Delhi on February 17, 1984\***

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep concern over this week's happenings in Punjab and Haryana. The imposition of curfew in a number of towns in Punjab and the spreading tension between the two communities underline the explosive character of the situation.

The people of Punjab, both Hindus and Sikhs, have repeatedly defeated the communal provocateurs in recent months and earned the praise of the common people in all spheres. But now it appears after the recent call for bandh by the Hindu Sanghatan, attempts were made to exacerbate the situation when tripartite talks were in progress to settle the Punjab problem.

The anti-national elements, the Sikh extremists and Hindu communalists, are making a last-ditch effort to stage an orgy of communal violence in Punjab. The PB calls on all progressive-minded people, Hindus and Sikhs, to meet the offensive and give a fitting rebuff to the enemies of the people.

A big and wild game of provocation is being staged in Haryana where members of the minority community are being attacked and belaboured with the police turning a blind eye to the hooliganism. These attacks are intended to provoke the situation in Punjab so that communal conflagration spreads in the two States.

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 26, 1984

The PB condemns these brutal attacks on the minority community and the failure of the Haryana Government to stop them. The PB at the same time appeals to the minority and majority communities not to be swayed by these deliberate provocations.

The PB appeals to the people of Punjab and Haryana, to all progressive forces, to intervene and stop the incendiary gangs from doing further harm both to Haryana and Punjab.

The PB appeals to all political parties and mass organizations to rouse the people and direct their united strength against the communal disruptors who play the game of the enemies of the nation.

***On the same day, 17.2.1984, CPI(M) General Secretary E.M.S. Namboodiripad in a second Statement said :***

I express my deep concern at the grave developments in Amritsar today. It is clear from the reports available that the source of the trouble was the extremists who are interested in sabotaging the talks between the Government and the Akali leaders in which the Opposition parties are giving a helping hand.

I am sure that everybody who has the interests of maintaining communal harmony and finding a reasonable solution for the Punjab problem will unequivocally condemn the activities of the extremists. I appeal to the Akali leadership to continue to use restraint and not to allow the use of Gurdwaras for harbouring these elements.

## Criminal Irresponsibility\*

Statement dated February 25, 1984, issued by the Polit Bureau of CPI(M)

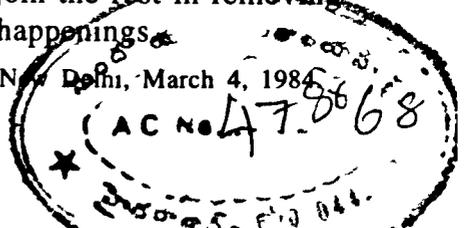
The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) considers the Government's refusal to discuss the Punjab situation in Parliament as an act of criminal irresponsibility. The outburst in Haryana and the repeated killings in Punjab had sounded the warning that the situation had gone beyond control and could be normalised only by changing the official policy and evolving a consensus to tackle the Punjab situation.

The P B warns the people that if miscreants are treated as martyrs anywhere, Hindu or Sikh, the interests of the country will be irreparably damaged. While condemning the orgy of violence in Punjab and recently Haryana, the P B calls upon all people to maintain calm and rebuff those who exploit their emotions and incite one Indian against another.

In this atmosphere surcharged with emotion and prejudices, the P B considers that the call for bandh given by the BJP will aggravate the communal situation and do disservice to the cause of national unity. The P B. is of the opinion that the proposed burning of the Constitution by Akali leaders will lead to the same result and act as a grave provocation.

The P B requests both the BJP and the Akali leaders to give up their proposed action and join the rest in removing the bitterness arising from recent happenings.

\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 4, 1984.



The P B calls upon the citizens of Delhi, — Hindu, Muslim and Sikhs — to maintain their traditional unity. It calls upon the workers to maintain their unity and rebuff all attempts to create communal trouble

## Central Committee's Appeal For Building Fund\*

In January this year (1984), the Central Committee of the CPI(M) issued an appeal for contributions to the C.C Office Building Fund. It informed the people that a trust called the A.K. Gopalan Bhawan Trust was constituted for the purpose. It is estimated that Rs. 80 lakhs are required to complete the building of the office.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) now re-addresses its appeal to the people and wishes to place before them the important and vital role which the CPI(M) has been playing in the life of the country and in upholding the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism in the context of the ideological turmoil resulted from differences in the international Communist Movement.

The CPI(M) today stands as the strongest Left force in the country, playing a notable role in influencing the politics of the country and giving a proper and democratic direction to the immediate struggles against the ruling authoritarian party. Fully vigilant against the machinations of U.S. imperialism, its conspiracy to divide and subjugate the country, the CPI(M) carries on unceasing propaganda against U.S. neo-colonialist designs. Wedded to achieve the completion of the fight against imperialism, feudalism and big bourgeoisie, the CPI(M) rallies all the progressive forces for the cause of common advance, State of people's democracy.

Since its formation the CPI(M) had to wage an unceasing

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 1, 1984

struggle against the ruling classes, against the erroneous policies and deviations of Left parties and against the two deviations—the revisionist and dogmatic—that emerged in the world movement. There was a time when our Party was almost completely isolated from the Communist Parties of the world for an independent stand which criticised both the deviations. But standing firmly on Marxist-Leninist principles, refusing to surrender the basic truths of Marxism before the onslaughts of the revisionists and refusing to repudiate the existence and the unity of the Socialist camp before the attack of dogmatism, our party struck to its independence and Marxist-Leninist positions, enhancing its prestige and image among our people and paving the way for better understanding with a number of Communist Parties.

Inside the country today the position occupied by the CPI(M) is the result of a determined struggle waged over a number of years to take the country out of the poverty and impoverishment imposed by the Congress rulers in the interest of the big bourgeoisie-landlord classes. The Party while supporting the non-aligned foreign policy of the Congress Government, could not shut its eyes to the havoc that was done to the nation's economy and growing dependence on foreign loans. It, therefore, waged an uncompromising struggle against official policies.

Every step of its progress was marked by unheard of repression, sacrifice, imprisonment. Terror was let loose on its cadres in West Bengal in 1971—more than 1000 of them were shot dead. In Kerala several lost their lives at the hands of hired assassins or reactionary elements. In Telangana the peasant cadres had suffered unspeakable police terror, thousands having to migrate to other areas. In every strike the workers had to undergo terror and repression. Several of our student and youth cadres fell victims to assassin's daggers. During the Emergency rule again large number were imprisoned, the Central Committee had to go underground.

But the Party got strengthened through repression. It defeated the Congress (I) at the polls in West Bengal and

Kerala in 1977 It swept the Parliamentary elections in 1977 and 1980 in West Bengal It defeated the Congress (I) in 1977 and 1982 in the State of Tripura; despite repeated attacks, the two ministries continued to hold the field getting ever larger number of people round the Party and the Left Front

The youth, students, kisan, women and trade union organization led by the party have increased their strength rapidly and become a huge mass force

Carrying on its incessant fight to displace the bourgeois-landlord Government, the CPI(M) does not forget the immediate challenges facing the country The appeal to Hindu, Muslim and now Sikh communalism disrupts the country for the benefit of the imperialists The CPI(M) has been in the forefront of the fight against those forces, while not sparing the Government for its policies which help and engender such appeals. CPI(M) cadres, its students, youth and working class cadres in Assam have been heroically fighting the secessionists Many have lost their lives in defending the unity of the country against the secessionist movement financed by U S. agencies The CPI(M) holds the Congress (I) policies responsible for the growing disintegration of the country—its fake secularism, its compromise with reactionary ideologies, its language policy, its growing centralization of power at the Centre reducing the States to its dependencies—all are contributing to disruption of national unity It supplements this policy with an outrageous discrimination against the Left Front Governments of West Bengal and Tripura It is no accident that the question of Centre-State relations has become a vital issue of Indian democracy

The CPI(M) in its Programme, demanded a complete overhaul of the Centre-State relations and now several parties have come to the same conclusion In its struggle for democratic advance, the CPI(M) has been fighting all communal agencies like the BJP, the RSS and others fully combating the danger from these forces

The CPI(M) has been warning the country against U S plans to surround India with a ring of hostile States. The policy of pouring arms in Pakistan and elsewhere endangers India's security and is part of U.S. global domination policy

To turn the tide against reaction and the Government the CPI(M) relies on mass activity, activity of the millions of our people. It relies on the growing unity of Left and democratic forces. What the unity of the Left forces can achieve in mobilising the masses, isolating the Congress(I), has been shown by the performance of the Tripura and West Bengal Ministries

At the same time the CPI(M) is intent on building the maximum possible resistance to the authoritarian regime on certain vital questions immediately affecting the people. The Srinagar Conference which demanded overhaul of Centre-State relations and the Calcutta Conference which spelled urgent demands of the people, constitute serious efforts to mobilise such resistance against the present regime

The CPI(M) has firmly held the banner of internationalism, of Marxism-Leninism. In the days of India-China conflict it refused to join the China-baiters and echo the rabid chauvinism of the bourgeois-landlord Government. It has ever remained vigilant in relation to its responsibility to the Socialist camp, notwithstanding certain ideological differences with the ruling parties of certain Socialist countries.

The CPI(M) firmly believes, along with many other Communist parties and progressive forces that the vital task before the world Communist movement today is the fight for world peace, fight to defeat the war plans of U S imperialism. The nuclear war that is being planned by U S imperialism in collaboration with its allies is a war of the imperialist system against the Socialist system, a war of counter-revolution and a war for U.S. global domination. It is a war which will destroy millions of lives and bring into question the very existence of the human race

It is impossible to remain neutral in relation to this annihilating imperialist war. Proletarian internationalism has

no meaning if it can't rally round to defend Socialism against imperialist attack, if it does not stir itself to save humanity from utter destruction

Our Party considers that partisanship for peace, for the Socialist camp is the acid test of internationalism. Those who talk of two super powers offer an alibi for the imperialist camp and abjure all responsibility in relation to the Socialist camp and the USSR. They deliberately and hypocritically ignore the consistent peace stand of the USSR, its several concrete peace proposals, to equate the USSR with the USA. Our Party has rejected this opportunist and dangerous outlook, now found among a few Communist Parties and exposes U S imperialism as the war incendiary.

The CPI(M) it should be remembered emerged as a result of struggle against revisionism in the CPI. This struggle was going on long before the international differences between the two big Communist Parties—the CPSU and CPC—surfaced. There were repeated conflicts inside the old party on the question of attitude to the Congress Government and its policies, its characterisation etc. One wing was determined to adapt the Communist movement to the political needs of the bourgeois-landlord classes. The separation and split took place on this issue and the burden of defending Marxism-Leninism and the purity of its doctrine fell on our Party. That our fears regarding the line of the CPI leadership were absolutely correct was proved when the leadership of that party prostrated itself before the Congress(I) Government lending its full support to the suppression of democracy under the Emergency rule.

The CPI(M) placing before the people its record of fight in the interest of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, its record of continuous fight against the bourgeois-landlord Government, the sacrifices of its cadres for the unity of the country and defeat of imperialist conspiracies, appeals to them to help make its fund collection a success.

## **Stop Communalising Politics\***

**Statement issued by the Polit Bureau of CPI(M)**

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) has always considered it wrong for the Akali Dal which has been fighting for several democratic demands of the entire people of the Punjab and the Indian people in general to have mixed them up with religious demands. This helps the divisive forces to aggravate communalism and vitiate the atmosphere, while it gives opportunity to the Government to set its face against the democratic demands of the entire people.

This has repeated itself on the question of amending Article 25 of the Constitution. The CPI(M), along with other secular democratic forces, considers it incorrect in principle and unwise on practical considerations for the Akali Dal to burn the Article 25 of the Constitution and to decide to observe the Panthic Week. The Govt. however repeated its earlier tactics of conceding the Akali's religious demand on Article 25 but denying the democratic solution concerning Chandigarh, and the connected border questions.

The Polit Bureau appeals to secular democratic forces, including those in the Akali and Congress(I) parties to prevail on the Akali leadership to stop communalising politics and on the Congress(I) leadership to end its policy of calculated drift and concede the democratic demands concerning Chandigarh and other border questions.

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 8, 1984

## **Note Submitted By CPI(M) to Sarkaria Commission on restructuring of Centre-State relations\***

*Sarkaria Commission, enquiring as to whether a restructuring of Centre-State relations is necessary as demanded by several parties, sections of people and individuals, recently circulated a questionnaire to elicit opinion on the different aspects of the problem. On behalf of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), E.M.S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary, conveyed the Part's views on the subject. Given below is the full text of the note:*

In this part we would like to make some general observations on the circumstances in which the Constitution was framed and came into operation on January 26, 1950, and how it has been working for the last 34 years. We are approaching this question not from the legal-juridical but from the historical-political angle. For, although couched in legal-juridical terms, the Constitution of India, as the Constitution of any country in the world, expresses certain socio-political relations. Examination of the Constitution and its working should therefore begin with the examination of the socio-political forces at work.

The British rulers who were in control for a century and a half set up a highly centralised administration in the country. Every aspect of administration was thus centralised in Delhi which in turn was controlled from London. Never

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 8, 1984

before in the long history of this country did it have such a centralised administration.

Facing as the freedom movement did such a highly centralised administration, it had to forge the unity of the entire people cutting across caste, communal, linguistic differences and develop the unity of India based on democracy, equality and brotherhood. Since this posed a serious challenge to their alien rule, the British started devising ways and means to disrupt the growing popular unity.

### **Unity Disrupted .**

Thus began the operation of the notorious "divide and rule" policy, setting the non-Hindu religious minorities, the depressed and backward castes, the mercantile and other monied interests in the cities, feudal elements including landlords and princes of native states etc , against the Congress which voiced the demand for political freedom. The "constitutional reforms", introduced in successive stages, insisted on "safeguards" for all these vested interests including European planters, merchants and industrialists.

While using all these forces in its game of disrupting the unity of the freedom movement, the British rulers had the "Hindu Muslim problem" as the trump card in their hands. The leaders of the freedom movement of course saw the danger which this posed to the Indian unity. However, representing as they did the narrow upper-strata of society, they were unable to rally the mass of the working people on a programme of full democracy and genuine secularism. The culmination of the freedom struggle, therefore, was a compromise with the foreign rulers and their Indian allies.

The unity of India which the leaders of the freedom movement and the people at large wanted to preserve, thus came to be disrupted. The united India for whose freedom thousands had laid down their lives and lakhs underwent all manner of suffering was cut in two. This operation led to unprecedented carnage, straining the relations between the Hindu and the Muslim, the Muslim and the Sikh

Framed as it was against this historical background, the new Constitution preserved most of the special powers which the British-made Constitution of 1935 had conferred on the Governors in states, the office of the Governor and the powers conferred on him came handy for the new rulers and they used them against the opposition to begin with and subsequently against the "dissidents" within the ruling party

The biggest casualty of this process was provincial or state autonomy within the framework of a federal centre. The idea of state autonomy in a federal set up could alone maintain and strengthen the unity achieved in the course of freedom struggle because, (a) as the freedom movement developed, the various linguistic communities or nationalities in search of their distinct identity in the national set up started demanding the formation of separate states for themselves; (b) the Muslim leadership demanded that, as part compensation for the Hindu majority at the centre and in a majority of provinces, the Muslim majority provinces should have autonomy; and (c) the non-Muslim section of national leadership, including the Congress, considered it better to concede the demand made by their Muslim counterparts as the price to keep them in a United Front against the British rulers

The idea of a federal centre with wide autonomy for the provinces came to be woven into the framework of the future Constitution as spelt out in the Congress-League Pact of 1916, Motilal Nehru report of 1928 and so on, right down to the discussions of the 1940s. A major change, however, took place in 1947, when the country was divided into the Hindu majority Indian Union and the Muslim majority Pakistan. The bourgeoisie which stood at the head of the freedom movement and which became the ruling class was interested in an extensive home market which requires a centralised rather than federal state. It therefore went back on all its earlier commitments to the federal set up, state autonomy, reorganization of states on linguistic basis

## **Subordinating The States**

While the basic nature of the Constitution framed in 1950 was declared to be federal in principle, its content was excessive centralization. Furthermore, in its actual making it became still more centralized. The fact that the same political party was in the saddle at the centre and in all the states for nearly three decades facilitated this process. The states were made to surrender "voluntarily" the rights that they had in the original provisions of the Constitution. Many of the amendments made to the Constitution during the last 37 years deprived the states of whatever element of autonomy they originally had.

That is why, the moment other parties starting heading the administration at the state level, the question of centre-state relations became the subject of hot debate. Once the non-Congress state governments started agitating for greater powers and resources, the Congress-led states too started joining the demand. The memoranda submitted by the state governments to the successive Finance Commissions will show that there is no difference between the Congress-led and other state governments in protesting against the inroads made into the state resources – a process that has been uninterruptedly going on during this entire period.

The entire question of the relations between the union and the states therefore requires thorough re-examination. In the very framing of the Constitution the federal principle and state autonomy were to a large extent violated. We do not agree that there is nothing wrong with the Constitution as it was framed, that what is wrong is only its working. At the same time, we hold that in its actual working the Constitution came to be distorted, even the limited extent of autonomy that found a place in the Constitution has been eroded. We therefore suggest a thorough re-examination of the basic provisions of the Constitution. Before proceeding to spell out how this should be done, let us explain our general position with regard to centre-state relations.

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, organizing and consolidating its economic life and adequately armed with powers to discharge its other jobs like foreign policy, communications, foreign trade etc.

### **Dictatorial Centre**

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 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.

This is not accidental. The Constitution that was framed after independence reflected the needs of the capitalist path of development which required India as an unified, single, homogenous market. It reflected the needs of the big capitalists allied with landlords, who considered the demand of democracy, state autonomy or equality of languages, as obstacles to their economic domination 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 dangerous 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 interest policies of the Centre, the economic crisis, 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.

Over the years this concentration of the political and economic power at the Centre has been making inroads into whatever federal elements there were in the Constitution. The Emergency with its Constitutional Amendment Acts enabled the sending of the Central Reserve Police to the states without the prior consent of the state governments, with the further provision that these forces when deployed in the states would take their orders only from the Central government. These 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 central rule of one party, with most of the states being ruled by the same party. These enormous powers were often used against opposition parties duly elected in state elections. By misusing the Governor's 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 legislation passed in the interests of the people. The process of agrarian and educational reform started by the 1957-59 government of Kerala were blocked by the Centre. Recently the agrarian legislation passed by the Left Front Government of West Bengal was sent but has not received Presidential assent, though months have passed since the legislature voted it. The measure to grant recognition to trade union on the basis of secret ballot passed by an earlier Left Front Ministry was killed using the same device of withholding assent. The Andhra Bill to abolish the Upper Chamber in the State has also been now blocked.

The defence of the unity of India, the preservation of democracy, the coordination of planned economic development and other basic tasks cannot require full and real coordination of the activities of the Central and State Governments. That is why our Party proposes autonomy for the states. Without this, Indian unity will not be durable; 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; state 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 freedom to the elected legislatures and governments of states, as if the mandate received by the ruling party at the centre is all that matters, 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 in charge of the administration in several states. This gives added urgency to the question of a proper redistribution of powers between the Centre and the States, so that the mandate received from the people by the party which wins the election at the state level gets adequate importance, along with the mandate received by the ruling party at the Centre.

### **Legislative Relations**

It will be seen from the above that we do not agree with the view "that there is nothing basically wrong in the scheme of distribution of legislative powers between the Union and the States which ensures in normal times a substantial measure of legislative autonomy to the states", as is asserted in the questionnaire. On the other hand, the distribution of legislative powers, like other provisions written into the Constitution, is a repetition of what had been provided for in the earlier, British-made 1935 Act. It will be recalled that the scheme of that Act was so repugnant to the democratic conscience of the freedom movement that the Congress party rejected outright its federal part, even the provincial autonomy part was so defective that the Congress which secured majority in seven provinces demanded, before agreeing to form the ministries, an assurance from the Governors that this special power would not be used.

Coming to the actual distribution of powers between the Centre and the states, the Union and Concurrent lists are so all-pervasive that state autonomy is in fact negated. To add to this is the provision that parliament can legislate on certain subjects within the exclusive competence of the states "in the national interest" and "public interest". Furthermore, the Governor's power to *reserve* to the President important legislations adopted by the state and the right of the Central Government acting in the name of the President to withhold assent to the Bills passed by the legislatures make a mockery of the legislative competence of the states.

We therefore suggest that 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 lists, 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 sphere allotted to Central Government, the latter too, on its part should not interfere in the sphere of states, both legislative and executive. No state should use its powers to the detriment of other states. Article 249 giving power to the Centre to legislate on a subject in the states list under the plea of national interests should be deleted.

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 direction. 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 National Development Council will function democratically and that the Planning Commission will be a body appointed by and accountable to the 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.

Heavy industries, electric power, oil and coal or irrigation schemes which concern more than one states 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 the 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.

### **Role of the Governor**

This is another provision taken over from the previous British-made Constitution and written into the 1950 Constitution. The Governor under that Constitution was the appointee of the British Government and was responsible to it through the Governor General. The only change made in the new Constitution of free India is that the Governor is an appointee of the Central Government which means the agent of the ruling party at the Centre. That office has in fact been used by the ruling party at the Centre to deny the people of states to have Governments of their choice and impose on them unwanted Government, etc. The office has also been used to provide for the leader of some faction in the ruling party who has become inconvenient to its "high command". It is therefore ridiculous for anybody to attribute the quality of "impartiality" to the Governor. The post should be abolished and, if this is not possible for any reason, the post should be filled by somebody who enjoys the confidence of the state legislature, no Governor to continue when there is a change in the elected legislature. The present provision leads to conflict between the elected executive, namely, the

Council of Ministers and the formal head of state who is responsible not to the elected legislature but to the executive at the Centre

### **Administrative Relations**

Apart from the office of the Governor, there are several other provisions which enable the Centre indirectly or directly to interfere in the administration of states. The most important of them are the powers vested in the Central Government to dismiss the state governments, dissolve state legislatures etc. These have been used in a notoriously partisan way.

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.

### **Financial Relations**

No other part of the Constitution has been subjected to such universal criticism from state governments including those headed by the party ruling the Centre, as its financial provisions. The Memoranda submitted by the state governments to successive Finance Commissions would show how wide is the gulf between the Centre and the states on the question of financial powers and resources. A complete overhauling of the entire field of financial relations is thus in order. While almost every department of administration involving heavy expenses (except defence and foreign affairs) falls within the purview of the state governments, almost all the revenue-earning items are with the Centre.

The articles regarding the Finance Commission and distribution of revenues should be amended to provide for 75% 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% 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% 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 of the Commission to make recommendations to the President as to the allocations between the states of their respective shares 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 Union, States and Concurrent list should be suitably amended.

### **Economic & Social Planning**

We have explained above that the planning and coordination of economic development should be the responsibility of the Centre which however should be carried out in a democratic way through the national development council in which the states should have equal representation along with the Centre and whose executive organ the Planning Commission should be. The process of planning however is unfortunately being used by the Central Government and the party that controls it as it likes. Added to this are such policies of planning pursued by the ruling party as have proved their

bankruptcy, national economy is as a consequence in shambles

The real solution for the crisis emerging out of this is a total reversal of planning policies. This does not perhaps fall into the purview of the legal-Constitutional changes which are under consideration by this Commission. We however would urge that this Commission should not accept either the drive towards centralization of the work of all economic activity in the states in the name of central planning (which is demanded by the ruling party) or the abandonment of the centralized planning as is suggested by some other parties. The solution is centralized planning with the active involvement of the states in the formulation and the implementation of policies, or state autonomy under centralized but democratic guidance.

### **Miscellaneous**

We would in the end touch upon three aspects of Union-States relations which are relevant in this context. They are the language of administration, the electoral system and the special status of Kashmir within the Indian Union.

Our Party is of the view that, in the course of the growing economic, social and intellectual intercourse the people of different states of India will develop in practice the language of inter-communication most suitable to their needs. This natural process requires that no single language is sought to be imposed on the other linguistic groups. While our party is all for encouragement to the learning of Hindi by non-Hindi speaking peoples, we are of the view that the equality of all Indian 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 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. Right of the people to receive instruction in their mother-tongue in educational institutions as well as its use as the medium of

education in the state upto the highest standard should be recognized. The Urdu language and its script should be protected. The Eighth Schedule should be amended to include languages like Nepali.

The present electoral system enables a party with minority of votes to secure a majority of seats in Parliament or Legislatures. The disastrous consequences of this were seen during the Emergency when the Congress Government elected on a minority vote introduced measures which made inroads into the civil liberties and democratic rights of the people, reduced Parliament and state legislatures to rubber stamps of a single party—all in the name of asserting the “supremacy of Parliament”. Whatever remained of state autonomy also came under the axe.

It is therefore necessary to introduce the system of proportional representation and provide for the right to recall.

The present special status of Kashmir within the Indian Union should be retained.

## **On Developments in Punjab\***

**Statement dated April 4, 1984 issued by the Polit Bureau of CPI(M) in New Delhi**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) joins all other democratic parties, organizations and individuals in expressing deep concern at the grave developments that have been taking place in Punjab. A series of political killings, including the murder of Rajya Sabha Member, V.N. Tiwari and the clashes which took the life of ten more yesterday, show that things have gone from bad to worse. The Government, the leadership of the Akalis and several other parties and organizations are playing the dangerous game of setting one community against another. The Polit Bureau appeals to everybody concerned to put the need for bringing the State back to normalcy above everything else.

The Polit Bureau regrets to note that the leaders of the Congress(I) and of the Central Government have not yet realised the depth of the crisis into which their policies of calculated drift have led the State of Punjab and the entire country.

It is full six months since the Union Government declared that the then State Government failed to maintain law and order and took over the State administration. The happenings of the last six months have shown that the problem in Punjab cannot be solved by exclusive reliance on establishing law and order. While it is necessary to deal firmly with the organizers of terrorist and murderous activities, these administrative measures should be supplemented by

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 8, 1984

such political measures as would isolate the extremists. Refusal by the Government to accept the claim of Punjab for Chandigarh while settling other border problems through negotiations between the leaders of Punjab and Haryana, has been the single factor which stood in the way of isolating the extremists.

The Polit Bureau regrets that, even after the ghastly incidents that have been taking place in the State, leading to the declaration of the State as "dangerously disturbed area", the Government still refuses to see reason allowing things to drift.

The Polit Bureau once again appeals to the Akali leadership to give serious consideration to the grave situation that is developing and abandon the suicidal path of communalising politics which has done great harm to the people of Punjab and of the entire country. We urge on the dominant leadership of the Akali Party to actively fight against the extremists, and restore communal amity in Punjab.

## **Polit Bureau on Punjab Developments\***

**Statement dated April 16, 1984 issued in New Delhi**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses grave concern at the continuing acts of terrorism and incendiarism taking place in Punjab. The burning of 37 Railway Stations appearing in the morning papers today is only the latest example. It had been preceded by a large number of killings, arson etc

These continuing acts of calculated violence make a mockery of the claim made by the ruling party and the Central Government that they are now concentrating on restoring law and order before taking up the task of finding political solution for the problems in Punjab

It is more than six months since the Central Government took over the administration of the State and declared the restoration of the law and order as its first priority. The complete failure of the Central Government to act up to its promise shows the need for simultaneously dealing with the political problems and restoring law and order. The Polit Bureau calls upon the Government to put a stop to the policy of drift and find solutions to the political problem while seeking the co-operation of all secular democratic forces in fighting the extremist menace

The PB deplores that the Akali leadership has failed to make a clear demarcation of itself from the extremists and their rabid communal activities. It has in fact been helping the extremists by taking up such divisive issues as

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the Article 25 of the Constitution. This along with the Akali leadership's concentration on the separatist demands of the Sikhs as a community, as distinct from the democratic demands of the entire people of Punjab, is alienating them from the democratic forces all over the country who are interested in the proper solution of the democratic demands of the people of Punjab. The Polit Bureau calls upon the Akali leadership to join the rest of the democratic movement in the country and fight the extremists and their disruptive activities, while unitedly working for the political solution of the democratic demands of the people of Punjab.

## Polit Bureau's Call to Rebuff Communal Forces\*

Statement dated May 21, 1984 issued in New Delhi on gruesome killings and mass murders in Bhiwandi and arson and killings in Bombay

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) denounced the gruesome killings and mass murders in Bhiwandi and the arson and killings in the city of Bombay

The Congress(I) Ministry headed by Vasant Dada Patil must be arraigned for these happenings. The Ministry was publicly warned by political parties that preparations for riots and killings were being made and asked to take timely and effective steps against it. It turned a blind eye to the conspiracy that was being hatched and thereby gave an indirect encouragement to the rioters.

The riots started with the forcible organization of the bandh by the Shiva Sena.

This is not the first time that the Shiva Sena is involved in such happenings. But successive Congress(I) Ministries have befriended this organization, using it against the working class movement and for terrorising the minorities—religious or linguistic.

The Chief Minister is unwilling to move against the Shiva Sena communalists and has refused to hold a judicial enquiry into the happenings according to Press reports

All this shows that the Congress(I) Government is unable to protect the life and property of innocent people belonging to the minority community. It has lost the confidence of the democratic forces and they demand its resignation.

The Party calls on all secular and democratic forces in

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 27, 1984

**Maharashtra to rally in defence of the minorities and rouse the people against the communal forces who are spreading their tentacles over the State. The party calls upon the trade union movement to unitedly fight the attack of communalism and rebuff these forces**

## **Polit Bureau Denounces Centre's Action on Sikkim\***

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) denounces the action of the Central Government in first dismissing the Bhandari Government of Sikkim on the ground of its having lost the majority in the Assembly and then suspending the Assembly, bringing the State under President's Rule. The two actions show that the Central Government has forged one more link in the chain of arbitrary dismissals of elected governments and bringing States under Central rule

The action against the Government which enjoyed the majority in the Legislature shows what the Congress(I) does in relation to State governments formed by its own party, if it is not to the liking of its "high command". The Polit Bureau hopes that those Congressmen who are sincere in preserving democracy will join the Opposition in protesting against such high-handed actions of their Party's high command.

The Polit Bureau reminds the democratic sections of the people in all parties that this attack on democracy in Sikkim does not stand alone. It is part of the general attack of the Congress(I) led Centre against State autonomy, showing the need for concerted actions for getting Article 356 withdrawn

The Polit Bureau hopes that every democratic party, organization and individual will join this struggle

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 3, 1984

## **Punjab : Tragic Happenings Could have been Avoided\***

**Statement dated June 6, 1984, issued by the Polit Bureau of CPI(M) in New Delhi**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) considers that the tragic happenings in Amritsar and other places in Punjab on June 6, 1984, could have been avoided if only the Prime Minister and the Congress(I) Government at the Centre had found a political solution to the Punjab problem in time.

Far from doing this, the Central Government refused to accept and implement the consensus worked out by the Opposition parties, including the Akali Dal, in June 1983.

Even today the Prime Minister is not taking the Opposition into confidence. She has not thought it proper to have consultations with the Opposition in regard to the handling of the Punjab situation.

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 10, 1984  
This statement was issued following 'OPERATION BLUE STAR' of the Union Government of India when army was sent inside the GOLDEN TEMPLE in Amritsar, Punjab, to intercept the extremists who took shelter inside the GOLDEN TEMPLE

## Polit Bureau Statement on Punjab\*

Statement dated June 3, 1984, issued in New Delhi

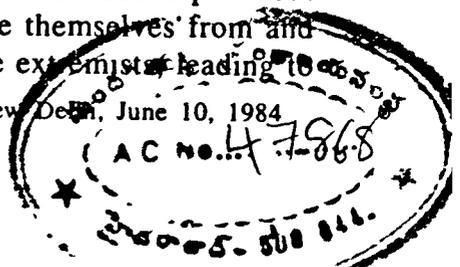
The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) held a two-day meeting in New Delhi on June 1 and 2, 1984. All members except P Ramamurti, who has been hospitalised in Bangalore, attended.

While surveying the recent political developments in the country, the Polit Bureau noted with concern the steady worsening of the situation in Punjab, culminating in the calling of the Army to assist the civil administration. This confirms the truth that situations like that of Punjab cannot be dealt with by administrative measures alone, without finding a political solution. This requires that everybody—the Government, the Akalis, other Opposition parties, non-party groups and individuals—rise above all sectarian considerations to see that the problems, which have defied solutions so far, are solved.

The P.B. noted that the Prime Minister in her broadcast has conceded the demand that the water dispute be referred to a tribunal. She has also agreed to give Chandigarh to Punjab, while compensating Haryana for the loss. Together with the call to the Akali Dal for resumption of dialogue, this should pave the way for a negotiated settlement of the remaining problems.

While appealing to the Akali Dal to respond to the Prime Minister's call for the dialogue, the P.B. desires to point out that their failure to clearly demarcate themselves from and denounce the violent activities of the extremists leading to

\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 10, 1984.



the deaths of several dozens of innocent people, together with their failure to set their face against the use of the Gurudwaras for sheltering the criminals indulging in violent activities, has cost them the goodwill and support of all democratic sections of the people throughout the country. The P.B. therefore appeals to them to turn a new leaf and facilitate the creation of normalcy in Punjab and restoration of relations between the Sikhs and non-Sikhs throughout the country. Unity of the people of Punjab, unity and integration of the people in the entire country, requires that the situation in Punjab is rapidly brought back to normalcy. The P.B. hopes that everybody concerned—the Congress(I) government at the centre and the Akali Dal above all—would rise to the occasion, since otherwise there is every danger of a further worsening of the situation in Punjab.

## **CPI(M) Polit Bureau on Recent Developments\***

**Statement adopted in the meeting of the Polit Bureau held in New Delhi on June 1-2, 1984**

The PB noted the communal riots in Bhiwandi, Pune and Bombay in the State of Maharashtra. Scores of people have lost their lives and crores of rupees worth of property lost during an orgy of murder, loot and arson organized by the Shiv Sena. This was no sudden development. The Government had enough warning that things were developing in this direction but no steps were taken. Even after the orgy of violence started, the police failed to discharge its elementary duty of providing protection to the people under attack. In fact, the attackers in several places were helped by the police. The demand naturally came that the Congress(I) ministry in Maharashtra should resign.

The Congress(I) cannot evade the responsibility for what happened in Bhiwandi, Pune and Bombay. Its leaders used the Shiv Sena to disrupt the unity of the working class in Bombay and other industrial centres in Maharashtra. Having been thus nursed by the Congress(I), the Shiv Sena has now joined other Hindu communal organizations to organize riots. The PB. appeals to all those who are concerned with national unity and communal peace including the activists and followers of the Congress(I), to fight these anti-national unity moves of the Congress(I).

The PB noted that the situation in Assam has not improved.

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 10, 1984. All PB members attended this meeting except P Ramamurti who was hospitalised in Bangalore for treatment.

Violence may erupt at any time once again Here too, the ruling party has been pursuing such policies as enable it to take partisan advantage of the rift between the Assamese-speaking and the rest of the people in the State. The PB noted further that some of the Opposition parties which have for long co-operated with the CPI(M) and other secular forces in defending the rights of the linguistic and other minorities in Assam, as an integral part of the struggle for the assertion of the cultural and political rights of the Assamese-speaking people, have of late gone back on this policy

The PB. recalled that the last meeting of the Central Committee had expressed its firm view that scrapping the 1979 voters' list as proposed by some parties, would deprive lakhs of people of their existing electoral rights. The PB hoped that all democratic parties and organizations would find a way to defend the legitimate interests of the Assamese-speaking majority and the linguistic minorities, since that alone could preserve the unity and the very existence of Assam as a State.

The PB. noted with concern the deliberate policy adopted by the Congress(I) to destabilise the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference Government The continuous campaign by the Congress(I) party at the Centre and in the State against the Abdullah Government shows that the ruling party will do everything possible to bring the National Conference Government down This will, in the opinion of the PB , strengthen pro-Pakistan elements in Jammu and Kashmir who are acting in concert with imperialism

The recent happenings in the State of Sikkim are further confirmation of the authoritarian trend which has been exhibited by the Congress(I) party The use of Article 356 (which has been unanimously condemned by democratic public opinion in the country) first to dismiss the Bhandari Government which enjoyed the majority in the Sikkim Assembly, followed by the arbitrary act of putting the State under President's Rule, is nothing but abusing the authority of the Governor to violate the will of the people

The PB noted further the arbitrary acts of the Governors of West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh who in their capacity as the Chancellors of the respective universities went against the advice of the elected Council of Ministers. The Governor of West Bengal refused to give assent to a Bill passed by the Legislature, referring it to the President. Several Governors were transferred by the Centre even without the courtesy of formal consultation with the Chief Ministers concerned. All these show that the Central Government of the Congress(I) is using all its powers to cut at the roots of State autonomy and further underline the need for an organized campaign for the defence of State autonomy in a federal set-up.

Reviewing the by-elections to a few Assembly seats that took place on May 20 and 21, the PB noted that out of the nine seats secured by the Congress(I) two are gifts to the Congress(I) by its allies in Kerala and Tamil Nadu. One of the allies in Kerala is the Indian Union Muslim League which is trying to organize the Muslim community separately on communal lines. The All-India Muslim Front of which the President of the Indian Union Muslim League is the Convenor, defeated the Congress(I) in Andhra Pradesh's Asifnagar. In West Bengal the Congress(I) is trying to unite everybody against the Left Front.

This political game of the ruling party can be countered only if the democratic forces themselves unite in countrywide mass action. The basis for such unity exists in the campaign programme of the trade unions and the organizations of employees, worked out by the National Campaign Committee, in the 11-point charter of demands formulated by 17 Opposition parties in Calcutta and in the Delhi declaration on world peace and against nuclear war. Campaigns and movements based on these should continue and be further strengthened.

The PB discussed and adopted the draft report to be presented to the Central Committee which will meet in New Delhi from the 17th to the 20th of this month.

## **Observe July 10-17, 1984 as Punjab Week\***

### **CPI(M)'s proposal to restore normalcy in Punjab**

Reviewing the Punjab events following the intervention of the armed forces to flush out the terrorists from the Golden Temple, the Central Committee considers it necessary to warn the people that the situation in the State continues to be extremely grave and demands immediate attention of all democratic and patriotic forces to stand for the unity of the country

The action against the extremists who ran a campaign of murder and terror for months inflaming communal passions and who, now it is clear, were working in collaboration with foreign agents, was welcomed by many as a blow struck in defence of national unity and was thought to be the end of the problem

The Central Committee notes, however, that the entry of the armed forces into the temple has led to the estrangement and alienation of vast sections of Sikh masses who feel that the sanctity of the temple has been violated. This feeling is being exploited by those who have been endeavouring to spread the poison of separatism among the Sikh people and raising the slogan of Khalistan

The Punjab problem has thus become more aggravated. To ignore this reality will be a grave and unpardonable error

The Central Committee also notes that a similar process

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 24, 1984  
Refer Documents under Items 15 and 16 of this Volume

of alienation has been in evidence in other States where feelings were being inflamed by the reports of murders and arson from the Punjab

The Central Committee is of the firm opinion that these developments were avoidable and the country could have been easily spared the bitter alienation, disruption and loss of life had the Congress(I) Government at the Centre agreed to the proposals of the Opposition parties—proposals which at one stage were accepted by the Akali leaders. But the Central Government, motivated by the narrow consideration of securing election mileage for the ruling party, followed a policy of drift which played into the hands of the extremists. It is quite clear now that but for this postponement of the decision the extremists would not have had the time to pile up arms and sophisticated weapons in the Golden Temple.

The criminal failure of the Central Government to reach a political settlement in time constitutes a major factor in the creation of the present situation disruptive of national unity.

This failure was fully utilized by the extremists and foreign agents to create chaos and anarchy in Punjab. It was beyond doubt that foreign hands were working behind the extremists and terrorists. But the Government totally failed to expose the foreign machinations in spite of the repeated demands of our Party and other Opposition parties for a White Paper on the activities and connections of the extremists.

The Central Committee warns the democratic forces and the majority community that any attempt to father the sins of the extremists on the Sikh people, on Sikh religion, any belittling or provocative attitude will do the utmost harm to the unity of our people and facilitate the designs of the imperialists who are out to see the dismemberment of India.

All hands, all forces must now bend their efforts to soothe the outraged feelings of the Sikh masses, to restore normal amity between the two communities in Punjab and make

everybody forget the nightmarish happenings of the last few months.

The Central Committee feels that it is necessary to enlighten the Sikh masses on the real happenings, the use of religious feelings for anti-national purposes, and the violation of the sanctity of the temple by those who piled arms and ammunitions inside the temple. All democratic forces must agree that a place of worship cannot be allowed to be used for purposes of committing crimes or anti-national activities.

The Central Committee calls upon the Government

To withdraw the armed forces from the Golden Temple at the earliest, hand over the administration to the five priests headed by the head priest of the Akal Takht as demanded by the Acting President of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee so that proper repairs can be undertaken and the Golden Temple is open for the devotees.

To create conditions of normalcy in Punjab

To announce acceptance of the democratic demands of the Punjabis: (a) reference of the water dispute to a tribunal headed by a sitting Judge of the Supreme Court; (b) handing over of Chandigarh to Punjab, and Haryana to be compensated with certain areas from Punjab and with financial aid to build a new capital, (c) setting up of a Commission to go into the territorial claims and counter-claims of Punjab and Haryana to settle them on the basis of language and contiguity.

The Central Committee calls upon all its units to observe a week from July 10 to 17 explaining to the people the gravity of the situation, the necessity to preserve communal harmony and press upon the Government to implement the above demands. Every effort should be made to take the cooperation of other democratic and patriotic forces for this campaign.

## **Communique on Central Committee Meeting held in New Delhi on June 17-20, 1984\***

A four day meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) was held in New Delhi from June 17 to 20, 1984. M. Basavapunnaiah presided.

Having discussed and adopted a resolution on the developments in Punjab which led to and followed the entry of the Army into the Golden Temple, the Central Committee noted with concern the growing threat to national unity. The tragic developments in Punjab is the acute form of the malady affecting the body politic of the country. Far from mobilizing the people in the struggle against divisive forces however, the ruling party is making partisan political use of the divisive forces against the Opposition in general, the Left Opposition in particular.

The Central Committee thanked the voters of Tripura for once again reposing their confidence in the Left Front by voting it to a majority of Panchayats in the recent elections.

This victory of the Left Front is particularly remarkable when seen against the background of the concerted offensive launched by the Congress(I), the TUJS and other forces which, despite differences and conflicts, adopted such strategies as weaken the Left Front, the CPI(M) in particular. The posture adopted by the CPI and, to a lesser extent by the RSP, helped the Congress(I)-TUJS opposition.

The creditable performance of the Left Front in Tripura has great significance for the country as a whole. Tripura is

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 1, 1984

the one State in the northeastern region where-under the leadership of the CPI(M), the relations among different ethnic or nationality groups have for long been based on democratic principles and strengthen national unity Assam, Manipur, Mizoram, Nagaland—all are faced with serious problems of tribal-non-tribal and intra-tribal conflicts which provide fertile soil for imperialists abroad and divisive forces at home to create conditions of destabilisation The Congress(I) which is ruling at the Centre, is in its turn using these conditions in the whole region in its own partisan interests

The situation in Assam continues to be grave. The separatist agitators are hatching plans to revive their disruptive agitation The Government for its part is trying to come to a settlement with the agitators on terms which deny citizenship rights to a large number of people. Some of the Left and democratic parties like the CPI and Congress(S) have unfortunately adopted positions which will facilitate agreement between the agitationists and the Government at the expense of the minorities The C C reiterated its principled position that 1971 should be the cut-off date and that the 1979 voters' lists should be taken as the basis for the forthcoming elections

The C C noted with concern the communal flare-up in Bhiwandi, Thane and Bombay in Maharashtra This has shown that, while Hindu and Muslim communalists are instigating their respective followers, the ruling party politicians as well as the police and other administrative personnel are lending a hand in creating tension, allowing them to develop into riots The Congress(I) which is the ruling party in the State cannot absolve itself of the responsibility for the tragic happenings

Far from facing the challenge posed by the divisive forces the C C. noted, the ruling Congress(I) is using every one of them to strengthen its position in the respective States It is in alliance with the tribal separatists in Tripura, has the organizer of the Muslim National Front (the Indian Union Muslim League) as its coalition partner in Kerala, was the

godfather of the Shiv Sena in Maharashtra and so on. Its leader and General Secretary Rajiv Gandhi, gave the certificate of good conduct—"a religious leader having no political ambitions"—to Bhindranwale a few days before the army had to enter the Golden Temple where he was leading the terrorists.

The Congress(I) is adopting these policies at a time when American imperialism is engaged in threatening world peace, preparing for a nuclear war, winning over to its side the reactionary forces in every country, and in making clever use of reactionary forces in Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka etc., to destabilise India. The pronouncements of the Prime Minister herself on "foreign hands" behind many of the tensions and conflicts in the country should have made her seek the co-operation of all anti-imperialist forces in the country to meet the threat to national unity and independence. The Congress(I) leaders however take the position that their government will single handedly fight the internal divisive forces and their foreign imperialist patrons.

The C. C. expressed its view that it is the responsibility of every patriotic Indian to see the danger that this constitutes to the nation. This danger, however, cannot be overcome except on the basis of democracy which is under attack by the ruling party. The continuing tirade against the Left Front Governments of West Bengal and Tripura, the confrontation with the elected government into which the Governor of West Bengal is moving, the transfer of governors without consulting the elected State governments and with a view to creating situations like the one that has developed in West Bengal, the use of article 356 in Sikkim; the destabilisation moves in Jammu and Kashmir and Karnataka—these are a few examples of the way in which the ruling Congress(I) is dealing with the Opposition.

On top of all comes the latest move to change the political system from the parliamentary to the presidential—a shameless move towards authoritarianism.

It is against this background that the election to the Lok

Sabha is taking place in a few months. The question of the electoral-political line to be adopted, the alliances to be formed etc., cannot therefore be dealt with in isolation from the growing threat to national unity posed by the divisive forces and their imperialist patrons as well as the ruling party's use of these divisive forces in its sectarian interests, the talk of replacing the parliamentary by the presidential system, etc. The C. C. called upon all democratic forces to use the electoral battle for mobilizing the people against these anti-democratic, anti-national policies of the ruling party.

An important question that will come and should be brought before the people in the elections is the economic situation. Even the most loyal followers of the Congress(I) cannot but admit that, in this year of favourable monsoons leading to a very good crop, the prices of essential commodities—foodgrains above all—are going up. Nor can it be denied that not only are the new entrants into the labour market not being absorbed in employment but thousands are being thrown out following lockouts and closures of factories. The C. C. extended its solidarity and support to the trade unions and other organizations who are unitedly resisting the policies which lead the country to this situation.

The C. C. felt that the electoral battle should be used to educate the people on the disastrous consequences of the class policies pursued by the Government on industrialisation, land relations, labour problems, foreign trade and aid, etc. These policies not only impose heavy burdens on the working people but lead to financial and economic bankruptcy and dependence on aid from foreign monopolies and imperialist governments.

As in earlier elections therefore the main objective of the Party and its allies in the coming elections should be to defeat the Congress(I). For, it is that party which has been the initiator of the anti-people policies pursued by the Government for the last 37 years—policies which have landed the country in the present crisis. The mass mobilization of the

common people against the Congress(I) and its anti people policies is the necessary condition for the struggle against the divisive and separatist forces, the struggle for world peace and against the aggressive moves of imperialism.

While working for the defeat of the Congress(I) in the elections, however, the CPI(M) realises, and expects other Left and democratic forces to realise, the danger to the unity of the nation posed by the divisive and separatist forces. Particular mention should be made of the RSS and other Hindu revivalist organizations which are trying to divert the growing mass discontent into anti-minority channels

The divisive and separatist forces representing the minority communities are also playing their role in whipping up communal passions. The formation of the Muslim National Front which tries to bring together all the communal Muslim organizations throughout the country on the all-India plane and on the basis of a separatist charter of demands is another dangerous development.

Secular forces all over the country have to realise that the RSS and the Muslim National Front strengthen each other, while the activities of both help the ruling Congress(I) to don the garb of secularism. The C.C. declared that the CPI(M) will have no truck and it hopes other Left and democratic forces will have no truck—with parties, groups or organizations having Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh, etc., communalism and separatism as their political base.

The C.C. knows that there are parties and groups in the Opposition who, in the name of “all in unity against the Congress(I)”, would like to have an understanding or alliance with the RSS dominated BJP, the Muslim National Front and other similar parties which have a communal or separatist political base. There are on the other hand elements within and without the Congress(I) who, in the name of “fighting the divisive and separatist forces,” want the Left and democratic Opposition to rally behind the Congress(I). Rejecting both these approaches, the Central Committee held that what is required is the independent mobilization and

unification of all the secular and forward looking elements in the country in defence of democracy, secularism and protection of the interests of the working people

The C.C. noted with satisfaction the progress in the Opposition parties independently mobilizing the masses in defence of peace and against nuclear war. The slogans raised in the course of this campaign would no doubt be an important element in the election campaign.

The C.C. considered the development inside the Janata Party and the relations between that party and other Opposition forces. It reiterated the declaration made by the CPI(M) earlier that, while the Party will keep its separate identity, it will endeavour to preserve and strengthen the growing unity of Left parties and to have working arrangements between the Left parties and other Opposition parties except those which work on divisive and separatist lines such as the RSS, the Muslim National Front, etc. It directed the P.B. to carry on talks with the other Left parties to further strengthen their unity as well as with all other secular Opposition parties to come to such alliances or understanding as to defeat the Congress(I), isolate the divisive forces and strengthen the Left and other democratic forces

## **Organizational Decisions of the Central Committee of the CPI(M)\***

**Taken in its meeting held in New Delhi on June  
17-20, 1984**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), at its meeting in New Delhi on June 17-20, 1984 elected Comrade Nripen Chakravarty to the Polit Bureau in the vacancy caused by the death of Comrade Promode Dasgupta

The Central Committee coopted Comrade N Ramaraj from Tamil Nadu as one of its members in the place of the late Comrade M R Venkataraman

The Central Committee decided to have 25 permanent invitees to participate in its meetings. Five of them will be the Secretaries of the State Committees of Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Delhi and Jammu and Kashmir which have no representatives in the present Central Committee. The State Committees have been asked to send their proposals for the remaining twenty invitees from among leaders of the Party and of class and mass organizations in their States. The Central Committee has authorised the Polit Bureau to select the twenty Comrades. These twentyfive Comrades will participate in the meetings of the Central Committee beginning with its next meeting itself.

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## **Polit Bureau on Dismissal of Farooq Abdullah Government\***

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) joins other Opposition parties and democratic forces in denouncing the action of Jammu and Kashmir Governor Jag Mohan in dismissing the constitutionally elected National Conference Government and installing a Congress(I) supported minority Government of National Conference defectors

If the Governor felt that Dr Abdullah had ceased to enjoy the confidence of the majority in the Legislature, it was his duty to have the question decided on the floor of the House. This was precisely what was demanded by Dr Abdullah and deliberately rejected by the Governor, thus exposing his role as an obedient tool of the Congress(I) party rather than a constitutional head of State

The Polit Bureau considers this unconstitutional action as part of the authoritarian drive of the ruling party

The Polit Bureau denounces the encouragement and organization of defections in the National Conference to ensure the toppling of the Farooq Abdullah Government.

The Polit Bureau notes with satisfaction that like earlier cases of state Governors using their position to topple non-Congress Governments, the present action of the Jammu and Kashmir Governor has also been widely condemned. A section of those who are ardently supporting the Congress(I) has also joined the ranks of the critics. The Polit Bureau hopes that this will develop into a united protest movement

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## Polit Bureau on Anti-People Ordinance\*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) voices its strong protest against the promulgation of the Terrorist Affected Areas (Special Courts) Ordinance. The Ordinance empowers the Central Government to declare any area as a terrorist-affected area and to set up special courts in such areas to try people *in-camera* denying them the right to an open trial. What is alarming is that among the offences listed is also, promoting enmity between *classes* which can encompass the struggles of the working class and other working people

Coming as this Ordinance does in the wake of the recent amendments to the National Security Act, it gives even wider powers to the Central Government to attack democratic rights and civil liberties

The experience of such legislations in the past is that they have been used against mass movements, popular struggles and Opposition parties. The Polit Bureau calls on all democratic-minded people to register their protest against the new Ordinance

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 22, 1984

## Issues Before the People\*

**Polit Bureau Communiqué Issued Following its Meeting Held in New Delhi on August 6-7, 1984**

Meeting in New Delhi on August 6 and 7, 1984, the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) considered the recent economic and political developments in the country which will undoubtedly have their impact on the Lok Sabha elections due to be held in a few months' time

The approach to the Seventh Five Year Plan adopted at the recent meeting of the National Development Council shows that the ruling party has not learnt any lessons from the dismal performance of the previous six Five Year Plans. The basic approach to planning and the policies concerning its individual sectors are no different from what they were during the last 35 years of planning which only help a handful at the top to get richer and richer, while the overwhelming majority have been steadily getting impoverished. It is obvious that the Left and democratic Opposition parties will have to oppose and expose the ruling party and its policies during their election campaign.

The Polit Bureau appreciated the action of the four non-Congress(I) Chief Ministers who walked out of the National Development Council meeting in protest against the dismissal of the elected National Conference Government in Jammu and Kashmir. It denounced the unprecedented action of the Prime Minister in having turned out of the Council meeting the officers of the four State Governments. This and the formal resolution adopted by

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the Council condemning the four Chief Ministers for having walked out of the Council meeting show that the ruling party is out for a policy of "Confrontation" with the State Governments headed by non-Congress(I) parties.

The Polit Bureau took note of the recommendations made by the Eighth Finance Commission which indicate a realistic view on many issues posed by the representatives of the States. The Central Government, however, refused to implement them for the current year on the specious plea that it would disrupt the current year's budgets of the Centre and the States. This argument, however, goes contrary to earlier practices: the recommendations made in July and even later, were invariably applied from the first year on all earlier occasions.

This arbitrary action of the Central Government now has deprived all States together of nearly Rs. 2000 crores; almost every State would have got a part of this, while no State would have lost any amount, if the Commission's recommendations were to be implemented in the current year. This, therefore, is an attack on all the States irrespective of the political complexion of their Governments.

The Polit Bureau expressed its satisfaction that all democratic forces unanimously protested against the Governor's action in dismissing the Farooq Abdullah Government in Kashmir. It, however, noted that some like the BJP, who joined this protest are demanding that the special provisions for Kashmir made in the country's Constitution—Article 370—should be abrogated. The CPI(M), along with other Left and democratic parties in the country, holds that any move for the abrogation of the Article will strengthen those who are out to disrupt the unity of the country.

In Punjab, the talk of "applying the healing touch", indulged in by the Prime Minister and her colleagues, does not square with their practice. The Polit Bureau supported the following proposals made by the Opposition MPs who visited Punjab.

(a) that the army should be withdrawn from the Golden Temple,

(b) that the Kar Seva should be entrusted to Sant Kharak Singh who is respected by the Sikh Community,

(c) that a political solution should be found for the problem of Punjab

The Polit Bureau reiterated the view of the CPI(M) that the Akali leadership has not helped the solution of the Punjab problem for which the cooperation of secular democratic parties all over the country is essential. The Party, along with other secular democratic parties, has consistently asked the Akali leadership to completely dissociate itself from the Bhindranwale terrorists. Their failure in this respect contributed in a big way to the tragedy in Punjab though the main responsibility is that of the Congress. The Akali leadership continue to lose the sympathy of the secular democratic forces in the entire country if at least at this stage they fail to make it clear that (a) they disapprove of the anti-social activities which culminated in the use of the Golden Temple for preparing a concerted armed offensive against the forces of law, against the Hindus and even against those Sikhs who did not associate themselves with the extremists; (b) that in future they would do everything possible to see that the gurdwaras are not used for harbouring criminals or for storing arms as was done by Bhindranwale and his men; (c) that no gurdwara will be used as the centre of activities of any political party, and (d) that they will join the democratic parties in fighting for unity and harmony among the various communities.

The Polit Bureau expresses its grave concern at the move in Assam for the proposed arbitrary disfranchisement of several lakhs of voters. Approval has already been given to this by the ruling party at the Centre. It is regrettable that several Opposition parties have joined the leaders of the Assam movement in accepting it. This constitutes an attack not only on the minority communities

in Assam but on the electorate as a whole, including those who belong to the majority community. This large-scale disfranchisement is proposed without any opportunity to those whose names are being removed from the existing list to plead their case

If this is allowed to be put into practice in one State it may lead to a repetition of the process in other States. The Polit Bureau therefore endorsed the decision taken by the Assam State Committee of the Party to organize a Statewide campaign against this undemocratic move and appealed to the secular democratic forces in the entire country to raise their voice against it

The Polit Bureau noted that, having succeeded in throwing out the elected Governments of Sikkim and Jammu and Kashmir through the misuse of the Governor's office in these two States, the Congress (I) is training its guns against other non-Congress(I) Governments. In Tripura where the Left Front secured a convincing victory in the recent panchayat elections, the Congress(I) is organizing a violent movement demanding the dismissal of the elected Government, the imposition of President's rule on the State and declaration of Tripura State as a "disturbed area".

Again in Karnataka, the Congress(I) is busy organizing defections from the Janata Legislature Party, thus creating the conditions in which the elected Government can be toppled. Combined as these are with the continuous campaign against the Left Front Government of West Bengal and the Telugu Desam Government of Andhra Pradesh—a campaign in which even Central Ministers and all-India leaders of the Congress(I) are taking an active part—they show the lengths to which the Congress(I) will go to topple the elected Governments in non-Congress(I)-ruled States. The Polit Bureau appealed to all the democratic forces in the country to resist these authoritarian moves of the Congress(I)

The Polit Bureau sharply denounced the two draconian

legislations viz , the National Security (Second Amendment) Bill, and the Terrorist-affected Areas Bill, which were first issued as Ordinances and then regularised as Acts of Parliament. One of these legislations makes the conditions of arbitrary arrest and detention without trial still more stringent, denying the arrested or detained person his or her inherent right to a fair trial in the case filed against him or her. The other legislation empowers the Government to declare any part of the country a "disturbed area" and to deprive the people of that area of their fundamental rights and civil liberties. These two legislations together constitute the same type of lawless law which existed during the notorious Emergency regime, without the formal declaration of an Emergency. The Polit Bureau calls upon all the democratic forces in the country to jointly resist these moves against democracy.

The Polit Bureau is of the opinion that, together with the economic problems referred to above the CPI(M) and its Left and democratic allies should raise the political question of the attacks on democracy seen in all the political moves spelt out here. The Polit Bureau expressed its determination to organize a countrywide campaign on these issues and hoped that other Left and Opposition parties would join in exposing the policies of the ruling party during the election campaign. The CPI(M), together with its allies in the peace movement, simultaneously raises its voice of protest against the nuclear threat to humanity and the danger of the many-sided offensive of imperialism against India's independence, unity and national integrity. While some of the Opposition parties, who agree with the Left movement and its allies on most of the economic and political questions in the country, may not join in this campaign on international questions, the CPI(M) and its allies in the peace movement will raise these international issues and place their independent views on them before the electorate.

The Polit Bureau considered the recent developments

in the various Opposition parties and the moves for the forging of electoral unity among many of them. It heard the report of State Committees on the developments in the various States and expressed its satisfaction at the progress being registered for implementing the three objectives of the electoral struggle spelt out by the Central Committee at its last meeting: (1) To defeat the Congress(I), (2) to isolate the divisive and separatist forces, and (3) to strengthen the secular democratic forces, particularly the Left. It decided to call on the State Committees to proceed along the general direction given by the Central Committee.

## **Polit Bureau Denounces Dismissal of N.T.R. Ministry in Andhra Pradesh\***

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) denounces the dismissal of the N T R Ministry as a monstrous attack on the Constitution and the rights of the people. The Andhra Governor has acted as the agent of the ruling party at the Centre which is set on destabilising non-Congress Ministries before the Parliamentary elections. N T R had the backing of the majority of the legislators and he demanded an opportunity to prove it on the floor of the House. But the Governor showed no regard for Constitutional propriety or democratic norms. The dismissal of the N T R Ministry shows that the Congress(I) party is determined to pursue its authoritarian drive at all costs. Not satisfied with swearing in a new ministry with fake claims, the Government has arrested more than 100 legislators along with the ex Chief Minister and other Ministers along with leaders of the CPI(M) and other parties.

The CPI(M) calls upon all parties and the people to protest against the dismissal and the arrest through mass demonstrations.

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## **Polit Bureau On Restoration of N.T.R. Ministry in Andhra Pradesh\***

### **Polit Bureau Statement**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) offers its greetings to the fighting masses of Andhra Pradesh State for their victory in the struggle against the illegally imposed Bhaskara Rao Ministry. The resignation of Bhaskara Rao and the invitation to N T Rama Rao to form the ministry are in accord with the will of the people of Andhra Pradesh, repeatedly expressed in every way possible during the course of the last one month.

But for the mass intervention of the masses of Andhra Pradesh and the massive support through bandhs and other actions extended by the people of all States, the authoritarian party and the centrally appointed Governor would have not have been compelled to retrace their steps. Thanks to this a naked conspiracy to upset the declared verdict of the electorate and form a minority ministry has been foiled. The entire episode also shows how dangerous and deceitful it is to allow the Governor to decide who controls the majority in the Legislature.

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The unashamed attempt to sabotage democracy by dismissing the ministry in Andhra Pradesh headed by N T Rama Rao ended in a fiasco on September 16, 1984. The Governor of Andhra Pradesh was forced to re-install Rama Rao as Chief Minister. The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the Opposition Parties, in separate Statements, hailed the victory of the people of Andhra Pradesh in their month-long struggle.

The Government at the Centre and the Congress(I) party in the State of Andhra Pradesh have covered themselves with undying disgrace. The latter joined the Bhaskara Rao gang in disgusting acts to sabotage the verdict of the Assembly and the democratic process.

Neither the people of Andhra Pradesh nor the people of India can rest on their oars after their victory. The authoritarian forces will continue their attacks unless the people are vigilant and active. Perhaps they did not resort to the extreme step of imposing Presidential rule in view of the coming election.

The Andhra Pradesh victory was made possible by the coming together of all Opposition parties to resist the attack on the Constitution. That unity will be necessary in the coming months and during the elections. The Centre-State question has now become a vital question of Indian democracy and it will not be democratically solved without the cooperation of all anti-authoritarian and democratic forces.

The Polit Bureau offers its greetings to N T Rama Rao and the Telugu Desam Party for their big victory and is confident that they will consolidate and strengthen the democratic forces in Andhra Pradesh and contribute to the ongoing struggle for a really federal and united India and for ensuring autonomy for all the States in the Indian Union.

## **Be Vigilant Against Imperialist War Forces, Authoritarianism and Strengthen National Unity\***

**Polit Bureau Communique Following Its Meeting Held on October 13-14, 1984**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M), at a two-day meeting on October 13-14, 1984, discussed and finalised the draft report on the international and national situation to be presented to the Central Committee meeting to be held from October 27-30, 1984

The Polit Bureau greeted the people and Opposition parties in Andhra Pradesh who, with the full support of the people and the Opposition parties throughout the country, succeeded in forcing the Congress(I) and its Central Government to retreat on their plan of imposing on them the defector Government of Bhaskara Rao. The success attained by the people and the Opposition parties on this question gives confidence that the ruling parties drive towards authoritarianism can be successfully resisted through people's unity

This, however, should not lull the democratic forces into complacency. For, although forced to retreat in Andhra Pradesh, the Congress(I) is persisting in its efforts to topple non-Congress(I) Governments by all means at its disposal. It is intensifying its drive towards an authoritarian Centre by proposing a change in the political system in the country. Although opposed unanimously by other parties and although voices against it are raised in the ruling party itself, the leaders of the latter are doing everything possible to create an atmosphere conducive to the replacement of parliamen-

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 21, 1984

tary by the presidential executive The Polit Bureau appealed to all the democratic forces in the country to intensify the struggle against the "system change" and other moves towards authoritarianism.

The Polit Bureau noted that while the economic situation in the country is steadily deteriorating, the spokesmen of the Government and the ruling party are trying to cover up the reality While they dish out manufactured and distorted "statistics", the consumer prices are continuously rising, workers and other employees are being thrown out of work, mills and other enterprises are going "sick", employment-seekers fail to secure jobs; the burdens of indebtedness and taxation on the common people are growing As a result of all these, the standard of living of the overwhelming majority is continuously falling, disproving all the "theories" concerning "fall in the rates of inflation", "the percentage of below the poverty line people falling", etc.

The inevitable consequence of the deterioration in the life of the people is the rise in the number and the tempo of mass struggles in which millions in the factories, enterprises, farms, institutions and offices are increasingly joining. Trade unions and other mass organizations whose leaders owe allegiance to various political parties, including the ruling party, are coming together in the struggles in defence of the rights of the working people Seventeen all-India Opposition parties meeting in Calcutta in January prepared an 11-point charter of demands which sums up the demands of all sections of the working people for which they have been fighting Together with the programme evolved by the National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions and middle class employees this 11-point charter has become the basis on which the anti-democratic policies of the Congress(I) and its Central and State Governments can be fought

The 17 Opposition parties which projected the 11-point charter of economic demands also arrived at a consensus on the key question of Centre-State relations Meeting at Srinagar a year ago, they made proposals which will preserve and

strengthen the unity of the people, while protecting the rights of the States for autonomy. These proposals provide the guarantee that state autonomy does not weaken the Centre in discharging its essential duties of organizing the country's defence, foreign affairs, currency and communications as well as overall coordination and planning of the country's development. They also ensure that, instead of being in confrontation with one another, the Centre and the States will cooperate in evolving and implementing policies which strengthen and develop the country.

The Polit Bureau noted with concern that the divisive forces continue to be active. What has been done in Punjab to bring the State back to normalcy has not removed the danger of Sikh extremists who still carry on their anti-national activities. It is regrettable that the Akali leadership has not been forthright enough in condemning their activities. The Polit Bureau expressed the hope that everybody concerned will realise the damage done by the extremists and take necessary steps to restore confidence among the people.

In Assam the Polit Bureau noted that the democratic rights of a large number of people are being taken away by the proposal made by the Election Commission. It is regrettable that parties like the CPI and Congress(S) who had for long stood for the unity of the people of Assam, have now changed their position and extended their support to the agitationists. The Polit Bureau greeted the Party comrades and the people who refused to surrender to the chauvinist demand of the agitationists.

The Polit Bureau noted with concern that communal and caste conflicts and riots are not only not abating but are increasing. They underline the necessity of all secular, democratic forces joining together and fighting communal and casteist forces. It is, however, regrettable that some political parties including the ruling Congress(I) are abetting them, using them for their partisan political ends. The Polit Bureau considers it of urgent importance that all the Left and democratic forces see the danger which this poses before the nation.

The Polit Bureau took note of recent developments in the relations between India and Pakistan, Pakistan and America as well as India and America. Underlying these is the drive of the United States for world domination. Enraged at the role played by India in the non-aligned movement, America is supplying Pakistan with the most sophisticated weapons with which to attack India.

America is also using Pakistan in the West and Bangladesh in the East to organize and arm the terrorists to create conditions of destabilization on the north-eastern and north-western borders of India. It is, however, heartening that the common people and Opposition parties in the two countries are resisting the military regimes and carrying on their struggle for the establishment of democracy. The Polit Bureau sent its greetings to and conveyed its sense of solidarity with the Opposition parties and the fighting people in the two countries.

The Polit Bureau noted the continuing crisis in Sri Lanka which is endangering the lives of lakhs of people in the country, particularly those who belong to the Tamil-speaking minority. It is regrettable that, instead of having the necessary will to find a political solution to the problem of the Tamil-speaking minority, the Sri Lanka rulers are resorting to police and military terror and using the Israeli, British and other imperialist espionage agencies against the minority. It greeted the Communist and other Left Opposition parties which are fighting for the rights of the minority in a united and federal Sri Lanka.

The developments that took place in Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka which culminated in the present crisis should be a warning to those who are advocating the replacement of the present parliamentary by the presidential system in India. These developments disprove the "theory" that authoritarian centralisation is the solution to the socio-economic and political crisis in the country. Authoritarianism in fact intensifies rather than solves the problems.

These developments should be a warning also to those who dismiss as "non-existent" the threat from imperialism.

acting through its agents in the neighbouring countries. The Polit Bureau regretfully noted that some of the Opposition parties are not aware of the danger, thinking that the threat from outside is no concern of the Opposition. It is, however, a matter of satisfaction that not only the Left but some other Opposition parties as well joined in mobilising the people against imperialism and its drive towards nuclear war. The Delhi Convention of March, 1984, was an event of great importance. The Polit Bureau called for follow up action on the Declaration of the Convention

The Polit Bureau noted with satisfaction that efforts are being made to facilitate the defeat of the Congress(I) in the forthcoming Lok Sabha elections. Most of the parties which are making these efforts were parties to the Srinagar and Calcutta conference of all-India Opposition parties which worked out a consensus on Centre-State relations and the 11-point charter of economic demands. Some of these parties were also participants in the country-wide peace movement culminating in the Delhi Convention on Peace. The Polit Bureau expressed the hope that these parties would agree on a common programme which will be anti-imperialist and anti-war in foreign relations, anti-authoritarian internally and committed to national unity and integration on the basis of struggle against divisive and separatist forces of all kinds.

## Permanent Invitees to Central Committee of CPI(M)\*

The Polit Bureau, at its meeting held on October 13-14, 1984, selected the following persons as permanent invitees to Central Committee meetings. The next meeting of the Central Committee will be held on October 27-30, 1984, at New Delhi

West Bengal	.. Biman Basu Buddhadev Bhattacharya Mohammed Amin
Kerala	.....M. M Lawrence Ramachandran Pillai Ravindranath
Tripura	...Manik Sarkar
Bihar	... Subodh Roy Nand Kishore Shukla
Assam	....Hemen Das
Orissa	.. Ajaya Rout
Tamil Nadu	.. .Parameswaran
Haryana	.. Raghubeer Singh Hooda
Centre	....Sitaram Yechuri Sukomal Sen Sunil Moitra

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 21, 1984  
Refer Document under Item No 20 of this Volume

The last Central Committee meeting had decided to take the Secretaries of the State Committees of Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Jammu and Kashmir and Delhi as permanent invitees. Their names are given below:

Karnataka	P. Ramachandra Rao
Madhya Pradesh	Motilal Sharma
Rajasthan	Hariram Chauhan
Jammu and Kashmir	Mohammed Yusuf
Delhi	Prakash Karat

## **Condolence Resolutions Adopted by the Central Committee of CPI(M) in its Meeting held on October 13-14, 1984\***

### **(a) Comrade N.V. Bhaskara Rao**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) with deep grief mourns the death of Comrade N.V. Bhaskara Rao, Secretary of the Hyderabad City Committee and member of the Andhra Pradesh State Committee of the Party and State Secretary of the CITU from the date of its formation. In his passing away the Party in Andhra Pradesh has suffered a grievous loss.

Comrade Bhaskara Rao began his work in the Party as a courier between the underground and open State Centre of the Party during the partisan struggle in Telangana in 1948-51. His late widowed mother following him joined the underground centre to look after the Party leaders then in hiding

In 1956 when the Andhra Provincial Committee's office was shifted to Hyderabad, he worked as the office Secretary. After the CPI(M) was formed, he became its Hyderabad City Committee Secretary and was also elected to the Andhra Pradesh State Committee

He was an important trade union leader of Hyderabad leading the workers in a number of industrial units including the BHEL. He had visited the Soviet Union as the leader of a trade union delegation.

Bhaskara Rao was a very loyal, steadfast and unassuming Party comrade and served the cause of the Party and the

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, November 11, 1984

working class movement to the best of his capacity in whatever position he was placed

Comrade Bhaskara Rao had been suffering from a heart ailment during the last few years. Undeterred he had continued his Party and trade union work moving around on a scooter. The heart attack on October 24 last proved fatal.

The Central Committee pays its revolutionary homage to Comrade Bhaskara Rao and extends its heartfelt condolences to his bereaved wife and three daughters

**(b) Comrade Mahiman Desai**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) with deep grief mourns the death of Comrade Mahiman Desai, member of the Gujarat State Committee of the Party.

Disillusioned with the Socialist Party leaders, he joined the Communist Party, left Bombay in 1949-50 and began working among the Adivasi peasantry in Gujarat. He was the main functionary and spirit behind the Kisan Sabha in the Bharuch and Surat districts.

The Central Committee pays its revolutionary homage to Comrade Mahiman Desai and conveys its heartfelt condolences to his bereaved family

**(c) Comrade Anwar Hussain**

The Central Committee with deep grief mourns the death of Comrade Anwar Hussain, member of the Bihar State Committee of the Party.

Comrade Anwar Hussain began his activities as a labour leader among bidi workers. He joined the Communist Party in the early sixties and had been an active member of the CPI(M) from the date of its formation. He was elected to the Bihar State Committee of the Party at the State Conference in 1981.

The Central Committee pays its revolutionary homage to Comrade Anwar Hussain and conveys its heartfelt condolences to his bereaved family.

**(d) Comrade Somnath Lahiri**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) with deep grief mourns the death of Comrade Somnath Lahiri, a veteran of the Communist movement in India and one of its pioneers. It was in the hard and difficult days when the Party was illegal and under severe attack from the British imperialist rulers who were bent on not allowing a Communist Party to develop in their colony that Comrade Somnath joined the Party in 1930. The Party had very few members then, it had hardly any resources. Only those who were totally dedicated to the cause of the working class, who were ready to undergo any sacrifice and face any ordeals, came into the Party and worked selflessly to build the Party and the working class movement. Comrade Somnath was one of them.

## **Resolution on Tripura Adopted by the Central Committee of CPI(M) in its Meeting held on October 13-14, 1984\***

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) appreciates the steps taken by the Left Front Government of Tripura in their all-out efforts to tackle the problem of the Tripura National Volunteers, a secessionist extremist tribal organization, trained and nursed by the Mizo National Front in Bangladesh with the assistance of foreign Powers.

Tripura has a mixed population, with 70 per cent Bengalees and 29 per cent tribals. Earlier in 1980, the reactionary divisive forces indulged in mass killings in order to invite President's rule in the State. But the democratic forces not only brought back tribal-non-tribal amity, but in spite of all provocations, did not allow any group-killing to take place. Having failed to dislodge this Government through the ballot box, these reactionary forces are now utilizing the services of the secessionists who are resorting to armed raids, killing about a hundred workers and supporters of the CPI(M) and the Left Front. Many officers and ranks of the armed forces and administration also were killed while on duty.

The C.C. condemns the role of the Congress(I) which instead of fighting these divisive and terroristic forces, has raised the demand for "extension of Disturbed Area", "deployment of the army" and the "promulgation of President's rule in Tripura". They themselves indulged in extensive terror tactics to organize a Tripura bandh on October 27, which

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, November 11, 1984

was preceded by a bandh call given by the TNV. In the TNV bandh alone, five CPI(M) supporters were killed. On the Congress(I) bandh day, Congress(I) hooligans ransacked a police station in Agartala town itself and attacked shopkeepers, because support to the bandh call was lacking. All these bandh days are creating tension between the tribals and non-tribals which may gladden only the imperialists and their agents who want tribal-non-tribal clashes to take place.

The C.C. considers it unfortunate that when it should be the common concern of the Central and State Governments to deal with the divisive, anti-democratic and terrorist forces together firmly, a controversy has been raised by the Centre in regard to the deployment of the army. It can never be the contention of any State Government that the army should not be called when such a situation arises. But that step should be taken on the assessment of the situation made by the State Government. In the present situation in Tripura, the State Government, after making an objective assessment, requested the Centre for giving adequate funds for raising a third State Armed Rifles, for deployment of some more paramilitary forces, sealing up of the Chittagong (Bangladesh) and Tripura border and improvement of border roads, etc. The C.C. hopes that the Central Government will immediately respond to these requests of the State Government.

The C.C. appreciates the role played by the Left Front Government in Tripura in running the administration in this difficult situation. The recent panchayat elections in which 17 out of 18 Block Presidencies were won by Left Front-supported CPI(M) candidates in an election which was not only peaceful but was participated in by 80 per cent of the electorate all over the State, demonstrated how democratic forces both among the tribals and non-tribals were overwhelmingly behind this Government. Anybody who asks for 'President's rule' will be abetting the authoritarian forces in the country.

The C.C. pays homage to all those who have lost their lives at the hands of the Congress(I)-TNV-TUJS-Amra Bangali

(Anandmargi) murderers and expresses deepest sympathy with those who have lost their near and dear ones. The C.C. calls upon the democratic masses to express their solidarity with the heroic people of Tripura in this battle against divisive forces for democracy, for tribal-non-tribal unity and for the improvement of the living conditions of the toiling people.

## **Election Manifesto of CPI(M) : 1985\***

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) appeals to the people to take into consideration the perilous situation in which the elections to the Eighth Lok Sabha are being held. They will be held within a couple of months of the dastardly assassination of Smt. Indira Gandhi, India's Prime Minister.

The links of the murderers stretch across the seas. Threats of murder were announced over the radio network of the BBC; those who were inciting the murder were patronised by high dignitaries in the USA.

Prime Ministers of three countries of the sub-continent have fallen victims to assassins hired by imperialist agencies. Pakistan's first Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan was the first victim; Solomon Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka was the second; Indira Gandhi was the third. Mujibur Rahman, President of Bangladesh, was yet another victim of these agencies.

Reactionary agencies have felt emboldened to carry out their murderous designs because they feel that the country can be destabilised; its unity can be disintegrated by rousing religious and communal passions, encouraging anarchy and disorder.

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, November 18, 1984  
This election to Indian Parliament was held following assassination of Sreemati Indira Gandhi on October 31, 1984, in New Delhi by one of her own Security Guards

The gory happenings in Delhi and elsewhere showed that the imperialist calculations were not entirely wrong. The killings of Sikhs, the arson and lootings, all put Indian democracy to shame. The secessionists and imperialists wanted such developments to create conditions of war between communities to unleash forces of disintegration and destabilisation.

The CPI(M) denounces the role of certain Congress(I) leaders of Delhi who, instead of pacifying the indignation of the people over the assassination, gave it a communal turn and directed it against the Sikh community. Both the Hindu and Sikh residents of the riot-affected areas charge these leaders with inciting mob violence against the minority.

Abominable as these developments are, abominable as the communal orgy against the Sikhs in Delhi and elsewhere was, the common Hindus and Sikhs protected national honour and unity by staying together and giving protection to each other. But for this protection the death toll would have been many times more. These people, remaining loyal to the sense of common citizenship and unity, foiled the game of destabilisers and rebuffed those who were out to create chaos.

In contrast the Delhi administration refused to move and handed over the city to anti-socials for three days. The minority had no protection against the hooligans.

These are the challenges facing the Indian people when they go to the elections. The electorate will have to decide who can be trusted to fight these new conspiracies.

The situation demands of the electorate that they reject all communal forces—Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian communalists and fundamentalists, who play into the hands of the imperialists to divide and disintegrate the country. The disastrous consequences of Sikh communalism and the appeal to the secessionist Khalistan slogan are there for all to see. One cannot but condemn all those who have been rousing Sikh communalism and refrained from condemning the murderous activities of the secessionist extremists. Many

Opposition parties do not fully comprehend the danger inherent in the communal appeal. Some like the BJP openly resort to Hindu chauvinism.

The situation demands that the electorate chooses people and parties who are firm in their resolve to fight the imperialists and protect the foreign policy based on non-alignment, working for world peace and fighting nuclear war.

The ruling party cannot be trusted to meet and fight these twin dangers. The opportunist policies which the Congress(I) has been pursuing for years have encouraged the growth of divisive, communal and secessionist forces. The ruling party openly allies with communal parties as in Kerala to garner momentary gains. It is destroying the secular character of the administration as was seen in Delhi during the recent riots. It cannot fight reactionary minority and secessionist movements politically and democratically, as is seen from the aggravation of the situation in Punjab. It compromises with secessionist forces in Tripura and Mizoram.

The ruling party cannot be trusted to defend and continue the foreign policy of non-alignment. Over the years the party and its leaders have made the mass of people non-partisan regarding the defence of non-alignment. The Congress organization is not known to have used its mass influence to popularise non-alignment. Beyond a formal adherence to the policy, the organization did nothing to make it a part of people's consciousness.

Indira Gandhi no doubt continued it and was its strong advocate. This policy helped India in strengthening its independence, it has played a role in the world struggle for peace, in support of the freedom movements against imperialism and in the development of friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries.

The Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation has helped India to strengthen her defence and independence. This treaty is all the more valuable today when the USA is intent on surrounding India with hostile regimes and pouring arms into Pakistan.

The electorate must firmly decide to strengthen this policy and fight all attempts to drag India into the imperialist camp in the name of "genuine" non-alignment. The ruling party cannot be trusted with this task. Only parties capable of carrying the issue to the masses, who are not afraid of offending imperialism, can create mass sanctions for such a policy.

The last five years of Congress(I) rule have been disastrous for the country. National unity is getting eroded. The bankruptcy of the party in meeting the situation in Punjab and Assam, in the North-Eastern region, has released reactionary forces of disintegration which if not controlled will overwhelm the country. The Congress(I) is unable to meet the secessionist challenge by rallying democratic and national opinion against them. It has made national unity a law and order question leading to disastrous results. The growth of divisive forces has encouraged imperialism to openly support them and intervene in our country's affairs. If these forces had been challenged in time, imperialist agencies would not have dared to intervene in the way they are doing today.

During the last five years the Congress(I) rule has weakened the country beyond measure. The economy is in a shambles, democracy is greatly undermined with one-party dictatorship looming over the country, the Centre-State relationship has got exacerbated leading to unnecessary crises, democratic liberties are under attack with the enactment of the NSA and ESMA. The army which is to discharge the vital task of defending the country is repeatedly called upon to act in civil strife and to replace civil administration. The utter bankruptcy of Congress(I) rule stands exposed before the people.

The ruling Congress party in pursuit of its insatiable desire for concentrating all powers at the Centre has reduced the States to a subordinate position and aggravated the Centre-State relations question. The conclave of Calcutta preceded by the Srinagar meeting of Opposition parties, which was attended by five Chief Ministers, had

already raised the issue to a national plane but the Government of India refused to respond. The appointment of the Sarkaria Commission proved to be a time killing measure with no serious purpose behind it

It is absolutely essential in the interest of national unity that the States should be armed with more powers and resources combined with an effective Centre capable of dealing with national defence and other tasks assigned to it. The concentration of all powers at the Centre helps the forces of national disunity, violates the principle of federalism and becomes an instrument to promote one-party dictatorship.

The dismissal of the NTR Ministry and the Farooq Abdullah Ministry underlined the Congress(I) drive towards one-party dictatorship. The dismissals were secured through the use of pliant Governors who abused their power at the dictates of the ruling party. Once more it demonstrated that no provision of the Constitution was safe under the Congress party rule.

The Congress(I) manipulation to undermine the parliamentary system was again exposed when its Ministers openly advocated a Presidential system. Everything indicates that given one more chance to govern, the Congress(I) will end the parliamentary system and establish one-party rule free from parliamentary control.

The ruling Congress party is rapidly ceasing to be a political party capable of discharging the people's mandate. Riven by internal dissensions and fights between unscrupulous combinations, the party had to change its Ministries in several States. For ten years it has not held any organizational elections.

Corruption is rampant in the organization and this has been said by some members of the organization. It extends to the highest quarter and names of several Congress(I) Chief Ministers have become a byword in corruption. Corruption has further affected the administration making the lot of the ordinary citizen unbearable.

In one State after another, the administration collapses

when faced by any sudden development like a communal riot. Nowhere was the degeneration more seen than in connection with the security arrangements concerning the late Prime Minister

The Congress(I) has, besides, done everything to bring into ridicule the norms of parliamentary democracy. The unscrupulous use of money during elections and to purchase defectors, the abuse of Governors' powers to dismiss Opposition Ministries, the rule by interminable Ordinances, violating the provisions of the Constitution and reducing the powers of the legislature to a farce constitute a powerful indictment of the ruling party.

The ruling party, as it loses the confidence of the democratic masses, not only compromises with the communal and divisive forces, it often relies on the support of anti-socials to demonstrate its mass strength. The bizarre incidents connected with the Congress(I) youth conference in Nagpur are still fresh in the mind of the people.

The mass of the Indian people have suffered very much in the last five years of Congress(I) rule. Economic misery apart, the ordinary citizen lives in terror of the police. Police raids on villages result in murders, and outrages on women have increased and continue to increase. In several States, especially Bihar, the police and landlords growingly carry on unspeakable atrocities against Harijans and rapes of their women. Women are raped in police custody. Deaths in police custody are becoming a common occurrence. Prisoners continue to languish in jails without proper sentences. Those who are ordered to be released continue in prisons for months. Bureaucrats defy the court's verdict with impunity. Law and order has completely broken down.

For the mass of people no relief is there. Only one five-year plan replaces another. The number of unemployed in cities has reached beyond 20 million. In the rural areas the unemployed are double that number. The Congress(I) Government resents if any relief is granted by the States to the unemployed.

The conditions in the rural areas of our country constitute the biggest indictment of the economic policies pursued by the ruling Congress party for the last thirtyseven years. Indira Gandhi's 20-point programme and subsequent measures have not stopped the process of destitution going on since Independence. The agrarian crisis has reached an acute state with 40 per cent of the rural population without land, without employment. The land reform has ended in a fiasco with six per cent concentrating 33 per cent land in their hands. Land reform finds no place in the Seventh Plan. The peasant who is asked to produce more is defrauded through denial of adequate prices and his indebtedness increases every year. All this narrows the rural market every year leading to crisis in industry and the economy. But the monopoly houses continue to add to their strength and increase their grip over the economy.

India's traditional industries—small-scale—coir, cashewnut, handlooms, fisheries, artisans and others are in complete ruin throwing tens of lakhs of people out of jobs.

Hundreds of factories have closed and gone sick. Two most important industries—the cotton textile and jute—are in serious crisis. Thousands of small concerns have permanently closed. Prices and the cost of living index continue to soar forcing the people to remain half-starved despite a big harvest. The rural poor and the agricultural workers are reduced to destitution. In Congress(I)-ruled States, the legislation guaranteeing minimum wage to agricultural workers is reduced to a farce. The Central Government refused to enact a central legislation for agricultural workers. The foreign debt burden continues to increase and preempts all chances of improvement in the life conditions of the people. The IMF conditionalities are opening India to the penetration of multinationals, a dangerous foe of the freedom of Third World countries.

The condition of the so-called weaker sections—the Harijans, the tribals, is still more pitiable. Reservation of jobs at best benefitted a tiny minority leaving the vast mass in a worse position than before.

Equality of women, equal pay for equal work are distant dreams All that we have under the Congress(I) regime is steady increase in dowry deaths, suicides of women and lack of protection against deserting husbands

The Congress(I) party compounds all these sins by waging an unscrupulous struggle against the Left Front Ministries of West Bengal and Tripura It has been concentrating its opposition more against the Left forces than against the divisive forces For its narrow aims it fights the Left forces which are consistently secular, anti-imperialist and unwavering in their defence of democracy and people's livelihood It does everything to obstruct their mass programme to give relief to the people by denying legitimate finances

The pro-landlord class outlook of the Central Government stands exposed when it denies Presidential assent to the agrarian measures passed by the West Bengal Legislature. These measures offer relief to the tenants but the assent has been withheld now for more than two years.

In contrast to the Congress(I) Governments the two Left Front Governments of Tripura and West Bengal protect the interests of the downtrodden sections They have passed several ameliorative measures to protect the tenant, the agricultural worker and the tribal. The two Governments have protected the democratic rights and civil liberties of the people. They have refused to use the NSA and ESMA against the people. They have refused to resort to preventive detention. They have used their powers to ensure that communal peace was maintained, the minority was assured of protection and national unity is protected. In Tripura, the CPI(M) has succeeded in maintaining the unity of the tribal and non-tribal people and isolating the secessionists. Unlike other States in the North-Eastern region, the majority of the tribals in Tripura stand firmly wedded to national unity

The Kerala Left-Democratic Front Government, led by the CPI(M), had also a similar record of protecting the rights of the people. That Government refused to use the police against the movements of the people, protected the rights of

the poorer sections, established an efficient system for supplying food at low prices and issued orders for unemployment benefit and pensions to agricultural workers

Like the Left Front Government led by the CPI(M), the CPI(M) members of Parliament have a consistent record of acting as the tribune of the people, of the nation, to defend its unity, to fight the divisive forces and protect the interests of the underdog. They systematically exposed all imperialist conspiracies against our people and warned the people against them. Members in both Houses made studied speeches exposing false claims made on behalf of the Government and in connection with the Seventh Plan.

The CPI(M) inspires its cadres to sacrifice everything for protecting national unity. Several of its members in Assam, Kerala and other States sacrificed their lives fighting secessionists and communalists. They came from the workers, they came from the students and youth.

The CPI(M) warns the people that U.S. imperialism is creating a perilous situation for our country. An attempt is made to surround India with a ring of hostile regimes. The struggle of the Tamils in Sri Lanka is used to drive a wedge between the people of India and the people of Sri Lanka.

The U.S. is pouring sophisticated arms into Pakistan. The military dictatorship of that country which is suppressing its own people, is being egged on to take a hostile attitude towards India. It is giving open support to the advocates of Khalistan and has established training camps to train anti-national secessionists. The dictatorial regime has refused to send back hijackers of Indian planes and is protecting them.

In this situation the Indian people must exercise vigilance over the defence of the country. Continuous vigilance is necessary. The country should not be taken unawares. This once again demands complete national unity overcoming all sectarian considerations. A country's defence is impregnable when the unity of its people is invulnerable. The Congress(I) party has failed to build such unity.

It will be a disaster if the electorate returns the Congress(I)

party to power The CPI(M) calls upon the electorate to defeat the Congress(I) at the polls and take the future of the country in its own hand

The CPI(M) works for a new alignment of forces through the elections They should lead to the defeat of the Congress(I), isolation of the divisive forces and strengthening of secular and Left and democratic forces

In the present situation it is not possible for a single party to defeat the Congress(I) What is required is a combination of forces who stand for secularism, who are wedded to fight communalism, who are determined to fight authoritarianism and save democracy, who support non-alignment and are vigilant enough to protect the country from the machinations of imperialism, who stand for a proper Centre-State relationship, and who agree to give immediate relief to the people from high prices, unemployment and inadequate wages.

The CPI(M) is prepared to support such a combination in the coming elections and is prepared to support a Ministry which is faithful to the above programme. The CPI(M) considers that the decisions of the Srinagar conference of Opposition parties and the Calcutta conclave should form the basis of such a programme.

In different States different combinations or political parties are in the field The CPI(M), while maintaining and strengthening the unity of the Left forces, is prepared to support these parties and combinations. These are the DMKP, Congress(S), DMK, National Conference(Kashmir), Telugu Desam, Congress(J), Janata Party and some others.

The CPI(M) calls upon the electorate to support its candidates and the candidates of Left parties. The CPI(M) and the Left parties constitute the most consistent secular and anti-imperialist and democratic forces. Firm supporters of non-alignment, they stand for world peace and are opposed to nuclear war plans of U.S. imperialism They consistently expose the U.S. imperialists and their allies and their treacherous conspiracies against other countries. They have been

foremost in fighting authoritarian policies, exposing every design against our Constitution and democracy they have ardently championed the demand for a new relationship between the Centre and the States in the interest of strengthening democracy they are the most ardent champions of the interests of the masses, leading their struggles

The Left Front Governments of Tripura and West Bengal led by the CPI(M), have shown how the CPI(M) protects the interests of the masses against the vested interests and defends national unity against divisive and communal forces The Left Front Governments of Tripura and West Bengal took no time to control and suppress communal manifestations following Indira Gandhi's assassination They saw to it that the unity of the people was not disturbed.

The elections must see an enhanced strength of the CPI(M) and the Left forces, the most reliable prop of secularism, anti-imperialism and democracy

The CPI(M) is of the opinion that the basic problems of poverty and unemployment cannot be solved unless the Indian people are in a position to completely overhaul the present economic structure. This demands nationalization of all foreign concerns, nationalization of Indian monopolies, radical land reform redistributing land gratis to the landless and complete public control over economic activities. To achieve this alternative a different combination of political forces is necessary, a combination in which the Left and democratic forces will have ascendancy, in which the voice of the working class and peasant masses will be a decisive element

However, to move forward towards this goal and tackle immediate problems, the CPI(M) puts forward the following programme:

- 1 Vigorous implementation of land reforms; distribution of land to the tiller, breaking of land concentration; cancellation of the debts of agricultural workers and poor peasants, remunerative prices for peasants' produce, cheap credit and subsidised inputs for peasants.

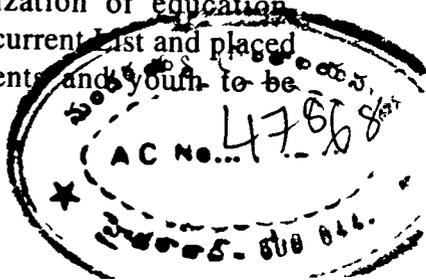
2. Revise the priorities and policies of planning with a view to the independent development of the national economy in full freedom from foreign influence. End the policy of depending on the World Bank, IMF and multinational firms for "aid" in planning. Raise internal resources by better management of the public sector with the participation of workers with equal status and authority; State acquisition of the huge assets of big landlords and monopoly capitalists, nationalization of foreign monopoly concerns. Revise the Seventh Plan in the light of the suggestions made by several States at the last meeting of the National Development Council

3 Nationalise the crisis-ridden textile and jute industries and run them with workers' participation in management on the basis of equal status

4 Minimum fair wage for industrial and agricultural workers and middle class employees, with dearness allowance to neutralise the rise in the cost of living and bonus as deferred wage. Full trade union rights to Central and State Government employees. Abolition of police verification. Employment or unemployment allowance for the unemployed in the urban and rural areas. Right to work to be declared a fundamental right in the Constitution. Widespread public distribution system to distribute foodgrains at concessional prices to the people

5. Withdrawal of the NSA, ESMA and other anti-democratic measures.

6 Free education up to the secondary state, hostel facilities, etc , with special attention to the requirements of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes students. Equal right to all languages and linguistic groups, with mother-tongue as the medium of instruction. Promotion of the cultural development of all ethnic groups, minorities and nationalities. Stopping the process of communalization of education. Education to be removed from the Concurrent List and placed on the State List. Demands of students and youth to be given urgent attention



7 Removal of social inequality from which women suffer, equal rights with men in such matters as inheritance of property, enforcement of marriage and divorce laws, admission to professions and services, equal pay for equal work

## **Polit Bureau Endorses Andhra Committee Stand\***

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) deeply regrets that agreement could not be reached with the CPI on seat adjustments in Andhra Pradesh. It endorses the stand adopted by the Andhra Committee of the Party

The facts set out in Com. Sundarayya's statement make it clear that the CPI(M) is the biggest Opposition party in Khammam. In 1971 it polled 92,000 against the CPI supported Congress which secured 138,000. In 1977 when the CPI had no alliance with the Congress, it polled 72,500 votes against the CPI(M)'s 122,000 votes. Again in 1980 when supported by the Janata, Lok Dal and the CPI the candidate of the Vengal Rao faction of the Congress polled just 106,000 votes against the CPI(M)'s 102,200. The CPI(M)'s claim to the seat is thus unassailable

Conscious of the importance of Left unity the CPI(M) was endeavouring to avoid such conflicts. It saw to it that agreement is restored in West Bengal. In Midnapur where local units of the CPI(M) were justifiably opposed to giving a second seat to CPI in the district, the CPI(M) leadership proposed to the CPI Central leadership that differences arising in other states should also be discussed and settled at the Central level. But the CPI leadership avoided the discussion and endorsed the stand of their State unit

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rejecting the CPI(M) proposal for leaving the Khammam seat to the CPI(M)

In view of the impact that the fight in Khammam may have on the entire Opposition in the current Lok Sabha and the ensuing Assembly elections, the Polit Bureau expects the Telugu Desam leaders to extend support to the CPI(M) in Khammam and Marialguda

## **Polit Bureau Communique on Election Results\***

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) met on January 3 and 4, 1985, and made a general survey of the Lok Sabha election results and the political situation emerging after the elections.

The elections were taking place with a qualitatively new situation emerging with the assassination of Smt. Indira Gandhi. A basic change in the outlook of the electorate had taken place. The discontent flowing from the anti-people policies and practices of the Congress(I) Government was relegated to the background by the shock at the assassination and sympathy for the Congress(I). The Congress(I) party took note of it and while projecting the question of national unity before the people also appealed to the sentiments of the majority community. It is not accidental that during the whole campaign Congress(I) leaders did not utter a word against the RSS. Concern for the unity and integrity of the country threatened by the activities of extremists and separatists of various kinds, led the people to look upon the Congress(I) as the protector of India's unity. This is a feature of the situation which most of the bourgeois Opposition parties failed to take note of. Some of them had seen in the secessionist, communal and casteist forces only an embarrassment for Indira Gandhi rather than a threat to national unity and integrity. After the assassination also, they failed to note that the revulsion among the people against the activities

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of separatist forces would make them rally still closer to the Congress(I)

The CPI(M) was conscious of this before and after Smt Gandhi's assassination. The CPI(M) in its election campaign had highlighted the question of national unity pointing out that the policies and practices of the ruling party in fact, were helpful to the growth of divisive and separatist forces rather than stopping them. Vast sections of the people however, felt that the Congress(I) was the only force which could be trusted in the present situation to protect national unity. The mess that was created by the Congress(I) in Punjab and Assam its total incapacity to protect the minorities as was seen in Delhi after Smt. Indira Gandhi's assassination and earlier in Bhiwandi and several other places, was not understood. In their search for unity people voted for a party whose policies and practices had led to the growth of divisive forces.

The bourgeois Opposition parties, however, continued as if nothing had changed, talked of the Government's economic policies, broken pledges etc, when people had started thinking of something else. They had earlier failed to organize in unity with the Left parties mass actions on the basis of the agreed positions adopted by the secular opposition parties in the all-India Conferences held in 1983-84. They tried instead to forge what was called "Opposition unity" for fighting the elections. even in these efforts they failed.

It was against this background unfavourable to the Opposition that the CPI(M) and its Left allies had to fight the election battle. In Tripura the Left Front secured both the seats in spite of the unscrupulous alliance of the Congress(I) with the TUJS. In West Bengal the Congress(I) was prevented from securing a majority of seats. In Kerala the Left and Democratic Front lost nine seats held in the earlier Lok Sabha with the CPI(M) alone losing five.

Despite the sympathy wave all over the country the CPI(M) and the Left forces could keep their hold on West Bengal and Tripura. The Congress(I) could not get a majority of seats and the Left Front secured 26 seats out of 42 in West Bengal. The

PB noted the reverses in West Bengal which cost us ten seats. In Kerala the Left and Democratic Front had a setback, securing only three seats as against the Congress-led front bagging seventeen and our Party losing five sitting seats.

The PB took note of these reverses and decided to examine whether there are any other reasons for this setback. The PB is confident that the Party will be able to overcome all the weaknesses and forge ahead.

The PB noted that the activists and the friends of the CPI(M) had to make tremendous sacrifices to enable the Party to show such a record of resistance to the ruling party. Many had to lay down their lives while a far larger number had to face other forms of attack organized by the ruling party. The PB paid its tributes to the fallen comrades. It extended its thanks to the lakhs of voters who stood by the Party uninfluenced by Congress(I) claims.

The PB noted that the Andhra people inflicted a severe defeat on the Congress(I) reducing it to small minority of seats. This was the people's reply to the anti-democratic practices of the Centre and the dismissal of the Telugu Desam NTR Ministry in August 1984.

The ruling party made extensive use of the radio, television and the film division to instil in the minds of the people the idea that the Congress(I) alone can protect national unity. With the same end in view an extensive campaign was undertaken through paid advertisements in newspapers and other means available. Unprecedented use of money power, rigging the votes, capturing the booths in some places etc., were also extensively made.

The P.B. noted that the big electoral victory of the ruling party gives an exaggerated picture of its hold among the people. While securing 80 per cent of the seats it has polled 50 per cent of the votes. It is obvious that the massive mandate alone will not solve any problem unless basic policies are changed.

The P.B. expressed the view that the consensus arrived at in the all-India Conferences of Opposition parties held in

1983-84 provide the basis on which united activities can be developed. It hoped that those parties which came together at these conferences would work towards developing mass activities on this basis

The PB recalled that while joining hands with other secular Opposition parties in arriving at consensus on several issues at the all-India conferences, the Left parties, together with several other Opposition parties, were trying to develop a united movement on the all-important global problem of world peace and India's role in the struggle for it. The urgency for developing that movement is all the greater now, since the imperialist powers are bound to further pressurise India to reverse its policy of non-alignment. The danger that this constitutes to India's relations with the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces throughout the world can be averted only by developing a powerful mass movement for peace and against war. The PB. hoped that those opposition parties which had so far kept away from the mainstream of the peace movement would join it now.

The PB. considered the forthcoming Assembly elections in several states. The ruling party will do everything to use the gains it has made in the Lok Sabha elections to repeat it in the States. This can be countered only if the secular Opposition parties draw the necessary lessons from the experience of the Lok Sabha elections, and give a united fight

The PB. urged the newly formed Government to take immediate steps to solve the Punjab and Assam problems. Delay in these matters will prove extremely harmful to the cause of national unity. The PB. noted that there was plenty of talk about giving priority to these questions. But the proper way is to remedy past errors without making any concessions to secessionism, and create a climate whose effect will be felt by all sincere and patriotic elements.

The PB. decided to hold a meeting of the Central Committee from the 14th to the 17th of this month to make a detailed review of the election results and decide on the steps to overcome the weaknesses revealed in the electoral struggle.

## Central Committee's Greetings to PDPA\*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its warmest revolutionary felicitations to the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of its founding. It was under the leadership of the PDPA that the Saur (April) Revolution of 1978 was victorious opening a new future for the Afghan people.

The Afghan people have scored many successes under the leadership of the PDPA which has been making every effort to ensure that the April Revolution marches forward. The CPI(M) is fully aware that this path has not been without problems and difficulties. The Central Committee of the PDPA itself has taken note of this when it says, "The April Revolution has not had a balanced growth. In addition to bearing the heavy burden of the problems inherited from the past, the process of democratisation of social life and the approach adopted towards the solution of a number of important socio-political questions such as national, tribal, religious, and questions of tradition, economy and culture have been coupled with errors, slips, deviations and serious violations of unity. As a result, most of the tasks which the PDPA had in view remained unfulfilled and the transformations which had begun in the interest of the people were slowed down"

It was when, after defeating the traitorous Hafizullah

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Amin and his band, the PDPA leadership was correcting the serious errors and deviations and uniting the people in the National Fatherland Front of Afghanistan, that further difficulties were created for the PDPA and the Afghan people, this time by U S imperialism, the world gendarme Incensed by the growing strength of the April Revolution, the imperialists started extensive and organized armed interference in the affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan When the threat from the counter-revolutionaries and terrorists, who were being financed, armed, trained and being sent into the DRA from bases provided by the military dictatorship of Pakistan, became serious, the Government of the DRA began resolutely putting them down with the fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union and is steadily succeeding in it

Even in this period advances have been made in the DRA Serious measures for the economic growth of the country for the improvement of the life of the people, consistent efforts to democratise the social life, steps to ensure real and practical equality as regards the material and spiritual development of all tribes and nationalities, the policy of respect of the religious sentiments of the people are all strengthening the unity of the people under the leadership of the PDPA and isolating the counter-revolutionaries

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) has all along taken the position that the only problem in Afghanistan is the problem created by the outside imperialist interference, and that this interference should be ended forthwith so that the PDPA can lead the Afghan people even more speedily to achieve their democratic goals and make all-round advances.

The CPI(M) is confident that the Afghan people under the leadership of the PDPA will foil all the imperialist machinations against their country and build a new Afghanistan The CPI(M) extends its fullest support to the PDPA and the people of the DRA in this struggle

## **Homage to Comrade D.F. Ustinov\***

**Resolution adopted by the Central Committee of CPI(M) in its meeting held in New Delhi on January 14-17, 1985**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) mourns with deep grief the passing away of Comrade Dmitri Federovino Ustinov, member of the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of Soviet Union and Defence Minister of the USSR. The CPSU and the people of the USSR have suffered a grievous loss in his passing away

Comrade Ustinov, a long-standing member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, played a major role during the Second World War in the field of defence production to inflict the historic defeat on the Hitler fascists. As Defence Minister and member of the Polit Bureau of the CPSU, he made a great contribution to the building of the defence preparedness of the Soviet Union against nuclear warmongers led by U.S. imperialism. The Indian people will remember his visit to India just a few months before his death when he assured this country that the Soviet Union will give every help to build up our defence capacity. In the background of the feverish arming of the Pakistani military dictatorship by the U.S. imperialists, this was again an affirmation of the close friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) pays its revolutionary homage to the memory of Comrade Ustinov and sends its heartfelt condolences to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

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## **Homage to Comrade Chan Sy\***

**Resolution adopted by the Central Committee of CPI(M) in its meeting held in New Delhi on January 14-17, 1985**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) mourns with deep grief the passing away of Comrade Chan Sy, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea

Comrade Chan Sy began his revolutionary activities at the young age of fifteen against the French colonialists for the liberation of Kampuchea. Along with the present leaders of the People's Revolutionary Party, he fought the genocidal Pol Pot regime and since the liberation of the country from that regime in January 1979, he had been serving the Party and Government in various capacities. In his passing away the PRP and the Kampuchean people have lost a loyal and dedicated revolutionary.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) pays its revolutionary homage to the memory of Comrade Chan Sy and sends its heartfelt condolences to the Central Committee of People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea.

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## **Elections and the Task Ahead\***

**Central Committee Communique issued following its meeting held on January 14-17, 1985**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) met from January 14 to 17, 1985, to review the election results and consider the coming Assembly elections.

The Central Committee endorsed the understanding given in the P.B. communiques issued earlier that the dominant factor swaying the electorate towards the Congress(I) was national concern for unity and concern over destabilisation following the tragic assassination of Indira Gandhi. The C.C. members from all States confirmed this concern though it affected the different States in varying degrees. But no State, including Tripura where the CPI(M) defeated the Congress(I) in both the constituencies, was free from it. In Andhra Pradesh this concern was overshadowed by the anger over the Congress(I) dismissal of the NTR Ministry.

The Central Committee opined that in this situation of unity dominating the minds of the people the call for an alternate Government at the Centre became a non-starter. It became unrealistic with the failure of the Opposition parties to unite and present the possibility of a possible alternative. Their indifference towards the question of national unity, their attempts to belittle the dangers further eroded their capacity to discharge the task which the people considered as vital.

The Central Committee noted that notwithstanding the

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spectacular success of the Congress(I) in securing four-fifths of the seats, the Opposition vote is almost equal to that of the ruling party. The deep concern for unity did not sway this huge mass to put their trust in the Congress(I). The Congress(I) vote was by no means endorsement of the economic and other policies followed by the ruling party. Besides, in some States, the Congress(I) vote has been reduced as compared with 1980. If the ruling party behaves as if the Opposition is smashed and is irrelevant, it will come to grief. One piece of electoral reform in the direction of proper reflection of people's mind—proportional representation—will give the Opposition an almost equal number of seats.

The Central Committee however recognized that this was a big swing in favour of the Congress(I). It examined the setbacks in West Bengal and Kerala and came to the conclusion that the reverses in these States were not entirely due to the new concern for unity. Other factors were also responsible and these both the Central Committee and the West Bengal and Kerala State Committees identified. The Central Committee called upon the Committees concerned to repair the damage done.

### **West Bengal**

The Central Committee noted that despite several measures taken by the Left Front ministry of West Bengal to defend the interests of the workers and other sections of the people there were signs of erosion of our influence in certain sections which were visible before the election. The Party lost three Assembly by-elections to the Congress(I) in the last year. This erosion was noted earlier by the State Committee but its causes could not be completely eliminated. The economic situation, the closures and lock-outs against which the State Government had hardly any remedies under the present Constitution, were part of the additional factors. At the same time it was noted that some measures like the education policy were not understood and appreciated by

the people. The efficiency and performance of some ministries needed improvement in the eyes of the people. In the present situation it was inevitable that when some down-trodden sections were protected, some others got aggrieved and alienated. The expectations roused among the people were out of proportion with the powers of the State Government. It was also noted that there was some loss of contact with sections of the people. The C C thought that if some of these shortcomings could have been remedied in time the election results would not have been the same.

The Central Committee at the same time noted that to have denied the majority of seats to the Congress(I) in West Bengal was no ordinary achievement in the context of the tornado-like wave all over the country. The CPI(M) and its allies have also gained a massive vote which showed the deep roots the Party has struck among the masses of West Bengal. The rural areas stood by the Party, the effect of the Party's steadfast attention to the interests of the peasantry. The Party was given a jolt in the industrial belt which, apart from other causes, was particularly sensitive to the wave of national consciousness.

Anxious over these developments, the Central Committee has urged the State Committee to meet this new situation in the urban and industrial areas and adopt a proper political approach to overcome it. It has also urged the State Committee to examine whether because of our land reform and other measures there is alienation of any section of the peasantry.

## **Kerala**

The reverses in Kerala were also examined. The C.C. noted that the Kerala LDF was in a weaker position this time compared to the past as some of its allies had left it in 1982. The lag was being overcome but apart from the national wave, the growing polarisation of communal and casteist forces helped the Congress(I) combination. The ruling party not only relied on these forces but helped their polarization

by conceding many a communal demand The C C had already warned against such a development The C C opined that unless the CPI(M) and Left parties took a firm and united stand against such parties and groups and succeeded in breaking through their following and gather them under a secular and democratic banner, the progress of Left and Democratic forces will be obstructed in Kerala. The C.C. members from Kerala gave the same opinion in their report

The Central Committee at the same time noted that not less than 40 per cent of the people have voted for the LDF which speaks of the strength of the Party and its allies among the people and which is a result of the incessant struggles carried on by our Party and mass organizations and our allies in the interests of the people. The national wave alone was unable to defeat us in Kerala. It had to be bolstered by reliance on a communal and caste combination

The Central Committee asked the Kerala State Committee to examine whether there was alienation of any sections of the peasantry and whether they were able to forge unity between the agricultural workers and peasants.

### **Bihar**

Having heard the reports from several States, the Central Committee expressed its condemnation of the malpractices of the ruling party in the elections. Opposition parties, especially in Bihar, have denounced these gangster methods. In one constituency alone which the CPI(M) was contesting in Bihar not less than 300 booths were captured and rigging resorted to. These practices give little credence to the talk of electoral reform which is now in the air. The immediate step required is to break the collusion between the ruling party and the Government and more honesty on the part of the Congress(I) to democratic norms.

### **Imperialist Threat Ignored**

The Central Committee members noted with alarm that neither the ruling party nor the bourgeois Opposition parties took

serious note of imperialism and its conspiracies against our country during the election campaign. The threat from imperialism to the integrity of our country was hardly mentioned and imperialist forces escaped condemnation and denunciation notwithstanding their role in Assam, Punjab and the assassination of Smt Gandhi. The Central Committee called upon all the Left forces to be vigilant against imperialist machinations and asked the Party to take the lead in rousing public opinion.

The Central Committee welcomes the assurance that the new Government will continue its policy of non-alignment anti-colonialism and friendship with the USSR and Socialist countries and continue the process of normalisation of relations with People's China. The Central Committee at the same time feels that continuation of this policy will be difficult without rousing the vigilance of the people against any compromise and pressure.

### **Left Unity**

The Central Committee recognized that during the course of the elections, despite our best efforts the relation between the CPI and the CPI(M) came under strain. This happened in Andhra Pradesh and Bihar. Regrettable as these strains are, they are sometimes understandable. The Central Committee opined that Left unity must be protected and strengthened and such temporary strains should not be allowed to affect the struggle for growing Left unity.

### **Assembly Elections**

The Central Committee addressed itself to the task of fighting the Assembly elections. The massive majority of the Congress(I) in the Lok Sabha and the weakened Opposition are unhealthy developments. Accompanied by similar majorities in the States they will easily lead to one-party rule and dictatorship unhampered by the Opposition. It is therefore necessary to present a stiff fight in the elections in all the States. The C.C. is confident that the bourgeois Opposition

parties will draw lessons from the recent election and that all secular parties will forge an understanding to meet the situation. Helped by the Left parties they should be in a position to stall Congress majority and make effective the voice of the Opposition in the State elections.

In these elections the question of national unity will no doubt be raised. The Opposition parties cannot neglect it. But other issues will also come to the forefront. The performance of Congress(I) Governments, the sufferings of the people and the problem of unemployment will occupy people's attention. If the Opposition parties popularise the charter of demands adopted at the Calcutta conclave that will assure the people about their earnestness for unity.

The C. C. at the same time calls upon the Left parties to close their ranks and face the elections unitedly. By forging their unity they will be in a position to influence wiser understanding. It is their responsibility to ensure that the elections are fought as a great battle to stem the tide of one-party triumph and save the multi-party character of India's democracy.

### **Punjab**

The C.C. has noted the repeated assurances of the Prime Minister that the Government was giving top priority to solve the Punjab problem. Nothing is more important for national unity and integrity than the solution of this problem and winning over the vast masses of the Sikh peasantry. The C.C. however apprehended that the new Government's line of action may misfire and exacerbate the situation. The talk of Maha Punjab indulged in by some officials of the Congress(I) party and not repudiated by the organization is calculated to aggravate the situation. The C. C. calls upon the Government to pick up the threads where they were broken by the previous Government and draw the Opposition parties in the task of settling the problem. It also calls upon the Akali leaders to demarcate themselves from the secessionists and condemn their activity.

## **Central Committee Resolution on Developments in Sri Lanka\***

**Adopted in its meeting held on January 14-17, 1985**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) noted with serious concern the recent developments in Sri Lanka.

The legitimate struggle of the Tamil population for autonomy within the country is being met with monstrous repression. The Sri Lanka Government is refusing to find solution to this problem. The army has gone berserk and is indulging in wanton killings of Tamil people. The Sri Lankan Government has requisitioned the help of the notorious Israeli Mossad and British mercenaries to carry on the genocidal operations against the Tamil population. It is known that the U.S. imperialists are giving all assistance to the Sri Lankan Government so as to get a base in that island nation and also to incite it to take an anti-India stand

Democratic forces in both Sri Lanka and India have to see that the imperialist game of creating hostility between the two countries is defeated, that the massacre of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka is stopped, and a political settlement is reached on the demand for autonomy of the Tamil majority areas.

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## **Central Committee Resolution on the Bhopal Tragedy\***

**Adopted in its meeting held on January 14-17, 1985**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) indicts the U.S. multinational, Union Carbide, for being criminally responsible for the killing of thousands in Bhopal and for the permanent impairment of the health of tens of thousands of people in that city. This multinational was running the Bhopal unit without the necessary safeguards which its factory in the USA has. Given the magnitude of the disaster, it has become apparent that the plant was severely underdesigned for safety measures. There are apprehensions that the American employees of the company were indulging in research which had nothing to do with the manufacture of pesticides, but were experimenting with lethal gases for chemical warfare. The U.S. imperialists have again done their research and experimenting at the cost of Third World lives.

The C.C. cannot absolve the Madhya Pradesh State Government and the Central Government of their responsibility for the tragic loss of lives. The factory should never have been allowed to be set up inside the city. There had been leakages of gas from the factory earlier leading to deaths of workers. Even then the authorities refused to do anything to shift the hazardous pesticide unit from the polluted area of Bhopal.

The C.C. demands that the Government take over the Union Carbide unit and its research and development wing,

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and shift it to a safer site with proper safety measures and ensure that the American multinational pays full compensation to the families of those killed and those who have been affected. Many people who were not citizens of Bhopal were affected by the poison gas and a number of them were killed.

The relief and rehabilitation measures of the Government so far have been a farce. The multinational and the American lawyers who are filing cases in the USA are more likely to cheat the victims than get them proper compensation.

The C C demands that the Government should undertake urgent measures to rehabilitate all those who have been affected.

The Central Committee extends its heartfelt condolences to the bereaved families and wishes speedy recovery to those who have been affected by the poison gas.

## Central Committee's Greetings to S.A.D.R.\*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) sends its warmest greetings to the S A D R. and the leadership of the Polisario Front on the IX anniversary of the founding of the S.A D.R. which falls on February 27, 1985.

The Sahrawi people have made tremendous sacrifices for the liberation of their homeland, Western Sahara, first in the struggle against the Spanish colonialists and now against the invasion by the monarchy of Morocco. Through their heroic fight and enormous sacrifices they have been able to liberate 75 per cent of the territory of Western Sahara, establishing their own State, the State of the S.A.D.R. Their constant victories in the liberation struggle has won the S.A D R. a rightful place in O.A U. becoming its 51st member in 1982. But the Moroccan regime continued its intervention to change the course of history defying the resolutions of the U.N. and the O.A U. But the fighting people of Western Sahara, under the leadership of their vanguard Polisario Front and the flag of the S.A.D R., have proved that the situation in Western Sahara is irreversible and no amount of interventions by Morocco, backed the U.S. imperialists can block the way to their final victory. At the time of the 20th summit of the O A U. where the S.A D.R. participated as a full member, the Moroccan

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regime found itself isolated and the U.S. imperialist game to split the O.A.U. also got defeated.

In their just struggle for the liberation of their whole mainland from the occupation of Morocco, the S.A.D.R. deserves the support and solidarity of all people who cherish freedom, democracy and progress. The NAM has to play an important role in this struggle and as a first step the Government of India should give recognition to the S.A.D.R. as a rightful representative of the people of Western Sahara. The S.A.D.R. has already been recognized by 60 States belonging to all continents. India as a leader of the NAM should not be the last in this respect.

At this national day, the C.C. of Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its full solidarity and support to the S.A.D.R. and the Polisario Front and is sure that in spite of all machinations of the Moroccan regime and its imperialist masters, they will soon be able to achieve final victory.

## **Central Committee Report on Lok Sabha Elections\***

**Adopted in the meeting of the Central Committee  
of CPI(M) held in New Delhi on January 14-17, 1985**

The massive victory of the Congress(I) in the eighth Lok Sabha elections was not expected by any political party including ours. The change in the situation following the assassination of Indira Gandhi could not be grasped during the short period preceding the election.

All earlier indications and political developments pointed to an erosion of the ruling party's hold over the people. In fact the calculation of the ruling party before October 31, was that it would be short of a majority by at least 20 seats. This estimate was not officially announced but it appeared in the Press. That the ruling party was not confident of getting a majority was made clear when Vasant Sathe advocated a change to the presidential system under the plea that no party was likely to get a majority in the coming elections.

The economic situation, the misery of the people, the dismissal of duly elected ministries, the NTR episode and the growing support from among the bourgeois opposition parties for overhauling Centre-State relations coupled with the inner-fights in the ruling party and its unbridled corruption, all pointed to a rapid erosion of the influence of the ruling party leading to the conclusion that it would lose its majority in the elections.

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### **Counteracting Factors**

But certain counteracting factors were becoming visible. This our Party had noted. For instance, the entry of the army into the Golden Temple was seen by large sections of the people only as a measure in defence of national unity. The alienation of the Sikh masses arising from it was not understood. The same sections later on reacted uniformly in a sharp manner to the dismissal of the NTR Ministry. The massive bands to protest against the dismissal were unprecedented political protests.

Nevertheless the concern for national unity and integrity was turning the balance in favour of the Congress(I). This was noted in the document of the October C C. It noted, "The erosion of the authority of the civil Government (use of the army) and the exceptional legislations recently passed have not evoked even a part of the indignation that was seen on the NTR issue. Why? Because they could be passed off as exceptional measures taken to fight the menace of secession, to maintain the unity and the integrity of the country."

The turning point of course came with the assassination of Smt Indira Gandhi, which introduced a qualitative change in the outlook of the mass of the electorate. The shock the assassination administered to them made them rally round the Congress(I). The tremendous sympathy for the organization and her son, generated by her murder, was accompanied by an equal concern for national unity and concern over destabilisation. The murder by the Sikh security guards was directly linked to the Sikh secessionists and taken as an assault on national unity.

The sympathy wave turned into a huge electoral rally round the Congress(I) expressing people's concern for national unity and giving nearly a four-fifth majority to the Congress(I). The trusting people entrusted the task of saving national unity to the same party whose policies were undermining it. This is the paradox of the situation and expresses the lag in mass consciousness which was capitalized by the Congress(I).

## **Failure Of Bourgeois Opposition Parties**

Inevitable as the swing was because of the assassination and the open challenge of Sikh secessionism, the bourgeois opposition parties totally failed to understand it and meet it. They exposed their utter bankruptcy in this critical situation and failed to develop any rapport with the widely ranging sentiment for national unity and above all the sympathy for the Congress(I) generated by the murder of Smt. Gandhi. They tried to treat assassination as an electoral inconvenience and tried to meet it by ignoring it and came to grief. Some of them thought that in the absence of Indira Gandhi, an electoral victory would be easy to achieve.

The October C C document had warned, "Imperialism and the divisive forces promoted by it constitute a blind spot for the opposition bourgeois parties which hampers united struggle against them. They all underestimate the danger to national unity and some of them see in the divisive forces—secessionist, communal and casteist—only an embarrassment for Indira Gandhi and her Government. This myopic, suicidal and opportunist outlook is shared by almost all bourgeois parties to some extent or another and it constitutes a big obstacle in the way of developing popular and democratic resistance to these reactionary forces.

"It is not accidental that these parties with their myopic outlook towards secessionist forces should join hands with the AASU in Assam to make a few gains in elections.

"These parties which do not think in terms of a sustained political battle against the divisive forces, sometimes suddenly shift their position and demand strong administrative action and play into the hands of the ruling party".

The P.B.'s note on the political situation dated November 14, assessing the situation after Smt. Gandhi's assassination, also pointed to the weakness of the bourgeois opposition outlook. It said, "We have to impress upon the bourgeois Opposition parties that unless they take up the question of national unity and integrity in the country as well as defence of non-alignment they will get beaten at the

hands of the Congress(I). In the present changed situation unless they combine the struggle against economic policies and against the drive towards authoritarianism with the struggle for national unity and defence of the independence of the country they will fail to enthuse the masses in the electoral battle. It must also be taken note of that pro-imperialism elements are very active and would try to influence different bourgeois opposition parties. Therefore the Left parties have to play an important role.”

A glance at the manifestos issued by the Opposition parties shows how they are blind to the problem of national unity following the secessionist attack in Punjab. The majority of these parties do not recognise this new danger—secessionism, are quiet about it and show hardly any concern for unity.

In the election campaign the main bourgeois Opposition parties did not mention the role of imperialism in promoting the divisive forces, nor did they make a deep appeal to protect national unity and save the country from dismemberment. On the other hand when the ruling party referred to the danger to national unity, Chandra Shekhar and others dismissed it as interested propaganda and asked the people not to lend credence to it. They also belittled the danger to India from the supply of sophisticated arms to Pakistan by the USA.

### **Interests of Masses Ignored**

The Opposition bourgeois-landlord parties, besides, did not pay much attention to the urgent problems of the masses. In the five years of Congress(I) rule since 1980, they showed very little mass activity and organized hardly any mass action, in defence of the masses. Their class character and class limitation came in the way of championing the interests of the agrarian or industrial masses against the pro-vested interests measures of the Congress(I) Government. They expected that the growing erosion of Congress(I) influence would automatically help them to garner electoral success.

The several efforts made by our Party to unleash united

mass actions met with only limited success, the bourgeois Opposition parties showing little enthusiasm and initiative. They confined themselves to press publicity and exposure.

They all would not push forward the commonly accepted decisions taken unanimously at opposition gatherings. The Kisan morcha of 1981 was a big success but hardly anything was done by them to further the Kisan agitation. The protest day against price-rise in response to the programme given by the Calcutta conclave was a big success. But that was not followed up though the programme had great potentiality and its implementation would have brought the masses into action.

The vacillation of these parties, their lack of faith in the masses and their hesitation in regard to mass action came out prominently in relation to the protest against the dismissal of the NTR Ministry. Here was an issue on which vast sections of people were feeling outraged and were ready to jump into action. It required a lot of pressure to make these parties agree to a protest call and when they agreed they made it subject to the consent of the trade unions. At the mass organization level their trade unions, members of the National Campaign Committee, tended to sabotage the call, but under our pressure agreed to a common resolution. The main burden fell on us and our close allies. The spectacular response to the call in West Bengal, Tripura, Bihar, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh showed that the bourgeois opposition parties missed a great opportunity. Had they lent honest support, it would have been the most spectacular Bharat Bandh.

### **Our Party's Understanding**

Our Party was seized of the problem of national unity and was placing it before the people since the Vijayawada Congress of our Party. We reiterated it in our succeeding documents and focussed attention on it in the October C.C. document on the national situation. Our Party reacted to the assassination of Smt. Indira Gandhi as an imperialist plot to

destabilise the country and disintegrate its unity and our appeal to the electorate explained to the people our Party's deep concern for our country's unity. In West Bengal and elsewhere, we gave priority and prominence to the question of protecting national unity and exposing the Congress(I)'s failure to do so.

But in the situation then prevailing, we could not affect all-India developments and could not stem the wave of sympathy for the Congress(I). Vast sections of the people felt that the Congress(I) could protect unity, that it was the only all-India force which could be trusted to do the job in the present situation. The mess that was created by the Congress(I) in Punjab and Assam, its total incapacity to protect minorities, as was seen in Delhi, Bhiwandi, were not understood and the people voted for a party whose record of nearly four decades is a record of growing disintegration of the country and demobilization of national consciousness. While our Party understood the issue at stake, it was clear that the depth of the swing and sympathy for the Congress(I) came as a complete surprise to us. There was underestimation of the swing of the mass mind. It could not of course be gauged easily as both the time was short and the usual manifestations were lacking. The qualitative change in the popular mind following the assassination was not seen either by us or by the Opposition parties. The latter continued as if nothing serious had happened and talked of Indira's economic policies, broken pledges, when the people were thinking of something else. In fact they thought that even if they were unable to unite, they would be able to win and the Congress(I) would be defeated.

This blindness of ours continued till the ballot boxes were opened. Till then there was an atmosphere of euphoria and a general presumption that the increased activity of the masses in the election and the increased vote were all signs of further support to us. It showed subjective judgements on our part and a refusal to take note of a change in the situation and lack of contact with the masses outside our influence and periphery.

## **Reverses of Our Party**

The wave that laid low the bourgeois Opposition parties has also inflicted severe reverses on our Party. Only in Tripura we could remain unaffected in the matter of seats. In Kerala our strength was reduced to one—leading to a loss of five sitting seats. In West Bengal we have lost ten seats, leading to the defeat of our leading comrades. We have been defeated in the urban belt by big margins signifying the deep influence which concern for national unity and sympathy for the Congress(I) exercised over large sections of the working class and others. This is all the more remarkable since our Party in West Bengal did not lag behind in raising the issue of national unity and gave priority to it in our campaigning. But in such a situation people were swayed by their beliefs and sentiments and certain sections believed that only a Congress(I) Government at the Centre could protect national unity.

At the same time it is necessary, both in relation to Kerala and West Bengal to go into any other factors which added to the effect of the Congress(I) wave and enabled that party to increase its vote substantially.

It will be wrong to think, however, that everything was just and fair in the elections. While there was a definite swing in favour of the Congress(I), the ruling party did not refrain from using dubious means to ensure its success. Official media, radio and television, were blatantly used to further the election campaign of the party. The code of conduct prescribed by the Election Commission was violated. Official machinery was misused and money and muscle power, booth-capturing were in evidence in many places. In Bihar and eastern U P rigging was done on a large scale not only through booth-capturing and muscle power but also duplicate ballot papers, changing of ballot boxes after polling was over, and so on. Besides, false charges were made against our Party and the Opposition, charging them with supporting the Anandpur Sahib resolution.

Having capitalized the temporary swing in its favour, the

ruling party and its agents are presenting the Congress(I) success as a complete endorsement of the policies pursued by it. Nothing can be farther from the truth. The Congress(I) is demoralising the opposition parties through its propaganda. The opposition parties, on the other hand, having missed the central point of the election, are unable to understand why the verdict has gone in favour of the Congress(I) and are prone to blame the electorate or invent non-political explanations for the debacle. Misuse of official machinery, money and every possible corrupt practices, no doubt, were used in many places by the ruling party. The Congress(I) will not be Congress(I) if it did not make use of such weapons. But the massive electoral results cannot be traced to these malpractices. That will be totally ignoring the political concern felt by the people for which they rallied round the Congress(I). The Congress(I) has got the people's vote. The election results, however, exaggerate the Congress(I) appeal and strength. The Congress(I) has secured 400 seats, an unprecedented number no doubt. Neither Nehru nor Indira Gandhi could come anywhere near this number. Does it reflect Congress(I) strength among the people? The Congress(I) has secured 80 per cent of the seats on the basis of 40 to 50 per cent of the votes. This is the reality. On the basis of proportional representation and party list, the Congress(I) would have secured a bare majority. Nearly 50 per cent of the electorate has withstood the wave and voted against it. The Congress(I) vote, besides, declined in four states in 1984 as compared to its 1980 vote—from 56.2 per cent to 42.1 per cent in Andhra Pradesh, from 54.9 per cent to 53.2 per cent in Gujarat, from 56.3 per cent to 51.6 per cent in Karnataka and from 53.3 per cent to 51.2 per cent in Maharashtra. This truth the ruling party seeks to conceal.

### **Unevenly Spread Wave**

The Congress(I) wave was also very unevenly spread. Its tornado-like effect was seen in the Hindi-speaking areas which were severely affected by the Punjab events. The murder of

Indira Gandhi and concern for national unity deeply affected this huge section. Its effect was seen in the electoral havoc. The BJP could secure no seat from this region and the DMKP only three seats. Even if we make allowance for rigging and other methods, the electoral results in this region constitute a shocking proof of the Congress(I) wave. It is to be noted that the BJP was routed in its stronghold of Madhya Pradesh.

This region along with Orissa is characterised by the weakness of the Left parties and movement. Except in Bihar where the CPI claims a big following, Left parties are extremely weak. But the CPI also fared badly in Bihar, getting only two seats in place of its six sitting seats. It had high hopes of securing at least ten seats. The Congress(I) wave was stemmed to an extent in West Bengal. Though it inflicted substantial reverses on us, the Congress(I) could not secure a majority of the seats. The Left Front secured 26 seats, including 18 seats secured by our Party, while the Congress(I) advanced from four to 16 seats. The strength of our Party and the Left forces did act as a barrier to Congress(I) triumphs.

The other instance of an Opposition party denying the majority of seats to the Congress(I) comes from Andhra Pradesh where the Congress(I) had to satisfy itself with six seats out of 40 to which elections were held. Here the magic of the wave did not work, because the sordid happenings in connection with the dismissal of the NTR Ministry were still fresh in the minds of the people. The anti-Congress(I) wave evidenced in the last assembly elections had not yet spent itself.

The two other States where Ministries were dismissed were also not swept by the Congress(I) wave. In the Kashmir Valley the Congress(I) was defeated in all the three seats and in Sikkim it was defeated in the lone seat.

In Tamil Nadu though there was sympathy for the Congress(I) it had to rely on the AIADMK for its success. This alliance made a clean sweep of the Lok Sabha seats, conceding only one to the Opposition DMK. We lost all the

three seats we contested by big margins. We also lost twelve of the seventeen seats we contested in the Assembly elections.

The AIADMK obviously continued its hold over the people. Earlier expectations that a lot of erosion had taken place in the AIADMK influence proved to be wrong. Perhaps, as in the case of Congress(I), the erosion of the last five years was more than made up by sympathy for MGR arising from his illness. An ill and bed-ridden MGR proved more effective than an active MGR addressing mass meetings. The sympathy wave for the Congress(I) and MGR played its role in the sweeping victory. One important factor was perhaps the support of the rural masses to MGR for the mid-day meal scheme for school children and certain other measures.

In Karnataka again, the Congress(I) won all except four seats, three less than in 1980. But as Ramkrishna Hegde has pointed out the vote of the Janata Party has increased compared with the Assembly election in 1983 which led to the formation of the Janata Party Ministry. However, it has to be stated that the Janata Ministry had to rely on the support of the BJP apart from the support of the Left parties. It did not have a clear majority. Its alliance with the BJP perhaps helped the Congress(I) which was still electorally strong. The wave perhaps facilitated the Congress(I) victory.

### **Communal Combination In Kerala**

In Kerala, the Congress(I) could secure 13 out of 20 seats with four more seats for its allies by combining with communal parties like the Muslim League and others. Without this combination, wave or no wave, the Congress(I) could not have secured so many seats. Besides, the communal polarisation that is taking place in Kerala, thanks to Congress(I) alliance and opportunist combinations and the conceding of many communal demands, has led to the further aggravation of the communal situation and led to the emergence of the Hindu Front.

As compared with 1980 the Left Democratic alliance found itself in a weaker position. The Congress group led by Antony

left the alliance and returned to the Congress(I) The Kerala Congress (Mani) also deserted the LDF and went to the Congress(I)-led front This resulted in the loss of a number of seats in the Assembly election in 1982. It revealed a deficit of 30,000 to 40,000 votes in each parliamentary constituency for the Left and Democratic front The expectation to cover the deficit during recent months was not realized Besides, the swing towards the Congress(I) also seemed to have worked. The Congress(I) could add eight lakh votes to its numbers out of the new addition of ten lakhs in this poll. Women in Kerala and many other states voted in large number for the Congress(I)

In Maharashtra, the Congress(I) has further improved its position in the matter of seat capturing—43 out of the 48 seats. It has captured all the Bombay City seats except one. It had lost all the seats in Bombay in 1980.

The number of seats captured by the Congress(I) exaggerates Congress(I) influence and victory But at the same time it should not be underestimated In the situation obtaining after Indira Gandhi's assassination, the Congress(I) has covered the ground it had lost during the last five years and regained access to wider masses. It was already the biggest political party in the country and it has now added to its strength. The securing of almost 50 per cent votes by a single party shows extraordinary political influence.

### **Swing Will Not Last Long**

However, it will be an error to think this swing will continue and the Congress(I) will continue to be favoured with the same loyalty as was seen in the eighth election. The swing was a reaction to the Indira murder and will not last long. Its influence will begin to wear out as soon as the hard realities resulting from Congress(I) policies begin to face the people. It will be another blunder to think that the Congress(I) has secured its vote by a straight appeal to national unity That will be underestimating the dangers arising from the subtle methods of the Congress(I). The Congress(I) did

make an appeal in the name of national unity but it did not forget to take advantage of the anti-Sikh feeling

In the context of the secessionist activities in Punjab, constant criticism of the Anandpur Sahib resolution was inevitable in Congress campaigning. But in the situation obtaining at the time it also served to rouse anti-Sikh feeling in the majority community and add to the Congress(I) vote. The Congress(I) propaganda exonerated imperialism and its agencies from promoting the secessionist game, they did not refer to them as active forces conspiring against the people. It is further to be noted that in this entire campaign Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress(I) did not utter a word against the RSS. Nanaji Deshmukh had openly pleaded that Rajiv should be given a chance. Though the statement was repudiated by other RSS leaders, the direction of the wind was quite clear. The way the Congress(I) carried on its propaganda for unity did not help to bring about Hindu-Sikh unity but actually tended to widen the estrangement.

### **Not Just Communal Backlash**

It is of course wrong to dispose of the Congress(I) vote as due to Hindu communal backlash. Such an explanation completely ignores the feelings for national unity and the sympathy following Indira Gandhi's murder. What happened was that the nationalist mass followers of Opposition parties were swayed largely by the feeling, as well as those who would normally not vote for the Congress(I) because of a feeling that it pampered the minorities at the expense of the majority. This was the typical BJP following swayed by the RSS—Hindu communalism.

### **Unrealistic Expectation**

The election manifesto of our Party talked of an alternative Government at the Centre formed by opposition bourgeois parties and our support to it based on certain conditions. With the defeat of the Congress(I) as the main slogan at the election, the reference to an alternative Government and our

support to it was inevitable and logical. But during the election campaign it became more and more clear that the expectation of an alternate Government was unrealistic. Not because anyone saw the distinct swing in favour of the Congress(I) but because the utter disunity among the leading bourgeois opposition parties came before the people in the most blatant manner. The Opposition could not reach agreement to face the Congress(I) unitedly. There were interminable wranglings over seats, each party making exaggerated claims. Prominent leaders crossed from one party to another. Two Opposition groups faced each other in Bihar, the CPI playing a disruptive role and helping the process of disunity by demanding an excessive number of seats for itself. Thus there was no united Opposition and the slogan of an alternative Government appeared impracticable. It became completely unrealistic with the mass swing in favour of the Congress(I) at the Centre. The choice was between the Congress(I) and a rival combination which did not exist.

It should be remembered, however, that earlier indications pointed to a rapid erosion of the Congress(I) vote. Two years earlier in 1983, the Congress(I) was routed in Andhra Pradesh. It was defeated in Karnataka by the Janata Party. In the by-elections to the Lok Sabha in 1983, the Congress(I) wrested one seat from the opposition (S in Haryana), lost Bettiah in Bihar and also Bulandshahar in UP won by the Lok Dal in 1980.

In December 1983 the Congress(I) won eight of the eleven assembly by-elections, but the story was different in 1984. In the by-elections in May 1984, out of the 23 seats for which elections were held, the Congress(I) secured only nine seats. It lost its sitting seats in Damoh (Madhya Pradesh) and Jatpur (Gujarat) to the BJP, and Malihabad (UP) to the RSM. It was defeated in Ratnagiri in Maharashtra. In the nine by-elections in Gujarat, the Congress(I) lost five to the BJP retaining only two. In the ten by-elections to the Lok Sabha, the Congress(I) lost five, wrested only one (Sonapat) from the Opposition and retained two (Porbander in Gujarat and Sangli in Maharashtra).

This was accompanied by the growing inner fights inside the Congress(I), disintegration of the organization and exposure of its corruption. The internal struggles and factional squabbles were coming before the public. Several Congress(I) Ministries had to be reorganized, Chief Ministers had to be changed to satisfy factional demands.

This had already created the picture of a disintegrating party torn by internal dissension and unable to keep its unity.

But after the assassination and with the people's concern for national unity, the Congress(I) not only regained but increased its voting strength by securing 49.26 per cent of the votes—around seven per cent more than in 1980.

The Indian electorate, swayed by emotion and a wrong identification of national unity with the Congress(I) has installed in power the same bourgeois-landlord party known for its scant regard for democratic norms, the same party which thrust the Emergency on the country and established one-party dictatorship. It has given the reins of power to the party which had enacted one legislation after another to suppress the democratic rights of the people and during the last five years showed utmost disregard for opposition parties and Ministries. The party refuses to relax the concentration of power at the Centre and do justice to the States and ~~it~~ contributes to further disintegration of national unity. In the name of protecting national unity the electorate has voted to power a party whose nearly four decades' regime has been one unending tale of national disintegration. And above all it has voted for a party which promises no relief to the people in matters concerning their living standards. As a matter of fact new concessions are being offered to private sector and multinationals, and relaxation of import of technology is being promised. The pressure from the IMF and World Bank is not relenting and the Indian people will pay a terrible price for voting the Congress(I) with an impregnable majority. The basic policies of the Congress(I) will not change and the contradiction between the interests of the masses and the ruling party and the classes it represents

will sharpen further to dispel the illusions about the Congress(I).

### **Need for Patient Approach**

At the same time the fact is that wide sections of the people have voted for the Congress(I) and renewed their faith in it. Our Party cannot ignore this fact and treat the Congress(I) victory as a non-event and proceed with its agitation without any change of approach to these sections.

The Congress(I) will continue to play the national unity card and arrest the attention of the people. In the coming days the Party will have to pay special attention to this question, understand the sentiments of the people on this question and patiently argue against the erroneous approach of the Congress(I). Merely denouncing it as communal, etc., will not serve the purpose. Without placing our line of national unity effectively before the people it will be difficult to establish rapport with wide sections of the people.

In the economic and other spheres of daily agitation also a patient approach may have to be adopted. Large sections may feel that the new Government should be given some time before one can judge its practice. Sometimes for a broader approach Congress(I) promises in its manifesto may have to be used to criticise the practice of the Government and demand that they be fulfilled. This will help a quicker release of the masses from the effect of the swing.

The masses who have stood by the Party, their morale and faith must be maintained and strengthened. The reason for the Congress(I) victory should be fully explained to them, they should be made aware that our fight against bourgeois-landlord rule needs to be strengthened, and to do so we must be able to draw the masses influenced by the Congress(I) to our side.

Bourgeois and foreign propaganda wants the people to believe that the Congress(I) is making a clean start and the people are going to have a new deal, that there will be a clean administration, a new regard for democratic and

parliamentary norms under the new leadership of Rajiv Gandhi. The fact that he has dropped a couple of Ministers well-known for corruption, that he has not called for the resignation of the Karnataka Ministry, is supposed to indicate a new outlook. It appears that even in West Bengal, the Congress(I) followers were restrained from exhibiting their victory. Whatever be the slogans the Congress(I) puts forward, whatever be its propaganda, the necessity of maintaining the class rule under conditions of the economic crisis, will dispel all such illusions.

### **Foreign Policy**

Even the foreign policy of the country will be under great pressure. It will be assailed more and more, especially because non-alignment is not part of the consciousness of large sections of Congress(I) leaders themselves, and masses, even those following the Congress(I) are not made aware of the need to defend the foreign policy. It is no accident that the foreign policy and its defence did not form part of the Congress(I) election campaign. In fact, expectations are already roused abroad that India is likely to be more pro-West under Rajiv Gandhi.

The U S statesmen and diplomats are already banking on the hope that Indira Gandhi's removal from the scene may lead to better Indo-U S. relations. The Democratic Senator, Mr Clairborne Pell, who is a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and who recently visited India and met the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, said in New York on December 23 that although the Prime Minister did not signal any departure in India's domestic and foreign policies, some shifts and some initiatives were likely after the elections. Predicting a Congress victory in the elections, Mr. Pell said that the new Indian leader was likely to be more pro-western than his mother and that India's interest in developing a high technology gave it incentives for closer alignment with the USA.

It seems the Americans were eagerly yearning for a

Government of India headed by someone else than Mrs Indira Gandhi. The U.S. State Department had directed a study to find out how things would shape after the sudden death of Mrs. Gandhi. A commentator in one of the capital's dailies observed, "By September this year, however, the general view in America was that an Indian Government headed by someone other than Mrs. Gandhi was likely to be friendly to the U.S. and less friendly than so far to the Soviet Union". The article further says, "Since Mrs. Gandhi's murder, U.S. efforts have been concentrated on winning over the new and youthful Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. What is more, neither the U.S. media nor the visiting U.S. Senators, all of whom have seen Mr. Gandhi have made secret of their hope that under Mr. Gandhi the Indian Government should be somewhat more pro-west and particularly pro-U.S. than under his mother." The Americans are also supplying a fictitious excuse to change the foreign policy—supply of up-to-date technology from the USA. All these hopes, certificates and expectations are accompanied by blackmailing tactics and policies and utterances of threats.

The article throws light on this blackmail. "Even more material is the paradox that while expecting Indian policy to change, the U.S. is not prepared to accommodate Indian concerns and interests in its own policies. For instance, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi took the earliest opportunity to tell Mr. George Shultz what the U.S. arming of Pakistan was doing to this country. In spite of this, Mr. Robert Murphy, ranking State Department official, has made it quite clear to the Indian Government that the U.S. is seriously considering the question of altering the content of \$3.2 billion package of military supplies and economic aid to Pakistan with a view to accommodating Islamabad's request for AWACs."

Much besides depend on how the big bourgeois pressure groups look upon a relaxation in the foreign policy of non-alignment. It appears that imperialism is appealing to certain sections with promise of new technology and new markets

with relaxation in foreign policy matters and greater freedom for multinationals

These pressures and blackmail will continue. The traditional friendship with the USSR should enable the new Government to resist these pressures. It becomes an important task of our Party to explain all this to the people and rouse their vigilance to defend the foreign policy of non-alignment.

These are the dangers in the situation. Besides the return of the Congress(I) with such a huge majority means danger to the Left forces and presages an attack on them. The contradictions between the Left forces and the Government will intensify and this will create difficulties for West Bengal and Tripura. The Party must be prepared to meet this situation.

### **Understanding With Bourgeois Opposition Parties**

In this complex situation the Party and the Left forces will require to broaden their appeal and seek growing understanding with secular bourgeois Opposition parties on important issues. We have noted that weaknesses of these parties in relation to imperialism and national unity. Nevertheless they represent the main oppositional force to contain the Congress(I) ambitions of dictatorship and attacks on the people. To prepare for an effective fight against the Congress(I) in the coming assembly elections is an important task of the Party.

### **West Bengal**

While there should be no complacency, we have to record that the denial of majority seats to the Congress(I) in the Lok Sabha elections in West Bengal constitutes an achievement of no mean order. To have resisted the tornado-like wave sweeping over the country, to have tamed it to a great extent shows the deep roots our Party has struck among the people. The rural areas stood by the Party, the effect of the party's steadfast attention to the interests of the peasantry

The Party was given a jolt in the industrial belt which, apart from other causes, was particularly sensitive to the wave of national consciousness

The election took place under extraordinary circumstances. The wave of national concern was suddenly let loose on us. It was difficult to gauge its strength during the short time at our disposal. Its effects could be realized only after the elections.

But it will be criminal negligence if we are satisfied with our limited success. Things are more serious. The Congress(I) vote has increased by 12 per cent. Its total tally is equal to the Left Front tally—there being only a marginal difference in our favour. We have been defeated in our strongholds—industrial areas, often by large margins. All these create a difficult situation in West Bengal and for our Ministry.

It is, therefore, urgent to examine the totality of the causes that led to the setback. It will be sheer self-deception to think that it was only the temporary Congress(I) wave that upset our electoral calculations.

Despite several measures taken by the Left Front Ministry of West Bengal to defend the interests of the workers and other sections of the people, there were signs of erosion of our influence in certain sections which were visible before the Lok Sabha election. The Party lost three assembly by-elections to the Congress(I) last year. This erosion was noted earlier by the State Committee but its causes could not be completely eliminated. The economic situation, large-scale unemployment, especially among the educated, the closures and lock-outs, against which the State Government had hardly any remedies under the present Constitution, were part of the additional factors. At the same time it has to be noted that some measures of the State Government like the education policy were not understood and appreciated by many people. The efficiency and performance of some departments needed improvement in the eyes of the people, and this had caused some dissatisfaction. In the present situation it is inevitable that when some downtrodden sections

are protected, some others get aggrieved and alienated. The expectations roused among the people were out of proportion with the powers of the State Government. That some dissatisfaction among the people should be there was inevitable because within our restricted power-frame we could not satisfy all.

The Party's lack of contact at grass roots level in some cases, bureaucratism towards the masses, a feeling among the people that Communists too, are leading a cushy life were also the causes of the erosion noticed earlier. It had been reported that there were cases of corruption and action was taken against the guilty individuals. What has now to be gone into is whether there was a vigorous pursuit to root out these evils, to present a better image before the people.

The West Bengal State Committee has to meet the new situation in the urban and industrial areas, as shown by the election results, and adopt a proper political approach. Even in the rural areas, the State Committee should examine whether because of our land and other measures, there is alienation of any section of the peasantry.

Our Party is confident that it will overcome all the weaknesses that have been revealed by the election results in a short time and be capable of rallying the people.

## **Kerala**

The reverses in Kerala require in-depth discussion. The difficulties facing our Party and its alliance have already been mentioned. But this does not exhaust all that can be said in the context of the election.

The Central Committee had opined earlier that progress in Kerala was not possible unless some breakthrough was made in the following of the communal and caste parties, we disentangled ourselves from alliance with them, the Party's independent strength was increased, its extreme reliance on other allies reduced and a new correlation of forces brought about. How far this line was seriously pursued should be discussed.

The appearance of Hindu Munnani has to be taken as an important development evoking concern. The Hindu Munnani together with the RSS-led BJP polled more than four lakh votes or 3.66 per cent of the total poll. In the Trivandrum constituency the Hindu Munnani polled not less than 110,000 votes, a good part of which seems to have come from that section of voters which should have voted for the LDF. Our assessment that Hindu consolidation will divert votes from the Congress proved incorrect. It seems wherever the BJP or the Hindu Munnani had their candidates they did not cause any erosion of the Congress(I) vote but diverted our votes.

The reason for this lies in the impression created among the people that the Left is as much responsible for the growth of the caste and communal forces in the state as the Congress(I). Our alliance with the united Muslim League in 1966-69 and with the All-India Muslim League for the last ten years has created this impression. The result is that while this helped the forces of Hindu consolidation, the emergence of the Hindu Munnani helped the further consolidation of the Muslim and Christian communities behind the Congress. Total result is increased communal polarisation, exactly opposite of what we were working for.

Unless the CPI(M) and Left parties take a firm and united stand against the communal and casteist parties and groups succeed in breaking through their following and gather them under a secular and democratic banner, the progress of the Left and democratic forces will be obstructed in Kerala.

At the same time, it should be noted that not less than 40 per cent of the electorate has voted for the LDF which speaks of the strength of the Party and its allies among the people and which is a result of the incessant struggle carried on by our Party and mass organizations and our allies in the interests of the people. The national wave alone was unable to defeat us in Kerala. It had to be bolstered by reliance on a communal and caste combination.

The Kerala State Committee also should examine whether there has been alienation of any sections, of the peasantry

and whether the Party has been able to forge unity between the agricultural workers and peasants.

There is a powerful section in the LDF (the RSP, the Congress(S), the CPI, etc.) which wants the IUML to break away from the Congress(I) and join the LDF. In our Party, too, there was a good section which favoured this cause. But the C C. disapproved of alliance with that communal party and our state Committee persuaded the other partners of the LDF not to have any negotiations with the IUML. Good work was done by our Party contesting the Manjeri seat against Sulaiman Sait. It was perhaps after years that we faced the Muslim League directly in its stronghold.

### **Tripura**

The retaining of both the seats in Tripura by our Party withstanding the countrywide pro-Congress(I) swing, is a big achievement. The Congress(I) in the State did not rely on the swing alone but unscrupulously joined hands with the divisive Tripura Upajati Juba Samiti. Even then it could not win any seat.

While ours has been a big victory, and we have enhanced our strength among the tribal voters, it has to be noted that there has been an erosion of our hold on the Bengalee voters, particularly in and around Agartala town.

### **Left Unity Relations with CPI**

One of our objectives in the election struggle was to ensure added strength to the Left in the Lok Sabha. This we could not achieve; on the contrary, severe strains developed inside the Left camp, especially between us and the CPI. This should be no surprise to us, because the intense concern which we feel for Left unity is not shared by other Left parties including the CPI. We, therefore, often have to go to the utmost length to keep Left unity. But sometimes our efforts fail because of the totally unreasonable attitude of others like the CPI.

The CPI leadership did not attach much importance to unity and understanding with us whenever they thought they could get a seat at our expense. This happened at the time of the elections to the Legislative Council and Rajya Sabha in Bihar when they went back on the agreement to support our candidate for the Legislative Council, and joined hands with others to get their candidate elected to the Rajya Sabha. The result was that our candidate was defeated.

In the Lok Sabha elections also they did not show any desire to have an overall understanding with us. Behind our back arrived at agreements with bourgeois opposition parties as in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. The result was that we were deprived of effective bargaining capacity with the DMK in Tamil Nadu, and in Andhra Pradesh, there was open conflict in the Khammam constituency. In Bihar also strains developed. All these were despite the fact that, though there was a strong opinion in West Bengal that the CPI should be given only two seats in that State and the Midnapore seat should be taken away from it. In the interests of Left unity in West Bengal and the common fight against the Congress(I), we decided that we should avoid any dissensions and gave the Midnapore seat to the CPI.

These strains in the Left camp, particularly the confrontation in Khammam, did damage to the prestige of the Left, and was used to some effect by the Congress(I) in Kerala. But it will be wrong to attach exaggerated importance to these developments and underestimate the importance of Left unity and understanding with the CPI. Our struggle for Left unity is not a smooth one and we will have to face such developments many times. The Left parties, the CPI and others, do not attach the same importance to Left unity as we do. For us it is an instrument of changing the existing correlation of forces among the people and drawing them nearer the working class and its party. That is why our struggle for Left unity continues irrespective of whatever this or that Left party does.

The Jullundur Congress resolution of our Party underlined

the importance of our struggle for Left and democratic unity in the following words "Our Party has been striving for building a powerful front of Left and democratic forces . 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 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 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 forces that hold the economy in their grip."

The Vijayawada resolution observes. "Despite these difficulties and weaknesses, Left unity will continue to be strengthened as its need arises directly out of the situation. But it cannot be a spontaneous process The Party will have to exercise vigilance and carry on a political struggle against the vacillations and erroneous understandings of its partners With such struggle combined with efforts to develop closer understanding, Left unity cannot be built."

So our struggle for Left unity, for understanding with the CPI must continue despite all that has happened during the elections. The shock of defeat and setback may create vacillations in some of these parties and we will have to take note of them

As regards the CPI, we have to note that unlike other parties, it exists in a number of States and has an all-India significance. Besides, so far as international outlook is concerned we have much more in common with the CPI than many others This makes understanding with that party an important part of our struggle for Left unity, despite all that it has done to us.

**New Initiatives**

The post-election situation calls for new initiatives on the part of the CPI(M). While continuing to pursue our policy of fighting the Congress(I) and isolating the divisive forces, the immediate task is to rehabilitate the unity of the forces of the opposition, and strengthen the unity of the Left forces—a task which depends on the initiative of our Party.

The Party should demand that the Punjab and Assam problems should be solved in a principled manner without making any compromise with the extremist and separatist forces. The Akali leadership should learn proper lessons from the past and realize that unless it separates religion from politics, demarcates itself clearly from the extremists and condemns their violent activities, it cannot get the support of the democratic movement in the country.

The Party will have to address itself to the task of fighting the assembly elections and put up a stiff fight against the Congress(I). In this situation once again broadest possible understanding is required with secular Opposition parties and attention has to be paid to ensure the increase in the strength of the Left forces. To neglect the task of broader understanding is to help the Congress(I) to score another easy victory.

In the elections, the performance of the Congress(I) State Governments is bound to acquire importance. But the Congress(I) is going to stress the question of national unity and danger of destabilisation. The Opposition also will have to take this issue and meet the Congress(I) claims.

But other issues are bound to come and people are bound to react to them. It is necessary that the Opposition parties come out with their support to the demands of the Calcutta conclave so that a viable programme is presented by a united opposition. Apart from this it will be necessary to choose sensitive issues in each state. The bourgeois Opposition parties are likely to draw proper lessons from their Lok Sabha election misadventure and may show greater readiness to adjust and unite. We should help them in this, ensuring that the BJP is kept outside.

But our Party looks beyond the election and takes the entire class situation into consideration. The Congress(I) victory is going to intensify all the contradictions of the period. We have seen that pressures against India's foreign policy are mounting, disintegrationist forces encouraged from abroad are developing, the economy is in ruins; new concessions are being made to the private sector and talk of autonomy of the public sector is in the air. The same masses who voted for the Congress(I) are going to be the victim of these realities. To be with these masses when they are nursing high expectations from the Congress(I), to be with them when realities shake them out of their complacency is the task of the Party. The solid mass standing behind the Party, the mass which has no illusions about the Congress(I), is the base through which we operate on the other mass. This mass must be brought into action to win over the other mass.

In the meantime the Party must be extremely vigilant against conspiracies to undermine our Left Front Governments. Ghani Khan Choudhuri's blatant statement that there should be only one party ruling the Centre and the States is a warning of things to come.

To enlighten our masses about the political meaning of the election results, to explain to them the urgency to win over the masses which have shifted to the Congress(I), to get ready to fight all the necessary battles in defence of the masses and simultaneously to appear before the masses as crusaders against divisive forces—this is the task before us. The Party, the mass organizations all must turn to this task. Carrying this task of uniting the Left forces and galvanising the Opposition, the Party will be in a position to overcome the effects of the present wave. The class realities and the misery of the masses are too grim to be hidden out of sight for a long time.

## **CPI Disrupting Left Unity\***

**Statement issued by the Polit Bureau of CPI(M)**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) regrets that, instead of turning the torch of criticism inwards and helping the process of strengthening Left unity, the CPI Secretariat has issued a statement with a string of untruths. It is an attempt to cover its disruptive tactics. It is a fact that in Bihar the CPI put up candidates against our sitting seats. In Andhra the CPI put up candidates against our five candidates. Our Party will come out documenting the harm done by the CPI leaders.

It may be pointed out that, just before the recent Assembly elections, we had asked the Secretariat of the CPI for discussions on seat adjustments in all states. Unfortunately, however, this they did not respond. This attitude of non-cooperation adopted by the CPI has done damage not only to the two parties but to the entire Left movement. We appeal to them once again to have a self-critical attitude to what happened so that Left unity can be forged.

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 24, 1985

## Central Committee Communique\*

Released following its meeting held in New Delhi on  
March 22-24, 1985

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) held a meeting from the 22nd to the 24th of March 1985 in Delhi

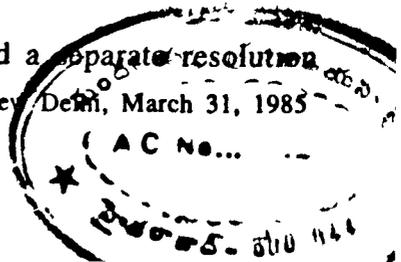
Surveying the results of the Assembly elections in 11 States and the Union Territory of Pondichery, the Committee noted the change in the mood of the people since the Lok Sabha elections. The electorate which gave a massive majority of seats to the Congress only in December inflicted humiliating defeats and reduced the votes and seats of that party now in most of the other States. This was a rebuff to the Prime Minister who has given a call for the party ruling at the Centre being given the mandate to rule the States as well

The reports made to the Central Committee from the States made it clear that the results would have been still better for the Opposition if the lessons of the Lok Sabha elections had been learnt and electoral understandings arrived at among the Left and secular parties.

The C.C. noted the unprecedented resort to intimidation and violence in the course of the election. No less than 100 persons were murdered including some candidates. Such a naked attack on the right of the people to elect and be elected, the C.C. hoped, would jointly be resisted by the democratic forces.

The C.C. considered and adopted a separate resolution

\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 31, 1985



on the Central Budgets. Noting that the proposals contained in the Budgets constitute vicious attack on the common people through inflationary tax-cum-price hikes and deficit financing as are "advised" by the IMF, the C.C. directed all Party units to observe April 15 to 22 for mass mobilization against these attacks.

The Central Committee hoped that the Opposition Parties which joined in the Calcutta Conference of January 1984 and adopted the 11-point charter of economic demands would launch a united countrywide movement against the anti-people policies of the Government revealed in the Budgets.

The Central Committee considered other burning problems including closures and lock-outs, the Sri Lanka developments and Punjab on which separate resolutions were adopted.

The C.C. heard reports from Tripura on the activities of the tribal extremists who, in league with imperialist agencies, are out to create conditions of destabilisation. It is the Left Front and its Government that fight these forces, mobilizing both the tribals and non-tribals for unity and national integration. The Congress, however, joins hands with the tribal extremists to fight the Left Front Government.

Having listened to reports from the States where elections took place, the C.C. noted with regret that, far from learning the lessons of the past including the lessons of the December elections to the Lok Sabha, the CPI leaders are persisting in their short-sighted policy of hostility to the CPI(M). This makes it still more important for principled struggle for Left unity.

The C.C. decided that nine days beginning on May 1 and ending on 9 should be observed as the 40th Anniversary of the defeat of Hitler fascism. The historic role played by the Soviet Union in saving humanity from German fascism and Japanese militarism should be popularised and people mobilized against Reagan's drive towards nuclear destruction.

The C.C. decided to issue a call for the Rs. five lakh fund for the Party and directed the State Committees to

organize, at the time convenient for them, a mass campaign for enrolling subscribers to the Central and State organs of the Party and for intensive sale of Party publications.

The C C. decided to hold the 12th Party Congress in West Bengal and authorised the West Bengal State Committee to fix the date

## **On the 40th Anniversary of Anti-Fascist Victory\***

**Resolution adopted by the Central Committee of  
CPI(M) in its meeting held in New Delhi on  
March 22-24, 1985**

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) joins the people of the world in commemorating the great historic victory over fascism in the Second World War, 40 years ago, in May 1945. The ambitions of Hitlerite Germany, Mussolini's Italy and militarist Japan for world domination lay shattered

This historic victory, the second most important event in world history after the Great October Russian Revolution and the coming into existence of the first proletarian State, led to the formation of a number of Socialist States in Eastern Europe, paved the way for the successful revolutions in China, Vietnam, Korea, and later Cuba, and the winning of independence of a large number of colonial countries, all of which changed the correlation of forces in the world in favour of peace, freedom, democracy and Socialism.

It was the Soviet Union, the only Socialist State at that time, under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union led by Com J V Stalin who was also the Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet armed forces, that bore the brunt of the Nazi attack, underwent untold sacrifices, displayed unparalleled heroism and broke the backbone of the Nazi war machine. Twenty million of the total 50 million who died in the war, were the sons and daughters of the Soviet Union. The Hitlerite Nazis could not stand against this invincible combination of patriotism and Socialism. All glory to the first Socialist state, to the indomitable Soviet people!

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 31, 1985

The resistance movement in what are now the Socialist countries of Eastern Europe, of France and Italy led by the Communist Parties, and of other West European countries, made their own contribution to the defeat of the Nazi hordes.

Imperialism immediately after the October Revolution had tried to strangle the infant Socialist State. It was defeated but it never gave up this objective. After the rise of Hitler to power in Germany, thanks to the treacherous Rightwing Social-Democrats, the imperialist powers encouraged Hitler to attack the Soviet Union and went on appeasing him, with Munich as the high watermark of their treacherous policy. That did not prevent Hitler from overrunning the whole of Western Europe and attacking Britain, before launching aggression against the Soviet Union. The imperialist powers had to join the Soviet Union in the anti-fascist alliance. Even then, they wanted the Soviet Union to be bled to its last drop and, accordingly, inordinately delayed the opening of a Second Front in Europe. And today they are falsifying history to make out that it was they who defeated fascism, and the Soviet Union had, de facto, only a minor role to play.

After the Second World War, not learning any lessons, the imperialists have been continuing to pursue their old objective of wiping out Socialism and the Socialist countries. On the morrow of the end of the war, they launched the cold war with Churchill's Fulton speech. Since then the U.S. imperialists who, without any need or justification had atom-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, have been building up a huge nuclear weapons stockpile for a war against the Soviet Union. They have already sited nuclear missiles in Western Europe and are now bent upon militarising outer space according to Reagan's Star War plan.

Imperialism has not changed its character and needs war. But if in the last 40 years no world war has broken out it is only because the Soviet Union has built up its defence preparedness and acquired military parity to be able to defend itself and its allies, and preserve peace in the whole

world. Along with this it has made innumerable proposals to eliminate nuclear weapons on earth and keep them out of space. A mass peace movement has developed in the world and is gaining momentum, which has also helped to stay the hands of the imperialists.

The 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism comes at this stage when the world and the whole of humanity is threatened by the imperialists with a nuclear holocaust. India and the Indian people will not be exempt from annihilation in a nuclear world war. This underlines the need to develop a mass peace movement in India, with increasing participation of the working class.

The Central Committee calls upon all Party units to explain to the people the significance of this struggle against fascism and to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the anti-fascist victory in the Second World War with massive demonstrations, mobilizing the widest sections of the peoples, and to oppose the mad nuclear war-drive of the imperialists, popularising and supporting all the Soviet proposals that have been and are being made to save the world from a nuclear war.

## **Attack on Sri Lankan Minorities\***

**Resolution adopted by the Central Committee of CPI(M) in its meeting held in New Delhi on March 22-24, 1985**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) views with grave concern the continuing genocide perpetrated by the Jayawardhene Government of Sri Lanka against the Sri Lankan Tamils. Faced with a deepening economic crisis and rising democratic struggles, Sri Lankan Government has intensified its genocidal actions.

After the winding up of the round table conference which had been convened to find a political solution for the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka, the Government of Sri Lanka has let loose the security forces against the Sri Lankan Tamil population in the northern and eastern regions.

Young Tamils of the age group of 15 to 30 years are indiscriminately rounded up, taken to the military camps and tortured there, many of them being killed. Women are raped, houses are burnt and properties looted. Having been terrorised, the Tamil people of this area have crossed over to India in thousands and many more are coming in.

Even according to official sources, Sri Lanka Government plans to settle, initially, two lakh Sinhalese people in the rural and urban areas which are being vacated by the Tamil population and arm them so that the Tamil people would not be able to live in contiguous areas and put up resistance.

All these things the Sri Lanka Government is carrying out with the backing of the American imperialists who are

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 31, 1985

interested in aggravating this ethnic conflict and entrenching themselves in the island. Recently, the Sri Lanka Government has allowed the opening of a second powerful transmitting station of the "Voice of America" in an island near Colombo.

The Central Committee appeals to the entire people of our country to be alive to this serious situation which is very much a national issue which has to be resolved in cooperation with the Left and democratic forces of Sri Lanka.

The Central Committee therefore calls upon the Government of India to take all possible steps to mobilize world public opinion to bring pressure upon the Government of Sri Lanka to stop its genocidal actions and to find a political solution to this ethnic problem based on autonomy.

The Central Committee requests the Central Government to take upon itself the full financial responsibility for providing adequate relief to the Tamil refugees, till their return to Sri Lanka.

## Central Committee Appeal for Rs. 5-Lakh Fund\*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) appeals to all the comrades and friends of the Party to make liberal contribution to the Central Committee's Rs. 5,00,000-fund being collected now.

While appealing to all our comrades and friends for their help we desire to draw their attention to the role the Party is to play in the present international and national situation. The Central Committee at its meeting held now has given calls for countrywide mass campaigns on a number of issues.

This being the year of the 40th anniversary of the final defeat and surrender of German fascism on May 9, 1945, followed by the surrender of Japanese militarists in August, proletarian revolutionaries and champions of peace all over the world are observing the anniversary, using the occasion for strengthening and widening the sweep of the struggle against imperialism's drive towards nuclear destruction. The people of India and other Third World countries owe it to themselves that they remember the courageous soldiers, partisans and civilians in the USSR and occupied Europe who made it possible for the subjugated people in Asia, Africa and Latin America to throw the colonial yoke off and gain political independence. The Central Committee of the CPI(M) therefore decided to observe May 1 to May 9 for holding rallies, demonstrations etc., to celebrate the 40th anniversary

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 7, 1985

Following as the Central Committee meeting did in the wake of the Lok Sabha elections in December and Assembly elections now, the Central Committee made in-depth studies of the results of these elections and assessed the post-election situation. The conclusion arrived at was that strengthening the unity of Opposition forces to resist the ruling party's onslaughts on the people's living conditions, on the democratic rights of the people and on State autonomy, is the need of the hour. The Central Committee therefore called on the participants of the Srinagar and Calcutta conferences of Opposition parties to take up again the thread of united action on issues of burning importance like the anti-people Central Budgets introduced in Parliament and the rising threat to the people's right to vote as was seen in the unprecedented increase in the use of money, muscle and administrative power in the December and March elections.

While thus appealing to other Opposition parties to join in organizing united resistance, the Central Committee called upon all party units to observe April 15 to 22 as a week to independently organize protest rallies, demonstrations to mobilize popular support for the Party's policies on the country's economic problems and the solutions. The independent actions by the Party and joint actions in cooperation with other Opposition parties would together help strengthen the struggle against the class policies of the ruling party.

The Central Committee considered and adopted resolutions on Sri Lanka and Punjab. They are intended to help the Party to intensify its activities in mobilizing all democratic forces in protecting the minority, Tamil speaking people of Sri Lanka, in defeating the imperialist game of using Sri Lanka as a base of its operations in this region against India, and in breaking the continuing deadlock in Punjab. On these and other political questions facing the country, the Party will continuously work for the unity of the Indian people and fraternal relations with neighbouring peoples.

All the activities and campaigns undertaken as per the decisions of the Central Committee require a much stronger

CPI(M), the extension of its mass activities and the streamlining of its organization. With these ends in view, the Central Committee called upon all the State units to organize an intensive drive for the sale of Party publications and enrolment of subscribers for the Party organs. It has also decided to organize a central Party school in English and Hindi, to be followed by the regional or State schools in other languages. The decision was also taken to hold the 12th Party Congress in West Bengal in December-January for which preparations will start in a few weeks.

This is, in short, a year of crucial importance for the Party, giving new opportunities for advance but requiring extensive activities by the Party at all levels. It is to discharge the responsibilities devolving on the Party Centre that the amounts collected for the Rs five-lakh fund will be used. We, therefore, appeal to all Party members and friends to make the fund drive a success.

It will be recalled that the collections for the Rs five-lakh fund are usually the annual feature of the work of the Party. The amounts so collected, together with the annual membership dues of Party members and other donations received, are the source of the Central Committee's fund for its normal work. However, since the special drive for the Rs 80,00,000-fund for the AKG Memorial Trust had been undertaken, the annual Rs. five-lakh fund could not be collected last year.

We take this opportunity to thank all those comrades and friends who did their best to make that drive a complete success. Let us, at the same time, inform the comrades and friends that, due to the absence of the annual fund drive last year, the Party centre faced difficulties which were overcome only with more donations. This makes it all the more necessary that this year's drive is made a complete success and we receive the amount in two instalments—50% by the end of June and the balance by the end of September.

## Homage to Comrade Enver Hoxha\*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep sorrow at the demise of Comrade Enver Hoxha, Secretary of the Albanian Workers' Party and Head of the State of Albania. In his outstanding political career Hoxha held several positions of responsibility during the national liberation struggle of Albania and subsequently after the establishment of the Socialist state. He was the Commander of the National Liberation Army from 1944 to 1954. He was the head of the Provisional Democratic Government from 1946 to 1954 and occupied the position of Defence and Foreign Minister for several years.

The wide differences in the international Communist movement found Hoxha supporting the stand of the Communist Party of China. However, Hoxha differed with the CPC and rejected the concept of "three worlds". In spite of a lot of ideological meandering of the Albanian Workers' Party, the country's economy continued to progress on Socialist lines.

The Polit Bureau pays its tribute to the fighting leader of the Albanian people and the Workers' Party and sends its condolences to the bereaved family and the Albanian people.

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 21, 1985

## **Polit Bureau Statement on Punjab\***

**Issued on April 16, 1985 in New Delhi**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its concern over the deteriorating situation in Punjab. The Polit Bureau had welcomed earlier several steps taken by the Government including the decisions to enquire into the Delhi riots. It expected the Akali leaders to respond favourably to these steps and contribute to the easing of the situation. While Akali leaders have postponed their direct action programme, their intemperate utterances are likely to lead to further bitterness and tension and create difficulties in the way of reaching a settlement. Democratic opinion feels that with the measures announced by the Government the way is open to the Akali leaders to sit in conference with the Government for further progress. Continuation of confrontation politics and sectional appeal will definitely alienate national opinion.

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 21, 1985

## **On Murderous Attempt in Punjab\***

**Statement dated April 19, 1985 issued by the  
Polit Bureau of CPI(M)**

**The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) condemns the perpetrators of the heinous crime which took one life and has seriously wounded R L. Bhatia, the General Secretary of A I C C.(I).**

**While wishing R.L Bhatia speedy recovery, the PB calls upon the Akali leadership to condemn the crime which has been committed with the avowed intention of preventing the settlement of the Punjab problem.**

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**\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 28, 1985**

## **Central Committee Communique\***

### **On Observance of 40th Anniversary of the Victory of the Anti-fascist Forces in World War II**

As decided by the Central Committee, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is observing, from May 1 to 9, the victory of the anti-fascist forces in the Second World War. State Committees have made extensive preparations for holding meetings, demonstrations, seminars, etc

A 5-member delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, headed by A.S. Kapto, will be visiting India on the invitation of the CPI(M). The delegation will be participating in the programme in West Bengal on May 2nd, 3rd and 4th, in Madras on the 6th, in Coimbatore on the 7th, in Cochin on the 8th and in Delhi on the 9th May, 1985.

On the invitation of the CPSU, a 2-member delegation consisting of PB members M Basavapunnaiiah and Harkishan Singh Surjeet, is proceeding on May 7th to participate in the programme in Moscow on the 8th and 9th May, 1985.

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 5, 1985

## **Polit Bureau Statement on Gujarat Developments\***

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep abhorrance of the way in which the Gujarat Government is handling the situation created by unscrupulous youths on the reservation issue for electoral purposes

Today the capital of the State witnesses two warring camps with toilers and common man on both sides indulging in hostile attacks against each other. The contest between the reservationists and anti-reservationists has degenerated into caste and communal conflicts with more than 40 people killed, shops looted and houses of workers, Harijans and other poor sections burnt and destroyed. The provision of reservation which is intended to create a sense of equality and oneness among the deprived and other sections has led to hostility, enmity, murders and assaults against each other.

Reservation is a sensitive subject involving job opportunity for thousands. This statutory reservation for Harijans and Adivasis has been accepted by all. Any further change can be introduced after taking sufficient time to educate public opinion. But the opportunist Solanki Ministry made a sudden announcement to reap electoral benefit and has brought Gujarat to chaos.

The Congress Government has succeeded in dividing the people of Gujarat and disrupting the unity of the toilers and common man. The capitalists and other vested interests and opportunist politicians need this to continue unabated the

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 5, 1985

exploitation of the common man. The Congress tactics have succeeded in diverting the attention of the people from the effect of the Budget and the common problem of unemployment.

The Polit Bureau denounces the police repression against the people, mass killings, and the deliberate attack against the Press which had the courage to expose them.

Responsible people have alleged that it was the police that took part in setting fire to the Gujarat Samachar offices. But the Congress Government and the Union Home Minister do not seem to regret it and refuse to condemn this wanton action and take steps against the culprits. There is every reason to believe that the Gujarat Ministry is not displeased with the performance of the police who deserted their posts to join the robbing mobs.

The PB calls upon the workers, employees and other toiling sections to see through this game of division and reforge their unity to fight their common battle.

The PB. is of the opinion that the Solanki Ministry is directly responsible for the breakdown of the law and order in Gujarat and has no moral right to continue in office.

## CPI(M) General Secretary Declines Congress Invitation\*

*Following is the text of a letter dated May 4, 1985, from E.M.S. Namboodiripad to Smt. Sheela Kaul, Convener, Congress Centenary (1985) Celebration Committee, New Delhi, in reply to a letter from her inviting EMS to join the Congress centenary celebrations*

Dear Smt. Kaul

I thank you for your letter of May 3 inviting me to participate in the 6th meeting which will start the Centenary Celebrations of the Congress. I however regret my inability to join you, since I shall not be in Delhi on that day

Even if I were here, I do not think it would have been possible for me to join you in these celebration, since my perception of "the place of the Congress in our national history and its role in the freedom struggle" is different from yours.

Thanking you,

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Yours Sincerely,  
(E M S. Namboodiripad)

## Polit Bureau Statement On Punjab\*

*The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India(Marxist) issued the following statement on May 3, 1985*

The so-called reorganization of the Akali Party in the name of Panthic unity, will come as a shock to all those interested in the solution of the Punjab tangle. In the name of Panthic unity, a Committee has been formed with people who have not concealed their anti-national views and have distinguished themselves by fanning communal fire. The reorganization is the counter-stroke of the extremists to create a situation of confrontation and no-return in Punjab. This has been done because a conciliatory atmosphere was being created by the several moves of the Central-Government to which there was growing response from sober-minded Akali leaders. It is unthinkable that Sant Longowal and others have really agreed to this surrender before the secessionists after reiterating on several occasions their desire to stand by Indian unity and their repudiation of the Khalistan slogan. The CPI(M) is confident that the new pretenders to the leadership will be repudiated by the Akalis and their game exposed. It is further confident that the Akali leaders, overcoming the pressure of the confrontationists, will pursue the path of negotiation to protect national unity and help to ease tension in Punjab

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 12, 1985

## **Central Committee supports All India Day on May 15, 1985\***

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) supports the call of the National Campaign Committee of Trade Union to observe May 15, 1985, as the All India Day against lock-out, closure, retrenchment and denotification. The industrialists, especially the monopolists and the MNCs, have been increasingly utilising the lock-outs and closures as weapons to harass and tire out the workers. Besides the change in the policy of the Government in respect of taking over of sick industries and denotification of many units which were already taken over, has added further miseries on the workers as the Government has refused to introduce unemployment relief. Over 80,000 workers in the jute and an equal number in the cotton textile industry are victims of this policy.

The Central Committee appeals to all other Opposition parties and directs all party units to lend full support to the cause so that a powerful movement can be developed on the issue as was envisaged in the Calcutta conclave resolution.

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 12, 1985

## **On Congress(I)-TUJS Gang-Up in Tripura\***

**Statement issued by the Polit Bureau of CPI(M)**

In conformity with the Constitutional amendment adopted unanimously in Parliament, the State Government of Tripura has announced elections to the Tripura Autonomous District Council, under the 6th Schedule of the Constitution, to be held on June 30. Both the tribals and the non-tribals are looking to this Council to come up as a challenge to the secessionist extremists who have been indulging in killing, dacoities and looting under the slogan of "Independent Tripura". Among these extremists, the Tripura National Volunteers (TNV), in collusion with the Tripura Upajati Samiti (TUJS) and its student wing TSF, had killed no less than 140 innocent people in Tripura among whom majority were either CPI(M) supporters, or security forces and forest employees.

It was expected that in this election all parties and groups who are against these tribal secessionists would isolate the TUJS and TNV. But to the utter surprise of the people of Tripura, the leadership of the Congress(I) has come to an electoral understanding with TUJS. The Congress(I) will be satisfied with 10 seats, the remaining 18 seats of the Council having been allotted to TUJS.

This open alliance of the Congress(I) with the worst enemies of tribal-non-tribal unity, has given encouragement to the TNV and TUJS to start the present round of killings on June 4 in Kamalpur sub-division, resulting in serious tension

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between tribals and non-tribals all over the State. The State Congress(I) leadership, instead of helping the Government to ease this situation has given a call for a bandh on June 11, the last date of submitting nomination papers for the election of the Council, demanding the resignation of the Left Front Ministry who are fighting these divisive forces, in spite of all provocations of the Congress(I), Amra Bangalees and TUJS-TNV.

From the recent developments in Tripura we have no doubt that the Congress leadership has not learnt any lessons from the situation created in Punjab. For narrow party interests they have joined with the secessionist and anti-national parties in Tripura. We call upon the people, including democratic-minded Congress(I) people, to raise their voice of protest against this opportunist alliance of the Congress(I) and TUJS and to bring pressure on the Central Government to help the State Government to hold the elections to the Tripura Autonomous District Council in time and in an atmosphere of peace and tribal-non-tribal unity.

## **CPI(M) - CPI Joint Note\***

**For common actions, to build broader unity**

*(This note was adopted by the meeting of the Coordination Committee of the two parties held on May 24, 1985 )*

A full seven years have elapsed since the first bilateral meeting of the two parties took place in 1978. There have been repeated exchanges in this period between the two parties at the all-India level. A Central Coordination Committee has been in existence for the last five years.

The cooperation that thus developed between the two parties has had positive results. The kisan morcha, the student-youth morcha, the peace march—all in Delhi—roused the people, instilling in them the hope that the two parties would give a joint lead to the development of a broader democratic movement.

The two parties also played a positive role in the four all-India conclaves of Opposition parties of which the first was convened by Telugu Desam leader and Andhra Chief Minister Rama Rao. The two parties cooperated in convincing the other participants at the conclaves that the point is to strive to arrive at agreements on some burning national issues, on the basis of which joint actions could be developed. The two parties, along with other Left parties, made joint contributions in putting the conclaves on correct rails, preventing them from being turned into electoral manoeuvring and turning the face of the secular Opposition towards joint mass actions. The agreed resolutions of the Delhi

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(June 30, 1983), Srinagar (October 6 and 7, 1983) and Calcutta (January 13 to 15, 1984) conclaves made significant contributions in suggesting solutions to some burning national problems and developing united actions of the secular Opposition for which our two parties can claim credit.

An equally important contribution of the two parties was the successful work of organising State conventions on the question of war and peace which culminated in the all-India convention held on March 9, 1984. The convention was a serious effort to involve the trade unions and other mass organizations, apart from other secular Opposition parties. The cooperation extended by some other secular Opposition parties can help to strengthen the peace movement further.

It was at this stage that certain differences arose between the two parties. It will not be helpful to go into the reasons why the differences arose and to apportion the blame. The point is to address ourselves to the question how the thread of united action which was developing can be taken up again.

In this context, we agree that steps should be taken for proper functioning of the Coordination Committee. The Central Coordination Committee should function as the body where views are exchanged on current political developments so that a common stand is taken on issues on which broader unity can be built. It should also be the forum where the differences which are not settled at the State level on organizational and political questions are resolved. It is, therefore, agreed that

(a) There should be regular meetings of the Coordination Committee at fixed intervals, say once in two months. Special meetings should also be held whenever either party thinks consultation is necessary.

(b) All meetings of the Committee (regular and special) should be held, as far as possible, on the basis of written notes submitted by the two parties and the conclusions arrived at should be written down.

(c) The leaderships of the two parties at the State level

should meet whenever necessary to discuss issues of common interest

We decide to take up the following issues for discussion between us:

(i) How to develop further the initiative taken at the March 9 peace convention

(ii) Developing a common movement on the economic policies of the Government as seen in the Central Budget and in the import-export policy. The issue has been discussed in the last meeting of the Co-ordination Committee. We have now to take appropriate steps to implement our common understanding

(iii) The question of reservation.

(iv) The question of Punjab and Assam.

(v) The functioning of the National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions with a view to developing united working class movements.

(vi) Developing unity of action on the peasant, student and youth and women's front.

Taking up these immediate questions of common action will, in our opinion, help the process of strengthening Left unity and will give confidence to the masses, members and sympathisers of both the parties.

## **Polit Bureau Greet Left Front in West Bengal\***

*The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has issued the following statement to the Press :*

The Political Bureau congratulates the Left Front on its victory in the Corporation election. Coming in the wake of serious setback during the parliamentary election in the metropolitan Calcutta, this success is significant. It could not have been achieved without firm unity among the parties of the front. The PB is confident that all parties of the front will do everything possible to further strengthen this unity. The P.B. greets the people of Calcutta for barring the Congress(I) from staging a comeback. The PB congratulates our Party leadership and the ranks who have played a major role in securing this common victory.

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 7, 1985

## **Polit Bureau Greet Left Front in Tripura\***

**For its success in the Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council elections**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) congratulates the Left Front and our Party in Tripura for its success in the Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council elections

The victory, though narrow, is of great political significance because it was won against the combination of the ruling Congress Party and the secessionist Tripura Upajati Juba Samity. Besides it was won in an atmosphere of widespread terror, murder and intimidation organized by secessionist forces. The fact that despite all these adverse factors the Left Front could secure majority revealed its abiding influence on the tribal people to protect whose interest the Left Front Government has been initiating one measure after another in its 8 years old rule. All democratic forces in the country should denounce Congress alliance with the TUJS which has only encouraged secessionist and communal elements in the State. The P B is confident that the new Council, with a majority of the Left Front, will be able to protect tribal interests and further consolidate their sense of unity between the tribal and Bengali population of the State. The P B is further confident that the Left Front would continue to strengthen its unity. It is confident that our Party which has been working under severe strain will continue to discharge its obligations and strain every nerve to defeat the game of the secessionists.

The P B sends its warm greetings to our fighting ranks in Tripura

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\*Statement published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 7, 1985

## **End Misuse of Power in Punjab\***

**CPI(M)'s memorandum to Governor of Punjab on June 24, 1985**

Our Party has been bringing to your notice the misuse of Sections 144 and 506 against the democratic elements and movement. This is hampering the attempts to isolate the extremists from the people, and to strengthen the communal amity and peace in the State. Here are some concrete examples

Our Taran Taran tehsil committee was holding a communal amity convention in a closed enclosure at V Kaka Kandiala. Though the police had been informed about it beforehand, we are pained to state that the SHO Sadar, Taran Taran, went there and rounded up about 250 men and women who had gathered for the convention. They were terrorised and harassed. Later our Amritsar District Committee member, Deepak Dhawan, Democratic Youth Federation leader, Avtar Singh, and about 60 other persons were arrested under Sections 188 and 506. The SDM, Taran Taran, later acquitted all of them.

At Patiala the electricity employees wanted to take out a procession for communal harmony. The police arrested Avtar Singh Malhotra and Piar Singh Desi, CPI-AITUC leaders together with hundreds of employees, though they were also similarly released thereafter.

Similarly in Jalandhar, Section 144 was misused to hinder the factory workers of Leader Valves Ltd., from hoisting their union flag at the factory gate. Our Party MLA, Sarwan

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 7, 1985

Singh Cheema, and Rajinder Singh Sarin Secretary of our Jalandhar District Committee, Mangat Ram Pasla, General Secretary, Punjab CITU, together with six other local leaders were arrested under Section 188 and a case has been registered against them in Jalandhar court. Many other such examples can be cited, which will confirm that Section 144 and other Sections especially 506, are being misused by the police

### **Misuse of Section 506**

The Punjab police are very shamelessly misusing this Section It is being used against the democratic movement, the movement of workers and kisans and also against the general people.

There are instances in which the police have falsely charged some youth and other persons with keeping arms such as knives and pistols, etc., and under other such cases and they are being sent to Special Courts As a result they have not even been bailed out for months together. Thus these Special Courts are also being misused against the democratic movement, worker and kisan movements and the general public Out of many such examples, we give below a few for your information

1 In the conflict at Leader Valves Factory, Jalandhar between the owners and the workers, the police challaned about 20 CITU leaders and workers under Section 506 and sent the case to the Special Court. In this case the police had supplied the knives shown as having been recovered from the workers.

2 At Rajpura more than a dozen workers were challaned and sent before a Special Court. Similarly at Amritsar, Talwara, Asren (Hoshiarpur District), and Mohali, all working class centres, the police in connivance with the factory owners had fabricated cases against the workers and sent them before the Special Court.

Some employees of Ropar Thermal Plant, including their leaders, Ajit Singh and Jodh Singh, have been challaned for

normal trade union activity under Section 506 and the case also referred to a Special Court

In the conflict between the kiln owner of Sahnewal (Ludhiana) and his workers, SHO Sahnewal in connivance with the owners had fabricated a case against Mangat Ram Pasla, General Secretary Punjab CITU, Sukhwinder Singh Sekhon, a student leader, Bhatha Mazdoor leader Amar Nath and about a dozen other Bhatha workers, and their case is before the Special Court at Ludhiana.

All these facts show that the police are misusing these Sections 144 and 506 to harass and intimidate the democratic and peace loving people. These Special Courts were meant to deal with cases against extremists and terrorists, but the police are misusing them against workers, employees and peaceful citizens. The police is overtly or covertly siding with the factory owners in involving workers and their leaders in such false and fabricated cases.

3. We also wish to bring it in your notice that all such acts and actions of the police, the general raids and searches being carried out by it to round up extremists and terrorists, the indiscriminate harassment of innocent people, the cases of V. Saide Lehal, Kathudangal Patti of Amritsar district and some cases of Gurdaspur district, are causing grave concern and breeding discontent in the people. Police atrocities, harassment and violation of laws and misuse of certain CrPC sections are helping the extremists, terrorists and separatists in getting public protection, and are driving innocent youths from their homes. Moreover, corruption in the law and order machinery has increased manifold, another cause of general discontent. All these practices and measures are standing in the way of isolating the undesirable elements, the extremists, terrorists and separatists.

The CPI(M) demands that the police and the law and order machinery should be stopped from harassing and intimidating innocent persons. Misuse of Sections 144 and 506 and referring of ordinary cases to Special Courts should stop

It demands that all such cases against trade union and kisan leaders and workers must be withdrawn. The secular democratic parties, workers and kisan organizations should be allowed to hold meetings and conferences and Sections 144 and 506 should not be used to hinder and stop their activities

With respect we wish to say that it is in your knowledge that our Party firmly stands for the unity and integrity of the country and is active in isolating the extremists, terrorists and separatists from the masses. All the above-mentioned obstacles in carrying on such a campaign must be removed to help in the success of such a campaign. We hope that you will consider our request and take the necessary measures to create a suitable atmosphere and conditions for bringing normalcy in the political situation in the State and for strengthening communal harmony and peace.

## Observe Anti-Nuclear War Day\*

Statement 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 July 30, 1985:*

August 6 this year is the 40th anniversary of one of the most monstrous crimes committed by imperialism, the bombing of Hiroshima. Three days later Nagasaki was blown up by another atom bomb. The US imperialists knew that the Japanese militarists were on the verge of surrendering, especially after the Soviet Union had entered the war in the east; yet the atom bombs were used to gauge their lethal effect and for the future blackmail of the world. The ordinary people of Japan were the victims—200,000 of them died in Hiroshima, and other tens of thousands who survived wished they, too, had died—so agonising did their lives become from the effects of atomic radiation. The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) pays its homage to these victims of imperialist inhumanity.

The 40th anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing comes at a time when the imperialists are feverishly preparing to destroy the world in a nuclear holocaust. The Socialist world is their target but the whole world will be engulfed. India is no exception, in fact India almost became Nixon's nuclear target in 1971.

While the Soviet Union has declared that it will suspend all nuclear explosions from August 6, the US imperialists,

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after producing and stockpiling more and more destructive nuclear weapons, are now bent upon militarising outer space with their Star Wars programme on which research has already begun. One lesson of the Hiroshima bomb is that once a weapon is produced, it will be used by the imperialists. Now is the time to stay their hands.

Let August 6 be a day of homage to the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, of solidarity with the people of the only country that has suffered atomic devastation. Let it be a day of the widest possible mobilizations against the threat of nuclear devastation of the world posed by the imperialists, a day of pledge that the imperialists will not be allowed to destroy humanity.

The Polit Bureau calls on all units of the Party to observe the day jointly with other parties and organizations or independently. Make August 6 a day of the most powerful rebuff to the imperialist nuclear war-maniacs.

## Polit Bureau on Punjab Settlement\*

*The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) issued the following statement to the Press*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) welcomes the settlement arrived at between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Harchand Longowal, President of the Shiromani Akali Dal, on the Punjab tangle. This settlement will be welcomed not only by the people of Punjab but also of the whole country who are interested in the unity and integrity of the country and who wanted to see the end of the tragic happenings and were desirous of the restoration of peace and communal harmony in the State.

This settlement will be a blow to the extremists who, backed by imperialism, were out to destabilise the country and threaten its unity. It is known that the secessionist and terrorist elements were getting open encouragement in the USA, Canada and Britain with the authorities there conniving at their anti-Indian activities. It has now been revealed that a special training centre was being run in the USA to train the extremists. The settlement will frustrate the imperialist plans to encourage the separatist movement for Khalistan.

The present settlement also vindicates the line of our Party which had put forward all these demands, which now form a part of the settlement, two years back. Our Party,

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right from the beginning, had held that administrative measures alone would not help in finding a political solution to the Punjab tangle. We from the beginning had called upon the Government to make a distinction between the secessionist elements and those who in spite of differences with the Government wanted to adhere to the framework of national unity. This was dubbed by certain leftist elements as an effort to draw a subtle distinction between the moderates and extremists. Had the Central Government heeded the advice of our Party and accepted the proposals made by secular Opposition parties in June 1983, the great harm that was done could have been avoided.

The Government must draw the lesson that the policy of drift in tackling democratic demands and placing reliance on administrative measures alone leads to very harmful consequences and only a bold initiative to find a rational solution of the problem helps in meeting the situation. The Akali leadership which has risen to the occasion in coming to a settlement with the Government must understand that they had the support of our Party and other secular Opposition parties on the democratic demands of the people, but when they tried to mix up the democratic demands of the Punjabi people with religious fanaticism the leadership passed into the hands of extremists compromising their position among the democratic and secular forces in the country. Only when they came out sharply, demarcating themselves from the extremists and separatists on the question of the unity of the country, opposing the separatist movement for Khalistan, for Hindu-Sikh unity and against extremism, were they able to rally the broad masses of people and force the Government to make a settlement.

The P.B. hopes that the people of Punjab who suffered the most during the last four years will use the settlement to consolidate Hindu-Sikh amity, and people in other parts of the country also will do their best to restore confidence in the minds of the Sikh minority that India belongs to them as much as it belongs to others. The P.B., at the same time,

warns that there is no room for complacency because the extremists who have been able to make deep inroads will try to create mischief. It is the primary task of the Left and democratic forces to defeat their game and nip the imperialist schemes in the bud

## **Polit Bureau Communiqué\***

**Issued following its meeting held in New Delhi  
on August 10-11, 1985**

A meeting of the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) was held in New Delhi on August 10 and 11, 1985. It was concerned mainly with the preparations for the meeting of the Central Committee to be held from August 17 to 19, 1985.

The Central Committee will at this meeting have preliminary discussions on the draft political resolution for the Party Congress to be held in Calcutta in the last week of December. The next meeting of the Central Committee, to be held in the first week of October, will finalise the draft for circulation to the entire Party for pre-Congress discussions.

The Polit Bureau noted that, though the Punjab accord was rightly hailed in democratic circles throughout the country, the utmost care should be taken regarding the steps to follow it up. The PB was of the view that an early election in the State as is reported to be under the consideration of the Government, has the potentialities of reviving the tensions that have subsided following the accord. The danger is that, instead of consolidating the new atmosphere created by the accord, the main contestants in the election—the Congress and the Akalis—will take up pro and anti-Blue Star Operation positions, reviving communal passions and giving an opportunity to the extremists to recreate conditions of destabilization.

The CPI(M) is behind none in desiring an early solution

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of the Assam problem. It, however, apprehends that certain moves now being made at the Centre, are likely to be at the expense of the genuine citizens of India who are falsely accused of being "foreigners" and denied their fundamental rights as Indian citizens. The PB appeals to all the secular democratic forces in the country to see that the legitimate rights of all those who are Indian citizens but are accused of being "foreigners" are protected, while ensuring that the cultural and political rights of the Assamese-speaking people are safeguarded.

The PB. expressed its concern that the Gujarat agitation on reservation is not only continuing in that State but threatens to escalate into other States. Dividing, as it does, the down-trodden masses into the "forward" and "backward" castes it endangers the unity of the developing democratic movement in general, the unity of the fighting people in particular.

The PB noted that the Congress-TUJS alliance in Tripura is directly helping the tribal extremists to carry on their campaign of terror and murder. The Central Government on its part is helping this development by posing it as a purely law and order problem to be solved by using the army which will worsen the relations between the two major ethnic groups—the tribals and the Bengalis. The PB. appealed to the Central Government to cooperate with the elected government of the State to deal with the situation politically while using the police and para-military forces to protect peace loving citizens from the terrorists.

The PB noted that the Congress-led UDF and its government in Kerala have helped the Islamic fundamentalists and obscurantists in the State by extending support to the demand made by the Muslim League concerning their "right" to polygamy and other antiquated social practices. The CPI(M) and its allies in the Left Democratic Front of Kerala have done well in taking a principled stand not yielding to the fundamentalist pressure exerted by the All-India Muslim League.

The PB extended its support to the government employees'

organizations in their campaign against the Supreme Court judgement giving the Government the right to dismiss its employees without giving a charge-sheet. It called upon all Party members and units to cooperate with the trade unions and other organizations in jointly protesting against this attack on the fundamental rights of the working class.

The PB reviewed its work after the March meeting of the Central Committee which gave a call for developing a united mass movement against the Central budget which imposes new and heavier burdens on the common people. These are the direct consequences of the dictate from the World Bank and the IMF which are being further strengthened by the pronouncements and practices of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. The response from the Opposition parties who were addressed by the PB. to cooperate in developing a common movement was not encouraging. It is to be hoped that, in view of the growing discontent among the common people to which expression was given even by Congress MPs, the secular Opposition parties who had joined in the Calcutta conclave in January 1984 would abandon their hesitation and agree to develop a common movement on a programme which will be a follow-up of the 11-point charter of economic demands formulated in the Calcutta conclave.

The PB reviewed the relations between the CPI(M) and the CPI. It is a matter of satisfaction that the two parties jointly decided to develop a common movement against government policies. The PB decided to carry forward the agreements that were reached and were spelt out in the joint memorandum accepted in May.

## Central Committee's Homage to Comrade Xan Thuy\*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep sense of sorrow at the passing away of Comrade Xan Thuy, an outstanding leader of the Communist Party of Vietnam

Comrade Xan Thuy was part of the leadership of the Vietnamese Party which conducted the glorious struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people against the French, Japanese and US imperialist aggressors and won national liberation and the reunification of Vietnam.

Comrade Xan Thuy was for a number of years a Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPVN, first in charge of Party organization and then of the International Department of the Party. He played an important role in the protracted negotiations with the US imperialists in Paris who were interested only in buying time and were ultimately dealt a crushing blow in the battlefield on April 30, 1975.

His life of struggle and sacrifice under extreme hardships had affected Comrade Xan Thuy's health. For long he was suffering from a chronic bronchial ailment, compounded by a heart problem, and at the last Congress of the CPVN, he voluntarily retired from the Central Committee.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) pays its revolutionary homage to Comrade Xan Thuy and extends its heartfelt condolences to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and his bereaved family.

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## Central Committee Communiqué\*

Issued following its meeting held in New Delhi  
on August 17-19, 1985

A meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) was held in New Delhi from August 17 to 19, 1985. The meeting reviewed the major developments since the last (March) meeting of the C. C. and adopted resolutions on the Assam agreement and on the situation in Kashmir. It considered the framework of the draft Political Resolution to be circulated in the entire Party for pre-Congress discussions.

The draft Political Resolution which will be finalised at the next meeting of the Central Committee on October 1-4, 1985, will deal with the major international and national developments since the last Party Congress, held in January 1982. It will explain how the danger of a nuclear holocaust has deepened since the last Party Congress but how the forces of struggle against the danger have also grown. India, along with the other countries of the non-aligned movement, has played an important role in the struggle for world peace. The Central Committee noted in particular that the apprehensions entertained by the Left movement in India and the peace movement in the world regarding the Rajiv Gandhi Government's backsliding on the policy of world peace and non-alignment have been allayed. The visits of the Prime Minister to several countries, including the Soviet Union and the United States, showed that India will continue to pursue the

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same policies on foreign relations as were pursued by earlier Prime Ministers

This continuity of the foreign policy of peace and non-alignment, the Central Committee noted with concern, is accompanied by a dangerous shift in the internal economic policies—a shift in favour of private capital, including foreign capital. This poses the danger not only of more and more vicious attacks on the living and working conditions of the common people but also dangerous compromises with foreign monopoly capital in the name of “modernisation”. The consequences of this shift in policy are likely to have its impact on the anti-imperialist aspects of foreign policy, besides ruining a large number of Indian industries. The struggle against the shift in internal economic policies is therefore an integral part of the struggle in defence of the foreign policy of peace and non-alignment.

Recalling the warning given at the last Party Congress about the growing menace of divisive forces like casteism, communalism, regional separatism etc., the Central Committee noted that everyone of these divisive forces has grown during the last three and a half years. The agreements arrived at recently on Punjab and Assam have not lessened the danger, while the terms of the Punjab settlement are generally welcome, extremism is still strong enough to continue endangering national unity and communal harmony. The Central Committee regretted that, disregarding the warnings given by various parties, the Government decided to hold the elections in the State. In Assam the Government had to make heavy concessions to the separatist agitators. Lakhs of Indian citizens are being deprived of their legitimate rights of citizenship, their names struck off the electoral rolls on false allegations that they are “foreigners”.

The Central Committee expressed the opinion that fertile ground is provided for the growth of divisive forces by the class policies pursued by the Government concerning socio-economic questions. The alarming rise in the cost of living,

the inability of new entrants into the labour market to get employed, the loss of jobs by those who were till recently employed in production units which have been closed or locked out—these and other aspects of the national economic situation lead to acute discontent among the people who become easy prey to the demagogues who divert their legitimate discontent into disruptive channels. Operating as they do against this socio-economic background, every divisive force has the potential of developing into an explosive issue such as Punjab, Assam, Gujarat, etc

The Left parties have a very important role to play in building the unity of the working people and in fighting those forces which set them against one another along caste, communal or other divisive lines. There are, besides, large numbers of people who, though not necessarily adopting Leftist positions, are guided by considerations of national unity and secularism. In uniting all these secular and progressive forces, the Left parties have a special responsibility.

The two Left Front Governments of West Bengal and Tripura have been doing their best to serve the people of their respective States while acting as integral parts of the developing movement of the people throughout the country in this struggle for democracy and defence of people's life. The Central Committee noted with satisfaction the electoral victories won by the Left Fronts in the two States. It expresses the thanks of the Party to the people of the Calcutta Corporation and the Autonomous District Council areas in Tripura for reposing their faith in the Left Front.

The Central Committee reviewed and expressed satisfaction at the two major all-India campaigns for which the call was given by the last Central Committee meeting—the observance of the 40th anniversary of the victorious end of the anti-fascist war and the country-wide campaign against the Central budget. The experience of these two campaigns and other activities of the Party in this period

create confidence that the struggle for the unity of Left and secular democratic forces can be strengthened

The Central Committee decided that the total number of delegates for the 12th Congress to be held in Calcutta from December 25 to 29, will be 600 plus 50 observers. These were divided among the various States on the well-known principles on which the Party usually divides the total number of delegates

## Homage to Comrade P. Sundarayya\*

Resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) in its meeting held in New Delhi on August 17-19, 1985

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) mourns with deep grief the passing away of Comrade P Sundarayya, one of the Central Committee's leading members and a veteran of the Communist movement in India. In his death, the Communist, working class and democratic movements have suffered a grievous loss.

Beginning his political life at the age of 15 with participation in the Simon Commission Boycott, Comrade PS dedicated more than five and a half decades of his life to the cause of India's freedom, to the democratic, working class and Communist movements and the cause of the downtrodden sections of our people, especially agricultural workers.

Comrade PS became a member of the Central Committee of the Party when its first all-India Centre was set up in 1936. He was the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) from the beginning in 1964 to 1976. At the time of his death he was a member of the Central Committee and Secretary of the Andhra Pradesh Committee of the Party.

Comrade PS. was one of the topmost leaders of the heroic armed struggle of the Telangana peasantry.

As a freedom-fighter and later as a leader of the Communist and working people's movement, Comrade PS. spent many years in prison and for long periods he was forced to work underground while being hunted by the police

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, August 25, 1985

Comrade PS was among the topmost leaders who were in the forefront of the fight against revisionism in the united Communist Party when its then dominant leadership was trying to steer the Party into class-collaborationist channels. He played a leading role in reorganizing the Party and forming the CPI(M) based on a Marxist-Leninist Programme and policies. Later, when Left-adventurism raised its head in the Communist Party of India (Marxist), he, along with the rest of the leadership, fought a relentless battle to defeat the Left-adventurist deviation.

As a Marxist-Leninist Comrade PS was always conscious of the utmost importance of building the Party and took it as one of his priority tasks all his life in the Party. His dedication to the Party, his concern and care for Party cadre will for ever be cherished by the Party.

His simple and dedicated life endeared Comrade Sundarayya to every comrade who came in contact with him and earned respect for him in very wide political circles, all of whom miss him with a heavy heart.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) pays its revolutionary homage to Comrade Sundarayya and extends its heartfelt condolences to Comrade Leila Sundarayya.

## **On the Situation in Jammu & Kashmir\***

**Resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the  
CPI(M) in its meeting held in New Delhi  
on August 17-19, 1985**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is deeply concerned at the resurgence of anti-national secessionist forces in Kashmir following the installation of the illegitimate Government of G M Shah. The Jamaat-e-Islami, People's League, Jamaat-e-Tulaba and the Islamic Study Circle have been actively rousing anti-national passions in the Kashmir Valley. In doing so, they are adversely affecting the interests of the Kashmiri people and causing great harm to our country's unity and integrity.

The installation of the minority defectors' Government of G M Shah, backed fully by the Congress(I), has resulted in a high degree of political instability in the State. This situation has helped the growth of the anti-national forces. Further, the Shah Government is openly extending patronage to fundamentalist and secessionist organizations and refuses to take action against the anti-national elements. It encourages these elements to attack the progressive forces in the State who have consistently worked and sacrificed for maintaining the unity of our country and upholding the interest of the people of Kashmir.

The issue of the irresponsible writ petition about the Quran in the Calcutta High Court (which the court dismissed) was used to whip up a frenzy against the Left, particularly the CPI(M). Extensive propaganda was conducted all over the Valley. It must be noted that the CPI(M) and the Governments

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under its leadership have been unequivocal champions of the democratic rights and interests of the Muslim community in our country. The Central Committee of the CPI(M) records its appreciation of the courageous manner in which its members are meeting these anti-national attacks.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) appeals to all the patriotic and secular people of Kashmir to foil this challenge of the anti-national forces. It demands the immediate dismissal of the Shah Government which is encouraging such forces. Only a popular Government formed after a fresh election can strengthen the bonds of unity and secularism.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) warns the Central Government that unless immediate steps are taken, the situation in the Valley will deteriorate posing big dangers to the unity and integrity of our country.

The Central Committee is confident that the fighting people of Kashmir true to their secular, anti-imperialist and democratic traditions, will rise to the occasion and succeed in meeting the new challenges.

## **Polit Bureau Statement on Sant Longowal\***

**Issued on August 21, 1985**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its sense of shock at the dastardly assassination of Sant Longowal but for whose courage and concern for national unity the Punjab accord would not have been possible. After the accord Sant Longowal was ardently campaigning for Hindu-Sikh unity and repairing the damage done to national unity in the recent past. This drew the anger of the secessionists, encouraged from across the borders and the seas, whose game of disintegration was being seriously challenged. The forces behind the assassination hope that the removal from the scene of this champion of Hindu-Sikh unity will facilitate their plans of disturbing the accord. The secular and democratic forces in Punjab and all political parties must accept this challenge of divisive forces and consolidate communal amity in the Punjab.

The P B appeals to all parties in Punjab to stand together to fight this menace of secessionists with their cult of murder and assassination.

To be true to Sant Longowal the leadership of the Akali party must take a firm, unequivocal and united stand against the secessionists.

Sant Longowal will be remembered long as a martyr to the cause of national unity. The P B. pays its homage to the Sant and sends its heartfelt condolences to his relatives. The P B shares the grief of the Akali party over the loss of this outstanding leader who had headed it for so many years.

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## Central Committee Resolution on Assam Accord\*

Adopted in its meeting held in New Delhi  
on August 17-19, 1985

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) takes note of the withdrawal of the anti-foreigners agitation in Assam which saw a conflict between different sections of the people, leading to the ghastly Nellie massacre and creating a nightmare for the minorities

The enemies of our country who had initiated the Brahmaputra Project to separate Assam and other parts of the North-Eastern region from India were taking full advantage of the situation. Withdrawal will restrict the harmful actions against our people.

The Central Committee supports the implied decision to hold elections in the next few months. A free and fair election, free from rigging, and chauvinistic appeals, is immediately necessary to advance the democratic and people's movement in Assam and further the cause of national unity.

The Central Committee wants the people of Assam and the organisers of the movement to draw proper lessons from the developments of the last five years. A movement which forgets its unity with the rest of the toiling masses of India, with the country as a whole gets derailed and sidetracked into anti-national channels. Even just and democratic demands, if they are made on the basis of regional appeal, pit the movement against the common interests of the Indian people. The anti-foreigners movement often developed a poisonous anti-Bengali, anti-Indian trend. The organizations

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leading the movement should review their experience, see how they were on the brink of a secessionist disaster and resolve never to land themselves in this predicament. Nothing need to be said about the Central Government's failure in these years. The Government made the struggle for national unity only a law and order question.

It is because of its failure to politically fight the secessionist elements and isolate them, that the ruling party has to accept certain dangerous proposals to settle the issue.

The Central Committee strongly objects to shifting the cut-off date from 1971 to 1966 to satisfy the unreasonable demands of the agitationists. This concession deprives thousands of Indian citizens, especially those belonging to the minority, from the basic right to vote. It constitutes a violation of principles of democracy and Indian citizens' rights. It leads to the disenfranchisement of tens of thousands who by international law and the laws of India are entitled to the rights of citizenship. Should the basic rights of the people be subject to the veto of chauvinist agitation? It will be no surprise if the minorities in Assam develop fears about their security. A democracy which cannot assure citizens' rights to its minority puts itself in peril.

The fact that this anti-national, anti-democratic concession has to be made by the Government shows its isolation in the fight against the chauvinist agitation.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) will continue to fight for the unity of the people of Assam and raise its voice in defence of the rights of the minorities. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) desires that all linguistic and ethnic groups residing in Assam should live together amicably on the basis of accepted principles of democracy and equality. This constitutes the only solution for the advance of democratic forces in Assam and consolidation of national unity.

## Polit Bureau Urges Action Against Anand Margis\*

*The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) issued the following statement in New Delhi on August 27, 1985.*

This morning's newspapers report that the Anand Marg recently held a meeting in Nalanda in Bihar and hatched a plot to assassinate CPI(M) Polit Bureau member and West Bengal Chief Minister Jyoti Basu during one of his visits to Delhi. It was the Central Government which received this report from its Intelligence and passed it on to the West Bengal Government. It is a grave matter and causes deep concern.

It is to be recalled that the same Anand Margis had made an attempt on Comrade Jyoti Basu's life at the Patna railway station earlier and he had been injured, while one person near him was killed. The guilty criminals were not brought to book at that time. Many other reports have appeared of the criminal and murderous activities of the Anand Marg. It is known that various imperialist agencies are behind them and that the reactionary elements have been conspiring to subvert the CPI(M)-led Left Front Government in West Bengal for quite some time.

The Polit Bureau demands that the Central Government take the report, which it has received from its own Intelligence sources, seriously and take every necessary measure to scotch the conspiracy and bring the conspirators to book expeditiously.

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## **CPI(M) – CPI Joint Appeal\***

**Observe September 1, 1985, As World Peace Day**

The Communist Party of India and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) have issued a joint appeal to observe September 1 as a day of Peace against Nuclear War, in response to the call of the All-India Trade Union Congress and the Centre of Indian Trade Unions.

This decision was taken by the leaders of the two parties when they met in CPI(M) office on August 20. Present at the meeting were Indradip Sinha, Indrajit Gupta and N E. Balram from the CPI National Secretariat and E M S Namboodiripad, B T Ranadive, M Basavapunnaiah and Harkishan Singh Surjeet from the CPI(M).

The joint appeal made by the leaders of the CPI and CPI(M) says

For years, September 1 is being observed by trade unions all over the world, at the call of the World Federation of Trade Unions, to express the strong determination of the working class to defend world peace and save humanity from a nuclear holocaust. September 1 this year comes when the nuclear war threat by the imperialists has grown menacingly. As compared to all previous wars, a nuclear war will be the most destructive and will wipe out the whole of humanity and its civilization. The people's peace movement has also grown powerfully all over the world and its might will be demonstrated once again on September 1.

During the observance this year, a major highlight will be

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the popularisation of the Soviet Union's declaration of a unilateral moratorium on any nuclear explosion beginning August 6, the fortieth anniversary of Hiroshima's atom bombing. This declaration, made by Comrade M S Gorbachev, has been hailed in our country. With the moratorium on tests, the Soviet Union has taken a practical step in its continuous efforts to end the spiralling arms-race. The ending of nuclear explosions will constitute a step of major significance, because it is through such explosions that newer and more destructive nuclear weapons become possible.

The Soviet Union has called on the U S Administration to declare a similar moratorium on its part, but the USA has not responded to it. In fact, the USA, right at the moment, is carrying on a series of nuclear tests to update its existing weapons and produce new weapons. Defying world public opinion, the Reagan Administration is going ahead with its plan to militarise outer space with its Star Wars project, on which research and testing have already begun. The U S imperialists are relentlessly pursuing their aim of global domination. This intensifies the threat of a nuclear war which, though directed primarily against the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries, will lead to a holocaust which will engulf the entire world.

Only a powerful peace movement can stay the hands of the war-maniacs. Let it not be forgotten that from President Truman down to Nixon, the U S imperialists on a number of occasions had almost decided to use nuclear weapons against various countries. It is as much the task of the Indian people as people in the rest of the world to defend world peace with all their strength.

It is with this aim that our two parties, the CPI and CPI(M), have decided to jointly observe September 1. The two parties call on all their members, all their units, all sympathisers and all peace-loving people in the country to participate in the observance of the day along with the trade unions belonging to the AITUC and CITU.

Let September 1 see the biggest mobilizations all over the country in defence of world peace, let the day be one of the strongest rebuff to the nuclear war-mongers!

## **Central Committee Greet 40th Anniversary of Socialist Vietnam\***

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its warmest revolutionary greetings to the Communist Party of Vietnam and the people of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on the great and happy occasion of the Fortieth Anniversary of the founding of the Republic.

We of the CPI(M), like Communists and progressives in all continents, will for ever remember the glorious national liberation struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people led by the venerable President Ho Chi Minh and the Communist Party of Vietnam. The historic victory they won over the most powerful imperialist country, the USA, led not only to the independence and reunification of Vietnam in 1975, but it also changed the correlation of forces in the world further in favour of peace, freedom, democracy and Socialism. All glory to the people and Communist Party of Vietnam!

After three decades of resistance wars against various imperialists, when the Socialist Republic of Vietnam set itself on the path of Socialism, developing its economy and improving the livelihood of the people, it was beset with new difficulties which, because of the need to spend scarce resources on defence, came in the way of the rapid progress which, otherwise, would have been possible. The CPI(M), as other forces in the world, which stood behind the Vietnamese people during their bitter days of struggle, continues to extend all support to them today also

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Considering not only these difficulties but also the legacies of neo-colonialism in the South which Vietnam had to be overcome, its record of all-round advance is creditable. The Socialist State has been consolidated, and on the basis of a general line and correct economic line to carry out the tasks of the transitional stage of developing Socialism, the SRVN is now engaged in successfully transforming small-scale and dispersed production into large-scale Socialist production while improving step by step the life of the people.

Having been a victim of war for a prolonged period and the consequent devastation it suffered, the SRVN's utmost desire is for peace not only for itself but for the whole world, and it has been making its valuable contribution, along with the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, to the common struggle of the people of the world against the nuclear war threat posed by the U S imperialists, their nuclear arms-drive, Star Wars project, etc.

Having accomplished its proletarian internationalist task of helping the Kampuchean people to liberate themselves from the genocidal Pol Pot regime, the SRVN today, along with Laos and Kampuchea, is exerting all its efforts to stop all imperialist interference in South East Asia and to safeguard peace, security and stability in the region.

The friendship between the peoples of Vietnam and India has always been close and flourishing. The relations between the Governments of the two countries have also been close and friendly. The fraternal relations between the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) have been getting more and more strengthened and we are confident that the coming period will see the further blossoming of these relations.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) salutes the Communist Party and people of Vietnam when they are joyously celebrating the Fortieth Anniversary of their Republic and wishes them further rapid successes in the building of Socialism.

## Polit Bureau Statement on Punjab Election Results\*

The landslide victory of the Shiromani Akali Dal in the Punjab elections is a big blow to the secessionist and separatist forces who, with the slogan of boycott of the elections, wanted to vitiate the atmosphere with a view to encouraging the destabilising forces who are out to dismember the country at the behest of imperialist powers. The assassination of Sant Harchand Singh Longowal after the signing of the Punjab accord was taken as a challenge by the masses who rallied *en masse* behind the accord and gave a rebuff to those who were opposed to it.

The elections also have shown a complete polarisation on communal lines which undoubtedly is the result of the tragic happenings of the last four years. The killing of innocent persons at the hands of extremists, the refusal of the Central Congress Government to solve the Punjab tangle in time, its reliance on administrative measures alone, Operation Bluestar and the riots that took place after Indira Gandhi's assassination, led to the alienation of the Sikh community. The Akali leadership itself made religion and politics inseparable, they refused to condemn the extremists and their anti-national activities. This situation was allowed to persist and proved harmful to the entire democratic movement.

Because of the polarisation of the electorate on communal lines, the CPI(M) and the Left in general suffered a setback in spite of the fact that the CPI(M) had, from the

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beginning, fought for a just solution of the Punjab problem and supported the democratic demands of the entire Punjabi people, raised by the Akali Dal, and unhesitatingly fought against the Sikh extremists and defended the unity of the Punjabis with all the force at its command. Before the electorate the Akali Party was able to pose that it had been able to get all these demands accepted.

With this massive victory, a heavy responsibility lies on the Akali Party. In order to give stability and peace to the State they have to ensure that the interests of the minorities and the downtrodden are protected. They have to fulfil their pledge of eliminating the base of extremism and terrorism in Punjab and delinking of religion from politics. The electoral victory of the Akali Dal can have its impact in reshaping the politics of Punjab only if the Akali Dal carries forward the message of Hindu-Sikh unity for which Sant Harchand Singh Longowal laid down his life.

The CPI(M) and the Left as a whole have to play a big role in spite of their severe reverses in the elections. They have to continue to fight against the separatist and extremist forces and rally the people for building the unity of the Punjabi people and come out as the best defenders of their interests.

The CPI(M) will judge the Akali party on the basis of its performance in relation to its election pledges and its efforts to fight the extremists and build Hindu-Sikh unity.

The PB conveys its gratitude to the voters who rallied behind the CPI(M) and other Left forces despite the extreme communal polarisation that had taken place.

## Polit Bureau Condemns Hanging of Moloise\*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its boundless wrath at the hanging of Malesela Benjamin Moloise by the racist regime of South Africa. Defying world opinion and the appeals of almost all the Governments of the world, with the shameful exception of the Reagan Administration and the British Government, the South African racists have committed this latest satanic crime. The whole world, except the contemptible Reagan-Thatcher combination, has denounced the hanging.

Moloise is not the first to be sent to the gallows, he joins the imperishable galaxy of Black martyrs whose lives the racists have snuffed out. Many have been executed, many have been tortured to death, about a thousand Black people have been killed in the last few months since the imposing of the Emergency, many have been imprisoned without trial. These are the desperate fascistic actions of a regime totally isolated from the people inside the country and outside in the world. Government after Government, country after country, has been demanding effective economic and other sanctions against the racist regime. If the inhuman apartheid regime continues to exist, continues to commit monstrous crimes day after day, it is only because the U.S. and British imperialists give the Pretoria rulers their unstinted support.

Apartheid must go—that is the demand of the Black majority people of South Africa, of the peoples of the whole

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world. There can be absolutely no compromise with those who give sustenance to the hated regime. The Reagans and Thatchers, for whom dollars and pounds are more sacred than the existence in dignity of the Black people, should be arraigned along with Botha and company for every single crime committed against the people of South Africa

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) pays its homage to Moloise and all other martyrs of the South African people's liberation struggles. It extends its greetings to Nelson Mandela and other imprisoned leaders of the African National Congress. It reiterates its pledge of solidarity and support to the fighting people of South Africa whose sacrifices will not go in vain. It demands of all Governments in the world to impose such effective sanctions as would bring down the apartheid regime so that the Black people of South Africa can lead a dignified life in the country which belongs to them. It appeals to the peoples of all countries to exert all pressure on their Governments to take the most resolute action to end forever the anachronistic regime of racists in South Africa.

## CPVN – CPI(M) Press Communiqué\*

At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, a delegation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) which was headed by its General Secretary E M.S Namboodiripad and included Comrade R. Ramraj, member of the Central Committee of the CPI(M), paid an official visit of friendship to Vietnam from October 10-18, 1985.

Comrade Le Duan, General Secretary of the CPVN Central Committee gave the CPI(M) delegation a cordial reception. The delegation visited the house and office of the late President Ho Chi Minh and a number of economic and cultural establishments in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City. The CPI(M) delegation appreciated the magnificent achievements recorded by the workers and labouring people in industrial, agricultural, handicraft and cultural establishments including the Hoa Binh hydro-power project which it visited, and noted that these achievements were made while the whole Vietnamese people were defending themselves and preserving their national independence.

A CPVN delegation which was headed by Comrade Vo Chi Cong, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee and included Comrades Hoang Tung, Secretary, Vu Quang, member of the Central Committee and head of the International Department of the Central Committee and Nguyen Van Trong, Deputy Head of this

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Department, held talks with the CPI(M) delegation. The two delegations informed each other of the situation of the two Parties and countries, exchanged opinions on strengthening the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two Parties and on other questions of mutual interest.

The CPI(M) delegation warmly hailed the brilliant victories scored by the Vietnamese people over the last 40 years under the leadership of the CPVN founded and trained by President Ho Chi Minh. The delegation highly valued the historic and epoch-making victory of the resistance war of the Vietnamese people against the U.S. imperialist aggression—victory which totally liberated the southern part of Vietnam, reunified the country and contributed to changing the balance of forces in the world in favour of peace, national independence, democracy and Socialism.

The CPI(M) delegation warmly greeted the fraternal Vietnamese people who, with their traditional heroism, valiantly surmounted every difficulty in their way and successfully implemented their tasks of Socialist construction and national defence.

The CPVN delegation informed the CPI(M) delegation of the initiatives taken by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to normalise the relations between Vietnam and China. The CPI(M) delegation extended its full support and hoped that the initiatives would lead to the restoration and development of the time-honoured friendship between the Vietnamese people and the Chinese people.

The CPI(M) delegation hailed the strenuous activities undertaken by Vietnam with a view to contributing to the strengthening of solidarity and cooperation between the countries in the Socialist community and in the international Communist and workers' movement, contributing to the struggle of the world people for peace, national independence, democracy and Socialism.

The CPI(M) delegation warmly acclaimed and highly valued the mutual solidarity, support and assistance between Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea and was of the opinion that

the Army and people of Vietnam have not only helped the Kampuchean people save themselves from the peril of genocide, but also surmounted untold difficulties to bring an inestimable contribution to the miraculous revival of the Kampuchean people, and to opposition to all intervention and sabotage against the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

The CPI(M) delegation supported the consistent policy of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam aimed at starting up a dialogue with the South East Asian countries and, together with them, building South East Asia into a zone of peace, stability, friendship and cooperation.

The CPVN delegation expressed its heart-felt gratitude to the CPI(M) for having, together with the Indian democratic and progressive forces, launched a wide and deep-going popular movement in India to support the Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation in the past, and continued today to give an ardent and precious support to Vietnam's cause of Socialist construction and national defence.

The CPI(M) delegation informed the CPVN delegation of the independent activities of the Communists and other Left forces in India in the mobilization of the people for peace and in the cause of international proletarian unity against imperialism. The CPVN delegation highly valued the important contributions made by the CPI(M) to united actions and movements of the working class and other sections of the working people, a united political movement of the Communists, Left, progressive and secular forces, as well as to the Indian people's struggle for national independence, democracy and the territorial integrity of India. The Vietnamese people stand resolutely on the side of India in this just and noble struggle.

The two delegations highly appreciated the foreign policy of peace, friendship and cooperation pursued by the Government of the Republic of India and the great role played by India in the Non-Aligned Movement and considered it a major factor in the strengthening of the struggle against

imperialism, for peace, national independence and a new, equitable and just international economic order

The two delegations observed with great elation the fine development of the relations of friendship and multi-faceted cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Republic of India in the interests of the two nations, and of peace and stability in the region and the world

The two sides expressed their deep concern over the aggravation of the world situation as a result of the very dangerous aggressive and war-like policy of the imperialist powers headed by U S. imperialism. The two delegations strongly condemned the arms race frantically pursued by the U S administration both on earth and in outer space, in an attempt to gain strategic military superiority over the Soviet Union, and condemned the U S. schemes and manoeuvres to deploy its Asian-Pacific strategy against the Soviet Union, the three Indo-Chinese countries and the forces of peace and national independence in the region

The two delegations were of the opinion that the present task of supreme importance and urgency of the various nations and the peaceful, democratic and progressive forces in the world, is to step up the struggle to frustrate every war-like scheme and act of imperialism, headed by U S. imperialism, to ward off the danger of nuclear war, to safeguard world peace. The two delegations highly valued and totally supported the peace initiative of the Soviet Union, especially the recent statement delivered by Comrade M S Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU, on the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on the deployment of missiles and on its nuclear tests and on the Soviet Union's call for the reduction of nuclear weapons, against the arms race in outer space for peaceful purposes, considering them practical actions which expressed the Soviet Union's good-will and efforts to achieve international detente, gradually reduce and eventually eliminate the danger of nuclear war, safeguard world peace and security.

The Vietnamese side highly valued and warmly hailed

the clear-sighted position and correct attitude of the CPI(M) with regard to the Kampuchean problem. The two delegations were of the view that the proposals put forth at the 11th Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the three Indo-Chinese countries held in Phnom Penh in August 1985 aimed at solving the question of peace and stability in South East Asia and the Kampuchean problem, were reasonable, logical, constructive and conformed to the aspirations of the people of the countries in the region, thus constituting an active contribution to the cause of peace and security in South East Asia and the world. The policy carried out by the hostile forces to oppose the three Indo-Chinese countries, to stubbornly maintain the Pol Pot genocidal clique against the Kampuchean people, to cause confrontation between the Indo-Chinese countries and the ASEAN countries, runs counter to the interests of the people of the countries in South East Asia.

The two delegations expressed their full support to the struggle waged by the Afghan people under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan against the undeclared war of imperialism and other reactionary forces, for the defence and development of the gains of the April Revolution.

The two delegations totally supported the Korean people's struggle for the peaceful reunification of their country, expressed their militant solidarity with the Cuban people, and their strong support to the struggle for independence and freedom of the people of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Namibia, Palestine, Lebanon and other Afro-Asian-Latin American countries. The two delegations expressed solidarity with the working class, labouring people and progressive forces in the capitalist countries who are stepping up their struggle for peace, better living conditions, democracy and social progress.

The two delegations supported the transformation of the Indian ocean into a zone of peace freed of nuclear arms, and the dismantling of foreign military bases, especially the U.S. naval base in Diego Garcia.

The two delegations expressed their determination to work for the strengthening of the unity of the international Communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, against all opportunist manifestations.

The two sides expressed satisfaction at the success of the visit to Vietnam of the CPI(M) delegation, and were convinced that this visit will contribute to consolidating and further developing the solidarity, friendship and fraternal cooperation between the two parties and the people of the two countries of Vietnam and India.

(October 18, 1985.)

## Polit Bureau's Homage to Comrade Ramdass\*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses the profound grief at the untimely demise of Comrade Ramdass on November 8, 1985. A functionary of the Central Party apparatus for over three and a half decades, he had been a member of the Central Committee since 1968. Besides discharging his duties as the working editor of PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY since its foundation, he had shouldered many other key responsibilities at the Centre. His demise has created a void which is irreparable.

Born in 1925 in a family with patriotic traditions in Palghat in Kerala, he was attracted towards the Left movement. Starting his political life as an activist in the student movement in early forties, he joined the CPI in 1942 and made great contribution to the struggle for proletarian internationalism. He worked energetically as a young student popularising the idea of the Communist Party that the path of Indian freedom lies in its active participation in the anti-fascist struggle at whose head stood the Soviet Union. That was the beginning of Comrade Ramdass's transformation into a dedicated Communist.

Completing his education in 1945, Comrade Ramdass took up journalism as his career. Doing a stint of service in the *Bombay Chronicle* for a few years and then in the *Indian Express* for a couple of months, he joined the Central Party press establishment in Bombay in 1947. One of the

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active functionaries working in the *Cross Road* weekly and in the Central Party office at a time when the entire Party leadership was either in jail or underground, he discharged important tasks which kept the Party organization alive in the difficult days of Government repression and inner-Party struggle. The services rendered by him in those days enabled him to develop as a leading comrade in the difficult days that followed the 1952 General Elections with the newly opened opportunities for legal functioning.

In the meanwhile, Comrade Ramdass married Kitty Boomla in 1950. The two of them have since been working for the Party. While working as a College Professor, Comrade Kitty was using her talents to the development of the Communist movement. Since retirement, she joined the staff of PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY. Theirs has thus been the married life of a couple devoted to the revolutionary cause.

Ever since the mid-1950s when serious inner-Party struggle started, Comrade Ramdass had consistently fought the growing trends of revisionism. Working on the staff of the *New Age* weekly and monthly as well as discharging various other responsibilities given to him at the Party Centre, he worked steadily to consolidate the forces fighting against revisionism in the Party and participated in those ideological and organizational preparations which culminated in the final break with revisionism and the formation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

Following the countrywide arrests of top and middle-level cadres of the Party in less than two months of the formation of the CPI(M), Comrade Ramdass made his contribution to the difficult struggle that had to be waged against Governmental repression and the slanderous campaign unleashed by the adversaries of the Party with the revisionist CPI at their head. It was under this condition, when almost the entire Party had to work underground, that Comrade Ramdass started PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY—for a few months with Comrades Jyoti Basu and E M S Namboodiripad out of jail, but later almost single-handedly. The ideological,

political and organizational work turned out by him in those days is unforgettable

With his versatility, Comrade Ramdass could undertake Party tasks of various types. Total dedication to the cause, unflinching determination to use every ounce of energy in furtherance of the revolutionary movement, firm faith in the theory of Marxism-Leninism and its concrete application to Indian reality, mastery of political and practical details—all these made him a theoretician, political thinker and practical activist. His services to the Party both before and after he joined the Central Party apparatus will ever be remembered by those who have had the privilege of working with him. While paying him revolutionary tributes, the PB conveys its sincere condolences to his family.

**Welcome Address By Jyoti Basu,  
Chairman of The Reception Committee  
For The Twelfth Congress of CPI(M)  
Held in Calcutta on December 25-30,  
1985\***

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the West Bengal State Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) I convey my heartiest welcome to all the delegates and other participants who have assembled here in Calcutta for the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). Calcutta is a suffering but fighting, vibrant and thinking city with rich traditions in the anti-imperialist struggle and in the sphere of social reforms and cultural renaissance. This State has undergone immense hardships and difficulties due to the Partition and influx of 70 lakhs of refugees from across the border. Because of lack of opportunities in some neighbouring States, people even now come to this State seeking employment. But the special problems which have been facing the State have not been taken into consideration by the Congress regime here and in Delhi. The Congress Governments at the Centre and in the State were more concerned about suppressing the Communists and the Left forces than in tackling the worsening economic situation.

The Communist Party, however, stood by the people rallying the Left and democratic forces for persistent and consistent struggles for democracy and people's livelihood against the Congress rulers and the vested interests. Particularly after the formation of our Party, the CPI(M), we have been leading a continuous ideological battle against Right and

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Left revisionism whilst persuing the policy of consolidating the Left and democratic forces against the authoritarian rule of the Congress. The people have seen us in the Opposition and in the Government and they know the sincerity of our purpose. There have been long drawn-out struggles of the workers, kisans, middle classes. Large numbers sacrificed and suffered and many among them laid down their lives. In this background, election battles were fought which led to the establishment of the United Front and Left Front Governments and also strengthening of our Party. This is the fourth time we are in the Government and on this occasion along with our allies in the Left Front we are continuing for the last eight and a half years. Under the leadership of the West Bengal State Committee, the Central Committee and the Polit Bureau of our Party we are carrying on our tasks withstanding the onslaught of the Congress(I) and other reactionary forces. We do not consider our Government as only the Government of our State. It is a bastion of the toiling people all over India. We draw upon their support and sympathy and depend particularly on our Party and supporters to dispel at every stage the miasma of lies and slanders against us spread by various propaganda agencies of the Congress(I) and some of the largely circulated newspapers in various languages. The Centre feels concerned because of our existence for so long, despite its politically motivated discriminatory attitude towards us. Therefore continuous attempts are being made to denigrate our Government and Party and to threaten it in various ways. Today the Left Front Government of West Bengal and the Left Front Government of Tripura have attracted the toiling people all over the country who look upon us with high hopes. Our Party whilst trying to be worthy of this trust is fully aware of the difficulties in running a Left Front Government in a State within the capitalist-landlord system with a bourgeois-landlord Government at the Centre headed by the big bourgeoisie. Still with limited powers and various constraints we are trying our best to fulfil our pledge to the people. We

are certainly aware of our drawbacks and weaknesses and do not attempt to hide them from the people. We try to overcome them with their help. We are on guard against all heinous conspiracies of the ruling Congress(I) party, divisive and reactionary forces behind which stand the imperialist powers. We are continuously drawing upon the support of the people and their mass organizations and not depending merely on the bureaucracy to implement our programme. Masses of the workers, agricultural labourers, middle classes, the minorities and scheduled castes and tribes know we are their most reliable friends and that our Government is an effective instrument of struggle for their just demands. They know that we are attempting even with limited powers that we have to improve the economy of the State in their interest against the machinations of the Central Congress Government and other reactionary forces. Whilst giving relief to the people and ensuring their democratic rights, we endeavour to rouse and raise their political consciousness so that they can distinguish between friends and enemies and understand the complicated and difficult tasks that lie ahead for bringing about the fundamental and structural changes in the all-India sphere.

In the course of organizing struggle and implementing our programme, we try to correctly assess the consciousness of the people—neither underestimating nor overestimating it. We try to give them the right kind of leadership whilst learning from them. Our uphill task must be understood from the fact that the Congress(I), despite its past misrule, its unprincipled warring groups, its sheltering of anti-social elements is able to get the support not only of sections of the upper layers of society but to mislead substantial numbers of the common people. It draws upon the help of most of the largely circulated newspapers which continuously resort to distortion, lies and slanders against us.

The venue of the Twelfth Congress is the Yuba Bharati Krirangan, Bidhan Nagar, one of the biggest stadiums of Asia. Only through the widest support and cooperation, and

goodwill of the various sections of the people, has it been possible for us to build such a unique stadium and a youth complex with about 1,000 beds. For the success of the Congress apart from other things, the people have contributed in an abundant measure to our Party Congress funds.

This Twelfth Congress of our Party has roused unprecedented enthusiasm among the people all over the State. The wide masses of the people of all strata have expressed their unalloyed love and confidence in our Party.

Comrades, we know that in spite of the best efforts of large numbers of our Party comrades here, the shortcomings in organizing this Congress will be there for which you will please bear with us with sympathy.

There is no doubt that the Twelfth Party Congress will give further confidence to us to mobilize, organize and unite masses of the people for struggles which lie ahead, in the onward march for reaching our ultimate goal of People's Democracy and Socialism.

## **Build Unity Against Authoritarianism and Divisive Forces\***

**E.M.S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary of CPI(M), delivered this speech inaugurating Twelfth Congress held in Calcutta on December 25-30, 1985**

Let me first of all convey our heartfelt greetings and thanks to the comrades in West Bengal who have made excellent arrangements for us. I am sure that all the delegates will join me in conveying our heartfelt thanks to the comrades here

I am reminded of the time when we had assembled here in this city at the Seventh Congress and made our full break with revisionism and formed ourselves into the CPI(M). It is not the business of this Party Congress to review the 21 years of our work. Our Congress will confine itself to the review of the work done during the last four years

### **Anti-People Policies**

But I want to make a reference to the Party Programme which we adopted 21 years ago. We had noted

*Firstly*, the path of capitalist development which is being pursued by the Congress Government at the Centre is leading the country from crisis to crisis, to an all-round crisis. Therefore, we said that this country has no future unless this bourgeois-landlord Government is replaced by a Government of the people led by the working class.

*Secondly*, we take into account the fact that the entire Indian people, including the working class, on the one hand and the Indian monopoly capitalists on the other, have their contradictions with imperialism. This means that while there

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is an insoluble contradiction between the people and the ruling classes here, there is a contradiction between the people of India (including the ruling classes) on the one hand and imperialism on the other. Both these contradictions are bound to deepen as the world capitalist crisis deepens.

Since the Indian ruling classes have basic contradictions on a number of issues—economic and political—with world capitalism, they are bound sometimes to confront imperialism. On all such issues, namely on the economic issues and on the issue of world peace and where the ruling classes confront imperialism, we will give unstinted support to the ruling class and to this Government, to the extent to which they genuinely fight imperialism.

This, however, does not lessen the contradictions between the Indian people and the ruling classes. We have not slackened our effort to replace this bourgeois-landlord State and Government by a People's Democratic State and Government.

The most important incident of the four-year period since the Eleventh Congress is the assassination of Indira Gandhi and the developments that followed. They show on the one hand that the contradictions between the Indian people (including the ruling classes) and imperialism have gone very deep. For the first time in India, imperialism adopted the same tactics that they had adopted in the African, Latin American and certain other Asian countries.

This was organized murder behind which stood imperialism. This, however, does not mean that the conflicts and contradictions between the people of India and the ruling classes represented by the Congress party have become less

### **Divisive Forces**

For the last several years, the Congress had been pursuing the policy of attacking all opposition parties, Left opposition in particular. Since 1959, they have been making opportunistic compromises with all the divisive and separatist forces in the country.

Our Party Congress held in Vijayawada had given a warning

against the growth of separatist forces. After spelling out these forces and the immense harm done by them, we said that the Congress is also responsible for the growth of these divisive and separatist forces because the Congress leaders want to further their narrow interests against the opposition in general and Left opposition in particular.

During the last four years, however, these separatist and divisive forces have been gathering further strength because the Congress party has been giving direct support to them. This is what led to the Punjab problem culminating in Indira's assassination. The Congress had no hesitation to build up a Bhindranwale

In Assam, the Congress was busy playing politics with the Assembly to install its own minority Government which gave a handle to separatist agitators

In Tripura, had it not been for its alliance with Amra Bangalee and TUJS, the Congress could not have done anything

In Kerala today, the Congress cannot remain in office for a single minute unless it has its alliances with all the caste and communal parties.

Our positive assessment of the role played by the Government of India in foreign policy matters does not soften our criticism of the Congress Government neither our basic criticism nor criticism on these specific questions.

We came out as the most determined opposition against the Congress Government and its policies. While fully identifying ourselves with the national sentiment, we said the responsibility of the Congress Government and the Congress Party could not be evaded in the developments leading to Mrs Gandhi's assassination

We said the future of our country is at stake, the security of our country is threatened because of the policies pursued by the Congress Government. We can rightfully claim that we had adopted a consistent and principled stand.

When the elections were over, ending in the massive victory of the Congress, some people thought that a new Rajiv wave is coming. Within less than three months however, assembly

elections took place and the Congress received some serious reverses Congress is rapidly losing its influence among the people The Congress is not the old Congress, it has become a collection of self-seeking individuals

In relation to the political aspects of the foreign policy, however Rajiv Gandhi is still standing as firm as his predecessors

In relation to the economic aspects of the foreign policy however, this is not so The foreign policy has two aspects one political which concerns the questions of war and peace, the struggle against the imperialist policy of driving the world into a nuclear war India has taken a stand against it We are very happy for it

We are also happy that, on the question of so-called "North-South relations", Rajiv Gandhi takes a correct stand

There is growing dependence on the World Bank, the IMF, private multinationals for developing the Indian economy along capitalist lines There is a distinct turn for the worse in the Congress policy here

More and more compromises on the economic plane are likely to have its impact on the foreign policy itself Unless we fight this policy, the anti-imperialist aspects of the foreign policy are also in danger

This being so, a distinction has to be made between the political and economic aspects of the foreign policy which the ruling classes are pursuing Compromise on the latter and anti-imperialism on the former are not contradictory. Both arise from the class character of India's ruling classes

Furthermore, the internal policy is out and out anti-people We therefore have to fight the economic aspects of the foreign policy as well as the internal policies even while we extend our unstinted support to the anti-imperialist aspects of the Government's foreign policy

### **Question Of Reservation**

Instead of trying to unite the common people belonging to 'forward' as well as 'backward' communities, Congress(I)

projected reservation as the panacea for solving unemployment and roused passions in Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh This is a game that they have been playing dividing the people on caste lines and disrupting the common movement

In a country where for generations, in fact for centuries, a large number of castes and communities have been oppressed under the caste system, reservation is a temporary necessity We support it We support it for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, we support it even for certain other backward communities

However, while supporting caste-based reservation as a temporary necessity now, we are of the view that in relation to certain communities i.e. other than SCs/STs, some economic criteria should also be taken into consideration For SCs and STs, of course, caste-wise reservation should continue with no economic criteria

Our approach to the question is to unite the people On the other hand, the Congress approach is to divide the people with a view to get electoral advantages These are some of the questions on which we are of the view that the Congress is acting in such way as to create disruption in the country

### **Broad Unity**

During these four years certain developments have taken place which give hope such as the coming together of a large number of Left and secular Opposition parties to the four all-India conferences held in 1983-84 First in Vijayawada, then in Delhi, the third in Srinagar and finally in Calcutta In all these conferences, 17-18 opposition parties, many of them all-India or national parties, some of them regional or local parties, participated

According to us, the main thing is not to have an electoral alternative but develop united mass movements against the anti-people policies of the Congress Government—locally, State-wise and at the all-India level It is a culmination of these that the all-India electoral alternative can

emerge Those Left and secular opposition parties which are interested in uniting the people and fighting the anti-people policies of the Congress Government should take up some of the burning economic and political issues of the country and develop common movements

This was our objective It was with this objective that we worked at all these all-India conclaves I claim that we have achieved something solid in this respect, though they did not lead to the emergence of all-India electoral alternative.

Some of the parties who did commit themselves to these consensus decisions however failed to carry them out Some of them went against them

We are of the view that it is possible even now for us to build a united all-India movement on the issues of economy and some of the political issues like defence of democracy, national unity, national integration.

That is why we still give in the Draft Political Resolution the same emphasis as earlier on the broad unity of the Left and secular Opposition forces against the authoritarianism of the Congress party and the Congress Government, against the divisive forces of casteism, communalism etc

### **Left Unity**

The Left Parties, however, stand on a different footing. It is necessary for the Left to strengthen their unity, so that they can influence the broad Left and secular opposition forces in the country We therefore attach great importance to Left Unity

We attach special importance to the question of unity between the CPI(M) and CPI Some people think that unity means merger of the two parties We do not think so We are very much apart on basic political-ideological questions. On a number of issues, we are coming increasingly close For instance, a few years ago, we decided, to constitute a Central Co-ordination Committee of the two parties

Unfortunately, however, that co-ordination committee has not been functioning, we on our part have been insisting

that it should function. We are, however, of the definite view that 'no merger' does not mean no united action. The basis is the functioning of the coordination committee.

Again on the question of war and peace we came together and not only our two parties but half a dozen more parties came together and held an all-India Convention in Delhi. A committee had been formed to follow up the decisions of the Convention. Comrade Rajeswara Rao was the convenor. If that committee is active today then in India we will have far bigger mass mobilization for peace.

Leaving aside the question of merger which is and will be impractical so long as our ideological-political differences remain, is it not possible for us to activate the Central Co-ordination Committee and to activate the all-India Committee for Peace?

This can be the beginning of a serious effort to further strengthen the unity of the Left forces which will become a big contribution to the further strengthening of the unity of the Left parties among themselves and with all secular Opposition parties in the country.

If this is to be done, it goes without saying, our Party will have to carry on systematic ideological, political and organizational work as spelt out in our Salkia Plenum seven years ago.

## Homage to Martyrs\*

Resolution adopted by the Twelfth Congress of  
CPI(M) on December 25, 1985.

The Twelfth 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 class and democratic movements

In the past four years, 246 comrades of West Bengal were killed by Congress(I) goondas, landlords and anti-socials. One hundred and ninetyseven (197) comrades laid down their lives in Tripura, for defending national unity and communal harmony, killed by the TNV/TUJS extremists, Congress(I) and Amra Bangalee gangs. Seventyfive comrades in Kerala were murdered by Congress(I) and RSS elements, 45 comrades of Assam sacrificed their lives courageously facing the chauvinist terror of the AASU and AAGSU elements, 42 comrades of Andhra Pradesh died, killed by Congress(I) and Naxalite gangs for their steadfastness to the democratic movement

Six comrades were murdered in Tamil Nadu during this period. They sacrificed their lives facing police firing, attacks by RSS and management goondas. In Bihar 25 comrades were killed by the police, landlord goondas and Congress(I) attacks. One comarde in Punjab died due to police lathi charge. Ten workers and their family members were killed by employers' agents in Modinagar, including the wife of a CITU leader

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Many others have laid down their lives in the struggles of workers, peasants, agricultural labourers, student, youth and women in other States

The Party Congress is proud of these comrades who stood firmly by the cause of the Party and the working people. Their glorious example will always inspire us to advance the working class movement further.

The Congress pledges to carry forward their struggle and cherish their memory. Their lives and sacrifice will go towards strengthening our common resolve to complete the unfinished tasks left by them.

The Congress conveys its heartfelt condolences to the families of the martyred comrades.

## Condolences\*

**Resolutions adopted by the Twelfth Congress of  
CPI(M) on December 25, 1985**

### **(a) Comrade Promode Dasgupta**

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) mourns the death of Comrade Promode Dasgupta, member of the Polit Bureau and Secretary of the West Bengal State Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Left Front of West Bengal

Comrade Promode Dasgupta made immense contribution in the over five decades of his revolutionary activities, fortythree years of which were devoted to selfless service of the Communist, working class and democratic movements Comrade Promode Dasgupta was elected to the Polit Bureau at the Seventh Congress in 1964 and remained in that post till his death

Comrade Promode Dasgupta played a very significant role in the grim struggle against Right-revisionism in the united Communist Party of India and in building the CPI(M) as a revolutionary party Equally relentlessly he led the struggle against the Left-adventurists in West Bengal. He skilfully guided the Party in the most difficult days of the semi-fascist terror in 1970-76, to enable the CPI(M) in West Bengal to emerge as the most powerful Party in the State He made a great contribution to the flexible tactics followed by the Party in West Bengal which enabled it to form United Front Governments in 1967 and 1969 and in forging an anti-authoritarian front to crushingly defeat the Congress(I) in

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the 1977 Lok Sabha elections. He was one of the main architects of the forging of the Left Front and of the magnificent electoral victories of 1977 and 1982.

Comrade Promode Dasgupta was a dedicated Communist who lived the life of a revolutionary facing all sufferings and sacrifices. His austere life, his insistence on maintaining Party discipline, his capacity to understand and help solve the problems of the cadre' had all endeared him to those who came in contact with Comrade Promode. He was a comrade of outstanding organizational talents.

The Party Congress pays its revolutionary homage to the memory of Comrade Promode Dasgupta and extends its heartfelt condolences to his bereaved family members.

#### **(b) Comrade P. Sundarayya**

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) mourns the death of Comrade P. Sundarayya, one of the C.C.'s leading members and an outstanding leader of the Communist movement in India.

Beginning his political life at the age of 15 with participation in the Simon Commission Boycott, Comrade Sundarayya dedicated more than five and a half decades of his life to the cause of India's freedom, to the democratic, working class and the Communist movement.

Comrade Sundarayya became a member of the Central Committee of the Party when its first all-India Centre was set up in 1936. He was the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) from beginning in 1964 to 1976. At the time of his death he was a member of the Central Committee and Secretary of the Andhra Pradesh Committee of the Party.

Comrade Sundarayya was one of the topmost leaders of the heroic armed struggle of the Telangana peasantry. As a freedom fighter and later as a leader of the Communist and working people's movement, Comrade Sundarayya spent many years in prison and spent 12 years working underground. He displayed tremendous qualities as organizer of the underground apparatus.

Comrade Sundarayya was among the topmost leaders who were in the forefront of the fight against revisionism in the united Communist Party. He played a leading role in reorganizing the Party and forming the CPI(M) based on a Marxist-Leninist Programme and policies. Later, when Left-adventurism raised its head, he, along with the rest of the leadership, fought a relentless battle to defeat the Left-adventurist deviation.

Comrade Sundarayya was always conscious of the utmost importance of building the Party and took it as one of his priority tasks. His dedication to the Party cadre will for ever be cherished by the Party.

His simple and dedicated life endeared Comrade Sundarayya to every comrade who came in contact with him and earned respect for him in very wide political circles.

The Party Congress of the CPI(M) pays its revolutionary homage to Comrade Sundarayya and extends its heartfelt condolences to Comrade Leila Sundarayya.

### **(c) Comrade M. R. Venkataraman**

The Twelfth Congress of the CPI(M) expresses its profound grief at the demise of Comrade M. R. Venkataraman, veteran member of the Central Committee of the CPI(M).

He had joined the Communist Party in 1939 and was elected Secretary of the Tamil Nadu State Committee of the Party in 1942.

He was repeatedly imprisoned, the duration of his total jail life being 11 years and underground life three years.

Comrade M. R. Venkataraman took a firm stand against revisionism in the 1950s and joined those comrades who walked out of the National Council in 1964 to form the CPI(M). Comrade Venkataraman fought with equal vigour against the Left deviation.

After the formation of the CPI(M) he continued to be a member of the Central Committee till his demise and was the convenor of the Central Control Commission of the CPI(M) for several years.

The Party Congress pays its revolutionary homage to the memory of Comrade Venkataraman and conveys its condolences to his family.

**(d) Comrade Desraj Chadha**

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) mourns the death of Comrade Desraj Chadha, a member of the Central Committee of the Party.

Having joined the Communist Party in 1938 he was elected to the Secretariat of the Punjab Provincial Committee in 1951.

He was arrested at the end of 1940 and was tortured by the British in the notorious Lahore Fort. He spent several years in jail and underground.

Desraj took his position firmly against revisionism in the Communist movement. From the outset in 1964 he played a crucial role in setting up the Party Centre. His dedication in running the Party Central office will be an example for all to emulate.

Comrade Desraj was elected to the Central Committee of the Party at the Eighth Congress of the CPI(M). He was a member of the Central Control Commission also for a number of years.

The Congress pays its revolutionary homage to the memory of Comrade Desraj.

**(e) Comrade Ramdass**

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses profound grief at the demise of Comrade Ramdass. He had been a member of the Central Committee since 1968. Besides discharging his duties as the working editor of *PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY* since its inception, he had shouldered many other key responsibilities at the Centre.

Ever since the mid-1950s he worked steadily to consolidate the forces fighting against revisionism in the Party and participated in those ideological and organizational preparations which culminated in the final break with revisionism and the formation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

His services to the Party both before and after he joined

the Central Party apparatus were invaluable. While paying him revolutionary tributes, the Party Congress conveys its sincere condolences to his family.

**(f) Condolence Resolutions**

The Twelfth Congress mourns the death of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. He was an outstanding leader of the Soviet people and a prominent architect of the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

The Congress expresses its grief at the untimely demise of Comrade Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. He was a staunch Marxist-Leninist and defender of world peace.

The Congress mourns the death of Comrade K.U. Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU and eminent leader of the Soviet people and state.

The Congress pays its tribute to the memory of Comrade D.F. Ustinov, Polit Bureau member of the CPSU and Defence Minister of the USSR.

The Twelfth Congress mourns the death of Comrade Liao Chengzhi, Polit Bureau member of the Communist Party of China, an important leader of the Chinese revolution.

The Congress pays its homage to the memory of the Comrade Xu Shiyou, Comrade Tan Zhenlin, Comrade Li Weihan, Vice-Chairman of the Central Advisory Commission of the Communist Party of China. These veteran revolutionaries' contributions to the revolution and the building of Socialism in China will always be cherished.

The Twelfth Congress mourns the death of Comrade Enver Hoxha, General Secretary of the Albanian Party of Labour and outstanding leader of the Albanian people.

The Congress mourns the death of Comrade Enrico Berlinguer, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Italy and an eminent statesman of the Left forces in Italy.

The Congress pays its homage to the memory of Comrade Xan Thuy, veteran leader of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party for a number of years. His contribution to the struggle against the French, Japanese and American imperialists and for reunification of Vietnam will always be remembered.

The Twelfth Congress mourns the death of Comrade Tomio Nishizawa, Presidium Vice-Chairman of the Japanese Communist Party.

The Congress mourns the death of Comrade Chansy, Polit Bureau member of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

The Congress mourns the death of Comrade Heinz Hoffman, Polit Bureau Member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Minister for Defence of the German Democratic Republic.

The Congress pays its homage to the memory of Faiz Ahmad Faiz, outstanding revolutionary poet, fighter against imperialism, and champion for restoration of democratic rights in Pakistan. In his death, the subcontinent has lost a giant in the field of culture.

The Twelfth Congress mourns the death of Comrade Sohan Singh Josh, veteran leader of the Communist Party of India, Comrade M.N. Govindan Nair, Secretary of the National Council of the Communist Party of India and Comrade Somnath Lahiri veteran leader of the CPI.

The Twelfth Congress mourns the death of Comrade N.Sreedharan, Secretariat member of the Kerala State Committee of the CPI(M). His death in a road accident is a big loss for the Party and the working class movement

The Congress pays homage to the memory of Fauja Singh Bhullar, member of the Punjab State Committee of the Party and a veteran of the Communist movement in the State.

The Congress pays its homage to the memory of Comrade Sankar Gupta, Comrade Parimal Mitra, Comrade Pankaj Acharya, Comrade Santosh Mitra, Comrade Sunil Basu, Comrade Golokpati Roy and Comrade Arabindo Ghosh. These

Comrades, who were members of the West Bengal State Committee of the CPI(M), dedicated their lives to the Party and working class movement.

The Congress pays its homage to the memory of Comrade P.K. Kurane, Secretariat member of the Maharashtra State Committee of the CPI(M).

The Congress mourns the death of Comrade Bhaskara Rao, member of the Andhra State Committee of the CPI(M). The Congress pays tribute to the memory of Comrade Malakonda Reddy, State Committee member of Andhra who was murdered by Naxalites. The Congress mourns the death of Comrade Ravella Satyanarayana and Comrade Satya Raju, members of the Andhra State Committee of the CPI(M).

The Congress mourns the death of Comrade Durgadas Shirali, Secretariat member of the Rajasthan State Committee of the CPI(M).

The Congress mourns the death of Comrade Sharafat Hussian Rizvi and Satyanarayan Singh, members of the Uttar Pradesh State Committee of the CPI(M).

The Congress pays its homage to the memory of Comrade Ashoklata Jain, member of the Delhi State Committee of the CPI(M).

The Congress mourns the deaths of Comrade Mahiman Desai and Comrade Vajubhai Shukla members of the Gujarat State Committee of the CPI(M).

The Congress mourns the deaths of Comrade Anwar Hussain, member of the Bihar State Committee of the Party.

The Congress mourns the death of Comrade Sardish Roy, Leader of the CPI(M) group in parliament; the Congress pays its homage to Comrade Mukunda Mandal, CPI(M) member of the Lok Sabha.

The Congress mourns the death of Comrade Jawahar from Kerala who died on his way to attend the Twelfth Congress.

## **B. T. Ranadive's Speech Introducing Draft Political Resolution In the Twelfth Congress of CPI(M) Held in Calcutta on December 25-30, 1985\***

Introducing the Draft Political Resolution Comrade B.T. Ranadive emphasised that not only the situation in our country but all that is happening in class struggles in the entire world is of concern to our Party. In this context we have to understand the contradictions that are developing in relation to international situation and understand their implications for our movement in India today.

Referring to the crisis of the world capitalist system, B.T. Ranadive said that despite a small recovery and the technological revolution, the problems of the capitalist society have not been solved. In the midst of protracted crisis, the recovery earlier attained has slowed down. High interest rates and the high value of dollar are aggravating the crisis. Recently the rate of dollar has fallen. This has intensified crisis in Japan and America and in many other countries. The pound has also fallen. The problem of unemployment is getting aggravated.

For the imperialists, one way to get out of this situation is to capture more markets and for that purpose they are undertaking war preparations. This reveals the direct contrast between the two social systems. The barbarous system of capitalism and imperialism with the preparation for war has developed industrial-military complex producing military and other war equipment as there is no market for their goods. This is the effect of the world capitalist crisis.

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## **Sharp Contradictions**

The major central contradiction of our time is the one between Socialism and capitalism. As this contradiction sharpens, many other contradictions get sharpened. Referring to the contradiction amongst the imperialist powers themselves, B.T. Ranadive noted that in regard to conventional and chemical arms, the USA tried to impose its will on others. Another aspect of the contradiction is the economic conflict between imperialist powers in the form of tariff war, etc. All this revealed that there are fissures in the imperialist camp.

He then noted that the contradiction between the capitalist class and the working class is reflected in social welfare measures being curtailed, British miners' strike lasting for one year and the working class mobilization in the peace movement.

The contradiction between the national liberation movement and imperialism is also sharpened as witnessed in the non-settlement of the Palestine question, invasion of Grenada and the offensive against Nicaragua. Through the World Bank and IMF etc., the imperialists are laying a debt-trap for the Third World countries and thereby sharpening the contradiction further.

The most characteristic feature of the international situation today is the contradiction between the Socialist camp led by the USSR and the imperialist camp led by the USA. As is evident from the observance of the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism and the defence of Afghanistan, the balance of power definitely has gone in favour of the common man. B.T. Ranadive noted that war is the constant companion of capitalism. While the crisis of capitalism develops, the might of the Socialist world and the might of the international working class movement are also developing simultaneously.

## **Struggle For Peace**

Referring to the Soviet peace proposals, he said that many people think that these are clever propaganda. It is a serious

political battle and not propaganda. So far as the Socialist world is concerned, world peace is to be secured. The battle for peace shows the real characteristics of the Socialist camp and of the imperialist camp.

B.T. Ranadive observed that the Soviet defence preparedness and their capacity to retaliate is the meaning of the organization in defence of peace. To fight this threat of a nuclear war is a major task of all proletarian parties, and that is why our Party regards this as one of the most important international tasks we have to discharge.

The peace movement is of international importance. Our understanding is that we should build up the widest possible front against war and for peace and that is the biggest task today.

In the face of most sophisticated arms build-up the world Communist movement is not yet completely united. However, things have changed—have changed for the better. The two major parties of the Socialist camp have come closer.

For the CPI(M) there is no question of equidistance. We consider the contradiction between the Socialist camp and the imperialist camp as the main contradiction today and imperialism as the main enemy of the world peoples. On that basis world Communist unity has to be forged.

Speaking on the national situation Comrade B.T. Ranadive said the major task is to evolve tactics to isolate the ruling party.

Some years back a Vietnamese leader had told our delegation: "All tactics and no strategy leads to revisionism and all strategy and no tactics leads to sectarianism."

The basic source of the crisis facing the Indian economy is the existing land relations. To overcome the crisis the ruling classes are seeking more foreign loans and pursuing a new economic policy whereof planning is being scuttled, the role of the public sector is being downgraded and the multinationals are being allowed to operate in India freely. In countries like India public sector does play a certain role against private foreign capital. In accordance with the wishes

of the U.S. dominated World Bank, public sector is now being liquidated so that India can be subjected to a free private economy under the growing control of foreign capital. Automation and computerisation are being introduced to cater to the foreign market. The effect is the biggest danger to the independence of our country.

Bringing out the relevance of these developments to our tactics, B.T. Ranadive noted that smaller capitalists have started feeling panicky and one section of the ruling classes have started resisting this policy. Under the stress of crisis, even the upper section of peasantry are being affected by falling prices of agricultural products and increase in taxes, etc.

### **Threats Facing India**

Another contradictory development is that while the ruling classes and the ruling party are still holding the policy of Non-Alignment, at the same time generous concessions are being given to the multinationals. There will be terrific pressure on the economy from the multinationals. It may, therefore, affect our foreign policy. The main weakness of the present situation is that people are not being involved.

The Non-Aligned Movement is playing an important role in changing the balance of forces in the world. The national liberation and anti-imperialist movements are in favour of maintaining world peace, inspite of vacillations in the Non-Aligned Movement.

To emphasise only vacillations is a wrong attitude, as it does not take into account the role the NAM plays against imperialist conspiracies. Contradiction between our big bourgeoisie and imperialism is in interest of our struggles on various fronts, particularly on the front of foreign policy.

Sharpening of the contradiction between imperialism and the Indian people is also to be considered. Imperialist intervention has been evident from the Khalistan movement, financing of the Assamese secessionists and, finally, the assassination of Indira Gandhi. Majority of the people of our country are not aware that this kind of development is taking

place. The fight for maintaining the integrity of the country is a fight against authoritarianism, B.T. Ranadive said.

Divisive forces are the direct products of compromise between landlords and the bourgeoisie, between imperialism and the ruling classes. Religion, caste, regionalism, etc. are the legacies of the antiquated land relations. Imperialists are playing a clever game with tribal people, poor people, etc. The fact is that national unity cannot be defended by the ruling classes at all; it is the CPI(M) and other Left and democratic forces who have to take up the challenge. We also come across the bankrupt policy of the Congress(I) which compromises with communalism. However, Congress(I) and communal forces cannot be equated.

### **Collapse of Democracy**

Democracy is collapsing; only the form of parliamentary democracy remains. The judiciary, police, administration, everything is collapsing. This has also a bearing upon the class struggle in our country.

But the two Left Front Governments have not collapsed in spite of several attacks on them by the Centre. Suppression of the common people is the requirement of bourgeois-landlord alliance. There are comrades who do not understand that the existence of the two Left Front Governments for more than eight years is not a gift of the ruling classes, but a result of acute class struggle. The classes behind these Left Front Governments and the Congress(I) Government are different. The Left Front Governments are the advance outposts of democracy and their relevance cannot be grasped unless we recognize the class realities in our country.

### **Broad Unity**

In order to demolish the authoritarian regime, B.T. Ranadive said that not a single instance of conflict within the ruling alliance should be ignored.

The collapse of democratic norms affects not only the working people, the CPI(M) and other Left parties, it also

affects the other bourgeois Opposition parties who can also join the struggle against authoritarianism. The question of Centre-State relations has become a major national question due to the role played by the CPI(M).

B.T. Ranadive said that the Party should rouse the people for their basic demands and fight divisions among the toilers like the one on the reservation issue. In the absence of Party's work among the most backward sections, to mobilize them for common struggles, reactionary forces, imperialist agencies and Congress(I) utilize them for dividing the people.

Emphasising the importance of building the Left unity, B.T. Ranadive said that it is the only way to join in a common stream all those people who get disillusioned with the bourgeois-landlord parties. He also called upon the Party to initiate and intervene in the mass actions to further move towards the objective of People's Democracy.

## Political Resolution Adopted by the Twelfth Congress of CPI(M) held in Calcutta on December 25-30, 1985\*

### INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The Vijayawada Congress of the Party noted that world capitalism engulfed in a crisis which was the worst since the 1930 crisis.

Not all the talk of the industrial and technological revolution rescuing capitalist society could protect it from the crisis, while the Socialist world continued to develop without crisis, emphasising the qualitative difference between the two systems.

By 1983 the capitalist world began to heave a sigh of relief claiming that it was getting out of the recession. But the pace of recovery was extremely feeble. The growth rate of GDP was estimated at only 2.2 per cent.

The recovery continued in 1984 and the year turned out somewhat better for the leading capitalist countries than expected earlier.

This much-advertised recovery was distributed unevenly though it came as a great relief to the capitalist spokesmen. But the most optimistic spokesmen were unable to maintain that the new year would be able to keep up the tempo of the previous one.

World Bank's President Clausen said in an interview with *Xinhua* on December 31, 1984, that the world economic recovery would continue in 1985 but it was not expected to go on rising as in 1984.

He estimated that in 1985 the growth rate of the gross

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\*Published as a booklet.

national product of the United States would be less than in 1984, but that of the other countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development would be greater.

### **Recovery Slows Down**

The first six months of 1985 have borne out Clausen's estimate. In almost all advanced countries the recovery has slowed down, intensifying all the problems.

According to the figures published in Rome by the Central Institute of Statistics, during the first half of the year, Italy's industrial output increased only 1.1 per cent over the same period of last year. Exports rose by 12.4 per cent over the same period of last year, and imports increased by 22.5 per cent, leading to a foreign trade deficit of 5.7 billion dollars in the first half of the year. The number of unemployed increased by 12.5 per cent reaching 2.855 million, 0.137 million more than in the same period of last year, while the inflation rate remained at 8.7 per cent.

According to official figures released on August 19 by the Centre of Statistical Office, the gross domestic product of Britain rose by 0.6 per cent from April to June compared with a 1.5 per cent increase in the first quarter of the year. The underlined rate of growth was about 3 per cent. The GDP now stands at 4.5 per cent above its previous peak in 1979. However, industrial production has still not reached its pre-recession levels and manufacturing output remains below them.

The report of the OECD released in August in Paris forecast for France an average economic growth rate of 1.25 per cent annually in 1985-86 due to the domestic market demand; foreign demand would not grow enough to halt continuous decline in employment. In 1985, productive employment fell by 200 thousand compared with 240 thousand in 1984.

According to Government sources, the U.S. economy grew at a weak annual rate of 1.7 per cent from April to June this year. In the first quarter the economy grew only by 0.3 per

cent; for the first half of the year the growth rate is only 1 per cent as against the first six months' growth rate of 8.6 per cent last year.

To reach the Reagan Administration's projection of 3.9 per cent growth for 1985, the economy will have to achieve a 6.9 per cent growth rate in the second half of the year, a rate beyond reach.

A strong dollar and decline in exports are the causes of the poor performance of the U.S. economy. According to the Commerce Department of the Government, exports declined at an annual rate of 12.5 per cent in the second quarter, the third consecutive decline, while imports continued to rise, on top of a giant annual rate of increase of 30 per cent in the first three months of the year. Many economists feel that this delicate situation may lead to a recession any time.

Notwithstanding the optimistic forecast about the West German economy, the economy and the country are facing great difficulties. A joint statement issued by the Federal German Government and the Federation of German Trade Unions considered that the unemployment problem was disturbing the country's economy and political life. The number of jobless soared to 2.2 million in May this year at a rate of 8.6 per cent. West Germany's recovery depends on introduction of more advanced technology in competition with the USA and Japan, which must lead to greater and greater unemployment.

The Economic Report of the Japanese Economic Planning Committee, released in August, said that the Japanese economy would enjoy continuous growth in fiscal 1985. In fiscal 1984, the economy showed a 5.7 per cent growth 0.4 per cent higher than the Government's estimates.

But in the first quarter of 1985, the GNP growth was as low as 0.4 per cent, the lowest in ten years. In the second quarter of the year Japan fared better, the growth made possible by increased exports to China and the USA. Japan's export surplus is already drawing protests from other partners,

including the USA, and demands are made that Japan should open its market and economy to its trading allies. All this including the condition of the US economy, leads to uncertainty about Japan's economy.

Such is the character of the capitalist recovery. Needless to say that for the underdeveloped and Third World countries there is no recovery but actually greater victimisation to shoulder the burden of the 'recovery' of the advanced countries. These burdens are being passed on through increased debt obligations, unfavourable terms of trade, protective measures against imports from these countries and demands for import liberalization. Many of these countries are facing a desperate situation and are unable to meet their obligations.

### **High Rate of Unemployment**

Notwithstanding the recovery, the unemployment rate in the USA did not decline. The rate at the beginning of the last quarter of the year, 1984, was 7.4 per cent which meant that 8.5 million Americans had no work. In 1985, the rate of unemployment in America is practically the same.

Unemployment in the OECD countries topped the 13 million mark in December last according to the figures released by the EEC Statistical Office in January 1985. The December figure was the highest on record and represented an unemployment rate of 11.6 per cent compared with 11.1 per cent a year earlier in 1983.

In January 1985, British unemployment rose sharply by more than one hundred and twenty one thousands to a record high of 3.4 million according to the figures of the Employment Department released on January 31. The jobless figure is equivalent to 13.9 per cent of the workforce in the country. Britain's unemployment rate is above the EEC average of 10.7 per cent and the average of the Western countries as a whole of 8.1 per cent. There was no relaxation in the unemployment situation by the middle of 1985.

In France the number of jobless rose from 2.1 million in

1984 to 2.5 million at the end of the year. The jobless rate in France was as high as 13 per cent.

In Italy unemployment during the year rose to 10.4 per cent with the number of unemployed reaching 2.4 million, according to the Italian Institute of Statistics.

In West Germany the most optimistic forecast for 1985 was of a decline of 200 thousand in the number of jobless.

In Japan the total figure for jobless reached 1.60 million or 2.7 per cent of the labour force in 1984, the highest since the Government began compiling statistics in 1953. But unemployment appeared to be much smaller in Japan than the USA or Britain. This is because people who work one hour in any given week are considered as employed in Japan.

Economic recovery, in capitalist phraseology, does not mean any relief to the mass of people. In fact it means that capitalist profits increase at the cost of the people, increasing their miseries. It denotes terrific attacks on people's living standards and jobs to inflate the profits of the monopolists. This is a characteristic feature of the present recovery also.

The unemployment and the attending economic miseries in the capitalist economy show that the burden of the economic crisis and readjustment have been transferred to the people, the usual scapegoats and victims of capitalist crisis. At the same time the fragility and instability also show that capitalism cannot solve its crisis, its basic contradictions, even with the instruments of State monopoly manipulations. All the devices it employs, from inflation, interest rates to trade wars, boomerang on the economy making it more and more vulnerable.

The capitalist economy under State monopoly regulation cannot exist without a huge expenditure on destructive armaments, on military budgets. Preparations for genocidal destruction of humanity is the pre-condition for maintaining the earnings of high monopolist profits. This reveals the anti-human character of the imperialist capitalist system, as the huge resources misdirected towards nuclear and other

armaments could be used for productive purposes and distribution for general well-being, abolishing the scourge of unemployment and backwardness.

Under State monopoly regulation the multinationals monopolise the capital resources and investment through the medium of State expenditure. In 1982, Government spending in the USA ate up 36.6 per cent of the GDP as against 27.3 per cent in Japan and 43.7 per cent in EEC countries.

The strain on the economy of useless military expenditure is introducing economic uncertainties in the current year. Statesmen and bourgeois economic experts alike are not sure whether the stability of the economics can be maintained.

The crisis and the slow recovery expose monetarism, also termed Reaganism, as an instrument of seeking recovery at the expense of the masses by lowering their standard of living. Monetarist theorists simplify the problem of the capitalist society when they contend that healthy economic development is guaranteed if the growth of money supply is controlled to correspond to the growth of the domestic product. According to the monetarists, if the Government succeeds in controlling the dynamics of the liquid assets, inflation will be no problem and the condition for capital accumulation and economic growth will improve.

### **Class Offensive**

This non-class phraseology, however, conceals a class offensive. Whose liquid assets are to be controlled? And in whose interest? It turns out that this new wisdom amounts to directing all capitalist Governments to curtail and decrease expenditure on social security and welfare measures, to curtail expenditure on wages, so that the liquid assets correspond to the GDP. In the USA, monetarism has led to huge concessions to the capitalists while it has led to huge cuts in social expenditures for the masses. In Britain, monetarism means cuts in social spending, closure of State enterprises and restrictions on trade union rights. No wonder in the

years of Reaganomics (from 1980 to 1984), according to *Business Week*, the material conditions of 60 per cent of U S. families declined, while the real income of the top 20 per cent increased. No wonder the number of unemployed in the advanced capitalist countries exceeds 30 million.

The way out of the crisis under these conditions, is being sought through the bolstering of military expenditure, huge deficit budgets, the production of armaments and nuclear war preparations. The bolstering of the economy is sought to be achieved through this unproductive expenditure for which the State is forced to shell out billions. Seeking to change the balance of forces following the rise of the Socialist camp and the end of colonialism, military power is being built to reopen the world for imperialism.

The crisis, therefore, has sharpened all the contradictions making the present period, a period of social upheaval, of continuous changes, a period of aggressive attacks from imperialism and the counter-reply from the people and the revolutionary forces.

### **Sharpened Conflict in the Advanced Capitalist Countries**

The crisis and its effects announce the failure of State monopoly capitalism to regulate the economy, but show that despite its devastating effects on the people, the profits of the monopolists, of the multinationals, go on mounting as the entire policy of the State is directed towards protecting their interests. This identification of the State with monopolies, with the industrial-military complex, narrows its social base to the extreme, rendering possible wide mass movements embracing widely disparate economic strata. This is one of the reasons for the intensification of the class struggle in the advanced capitalist countries.

The unproductive military expenditure, bolstered by inflation and robbery of incomes, becomes the constant policy of State monopoly capitalism and aggravates all the elements of the crisis, narrowing of the market, shrinkage of

the purchasing power of the people and resistance of the working class.

The latter element is an important factor in the developed capitalist countries where mass parties of the working class and organized trade unions, embracing millions, exist. The policy of restricting wages during inflation in the name of counter-inflationary measures, is resisted by the workers. The various austerity programmes, budgetary cuts and anti-inflationary devices have one objective in common, viz., to deprive more and more workers of their jobs and incomes and lessen the responsibility on the part of the Government to look after them. In the 1983 crisis, attacks on social security measures were made in the State leading to working class resistance. Women and children have been particular victims of these attacks on rights to social security. In these countries, under the national insurance schemes and welfare measures, any increase in the unemployed has to be compensated by the State. These rights, won over decades of earlier struggles, are being attacked, leading to greater intensification of struggles.

Besides, in the present crisis, closure of factories has led to prolonged resistance by the workers. The historic strike of the British coalminers, which lasted for a year, indicated the sharpness of the class struggle in the advanced capitalist countries.

Prolonged and bitterly fought strikes have been taking place in these years in these countries. The continuing unemployment in the midst of recovery is bound to intensify the struggle and pit the mass of the people against militarisation of the economy and inflated military budgets. The class discontent is now more and more expressing itself in opposition to war, in the struggle for peace, leading to wide participation of the working masses in defence of peace.

### **Socialist World**

In contrast to the capitalist world, which is in its deepest economic crisis since the 1930s, leading to intensified

contradictions between the developed capitalist countries, the Socialist countries, free from crisis and exerting all their efforts in the cause of peace, have registered further advances in Socialist construction, and the economic integration of the Socialist member countries of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance has been further strengthened.

The Socialist countries today produce around 40 per cent of the total world steel output and have surpassed many industrialised capitalist States in the per capita output of many manufactured goods.

Despite the fact that they are being forced to spend precious resources for defence because of the nuclear war-drive of the imperialists, and that they cannot completely seal themselves off from the fall-out of the world capitalist crisis, the Socialist countries are able to ensure for their people, a continually rising all sided advance of their life.

The experience of Poland reveals the basic strength of the Socialist system. Poland is marching ahead, having frustrated the attempt at destabilization which was patronised by imperialism.

The CMEA countries can be rightly proud of the impressive results of their socio-economic development. A continuous rise in production has resulted in a steady growth of the national income and better living standards for the people. The CMEA countries are making faster economic progress than the capitalist world. Noteworthy in this context are the achievements of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, which completed their liberation only a decade ago, and have overcome the ravages of the war and are making steady advances despite the difficulties created by the Pol Pot remnants, the reactionary regime in Thailand and their U.S. imperialist patrons. The CMEA, at its last summit, made special provisions to accelerate the economic advancement of Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia. Similar advances are being made by Socialist countries not belonging to the CMEA.

For instance, the People's Republic of China which has been introducing a series of economic reforms, has been

advancing both in industry and agriculture. Compared to 1983, in 1984 the total value of industrial output of the PRC increased by 14 per cent and total agricultural output value by 14.5 per cent; the total payroll of workers and other employees went up by 19 per cent and per capita net income of peasant families by 14.7 per cent.

In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, industrial production had been growing at an average annual rate of 15.9 per cent between 1970-79, and in the eighties this figure is being surpassed, along with big advances in agricultural production.

The Soviet Union and other Socialist countries have been continually expanding their trade and other economic relations with the developing countries with immense benefit to the latter.

The struggle for peace waged by the Warsaw Pact countries with the support of the people of the world, together with the military preparedness of the Soviet Union which is determined to see that the existing military parity is not upset in favour of imperialism, has so far acted as a strong deterrent against the nuclear warmongers.

The Soviet Union has been extending unstinted help to Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. This help and the fraternal role played by Vietnam in Kampuchea and Laos, have helped to frustrate the imperialist designs in Indo-China.

Socialist help, primarily from the Soviet Union and Cuba, to the fighting people of Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Afghanistan and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and the support of all Socialist countries to the cause of Palestinian liberation, their firm opposition to the Israeli aggressors, have strengthened the anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist and anti-racist forces everywhere.

The support of the Soviet Union and all Socialist countries, some of whom are members of the Non-Aligned Movement, has given immeasurable strength to this movement which stands for peace and comes out against imperialist war machinations.

### **Inter-Imperialist Contradictions**

In the situation created by the crisis, inter-imperialist conflicts and rivalries are sharpening, though they are not powerful enough to stop the U.S. drive towards a nuclear war. But the economic rivalries for the world market, the uneven technological development of the imperialist countries, the selfish economic policy pursued by the USA, and finally the USA's dictatorial demands on its partners for increased military expenditures, are all leading to resistance on the part of the allies. The Star Wars project of Reagan is seen as U.S. domination on the question of war and peace, and understood as a project for the defence of the USA rather than the defence of all its allies, and has specially met with strong resistance from France. The siting of the missiles as well as the demand that more money should be spent on conventional weapons has also led opposition.

The Bonn Summit of Western Powers in May 1985, showed up the division in the Star Wars project. At the meeting Rome said that it has yet to decide its attitude to the project. Meanwhile the Danish Folketing adopted resolutions in 1983 and 1984 calling upon the Government to oppose the space plan and Greece and Australia turned down the invitation to take part in the research programme. Recently, Canada also has declined to join the programme. The Australian Government decided to withdraw permission granted to the USA to test its MX missiles on its soil, and the New Zealand Government refused to allow nuclear-armed ships of the USA into its harbours leading to the virtual collapse of ANZUS. The dissidence has reached beyond Europe.

Along with this, conflict on economic matters and policies is getting sharpened. Currently the EEC, the USA and Japan are involved in battling with each other. The same rivalries go on inside the EEC also. But it is the conflict with the USA which has sharpened the rivalries and pushed each side into using tariffs against the other. Conflicts have developed between the USA and Japan because of Japan's huge favourable balance of trade with the USA, partially the

creation of the American Administration's policies. The USA is now demanding that Japan should throw open its markets to imports from the USA.

America's high interest rates which denude the European countries of much needed capital have added to the conflict.

These economic tensions were already reflected in the recent Bonn meeting of the Seven. Washington with its huge balance of trade deficit wanted to open talks within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT). At the conference the U.S. sought to ease the situation at the expense of its partners. But it was strongly opposed by the French President who would not agree to fix the date for the GATT talks, demanding that the trade talks should be linked to the reforms of the International Monetary Fund and talks on the development of the Third World. The USA was opposed to both proposals. The IMF helps it to gain a dominating influence which it is not prepared to give up. Having failed to achieve its objective, the USA had to content itself with a resolution to hold preliminary talks on the issues raised.

Despite these differences, the European allies and Japan continue to be part of the war front of the U.S. imperialists. They help the U.S. plans as they have done by agreeing to site U.S. missiles in their territories. The Thatcher government has joined the U.S. Star Wars programme. Although as pointed out above, their rivalries are not powerful enough to stop the drive towards nuclear war, their vacillations and hesitations often play a retarding role in the wardrive of U.S. imperialism.

The military expenditure of the USA and other imperialist countries has reached astronomic proportions. Washington has assigned 280 billion dollars to the Pentagon for 1984 and this will go up to 425 billion dollars in 1988. The aggregate military expenditure of the capitalist countries had increased from 24 billion dollars in 1950 to more than 400 billion dollars in 1982. The Nakasone Government of Japan which has been given the status of a NATO partner in the

East by the USA, has decided to give up the country's long standing decision on keeping the limit of the outlay on military expenditure below one per cent of the GNP.

### **Aggravation of Conflicts with Third World Countries**

The mounting debt load of Third World countries and the consequent dependence of many of their economies on the Western world, lead to an intense sharpening of the conflict between imperialism and these countries. The foreign debt of these countries has risen from 75 billion dollars in 1970 to 900 to 1,000 billion dollars in 1984, which is enough to underline the dependence of their economies on Western help.

This, of course, need not have happened if the Governments of these countries had put an end to pre-capitalist relations and released the productive forces of their countries for rapid economic advance.

Imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists, by their intervention and creation of tensions in various parts of the world, are forcing many Third World countries to spend more and more on their military budgets escalating their debts even further.

The debt payments are inflated by rising interest rates, by adverse terms of trade, by the robberies conducted by the multinationals, and the conditionalities imposed by the IMF and the World Bank. Foreign aid has become a debt trap and a death trap. Thus the underdeveloped world was faced with the manipulation of the interest rates, the predatory role of the multinationals and political limitations on trade, boycott and sanctions, and the rising rate of dollar exchange. The huge drain from Third World countries, this loot, has been the source of financing the militarization of the U.S. economy, its huge budget deficit and its high expenditure on the war-drive.

Fidel Castro recently exposed this link between U.S. military expenditure and debt loot in the following words:

“The U.S. has forced a financial and monetary policy on the rest of the world, exclusively to solve its economic difficulties. It is spending money on military equipment at the rate of approximately 300 billion dollars a year. We the Third World are financing the U.S. armaments with these dollars that cost us much.”

But this drain is proving the last straw and some countries have started resisting and announcing that they will pay what they can and nothing more. Peru, for instance, has refused to make payments exceeding ten per cent of its export earnings and has decided to take steps to counter the retaliatory measures of the U.S. Administration.

### **U.S. Intervention in Latin America**

This is sharpening the conflicts and intensifies U.S. intervention in Latin America. The U.S. intervened with arms and carried out a cowardly aggression against tiny Grenada two years back. It protects the murderous regime of El Salvador by supplying it with arms and money.

The prime objective of the U.S. imperialists' Central American policy is to crush the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua. It is within the framework of the anti-Nicaraguan campaign that the Pentagon has consolidated its presence in Honduras, which, along with El Salvador and Guatemala, has been turned into an American stronghold in Central America. The “contras”, CIA mercenaries, have been trained and armed by U.S. imperialism and are faithfully serving it, using openly terroristic sanguinary methods against the Nicaraguan people.

In pursuance of its aggressive designs, in May this year, Reagan announced economic sanctions against Nicaragua. All U.S. trade with Nicaragua was banned, and air and sea communications were stopped. To enforce the sanction, the CIA mined Nicaragua's port to prevent foreign consignments from reaching that country. The economic blockade has been imposed under the ridiculous excuse that Nicaragua was threatening American security and its foreign policy. The

U.S. officials have openly declared that "military exercises, naval manoeuvres, internal opposition (both armed and un-armed)" were quite legitimate and justifiable "pressures" which the USA simply must use against Nicaragua in order to modify the "Sandinista behaviour". What is meant by this was made clear by the U.S. State Department explanation in February last—that the U.S. is in fact seeking to make Nicaragua disarm unilaterally, despite the undeclared war unleashed against it, and to determine Nicaragua's political system and its relations with other States.

The Nicaraguan people are waging a heroic struggle to defend their freedom and advance the Sandinista revolutions while taking a positive attitude to maintaining peace in Central America and resolving its problems through negotiations. The Sandinista Government accepted the Contadora proposals while the USA and its henchmen scuttled them. The USA also broke off the bilateral talks with Nicaragua which were being held in the Mexican town of Manzanillo. Vast sections of the people in Latin America, as also the ruling classes of some of the countries in the region, are beginning to see that the USA's struggle against so-called "terrorism" is spearheaded first and foremost against revolutionary Nicaragua and also against all the national liberation and patriotic forces of Central America.

Nicaragua is not without friends. International opinion and the progressive forces in the world are rallying to its defence. When President Ortega of Nicaragua visited Moscow at the end of April this year, CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev assured him that the USSR would render it assistance for economic development as well as political and diplomatic support in upholding its sovereignty.

### **Struggle Against Racism and Imperialism in Africa**

Faced by growing resistance, the U.S. imperialists are desperately intervening in all parts of the globe to extend their influence and domination and bring the recalcitrant countries

and people under their control. In Africa they continue open support to the South African racists even after the worldwide revulsion against the state of Emergency declared by the racist Botha regime. Over 700 Black people have been killed in firings and other attacks in the last twenty months and thousands have been detained without trial. Against the anti-apartheid struggle waged by South African Blacks, the U.S. and Britain support the tyranny of the White regime. They hypocritically talk about "constructive engagements in dialogue" and refuse to take any genuine step against the African regime though public opinion in their countries demands it. Unable to resist the American Congress pressure for sanctions, Reagan has come out with some fake measures which create no difficulty for the Botha regime. Britain also has adopted fake sanctions, while secretly it renders every possible help to it. They both continue to support South African aggression against Angola and its plot to overthrow the MPLA Party of Labour and Government and replace it by the counter-revolutionary UNITA gang.

Defying all U.N. decisions and world public opinion, the racist regime of South Africa is denying Namibia its freedom and continuing to keep it as its colony. Instead of implementing the U.N. decision for U.N. supervised elections to form the Government of independent Namibia, the regime in Pretoria has imposed its puppet government on it. The racist regime would not have dared to take up such an attitude of defiance but for the support it is getting from the imperialists, especially the USA and Britain, all of them parties to the U.N. decision to grant independence to Namibia, and the confidence that the USA with its veto power in the Security Council would prevent the United Nations from taking any effective measures against it. The Namibian people, led by the South-West Africa People's Organization, their recognized spokesman, are waging an armed struggle against the racist-colonialist regime for the liberation of their country. In its attempt to suppress the armed struggle and the SWAPO, the South African regime is with impunity committing aggression

on front-line African States like Angola, and the U.S. imperialists keep the Security Council's hands tied.

The liberation struggle of the people of **Western Sahara** has achieved tremendous successes. Led by the Polisario Front, they had begun their struggle against the Spanish colonisers, and after the withdrawal of Spain, continued it against the reactionary regime of Morocco which wanted to annex Western Sahara. The Polisario Front has liberated two-thirds of the territory, forced Mauretania to make peace, set up the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic and introduced radical changes in agrarian relations and other spheres for the benefit of the people. Polisario Front wants to have a peaceful settlement of the problem with Morocco, but the Moroccan regime refused to abide by the decisions of both the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations to make direct contact with the Polisario Front to arrange for a plebiscite. The Moroccan regime was prepared even to disrupt the OAU on this issue, but its efforts to torpedo the last OAU summit did not succeed. The SADR is a member of the OAU and has been recognised by 63 countries, the latest being India. The Moroccan regime, despite all the help from the U.S. imperialists in arms and money, is not able to prevent the successful advance of the Saharawi people towards complete liberation of their country.

### **U.S. Manoeuvres in Asia**

The U.S. continues to intervene in **West Asia** and faces repeated fiascos of its policy. Its latest act of intervention called for boycott of the Beirut airport because of the hijacking of a U.S. plane. This again roused common Arab feeling against the imperialist bloc. Britain, ever ready to toe the U.S. line, immediately accepted the U.S. boycott proposal, but the other European allies hesitated. If they had fallen in line, it would have meant a direct confrontation between the former colonial powers and the newly liberated Arab countries. This attempt of the U.S. has also fallen through.

Two years back, the U.S. intervened in **Lebanon** with its

marines and had to retreat post-haste, disgraced before the world. It tried to regain its prestige by attacking Grenada in a cowardly way which again defaced its image.

In West Asia the U.S. befriends aggressive Israel to beat back the Arabs and has entered into a special treaty with it which is nothing but a treaty of aggression. The U.S. was the only country whose Government openly justified the recent Israeli aggression on Tunisia.

Notwithstanding the treachery and vacillations of some of the Arab Governments, some of whom are flushed with money, the U.S. plans to subdue the Arabs are not succeeding. True, the U.S. imperialist manoeuvres and disruption of Arab unity have caused a setback to the liberation movement, but the fight goes on. The plot to divide Lebanon failed. Syria and Libya remained firmly opposed to U.S. designs. Governments which submit to U.S. pressure find it difficult to carry on because such a policy requires close relations and subservience to Israel which is considered a common enemy by all Arab people.

The reactionary and compromising Governments, as well as the Arab people, know that there cannot be any West Asian settlement without the settlement of the **Palestinian** question. In July 1984, the Soviet Union proposed an international conference with the participation of parties involved in the Palestinian problem, together with the USA, the USSR and other interested States. The proposal was welcomed by the Arab people but was rejected by the USA. It was not prepared to face an international conference after its marines fiasco in 1983.

But the USA and its compromising allies have been trying to arrange a fake conference whose procedures and composition would be acceptable to the USA and Israel. The unfortunate split among the Palestinianians following the agreement between Yasser Arafat and King of Jordan in tune with the Camp David Spirit, came in handy for U.S. intrigues. The Shiaite fundamentalists in Lebanon are also creating fresh problems.

The common front of the people of Third World countries is weakened by differences and conflicts between the governments of some Third World countries. The U.S. imperialists are ever ready to take advantage of the situation.

The insane war between **Iran** and **Iraq**, which has entered its sixth year now, constitutes a source of danger to the Arab world and the anti-imperialist movement. The war has already taken a toll of 500,000-700,000 lives, ruined cities and towns, and crippled the economies of both the countries. It has exposed the fraud of Islamic solidarity, with Iraqi and Iranian Muslims killing each other. Both the countries have experienced a huge strain on their resources and will be completely dependent on outside help for post-war reconstruction, and the imperialists are calculating that they can lay their hands on their oil resources from where they were ousted only a few years ago. Though it was Iraq that started the war, today it is Iran which is standing in the way of a cease-fire and peace, laying down impossible conditions like Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's overthrow, huge indemnities, etc. Iran has rejected all proposals made by the Non-Aligned Movement and also Islamic countries. It is in the interests of the people of the two countries and the democratic and anti-imperialist forces in the world that this futile war ends forthwith. Its prolongation only enables the U.S. imperialists to intervene by proxy and turn the conflict to their advantage.

Apart from direct intervention, the U.S. imperialists are using Islamic fundamentalism to stem the tide of anti-imperialist movements. Reactionary forces in many Muslim countries are also using Islamic fundamentalism to disrupt the democratic movements in their countries, thus weakening the anti-imperialist struggle. This is happening in Iran now and had happened earlier in Sudan and some other countries.

The USA arms the **Afghan** counter-revolutionaries and with the aid of Pakistan attempts to organise sabotage and counter-revolution against the democratic Government of

Afghanistan. In South-East Asia the U.S. imperialists carry on their aggressive moves against Vietnam and Kampuchea and support the Pol Pot followers and interventionists. Thailand, like Pakistan, had become the base for carrying on U.S. operations.

The people of **Kampuchea** are waging a brave struggle for their freedom and independence. The Vietnamese people are undergoing untold sacrifices to help the Kampuchean people. The determination of the two peoples has till now frustrated the efforts of the Pol Pot clique, aided by U.S. weapons, to gain ascendance. This is a big defeat for the U.S. imperialists.

In **East Asia** U.S. imperialism harnesses the counter-revolutionary Government of South Korea for its purpose of aggression and conflict with the **Democratic People's Republic of Korea**. Nuclear weapons have been placed in South Korea, the Washington-Tokyo-Seoul axis is being built with sophisticated weapons, placed at the disposal of Seoul.

The U.S. imperialists, in violation of the three China-U.S. joint communiques governing the relations between the two countries, continue to implement the provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act and are pouring sophisticated arms into Taiwan. Taiwan thus continues to be a U.S. base creating tension in the whole East Asian region.

In the **Indian sub-continent** the USA conspires to surround India with a ring of reactionary Governments subservient to it, supplies sophisticated arms to Pakistan for purposes of aggression, tries to rouse chauvinist feelings against India taking advantage of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, and openly supports internal disruptive and secessionist forces in pursuance of its policy of dismemberment of India. The U.S. imperialists are trying to ring India with hostile bases in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and the Indian Ocean. Through its agents and reactionary elements in India, it directs attacks on the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and India's friendship with Socialist countries.

The USA refused to agree to the demand for turning the

Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. It has done everything to sabotage the decision of the U.N. to convene a conference for this purpose. Regardless of the wishes of the littoral States, the U.S. is militarising the Indian Ocean, its nuclear arms-ships are swarming all over it. It has established a nuclear naval base at Diego Garcia which constitutes a serious threat to the security of many nations, including India. The U.S. imperialist intervention in various parts of the world is forcing the Third World countries to divert their scarce resources to defence—as for instance, India, which has to spend more and more on defence because of the U.S. arming of the Pakistani military regime.

The rising democratic movement in all newly liberated countries, governed by the vested interests, plays a valiant role in fighting U.S. aggression against Third World countries and its plan of global domination. It is the anti-imperialists urge of the people, the feeling of patriotism, that has repeatedly frustrated the imperialist plans regarding the Arab world. Neither the Israeli aggression nor the compromising governments of several countries could deliver the goods and ensure success for the U.S. plans.

This, however, is the story all over the world. The democratic masses continue to fight and resist, denying final victory to U.S. plans. The struggle of the peoples of Africa, Latin America, and Asia reveals the same story. The struggle of the people of Pakistan and Bangladesh against the Martial Law regimes, the struggle of the people of Nepal against the King's tyranny and the protest of patriotic and progressive forces in Sri Lanka against Jayewardene's terrorist policy against the Tamils, constitute strong anti-imperialist forces in the sub-continent.

While correctly assigning importance to the policy of non-alignment of the governments of these countries, some Communist Parties and Socialist countries underestimate the importance of the people's struggle in Third World countries and concentrate their attention on the ruling governments. This does great harm to the anti-imperialist struggle

when the people of these countries are forging ahead decisively to wage an irreconcilable fight. Today the contradiction between the people and imperialism has sharpened beyond measure, and it will be thoroughly disruptive to underestimate the importance of the people's struggle for democracy, freedom and economic advance in these countries.

Notwithstanding the class character of the governments of non-aligned countries and their tendencies to vacillate and compromise, the Non-Aligned Movement is playing an important role in arresting the progress towards war, defending world peace, and keeping the Third World countries out of the clutches of imperialism. When India took over the chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement from Cuba, the imperialists had hoped that there would be a softening of the movement's attitude.

But this did not take place. India's continued abiding by non-alignment and upholding of NAM policies, play an important role in maintaining the balance of world forces against imperialism and nuclear war and in favour of peace. They contribute to the strengthening of the anti-forces in the world.

The weight and importance of the Non-Aligned Movement is recognised by U.S. imperialism. It, therefore, does everything to disrupt the movement from within by utilising local and temporary contradictions between neighbouring non-aligned countries. It has persuaded some of those fully allied with it, to enter the non-aligned camp and help to erode it from within.

### **Further Intensification of Contradictions Between the Imperialist and Socialist Camps, Danger of Nuclear War**

Forty years after the victory over fascism, the imperialists forgetting all the lessons of history, are again feverishly preparing for another war—a nuclear war against Socialism.

The years since the last Party Congress have witnessed a sharpened contradiction between the two systems and the camps represented by them. The contradiction between the

two social systems is the major and central contradiction of our time. It is a pivotal point of the world revolutionary process. But till recently it did not come out in the sharpened manner so directly, with the direct threat of war against the Socialist camp, with the direct call and preparation for military superiority over the Socialist countries, with feverish preparations for the unity of the entire imperialist camp. Earlier, other contradictions were occupying more attention, while the conflict between the two social systems had not created the threat of a nuclear war. By carrying out the anti-satellite test in pursuance of his Star Wars Programme, Reagan has further intensified the conflict.

The USA considers the strength of the USSR and the Socialist camp to be the biggest obstacle in the way of its plans for world domination and its immediate neo-colonialist plot. The growing popularity of Socialism and its triumphs, is activating large masses in capitalist countries. The newly-liberated countries are emboldened to resist many a plan of the U.S. because of the existence of the Soviet Union and the Socialist camp, and often direct help rendered by the USSR. These countries feel and know that they are not alone in their fight against U.S. imperialism. The U.S. fiasco in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, its failure to impose a West Asian settlement, are all results of the increased influence of the Soviet Union and the Socialist camp. The U.S. fear of Nicaragua reveals its fear of the democratic and national forces friendly to the Soviet Union and opposed to imperialist domination.

Reagan quickened the war-drive by placing Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe. The imperialists will now be able to directly strike at the heartland of the Soviet Union. The election manifesto of the Republican Party opposed signing of any agreement with the Soviet Union and criticised the previous Democratic Administration for signing them. The Reagan Administration, it is known, has not signed a single agreement with the USSR in the years of Reagan's Presidency. The Republican platform gave a clear indication that

the party will not sign any agreement in future also, it will only accentuate its nuclear strength for furtherance of war.

The crusade against Socialism was expressed in the following words : "We stand in solidarity with the peoples of Eastern Europe, the Poles, the Hungarians, East Germans, Romanians, Yugoslavs, Bulgarians, Ukrainians and all captive peoples who daily struggle against their Soviet masters."

The war drive has been planned systematically since 1980. In 1981 the U.S. National Security Council prepared a plan of ideological subversion against the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries. But this was not enough. In June 1982, addressing the British Parliament, Reagan virtually proclaimed a holy war against Communism. He called on the West to fight back Marxism-Leninism. But the real aim was not confined to an ideological battle. It was a call to the West to roll back by force and subversion the achievements of Socialism, a call to form a war alliance of the imperialist powers.

The shift of the U.S. imperialists towards an active policy of war preparations against the Soviet Union could be discerned as early as in 1982. In April of that year, Defence Secretary Casper Weinberger gave his approval for the "guidance" of preparations for a nuclear war. The U.S. Press itself called it a blueprint for turning the uneasy U.S.-USSR relations into an unrelenting war to death. A month later in May, President Reagan approved a classified document aimed at making the USSR change its system and undermining the Socialist community. And in June, Reagan openly announced his crusade against Communism, first in the speech to the British Parliament and then at the United Nations. On the 18th of the same month, the U.S. Administration decided to launch economic warfare against the USSR.

The Williamsburg summit meeting which was held in June 1983, and which was attended by the leaders of the USA, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Canada and Japan, carried forward the task of consolidating the war-drive. The summit declaration stated, "The security of our countries is

indivisible and must be apprehended on a global basis". The plain meaning of this was a call for an alliance of the imperialist Powers against the Soviet Union. It in effect says every country must consider itself to be threatened by Socialist countries and all must act together, pool their resources to attack the Socialist system.

The concern for global security was brought on the scene by Japan, whose ruling classes are well-versed in the traditions of military expeditions and aggression. It is to be noted that this was the first time since the end of the anti-fascist war that Japan participated in a gathering with the USA and NATO in drafting a statement on international security and deployment of nuclear weapons targeted against the USSR. The same discredited and disastrous game of resurrecting an aggressive force to fight the USSR is being played again. Chamberlain encouraged and incited Hitler. Now the U.S. is egging on revanchists in West Germany and aggressive circles in Japan.

In the same month of June 1983, a session of the NATO Council was held in Paris at the Foreign Ministers' level. This was another extraordinary event. For no NATO Council meeting had been held in Paris since 1966, when France withdrew from the military activities of the NATO. France boasts of a Socialist President. But this did not prevent the French leaders including the French President, from supporting the U.S. plans to deploy nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

The decision of the two June meetings indicated the emergence of a qualitatively new feature in the development of the international situation. Here is an attempt to form a worldwide coalition of major imperialist Powers directed against the USSR and other Socialist States, against all democratic and patriotic forces in the world. Both Japan, which is not formally a member of any military bloc, and France are being drawn into a system of military organisations and military preparations of the NATO. In the name of a global approach to security, the sphere of the military activities of the NATO is being extended beyond the boundaries

of the North Atlantic to cover the aggressive designs of the new combinations.

The nuclear plans of the Pentagon and NATO do not affect only Europe and the Soviet Union. They are fraught with danger for African, Asian and Latin American States also. Euro-missiles deployed in Sicily can be a source of danger to a large number of States of northern and central Africa. The NATO and South Africa virtually squeeze independent Africa into a nuclear pincer.

The countries in West Asia are equally threatened by Euro-missiles placed in Sicily and the nuclear power of Israel.

The policy of nuclear encirclement of newly liberated countries by imperialism, spreads further to the Indian Ocean which has been converted into a major region of the U.S. forward based force. From here, American armed forces are capable of threatening with nuclear strike some forty States of the area.

The appearance in the proximity of the Central American coast, of American aircraft-carriers with nuclear delivery assault aircraft on board is clear evidence of the fact that the policy of nuclear blackmail of newly liberated countries is being extended to Latin America as well.

The anti-Soviet war-drive is simultaneously a war-drive for world domination, a gang-up of old colonial Powers to re-enslave the world. In the war-drive the contradiction between the two social systems and that between imperialism and national liberation struggles are getting intensified.

Simultaneously, the USA is speeding up its efforts to build the eastern front and press another of its allies, Japan, to spend billions on armaments. The deployment of nuclear missiles in South Korea and the Philippines has already been accomplished. The Washington-Seoul-Tokyo axis is being built and Japan is being groomed as a partner on par with the European allies in the aggressive designs. The Japanese navy has been assigned police functions in a radius of 1,000 miles from its home-shores to guard the sea lanes strategic to U.S. aggression.

of new missiles in its European part. The USA responded to this by bringing into Western Europe new Pershing and Cruise missiles.

The USSR has proposed a freeze on existing nuclear weapons, to go forward to their reduction on the basis on the principle of equal security, and their eventual elimination. The Soviet Union has declared that under no circumstances would it use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries on whose territories there are no such weapons, and to respect the status of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world. Above all the Soviet Union has pledged that it will not be the first to use nuclear weapons. Socialist China has also made a similar declaration. If the imperialist powers were to make a similar pledge, that itself would mean a de facto ban on nuclear weapons.

The Reagan Administration has either rejected all these proposals or dismissed them out of hand as "propaganda". On the other hand, it has been prevaricating at the Geneva talks and using the time to go ahead with the production of newer weapons like the MX missiles, strategic bombers etc., and decided to manufacture chemical weapons. The latest is the testing of the anti-satellite weapon, despite the Soviet offer of making big cuts in nuclear weapons if the USA did not go ahead with the anti-ballistic missile programme. This test, conducted in violation of the 1972 treaty on anti-ballistic missile weapons, has proved false the U.S. claim that it is only carrying on research into its Star Wars programme. This test has taken the nuclear arms-drive to a higher level, because the Soviet Union cannot obviously sit idle without taking counter-measures. The U.S. test will whip up the arms-race in all areas, which means the threat of nuclear war will increase.

The immediate aim of the U.S. imperialists is to secure superiority in nuclear weapons so that they can strike at the USSR with impunity. They have deployed hundreds of Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe to do away with the existing parity.

Reagan's Star Wars Programme is a programme for first strike against the USSR. It consists of creating means for destroying the adversary's communications and observation satellites, to destroy the missile power of the enemy from outer space. At the end of 1983, Reagan sanctioned 26 billion dollars for a period of five years for the implementation of this programme. The first test of an anti-satellite missile launched from an F-15 fighter plane was carried out at the beginning of 1984.

The Star Wars Programme which will impose an expenditure of a trillion dollars is not a programme of defence but attack. As Mr. Robert Brown, President for the Institute of Security Studies, said in Washington, addressing a panel on space weapons in June 1984, "Space weaponry supposedly being developed as a defence against nuclear bombs would have no real effect against anything other than silo-based missiles. The net effect of such systems to both sides gives an enormous advantage to the one who strikes first."

Reagan refused to negotiate on the Star Wars Programme at the Geneva Summit in November. Nothing important could therefore emerge from the Conference, except the promise to continue the dialogue at lower levels. In the words of Gorbachev : "It has not been possible at the meeting to find solutions to the most important issues connected with the task of putting an end to the arms race and there still remain major differences on fundamental issues."

The Soviet struggle for peace, its readiness to agree to abolition of nuclear weapons, its unilateral declaration of no first strike, have enhanced its role as the leading force in the struggle for world peace, and helped the isolation of the U.S. imperialists. The "two super-powers" lobby stands exposed.

The last four years have witnessed the broadening of the peace movement and the extensive participation of mass trade union centres of Europe in it. By 1983, large national trade union centres like the British Trade Union Congress, the German Trade Union Association of the FRG, and the General

Confederation of Labour in France, began to intensify their activities in defence of peace and against deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe. The U.S. expectations that the peace movement in Europe would slacken after the deploying of the missiles were belied and it took a new vigorous turn against U.S. designs.

The peace movement with its powerful appeal against war, to save the world from destruction, now frightens the ruling classes of imperialist countries who launch repressive measures against it. Advocates of peace, active fighters in its cause, organisers, leaders and participants in the peace movement, are treated as suspects and are being subjected to surveillance. In the USA, besides imprisonment of anti-war activists, hundreds of peacefighters have been subjected to reprisals. In France, thousands have been victims of surveillance. In England, the War Office Intelligence is entrusted with the task of surveillance.

This demonstrates the growing effectiveness of the peace movement which continues to march ahead despite these repressive measures.

The widespread celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the great victory over fascism and the worldwide observance of the fortieth anniversary of the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were again an expression of the powerful urge of people everywhere for peace.

The world peace movement is becoming an irrepressible force in the battle against war. It is today the biggest international movement which brings hundreds of millions from all countries, all walks of life, to take the destiny of mankind into the hands of the people, to safeguard the existence of the human race.

The world peace movement, the international struggle for peace waged by progressive forces in different countries and the weight of the Non-Aligned Movement are a powerful counterforce to frustrate the U.S. drive towards a nuclear war. The struggle for peace carried on by the Soviet Union and countries of the Socialist Camp, together with their

preparedness to meet aggressive attacks of the imperialists, constitutes a basic condition for preserving peace.

If the desire for peace of hundreds of millions is combined with positive action, peace can be preserved and the disturbers of peace can be put in a strait-jacket.

### **Unity of the Communist Movement and of the Socialist Camp**

Today when an insane drive for a nuclear war is on, when there is intensified conflict between the two social systems, the imperialists pressing for war, the Socialist system defending peace and freedom and saving the world from the holocaust of a nuclear war, unity of the Communist movement and the Socialist camp is of utmost importance. Unity here means unity of the revolutionary vanguard of the world working class, of the victorious Socialist revolutions against the conspiracy to destroy them. Dissent means disarray and disunity of the leading force which is to lead the world in the battle for peace, freedom and Socialism. Unfortunately this unity is lacking.

No doubt there is some improvement in the relations between the two big countries of the Socialist camp, the USSR and People's China.

The visit of Chinese Vice-Premier Yao Yilin to the Soviet Union in July 1985 resulted in economic and trade agreements. According to Yao, "The two agreements are important to the long-term and steady development of economic and trade relations between the two countries." Both sides agreed that Sino-Soviet Commission on economic, trade, scientific and technological cooperation will hold its first meeting during the first half of 1986 in Beijing. This is as yet far from normalization of relations between the two big representatives of the Socialist camp.

It will be generally agreed that "In the present involved international situation, which has been strained by imperialism, relations between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union affect not only the basic interests of the

Soviet and Chinese people, but the world situation as a whole and appreciably tell on the alignment of class forces worldwide. A normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations would no doubt make for stabilizing the situation not only in Asia but throughout the world." Our Party agrees with this and therefore urgently desires for the normalization of relationship between the two countries and the restoration of unity of the Socialist camp.

The world Communist movement which got divided on ideological issues, on the application of some basic Marxist propositions, finds itself unable to develop common understanding and approach to the vital questions of war and peace.

All Communist parties sincerely desire peace and are opposed to war and yet the Communist movement is unable to speak with one voice pinpointing U.S. imperialism as the chief culprit of the armaments race. Some of them do not take seriously the dangerous utterances of imperialist leaders like Reagan who call for a war against Marxism-Leninism and declares the destruction of the USSR as its objective.

There can be no neutrality when the imperialist camp prepares for aggression against the Socialist camp. Whosoever adopts a non-partisan attitude on the question, only aids and abets imperialism whatever may be the ideological and other excuses.

These differences disrupt Communist unity in the fight against the war plans of the USA.

They lead to different practices in the present. But reality is only one and it is already driving all parties to continue their actions for preventing war and protecting peace. Honest pursuit of this objective is bound to lead to growing Communist unity. Our Party is confident that the importance of Communist unity will be realized more and more in the coming period. Our Party earnestly desires Communist unity to fight war and defend the Socialist camp. Our Party earnestly desires the unity of the Communist movement based on the basic principles of Marxism and Leninism.

## NATIONAL SITUATION

The Vijayawada Congress which met after the return of the Congress(I) to power in 1980 observed, "Today, the party which imposed Emergency in 1975 and imposed one-party dictatorial rule over the country is back in power. The contradiction between the ruling party and the people now takes place under changed conditions.

"These include accentuation of the contradictions between imperialism and the 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 the landlords and the increased strength of Left unity."

The developments of the last four years show that these contradictions have assumed a still sharper form, they are assuming new manifestations, and some entirely new problems and responsibilities have arisen. Without taking into consideration the totality of the situation, the Party will not be in a position to provide correct guidelines for its activities.

1. In spite of the loss of influence after the parliamentary elections, the ruling party under Rajiv Gandhi rouses hope among wide sections that something new is happening. The Punjab accord, the Assam settlement and the promises of a new clean administration are accepted by large sections as a Congress(I) attempt to strike a new path.

2. The political crisis of the system expresses itself in the drive towards authoritarianism. The economic crisis leading to the emergence of the new economic policy imposing new burdens on the people and compromising the interests of the country, sharpens the conflict between the people and the ruling party and the bourgeois-landlord Government, which the ruling party will try to solve by strengthening authoritarianism in the Government. The Party and the people will be faced with increased reliance on authoritarian measures in the drive for one-party rule.

3. The fight against the danger of one-party rule takes place when national unity is under constant attack; when it

is being endangered by the compromising policies of the ruling party, by the opportunist attitude of the bourgeois Opposition parties and directly assailed by imperialists and secessionist elements.

4. The contradiction with imperialism has sharpened and has taken an interventionist form. The conspiracy to dismember India is no longer concealed. But neither ruling party nor the bourgeois Opposition parties expose it and warn the people.

5. While adult franchise and the right to vote continue and India continues to have parliamentary democracy, its basis is being rapidly undermined by complete maladministration at the bottom. Parliamentary and democratic norms are rapidly collapsing in the day-to-day administration.

6. The fruits of compromise with feudal conditions are being fully reaped. Not only have the challenges of religious fundamentalism intensified, but toilers are being divided and set into hostile warring camps on the question of reservation. Instead of common class movement against unemployment, we are getting a fratricidal struggle over jobs. The problem of maintaining working class and toilers' unity is becoming acute.

7. The authoritarian drive necessarily leads to greater concentration of power at the Centre. The attack against democratic rights and the sharpened conflict over Centre-State relations sharpens the contradictions between the ruling and the oppositional bourgeois parties.

8. The non-aligned foreign policy of the country cannot be taken for granted. At present it is almost exclusively dependent on the will of the ruling party. Inside the Congress(I) all are not closely committed to it. The pro-West influence is not negligible. Many do not share the hatred of imperialism born out of the freedom struggle. The bourgeois Opposition parties are mostly opposed to the present policy of non-alignment and would prefer a tilt in the Western direction. The masses are virtually disarmed in relation to the question of foreign policy. The new economic policy

must inevitably pressurise the Government in the direction of the West and one big safeguard against imperialist influence and penetration may be endangered.

9. The conflict between the ruling party and the Left is sharpening and the Left Front Governments are under constant attack.

10. The struggle against the growing authoritarian danger is to be carried on in the context of the totality of these conditions, all of which are parts of the system. This is all the more so since the present stage of revolution in our country is anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly. The immediate struggle against the authoritarian danger cannot be divorced from the struggle to defend national unity, independence of the economy, the struggle to defend and strengthen the foreign policy of non-alignment, and the struggle against imperialist plans of destabilization. Our immediate tactics are to be related to our strategic objective of People's Democracy.

### **Conflict Between the Ruling Party and the People**

The elections, because of the special circumstances under which they took place, could not be a proper expression of the conflict between the people and the ruling party, a conflict arising out of the accumulated effects of the ruling party's economic policies.

The four years since Vijayawada have witnessed untold sufferings. The crisis of the capitalist path has got deepened and accentuated by the crisis of the world capitalist economy leading to unbearable economic conditions.

Under the capitalist path and its planning, industry could never reach the target of growth set by the Planning Com-

ording to the *Economic Survey* of the Government of 1984-85, "The average growth rate of industries in the Sixth Plan period amounts to six per cent. In each of the last three plans industrial growth has been lower than the

target. This is a matter of concern. Industrial growth rate needs to be stepped up to about eight per cent a year in the Seventh Plan period if the economy is to grow at the rate of five per cent and adequate employment is to be provided to the ever-growing labour force.”

The years also saw heavy burdens on the people through increased taxation and high prices. Wholesale prices on a point to point basis rose by 7.3 per cent in 1982-83, and by 8.3 per cent in 1983-84. Between June 2, 1984, and June 1, 1985, prices rose by 6.7 per cent. These increases came on top of an average annual increase of more than eight per cent since 1970-71.

The consumer price index number for industrial workers (1960=100) reveals constant inflationary pressure on the living standard of the workers and employees. In 1981-82, the annual rate of inflation for a major part of the year ranged between 13 and 11 per cent. In 1982-83, it ranged between 9.8 and 6.8 per cent. In 1983-84, it was between 13.7 and 10.7 per cent and in the first eight months of 1984-85 it ranged between eight and six per cent. No wonder with this continuous inflationary rise, the value of the rupee has been reduced to 12.89 paise compared to what it was in 1955.

Equally monstrous was the additional burden of taxation in these years. The 1985 Union and Railway Budgets imposed a heavy load of taxation of nearly Rs. 1900 crore on the people while giving relief to the capitalists. Huge deficit budgets by setting in inflationary prices have added to the woes of the people. For 1985-86, the estimated budget deficit is Rs. 3985 crore, more than double the estimated figure of Rs. 1717 crore for the last year. Within six months of the presentation of the budget, the deficit has exceeded 5000 crores of rupees.

The situation is further compounded by the enormous growth of black money engendered by official policies. This parallel economy levies further tributes on the people and the Government policies have proved totally incapable of controlling it.

High taxation, deficit financing, and high prices which were considered to be instruments of national planning are now revealed as instruments of transferring the burdens of the crisis to the backs of the people. This should reveal the class character of the economic recovery claimed by the Government in its *Economic Survey*.

### **Unprecedented Crisis**

But the full story of the crisis is not revealed by these figures. India never witnessed such a widespread and intense crisis as the present one. Unemployment has reached colossal proportions and registered unemployment exceeds 2.5 crores. Rural unemployment is more than double this figure.

Every year of the Sixth Plan saw an increase in the number of sick industrial units, stamping the Plan years as years of crisis. Since December 1979 the percentage of sick industrial units has increased as follows :

December 1980	....	9
December 1981	....	9
December 1982	....	111 6
December 1983	....	33

Sickness extends to all major industries—cotton textiles and jute engineering and electricals, sugar, tea, iron and steel and chemicals.

The crisis extends to industries like coir, cashewnut, handloom and others. Here, again, tens of thousands are out of a job without the possibility of regaining employment. The four years have seen tremendous acceleration of the process of destruction of the traditional small and village industries which sustain millions of people. The process of ruination of these industries gets intensified with the advance of new industries which compete with them and ruin their market. Traditional industries like coir, cashew, handloom, toddy-tapping, sericulture, carpet-weaving, coastal and inland fishing are in deep ruins. The devastation of old cottage industries and traditional village handicrafts uproots

millions from their jobs without any hope of alternate employment.

According to the latest report of the Labour Ministry, out of 80,110 sick industrial units, large, medium and small, 7409 were considered by the financing banks as potentially viable while as many as 63,145 were considered as non-viable. Banks have yet to decide about the viability of the remaining 9566 sick industrial units.

Non-viability means these thousands of concerns cannot be revived, so much productive capacity must perish and so many thousands of workers must join the ranks of the permanently unemployed.

This is the havoc done by private capital and the capitalist path to the economy. Private capital has shown itself incapable of using the existing productive capacity. The mismanagement of both the cotton textile and jute industry owners was long ago exposed and the trade union movement demanded their nationalization and reorganization. In West Bengal, all trade union centres, all political parties, including the Congress(I), joined in demanding nationalization of the jute industry. The Government not only turned down the demand but it is giving fresh encouragement to private capital and opening new avenues for its exploitation and manipulation of the economy.

### **Agrarian Crisis**

The failure of Congress agrarian reforms, the retention of antiquated agrarian relations over a greater part of the country and the continued concentration of land in the hands of small sections, make such crisis inevitable.

The Party Programme (1964) states "Nearly two decades of Congress rule have proved beyond any shadow of doubt that the aim and direction of its agrarian policies is not to smash the feudal and semi-feudal fetters on our land relations and thus liberate the peasant from age-old bondage, but to transform the feudal landlords into capitalist landlords and develop a stratum of rich peasants. They want to depend

upon the landless and rich peasant section to produce the surplus of agricultural products necessary for capitalist development. They also want to make these sections the main political base of the ruling class in the countryside.”

This policy has inevitably led to growing neglect of the interest of the mass of peasants, increase in the incidents of poverty and thereby an inevitable shrinking of the market for industrial goods. The peasant growingly denied of purchasing power over the last four decades can ill-afford to buy industrial goods which leads to under-utilization of capacity and even collapse of many industries. This impoverishment of the peasant mass has directly affected the cotton textile industry which finds itself in crisis for lack of demand though the rural masses go half naked. The fall in the per capita cloth off take which declined from 13.8 metres in 1979 to 10.8 metres at present, which is below the figure obtaining under British rule, reveals the severity of the economic situation felt by the denuded rural masses left protectionless against inflation, high prices and manipulation of the market by the traders and official purchasers.

Official policy relying on the landlords has led to a tremendous polarization of wealth, money and land in the rural areas. They have growingly cornered all the benefits and advantages arising from Government schemes and have lifted a big chunk of the money meant for the so-called poverty alleviation programmes. This has increased their capacity to coerce the lower sections, the peasants, the agricultural workers to accept high rents or low wages. The intensity of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation continues as before in most parts of the country. As a result peasant indebtedness has risen to Rs. 13,000 crores, over a greater part of which the peasant has to pay usurious rates of interest.

This type of exploitation is leading to armed attacks of landlord's gang against peasants and agricultural workers in many parts of the country, the most vicious being in Bihar. The running story of murders of Harijans in Bihar is part of that conflict with landlords for land and better wage.

The denuded and deprived peasant has in many places taken to armed decoities and dacoit gangs coming from agrarian communities have multiplied in recent years in a large part of the Hindi-speaking and other areas.

But the peasant and the agricultural worker does not bear only the burden of semi-feudal exploiters. He has to bear the burden of the entire capitalist path, the burdens imposed by capitalist planning, its deficit budgets, manipulated prices and its high and rising level of indirect taxation. The antiquated land relations and his enforced backwardness make him a hostage of the capitalist path. His position as a small producer or agricultural worker working on scattered farms makes it difficult for him to resist the imposition of these burdens.

For this vast mass of agricultural workers and peasants there is absolutely no scheme for protecting them against inflation, and every increase in price adversely affects their living conditions. Rising prices accompanied by denial of adequate return for their produce, the fall in prices of commercial crops, the refusal to enact all India legislation providing minimum wages for agricultural workers because of opposition from the landlords, the absence of machinery for implementing the existing legislation and consequent ruination of small and poor peasants and agricultural workers, despite loud talk of the success of anti-poverty programmes, are witnesses to the excruciating burdens imposed on the rural masses by the turn in the economic situation.

Caught in the pincer of rising prices for his inputs and necessities and lower return for the produce of his labour, the peasant is additionally fleeced through increased taxation. State Governments have imposed heavy increases in electricity and water rates while prices of jute and cotton, coconut, tobacco and oilseeds have registered a precipitous fall. The arrears of payment due to sugarcane growers run into crores of rupees and it has led to decline in land under sugarcane cultivation. The jute and cotton growers are already ruined and the cotton grower faces complete ruination

with the Government's policy to finance and encourage replacement of cotton by artificial fibre in cloth production.

The floor prices fixed by the Government and the procurement policy do not benefit the producer. During the process of the marketing operations the traders succeed in filching whatever is left from the exploitation of the land. The price which the consumer pays far exceeds what the peasant gets for his produce, the difference being pocketed by the middleman.

The import policies of the Government regarding agricultural products further ruins large sections of the peasantry. It brings down the prices of their products forcing them into bankruptcy. The results of the entire policy are seen in the fall in the per capita off take of cloth. There is also fall in the per capita consumption of the necessities of life.

The steep fall in the price of a number of commercial crops, the failure to ensure a remunerative price for the peasants' produce and the high level of taxation brings the rich peasant also in conflict with the Government and the policies of the ruling party. This shakes the rich peasant base of the Congress(I) nursed over the last three decades. The rising discontent among the peasant mass against official policies is often manipulated by the landlord lobby because of the weakness of the Kisan movement. Peasant demonstrations and gheraos are often organized by the lobby.

But the point to note is that the agrarian crisis and the crisis of the capitalist path is bringing the rich peasant into conflict with the Government and narrows the rural base of the ruling party. The crisis of the capitalist path and its need to find more resources also leads to a push and pull between the two partners of the ruling alliance.

The agrarian crisis manifests increased rural unemployment which now exceeds forty million. Evicted peasants, agricultural workers, ruined artisans all swell the increasing army of the rural unemployed. Official schemes of rural employment do not touch even a fringe of the problem.

Men, women and children from adivasi areas, the worst affected by lack of employment, sell themselves into permanent bondage or in the flesh market. In floods and drought alike, whose visitations often alternate, the peasants, the adivasis, the Harijans, and the agricultural workers are left defenceless, mute victims to the ravages of nature.

It is no wonder therefore that the poverty alleviation programmes are unable to touch the fringe of the problem. Not all the bank loan "melas" could assure help to the poor who needed credit. Farcical sums are advanced as credit. Loans to the poorer sections are below Rupees 1,000 and sometimes they do not exceed Rupees 65. The national rural employment programme is under a cloud. The Public Accounts Committee has developed serious doubts about its implementation.

### **Seventh Plan**

But the ruling party, in its callousness and pursuit of selfish class interests at the expense of the people, is determined to continue its policies. Its Seventh Five-Year Plan offers no change but a repetition and accentuation of the poverty status of the masses. The planned target is a growth rate of five per cent for the economy which is lower than the growth rate of 5.2 per cent achieved under the Sixth Plan. How much relief the Sixth Plan gave to the people is clear from the harrowing conditions in the Plan years. For the first time under a national plan, a major part, that is 53 per cent of the total investment of 3 lakh 50 thousand crore rupees is to be in the private sector. As usual the Planning Commission makes tall claims of reducing the percentage of those in abject poverty to 27 per cent from 37 per cent which in itself is an underestimate and that 40 million new jobs will be provided resulting in the clearance of a backlog of one million.

Such claims have been made in the past also. They appear fantastic in the background of closed and sick units and the declared policy of the Government to open the country to widespread computerization and automation

and massacre of jobs. The Plan is described as a highly employment oriented plan but it promises to be a job-killing plan.

There is of course no change in class policies, no attempt to repair the manifest mistakes, shortcomings and injustice of the earlier period. There is no proposal to initiate radical land reforms to smash the land monopoly and redistribute land without which the Indian economy cannot be reorganized and people's progress ensured.

The Plan is handing over the people to the ruthless exploitation of the private sector. The public sector investment will be confined to infrastructure and on-going projects. New industrial projects will be left to the private sector. The economic pressure of the World Bank and the IMF has now led to a virtual surrender of Planning to their dictates.

To fill the resource gap of 40,000 crores of rupees there will be both huge deficit financing and another load of taxation on the common man.

The Plan projects an annual export growth rate of 6.8 per cent and an import growth rate of 5.8 per cent. It further claims that the debt service ratio will be under 20 per cent of export earnings.

These estimates conceal the likely dependence of the economy on foreign borrowings and export earnings. According to the latest World Bank report on India, the country cannot achieve its objective of five per cent growth without borrowing during the five years of the Plan 18 billion dollars in commercial loans, a five-fold increase over the previous years. According to the Bank's projection, India must double its exports during the five years to meet the requirement of five per cent growth. If exports fail and India is bound to borrow more, its debt service ratio will reach 40 per cent. This will reduce India to the same position as some of the worst-affected Latin American countries.

This is the prospect which the Seventh Plan holds before the people—increased exploitation, increased misery and danger to the independence of the Indian economy.

**Rajiv Government's Economic Policy**

This prospect has been formally accepted in the newly announced economic policy of the Rajiv Government to promote advanced technology and quick industrial development. Its basic postulates are removal of controls, freedom for the private sector, denigration and growing disbandment of the public sector, opening the Indian market to multinationals, gearing the Indian economy to exports to Western countries and scuttling of meaningful planning.

In conformity with this new outlook, 25 industries have been delicensed, the import policy has been liberalized to facilitate the entry of multinationals, many duties on imported goods reduced, big tax-concessions amounting to one thousand crore rupees have been announced for the benefit of the industrialists. A number of concerns are now freed from the restrictions of the MRTP Act with the decision to raise the asset limit of the companies subject to the Act from 20 crores to 100 crores of rupees. The recently announced new fiscal policy in December, 1985 offers further encouragement, incentive and assurance to the private sector.

The Arjun Sengupta Committee report which the Government dares not publish, provides details for the implementation of this policy.

The new economic policy will adversely affect a number of established industries and ruin some of them. This will bring a section of industry in conflict with the official policies. In view of the hard terms of borrowing abroad and the strain on the balance of payments position, the Government of India encourages remittances for investment from non-resident Indians. Some of these investors however come here only to capture well-established industries and not to start new ventures and add to the industrial capacity. Apart from this there is a danger that multinationals also may try to penetrate our economy under the mask of non-resident Indian capital. Official vigilance regarding both these aspects is necessary. But it is difficult to expect it considering the trend of the newly announced economic policy.

This policy, adopted under the stress of the crisis of the capitalist path, if allowed to be implemented will lead to abject dependence of the Indian economy on Western countries and a terrific load of exploitation on the common people to satisfy the demands of foreign multinationals and Indian monopolists. With complete insecurity of jobs, unemployment and destitution, people's livelihood as well as their economic independence is being endangered by Rajiv Gandhi's policies. Its anti-national and anti-people character brings the entire democratic forces into open conflict with the ruling party urging them to work for its replacement.

### **Authoritarian Drive**

The sharpened contradiction engendered by the reactionary policies finds its expression in the continued attacks on the democratic rights of the people and further unfolding of the authoritarian drive. It further finds its expression in the existence of non-Congress(I) Ministries and above all, the continued existence and resistance of the Left Front Ministries to the attack of the ruling party.

The ruling party and the ruling classes cannot put through their anti-mass economic policies without attacking the democratic norms and rights all round. While the right to vote is exercised and Parliament and Legislatures continue to function, democracy is crushed at the grass-root levels. Even the right to vote is often not allowed to be freely exercised. Attempts are made to rig elections by forcible capturing of polling booths. The Election Commission had to admit that the recent Bihar Assembly elections were not free and fair.

Legislatures are often made irrelevant and Congress(I) Ministries continue to rule on the basis of Ordinances. The Ordinances are never placed before the Legislatures but are reissued again and again. The Government and the ruling party continue to concentrate more power at the Centre and in violation of the principles of federalism curtail the powers of the States. This leads to fissiparous tendencies and

provides opportunities to opportunist politicians to make regional and parochial appeals. These policies being anti-democratic weaken national unity. These attacks are part of the authoritarian drive to concentrate all powers in the hands of the ruling party at the Centre.

The dismissal of the N.T. Rama Rao Ministry by Smt. Gandhi's Government revealed to what extent the authoritarian party could go to maintain its monopoly of power. Only the wide bands called by Opposition and Left parties in several States and massive resistance of the people of Andhra Pradesh could force the ruling party to withdraw.

Deeply affected by corruption, jobbery and nepotism, influenced by black-marketeers and smugglers some of whom carry a lot of influence with the Congress(I) leaders, with criminals and chargesheeters figuring in Congress(I) lists of election candidates, the administration is becoming a curse for the common man. In India today the ordinary individual has hardly any chance when pitted against the criminals, gangsters or police. The stories of rape in police custody and murders in police stations continued to multiply. But barring transfers or suspensions of the guilty officials hardly anything is done. It is a common complaint in the capital of India that officers in charge of police stations often refuse to register complaints against criminals or persons with social pull, and leave the ordinary citizen totally defenceless against intimidations and encroachment on his rights. The bustees, the slums of big cities, the localities in the periphery of big towns are directly ruled by groups of anti-socials in league with the police. This parallel Government functions openly and the people live in terror of anti-socials.

In all Congress(I) ruled States honest and bold journalists and correspondents who dare expose the police or the criminals run the risk of threat to their lives. This is an attempt to browbeat the Press and turn it into an agency of the police department. In Gujarat, during the anti-reservation agitation, the police raided and burnt down the office and the printing press of a well-known daily, *Gujarat Samachar*.

The Central government is calculatedly utilizing the radio, television and other mass media under its control to serve its partisan interests.

Every effort is being made to ensure the subordination of the Judiciary to the Executive and the needs of the ruling party.

The parliamentary system of a newly liberated country following the capitalist path is unable to provide freedom from bureaucratic maladministration to the common citizen. The deterioration of the administration underlines the crumbling of the norms of democracy and exposes the strengthening of the authoritarian trend.

The collapse of the norms of administration carries the conflict to the grass-root levels, to the non-political sections who are not normally drawn into political struggle and activities. Spontaneous action against the police and the authorities led by local people are becoming more frequent. It is due to the incapacity of the Opposition parties and their neglect that they are not converted into an ever-rising protest against Congress(I) misrule. The uncommitted mass has started rising in protests.

The authoritarian drive expresses itself in a blatant manner when confronted by the organized forces of the democratic movement.

The NSA, the re-enactment of ESMA, the Special Courts Act and several measures enacted by Congress(I) State Governments, the attacks on the Press and journalists, all underline the intensity of the authoritarian drive. The bureaucrats and officials are, besides, using the freedom given by the Supreme Court judgement in relation to the dismissal of Government employees, to strike at the root of the trade union organization and create a sense of insecurity of service.

The four years, besides, have seen widespread repression on mass struggles. Shooting of striking workers, raiding of their houses by goondas and police, molestation of their women, false cases against their leaders on charges of murder and arson, use of the NSA and ESMA to suppress trade

unions and continuous prohibition of meetings, all have been used to suppress the workers' and the employees' struggles.

As far as the peasants, agricultural workers, the harijans and tribals are concerned, atrocities have increased under a Government which promises them salvation through reservation of jobs. These sections are attacked by dacoits, by police and by landlords' goondas. There is a total collapse of civil liberties so far as they are concerned.

It is against this situation that massive strikes, bandhs and protests are taking place in the cities, in industrial towns while spontaneous protests leading to bloodshed are seen in rural areas. Compared with four years back, these protests are more far-flung and far more militant and intense leading to clashes with the police. The coming period promises to be a more stormy period if the separate mass protests are channelised into a single direction.

### **Contradiction with Imperialists**

The sharpened contradiction between imperialism and the Indian people which was emphasised in the Vijayawada resolution is further intensified and is taking on an interventionist form as is clear from the assassination of Indira Gandhi, the widespread espionage network in the country, the encouragement and help given to the Khalistanis in the USA and the U.K., the refusal of the two Governments to take steps against anti-Indian terrorist activities, the supply of sophisticated arms to Pakistan, the use of the Tamil question in Sri Lanka to rouse chauvinism against India and the attempt to surround India with a ring of hostile Governments.

The USA openly encourages Pakistan to build nuclear weapons to pressurise India. It encourages the setting up of training camps in Pakistan to train Khalistani terrorists. Internally it helps the divisive forces to undermine Indian unity. The religious fundamentalists—Hindu, Sikh and Muslim—are patronised by it. It exploits the caste divisions to bribe and nurture subservient leaders. It supports and encourages Right-wing parties to demand a change in the

foreign policy. It persistently works for the dismemberment of India.

A network of voluntary organizations and certain Christian missions funded by imperialist agencies are actively working among the tribals, rural poor and women. They are being utilized by imperialism to divide the toiling people and sow the seeds of separatism.

But neither the ruling party nor many bourgeois Opposition parties expose its machinations and warn the people. The big bourgeois Press ignores the conspiracies. The ruling Party is afraid to tell the truth to the people and mobilize them against it. Several bourgeois Opposition parties turn a blind eye to it considering it as the headache of the ruling party. The masses are kept in ignorance of the danger from imperialism. The assassination of Smt. Gandhi could be easily converted into an internecine conflict instead of it being made an issue for organizing the people against the imperialist conspiracy. The responsibility to discharge the task of fighting these conspiracies falls on the CPI(M) and Left parties.

The interventionist activities are likely to take an intensified form with the implementation of the newly announced economic policy of the Rajiv Government which opens the country to the multinationals.

### **Foreign Policy**

The Party Programme observes : “The foreign policy of the Government of India naturally reflects the dual character of our bourgeoisie, of opposition as well as compromise and collaboration with imperialism.... The Indian bourgeoisie for its very development needs world peace and is opposed to world war.”

This understanding holds good today also, though it is to be combined with the important changes and developments of recent times. These relate to a greater desire to accommodate the Western pressure on economic matters and a sharpened conflict with imperialism with its machinations for destabilisation.

The immediate consequences of the newly announced economic policy are not going to be confined to the economic sphere. In the very nature of things, they will affect the foreign policy of the country. The sharpened conflict of imperialism with the Indian people exercises constant pressure on the non-aligned foreign policy of India. Every lever is utilised to relax and soften the policy of friendship with the Soviet Union and loosen the fraternal bonds established by the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship.

In this background, the continuation of India's policy of non-alignment by the Rajiv Government, belying Western expectations, reflects the class interests and needs of the bourgeoisie. At the same time it serves the national interests of the Indian people in their fight against imperialism. The CPI(M) has always been a strong advocate of the non-alignment policy endeavouring to strengthen it and make it consistent and raising its voice against vacillations and hesitations.

Concessions in the sphere of foreign policy, like those in the economic sphere, would have meant a big setback for the country.

The Rajiv Government has reasserted its adherence to non-alignment, stressed the importance of friendship with the Soviet Union and of the Treaty of Indo-Soviet Friendship, reiterated support to Vietnam, Kampuchea and Palestine and its stand on Afghanistan. It stands for developing warm and friendly relations with People's China and takes steps in that direction. It expresses its opposition to war, opposes the Star Wars projects of Reagan, and firmly affirms its support for peace. It has declined to accept the U.S. offer of arms and new technology loaded with conditions like the pursuit clause and unilateral right to the USA to withdraw supply of arms and spare parts.

The Government is vigilant about the supply of sophisticated arms to Pakistan which are necessary for the purpose of aggression, and is taking counter-steps to maintain the efficiency of India's armed forces. It exposes Pakistan's plan

for building a nuclear arsenal, a plan being carried through with the help of the USA and other imperialist Powers.

At the same time it expresses its desire to settle all disputes with its neighbours including Pakistan peacefully. It throws its weight on the side of peaceful settlement of the disputes between the Sri Lankan Tamils and the Sri Lanka Government.

All these help our Party and the anti-imperialist forces in India to fight the imperialist conspiracies, the war danger and defend peace and the policy of non-alignment.

A dangerous weakness of the present situation is that the mass of our people are not yet aware of the importance of non-alignment. As yet it does not have a strong conscious popular base. The ruling party refuses to make non-alignment a matter of concern to the people. A number of bourgeois Opposition parties are directly or indirectly opposed to it, and demand a genuine non-alignment policy which means a tilt in the direction of the West. It is therefore the task of our Party to popularise among the wide masses the significance of non-alignment for our country and create a force capable of defending it against vacillations and compromise.

Following the anti-imperialist traditions of our country, and keeping its own class interests in view, the Government of India has been pursuing a non-aligned foreign policy. The threat of encirclement by US military bases and hostile neighbours armed and supported by the USA, has made it all the more necessary for the Government to pursue a policy of peace and friendship with the USSR.

All this meets the interests of the people. But in view of the circumstances and weaknesses noted, the policy cannot be taken for granted. Vacillations and concessions are likely to arise out of the situation. Therefore the people of our country should not and cannot be complacent as at present, leaving non-alignment as an exclusive concern of the Government of India. It is the task of the Party to ensure that the people exercise a constant vigilance on the performance of our foreign policy.

**Foreign Policy and Party's Tasks**

The tasks of the CPI(M) extend beyond defence of non-alignment. The Party exposes the two super-Powers talk indulged in by the ruling bourgeois and Opposition bourgeois parties. It exposes US moves for war, its Star Wars project, and exposes the imperialist camp as a camp of war-mongers. It supports the peace proposals of the USSR. It unmasks the U.S. ambitions and moves for global domination, exposes the imperialist Powers' patronage of the racist regime of South Africa, their alliance with Israel and their machinations to divide the Arab world and deny justice to the Palestinians, and their support to the reactionary regime in South Korea. It exposes the U.S. plans of intervention and counter-revolution in Afghanistan. The Party exposes imperialist intervention wherever it takes place. It lends its full support to the struggle of the people of Nicaragua, Chile, El Salvadore, Namibia and others fighting U.S. imperialism. It supports the liberation struggle of the people of Western Sahara led by the Polisario. It supports the liberation struggle of the people of New Kaledonia led by the Kanak Liberation Front. The Party works for developing warm relations between India and People's China and for strengthening the bonds of friendship between India and all Socialist countries.

The CPI(M), while remaining vigilant against the conspiracies of Pakistan's ruler, works for friendship between the two peoples, supports the democratic movement in Pakistan and strives to maintain peace in the subcontinent and fight chauvinism of every variety against neighbours.

The CPI(M) extends its vigorous support to the just demands of the Sri Lankan Tamils to protect their ethnic identity and their rights as a minority and condemns the Lankan Government for its repression and barbarous acts of cruelty resulting in massacres of innocent people. The CPI(M) calls for a peaceful political settlement of the dispute. The Party will continue to rouse the people of India to secure justice for the Sri Lankan Tamils within the framework of the integrity and unity of Sri Lanka.

## **Challenge to National Unity— Opportunism of Congress(I) Policies**

The Indian people have to carry on an intense fight against the danger of one-party rule in the midst of serious challenges to national unity from the imperialists and the secessionists and the undermining done by the compromising policy of the ruling party and the opportunist outlook of several bourgeois Opposition parties. The danger to national unity, the challenge of divisive forces has increased many-fold during the last four years and the fight for democratic advance is inconceivable without a fight against the forces which promote disintegration.

The entire North-Eastern region is full of discontent, insurgency and secessionist challenges. Manipur, Nagaland, Mizoram are strong centres of insurgency. Armed bands trained in Bangladesh operate in Tripura to kill and maim innocent people. Reactionaries, Christian missions and foreign agencies are doing everything to spread the secessionist sentiment and feeling. The ruling party and its Government are unable to meet this challenge politically. The conditions of extreme backwardness imposed on the region constitute a breeding ground for insurgency and secessionist movements. The Assam settlement with its sacrifice of the citizenship rights of lakhs is producing a destabilising effect on the region. There are now demands that a similar provision should be made for these States depriving thousands of their citizenship rights. Running the administration with the help of military or paramilitary forces, or with the help of reactionaries are the two ways open to the Congress(I) to meet the situation. Both add to the strength of secessionist movement.

The situation in Kashmir is also serious with the pro-Pakistani elements capable of a lot of mischief.

The secessionist challenges in Punjab and Assam have put into the forefront the danger of disintegration, of dismemberment. The imperialist hand behind this is no longer concealed. Imperialist agencies succeed in mobilising and unleashing these forces utilising the weaknesses and

shortcomings of the capitalist path, the uneven development of regions, the economic stagnation and struggle for jobs, the regional, communal and religious separatism which cannot be eradicated by a bourgeois-landlord rule pursuing the capitalist path. The capitalist path has become a big source of danger to national unity.

The ruling party revealed its bankruptcy and opportunism in face of the challenge of the secessionists. It brought Punjab to the brink of a disaster and the people had to pay a heavy price in lives and sufferings and suppression of democracy. In both these States the ruling party totally failed to meet the challenge politically and wage a fight to defend national unity.

The ruling party and its spokesmen were nowhere to be seen in the political struggle to isolate the secessionists and rouse the masses in defence of national unity. Abandoning the political and ideological fight, the ruling party and its Government relied only on administrative measures and played into the hands of the divisive forces.

In the Punjab struggle the Congress(I) party, besides, tried to outbid the Akali Party in appealing to Sikh feelings, by pandering to Bhindranwale who was described as a saint by Rajiv Gandhi himself, when the saint's minions were murdering innocent people.

In Assam, neither the Congress(I) leaders at the Centre nor in the State dared expose the U.S. Ambassador and his agents who were frequently visiting the State to fan the fire of separatism and financing the movement. The Congress(I) and its Government could do nothing to prevent it because it had already lost its rapport with the Assamese people.

The association of the Congress(I) with the TUJS in Tripura in the Lok Sabha elections and the recent elections to the Tribal Autonomous District Council, constitutes a scandalous example of the unprincipled conduct of the ruling party and its greed for the ministerial fleshpots.

Tripura is under constant attack from the secessionists who are trained in Bangladesh. Because of the anti-tribal

policies of earlier Congress(I) State Governments, the entire tribal people stand alienated from the Congress(I). It was only the CPI(M) that could maintain the unity of the tribals and non-tribals and maintain the idea of national unity. The Congress(I), to give strength to its demand for the dismissal of the CPI(M)-led Ministry, supported the secessionist TUJS in both elections. The secessionists were able to secure a number of seats in the elections to the Autonomous District Council. The CPI(M) could secure a majority in the Council, otherwise the newly elected council would have passed into the control of the secessionists.

In Assam, Punjab and Tripura, the CPI(M) held aloft the banner of national unity fighting the secessionists politically among the masses. In Assam and Tripura they had to pay a heavy price. Many had to sacrifice their lives. Many had to face the terrorist attacks. The fighting cadre represented the Party's line to challenge the secessionist and divisive forces and defend national unity.

The Assam and Punjab agitations reveal the reactionary and dangerous role of those who, in utter disregard of national unity, put forward regional and communal claims. They become play-things of imperialist conspirators.

The Assam agitationists pretended to fight for the cause of the Assamese people, for Assamese identity, pitted the people against national unity and helped the propagation of the Project Brahmaputra hatched by the USA.

The Akali leadership with its communal appeal in the name of Sikh religion while putting forward certain democratic demands, its calculated refusal to draw the Hindu masses into the agitation and make it the common movement of the Punjabi people, lost the initiative to the secessionists supported by the imperialists.

At a much later stage the Akali leadership saw the danger and showed the courage to demarcate itself from the terrorists which made the accord possible. Nonetheless the opportunism of the Akali leadership did tremendous damage to the cause of national unity.

The Punjab accord is welcome no doubt but it will not immediately repair the great damage done by the selfish policies of the Congress(I). The terms of the accord show that it was possible two years back when the CPI(M) had suggested a basis of settlement. Later on the Opposition parties endorsed it and the Akali leadership was willing to accept it. But the Congress(I), in pursuance of its hunt for ministerial power in the State, refused to endorse it after first agreeing to accept it. This led to the subsequent traumatic developments, the initiative passing to the secessionist forces and leading to avoidable loss of lives.

The Punjab accord shows how the CPI(M) was taking a correct and realistic stand based on democratic principles and defending national unity. It put forward the demands which are now included in the accord and it called on the Government to distinguish between the traditional Akali leadership and the extremist secessionist group. The accord was made possible because the Government accepted the realist proposals.

The Assam settlement reveals the opportunist policies of the ruling party, now isolated from large sections of the Assamese people. To appease the agitationists, the Central Government has sacrificed the citizenship rights of tens of thousands of Indian citizens. This has created a sense of insecurity among thousands belonging to the minority communities. The terms of the settlement will have a profound destabilising effect, disruptive of national unity, in the North-Eastern region.

The ruling party is equally incapable of fighting the forces of obscurantism, of separatism based on caste and religion. When faced by these challenges it stands paralysed and its administration collapses.

The RSS and Hindu communalists forces are aggressively rousing communal passions.

Recent events have witnessed the fractionalisation of the police as in Gujarat and Bhiwandi in Maharashtra, on caste and communal lines. Its members are deeply affected by the

caste and communal virus; they are not trained to overcome this consciousness. They aid and abet communal and caste violence during riots, destroying the image of a secular administration. The police behaviour in Delhi during the riots following Indira Gandhi's assassination, not only shattered the secular image of the administration, it inflicted almost irreparable damage on national unity.

The Congress(I) party retreats before the obscurantist challenge coming from Muslim orthodoxy in Kerala to save its coalition Ministry. Faced with fundamentalist opposition to the Shah Bano judgement, the Congress(I) is retreating and compromising with obscurantism. To gain electoral advantage it virtually unleashed a caste war in Gujarat which led to a prolonged strife among the toiling people creating barriers between citizen and citizen. Never since independence was such a long caste conflict seen involving tens of thousands and bringing to a standstill all democratic activities. In the post-assassination riots in Delhi and other places, Congress(I) leaders played an active role.

The continuation of the Congress(I) in power not only endangers democracy; it endangers national unity rendering the nation helpless before the attacks of the secessionists and the obscurantist divisive forces based on religion and caste.

The line followed by the bourgeois Opposition parties also contributes to this. Some of them supported the anti-reservation agitation in Gujarat. Many of them looked on the secessionist danger in Punjab and Assam only as a headache of the Congress Government and even supported these elements as in Assam. They refused to take a stand against divisive forces.

This outlook and policy has to be fought at every step as part of the struggle to defeat the authoritarian danger.

### **Toilers' Unity Attacked**

As the crisis deepens every effort is made to disrupt toilers' unity. The ruling classes and all vested interests are

afraid of it. It is obvious that without fighting this disruption and firmly establishing toilers' unity the bourgeois-landlord classes cannot be ousted from power and the way cleared for marching to People's Democracy and a new socio-economic order.

In recent times a big challenge to toilers' unity has emerged in the shape of conflict over reservation of jobs in Government services for certain communities. The recent anti-reservation agitation in Gujarat has demonstrated the havoc that can be done to toilers' unity by such a conflict. The conflict is intensified because the issue of reservation has become a pawn in the power politics of bourgeois parties. It is freely used both by the ruling party and several bourgeois Opposition parties to gather electoral support. This was quite clear in the recent anti-reservation struggle in Gujarat.

This concerted attack on toilers' unity has to be combated and defeated by the democratic forces.

The Party's position regarding provision of reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has been explained in the Vijayawada resolution, which also underlines the limitations of reservation and the class purpose it serves. The Party cannot forget this while supporting reservation.

A much bigger problem is likely to arise in the near future with the demand for implementation of the Mandal Commission's recommendations regarding other backward classes. Extension of reservation facilities to these sections led to an explosive situation in Gujarat after the elections.

The sections that are being pitted against each other are not two castes but toilers from different castes, toilers whose livelihood depends on securing a job.

Here, again, reservation for economically weaker sections in other backward communities has to be supported while every effort is to be made that the toiling sections are not pitted against each other. In some States there is agreement already in regard to reservation of jobs for several communities. This should not be disturbed.

## **Solution Lies in Unity of Toilers**

The question is directly linked to the common struggle against antiquated land relations, against unemployment and for rapid industrial development under a new socio-economic order. The problem of harijans, adivasis and other backward communities cannot be solved by suggesting more or less reservation. The solution lies in the growing unity of all sections of toilers today torn apart by reservation.

Unless our agrarian movement embraces the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and the OBCs and inspires them to demand the overhauling of the agrarian relations and the right to work, the evil effects of conflicts over reservation cannot be overcome. In the cities the working class movement must be drawn more and more into the fight against the injustices done to these sections and demand a change in the entire agrarian set-up. This will enable it to fight the reformist illusions created by reservation.

To move therefore in the correct direction it is necessary to carry on consistent ideological propaganda against the caste system among the masses of non-reserved castes. There can hardly be any chance of uniting the two sections unless the masses from the upper castes realise the tyranny that the caste system practises over downtrodden communities.

The battle for toilers' unity is an integral part of the fight against the disruptive and opportunist policies of the Congress(I). Without fighting these policies the authoritarian party cannot be defeated and the danger of one-party rule cannot be eliminated.

## **Culture and Education**

The new educational policy of the Government shows the same characteristics as its economic policy. In the name of improving the quality of education and taking the country to computer-age education, education is to be restricted to narrow sections, leaving the mass of people to their fate. Modernised and computerised industry requires a certain supply of

highly trained personnel, and this is to be guaranteed through the proposed policy.

The Government itself has made a complete mess of the country's educational system. And now it uses the present rotten condition of education to impose another system which fails to do justice to the problems of educating the millions. No one can deny the necessity of a basic change in the present system and suiting it to the needs of modern development. But the Government's proposals are based on denial of education to millions and therefore are anti-people. It seeks to deny the democratic rights of students, teachers and non-teaching employees.

The new proposals consist of a virtual repudiation of the aim of abolition of illiteracy, abandonment of universalisation of elementary education, discouragement and restriction of higher education, for the purpose devaluating primary education and delinking jobs from academic degrees; suggestions for increased college fees, refusal to open new colleges; encouragement to private parties to open colleges—which will be permitted to fix higher tuition charges and capitation fees; open centres of excellence, i.e., provision for model schools at great expense in districts. These centres will attract select students mostly coming from affluent sections. To cover the fact that it is a scheme for education for a select few, the Scheduled Castes are promised reservation of seats.

The core of the plan is that the Government gives up its responsibility to fight illiteracy and provide opportunities for extension of higher education. This will have dangerous consequences for the cause of national unity and integration.

Illiteracy, ignorance, lack of higher education—are today the breeding ground for religious orthodoxy, communalism and casteism; the breeding ground for divisive and separatist forces. One weapon to fight them is the spread of education among the millions. But the Congress(I) Government is deliberately abandoning this weapon. This only helps the forces of disintegration.

All this is done under the excuse of lack of finances. All capitalist governments seek to meet the economic difficulties by attacking social welfare spending. Our Union Government is no exception.

The crisis engulfing the country leaves no fabric of society untouched. The distortions in the field of culture and every other intellectual pursuit are appalling, creating complete chaos in these fields. The bourgeois-landlord ruling classes, far from waging a struggle against medieval and obscurantist ideas, have utilised them to buttress their class rule. While the need for a completely secular education is utmost, a large number of educational institutions continue to be controlled by religious organisations. The Government-controlled Radio and Television, the various academies etc., as well as the monopoly-controlled Press are used for the dissemination and propaganda of decadent, antediluvian, obscurantist and revivalist ideas. 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, artists, scientists, intellectuals and others are taking democratic positions. Their role in the struggle for creating a democratic culture is valuable.

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

The Congress Government's failure to evolve a health policy geared to provide effective medical aid has resulted in millions being deprived of the elementary right of good health and prevention from deadly but curable diseases. The drug policy of the Centre allows the big multinational drug companies to fleece the people and make medicines beyond the reach of the common man. The Centre has consistently refused to implement the recommendations of the Haathi Committee report for nationalisation of the multinational drug firms.

### **Centre-State Relations**

The inherent authoritarian trend aggravates the Centre-State relations question. To protect its monopoly of power the ruling party requires greater and greater concentration of power at the Centre. The appointment of the Sarkaria Commission was only a dilatory move. The Congress(I) Central Government has no intention to release the Centre's grip over power and resources.

The Centre-State relations problem has become an important issue in the struggle against one-party dictatorship. It affects the basic rights of Opposition parties under the Constitution. The struggle against the arbitrary use of powers by the Centre secures wide mass support isolating the Central Government and the ruling party more effectively than many other issues.

The dismissal of the N.T. Rama Rao Ministry expressed a sharpened conflict between the Opposition and the ruling party and was regarded as an attempt to turn the Constitution into an instrument of a one-party dictatorship. The conflict between the ruling party and the bourgeois Opposition parties will continue to sharpen on the question of Centre-State relations, though at present some efforts are afoot to avoid confrontation between the non-Congress(I) bourgeois Opposition Ministries and the Centre.

The restructuring of Centre-State relations is not only an integral part of the struggle against the authoritarian drive, it is vitally connected with maintenance of national unity. The violation of the federal principles and the attempt to impose a unitary structure undermines national unity, leads to disruptive and separatist tendencies among the people. It is therefore urgent to carry forward the struggle to restructure Centre-State relations. To maintain national unity it is necessary to have a proper relationship between the Centre and the States, under which the States are not left to the charity of the Centre, their autonomy is protected, and the Centre is strong enough to perform effectively its task of national defence, planning, foreign

policy, economic affairs, etc., concerning the whole country.

The CPI(M) consistently fights for this understanding of the Centre-State relationship which strengthens national unity.

### **Vendetta Against Left Front Governments**

The sharpened conflict in connection with Centre-State relations is seen in the relations between the Centre and the ruling party on the one hand, and the Left Front Governments of West Bengal and Tripura headed by CPI(M) on the other.

The Congress(I) Government at the Centre continues to attack these Governments by creating financial difficulties, refusing to release funds in time and obstructing the industrial development of the States. It withholds assent to legislative measures passed in the interest of the peasantry and the people, measures which give immediate relief to the people at the expenses of the vested interests. Presidential assent to important agrarian Bills is withheld for years. The entire aim is to obstruct the mass programme of the Ministries, the programme of giving relief to the masses, and to sabotage the efficiency and the growing popularity of the Ministries.

This is accompanied by the State Congress(I) parties making every effort to create law and order problems for the Ministries. Several hundred Party members have been murdered in goonda attacks which can be traced to the local Congress(I) party. Besides, a constant campaign of slander is run to denigrate the image of the Ministry and propagate that law and order has ceased to exist in these two States.

The attacks against the two Left Front Governments constitute an expression of the class struggle between the bourgeois-landlord Government at the Centre and the masses suffering from its policies. Every step forward of the two Left Front Governments consolidates Left unity, increases the influence of the Left forces over the people and becomes a weapon for a change in the correlation among the people. It isolates the ruling party from the people and helps to

release them from the influence of the bourgeois landlord parties. This is extremely dangerous for the ruling party and the class interest it pursues. It therefore carries on a determined vendetta against the two Ministries. The accentuation of the conflict on this issue in the two States should be viewed in this context. Its special position in the class struggle should not be missed.

The defence of the Left Front Governments against increased Congress(I) attacks forms a vital part of the struggle against the authoritarian drive. The entire Left and democratic forces are to be mobilised to strengthen these advance outposts of democracy.

### **Dissensions in Congress(I)**

The struggle against the authoritarian trend is to be carried on in conditions of growing internal weaknesses of the ruling party. This is a favourable factor for the anti-authoritarian forces.

The Congress(I) no doubt succeeded in improving its image among sections of the people with the expectation that Rajiv Gandhi will do something new. But this has not stopped the process of inner decay. The improved image has not stopped internal-infights and dissensions in the ruling party. Its State Ministries are far from stable. It should not be thought that the majority in Parliament is either stable and there will not be cracks in it and the Congress(I) unity under Rajiv Gandhi will endure.

Besides, the Congress(I) is corroded by corruption with anti-social elements having a lot of influence with many of the party's leaders.

The Anti-Defection Law passed by the Rajiv Government was recognition of the fact that the solid majority may not last. The process of disintegration inside the Congress(I), temporarily checked after the assassination of Indira Gandhi, has already started. Bihar, Maharashtra, Gujarat are a few examples. Shifting of Chief Ministers inconvenient to the Centre has also begun.

The push-and-pull inside the bourgeois-landlord alliance also sometimes intensifies dissensions and leads to shifting of Chief Ministers.

Dissidence and divergence of interest in the ruling party have reached such a stage that it is incapable of functioning democratically. Pursuit of authoritarian practices in the Government is accompanied by authoritarian practices in the organization itself. Its elections are not held for years. The State Ministries and the State Committees are in conflict. It is clear that if the Left and democratic forces mobilize their full strength, the ruling party will prove incapable of giving a cohesive political fight and will have to rely exclusively on the administration.

### **Bourgeois Opposition Parties**

The elections once more revealed that the main mass of the electorate is divided between the various bourgeois-landlord parties. The Opposition bourgeois parties though routed at the polls because of the extraordinary circumstances under which the elections were fought, commanded a big percentage of the vote. In two States, notwithstanding the all-India swing in favour of the Congress(I) they were able to win majorities in the elections.

The Vijayawada Congress pointed to the intensification of the contradiction between the ruling party and the bourgeois Opposition parties. The subsequent period which saw the dismissal and restoration of the NTR Ministry proved the correctness of the formulation.

Communal parties like the BJP or the Muslim League, with their communal and anti-national lines, with their pro-imperialist and anti-Communist outlook play a disruptive role, and have to be fought.

The secular bourgeois Opposition parties have not yet recovered from the shock of defeat in the last election. With an immediate prospect of election not being there some leaders of the Opposition parties are taking a conciliatory attitude to the Congress(I) and the Central Government. The latter is

also trying to woo some Opposition parties by talking about national consensus, consultations with Opposition parties, etc. The aim is to isolate the Left.

The limitations of these parties regarding foreign policy, awareness about the imperialist danger, etc. have already been noted. The recently announced economic policy of the Government which our Party is determined to oppose and defeat, evokes a favourable response from them.

Nonetheless, on the important question of Centre-State relations, on the question of high prices and taxation of the people, on the question of democratic liberties and rights, they defend the people. The strong protests lodged by these parties against Rajiv Gandhi's justification of the Emergency shows that they are alive to the situation and the manipulations of the ruling party. The recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission are bound to be much below the expectation of the Opposition Ministries and that itself is going to be a source of discord.

Protests and movements on some specific issues along with these parties will rouse wide sections of the people. The charter of demands framed at the Calcutta conclave can constitute a platform for this broad resistance.

The Party's work during the last four years to develop broad opposition to the authoritarian regime has already produced results. The broader meetings attended by several Chief Ministers created confidence among the people and served to undermine the Congress(I) influence. The peak of Congress(I) isolation was reached during the protest agitation against the dismissal of the NTR Ministry which saw huge bandhs in several States.

### **The CPI(M) & Its Intervention**

The extraordinary situation created by Indira Gandhi's assassination distorted the election results but it should not lead to the underestimation of our struggle to protect national unity, expose imperialist machinations, unite the Left and democratic forces, organize broad resistance to the

developing authoritarian trend, isolate the ruling party and increase the influence of the Left forces.

It is beyond doubt that the all-India prestige of the CPI(M) has increased and the importance and influence of the Left forces have grown in Indian politics. It could not be otherwise because the CPI(M) and the Left Fronts in Tripura and West Bengal have presented an impregnable barrier to the Congress(I) getting into power in these States during the last eight years. The solid achievements of the two Ministries in the interests of the people and above all the winning of the parliamentary elections in the two States have led to a growing confidence in the CPI(M) and the united Left forces.

The combined achievements of these two Ministries, the agitations in these two States and Kerala, the fight put up by the Tamil Nadu Committee against Tamil chauvinism in relation to Sri Lanka developments and in the elections, the advance in Andhra Pradesh during the agitation against NTR's dismissal and in the election battle, the great fight put up by our State Committees and Party units against divisive forces and imperialist agencies in Assam and Punjab are all contributions to the struggle for changing the correlation of forces.

The struggle was aided by the independent activity of the Party in all States, by the activities of the State Committees and mass organizations which took a frontal position in fighting the divisive and communal forces unleashed after Indira's assassination. Notable is the role of our Kashmir unit in fighting the fanaticism of the Jamat-e-Islami. Our fight in defence of the people's interests, our intervention during communal riots on behalf of the minority, our fight against high prices and lock-outs, our agitations and *jail bharo andolan* to protect the interests of the peasantry were further contributions to changing the correlation of forces. The election results were certainly not a correct measure of our activities in these directions.

The achievements of our Left Front Ministries, the quality of these achievements in comparison with those of the Congress(I) and non-Congress(I) Governments, have added

to this process of change in the correlation of forces. These achievements relate to ensuring complete civil liberties and democratic rights of the people, refusal to use exceptional legislations like the NSA, Preventive Detention Act and ESMA and other measures against the people, active intervention in industrial disputes in the interests of the workers, assistance to the unemployed, recruitment to jobs through Employment Exchanges so that no favouritism is exercised, meeting the demands of the State Government employees and police, land legislation in favour of the tillers and distribution of land, implementation of Minimum Wages Act for agricultural workers, special attention to the problems of the adivasis and harijans ensuring their percentage in services, formation of the Tribal Autonomous District in Tripura, the activation of the panchayats, a progressive secular educational policy and above all maintaining and strengthening the feeling of national unity among the people.

The two Governments intervened decisively and firmly in communal riots punishing the disturbers of unity. Their successes are due to the fact that for the implementation of their policies they did not depend only on the administration. They called for and got the willing cooperation of the people for the implementation of their policies.

Notwithstanding these achievements and the spread of its influence, the CPI(M) has to take note of its reverses during the elections, which for the time being disturbed the course of Congress(I) isolation. The Central Committee of the Party reviewed the election results and while noting the special circumstances under which the elections were fought, pointed out some of our shortcomings during and before the elections.

### **Left and Democratic Front**

Today when the country is in danger, when the task is of fighting authoritarianism, defending national unity and defeating imperialist conspiracies against the country, only the unity of the Left and democratic forces, only the increase of their weight in Indian politics will save the country.

The Political Resolution of the Jullundur Congress laid down as the foremost task of the Party the bringing about of a radical realignment of political forces in the country, a realignment that brings into existence a nationwide united front of the Left and democratic forces which constitutes at present the only progressive alternative to the two bourgeois-landlord combinations—the Congress and the Janata. The resolution states, “To change the existing political relationship and bring about a viable alternative force to lead the masses must be the constant aim of the political activity of the Party. The emergence of such a broad Left and democratic front will strengthen the revolutionary forces which alone can extricate the country from the long-drawn-out economic and political crisis that has been steadily intensifying.”

Only the Left and democratic forces can wage an immediate struggle against mass misery and exploitation of the people, against the dependence of our economy on Western countries, for national unity and a consistent foreign policy of non-alignment, and against the authoritarian danger. Only the Left and democratic front representing the interests of the masses can unite the toilers to clear the road for the advance of democracy.

The front of Left and democratic forces is to be an instrument of achieving the People’s Democratic front, an instrument of mobilizing those classes and sections which during the course of revolutionary struggle become part of the People’s Democratic Front. The CPI(M) is committed to struggle for the People’s Democratic Revolution which is to be achieved through a People’s Democratic Front led by the working class, a front whose two main pillars are the peasants and agricultural workers and the working class. There can be no escape from the misery of the capitalist path, the enslavement of the bourgeois-landlord rule except through a People’s Democratic Revolution. The programme and the activities of the Left and democratic front are to be an instrument to build the People’s Democratic Front.

The full programme of the Left and democratic front is

at present a propaganda programme around which the advanced sections of the masses rally.

It is necessary to work out a proper programme for immediate actions of the Left and democratic forces. While propagating for the basic demands, it should contain demands for immediate agitation and action. An effective programme for this purpose must necessarily consist of the following:

1. Fight against the authoritarian drive, defence of democratic rights and their expansion; withdrawal of repressive legislations;

2. Defence of Left Front governments; restructuring of Centre-State relations.

3. Opposition to the newly announced economic policy; fight for the independence of the economy; fight against massacre of jobs in the name of promoting advanced technology.

4. Immediate nationalization of the jute and textile industries; take-over and nationalization of closed concerns; nationalization of big plantations.

5. Against high prices, high taxation; state trading in foodgrains.

6. Demand for implementation of land reform and distribution of land; enactment of comprehensive central legislation for agricultural workers.

7. Unemployment benefit to the unemployed; fight for free and compulsory education up to the secondary level.

8. Fight against disabilities of women and for equal rights to them.

9. Fight against divisive forces and caste discrimination.

10. Defence of non-alignment, opposition to war; support to the struggle of the people of the neighbouring countries for democratic rights.

In addition the programme should include the following eleven demands from the charter adopted by the Calcutta conclave: guarantee by the Union Government of adequate supply of essential commodities at reasonable prices;

remunerative prices to be ensured for agricultural produce by adequate purchases through State agencies; increased production of consumption goods and expanding employment opportunities for all sections including small artisans and craftsmen; revival and expansion of the food-for-work programme; right to work to be included as one of the fundamental rights in the Constitution; speedy implementation of existing land reforms and immediate assent to Land Reform Bills passed by State Legislatures; supply of cheap credit and inputs to the peasants; enforcement of minimum wages to farm workers and measures to improve their living conditions; reversal of anti-labour policies of the Union Government; withdrawal of the NSA, ESMA; acceptance of the demands formulated by the National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions and effective steps to prevent closures and lock-outs; restoration of the national policy of economic self-reliance, and fiscal, monetary and investment policies which encourage the big monopoly houses and multinational corporations to be abandoned; measures to end economic injustices and physical attacks on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, religious minorities, women and other weaker sections of society.

### **Left Unity**

The main task of fighting against the authoritarian drive of the ruling party while meeting all the new challenges to the nation, devolves on the Party and the Left forces. The Left and democratic front cannot be growingly built without the growing unity of the Left forces and without their capacity to launch massive united struggles against the authoritarian regime, its policies of suppressing democracy, its economic policies endangering the independence of the economy and the unbearable burdens being imposed on the masses.

The differences in the parliamentary and assembly elections spoiled to a certain extent the image of the Left, and the Congress(I) took full advantage of the situation. The CPI(M) did its best to see that Left unity was preserved

during the elections but the unreasonable and opportunist stand of the CPI led to differences and conflict.

The Left parties represent various viewpoints on matters of political importance and often have different assessments of the immediate political situation, of political parties, which often lead to divergence of tactical moves. Besides, as regards the class character of the Indian State, understanding of the revolutionary process and the stage of the revolution and its class needs, they widely differ. Joint actions on certain issues against the Congress(I) regime do not remove these differences which often affect current political activities.

To overcome these difficulties and forge a united front without adversely affecting the course of the revolutionary movement requires 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.

For the CPI(M), forging and strengthening of Left unity is a crucial political task and it must bend all its efforts to uphold the cause of unity, to repair the damages unthinkingly done by others and refrain from adopting anything but a principled attitude towards the question. The CPI(M) endeavours to rally all the Left forces which, besides the CPI, are the Forward Bloc, RSP, Peasants' and Workers' Party and other Left groups.

Despite the difficulties and differences, the climate for Left unity has improved. Left unity will continue to be strengthened as its need directly arises from the need of the democratic movement. But cannot be a spontaneous process. The Party will have to take the initiative for building it. The consolidation of Left unity can be achieved only on the basis of widespread mass actions of Left parties, their joint mass actions, calls for strikes, morchas and demonstrations to defend the people against the authoritarian drive, their intervention on issues vital to the life of the people, and their capacity to attract broader and broader forces in the common fight. The united Left forces must act as a powerful

shield to defend the Left Front Governments against the attacks of the ruling party.

It is quite clear that the full force of the united Left forces has not been thrown into the battle. This has not only slackened the pace of the democratic advance, it has also affected the progress of the vital movement for peace in our country. It is known that the peace movement in our country is confined to very narrow sections and there is no endeavour to reach the wide masses. The vast mass of our countrymen do not know much about the war danger, nuclear destruction and the vital necessity to conduct a consistent struggle for peace.

Things could rapidly change if the CPI leadership were to give up its unhelpful attitude and clear the ground for widening the peace movement. Unfortunately this is not happening and the peace movement must suffer.

Our Party took the initiative on some occasions which led to a well-organized and wide-based conference but its endeavour to carry forward the success could not fructify because of the non-cooperative attitude of the CPI leaders. This need not have been the result when both parties are committed to defend peace.

However, our Party must not relax its efforts. The fight against war and defence of peace demands far more attention from our Party. The peace movement must be broadened and peace must be made the concern of millions of our people. Our Party will not be able to discharge its international responsibility unless it devotes energies to carry the battle for peace to mass of the people.

### **Mass Actions**

The main lever to change the political situation, to defeat the authoritarian forces, to combat the challenge to national unity is the heightened political activity of the masses. Direct intervention of the Party on political issues and joint mass actions are essential to raise the political consciousness to a higher level.

An important feature of the last four years is that while joint actions on economic issues have increased, direct political actions have been few. It is necessary to improve the political activities of the masses, their direct intervention on important issues, to accelerate the process of exposure of the ruling party and the release of the masses from the influence of the bourgeoisie.

Obviously the struggle of the masses for redressal of immediate economic grievances assumes growing importance in the context of the present economic situation. The recession, the economic policy of the Government, the new burdens of high prices and taxation, the monstrous unemployment, all are already bringing large sections into direct conflict with the ruling party and the bourgeois-landlord Government. The coming period is going to be another stormy period when the people will be facing the accumulated effect of the policies of the Government. The four years that have passed saw militant struggles of all sections of the people; of women, workers, peasants, agricultural workers, students, employees including Government employees, teachers, doctors, many of which were banned, illegalized and yet were carried on with the utmost tenacity. Such protracted strikes and resistance in face of repression were rarely seen in earlier decades. They had to face in a number of cases unprecedented police terror and gangster attacks. In the rural areas especially, the police terror was unleashed in the most brutal manner.

In the recent period the growing consciousness of women against social and economic oppression has been seen in struggles by women's movement against discrimination, feudal oppression and dowry.

A number of cadres of the CITU, Kisan Sabha, Agricultural Workers' Union, SFI, DYFI, and AIDWA were killed by the police or by goondas on a number of occasions. But the militancy of the fighters could not be crushed. Finding that this terror was of no avail the authorities and the Government imposed outright starvation through prolonged lock-outs protected by State power.

The Government is now openly embarking upon anti-labour legislation to crush the movement of workers and employees. In the rural areas it observes no norms in dealing with the peasantry and the agricultural workers against whom the hirelings of the landlords are allowed to operate freely.

The coming period will see a further accentuation of this offensive and rise in the militancy and resistance of the masses.

The Party and the mass organizations must be fully prepared to head the new struggles of this stormy period, struggles which only the Left parties and Left forces can lead. A successful defence of the interests of the masses helps to raise the level of consciousness and erode the influence of the bourgeoisie.

In this connection the lessons of the last four years should not be forgotten. These years saw increased joint activities but their scale and expanse were not enough to imbue the masses with a new consciousness. The calls and their results were mostly symbolic and therefore could not break new ground in consciousness.

Besides, the actions hardly raised basic policy issues, and they were mostly confined to certain immediate demands. The mass movement cannot break through this stalemate without a conscious effort in this direction. Because of the weakness in organizing massive all-India actions, the ruling classes were able to pass on the burden with comparative ease. The masses fought with great militancy but their struggle was fractionalized and did not get the character of an all-India concerted resistance.

Mass organizations led by our Party have made some progress in several States. The student, the youth and the women's organizations have advanced. The growth of the Kisan Sabha has been uneven. Though the All India Agricultural Workers' Union was formed in 1981 its advance is not impressive and is not up to the expectations. The CITU, in spite of bitter struggles and advance registered in some States, seems to have reached a plateau and finds it difficult

to cross it. This in the first place is due to the fact that it has not yet succeeded in orientating its activities in the direction given by the Party in the recent document on trade unions. In fact, carrying on mass activities without everytime checking it on the basis of the Party's document and directives is a common weakness. This is also clear from the reports and their failure to review the struggle and experience of their activities on the basis of the Party's understanding and guidelines.

### **Independent Activity of the Party**

Independent activity of the Party in organizing mass actions, building Left unity and the Left and democratic front must increase very much compared with the past. The last four years show some progress in this direction. But this is too small compared to the needs of the situation and weaknesses of the other partners. It cannot be said that the Party leaders and members working in mass organizations always realise the importance of our initiative, that in its absence, planned action becomes symbolic, unable to affect mass consciousness and therefore unable to contribute to changing the correlation of class forces. There must be increased independent initiative of the Party not only in relation to mass activities and united front actions, but independent activities of the Party on its own platform to reach the masses, to explain the entire line of the Party is also necessary. The lower units of the Party in many States go on awaiting calls and directives from the higher committees and forget their responsibility to move into action. Without the lower units taking the initiative to launch agitations on their own on local issues, mass activities cannot be widened.

The international connections of our Party have further widened in the last four eyars.

### **The Party Organization**

The Party has grown in the last four years, but its growth has been uneven. Certain States continue to lag behind unable

to share the progress in other States. The Salkia Plenum's warning against the danger of federalist tendencies is taken lightly, and there is not much conscious efforts to fight it as a great obstacle to the development of the all-India Party. Federalism in reality is liquidation of a centralised party without which the revolutionary movement cannot advance. Federalism bespeaks of a lack of ideological cohesion and unity. It must be fought very consciously and seriously.

A result of this federalist tendency is the failure to render proper help to weaker States. In these States the mass movement and a mass base for the Party can be developed only if our all-India mass organizations render constant help. This often does not happen because the importance of the all-India movement, especially in weaker areas, is not realized.

The Salkia Plenum's directive to review mass struggles and political activities to teach the Party through its own experience and mistakes is rarely followed. This leads to the abandonment of criticism and self-criticism inside the Party, depriving it of an important weapon of rectifying itself and improving its understanding.

In the present situation our Party is successfully utilizing the forum of parliament, assemblies and elections for the advance of the class struggle. It is however necessary to be on guard against the deviation of parliamentary opportunism which is sometimes manifested in our midst.

The Salkia Plenum called for ideological struggle against obscurantism, fundamentalism and against feudal ideology. But there is hesitation to carry it on when the democratic rights of the people are assailed by the reactionaries. While combating the divisive tendencies unleashed by communal propaganda it is necessary to combat the increased influence of religious fundamentalism and superstitions by spread of materialist and scientific propaganda. The Party Programme calls upon the Party to fight against all forms of intrusion of religion in the social, economic, political and administrative life of the nation.

With the Muslim orthodoxy coming out in the open against

women's rights and Hindu and RSS communal propaganda increasing, it will be opportunism if the Party refrains from waging an ideological struggle against these pernicious trends. Islamic fundamentalism is financed from abroad. The prejudice against the minority, unequal treatment and repression during riots are particularly responsible for the success of the Islamic appeal. Hindu fundamentalism has no base in any genuine grievances. Both must be fought relentlessly by the Party.

### **Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism**

The Party takes its stand on proletarian internationalism, partisanship of the Socialist camp and unrelenting opposition to the imperialist camp and its ambitions of global domination. The Party demarcates itself from all those in the Communist movement who would not distinguish between the Socialist camp and the imperialist camp and fall victim to the two super-Powers propaganda. The Party holds the U.S. imperialists solely responsible for the war danger which it is determined to fight.

The Party continues to uphold 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 deviations and distortions, revisionism and dogmatism that still plague the international Communist movement. The Party educates its ranks about these deviations holding aloft the banner of Communist unity.

The CPI(M) upholds the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It upholds the principles of proletarian internationalism and 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.

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 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. The people of India cannot forget the experience of the Emergency, when overnight by use of force they were deprived of all their liberties.

Internally the Party continues to fight revisionism and dogmatism. The Party has not slackened its vigilance against revisionism and has always exposed attempts to present revisionism as the concrete application of Marxism-Leninism to the Indian situation.

At the same time the Party fights the anarchist Left-sectarian trend, represented by several Naxalite groups. Originating as a Left-sectarian trend, it rapidly developed into an anarchist individualist trend concentrating its attack on the CPI(M) and playing a thoroughly disruptive role. Because of its anarchist individualist outlook the trend split into several groups. Today in many places some of these groups indulge in terrorist attacks against our members.

Besides, all these groups are anti-internationalist in their outlook. Their rabid anti-Sovietism only helps the U.S. imperialist propaganda against Communism. Now some of them indulge in rabid anti-China propaganda.

The Party exposes the anti-Marxist anarchist basis of their political line with its reliance on individual actions. Some of these groups, professing a radical ideology and attacking the CPI(M), are connected with so-called voluntary agencies financed from abroad by various imperialist agencies.

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 combines the opposition in Parliament with mass struggles outside and aided by the performances of the Left Front Governments led by our Party, has raised the prestige of the Left. The continuance of these two Ministries over the

last eight years and the maintenance of the unity of the Left Front constitute a signal achievement of our Party.

The task of a vanguard party can be discharged only by a well-built strong party. Our Party must strike deep roots among the masses and gain thousands of new adherents every year. The weaknesses of the Party in the working class have to be overcome in the shortest possible time.

Fighting in the context of the immediate situation with the authoritarian challenge as the immediate danger, the Party does not forget its revolutionary objective. The Party is firmly committed to organize 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 programme of all bourgeois parties, by changing the correlation of political forces through broad mobilization and above all, by leading mass struggles, the Party brings into the arena precisely those classes that play a prominent part in the building of the People's Democratic Front.

The continued crisis of the capitalist path, the newly announced economic policy will be laying unbearable burdens on our people, straining their patience. Notwithstanding the massive majority of the ruling party in the Lok Sabha, a massive discontent is being generated by its policies. A stormy period of mass resistance and agitation lies before the country.

To head this discontent, this struggle against mass poverty and misery, is the tasks of the CPI(M) and the Left and democratic forces.

The CPI(M) calls upon all progressive forces, the entire Indian people to realise the dangerous situation confronting our country. Our democratic rights are under attack under the authoritarian drive: the self-reliance and independence of our economy is being endangered; national unity is under

constant attack; the secessionist, divisive and communal forces are rallying to bury national unity; imperialism is resorting to interventionist devices to destabilise our country and change its policy of non-alignment.

Who will meet all these challenges? Who will protect our freedom, our unity and independence? Only the people rising in their millions can stay the hands of domestic and international reaction. Only the people fighting poverty and aware of the incapacity of the ruling party to protect national interests will save the situation. The mighty force of our people rising to meet all the challenges will prove a powerful defender of world peace and opponent of U.S. imperialist war plans.

The CPI(M) places itself at the service of all people in this great cause of national unity, freedom and social advance. It assures that all its committees, units and members will relentlessly work for the cause of the people.

## **B.T. Ranadive's Reply to the Discussions on the Draft Political Resolution placed before the Twelfth Congress of CPI(M) held in Calcutta on December 25-30, 1985\***

Comrade B.T. Ranadive while replying to the discussion on the Draft Political Resolution, said the general agreement on the Draft showed that the Party had grown more united since the Vijayawada Congress four years ago. The document is a weapon to carry on the struggle to develop the movement with a three-pronged tactical line. They are: Broader resistance against authoritarianism, struggle for the unity of Left and democratic forces, and independent activity of the Party.

On the regional parties and movements, B.T. Ranadive clarified that the CPI(M) had never treated them as the handiwork of imperialism. They are a product of the people's discontentment which is taken advantage of by the imperialist agencies. If the Party is strong and leads the mass movements, it can guide the people into a united movement. In West Bengal, where the movement is strong and the Party has a hold on the democratic masses, it has been possible to counter the chauvinistic appeal of various parties. The tactics that the Party followed in Punjab were evolved by separating it from the communal appeal, while in Assam it had to take a frontal position to counter imperialist conspiracy to dismember the country.

The basic cause of discontent is the Congress(I) rule, B.T. Ranadive said. Under the capitalist path, the problem of Indian unity and nationalities cannot be solved. Unless a

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 12, 1986.

powerful mass movement intervenes at every stage, these movements would be diverted towards disruptive channels.

Explaining the importance of the concept of a broad platform, B.T. Ranadive said that in the context of the rise of divisive forces, the limitations of the bourgeois Opposition parties had become clear. The basis of the broad platform is the growing contradiction between the authoritarian party and the people as well as the growing contradiction between the ruling party and the Opposition parties. From the Vijayawada Conference of the Opposition parties to the Calcutta conference, many pro-people demands have been included in the demands charter, such as the right to work. This is the result of mass pressure. Although there are vacillations among bourgeois Opposition parties, the advance has to be seen in terms of demands that were incorporated in the Calcutta conference on the basis of which a broad platform can be built.

Clarifying the confusion that arose between the concepts of Left Front and Left and democratic Front, B.T. Ranadive said that the Party through all its activities wanted to build a People's Democratic Front but in that process there would be several alliances. The progress is to be achieved by trying to mobilize all the classes, uniting all the classes in a common struggle, increasing the influence of the Party and achieving leadership step by step. This should not be understood as some kind of an established front. It is a situation in which the correlation of class forces goes on changing till the masses and the working class come to grip with the situation. While mobilizing people on basic slogans, the Party must pay attention to Left unity.

Comrade B.T. Ranadive said that as in Punjab and Assam, Party comrades in Tamil Nadu had also put up a fight against Tamil chauvinism while keeping their links with the masses. This should also be included in the Resolution, he added.

B.T. Ranadive explained the impact of the Government's present policies on the agrarian sector and said this also would be elaborated in the Resolution. On the question of

differentiation in the upper echelons of the bourgeoisie and non-resident capital etc., B.T. Ranadive said a detailed investigation needs to be made. The non-monopoly bourgeois is being deeply hit by the present policies. The Party must take note of all these developments in evolving the tactical line.

B.T. Ranadive then dealt with the amendments that were proposed by the delegates. The Resolution was unanimously accepted.

## **Speech of E.M.S. Namboodiripad Introducing Draft Political - Organizational Report in the Twelfth Congress of CPI(M) Held in Calcutta on December 25-30, 1985\***

Party General Secretary, Comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad, while introducing the Draft Political-Organizational Report of the past four years, said the Polit Bureau was not very satisfied with the form in which it has been presented, owing to the paucity of time.

He said the Polit Bureau was not in a position to study and assimilate the reports that were submitted by the fractions and sub-committees in various fronts and organizations. E.M.S. expressed the hope that this lacuna would be overcome during the course of discussion in the Congress.

The Report, divided into several sections, contained a review of the Party line, a summary of State Reports, a summary of the activities of the Polit Bureau Members and Central Committee Members at the Party Centre, figures of Party membership etc. and a general assessment of the Party organization since the Salkia Plenum.

E.M.S. said that since the review partly covers the same ground as the Political Resolution, he would confine his comments to an addition made in the Report on the joint ventures in West Bengal. A Government working in a State under the overall Constitutional framework and overall control of the bourgeois-landlord Central Government cannot be expected to carry out the Party Programme. The State Governments headed by the CPI(M) have to expose the class policies of the Central Government on the one hand and

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 12, 1986

give as much relief to the people as possible on the other. In accordance with Para 112 of the Party Programme relief has to be provided to the people without any illusion that problems can be solved fundamentally. Thus while the Party opposes the policy of making Indian economy dependent on multinationals and giving more and more concessions to monopolies, it would not want West Bengal to be starved of investments.

Referring to the much-talked of question of Left unity and Communist unity, E.M.S. said the Party's differences with the CPI were of a fundamental nature and as long as those differences remained, there could be no question of the merger of the two parties. This does not mean, however, that "we are opposed to the coming together of our Party and the CPI". We do not accept the position that without the merger of the two parties there could not be unity of movement, he said.

The Coordination Committee of the two parties had to be activated and joint actions had to be initiated. Not much has been achieved in this regard because the CPI has serious differences with the CPI(M) on the question of broad unity, he said.

He observed that after the budget when the Party wanted to initiate joint actions, picking up the threads from the Calcutta conference of the Opposition parties, the CPI maintained that only Left parties could unitedly act on this question.

In West Bengal and Tripura the Left Fronts led by the CPI(M) include the CPI, Forward Bloc and RSP. In Kerala and other States the CPI(M) works along with other Left parties. While Left unity should be preserved and strengthened, it should be possible to involve all those secular Opposition parties that have attended the four conferences of the Opposition parties.

Without going into details provided in the Report, E.M.S. underlined that P.B. and the C.C. had been able to successfully apply the line worked out at Vijayawada. There has

been progress in developing a peace movement in the country. Advances have been made in building a struggle against authoritarianism. This became evident at the time when the Andhra ministry was removed by the Centre and also during the Opposition conferences held at Vijayawada, Srinagar, Delhi and Calcutta. In implementing the line it has been possible to steer clear of the authoritarian Congress(I) on the one hand and divisive and separatist forces on the other. All this has been possible because of the proper functioning of the P.B. and C.C. during this period.

E.M.S. said that there was a paucity of cadres for running the Party Centre more efficiently. He urged that the new Central Committee should evolve a plan in cooperation with the State Committees to strengthen the Party Centre with trained cadres. He emphasised that for the growth of the movement and for creating a strong Party, an efficient and mature Party Centre was absolutely essential and greater attention should be paid to this task.

E.M.S. discussed the political situation in Kerala after the Party's disentanglement from the Muslim League and said that our line had been enthusiastically received by all sections of the people.

## **Political - Organizational Report Placed before the Twelfth Congress of CPI(M) Held in Calcutta on December 25-30, 1985 and Finalised by the New Central Committee of CPI(M)\***

### **Part I**

#### **Eleventh Congress Line Reviewed**

The Political Resolution of our Eleventh Party Congress took into account the sharpened contradiction of international imperialism with the world community of Socialism. It stated that the U.S. imperialists were doing everything in their power to malign and subvert socialist states. It further noted that the danger of a nuclear war was growing, and the hopes of detente and disarmament receding. It traced this growing war menace to the ever-deepening world capitalist crisis. It also warned that the proposed deployment of Pershing and Cruise missiles in the countries of Western Europe would pose a direct threat to the USSR. The Eleventh Congress Resolution had warned that the armament race unleashed by the U.S. imperialists was endangering world peace, and threatening the world with a thermo-nuclear holocaust. The world developments during the last four years confirm the correctness of the assessment made in our Political Resolution.

Today, the world capitalist crisis is far deeper and the contradiction between the imperialist and Socialist camps has further aggravated. The U.S. imperialists have been reckless in deploying the nuclear missiles in several countries of the NATO bloc, directly challenging the USSR, the most powerful Socialist state which is in the forefront of the struggle

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\*Published as a booklet in May 1986.

Refer Document under Item No. 86 of this Volume.

for peace and against war, for the defence of Socialism, for the defence of independence of nations and for democracy and social progress. The stationing of missiles in different countries of the North Atlantic Bloc of countries by the U.S. had torpedoed the then on-going nuclear disarmament talks between the governments of USSR and USA, and invited the retaliatory defence measures from the Soviet Union. The Soviet had deployed its missiles in the countries of Warsaw Pact such as Czechoslovakia and German Democratic Republic. It warned the USA and the NATO bloc of nations that they would not escape retributive blows in case they launch nuclear attacks on the USSR and its Socialist allies.

Not stopping at that, the USSR and the Warsaw Pact states had taken a series of initiatives and measures to halt the nuclear armaments race. Ever-new constructive proposals were put forth to checkmate the armaments race that was let loose by the U.S. administration. It openly declared that USSR had attained military parity with the USA, and would never allow the USA to attain military superiority for which it was striving. It unilaterally suspended further nuclear tests for six months, demanding that USA follow suit, abandoning its so-called "Star Wars" programme.

The peace offensive of the Soviet Union and other peace loving forces of the world, at last, compelled the unwilling U.S. administration to agree for the meeting of the heads of the USSR and USA — a meeting that took place at Geneva on 20th November, 1985. This meeting between General Secretary of the CPSU and the President of the USA was very significant. To put it in the words of Mikhail Gorbachev at his Press conference in Geneva on 21st November, 1985, "our talks with President of the United States of America, the first in six and half years, have just ended. This has been beyond any doubt, a significant event in international life."

It is true that the meeting did not yield any substantive results on any basic question connected with the nuclear disarmament talks; and yet such a meeting itself was

significant as it brought the two big world powers together to talk across the table and to exchange views on the burning question of nuclear war and world peace.

During the years under review a powerful and worldwide peace movement had grown, and is on its forward march in different countries and continents of the world. The Non-Aligned Movement, representing more than hundred countries including the Indian Union, has thrown its full weight against the danger of nuclear war and the nuclear armaments race. In a way, the struggle for peace and against the nuclear holocaust is merged with the struggle in defence of the newly liberated countries and all the states and the peoples that hate war and ardently desire world peace. To put it differently, the sharply accentuated contradiction between the imperialist and Socialist camps goes to reveal the deepest crisis of the world capitalist system and the desperate attempts of the U.S. imperialists to resolve the crisis at the expense of the USSR and all other freedom loving independent nations of the world.

In the state monopoly capitalism of the USA, a new feature is additionally emphasised. A huge military-industrial complex has grown which roughly accounts for 40 to 45 per cent of the country's industrial economy. The representatives of this huge military industrial complex have also secured vantage positions in the administration of the USA. The arms production and their trade on a world scale has acquired a crucial role in the crisis-ridden world capitalist economy. The U.S. and several other imperialist countries have become the big arms salesmen to most of the newly liberated countries of the world. This is both a symptom of the gravest crisis of world capitalism and a great menace to the peace of the world and to the very future of mankind on earth.

The global class struggle has reached an acute stage when modern imperialism is driven to despair as to openly and unashamedly broadcast that it declares war against Marxism-Leninism and is out to destroy the USSR, the bastion of world Socialism, standing against nuclear war and for world

peace. Such is the character of the intense antagonism between the world forces of capitalism and international forces of Socialism, peace and national independence. This, we highlight, in order to sharply emphasise the vital importance of the struggle for world peace, and against nuclear armaments race unleashed by imperialist governments.

Following the analysis and assessment made in the Vijayawada Party Congress Resolution, a separate resolution on War Danger was adopted. The resolution stated : "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." It concludes it as the 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."

The Peace Movement in our country has, unfortunately, remained within the confines of certain narrow circles. It did not acquire a mass character. The Government of India which has committed, since long, for the cause of world peace and the policy of non-alignment did not carry it down to the mass level, and confined it to the state and diplomatic level, making some pronouncements on occasions and voicing them in the world forums. The great mass of the people remained either completely ignorant of the war and peace issue and its gravity or were passive supporters. Peace and solidarity organizations could not be organized on a broad basis, embracing different political parties, groups and individuals, but remained under the virtual control of the CPI.

Our Party has been striving its utmost to broaden the peace and solidarity organization, embracing every party and group willing to contribute to the cause of world peace, and against the war-mongering of the US imperialists.

Though it succeeded in organizing one such all India joint mass mobilization in October 1982, immediately after the Eleventh Party Congress in January 1982, this process did not register the desired progress. But our Party on its own platform and in its own Press did take the message of world peace in a more systematic and concerted manner during the last four years. In all the areas and states where our Party and mass movements are strong huge mass rallies and meetings were convened to carry the message of peace and warn the people of the menace of nuclear holocaust. A week-long programme on a mass scale was observed in West Bengal where lakhs of people were mobilised in defence of world peace, and in opposition to the U S imperialist drive towards militarization of space and the drive to atomic war. In Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Tripura and several other states a week was observed to campaign in defence of world peace.

Besides conventions in states, a central convention was held, the Left parties and groups assuming the leading role. The said all parties' peace convention had set up a committee, appointing the General Secretary of the CPI, Rajeswara Rao as the convener, to further the cause of organizing the ever wider circles of people. But it was not pursued, and the committee that was set up remained frozen. As already mentioned above the peace movement did not reach the mass of the people due to the organizational shortcomings. Besides, the Indian people have no direct experience of modern war and its devastating effects on the peoples as well as the effects of huge armaments expenditure on the people's livelihood. Ignorance of this fact is a big hindrance to awaken our Indian people, on a mass scale, to the danger of a nuclear war.

The occasion of the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism was used by our Party in a big way to popularise the slogans of the world peace front, exposing U S imperialism and its nuclear blackmailing.

The CITU and its allied organizations responded to the

call of WFTU, and observed 1st September, 1984 as the anti-war day and in defence of peace for two successive years since the Eleventh Party Congress

A Soviet delegation was invited by our Party, and it addressed big mass meetings in Calcutta, Cochin, Madras, Coimbatore and Delhi. In all these rallies speeches were made exposing the war danger and expounding the cause of world peace.

Participation of different political parties in the international meets in defence of peace and non-alignment is on the increase. Most of the political parties, including the ruling Congress(I), have participated in the World Youth Festival in which the struggle against nuclear armaments race and defence of world peace had occupied the predominant role. And yet, it would be deceptive if Left and democratic forces, the Left parties and groups in particular, do not realise that there is not yet a united thrust to fully exploit the possibilities of extending and deepening the peace movement in our country. All the Left forces should realise the fact that today's peace movement is neither a pacifist movement nor a peace movement just confined to maintain world peace but it is an acute class struggle in defence of world socialism, independence of the newly liberated nations and the very survival of mankind and life on earth.

Besides the nuclear armaments drive and open declaration of war against Marxism, U S imperialism is actively engaged in subverting national independence of states and resort even to the military conquest of countries such as Grenada. As mentioned in our Eleventh Congress Resolution the U S continues its involvement in the murderous suppression of the struggle of the people in El Salvador. Nicaragua is under constant threat of invasion. With countries like Cuba, the U S is engaged in a war of attrition, imposing trade embargo and other restrictions. These aggressive activities of U S imperialism are not confined to the countries of Latin America, but are extended to different countries of the world in all continents. Thus the defence of

national independence and the struggle for national liberation of our time is closely linked with the struggle against U S imperialism and its reckless armaments race

It would be a calamity if peace-loving forces of the world fail to stem the reckless offensive of the war maniacs and put these atomic war-mongers into a straight-jacket. The struggle in defence of world peace is, today, closely interlinked with the very future of mankind and life of this planet. As history ordained, today's peace movement is a combined world-wide people's movement for democracy, national independence, Socialism and the very future of mankind on earth. Any person or party can ill-afford to be a helpless spectator to the ever-growing menace of nuclear world war. It is the bounden duty to do one's utmost to prevent the atomic holocaust. As a Communist and Marxist-Leninist party, the CPI(M) will have to redouble its activities on the peace front and carry the message of world peace, while exposing the war-mongering U S imperialism and their henchmen.

Our Party's peace campaign, in certain vital respects, has its differences with that of several bourgeois politicians who support the cause of world peace. In opposing the armaments race and the threat of the nuclear war danger they appeal to or criticise the two super-powers, putting on par the peace-loving Socialist Union with the war-mongering U S imperialists. In a way, such an approach shields the aggressive U S imperialists and blurs the vital difference between the atomic war-mongers and dedicated peace champions. No peace partisan can blur this difference between the two super-powers if he is true and honest to the cause he espouses. The CPI(M) sharply demarcates from the so-called two super-powers theorists, pinning down the U S as the principal source of war-mongering and of nuclear armament race.

This apparently innocent thesis of two super-powers cleanly ignores the stark reality that it is the Soviet "super-power" that is providing armour to the defence of national independence of scores of weak and newly liberated states against

the forces of imperialism and its aggressive designs. It also hides the reality that it is the defence-preparedness of the USSR and other socialist countries that is checkmating the U S imperialists in their evil designs of enslaving independent countries, in different continents. Hence our determined opposition to the deceptive theory of so-called "Two Super-Powers", while dealing with the issue of war and world peace. As far as India and Indian Government are concerned, the equating of "two super-powers" sounds all the more absurd in the face of U S arming Pakistan to the point of assisting it to acquire nuclear weapons, endangering India's security.

The CPI(M) while lending its unstinted support to the Government policy of world peace and non-alignment cannot afford to miss to take serious note of the Government's economic collaboration with foreign finance capital and the heavy dependence on world capitalist states for import of advanced technology, and for the export of its goods to the foreign markets. Such growing dependence on foreign monopoly capital undermines our political independence and leads the country to abandon the much advertised effort for national self-reliance.

Similarly the policy of non-alignment has got two facets. One is to abstain from joining either the bloc of NATO countries or the countries of the Warsaw Pact. The Indian state and Government, which by its class character is a bourgeois-landlord state, led by the Indian big bourgeoisie, is objectively assisting the forces of world peace by not aligning with the NATO bloc. This is a welcome feature and is a rebuff to the imperialist war bloc. Its policy of friendship with the USSR and the signing of the Treaty of Indo-Soviet Friendship and Cooperation is another important factor which the CPI(M) supports fully. The CPI(M) is conscious of the fact that the Indian bourgeoisie and its Government have come to look upon the policy of non-alignment and friendship with the socialist countries as a shield in defence of national political independence. Though as Marxist-Leninists

path is bound to lead to a much deeper crisis of the economy with all the attendant evils and their destabilising consequences on our socio-political fabric

The mass discontent that is being generated on an ever-increasing scale is providing the fertile soil for the rise and growth of different divisive forces of caste, communal, regional, tribal and ethnic character. It is on this that the arch reactionary forces at home and the imperialists abroad are banking upon to destabilise and to dismember India. Only an alternative class set-up with alternative class policies can save the country, its integrity and national independence.

It is a fact that most of the bourgeois opposition parties, which still command the confidence of 40 per cent of the polled votes refuse to realise the gravity of the situation and are unable to advocate genuine alternate policies to that of the ruling Congress Party. It is also unfortunate to note that even the Left and democratic forces which, in theory, agree with the urgent demand for alternate democratic policies are moving at a snail's pace, unable to move the masses in a big way.

To conclude the point, it will have to be clearly and categorically stated that the bourgeois-landlord class rule and its pursuit of the bankrupt path of capitalist development cannot either keep the country united and integrated or control the rising forces of communalism, casteism and separatism. The replacement of the bourgeois-landlord class rule and its pursuit of the bankrupt path of capitalist development cannot either keep the country united and integrated or control the rising forces of communalism, casteism and separatism. The replacement of the bourgeois-landlord rule by the Left and democratic alternative is imperative.

### **Akali Dal Agitation And Its Aftermath**

Mass discontent has not only grown several-fold, but it also came in handy for different divisive forces, including the western imperialists, to exploit this discontent and lead several separatist, casteist, communalist and every other conceivable

reactionary force Three-year long Punjab agitation and the Congress Government's failure to politically resolve the question, in time and in a democratic manner, had led to several harmful consequences

The Punjab agitation had passed into the hands of the extremists who resorted to a series of terroristic acts and who openly advocated the slogan of independent Khalistan The extremists were not only indulging in surprise attacks and murders of their opponents mainly Hindus, but converted the Golden Temple into their armed fortress to carry on their activity for the creation of Khalistan A big section of the Sikh youth and students were swayed into the extremist activities of Bhindranwale The moderate leadership of Akali Dal which stood against Khalistan slogan and for a political settlement of the issues connected with the three-year-old Punjab agitation, was thrown on the defensive thanks to the narrow partisan aims pursued by the Congress(I) Government, under the leadership of the late Mrs Indira Gandhi

An Accord which was worked out by 17 Opposition parties including the Akali Dal for the settlement of the Punjab tangle was torpedoed by the Congress(I) leadership, further aggravating the crisis and Hindu-Sikh polarisation in the state This unpardonable attempt to play on the Hindu-Sikh communal differences and the inordinate delay in settling the problem had only helped the further aggravation of the situation, which led to Operation Blue Star, in order to disband the armed camp set up by the extremists in the precincts of the Golden Temple It finally led to the imposition of military rule over Punjab and the consequent inflaming of Sikh mass opinion to make the Sikh mass sentiment hostile to the Indian Government and its leader Mrs Indira Gandhi It eventually led to the ghastly assassination of Mrs Gandhi by two fanatic security guards in her official premises

In this connection mention must be made of the fact that the Akali Dal's role, in fanning Sikh communal appeal, did help the extremists, led by Bhindranwale, to rouse the Sikh

sentiment in favour of the slogan of independent Khalistan. It should be remembered that the danger of Sikh separatism and Sikh-Hindu communal tension will continue as long as Akali Dal leadership takes its political inspiration based on Sikh communalism, as it has been doing since long. Unless the Akali Dal discards its religious orientation to its political activity this danger continues.

The U S imperialists, who were out to exploit the Punjab situation for their nefarious ends of disintegration and dismembering the Indian Union had fully backed the Sikh extremists, providing them arms and arms-training in different parts of the USA and Canada. They saw to it that the neighbouring Pakistan military regime lent its territory for the training and armed operations for the advocates of Khalistan.

Thus the Punjab agitation, which was mishandled by the Congress(I) regime for full three years, had cost the country and its unity very dearly. It was only after the massive electoral victory won by the ruling Congress in the Lok Sabha elections, following the assassination of Mrs Gandhi, that the newly elected Prime Minister Mr Rajiv Gandhi took new initiatives to work out an Accord between the Akali Dal led by late Harchand Singh Longowal and the Government of India. This Accord not only conceded the old programme that was worked out and agreed upon by the 17 Opposition parties in June 1983, but it had to go much further to assuage the ruffled feelings of the Sikh masses aroused due to the Operation Blue Star, military suppression, anti-Sikh riots following the murder of Mrs Gandhi and the years of delay by the Indian Government in conceding their just and democratic demands.

The CPI(M) together with other Left and democratic forces had played a proud role in fighting against the menace of Sikh separatism and terrorism, and in working out the Accord, foiling the game of imperialist intrigues and separatist conspiracies. The CPI(M)'s political prestige, in the entire country, has gone up as the Party which boldly fought against

the extremists and sincerely worked for national unity and Sikh-Hindu communal amity. Politically no other party in the country stood up as correctly and consistently in fighting for the successful settlement of the Punjab problem which was kept deliberately unsettled for years by the powers that be.

The future alone can reveal how far the Accord is honestly implemented, how far the Akali Dal leadership can disentangle itself from its religion oriented politics and how far the continued game of imperialist destabilisation can be successfully fought back and foiled.

However, the assassination of Mrs Gandhi that shook the nation, roused fears of national disintegration among the people and led to the securing of massive majority in the Lok Sabha elections by the Congress(I), under the new leadership of Mr Rajiv Gandhi. The massive vote for the time being screened the reality of growing isolation of the Congress(I) from the people. However, it was again seen within a couple of months when the Assembly elections were held.

### **Assam Agitation and Its Implications**

It is common knowledge that while the Assam agitation was going on during the last six years, the entire administration of the state was virtually paralysed. The Central Congress Government could neither resolve the problems nor ensure law and order in the state. It is no exaggeration to state that Assam Students Union and its associate Gana Sangram Parishad were virtually running a parallel Government in the state.

The Assam agitation was, from its very inception, secessionist and separatist in character. It was not merely directed against the so-called foreigners, belonging to the Bengali minorities, both Hindu and Muslim, but also directed against all non-Assamese minorities, Nepalis, Biharis, non-Assamese tea-garden labourers etc. It was a revolt against the very concept of Indian citizenship.

Irrefutable facts go to show that the US imperialists

took active part in organizing and financing the agitation, with a view to separating Assam from India and organize an independent North East Region, dismembering the Indian Union. The Central Congress Government neither exposed this entire conspiracy nor took timely political measures to meet the challenge of the aggressive agitators.

The agitation was inspired by the discontented bourgeois and petty-bourgeois sections of Assam mainly in the Brahmaputra Valley directing the growing mass discontent against the non-Assamese ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities. These minorities are not small in number and are anywhere around 42 per cent and more of the state's population. The main slogan the agitators picked up was to throw out the so-called foreigners who migrated from Bangladesh. It is true that large-scale migration was there, both legal and illegal, and it was becoming an important factor in the hands of the ruling Congress party to retain its political domination over the State, checkmating the growing urges of the developing Assamese bourgeois nationalism. Tens of thousands of unemployed youth, educated as well as uneducated wished to solve the problem at the expense of the national minorities who occupied considerable percentage of Government jobs, besides the political clout they were exercising together with the ruling Congress.

The Congress Government, both of the state of Assam and the Indian Union, had neither cared to stop the illegal immigrants nor taken effective measures of regularising the citizenship of the legitimate immigrants. Further, the Central Government took no special measures to develop the state of Assam in matters of industry and agriculture as to provide opportunities for employment and other facilities of life. Not even road and rail communications are properly developed.

Ignoring the multi-lingual and multi-ethnic character of the state, the Assam agitators directed their edge of attack on the minorities, trying to impose Assamese language and exclusive administrative authority over the huge minority

population. It led to scores of general strikes, hartals and mass killing of minorities as well as the political opponents of the agitators.

The CPI(M) and other Left forces could clearly see the hand of the U S imperialists and their agencies in actively encouraging and assisting the Assam agitation, giving it a separatist and divisive orientation. As is widely known this was a part of the sinister plan, the so-called Operation Brahmputra, which aimed at severing the entire north east of the Indian union from the country and the creation of several independent states which can be subservient tools of imperialism.

It is a reality that there have been armed insurgent movements in states like Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram. In the state of Tripura, continuous armed attacks are going on by the so-called Tripura National Volunteers based in Bangladesh, armed and trained in that country. Serious attempts were there to coordinate and unite all these insurgent currents, including the Assam agitationists, though they did not fructify.

In Tripura the CPI(M) and the Left Front Government led by it were doing everything in their power to resist the TNV terrorists, and to suppress their armed revolt. The problem of keeping Tripura as a united state, unity between the two-thirds Bengalees and one-third tribal population in the state is getting the maximum attention and concern of our Party and State government. Here again, the ruling Congress is not only not extending its cooperation for efforts of the CPI(M) led Government to keep the state united, isolating the separatist forces, but actually it is abetting the separatists by allying with the TUJS which is in close cooperation with the insurgent TNV.

The ruling Congress Government has neither a concerted plan to develop this entire region so as to bring it into the mainstream of the Indian national life nor is it alert and active in exposing the imperialist machinations and isolating their agencies which are operating under different colours. The loud declarations of defending national integrity and

fighting against the separatist and divisive forces by the ruling Congress leaders remain mere bragging without active struggle in defence of national unity. The opportunist compromises made with different insurgent groups, in different regions and at different times by the Congress Government are, objectively, encouraging the divisive forces instead of eliminating the menace by taking positive measures in a democratic manner. In fact there is no well-thought-out plan and policy for the Government to lift these "Seven Sister States" in the North Eastern region from poverty, illiteracy, industrial and agricultural backwardness and feelings of seclusion and separatism.

The so-called Assam Accord, reached between the Assam agitationists and the Central Government, contains a lot of discord which does neither really settle the six-year-long Assam imbroglio nor ensure the stability and progress of the multi-lingual state of Assam. As reports go to reveal, several lakhs of men and women are illegally disfranchised while declaring that all their citizenship rights will be safeguarded. How a citizen can be penalised and disenfranchised is anybody's guess. And yet that is what the Accord imposes on the minorities in Assam. This unprincipled concession to the Assamese chauvinists, the concession of disenfranchising immigrants who had migrated during the years 1965-1971, is sure to unleash forces in states like Tripura which are raising the demand of applying the same rule of disenfranchisement to the Bengalees. The same may be followed up by Meghalaya, Manipur and other states in the region.

The CPI(M) refusing to be cowed down by the threats and violence, hurled at it by the Assam agitationists has been fighting a principled struggle for the unity of Assam and for the safety and well-being of the 40 percent minorities in the State. It had to sacrifice 45 comrades and militants to pursue its correct line opposing Assam chauvinists. It is opposed to several of the clauses in the Assam Accord, and is prepared to put across its positive line of action in the elections that are being conducted in the state for the State Legislature and

the Lok Sabha The CPI(M) role in Assam adds another glorious chapter in its struggle against divisive forces, and in defence of national unity and integrity

It is deplorable that parties like the BJP, Janata Party and the like, unashamedly lent their full support to the separatist agitation in Assam under the spurious plea that it was a struggle against the "foreigners" and their intrusion in Assam Even CPI and some other Left groups have swallowed the Assam Accord which arbitrarily, illegally and unconstitutionally deprives lakhs of voters from their voting rights, reducing them to the status of second class citizens If unprincipled compromises such as the present Assam Accord are repeated, wherever such problems arise, then there will be no one Indian citizenship and one Indian Union Shiv Sena in Bombay takes inspiration to drive out non-Maharashtrians from Bombay, and several such parochial and anti-national forces will take their inspiration from Assam Accord and its like

Before concluding this topic of our Report it is interesting and educative to recollect what we had stated in our Eleventh Congress Resolution on the subject of 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 recognized

"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 the 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 the bourgeois parties

The recent four-month-long Gujarat’s anti-reservation stir, the caste and communal killings, the failure of the law and order machinery, and the heavy death-toll of around 200 persons go to confirm the correctness of the exhaustive assessment made in our Eleventh Congress’s Political Resolution. The Gujarat agitation once again proves how the ruling Congress party resorts to communal and caste appeals to subserve its partisan electoral ends

### **Communal Forces On The Rise**

The Eleventh Party Congress Resolution had dealt at length with the rise of communalism and warned the Party about its growing menace for the unity of the class and mass democratic movements, and also as a threat to national unity and integration

Dealing with the rise of Muslim communalism and our Party’s stand, the Political Resolution of Vijayawada Congress had the following to say “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 masses, economically oppressed, and often the victim of Hindu chauvinism and of the administrative personnel in time 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 organizations 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 masses away from the democratic and Left forces by appeals to minority separatism and communalism.

In most of the 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 Muslims 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.

Concluding the topic the Resolution stated: “The mobilization 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 the menace.”

During the last four years since the Eleventh Congress, the CPI(M) was doing everything possible to increasingly intervene to defend the minorities wherever the Muslim minorities came under attack. But our Party could not mobilise the progressive Muslim intellectuals, as no concerted effort could be put in this regard. This will have to be rectified, and we should do our utmost to assist the growing radicalism among certain sections of Muslim intellectuals and women.

Narrating in detail the disruptive activities of Hindu chauvinists, the Eleventh Congress Resolution observed: “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."

Referring to the rise of Sikh religious separatism, the Resolution warned that "The raising of such slogans as Khalistan, Sikhs a separate nation, is part of this same process of national disintegration under Congress(I) rule"

It is now proved how correct our warning was, and what damage was caused to the Hindu-Sikh unity by the dilatory tactics pursued by the ruling Congress leadership on the one hand, in tackling the Punjab tangle and by the Sikh extremists who had become open armed rebels against the Indian Union, in league with the imperialists and their Pakistani surrogates on the other. Future alone can show how far the Accord reached between the ruling Congress and the Akali Dal helps in mitigating the Sikh-Hindu antagonism and how far the present Akali Dal government can boldly fight against the continued Sikh extremists and their separatist slogan of Khalistan.

The CPI(M) has done its utmost to resolve the Punjab issue and safeguard the Hindu-Sikh unity. The polarization that took place between Akali Dal and ruling Congress and the consequent sweep of the Akali Dal in elections to the

Legislative Assembly does not obliterate the truth that the CPI(M) did its utmost to bring about a peaceful settlement of the problem as early as the month of June 1983. It is the ruling Congress leadership that is to be held responsible for the deterioration of the situation, leading to the Operation Blue Star. The rise of Sikh communal fanaticism and finally the dastardly assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the eruption of Hindu-Sikh riots all over the country followed. The electoral reverse suffered by the CPI(M) and other Left forces in Punjab during the Assembly elections, in no way, contradicts the correctness of the political-tactical line pursued by the CPI(M) and other Left forces. The voters, especially the Sikh masses, looked upon the Congress-Akali Accord as a victory for the cause for which the Dal had fought doggedly for years. There lies the secret of the mass swing in favour of Akali Dal, even sections of our traditional Sikh voters swinging towards the Akali Party.

The Eleventh Congress Resolution did not only highlight the growing danger of Muslim, Sikh and Hindu communalism but also warned against the menace of certain Christian missionaries who were busy disrupting the Left movement, the CPI(M) in particular, under the garb of Leftism, even exploiting the name of Marxism. The Political Resolution stated "In a situation in which the appeal of the CPI(M) is *irresistibly* increasing when masses are getting radicalised and 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 organizations—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 experience, during the last four years, completely confirms the correctness of the observations made on this

score Reports from several states reveal that these 'Left' Christian missionaries have spread their network in dozens of areas and pockets in our country, with thousands of cadre employed for the job They are being heavily financed by some imperialist states of the West, and are penetrating among the tribal population, agricultural labourers, and in backward areas They are appointing naxalites and former naxalites to several posts, paying them high salaries In some states, the state administration is encouraging them under the pretext of doing some voluntary work, completely oblivious to dangers inherent in such agencies and their imperialist patrons Our Party should pay special attention to this spread of pseudo-Left Christian missionaries and their activities to abet and encourage the disintegrating forces in our country We cannot say that our Party had paid adequate attention to such activities, exposing them as dangerous conspiracies of the CIA and its allied organizations

Besides, the prolonged agitations such as Punjab and Assam, and the consequent growth of animosity among Hindu-Sikh, Hindu-Muslim and the Assamese majority and other ethnic minorities, the Hindu communalists had used issues such as Ram Janam Bhoomi and Ganga Jal Yatra from Hardwar to Kanyakumari to rouse Hindu majority communalism and chauvinism In a way religious fundamentalism and casteism has grown, taking the garb of protecting religion and rights of the oppressed and backward castes

Open training camps of various extremist groups are organized in USA, the patronage extended to such forces by countries such as Britain and Canada are facts beyond dispute The huge amounts of money supply from some Gulf States such as Saudi Arabia is directly helping Islamic fanaticism and fundamentalism, much to the detriment of the real and lasting interests of the Muslim minorities in the Indian Union The direct hand of imperialism is there in fomenting and encouraging these forces.

The opportunist policies of ruling Congress Government, both directly and indirectly, are strengthening different

communal forces To take one example, let us cite the case of J & K State where Farooq Abdullah and National Conference secured electoral victory in the poll for the state's legislature The Central Congress leadership had organized defection of some of National Conference MLAs in order to set up a puppet regime with the support of the Congress MLAs This had infuriated the vast Muslim sentiment in Kashmir Valley and elsewhere because the National Conference in which the Muslim masses reposed confidence was outwitted by resorting to defection tactics It only provided grist to the pro-Pakistan elements who were, at heart, advocates of the State's secession from the Indian Union

The Congress rulers are openly patronising the Hindu religious institutions, giving a distorted interpretation to the concept of secularism as though secularism enjoins upon the state and government to encourage all religions, instead of strictly keeping religion out of state and administration

There is a tendency among certain sections of our Party comrades to underestimate the danger of the growth of communal parties and their fundamentalist character; they fail to see disruption of the class and mass organizations by these religious fundamentalists, and they also do not realise that the growth and consolidation of people on caste and communal lines undermines the united struggle against the authoritarian Congress rule and its monopoly of power in the country In fact it is not possible to carry on an effective struggle against the bourgeois-landlord class rule and its perpetuation without an incessant struggle against communal and divisive forces.

### **The CPI(M) And Its Efforts To Build The Broad Resistance**

Our last Party Congress was held in the background of the fall of the Janata Party Government, the splintering of Janata combine, a victorious come back of the ruling Congress regime at the Centre In short, the bourgeois Opposition parties were found in complete disarray, and the broad front

of resistance appeared as a remote possibility. But some time later, following the defeat of the Congress(I) in Andhra and Karnataka and the emergence of Telugu Desam government and Janata government in these two states, the political situation had begun to change.

The meeting of the four Chief Ministers of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Pondicherry in Bangalore and their raising of the Centre-State relations issue—an issue which the CPI(M) and the two Left Front governments of West Bengal and Tripura alone were raising in a persistent manner, had given a new fillip to the question. The Vijayawada conclave convened by N T Rama Rao and the subsequent three consecutive conclaves of Delhi, Srinagar and Calcutta had brought a big change in the political atmosphere.

The platform of broad resistance against the authoritarian drive of the Congress(I) monopoly rule had come to be revived. The CPI(M) and the other Left forces, once again, were able to take initiative in fighting for an agreed programme of action, in focussing the Centre-State relations and in checkmating the Congress(I) offensive on the non-Congress state governments, especially the Left Front governments of West Bengal and Tripura.

These four conclaves convened in the years 1983 and 1984, had not only succeeded in formulating the solution for the then on-going Punjab agitation and in working out Eleven-Point Programme but they also dealt a death blow to the reactionary attempts of the parties such as BJP to bring about an anti-Communist front, isolating the CPI(M) and other Left parties. The BJP not only failed in this game but, in the process, had to break its much coveted alliance with the Lok Dal. The increasing isolation of the Congress(I) rule from the great mass of the people, once again, prompted the Congress(I)'s spokesmen to raise the public debate regarding the advisability or otherwise of choosing a 'Presidential' form of government, all under the panic that Congress(I) was heavily losing its mass base.

## **Realignment In Kerala**

The continued presence of the All India Muslim League in the opposition Left Democratic Front in Kerala has been a stumbling block in the implementation of the Vijayawada line of struggle against the divisive forces—both in Kerala itself and in the rest of the country. The Polit Bureau and Central Committee therefore, tried to impress upon the State Committee the need for a gradual disentanglement of the LDF from that party.

It was, however, not easy to get this accepted in the state. The Party has for sometime been used to the policies of parliamentary manoeuvring. The alignment of forces in state's electoral scene also made a large section of Party members and sympathisers, together with the electoral allies of the Party, take it for granted that, "in the concrete situation in the state", not only should the relation with the AIML continue but that serious efforts should be made to get the IUML and the Kerala Congress to move away from the UDF and join the LDF. The Polit Bureau and Central Committee therefore, had to work patiently to convince the majority in the State Committee first and then the entire Party of the necessity for a change.

As against this difficulty, there was the widespread feeling among Party members, sympathisers and non-Party people that both the Congress and the CPI(M) are making more and more concessions to divisive forces with a view to be in better electoral position, thus strengthening the caste/communal forces. The AIML itself was using its position in the LDF to put pressure on our Party to accept the obscurantist demands jointly made by the two Leagues.

There was, for instance, the question of pension for the employees of the mosques to be paid from the public exchequer. On this as well as on the question of Muslim Personal Law, the AIML joined hands with the IUML and tried to pressurise the CPI(M). The firm stand adopted by the Party on both these questions, led to the decision of the AIML to leave the LDF.

The consequences of this development have been warmly welcomed and appreciated in wide circles—not only in Kerala but all over the country. Indications are that, contrary to the apprehensions expressed by some comrades and friends of the Party, this has further deepened the conflicts within the Congress itself and its conflict with its electoral allies in the state. The prolonged controversy around the proposal of a mid-term election to the State legislature, reorganization of the ministry, re-allocation of ministerial portfolios, etc., show that the state's political scene has changed a lot. The caste/communal parties have lost their bargaining capacity while pressure too, is building up in the Congress for the abandonment of alliance with caste/communal parties. How to use these conflicts within the ruling coalition to win over the ranks and masses of all these parties and involve them in united actions against the policies of the Central Government—this is now the question before the Party in Kerala.

### **Assassination of Mrs. Gandhi And Its Aftermath**

The assassination of Mrs. Gandhi at the hands of her own bodyguards cannot be explained away as the plot of the Sikh extremists who were enraged after the Operation Blue Star. Behind this ghastly murder of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, there was clearly the hand of the U.S. imperialists who were encouraging the Khalistan agitation and giving armed training in U.S. camps for the Sikh extremists. Mrs. Gandhi's policies of nonalignment, world peace and Indo-Soviet friendship treaty etc., were not liked by the U.S. imperialists, and they were out to resort to any crime that might help them in their world aggressive designs.

Mrs. Gandhi's murder came as a rude shock to the nation. The people took the situation as grave, threatening the unity and integrity of the nation at the hands of the separatists and imperialists. They found no alternative political force in the country and rallied behind the ruling Congress party as the only saviour of the situation. In that political atmosphere, elections to the Lok Sabha took place, and

Mr Rajiv Gandhi and his party scored a landslide victory, securing more than 420 seats, i.e. a three-fourths majority. This massive win of seats in the Lok Sabha had become possible for the ruling Congress party even though the votes polled by the party did not exceed more than 50 per cent. The other bourgeois opposition parties, though they could muster 40 per cent of the polled votes, secured only negligible number of seats because of division and disunity. The Left, the CPI(M) in particular, stood against this Rajiv's storm and secured 22 seats despite the heavy losses in Kerala and, to an extent, even in West Bengal. Thus Mr Rajiv Gandhi's spectacular win in the Lok Sabha elections had a morale-boosting effect for the Congress(I), though the ruling Congress lost heavily in Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal and Tripura.

But this massive swing of the electorate towards the Congress(I) in the Lok Sabha elections did not last long. Within two months, following the elections to the Lok Sabha, the Congress(I) lost heavily in some assembly elections and certain by-elections. This denotes the fact that the contradiction between the mass of the people and the ruling bourgeois-landlord combine is in no way mitigated and the discontented masses are on the move.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi, after winning a massive majority and assuming power as the Prime Minister of India, has changed the tactics. The new Government took initiatives to settle intricate issues such as Punjab tangle and Assam agitation.

In matters of foreign policy, the aspects of non-alignment, standing for world peace and against nuclear war, the renewed emphasis on Indo-Soviet Friendship and Cooperation and the non-acceptance of the offer of military aid by the U.S. etc., Rajiv Gandhi has been more unequivocal than his predecessor Governments.

But the new economic strategy, a strategy conceived for overcoming the deep economic crisis of the capitalist path of development that the Government has been pursuing for the last 38 years and more, initiated along with the budget

proposals for the year 1985, is fraught with serious risks and dangers, the proposed import of new technology, the green signal for private capital for a series of collaborationist deals with the foreign finance capital, the virtual scaling down of the Seventh Five-Year Plan and the denigration of the state and public sector etc., are full of grave pitfalls, endangering the effort for much cherished self-reliance, and thus threatening the foundations of the political independence of the country

No matter, what the bombastic declarations of the Government are to assure the people that their new economic strategy promotes greater employment, it decreases the disparity between the rich and the poor and serves the interests of the country and the common man, three policies are bound to increase the miseries of the masses, bringing them into head-on conflict with the ruling classes and the Government. Thus the period ahead of us is a period of rising mass struggles, increasing unity of the democratic and secular opposition parties and the enhanced activity of the CPI(M) and other Left forces in the country

### **Left Front Governments as Outposts of Democracy**

The two Left Front governments of West Bengal and Tripura are in existence for the last eight years since 1977-78. The two Left oriented state governments headed by the CPI(M), the state governments of West Bengal and Tripura, have acted as the outposts in defence of parliamentary democracy in the country, checkmating the Congress(I) drive in the direction of one-party monopoly rule and dictatorship. The issue of proper centre-state relations, which the CPI(M) and its Left allies were championing, since long, has gained added momentum during the last four years, following our Eleventh Party Congress. This struggle for proper Centre-State relations has wider and far-reaching implications for the defence of national unity and integrity of the Indian Union, and for setting up a really federal structure of the country, with real autonomy for the constituent states

The Eleventh Congress Resolution, while assessing the achievements of Left-led ministries had the following to say, and it is worth reminding our comrades of our assessment of these Left-orientated governments. These Left-led state governments are not to be equated with other non-Congress state governments since these have got distinct alternative class policies and practices, in demarcation to other non-Congress as well as Congress state governments.

The then assessment read "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 share-croppers, 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."

Special mention is necessary about the work of the Left Front government in West Bengal and its work in the rural

areas. To mention a few of its achievements, besides the achievements of the two United Front Governments of 1967 and 1969, when peasants *took possession of six lakh acres of vested and benami land, more than eight lakh acres of land was distributed among sixteen lakh pattadars, during the last eight years and more.* Two lakh landless and other rural poor families were provided with house-sites. Forty lakh peasant families are relieved of the burden of the payment of land rent. There are 40,000 suits pending in courts, involving one lakh 80 thousand acres of land. The wages of agricultural labourers are, during the last eight years, doubled when compared to the years prior to the victory of Left Front government in 1977.

The ruling Congress Party perpetuated the old village panchayats for 15-17 years without new elections. The Left Front government, during its tenure of eight years, has conducted two rounds of elections. In West Bengal there exist 3305 village panchayats, 339 panchayat samities and 15 zilla parishads in which there are 55 thousand elected panchayat members. A survey revealed that 85 per cent of these elected members do not possess either any land or possess less than five acres of land. Earlier all these elected posts were mostly occupied by big landlords and their agents. Is it any wonder that the Left Front government has come to be hated by both the urban and rural vested interests?

There was a second amendment to the land ceiling law enacted by the Left Front government as early as April 1981, and yet the President's assent to the same has not been given so far. If the Central Congress government recommended the Presidential assent, some more land can be allotted to the poor peasant and agricultural labour families.

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 and pensions to aged poor peasants.

For the first time, in Tripura, the Left Front government satisfied the demands of the tribal people in regard to the enactment of the Tribal Autonomous District Council first under the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution and later it forced the Central Government to bring it under the jurisdiction of the Sixth Schedule, 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 on the weaker sections of revenue and taxes and debts 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 money-lenders, dishonest traders and contractors in the rural areas.

These popular policies, during the last four years have been carried forward with redoubled vigour.

In so carrying out the activities of the Left Front governments, especially in West Bengal, the Central Committee of the CPI(M) has noted certain shortcomings and alerted the State Committee of West Bengal. The State Committee took a series of steps to overcome the shortcomings and correct the errors.

The said Central Committee Resolution observed "The Central Committee noted that despite several measures taken by the Left Front ministry of West Bengal to defend the interests of the workers and other sections of the people there were signs of erosion of our influence in certain sections which were visible before the election. The Party lost three Assembly by-elections to the Congress(I) in the last year. This erosion was noted earlier by the state committee but its cause could not be completely eliminated. The economic situation, the closures and lock-outs against which the state government had hardly any remedies under the present Constitution were part of the additional factors. At the same

time it was noted that some measures like the education policy were not understood, work of some ministries needed improvement in the eyes of the people. In the present situation it was inevitable that when some down-trodden sections were protected, some others got aggrieved and alienated. The expectations roused among the people were out of proportion with the powers of the state government. It was also noted that there was some loss of contact with sections of the people. The Central Committee thought that if some of these shortcomings could have been remedied in time, the election results would not have been the same."

The subsequent by-elections to one Lok Sabha seat, two Assembly constituencies and Calcutta Municipal elections show steady advance in our popular base.

This struggle, as it began gaining momentum, has embittered the relations between the ruling Congress and the Left Front governments of West Bengal and Tripura. The ruling Congress has been doing its utmost to topple these two governments. But its efforts did not succeed, thanks to the painstaking work of these governments in mobilizing ever increasing number of toiling people around the programmes and policies of these two states, and also the growing awareness of the Indian people for the defence of democracy.

The four all-India conclaves and their deliberations did do tremendous service to the cause of defence of democracy and for states' autonomy, notwithstanding their limitations and vacillations on several occasions. These four conclaves and their successful deliberations played a big role in rolling back the ruling Congress' offensive to dislodge the non-Congress governments, one after another.

The tolerance of non-Congress governments, today, in as many as six or more states is not the outcome of any change of heart on the part of the ruling Congress regime but a compulsion caused by the ever growing awareness of the people in defence of democracy, and against the drive to impose authoritarian rule. This should not lull the consciousness of the people either in the country as a whole or among

the people in the non-Congress ruled states Congress(I) regime has no compunction to dislodge these non-Congress state governments, especially the two Left Front governments of West Bengal and Tripura, since it is by its very class nature dictatorial and authoritarian. This truth is completely confirmed by history during the last 38 years, after India attaining political independence.

The Left Front governments have been the products of a prolonged and bitter struggle against the monopoly rule of the Congress. The other non-Congress governments also came into existence as a result of struggle against the monopoly rule of the Congress. There have been scores of instances when the state governments were arbitrarily dissolved, imposing the so-called Governor's rule or President's rule. If some non-Congress state governments are lulled into complacency, abandoning their vigilance over the Congress(I) conspiracies, they will have to pay the high penalty for their crime.

The CPI(M) and the Left forces in our country have abundance of experience of this score since the first general elections in the year 1952. It is this rich experience that has taught us so many political ideological lessons, enabling us to stand up alone as the standard bearer of States' autonomy, facing many trials and tribulations. The CPI(M) is fully aware that the struggle in defence of democratic rights and liberties cannot be sustained unless this struggle is closely linked with the day-to-day struggles of the working people and the exploited intelligentsia for their social, economic and cultural upliftment. The history of the Left-led state governments is a saga of hundreds of class and mass battles, both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary, demanding utmost efforts and sacrifices. It must be recorded that in West Bengal alone the CPI(M) itself, as the leading Left force in the Assembly and outside, had to sacrifice 468 precious lives, during the last eight years of its tenure. In Tripura too, a small state of over two million people, 197 comrades lost their lives, let alone the mass killings that took place in the

tribal-non-tribal conflagration that broke out some three years back. The experience in Kerala too confirms the same

The CPI(M) is fully aware that real political-economic military power rests with the Union Centre, and the states are made to be entirely dependent upon the Central Government, headed by the bourgeois-landlord classes. In a word, the state governments, whether they are of Leftist complexion or not, do not possess the requisite authority and resources to meet the minimum socio-economic interest and demands of the people. Hence there remains constant friction and conflict between the interests of the common people in the state and the ruling party in the Union Government. It is an inbuilt conflict, and not the creation of this or that leadership. It is a class conflict between the imperialists, monopolists and feudal and semi-feudal landlords on the one hand and the anti-imperialist, anti-monopolist and anti-landlord people's forces on the other.

The running of state government, especially of the Left-orientated states, is fraught with several risks because of the great mass of common people's inability to grasp the political truth, namely, that the real political and economic power rests in the Union Centre, that the power at the Union Centre is in the hands of the monopolists and landlords, and that power of the states is restricted. This truth will have to be constantly propagated amongst the people, thus making them realise where the real and actual power rests. People also learn through their own experiences besides our constant propaganda and agitation. A correct and proper running of the Left-orientated state governments would really serve as a practical political school for the common people. Impatience on our part, in this regard, hinders the process of politicalization of the masses, the working and toiling people in particular.

As repeatedly stated in the documents of the CPI(M), these Left-orientated state governments will have to be utilized as instruments of struggle to awaken the mass political consciousness, and to rally the mass of the people around

them to advance towards the some of People's Democratic Revolution These Left-led state governments and their working should aim at changing correlation of class and mass forces in favour of the Left and democratic alliance

The people, through their actual experience, must be made to realise the basic truth that the Left Front governments of states have to work within severe constraints in the bourgeois-landlord state apparatus which includes bureaucracy, judiciary and executive, all of which are class biased Our working in a state government is subordinated to all these severe limitations imposed by the class set-up of the Indian State And yet the struggle to overcome this subordination is one particular form of mass political education There is no escape from this, if concrete Indian realities are taken into concrete consideration and application

The coming into existence of the Left-orientated state governments during 1957-60 in Kerala and 1967-69 in West Bengal and in the years since 1977-78 in West Bengal and Tripura have enormously helped the process of mass radicalization and politicalization notwithstanding certain shortcomings and errors in the process of running these governments

Before closing the topic under discussion it will have to be stated that our Party's experience teaches us the fact that all the non-Congress state governments do not and cannot serve as "instruments of struggle" for alternate people's policies and programmes It is only the Left-orientated state governments, in which the Left forces can exercise decisive influence on the activities of the said governments, that can be able to discharge such responsibility It was this consideration that prevailed on the CPI(M) to join the State Governments of Kerala and West Bengal in the year of 1967-69, and to refuse to join any non-Congress State Government, with parties like Jana Sangh, as was done by the CPI in 1967-69 But the CPI had not only joined in Punjab, Bihar and U P in the then non-Congress state governments, but also assumed the leadership in Kerala State Government in

unity with Congress, during the years 1970-80, a state government comprising all caste and communal forces ranged against the CPI(M) The CPI(M) considers such attitude of the CPI as utterly right opportunist and class collaborationist in character

It was out of all this experience, that our Polit Bureau and Central Committee had been reluctant and opposed to replace the Congress-led government in Kerala since 1982 by one formally led by the CPI(M) and the other Left parties, since such a participation by the CPI(M) and other Left parties undermines Left image, while only strengthening certain non-Congress parties at the expense of the CPI(M) *Secondly*, in the prevailing conditions in Kerala and its present state legislature, no non-Congress Left-led government becomes a reality unless the CPI(M) and other Left parties join hands with the avowed communalistic parties such as the Kerala Muslim League, Kerala Congress and the like Such a course, if adopted, compromises our Party's basic stand regarding the communal and divisive forces, while only helping the consolidation and the strengthening of these forces which disrupt the last several decades

And yet there are some comrades who fail to realise the dangers inherent in it, and continue to advocate the formation of some non-Congress government with the participation of the CPI(M) Such views must be resolutely rejected as those which are harmful for the further advance of the CPI(M) and other Left and democratic forces

### **On Multinationals And Joint Sector**

In view of the propaganda being carried out in the Press on the question of Party's attitude to the multinationals, the Central Committee seeks to reiterate its basic position to remove all doubts

The Political Resolution of Party Congress calls upon our Party to fight the intrusion of multinationals in our economic life Our Party in consonance with the understanding of the international communist movement, considers the

penetration and economic domination of multinationals as a serious threat to our independence. The fight against multinationals, the weapon of neo-colonialism, constitutes an integral part of our fight against imperialism. It is completely achieved in the course of the revolutionary struggle.

The CPI(M), therefore, carries on an incessant propaganda against the multinationals and criticises the Central Government for opening new avenues for their exploitation. The Central Government with its unrestricted powers can easily mobilise sufficient resources to obviate reliance on multi-nationals.

All Party members and committees must strictly conform to this understanding without hesitation and vacillation. Statements and opinions contrary to this outlook appearing in the bourgeois Press do not represent our Party's understanding.

The Central Committee reiterates its basic opposition to monopolies and concentration of economic power. It fights against the growth of monopolies and concentration of capital in India. It strongly criticises Government's recent amendment to give greater freedom to Indian monopolies. The task of eliminating monopolies can be achieved only through a successful revolutionary struggle. Meanwhile, the CPI(M) continues to press the Central Government to restrict and curb the monopolies. However, big bourgeois and monopolies' production is an integral part of the capitalist path of development.

Confusion has arisen because in West Bengal the Left Front ministry entered into a joint sector agreement with a private capitalist firm connected with a monopoly house.

The Left Front ministry functions within the framework of the capitalist economy. It is not a government free to attack the property relations and mobilise resources through confrontation. It is in conflict with the Central government which seeks to prove that the Left Front government can do no good to the people. The Central government is organizing an economic blockade by refusing licences to private firms, by withholding investments in the state to demonstrate

to the people that the Left Front is too helpless to do anything for the people. This is the form of class struggle the Centre wages against the Left Front ministry.

It will suit its game exceedingly well if the Left Front refuses to touch or encourage any capitalist venture. The question here is not capitalism versus socialism, but how to run the ministry so that the people get more confidence in it and are prepared to keep the Congress(I) at an arm's length. If these tactics are not to be adopted and relief not given, the ministry would have to quit in the shortest possible time.

Secondly, the joint sector with the Left Front government's participation should not be equated with joint sector with Congress(I) participation, with the latter prepared to oblige the capitalists at the expense of the people.

In this situation the participation of a monopoly firm which is free to use its capital all over India should not be considered as sacrifice of a strategic objective but a compulsion dictated by the immediate necessity to ward off the Central attack. Such tactics are often to be used to fight the immediate assaults. In the end, the final criterion is do the masses feel more confident about our leadership and show greater readiness to fight the monopolies and the present socio-economic set up. Such tactics should not be considered as our policy and wrong claims should not be made on their behalf.

### **The Struggle for Left Unity**

In the Political Resolution of the Eleventh Party Congress, referring to the issue of "unity of the Left forces" it was observed that "The Party has been striving to build a powerful front of Left and democratic forces for years.

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

It was further stated that "in all the states cooperation 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 and U.P. all show growing unity of the Left forces.

"In recent months, there has been more and more joint actions, mass agitations and protests. The cooperation between the two parties continues to develop."

The above was said by the CPI(M), full four years ago. Does the experience during the last four years show that the Left unity, and the unity between the CPI(M) and the CPI in particular, has either been further consolidated and advanced? In fact the political climate for the progress and consolidation of Left unity had become favourable. But it is rather an unfortunate fact that Left unity did not register progress as envisaged in our Eleventh Congress Resolution. In some respects Left unity, especially the unity between the CPI(M) and the CPI, has very much deteriorated.

It all began with the attack directed by the CPI on the CPI(M) when the CPI(M) reformed fraternal party-to-party relations with the Chinese Communist Party in the early 1983. The attack was centred on the issue that the CPI(M) has abandoned proletarian internationalism since the joint communique made no special reference to the concept! Our rebuff to the CPI's attacks on the CPI(M) ended in prolonged polemics, rupturing the then increasing good relations between the two parties.

There have been less and less united actions, since 1983, as the CPI was becoming more and more reluctant for united actions. The Lok Sabha elections of December 1984 revealed more disunity and bitterness between the two parties.

Once again the CPI unleashed another round of attack on the CPI(M) in the year 1985, inviting vigorous rebuff from the CPI(M) in a series of articles in our Central Party organ, *People's Democracy*. What prompted the CPI to resort to such things, which only helped the deterioration of relations, is anybody's guess, and we fail to understand the new line of thinking, if there is one.

Then coming to the principled stand of the CPI(M)

regarding the question of unity between the two parties, the CPI(M) openly and plainly explained its position in our Eleventh Party Congress documents. It reads: "There is a lot of talk, not among our comrades, but a lot 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."

### **The Struggle For a Left And Democratic Alternative**

The CPI(M) considers that the struggle for forging the Left and democratic alternative and the struggle against the growing threat of authoritarianism at the hands of the ruling Congress party are the most urgent and important tasks facing the Left and democratic forces. This aspect is additionally emphasised as the common people in the country are coming to realize that another bourgeois alternative of the pattern of Janata Government of the 1977-79 period is neither hardly reliable, nor it can provide a real alternative with genuine alternative policies, policies directed against imperialism, monopolists and big landlords, and policies in the interests of the great mass of the people.

In mobilizing the widest possible classes, parties and groups against the growing threat of authoritarianism, and in forging the Left and democratic unity as a genuine national alternative, the country's Left occupies a crucial role. In this very process the struggle to forge increasing cooperation and united actions between the CPI(M) and CPI, as the two leading Left contingents in the country assumes immense political importance.

The fact that the CPI has numerous tactical and political differences with that of the CPI(M) makes the task of building Left unity face many hurdles. And yet the CPI(M) pursues its line with tenacity and determination to secure the cooperation of the CPI for increasing united actions on class, mass and other democratic issues, and also in the struggle to forge broad platform of action in defence of parliamentary democracy and against the authoritarian attempts of the ruling Congress(I).

The CPI(M) hopes that the growing war danger from the 'Star War' Programme of the U.S. imperialists on the one hand and the growing mass discontent against the new economic policies of the Central Congress Government would act as objective compulsion for increased united actions by the Left, and also for increased efforts to mobilise the non-Congress bourgeois Opposition parties adhering to secular outlook.

The simple fact that as big percentage of vote as 40 or more had gone to the bourgeois Opposition parties as against the 49.5 per cent votes to the Congress(I) in the last Lok Sabha elections signifies the importance of these parties in building and developing broad resistance which also helps in strengthening the Left and democratic forces. The CPI(M) endeavours to rally all the Left forces which, besides the CPI, are the RSP, Forward Bloc, Peasant and Workers party and other Left groups. The CPI(M) pledges to attach utmost importance to the struggle for Left unity, as an integral part of the struggle for forging of the urgently needed Left and democratic unity.

The CPI(M) is fully aware that several of these bourgeois opposition parties do not take consistent democratic positions on certain questions. It is also conscious that there will be vacillations in the struggle to forge unity against the authoritarian Congress drive for the perpetuation of its one party monopoly rule. And yet the importance of rallying these parties for united actions in defence of democracy should not be underestimated.

The CPI(M) and other Left parties and groups should always bear the above in mind and act up to it.

## **PART II**

### **ORGANIZATION**

#### **The Polit Bureau and Central Committee As the All-India Political Centre**

The Party Congress resolution and decisions cannot be properly implemented unless the entire Party is educated on the line adopted. It was therefore necessary that reporting on the Eleventh Party Congress in the States be done by Polit Bureau Members who were directly involved in political preparations for the Congress. It was also considered necessary for the state and district committees to have written notes on the basis of which they can report to the local and other committees.

This being the priority task, the Central Committee finalised the Political-Organizational Report in its February, 1982 meeting. It subsequently prepared the notes for reporting on the political-organizational conclusions of the Congress. It was decided that one or two Polit Bureau Members will go to every state and do the reporting. This was done with E.M.S. Namboodiripad, B.T. Ranadive, H.S. Surjeet, Basavapunnaiyah, Jyoti Basu and Samar Mukherjee conducting the reporting in various states to ensure effective reporting.

Assembly elections were held in four states in May, 1982. Polit Bureau Members assisted in the election campaign in these states. After the elections, Polit Bureau Members

attended the West Bengal State Secretariat and assisted it in solving the problems of the Party's relations with the constituents of the front. The line worked out by the Secretariat had the full approval of the Polit Bureau. But on the size of the Cabinet, it could not be adhered to.

In Kerala too, the Secretariat meeting held after the elections was attended by three Polit Bureau Members. It was decided that we should function as the Opposition and use the forum for exposing the anti-people policies and help the development of the mass movements on policy issues. This was important, as some of the allies were thinking in terms of using the dissensions in the ruling front to bring down the government.

### **Opposition Meetings**

Four meetings of Opposition Parties took place in 1983-84 — in Vijayawada in May, in Delhi in June, in Srinagar in October and in Calcutta in January, 1984. These meetings had their own political significance and the Polit Bureau and Central Committee played a role in shaping the course of these meetings.

At the time of the Vijayawada meeting, the BJP was trying to forge the unity of "non-Communist Opposition Parties", which would be anti-Congress(I) and anti-Left. It was with this aim that it participated in Vijayawada. Later they tried to sabotage the Delhi meeting which they did not attend. They failed in their aims.

In Vijayawada, the main issue taken up for discussion was the problem of national unity and an agreed statement was issued. Basavapunnaiyah attended this meeting on behalf of the Polit Bureau and was also in the Drafting Committee.

In Delhi, without BJP participating, a common stand, with Akali Dal agreeing, was formulated on the Punjab question, which could have been the sound basis for a political solution. The Lok Dal which attended the meeting, expressed its reservations on the conclusions later.

In Srinagar, a joint statement on Centre-State relations

was adopted. The Polit Bureau had earlier circulated a note on the Party's stand on this question. It demarcated our Party from those who oppose the unifying role of the Centre. This view found expression at the Conference itself. However, a broad consensus endorsing our stand was evolved in this meeting. In this meeting, the BJP-Lok Dal (National Democratic Alliance) did not participate.

The process of consultations and joint stand on issues of national importance and against authoritarianism culminated in the January, 1984 meeting of Opposition Parties in Calcutta in which 18 parties participated. It adopted an 11-point charter of demands on the urgent problems of the people and called for joint actions which led to the 13th February protest day observance all over the country.

The Calcutta meeting thus marked an important change in the process begun at Vijayawada. No more was it a gathering of parties merely to discuss and agree on some issues of national importance. The Calcutta conference gave a call to action on the basis of what amounted to a charter of economic demands.

In all these Opposition meets, the stand of the Party and the understanding between the Left parties led to the meetings becoming forums for discussions on vital problems of national importance. The meetings did not become mere get-togethers for electoral fronts as some of the Opposition parties wanted them to be. Our effective participation and efforts also led to the stage at Calcutta on working out of a joint call for action on the 11-point charter of demands. EMS Namboodiripad was the convener of the sub-committee to prepare the draft for discussions at the Calcutta conference. It was the draft submitted by the Party proposing joint actions on common mass issues which became the basis for discussions for the draft.

The joint observance of 13 February for which the call was given at Calcutta and the all-India Convention held on 17th April, 1984, indicated the possibilities of 'conclave politics'. What was envisaged by bourgeois opposition parties

as a get-together for the purpose of hammering out a Janata-type combination for fighting the forthcoming (1984) Lok Sabha elections was converted into a forum for developing united mass actions.

The joint observance of 13th February and the all-India convention of 17th April, however, were marred by the demand jointly made by the Janata, Congress(S) and CPI units in Assam that the pro-agitation slogans should be added to the charter of demands while observing the day in Assam. This was opposed by our State unit on two grounds. Firstly, the demand did not form part of the 11-point charter on the basis of which the day was being observed; secondly, it was opposed to the common stand which had so far been adopted by the Left Parties and the Congress(S). Adoption by the CPI and Congress(S) of the line of the Janata on the Assam issue, led to the observance of 13th February in Assam by our Party alone. The CPI and Congress(S) observed another day. At the April convention, too, serious efforts were made by the Janata, CPI and Congress(S) to pressurise our Party to toe their line. We, however, successfully resisted it.

Despite this slide-back on the part of the CPI, the Congress(S) and the Janata in Assam, the consensus arrived at in the conclaves helped in creating the atmosphere for putting up joint resistance to the toppling of the N.T.Rama Rao Ministry in August, 1984, and its successful restoration. The participation of the Party also helped in demarcating the Left and secular parties from the BJP and other communal and divisive forces.

### **Peace Movement**

The Eleventh Congress Political Resolution had directed the entire Party to mobilise its mass following and unite with all anti-war, anti-imperialist forces to build up a powerful peace movement in the country against the danger of nuclear war instigated by U.S. imperialism and in defence of peace. In 1982 the first major initiative in this direction was taken in July when six parties met in Delhi and issued a joint

statement for building up a countrywide movement against war, to culminate in a massive Peace March on October 4, 1982. The parties which gave the call were CPI(M), CPI, DSP, RSP, Forward Bloc and PWP.

The P.B. directed all the units to take the initiative to hold joint rallies, demonstrations or conventions in the States. It also called for the widespread observance of September 1, 1985, the day fixed by WFTU, as anti-War Day. Reviewing the work done in this respect, the Polit Bureau in its work report to the Central Committee stated: "It can therefore be stated with confidence that the peace campaign envisaged by the Central Committee at its last meeting has by and large been organized by the Party as a whole". In this connection, the Central Committee noted the massive peace march organized in September in Calcutta, the 4 rallies held in Andhra, the big mobilization in Calicut and Trivandrum and activities in other states. It also noted that most states did not lag behind in the observance of September 1 as anti-War Day from the trade union platform.

Following this, the Polit Bureau and Central Committee constantly noted with concern the deteriorating international situation due to the Reagan administration's bellicose plans including the decision to site the Pershing and Cruise missiles in Western Europe by the end of the year. During the year, the Polit Bureau issued a circular in July to all the state units on the matter of developing the peace movement as a priority task and to approach all parties and forces who could be drawn into the movement. In December, the Polit Bureau once again sent a circular to the State Committees pointing to the dangerous developments in the world caused by U.S. policies.

In the September 1983 meeting of the Central Committee, the resolution on current developments noted in connection with the observance of 1st September as anti-War Day that "This year again, our Party, along with the CPI and other Left parties and trade unions and mass organizations, organized 1st September as anti-War Day. Reports from state committees

show that the day was observed in all States in several places.... But compared to the vast multitudes we have to reach, this is just a small beginning. It has to be realised that even a major part of the working class is not seized of the danger.”

In December, the Polit Bureau, once again in a circular on current developments to the state committees drew attention to the deterioration in the international situation due to the dangerous moves of the U.S. imperialists and the necessity for continuously propagating the threat of war and the fight for peace.

In the efforts to broaden the peace movement, it was felt necessary that the opposition parties and mass organizations which are outside the ambit of the established peace movement and organizations such as All India Peace and Solidarity Organization must also be brought into the peace movement. The Polit Bureau took the initiative and contacted the CPI as well as some non-Congress(I) secular Opposition parties which were prepared to cooperate. After a good deal of discussions representatives of the CPI(M), CPI, Congress(J), Janwadi Party, Congress(S), Forward Bloc, the RSP and DSP met on December 25th and issued a call for joint mass rallies in the state capitals and important centres. It was also proposed to hold a National Convention in Delhi. It was decided in January, 1984, that mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, students, writers etc., would be invited to attend the convention. The World Peace Council and its national affiliates would also be invited.

Preceding the national convention state level conventions and rallies were held in many states. The national convention was attended by 3,000 delegates of the eight parties and numerous mass organizations. It adopted a declaration and gave a call for observance of 13th April as Peace Day. An organizing committee of the eight parties was constituted to continue the campaign.

The eight parties' move broadened the scope of the peace movement and brought into it forces which so far had not been drawn in by the activities of bodies like the AIPSO.

However, since then, there has been a tendency on the part of the CPI to emphasise only the activities through the platform of the AIPSO and neglect the importance of drawing in the militant forces engaged in struggle against the Government on internal policies of the Government into the peace movement. This was one of the reasons why the organizing committee of the eight parties was not able to pursue its work.

As the draft political resolution points out, the U.S. imperialists are now embarking on the "Star Wars" project and stepping up their aggressive postures in different parts of the world. The vital importance of rousing the Indian people against U.S. imperialist measures and to join the worldwide mighty peace movement, make it imperative that the efforts made in 1982 be vigorously pursued.

### **The Lok Sabha and March 1985 Assembly Elections**

In June, 1984, the Central Committee meeting considered the line to be adopted for the forthcoming parliamentary elections. It noted that elections would be taking place not under normal circumstances, when the country was facing the most serious situation since independence. The whole state of Punjab had come under army rule after the civil administration had been unable to cope with curbing the extremists. The policy of the ruling party had led to the failure to isolate the extremists. The electoral struggle against the authoritarian Congress(I) had become an integral part of the struggle for Indian unity and against the divisive forces.

The elections were taking place also in the background of the serious efforts of the ruling party to subvert the existing political system with talk of a presidential form of government. Further, the Congress(I) Central Government had taken a series of anti-democratic measures. The dismissal of the Bhandari government in Sikkim, the campaign to destabilise the non-Congress governments in Jammu & Kashmir, Karnataka and Andhra; the offensive launched against the Left Front governments of West Bengal, Tripura—all

these revealed the authoritarian intentions of the ruling party. The question of Centre-State relations was being debated intensively by all sections of the people.

Keeping the above in view, the Central Committee decided that firstly, our attitude to the Congress(I) should be one of uncompromising opposition as the initiator of anti-people policies and authoritarianism. Secondly, while opposing the Congress(I), unlike the bourgeois Opposition parties the Party would take positions to strengthen the fight against imperialism and the war danger and demarcate itself from the positions of parties like the BJP and the Lok Dal on questions of foreign policy.

Thirdly, the Party would firmly oppose the casteist, communal and divisive forces which are stepping up their disintegrative activities. The Party would have no truck with the BJP, Muslim National Front and similar disruptive forces.

Fourthly, the Party would strive to take forward the 11-point charter of demands evolved at Calcutta on which basis the Left and other secular Opposition parties could carry on a united campaign during and after the elections.

For the Lok Sabha elections, the Central Committee decided that our tactics should be to defeat the Congress(I), isolate the right reactionary forces and strengthen the Left, especially our Party. It was made clear that our Party would not join any alliance or front of bourgeois Opposition parties. The Party would try to unite the Left and democratic forces in different states and come to an understanding with the secular Opposition parties depending upon the position in different states. Similarly we would have to demarcate clearly and oppose any electoral alliance with the Muslim National Front. The Central Committee directed the State Committee to work out appropriate tactics keeping the above guidelines in view.

The October 1984, Central Committee meeting adopted the Appeal to the Voters on behalf of the Party. However, on 31st October, the Prime Minister was assassinated by Sikh extremists. This was followed by widespread attacks on the

Sikh community in Delhi and other north Indian cities. The elections in December were held under these special circumstances. The Polit Bureau in November sent a circular to the State Committees on the political situation arising out of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination. It stated that "our basic election tactics remain the same as decided by the Central Committee but while concentrating on the slogan of defeating the monopoly rule of the Congress(I), we should not in any way weaken or slacken our thrust on the imperialist danger against the communal and divisive forces, and on the defence of national unity and integration."

The January, 1985, Central Committee meeting reviewed the results of the Lok Sabha elections and adopted a report. The meeting also decided that the Polit Bureau should assist the West Bengal and Kerala State Committees to go into results in depth and take steps to overcome shortcomings and specific problems.

The January Central Committee meeting also decided the stand of the Party in the forthcoming Assembly elections in eleven States. It decided that Left unity must be strengthened and all efforts be made in the respective states to work out an understanding with the secular Opposition parties to put up a united fight against the Congress(I) in light of its brute majority in the Lok Sabha. It hoped that the bourgeois Opposition parties would draw correct lessons from the Lok Sabha results and cease to neglect the vital question of national unity and imperialist conspiracies.

In March, the Central Committee meeting adopted a review of the Assembly election results. It noted that the electorate in these states had voted more on the record of the Congress(I) Governments unlike in December, 1984, when the assassination of Indira Gandhi and the national unity issue predominated. The Congress lost in three states, Andhra, Karnataka and Sikkim. Its majority was eroded in U.P. and Maharashtra and only in five states it did not get big majorities. It also stated that the continuing disunity of the bourgeois Opposition parties helped the Congress(I). As for the

performance of the Left, the review drew attention to the negative role of the CPI in some states which hampered a united fight. As for the Party's performance, while the united fight against Congress(I) paid us good dividends in Andhra, elsewhere we fought mostly alone and utilised the election campaign to reach out to large sections of the people without great expectations to win many seats. The review also noted :

“The loss of sitting seats in some states, the failure to win seats where we have substantial influence point to our failure to develop mass activities during the period preceding elections. Failure to develop mass organizations, failure to use our membership of Assembly as an instrument to build mass organizations and above all to build the Party and working cadre are revealed as our weaknesses in places where should have fared much better. Neglect of independent activity of the Party is generally a weakness to be found in many places. It is perhaps much more in evidence where we won seats in the last elections with the aid of the other parties.”

The state committees concerned were directed to go into these weaknesses and take necessary and immediate steps in the question of Party building and activation of mass organizations in these areas.

After the March Central Committee meeting the Polit Bureau took the initiative to write a letter to all opposition parties suggesting that in continuation of the Calcutta conference of opposition parties in January, 1984, another all-India meeting should be held in order to take a common stand against such anti-people policies as the Union budget proposals. The response, however, was poor.

Apart from the RSP and Forward Bloc, only Charan Singh and Bahuguna gave their general approval. Other parties did not respond. The CPI in their letter to us as well as publicly, took the position that the campaign against economic policies of the Government being an issue on which Left parties and bourgeois Opposition parties have serious differences, the proposed campaign should be confined to the Left parties.

The question was, therefore, taken up in the May meeting of the Coordination Committee of the two parties where it was agreed that, while there are differences between the Left parties and bourgeois Opposition parties on questions of basic economic policies, all the secular Opposition parties had agreed in Calcutta on a minimum charter of 11 economic demands. Considering the widespread mass discontent which expressed itself after the Central budget was introduced, it is possible to formulate a set of slogans and demands on which the Left and secular opposition parties can jointly fight. It was agreed also that the Left-minded intellectuals should be assisted in organizing a seminar in Delhi to discuss the new economic policy. The seminar was held successfully, attended by over a hundred economists and intellectuals on 31st August and 1st September. However, the joint effort with other secular opposition parties failed to materialise and only Shri Charan Singh could be met in this connection.

### **CPI(M)-CPI Relations**

In the efforts to build the unity of the Left forces, the relations between the CPI(M) and CPI occupy an important place in this process. It is over six years since a Coordination Committee of the two parties at the all-India level was constituted. This has, however, not functioned satisfactorily. Notwithstanding this, there have been some coordinated activities which have yielded positive results. The activities connected with the peace movement and the 4th October Peace March, the eight parties' Peace Convention, the Workers' March in 1984 under the auspices of the NCC, the all-India opposition parties conferences from Vijayawada to Calcutta and the 17th April Convention at Delhi — all these were successful because of the coordination and understanding between the two parties.

The joint actions at the level of mass movements were also reflected in the electoral front as seen in the Left fronts in West Bengal and Tripura, LDF in Kerala and other forms

of united fronts in other states. These also led to agreed positions on the electoral line to be pursued.

However, against these positive features, there have been negative developments and problems also. These manifested themselves on the CPI stand on the Assam agitation and the lining up of the CPI along with the Congress(S) and the Janata. These parties refused to jointly observe February 13 (fixed as all-India day at the Calcutta meeting) in Assam since our Party did not toe their line on the Assam problem. In the Parliament and March Assembly elections, the unreasonable stand taken by the CPI in Khammam, Andhra Pradesh, and Bihar disrupted the united fight against the Congress(I). Earlier, they had gone back on their assurance of support to our candidate for the Legislative Council seat in Bihar. Such anti-CPI(M) postures were seen in Manipur and some other states also. The Coordination Committee which should have helped to strengthen mutual understanding was not active despite our efforts due to their hostility.

After the discussion in the Coordination Committee and our decision to concede the Midnapore seat to them, the CPI leadership was not prepared to discuss the dispute with regard to the Khammam seat. Our repeated suggestions for settling the matter at the central level were rejected. They took the stand that it could be sorted out at the state level which was not done. In January itself, EMS Namboodiripad wrote to the CPI leadership again suggesting that discussions be held in view of the forthcoming Assembly election. However there was no response from the CPI side and there was no improvement in mutual understanding during the Assembly elections in the states. All this caused bitterness and strain and hampered the process of forging united work. The CPI, for reasons best known to themselves, froze the Coordination Committee.

During this period the Party had to stress in its correspondence with the CPI and in the joint meetings the fact that the struggle for Left unity does not preclude a principled debate on political-ideological differences. The right of

each Party to educate their ranks on their respective ideological positions cannot be abandoned. The Polit Bureau also had to assert the necessity for the CPI to seriously consider the restructuring and broad-basing of the peace organizations to ensure proper participation of our Party and other progressive forces to which they have not yet responded.

Despite all these problems, the Central Committee decided in March 1985, that the Polit Bureau should take up the issues in the Coordination Committee and try to activate it. For this purpose the Polit Bureau prepared a note to be presented in the Coordination Committee. The meeting held in May resulted in a joint note indicating the line along which joint activities should proceed.

However, the ideological-political differences continue. The work of political-ideological debate and education of our cadres should therefore continue. The Central Committee and the Polit Bureau has been fully conscious of the need to forge Left unity and has resolved to continue the struggle for it while firmly continuing the political-ideological struggle. This latter struggle is being waged with the full awareness that the atmosphere for building the unity in action of the Left forces is fostered and advanced. The path of Left unity is not a smooth course. The Party will have to patiently and determinedly carry on the struggle. A correct and principled approach to this matter in the coming days will compel the CPI also to adopt this course in the face of the anti-people policies of the Congress(I) Government and the challenge posed by imperialism and the divisive forces.

### **Assistance to States**

The Party Centre has been assisting the state committees from time to time in implementing the political line of the Party.

In 1982 the Polit Bureau intervened in Karnataka when the Secretariat, with the approval of the State Committee, held a joint convention with the CPI and finalised a joint statement. Secretariat members were called to Delhi to meet

the Polit Bureau. A Press statement was issued by the Polit Bureau clarifying the stand on Left unity and the disapproval of the step taken in Karnataka. The Polit Bureau drafted a letter to the State Committee which was explained to the Secretariat and to an extended State Committee meeting. The Central Committee line of joint actions on specific issues with the CPI and no permanent coordination committee at the state level was endorsed and implemented.

The election campaign in Assam posed a big challenge since the Party there had to face the terrorist attacks of the chauvinist movement and also the unfair practices of the ruling Party. After the elections, discussions were held with the two Central Committee Members from Assam with four Polit Bureau Members at Calcutta. This was in the context of the demand raised by bourgeois Opposition parties that the validity of the elections should not be recognised and the assembly be dissolved. This found support from even the CPI. After detailed discussions, it was decided that our Party, while having no illusions regarding the capacity of the Ministry and the Assembly, should expose the game of those who wanted the dissolution of the Assembly and reimposition of President's rule. All through 1982, Surjeet had to devote a lot of time and attention to the discussions on the Assam question by attending the tripartite talks organized by the Government and keeping contact with Opposition parties on the subject.

The Polit Bureau intervened in Maharashtra also in 1982 regarding the question of holding a joint *shibir* of the kisan front cadres of our Party, the CPI and the PWP, which was proposed to be held to discuss the agrarian situation. After discussions in the Central Committee, the stand was explained in the State Committee meeting that this would not be in conformity with the tactical line which specifies joint actions on specific issues but no general coordination with the CPI and its mass organization. Secretariat revised its opinion after Polit Bureau's advice.

In November, 1982, the Haryana Party Secretary attended

a meeting convened by Bhajan Lal of all political parties to mobilise them against the Akali agitation. Comrade Huda attended the meeting and became a signatory to a joint statement which was contrary to the Party's policy. He was called to Delhi and the mistake was pointed out to him which he accepted. Later Surjeet attended the Haryana State Committee meeting and helped unify the Committee on the Party's stand. But the Polit Bureau felt it would have been better if we had called a meeting of the Secretariats of the Punjab and Haryana Committees to discuss this issue since it was affecting both the states.

In January, 1983, elections to the Andhra, Karnataka and Tripura Assemblies were held. Reviewing these elections, the Central Committee meeting in January pinpointed the erroneous attitude of the Andhra State Committee to the Telugu Desam Party and the inability to arrive at a broad understanding to defeat the Congress(I). The Party had missed the main shift of the people arising out of acute discontent over Congress(I) policies and their search for some worthwhile alternative which they found in the Telugu Desam. Being out of tune with this mass mood, the Party failed badly. Having thus reviewed the election tactics, the Central Committee also discussed the attitude to be taken towards the newly formed ministry keeping in mind the people's sense of victory. Apart from the review of the three Assembly elections, the Central Committee adopted a separate resolution on the Andhra elections for circulation up to the district committee level. The Central Committee review was reported to the Andhra State Committee.

In early 1983, the ruling UDF in Kerala was affected by intensified bickerings and conflicts. This was in the background of the rising people's discontent over the rice supply by the Centre, inadequate drought relief, etc. The Central Committee meeting in April, 1983, considered the situation in the State. The work report submitted by the Polit Bureau stated: "Considering these developments in the ruling coalition, suggestions were made by a section of the supporters

of the LDF that initiative should be taken to go in alliance with those in the ruling coalition who are dissatisfied, so that the Government can be pulled down and an alternative Government formed. Some leaders of the constituent parties of the LDF also endorsed the proposal. This is to some extent affecting the thinking of a section of our leading comrades as well. Having learnt about this, the Polit Bureau advised our State Committee against this move, since the formation of any such alternative Government under the present condition would only politically compromise the image of the LDF. We in fact should concentrate on systematically organizing campaigns in which even section of the masses following the parties which are in the ruling coalition can be drawn.....

“The LDF’s political campaign should in fact have its edge directed against the Congress(I) alliance of caste and communal organizations which alone can help the Congress(I) to remain in power.....Any political manoeuvring with such parties as are being exposed as the representatives of caste and communal separatism will therefore deprive our Party of its democratic and secular image”.

The Polit Bureau held talks with the Kerala Secretariat on the Party line regarding the ruling coalition and our attitude to its individual partners. EMS and Balanandan attended the State Committee meeting. Though the State Committee endorsed the line after discussion, the contrary view was very strong, particularly at the level of the State Committee and the Secretariat. Successive meetings of the Central Committee as well as the State Committee and its Secretariat had to devote attention to this problem.

After the Parliament and Assembly elections in Kerala in December, 1984, the Central Committee’s election review directed that the process of demarcating from communal forces must continue and the disentanglement from forces such as the AIML must be taken up with the Kerala State Committee. “It is for the State Committee in consultation with State Committee and Central Committee to work out

how soon and how conveniently the process of disentangling the Party from the communal and caste forces can start" (Work Report, March, 1985, Central Committee meeting).

EMS and Balanandan attended the Kerala State Committee meeting to report on the election review and the Central Committee's stand. Following the March 1985 Central Committee meeting as directed by the Central Committee, five Polit Bureau members met with the Kerala Secretariat in June. The discussions took place after which the Polit Bureau wrote a letter to the Secretariat. Taking into consideration the points that emerged in the Secretariat discussions, the Polit Bureau wrote a letter to the State Committee whose meeting was held in the last week of June which was attended by EMS., M.B. and Balanandan. After a full discussion, it was summed up by the Polit Bureau in a letter to all Party members in Kerala.

While the question at the moment was that of disentangling the Party from the AIML which was a constituent of the LDF, the Polit Bureau's letter to Party members in the State made it clear that the issue involved is broader than the Party's relation with the AIML. "The understanding of a large section of comrades in the state regarding the United Front, the role of the Party as the builder of the front and an independent force fighting the bourgeois, petty-bourgeois policies of the front partners is wrong. It is a trend which reduces the Party to the level of an ordinary bourgeois parliamentary party." The Central Committee work report of August, 1985, directed that : "The pre-Congress discussions that will take place in the conferences at various levels culminating in the State Conference should be so organized as to educate the Party on the understanding given in the Polit Bureau's letter to Party Comrades."

Taking the West Bengal State Committee reports for 1983 into account, the Central Committee in its meeting in February, 1984, noted that "even with all their mutual squabbles, the Congress has the capacity to get 36 to 40 per cent of the votes in every election." It noted that the claims of

our opponents with regard to the panchayat elections and the two assembly by-elections are exaggerated and distorted. "While agreeing with the State Committee regarding the exaggerated character of our opponents' claims, it is for consideration whether the advance of the Left and retreat of the Congress(I) has not reached the stage of stagnation. In other words have not the two political formations, led respectively by the Congress (I) and our Party, reached a position in which neither can draw towards itself large masses from the other side." The Central Committee stressed the necessity for unification of the entire Party in West Bengal around the political line evolved at the Eleventh Congress and further developed by the Central Committee. It also reiterated that special attention should be paid to the running of the Party daily to make it an effective instrument for political-ideological intervention among the masses.

The Central Committee review of parliamentary election results noted the reverses suffered by the Party in West Bengal and the special circumstances in which the elections were held in the background of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination. The Central Committee review stated that the West Bengal State Committee should go in depth to meet the situation. Among the points put forward for its consideration were the streamlining and improving the performance of the Left Front Government, reviewing the implementation of the agrarian line and gearing up the Party organization and checking alien trends.

Considering the State Committee discussions and review, the Central Committee meeting in March directed the Polit Bureau to pursue its efforts and meet the Secretariat.

"In West Bengal, the discussions with the Secretariat in June revealed that there is, great deal of complacency. The Polit Bureau letter to the State Committee therefore drew attention to the stagnation in the trade union movement, the failure to deal with the emerging problems of alienation of a section of the peasantry and above all the non-performance of the ministry in several respects. The Polit Bureau's

efforts was to warn the Secretariat and the State Committee against complacency, pointing out that failure to overcome the weaknesses can create complicated problems if it has not already done so.”

Five Polit Bureau members met with the Secretariat in June as mentioned above. After these discussions, a letter was written by the Polit Bureau to the State Committee. This was explained by EMS to the State Committee meeting on 7th July.

### **P.B./C.C. Intervention in States with Respect to Organizational Questions**

1. *Rajasthan* : After the Party Congress, the Polit Bureau had to continuously intervene in the Rajasthan State Committee against the disruption caused by Punamia who had to be expelled from the CITU also in 1983. A three-day school was held in early 1982 for 150 comrades from the State Committee and district committees. The Polit Bureau also assisted the Rajasthan comrades in isolating the Punamia supporters from the workers in Kota and in holding their successful trade union conference. BTR and Surjeet have been regularly attending their State Committee meetings to provide guidance and played a notable role in assisting the Rajasthan party in successfully fighting the disruptive elements and isolating them.

2. *Karnataka* : The political-organizational report of the Eleventh Congress in its report on Karnataka State had referred to the need to wage a struggle against ‘leftist’ elements making a bid for the radical-minded youth. These ‘left’ trends active in Karnataka comprised the Christian left, dalits and naxalites. The report stated that, “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.” The report also noted the trend to propagate the “young versus the old” within the Party. It stated : “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."

The August, 1982, Central Committee meeting discussed the inner-Party situation in Karnataka. The Polit Bureau report revealed the seriousness of the situation. Liberalism towards the alien petty-bourgeois trends masquerading as 'left' prevailed : young versus old controversy was being sought to be propagated within the Party. The Central Committee decided to appoint a three-member commission of EMS, BTR, and M.R. Venkataraman to enquire into Party affairs there.

The January, 1983, Central Committee meeting considered the Karnataka commission report. The report pinned down the harmful penetration of the 'church-left' and similar petty-bourgeois groups into the Party. The report sharply criticised the State Secretary in particular and the Secretariat as a whole for fostering these elements, while noting that some in the Secretariat woke up to the danger later. On the basis of the report, the Central Committee decided that the Secretary should be changed and organizational steps be taken to eliminate such penetration. The Polit Bureau had been assisting the Secretariat and State Committee to function on the basis of the political-tactical line and to be on guard against pseudo-left tendencies.

3. *Orissa* : The Eleventh Congress political-organizational report had noted with regard to Orissa that "differences on organizational questions, liberalism with regard to some serious mistakes, failure to thrash out the disputes 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."

Since then the inner-Party organizational situation in Orissa worsened. In the April, 1983, Central Committee meeting the Polit Bureau in its work report stated, "The Secretariat is not

working as a collective team. Comrade M.B. had discussions with the Secretariat members in Calcutta on March 7 and 8. Comrade EMS also joined him at the last stage. From this discussion and from the note submitted by each Secretariat member, it is clear that the Secretariat members are unable to overcome their personal prejudices and subjective attitudes to one another and work in a united manner. The State Secretary who is a Central Committee member should take a greater share of the blame than the others."

Following this report, the Polit Bureau devoted time to deal with this problem. Members of the Secretariat were called to Delhi for discussions after which a Polit Bureau resolution was adopted. Meeting of the Secretariat and the State Committee were convened to report the resolution. A wider meeting of district cadres was also held to explain the decisions of the Polit Bureau. These decisions were conveyed to the entire Party membership in the State through a party letter.

In 1985, the Polit Bureau informed the Central Committee that the organizational situation shows no sign of improvement. "Responsibility for this lies squarely on the two seniormost comrades, one of whom happens to be the Central Committee member and the other the Central Committee invitee from the State." After the Central Committee meeting, the Polit Bureau once more sat with the Secretariat in Delhi and worked out the procedure for holding the State Conference and steps to improve the collective functioning and job division.

4. *Bihar* : In the January, 1983, Central Committee meeting the Polit Bureau reported to the Central Committee on the factional activities of S.S. Shrivastava in Bihar. The Polit Bureau had summoned him to meet along with the Bihar State Secretary. After the Central Committee meeting, a Polit Bureau letter to all members in the State was sent. Shrivastava was expelled for gross anti-Party activities and the Central Committee ratified the decision in April, 1983. Comrade Surjeet spent time in Bihar to address general body meetings

and schools, in addition to Shankar Dayal Tiwari. BTR and Surjeet have been regularly attending State Committee meetings to assist them to face the disruptive activities of the anti-Party group and consolidate the organization.

5. *Punjab* : In 1983, the Polit Bureau assisted the State Committee to deal with the organizational problems of two districts, Ludhiana and Jullundur. After discussions in the State Secretariat, concrete decisions were taken to rectify the situation. These decisions were endorsed unanimously by the State Committee. At the conclusion of the State Committee meeting, a general body meeting of leading comrades from the districts was held which was addressed by BTR and Surjeet.

6. *Assembly elections* : For the May, 1982, Assembly Elections in four states and the January, 1983, elections in three states, the Centre gave a call for election funds. The Centre received Rs.56,000 for the 1982 call and for the 1983 elections Rs.72,486. The latter is apart from the help given directly by Kerala to the Andhra State Committee and that which West Bengal gave to Tripura.

### **Political-Ideological Work Initiated by the Centre**

Two central schools were organized in Delhi by the Party Centre during this period. The first school was held in July, 1982, which was attended by over a hundred comrades from the State Committee. The ten-day school had topics on the world capitalist crisis and contradictions of our time; struggle against Left and Right deviations in the international Communist movement; fight against Right and Left deviations in the Indian Communist movement; Party programme; perspective tactical line; current tactical line; Marxism-Leninism and mass organizations; Salkia plenum and Party organization. The classes were taken by E.M.S. Namboodiripad, BTR, M. Basavapunnaiah and H.S. Surjeet.

These classes were helpful in unifying the Party cadres on the Eleventh Congress political line and in educating them on the correct Marxist-Leninist principles to fight deviations

and build the Party on the lines adopted at the Salkia plenum. The notes prepared for the classes were subsequently used at the state and district level school by comrades who attended the central school.

The second central school was held in August, 1985, and 98 comrades from state committees and all-India fraction committee attended. The syllabus was the same as in the 1982 school with revision and updating on the basis of the intervening period. The explanation of the Party line, both political and organizational, assisted the comrades in preparing for their conferences.

Subsequently, the decision taken to print the school lecture notes in English have been printed and the same in Hindi are also being printed. These printed notes, though delayed, will be of great help to our state and district leadership to conduct their local schools.

The Party centre also organized a seven-day school for cadres of the student front. Around 120 comrades from all over the country attended.

Apart from the central school, Polit Bureau members have participated in a large number of state schools during the past four years as compared to previous years. State-level and district-level schools in which Polit Bureau members have participated have taken place in Rajasthan, Bihar, Haryana, Delhi, Orissa, Maharashtra, Kerala, Karnataka, Andhra, etc. In some States more than one such school was organized during this period.

Party education is an ongoing process and much more attention has to be paid by both the Centre and the state committees to equip the growing number of cadres in view of the expansion of Party membership. As the recent state conferences have revealed, the bulk of Party members in most states are of the post-1977 period, the task of educating them on sound Marxist-Leninist lines and Communist consciousness and Party norms is enormous. Political-ideological training falls far short of the urgent requirements at all levels of the Party.

## Material For Campaigns

The Party centre has sought to bring out with its limited resources, printed material to assist the units in their political and agitational work. The central organs, *People's Democracy*, *Lok Lahar* and Urdu *Lok Lahar* brought out a series of articles in connection with the Dimitrov birth centenary. All through the Marx death centenary year, the Party central journals carried articles and material on Marxism-Leninism, its defence and its relevance to the contemporary Indian and international situation. The Party journals also brought out special features to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the victory over fascism and the vital struggle for world peace today. The first issue of the Marxist was devoted to articles on the Marx death centenary.

The Party centre also brought out publications for specific political campaigns planned by the Party. On the Assam problem, Surjeet's articles were brought out in a pamphlet form "What is going to happen in Assam". On Punjab in connection with the Party campaign call in June, 1984, the Centre brought out Surjeet's article in a pamphlet "Developments in Punjab" in English and Hindi. It also brought out a compilation of all the PB/CC resolutions and documents in a book entitled "Happenings in Punjab" in English and Hindi.

During the Marx centenary year, the Centre published booklets "On Marx's Teachings" and "Marx and Trade Unions" by BTR. Also in Hindi a series of pamphlets on Marx and India, Marx and Agrarian Problems, etc, were brought out. Against the Union budget of 1985, a booklet entitled "A budget for capitalists" was published which was used in the anti-budget campaign.

## Publications

During this period, the number of titles and volume of publications has gone up. Altogether a total of 72 titles (books or pamphlets) were published. Of these 32 were in English and 40 in Hindi. In the year 1984-85 Rs. 2,40,000 worth of

literature was sold from the Party centre. However, it must be noted that the sale of Hindi publications is lagging behind and disappointing. The role of the ideological struggle in the Hindi-speaking areas was stressed in the Salkia plenum. Commensurate to these, Party committees in the Hindi-speaking states are not making sufficient efforts to effectively popularise and organize sales of Party and Marxist literature.

### **Theoretical Quarterly**

The Salkia plenum decision to bring out a theoretical quarterly to equip the cadres was implemented and the first issue came out in September, 1983, under the editorship of B.T. Ranadive. Seven issues have come out so far. It has found a positive response among Party cadres and sympathisers. From the third issue, the Hindi version "*Marxvadi*" has also begun coming out simultaneously. *The Marxist* has a circulation of 4,500 copies on a stable basis. *Marxvadi* sells only 1,200 copies. The Hindi-speaking states have to make much more serious efforts to organize the sales of the journal as it is an important ideological weapon for their work.

Along with the publication of *The Marxist* the Party centre paid much more attention to utilise the historic anniversaries of Dimitrov and Karl Marx to organize political-ideological education and campaign all over the country. For instance, the Marx death centenary year celebrations called for by the Central Committee were observed widely all over the country. No other campaign of this nature was so effectively used earlier in terms of its sweep and depth. The ten-day central programme and its huge mass participation in West Bengal was notable. The scores of seminars and talks held in Kerala, Tripura, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Delhi, Bihar, etc. were used by the State Committees to put forward the correct Marxist-Leninist line in India and to counter the bourgeois slanders and distortions of Marxism. It was also used to educate our own ranks on the revolutionary

theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. Polit Bureau members went to many states to participate in the activities connected with the centenary year.

Intellectuals associated with the Party also participated in the three-day seminar organized by Social Scientists on "Marx and India" where Marxist and progressive intellectuals discussed in depth the contribution of Marxism to the study and understanding of Indian society.

The Party centre in cooperation with the state committees was able to utilise the above two centenary observances and the fortieth anniversary of the victory over fascism to propagate Marxism-Leninism and the struggle for peace and the defence of the Socialist system to wider sections of people and improve the political-ideological level of the Party ranks.

### **Party Membership Position**

The membership of the Party which stood at 2,78,247 in 1981 at the time of the Eleventh Congress has grown to 3,67,828 in 1985 at the time of the Twelfth Congress. This is an increase of around 90,000.

This is an achievement, though a detailed analysis of the figure indicates the strengths and weaknesses also.

#### **MEMBERSHIP INCREASE (at the end of renewals)**

<b>STATES</b>	<b>1981</b>	<b>1985</b>	<b>Increase from 1981-1985</b>
1. Andhra	14,589	18,660	4,071
2. Assam	7,20	9,074	1,954
3. Bihar	11,122	11,572	460
4. Delhi	732	832	100
5. Goa	65	70	5
6. Gujarat	522	908	386
7. Haryana	600	710	110
8. Himachal Pradesh	273	621	348
9. Jammu & Kashmir	200	295	95

STATES	1981	1985	Increase from 1981-1985
10 Karnataka	2,200	2,342	142
11 Kerala	1,04,085	1,22,071	17,986
12 Madhya Pradesh	1,074	1,128	54
13 Maharashtra	3,320	4,472	1,152
14 Manipur	—	173	—
15 Orissa	2,350	2,869	519
16 Punjab	6,450	7,305	855
17 Rajasthan	2,125	2,232	107
18. Tamil Nadu	19,600	27,053	7,453
19. Tripura	6,580	11,414	4,834
20 Uttar Pradesh	5,349	6,827	1,478
21. West Bengal	82,500	1,36,980	54,480
22. Andamans	—	46	46
22 C.C Staff	50	65	15
	<b>2,78,247</b>	<b>3,67,828</b>	<b>89,581</b>

During this period, Party membership has grown at the highest rate in West Bengal which has registered an increase of 54,480. Kerala has an increase of 17,986. The other states which have recorded increases worth noting are Tamil Nadu, Tripura, Andhra Pradesh and Assam. Assam has increased its membership by 1,954 in the face of heavy odds and it is a creditable performance. Maharashtra has added a membership of 1,152. However, though other states have recorded increases, they are by and large marginal and the progress is slow. The Hindi-speaking states put together have increased their membership by only 2657. A very small figure which is not commensurate with the activities and efforts being put in by the state committees and the Central Committee.

Over 2.4 lakhs of the membership have been enrolled in the post-1977 period. That is, nearly two-thirds of the total membership today is of the post-1977 period. At the Salkia plenum emphasis was put on the training of the new entrants to the Party who have not been through the

experience of the fight against right revisionism and Left-adventurism of the 1960's. This is all the more urgent today when the Party's steady expansion since then has led to an influx of new adherents of a younger age group.

### **Expanding Mass Organizations**

A Marxist-Leninist Party with hundreds of thousands of members leading big class and mass organizations—in other words a mass revolutionary party—this is the road on which we are progressing. As for the mass organizations, we took pride in the fact that the membership has grown from four hundred and eighty thousands at the Tenth Congress to ten million at the time of the Eleventh Congress. Now at the time of the Twelfth Congress the class and mass organizations have another four million more adherents, with the total membership in these organizations crossing 14 millions. Based on 1984 figures the Kisan Sabha has a membership of 6.7 million; the CITU 1.8 million; the DYFI 2.5 million; the SFI 1.05 million; AIDWA 1.2 million and the Agricultural Labour Union 8.9 million. The 1983 membership figures of the mass organizations was higher at 15.5 million. With the AIKS membership at 7.2 million; DYFI 2.98 million; SFI 1.1 million; AIDWA 1.5 million and AIAWU 9.1 lakhs. The fall in membership in 1984 is mainly due to the preoccupation with the Parliament elections held in December, 1984, which affected enrolment in the final stage.

This advance in the mass organizations is only the beginning towards fashioning a mass revolutionary party. It throws up innumerable tactical and day-to-day working problems concerning Communist functioning among the mass in these organizations which the Party members must correctly grasp and implement. Further the 14 millions in the class and mass organizations and the possibility of rapid advance in all these fronts shows how the Party membership of 3.6 lakhs is inadequate for shouldering the various tasks to advance the Party.

**PARTY MEMBERSHIP FIGURES YEARWISE****(at the end of renewals)**

States	1982	1983	1984	1985
1. Andaman	—	10	29	46
2. Andhra Pradesh	18,320	17,834	17,528	18,660
3. Assam	8,815	8,059	8,227	9,074
4. Bihar	12,038	11,136	12,295	11,572
5. Delhi	940	869	832	832
6. Goa	65	65	70	70
7. Gujarat	650	933	820	908
8. Haryana	828	781	727	710
9. Himachal Pradesh	352	321	402	621
10. J & K	235	245	270	295
11. Karnataka	2,423	2,364	2,250	2,342
12. Kerala	1,22,172	1,21,577	1,22,174	1,22,071
13. Madhya Pradesh	1,327	1,343	1,441	1,128
14. Maharashtra	3,453	4,304	4,145	4,472
15. Manipur	—	—	—	173
16. Orissa	2,754	2,613	2,429	2,870
17. Punjab	7,100	7,135	6,986	7,305
18. Rajasthan	2,223	2,026	2,258	2,232
19. Tamil Nadu	22,170	23,018	24,860	27,053
20. Tripura	8,546	9,973	11,334	11,414
21. Uttar Pradesh	6,486	6,096	6,179	6,827
22. West Bengal	1,05,442	1,06,808	1,28,928	1,36,980
23. C.C. Staff	60	96	81	58
	<b>3,26,478</b>	<b>3,27,327</b>	<b>3,54,265</b>	<b>3,67,828</b>
	<b>+48,231</b>	<b>+849</b>	<b>+26,938</b>	<b>+13,563</b>

Increase/Decrease in membership over previous year

**The Question of Party Papers**

In the sphere of production and sales of Party papers there is no scope for self-satisfaction. The continuing failure of the Party at the centre and the states to improve the quality and running of Party dailies and weeklies; the unscientific and disorganized method of sales and distribution; the inability to make the

ordinary Party members conscious of the importance of the Party papers as an ideological-political weapon for struggle against ruling class ideologies—all these have not been removed.

To take the question of central papers first. The following table gives the figures of *People's Democracy* and *Lok Lahar*, at the time of the last Party Congress and at present:

States	<i>People's Democracy</i>		<i>Lok Lahar</i>	
	1981	1985	1981	1985
	October	October	October	October
Andhra	860	840	20	5
Assam	830	766	106	34
Andamans	15	—	—	20
Bihar	830	588	2,397	3,454
Goa—	9	—	1	
Gujarat	88	31	172	120
Himachal	28	70	117	373
Haryana	90	65	541	553
J & K State	90	58	10	45
Kerala	560	825	4	12
Karnataka	397	374	32	27
Madhya Pradesh	260	209	1,237	1,005
Maharashtra	764	552	459	516
Manipur	—	46	—	5
Meghalaya	16	12	—	—
Nagaland	—	10	—	—
Orissa	547	406	73	69
Punjab	620	429	428	393
Pondichery	—	49	—	—
Rajasthan	163	74	2,248	1,012
Sikkim	—	10	—	—
Tamil Nadu	1,430	1,629	2	2
Tripura	316	303	—	26
Uttar Pradesh	409	324	3,312	2,559
West Bengal	6,857	6,722	1,865	2,060
Foreign	131	84	3	5
Delhi	625	522	709	909
	15,740	15,007	14,600	13,206

The above table shows that there has been a slight fall in the circulation of both the papers. As for Urdu *Lok Lahar* there has been a bigger fall from around 4,000 in 1981 to 1,765 in October, 1985. This fall in circulation at a time when the Party's mass activities are expanding and influence is growing reveals the gap in our political-ideological work which is disturbing.

The state-wise figures for *People's Democracy* show that while Kerala has made some modest effort to increase circulation which has gone up from 560 in 1981 to 825, West Bengal has maintained the largest circulation, however, with no increase. The circulation has suffered in most other states such as Karnataka, Maharashtra, Orissa, U.P., Assam, Delhi etc.

The slight fall in circulation of *Lok Lahar* is even more disturbing, keeping in mind the emphasis the Party centre has been paying to the expansion of the Party in the Hindi-speaking areas. The circulation figures have gone up slightly only in Bihar, Haryana and Himachal while it has fallen in U.P., Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh.

The observation made in the last Party Congress' political-organizational report holds good today also: "These Party weeklies of the Central Committee which are being run with such heavy expenditure and labour by the editorial teams and the contributing Polit Bureau members, 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 Central Committee took up the question of the quality and circulation of Party papers in its meeting of February, 1984. It posed the question why our daily papers even in Kerala and West Bengal have a much lower circulation than the 40 to 50 per cent electoral strength that we command? The Party at all levels must take seriously the question of making the Party papers competent to compete with the bourgeois papers in the struggle for the minds and hearts of the people as part of the class struggle. It pointed out to

the three-month campaign for increase in the sales of *Deshabhimani* in Kerala. This resulted in the paper becoming the fourth largest circulated paper instead of the fifth. The Central Committee therefore suggested that every state committee should review the work of the Party unit which is now running the organ. These discussions should be concluded within two months so that the Polit Bureau can assess the discussions in the state committees and place a consolidated report on these discussions.

A review of work of *People's Democracy* and *Lok Lahar* was undertaken by the relevant Party unit and so also in some other states. But a comprehensive summing up has not yet been possible.

Regarding the quality of the central weeklies, it has been pointed out time and again that reports from the states do not reach the editorial offices in time. Important political developments in the states, reportage of movements and struggles, the Party's role in them etc.,—such reports are delayed making the relevance of the journals to the reader limited. Further the quality of reports is poor—stereotyped and full of jargon which make them unattractive to read. Unless the state committees select proper personnel to report for the central journals, the quality cannot be improved.

The three central journals are brought out at great expense by the Party centre. Currently the journals run at a monthly loss of Rs. 26,000. This works out to a subsidy given by the Central Committee of over Rs. 3 lakhs annually. If this effort and resources expended are to be fruitful, then at all levels of the Party the importance of the Party papers has to be understood. The Central Committee members and the state committees have to make special efforts to improve the quality of the central papers and its circulation.

The Central Committee, in the meantime in March, 1985, gave a call to all the state committees to organise a fortnight's campaign to step up sales and popularise the Party papers and literature. This campaign was observed in some

states seriously during April-May. However, the state of central weeklies circulation has not shown any appreciable increase.

### **Fraternal Relations and Increasing Contacts with International Communist Movement**

The past four years since the Eleventh Congress have seen further development in fraternal relations with Communist Parties internationally and deepening of existing ties and widening contacts with friendly parties and national liberation movements.

The visit of the three-member Polit Bureau delegation led by E.M.S. Namboodiripad to China in April, 1983 led to the restoration of party to party relations between the CPC and our Party. Fruitful talks were held with the Chinese Party leadership led by Hu Yao Bang.

The Polit Bureau delegation also visited the DPRK and held talks with Comrade Kim Il Sung and deepened the long standing ties between the Workers Party of Korea and our Party. The Polit Bureau and the Central Committee sent delegates to attend the Fifth National Congress of the Vietnam Communist Party and the Twelfth Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists.

Party delegations visited Vietnam and the DPRK in 1985 at the invitations of the respective fraternal parties. In 1982, a Polit Bureau delegation visited Cuba at the invitation of the Cuban Communist Party.

In January, 1985, Namboodiripad and Surjeet visited Afghanistan and signed a protocol of cooperation with the People's Democratic Party. This was followed by the visit of another delegation in October, 1985.

In February, 1985, for the first time, the Party sent a representative to the French Party Congress. Surjeet attended the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of France.

Basavapurnaiah and Samar Mukherjee attended the National Day Celebrations of the German Democratic Republic in 1984.

A four-member delegation led by Jyoti Basu visited the

Soviet Union at the invitation of CPSU in September, 1985. Prior to this Surjeet and Basavapunnaiyah attended the Fortieth anniversary celebrations of the victory over fascism at the invitation of the CPSU.

Party leaders have also been attending and making contributions at international seminars hosted by fraternal parties. Polit Bureau members have attended such seminars in Yugoslavia, GDR and Japan. Namboodiripad and Ramdass attended the Marx Death Centenary Seminar hosted by the Socialist Unity Party. Basavapunnaiyah attended the seminar on "Marxist Thought Today" organized by the Yugoslav League of Communists. Surjeet attended the international seminar on peace and security organized by the Japanese Communist Party.

The Polit Bureau sent Comrade Samar Mukherjee to attend the Seventeenth Congress of Communist Party of Japan as a fraternal delegate in November, 1985.

Apart from these delegations and visits, the Party has been sending groups to China at the invitation of the CPC for the last two years. Party groups are also visiting the Soviet Union regularly, hosted by the CPSU in the past two years.

The Party Centre has been keeping regular and live contact with national liberation movements and their representatives in New Delhi. Among these are the PLO, African National Congress, SWAPO and the Polisario Front. Harkishan Singh Surjeet participated in an international conference on "Peace for the Saharawi People" in Paris and visited Western Sahara in November, 1985.

All these visits of the delegations and party to party discussions have led to the CPI(M)'s ties deepening with all the above parties. The CPI(M) Central Committee is now having fraternal relations with 25 Communist Parties and National Liberation Movements.

At the mass organizations' level also, the CITU, AIKS, DYFI and SFI have established fraternal relations with a large number of their counterparts in the socialist countries

and also in the capitalist countries. A number of delegations have been exchanged with these countries and organizations, including participation in international conferences. The SFI-DYFI sent a 48-member delegation as part of the Indian delegation to the World Youth Festival at Moscow.

In the grave international situation today with U.S. imperialism threatening war and endangering peace, the close ties and unity of the international Communist movement are imperative to meet the situation. The CPI(M) has been active in forging and strengthening ties with all Communist and progressive forces in the world.

### **Party Building Fund Call**

In April, 1984, the Central Committee issued a fund call for building the Central Party Headquarters in New Delhi. A trust with Polit Bureau members named the A. K. Gopalan Bhawan Trust was formed. The Central Committee gave a call for Rs. 80 lakhs to be collected for the A. K. Gopalan Bhawan. Land in the centre of New Delhi was bought at the cost of Rs. 32 lakhs for the purpose. The fund drive has so far led to Rs. 72 lakhs being collected by Party units and sympathisers. Many states have completed their quotas and a few remain to do so. Construction of the building is expected to begin soon. The building to house the Party Centre is an urgent necessity and will be an important step in strengthening the work of the Party centre as envisaged in the Salkia Plenum.

### **Party Organization Since the Salkia Plenum**

The foregoing narration of the activities of the Party centre during the 4 years since the Eleventh Congress should be seen against the background of significant political developments which brought the Party to the forefront in the development of the Left and democratic opposition in the country. The countrywide and united mobilization of the masses against the dismissal of Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister Rama Rao, culminating in the restoration of his Telugu Desam

Government, was indicative of big possibilities of united resistance. Still more significant was the fact that secular opposition parties were brought together and adopted consensus documents dealing with two crucial issues of Indian politics—Centre-State relations and the most burning economic issues facing the people. Our Party can take legitimate pride in the role it played in these developments.

This was possible because the Polit Bureau and Central Committee functioned as a collective leadership dealing with the main ideological, political and organizational issues. Serious efforts have been made to carry out the directions contained in the Salkia report and resolution on the role of the Polit Bureau and Central Committee as the guiding and leading centre of the Party. This systematic and collective work of the Polit Bureau and Central Committee enabled our Party to demarcate itself from the bourgeois opposition parties in general and from the caste-communal and other separatist parties in particular and enable it thus to unite the Left and secular opposition forces in the struggle against authoritarianism.

The Polit Bureau and Central Committee succeeded also in implementing some of the directives of the Salkia Plenum, such as the bringing out of *The Marxist* quarterly, the preparations of study courses used in the central Party school, etc., and above all giving concrete guidance to the state committees (the details of which have been spelt out in the preceding pages). We can thus make the modest claim that the Party centre tried in this period to implement the Salkia decisions.

It should, however, be admitted in self-criticism that many of the directives of the Salkia Plenum remain unimplemented. The periodical conferences of the editors of Party organs envisaged in the Salkia documents have so far not been held. Nor could a sufficient number of agitational pamphlets on current topics be brought out. Although the English and Hindi weeklies, together with the Urdu fortnightly, are being brought out regularly, enough attention could not be paid to

improve the content, nor expand the circulation of these Party organs.

Above all, the central offices of the all-India mass organizations are not being properly manned (except the CITU to a certain extent). In a word, while the central headquarters today is capable of, and has been, discharging the elementary task of dealing with the major political problems of the country—this is what has put the Party on the political map of the country—the centre is far from being in a position to give practical guidance to the ideological, political and organizational work of the entire Party.

The Salkia Report and Resolution on Organization, it should be borne in mind, deal with problems which are relevant for a relatively longer period rather than a year or two. The implementation of the directives contained in them, reviewing its progress from time to time, removing the weaknesses noted, etc., is a continuing process in which the building of an effective Party centre occupies a key position. Having noted the positive and negative aspects of the implementation of this directive, let us note the reason for the lag in this respect which is that the Party centre in general and the Polit Bureau in particular is heavily undermanned. It is known to everybody that two of the Polit Bureau members being Chief Ministers cannot be expected to take any active role in the day-to-day work of the Polit Bureau except attending full Polit Bureau meetings and contributing to the discussions. Among those who were Polit Bureau members at the time of the Eleventh Congress, Comrade Promode Dasgupta died. Since then Comrade Ramamurti had to be relieved from the Polit Bureau. How to remove the weaknesses arising out of this situation?

It is suggested that, while the Polit Bureau remains as it is (with the addition of the West Bengal and Kerala State Secretaries), some Central Committee members (numbering four or five) be drafted for Central Committee work; each of them to be given charge of one important department of central work while all of them together will be collectively

responsible to the Polit Burĉau (as a sort of secretariat?). This will remove from the Polit Bureau members some of the jobs which they are at present expected to do but are unable to discharge. It will be useful also to associate these comrades with the Polit Bureau members who go to the States to get reports from and give guidance to state committees. This will help to improve the work of the Party centre.

This should be supplemented by the state committees releasing the necessary number of competent comrades who can man the offices of the all-India mass organizations; also those who can do the technical jobs at the Party centre itself. Without these latter, it is impossible to manage efficiently the institutions under the Party centre, such as the press, the publications, etc., each of which requires the work of competent and trained cadres.

Unfortunately, however, state committees have not been helping the centre by releasing such cadres as are available with them. This, in fact, is one of the forms of federalism about which we have been repeating since long. It should be recalled that as early as in 1968 when the Central Committee adopted a resolution on organization, the evil of federalism was characterised as the key evil. The Salkia document adopted over a decade later repeated it. It is therefore high time that the entire Party realise that, without a properly functioning Party centre with technically trained, competent and devoted comrades working at the central office of the Party and the all-India mass organizations, the gains made in the agitational and organizational work of the Party as a whole cannot be consolidated; the Party in other words cannot be made an efficient instrument for transforming its increasing prestige among the people into an organised political force.

What emerges out of this brief explanation of the work of the Polit Bureau and Central Committee during the last four years is that the Polit Bureau and Central Committee have made a modest beginning—which has to be further carried forward—in implementing the Salkia decisions.

Together with the activities of the state committees and of the entire Party, this has made it possible to get some solid gains for the Party organization in the post-Salkia period.

1. Our emphasis on mass actions leading to the consolidation and strengthening of mass organizations has helped the growth of the CITU, Kisan Sabha, the agricultural labour organization, the student, the youth and the women's organizations. It has led to the expansion of three existing all-India organizations (CITU, Kisan Sabha and the SFI) and the formation in this period of three all India organizations (agricultural labour, youth and women). The growth in the membership of all these organizations together is from nearly 50 lakhs at the time of Salkia to over 140 lakhs today.

2. The growth of mass organizations is reflected in the number of Party members from 161,000 in 1978 (Salkia) to 367,000 in 1985.

3. The expansion that has taken place in this period has meant that in states where there were virtually no Party units at the time of Salkia have it now, (Haryana, Himachal, Manipur, Andamans, etc.). In the Hindi-speaking states, there is some expansion of activities as well as organization. The bringing out and circulation of Party organs, pamphlets and booklets in Hindi and Urdu (Hindi for the last 7 years) is worth mentioning here. That the growth of the Party here has not yet made it an electoral force should not create the impression that nothing is changing in these states.

4. The nature of the expansion, i.e., whether it indicates improvement in the class composition of the Party, requires further examination. The State reports presented at the conferences, including the reports of credential committees, show that the youth have joined in large numbers, the figures concerning the rise in the membership of mass organizations also show the growth of the SFI and the DYFI. These mass organizations as well as the Party itself are, in other words, increasingly becoming points of attraction for the younger generation.

Together with the fairly big proportion of graduate and post-graduate delegates who attended the State Conference, this growth of the student-youth section in the composition of the Party augurs well for the future of the Party. It however should be placed against the fact that there is no corresponding increase in the trade unions, Kisan Sabha and agricultural labourers. Furthermore, the recruitment of a large number from the younger generation poses the problem of their education in Party policy without which they will not be absorbed in the Party of the working class and lead to alien trends developing in the Party. They, however, can be properly educated and organized if they are educated in theory and put to practical work. The Party committees must pay proper attention to the task of Party building on the student and youth fronts.

While paying attention to the problem of changing the class composition of the Party in favour of cadres recruited from the working class and peasantry, expansion of the Party in our social conditions requires planned recruitment, education and promotion of those who come into the Party from what are called in bourgeois terminology "the weaker sections"—the scheduled castes, the scheduled tribes, religious minorities and women. Paying attention to them is an integral part of trying to change the class composition of the Party. No figures however are available as to how much this is done except in relation to women.

It is found that women Party members in West Bengal are approximately 5,000, while in Kerala it is 3,810. This works out to less than five per cent of the total Party membership in both the States. In Tripura, the proportion is slightly better with women members being seven per cent of total members. The situation is worse in all other states. The proportion of women among the delegates at the State Conference and of those who have been elected as state committee members also tell the same story.

While taking up the expansion of the Party membership and recruitment from sections hitherto insufficiently

represented in the composition of the membership the Party committees at various levels have also to guard against any erosion of communist standards of behaviour, life-style and discipline. From the various reports at the state conferences it is clear that such alien trends do creep in. Parliamentary opportunism, succumbing to feudal-bourgeois values in life-style and violation of the strict norms of communist discipline are to be promptly checked and combated. It must be remembered that a Communist is "made of special mould". The building of a mass revolutionary Party entails that the Party and its members have different standards from those of the bourgeois-landlord parties. In no way can this distinction be allowed to be blurred.

While positively assessing these achievements, however, it should be self-critically admitted that many of the directives contained in the Salkia document remain unfulfilled. One such important directive, to which sufficient attention does not appear to have been paid, concerns the functioning of the trade unions, kisan sabhas and other mass organizations in a democratic manner, their members themselves democratically deciding all policy questions, while the Party exercises its overall authority on the Party fractions. The Salkia resolution noted in this regard:

"Our understanding about the democratic functioning of mass organizations is often defective and suffers from sectarianism. Several committees and comrades handle mass organizations 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 organizations tend to function them independently by-passing the Party."

This question was again dealt with in a separate Central Committee resolution on mass organizations which gave a clear warning against dealing with the mass organizations as mere adjuncts of the Party organization. Although the Central Committee resolution concerning this question was adopted as early as in 1981, the practice appears to be the

same as before—the mass organizations appearing before the people as adjuncts of the Party, their committees and general bodies invariably acting as rubber stamps of the Party without involving non-Party members of the organization in the evolution of policy and day-to-day functioning.

At the same time, fractions and sub-committees are not used for the political education of the class as a whole, raising the level of their consciousness from the democratic to the socialist. The result is that the hundreds of thousands who are mobilized for agitations and struggles remain mere members of the mass organizations; very little or nothing is done to raise the level of their political understanding and to recruit the best of them into the Party. The reports adopted at the State Conferences do not appear to have done anything to examine whether these guidelines of the Salkia Plenum and the Central Committee are being put into practice in the states. On the question of functioning of fractions and sub-committees, the new Central Committee will have to review the experience on the basis of earlier guidelines and give fresh guidance.

Still another directive of the Salkia Plenum concerned the collective functioning of the state committees which in their turn should help the collective functioning of the district and still lower-level committees. The Salkia resolution stated:

“Collective functioning has been badly affected in a large number of state and district committees. There is lack of job division, leading to absence of collective functioning. This results in concentration of authority in the hands of a few and leads to individual functioning. The Secretary often functions in place of the secretariat and the secretariat in place of the state committee, with the latter reduced to just a deliberative body. This leads to bureaucratism and error in political judgement.”

Bureaucratism leading to the substitution of the committee with the Secretariat, the secretary or one or two other members of the Secretariat functioning on behalf of the

Secretariat etc., these on the one side and on the other the tendency of committee members acting on their own without submitting themselves to the decisions and directions of Party committees are both two forms of the negation of the Marxist-Leninist principles of democratic centralism. How far these exist and vitiate the work of Party committees has to be seriously examined. This however does not appear to have been done by the state committees.

Special attention has to be paid to the functioning of the primary unit of the Party, i.e. the branch, especially in weaker states. The weakness in branch functioning is one of reasons for stagnation in enrolment of membership, sale of Party organs and functioning of the primary units of the mass organizations.

The reports adopted at the State Conferences and summarised in the following section give plenty of material concerning the state of the organization. They fail however to relate the facts given there to the main direction in which the Party should develop as the revolutionary mass Party of the working class which, to quote the Salkia report, "requires an enormous growth in the strength of the Party the number of its members in different states; the militant activity in which they are engaged; their unity with all other anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, anti-monopoly and democratic forces. Lakhs of new members drawn into the trade unions, kisan sabhas and other organizations of the working people; tens of thousands of active cadres working in these fighting organizations and drawn into the ranks of the Party of the working class; an uninterrupted process of educating the new and re-educating the old members of the Party; a system of inter-relationship between the higher and lower units of the Party as well as within each unit on the basis of the revolutionary principle of democratic centralism".

The Polit Bureau should therefore sit with every Secretariat, the two jointly assimilating the material contained in the state reports and evolve concrete guidelines for streamlining the organization in the state concerned.

**PART III**  
**MASS FRONT REPORTS**

**Trade Union Front**

The years between the Vijayawada Congress and the Calcutta Congress have been years of grave economic crisis with lockouts, closures affecting 400 big concerns and thousands of small concerns. The CITU and the trade union movement as a whole could not meet this offensive effectively, though locally the workers fought long struggles and heroic battles against lock-outs extending over months. But the full weight of the united trade union movement could not be thrown into the struggle and the employing class succeeded in passing with comparative ease the burdens of the crisis on to the workers.

Partly this was the result of the factory outlook persisting among the workers that the CITU unions also could not overcome. This delayed the workers' reaction to the attacks till they reached their factories and prevented a common rally against the offensive.

It was also due to the fact that in spite of the directives given in the trade union document, questions of policy were hardly raised before the workers and the consciousness remained rooted in partial and immediate demands.

The activities of our Party in the trade union movement extend beyond the CITU and its affiliated unions. Party members are working and leading many mass unions not affiliated to the CITU.

A proper coordination and unification of this activity at Party level is essential. At present the fraction functioning in these sectors is not satisfactory. The functioning of the central fraction is itself desultory and unless a comrade or set of comrades are put in exclusive charge of the central fraction, the present ad hoc functioning cannot be changed. One difficulty in running these fractions and guiding them is the general absence of written reports.

The common defects of all our trade union organizations

are their resistance to the implementation of policy given in the trade union document. There is absolutely no sign of awareness except in a few rare cases.

Only the Tamil Nadu State Committee reports that the Party line for the trade union front has been sought to be seriously implemented in the State. The review of frontal struggles and the necessity to examine why our influence and membership do not grow commensurate with our activities has been taken up.

But as for the rest, there is no evidence that a serious attempt is made to carry out the directives given in the document and change the prevalent practice. Unorganized workers, working women, unemployed, young workers and apprentices all continue to be neglected, and the trade union becomes an organization of permanent workers fighting for their emoluments.

Perhaps not one state trade union has called a special conference of the unemployed to draw attention to their problems and give relief to them. The entire new generation is getting affected by this indifference of the trade unions. Similarly almost all state trade unions continue to neglect questions concerning working women.

There is not much improvement in the democratic functioning of the unions. The fact that one state committee of the CITU did not hold its meeting for one year should show what may be happening down below.

The review of struggles led by our unions is hardly made. The Party state committees also seem to be indifferent to it. The review of the big jute workers struggle in West Bengal that the centre received was hardly a review based on the Party's line, line of unity and its objective in working in the trade union movement.

The Tamil Nadu CITU committee is activising the unions to help the peasant movement. A one rupee levy on the union members for a fund for the Kisan Sabha has helped to raise Rs. 40,000. Some other state trade union centres have also held demonstrations to support the demands of the

peasantry. In West Bengal, the Chatkal Mazdoor Union and the CITU seriously took up the question of remunerative price for the jute peasant. All this, however, is a far cry from the consistent activity required to develop the workers' consciousness to forge solidarity with the peasants.

These defects and deviations can be overcome by constant supervision and criticism. They relate to methods of functioning and outlook of a period in which we had not become a big all India force. Today they are proving injurious to our leadership and affecting our capacity to discharge our responsibilities.

### **Trade Union Unity**

The Party considers struggle for trade union unity as a very important task, a lever to bring about the class unity of the working class. This unity is considered essential for the working class to discharge its responsibilities as a class in the struggle against the present class rule, the struggle for People's Democracy.

All our unions, our federations and central organizations are seriously endeavouring to build trade union unity in their respective spheres. Our comrades working in unions where we are in a minority or where we are working with many others give utmost importance to maintenance of unity in their unions and organizations.

The struggle has three aspects:

- (1) Common action in activity of central trade unions and all-India federations at all-India and state levels.
- (2) Struggle to maintain unity inside unions where we are working along with others.
- (3) Struggle to draw neutral non-affiliated organizations towards our central organizations.

The aims and objects of struggle for unity is not only effective defence of working class interests, it must result in a growing prestige and influence for our correct trade union policy. The unity is to be growingly brought about on the basis of a revolutionary consciousness and appropriate activities.

The National Campaign Committee (NCC) at present provides for the widest possible participation of trade unions and federations. It can develop into a formidable organization if the secondary status given to the employees and industrial federations is removed. Unfortunately partisan considerations of certain reformist organizations have prevented the NCC from developing into a formidable all-embracing organization of the working class.

The NCC at the same time represents all important central trade unions except the INTUC. Recently its calls for activity have been of a symbolic nature. Its intervention in the critical period of crisis was hardly to be seen. This was not accidental. Much depended on the direct and independent activity of the CITU and other federations guided by us. Here, perhaps, there is some slackness and failure on our part. The spirit of united front often leads to waiting on others and not moving into action till others agree. It seems there is a tendency to do everything along with others leading to a certain loss of initiative.

This slackness was coming into evidence when the working masses were more enthusiastically responding to appeals for unity and common action. By the time of the Vijayawada Congress itself it was noted that the INTUC organizations in Kerala and later on in Bengal were often joining common actions. The water front workers' struggle was another instance where the INTUC along with us joined in an all-India strike. What our initiative and independent activity can do to build workers' unity is seen from our experience in the coal and steel industries. Here our independent and firm stand in negotiations has brought together all central organizations. And our insistence on mass action has resulted in a joint call for strike in the coal industry.

Our struggle for trade union unity has to be carried on with greater vigour overcoming our weaknesses. It has to be realised that united mass actions are made possible by our persistent activities. Our struggle for unity has strengthened our influence and broadened our base. It has, however, to be

ascertained after review whether all these activities have led to the desired result, in a growing change in the consciousness of the workers. The united activity and struggle for trade union unity should result in a change in the balance of forces in the movement if the working class is to reach its desired goal.

Regarding greater political activity and initiative on the part of the trade unions, there is improvement and effort to implement the Party's directive. The annual reports of our trade unions reflect a proper political understanding. However, this may not be the situation at the lower level. Besides, all these are preliminary efforts and denote agitational activities. Propaganda literature, however, is lacking and where available there is no evidence that it is being circulated by our trade unions cadres. Circulation of Party journals, etc., is often neglected in our areas of strong following. No special efforts are made to recruit and keep together new entrants. It will be seen that notwithstanding continuous trade union activity, prolonged strike struggles, membership from the working class has not grown in a sizeable proportion.

Our struggle in the various employees' organizations has grown and we are able to take initiative on a number of occasions.

The banking federation (BEFI) in which we are working is confined to a few states but its activities against computerization among the employees and its increased initiative on other issues is spreading its influence to other states also.

### **CITU and Industrial Workers**

These years saw constant strike struggles waged by the workers. Big strikes under the leadership of the CITU were conducted in West Bengal, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Bihar, and Kerala. There were prolonged struggles against lock-outs. The CITU recently led a strike of five lakh powerloom workers in Maharashtra winning major demands. There was a protracted struggle in Orissa against lock-out. The total jute strike of West Bengal, the total strike of textile workers

(Tamil Nadu) which the CITU led along with others, the strike of powerloom workers of Maharashtra are some of the outstanding strike actions led by the CITU. In these strikes, except in West Bengal the workers met with heavy repression and had to face the attack of goondas on their families. In Rourkela an infant child of our workers' leader was killed. In Haryana and several other places goondas were let loose on workers' families. In Modinagar, the wife of our worker comrade was killed by hired goondas. The Modinagar struggle was one of the most heroically fought struggle of recent times. The workers of Kanpur also passed through long-drawn-out struggles.

The working class resistance in these years can be judged from the fact that since 1982, between January and November, 82 million working days were lost in disputes involving 1.4 million workers. In 1983 the corresponding figures were 40 million days lost involving 1.23 million workers. In 1984 between January and August 45 million mandays were lost involving 1.76 million workers. In 1985 during the same period 17 million days were lost and 0.6 million workers were involved. Compared with the sweep of working class resistance the intervention of the CITU and its leadership in conducting the actions falls short of requirements. In the Bombay textile workers' strike the CITU union played a marginal role, the leadership of the strike completely falling into the hands of non-political leaders.

Official publications do not give figures of strikes led by the CITU. At one time according to these figures CITU led the largest number of strikes. Statistics for the quarter ending September 30, 1984, show that the AITUC led 4.4 per cent of disputes and 1.7 per cent of the workers involved. The INTUC led 5.2 per cent of disputes and 0.2 per cent of the workers involved. Other unions, which presumably includes, the CITU, led 18 per cent of the disputes and 35.8 per cent of the workers involved. Unaffiliated unions which perhaps include large number of CITU unions—as our unions do not submit affiliation certificates to the Registrar of

Trade Unions—led 69.5 per cent of disputes and 54.2 per cent of the workers involved. This should show the great lee-way we have to make in responding to workers' struggles and the supreme importance of our independent activity. Our partners in the NCC possess a scanty record of day-to-day struggle. Large numbers of working class actions are locally led. We are leading only a part of the total working class struggle.

In the struggle for trade union unity we should not miss this reality and we should not lose sight of the fact that the existing central organizations together do not represent the entire working class activity.

### **Membership of The CITU**

Haryana State Committee in its Political Organizational Report has admitted that its membership has been adversely affected due to closures and has come down to 7000, or the Bihar Committee which admits stagnation between 1981 and 1984 with the membership strength being 70,000; and the Delhi Committee also notes lack of increase in membership. Apart from these, almost all the state committees have claimed increase in membership of CITU. Kerala State Committee of CITU has not submitted membership figures beyond 1983. Its membership in that year was 3,22,000. West Bengal Committee has claimed an increase from 6.20 lakhs in 1981 to about seven lakh during this period. Membership as claimed in the state reports is 74,242 in Andhra Pradesh, 1.30 lakh in Tamil Nadu, 14,000 in Uttar Pradesh and 72,000 in Maharashtra.

The reports, however, admit that the membership figures do not adequately reflect the influence of the CITU. The West Bengal report states that "The influence of the Party and CITU has not found reflection in the small increase in the CITU membership. Weakness in Party building among the workers continues. Special attention has to be devoted to the mass of Hindi-speaking workers who are influenced by the political conditions of their home States". The Kerala

report also states that the membership of CITU does not reflect the strength of CITU. At least for the past two years there have been big struggles in Kerala both united as well as on our independent initiative. But no attention seems to have been paid to the question of membership.

Then whatever be the membership of CITU that has been claimed, it is not reflected in the submission of annual returns to the Registrar of Trade Unions or payment of affiliation fees. The position as on 10th January, 1986, as far as annual returns for 1983 and 1984 is concerned is shown below:

**Statement Showing the Position of Submission of  
Annual Return and Membership as on 10-1-1986  
(Including New Applications)**

No of Unions	No. of unions submitting annual returns		The position of membership according to annual returns	
	1983	1984	1983	1984
Active	1,686	1,065	12,98,573	13,00,000

While there is not much improvement in the functioning of the trade unions, substantial progress has been registered in the functioning and the advance of some industrial federations. The steel and coal workers' federations under the CITU guidance has registered advance and is influencing the negotiations between the trade unions and authorities. And on many occasions, but for the firm stand of our federations and our mass actions meaningful negotiations would not have been possible. Recently our comrades took initiative to call a conference of public sector undertakings to coordinate the movement in the public sector. It was a largely attended conference and a successful one. It followed after months of agitation on the question of rate of DA for the public sector employees. In these years we have strengthened our influence in important industries in the public sector.

We have also advanced in industries strategic for working

class advance. Recently under our guidance an Electricity Workers' Federation was formed. We have also extended our influence in the water transport industry and the patient and arduous work put in by our comrades has earned official recognition for our Seamen's Union. The Union and its calls draw sympathetic attention from international organizations.

Except in a couple of states we are very weak or non-existent in road transport, a vital communication link. Unless fractional work is started in the existing organizations and unless the state committees devote attention to it this weakness cannot be overcome.

In these years two units of the CITU had to face the grave challenge of divisive forces, Punjab and Assam. Despite the adverse circumstances, they were often able to hold rallies of workers and maintain working class solidarity. But the divisive challenges disrupted the likely growth of the trade union movement. A serious challenge was faced by the Gujarat CITU when conflict erupted on the question of reservation, putting one section of the workers against another. The CITU unions took a correct stand and endeavoured to maintain workers' unity. The CITU had met with reverses in Bombay and nearby industrial areas. It was unable to lead the discontent amongst the INTUC which was headed by others. The Party and the CITU have no plan of working in established unions led by the reformists. Without this they cannot extend their work. The CITU unions in Maharashtra have participated in a number of united actions involving tens of thousands. But this has not given them an additional lever. Some unions have stood the attack of the Shiv Sena and strengthened themselves.

In spite of all our defects the CITU is the most active and militant trade union organization. Its prestige is high among wide sections of workers. Initiative and independent activity, better functioning of unions and adherence to the trade union document will enable it to move forward quickly. If the tasks formulated by the Party are neglected the CITU will be isolated from young workers, the unemployed and

workers in unorganized industries. There is every danger also of working women being alienated from the trade union movement if the present semi-feudal outlook of trade union leaders does not change.

It is necessary to note that in the coming months the CITU and the trade union movement will be faced with big attacks. The economic policy of the Government demands more and more attacks on the gains secured by the workers. This is clear from the stiff attitude of the Government on many issues. The Coal Authority is going back on the signed agreement. So also the Steel Authority. The influx of multinationals will demand further restrictions of workers' rights. The unscrupulous use of the Supreme Court judgment against the locomen is the sign of the times. Computerization will deliver further challenges. In this situation unless the CITU unions are alert and active on their own they will not be able to expand and defend the workers.

### **Struggle for Peace**

In all meetings of the Working Committee and the General Council the CITU has been exposing U.S. war plans and calling on the workers to fight for world peace. Its manifestos on May Day and November Revolution Day always carry an appeal for peace.

In the last two years the peace activities of the organization have increased. State committees and trade unions have been asked to observe peace days and hold rallies on these days. In January, 1984, the CITU published the appeal of the 30th session of the WFTU bureau in its organ "The Working Class". In March, 1984, the CITU participated in the peace convention organized by several Left Parties. In the May Day call of that year the working class was called upon to fight for peace. The CITU unions were called upon to observe September 1st as Peace Day. The General Council meeting held at Jaipur from September 28 to 30, 1984, passed a resolution on war danger. "*The Working Class*" repeated the call in its write-up on 7th November greetings

to the working class of the Soviet Union. On March 23, 1985, the CITU Secretariat gave a call to observe the 40th anniversary of anti-fascist victory from May 1 to 9 and called for frustrating the war plans of the U.S. imperialists. On May 13, 1985, a Joint Communiqué on Peace was issued by AUCCTU and the CITU. The May, 1985, issue of *"The Working Class"* was a special issue on the 40th anniversary of the anti-fascist victory. It published the Declaration of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council on Peace and Against Star Wars. The Working Committee meeting held at Trivandrum from May 31 to June 2, 1985, in a resolution called to observe September 1st as Peace Day and also to observe August 6 and 9 as international days of united action for total elimination of nuclear weapons. *"The Working Class"* issue of November, 1985, published the call of the WFTU General Council for intensification of struggle against the arms race.

### **About Working Women**

Attention of comrades has repeatedly been drawn to the necessity of our work among the working women in particular. During the past 4 years the women workers have lost jobs in thousands in tobacco, coir, beedi, cashew and other industries. But there has not been much of a protest against this.

Another convention of working women was held just before the Workers' March in April 1984 from which the committee was recommended to be reconstituted. Andhra Pradesh and Kerala state committees have not sent the names of their representatives for the committee yet. As a result only one meeting of the all India Co-ordination Committee could be held in which West Bengal comrades also could not participate due to impending elections.

There is, however, some improvement in that some unions/federations, have set up sub-committees for women members. Some conventions have also been held amidst great enthusiasm. But sustained work is lacking except in Tamil Nadu

where committees have been set up at district levels also with the CITU or Party committees giving help to them. They have, therefore, distributed the sale of the voice of working women on a district basis and the sale is steady.

This is not the picture everywhere. The sale of the journals has come down from 1800 to 1200 now, though there is steady improvement in the news catered or the subjects covered.

### **CITU Journals**

During these four years stress was laid on ideological campaign. Proper attention was also paid to the content of the CITU organs '*The Working Class*' and '*CITU Mazdoor*'. Efforts were made also to tone up managerial deficiencies. But despite all these, there is stagnation rather slight fall in the sale of these journals, one of the reasons of this fall, about a thousand in total for both (Sale was 4000 for *The Working Class* and 3200 for *CITU Mazdoor* which have come down to 3200-3000) is the fall in payment of affiliation fees including subscriptions by various unions in 1985. But another part is due to certain agencies being closed down as they have not been clearing their bills. Many of the agents are important leaders. However, dues were not cleared. But this did not improve the situation. Attention of the state committees was drawn to the problem with little effect.

It appears that comrades have not taken up the sale of the journals as a part of education and ideological campaign despite emphasis having been given to the same. This is the result of the level of consciousness of the unions being limited to the factory or at least to the industry in the state. Because of this, the journal may not appeal to them and hence they do not bother if the journals do not reach them (as it happens some time due to insufficient address or Postal defects). We have to make a breakthrough and reverse the situation by our collective efforts without which the situation is likely to deteriorate further.

There are a number of state journals run by State CITU

Councils, *Shramik Andolan* in West Bengal, *Saithee* in Tamil Nadu, *Karmik Logue* in Andhra, *Sandesham* in Kerala and, *Shramik Ekata* in Orissa, a new journal in Karnataka. Information regarding their circulation is not available.

One of the factors for the financial difficulties is lack of advertisements. It could be compensated only by increasing the sale and that is not being done.

We must also have a pricing policy. It would be wrong to keep the price pegged down while the prices everywhere is shooting up. Once again there could be some relief if sales improve. But no attention is being paid to that.

### **Kisan Front**

It is now about three decades since we have been emphasising the need to overcome our Party's weakness among the peasantry. Except in the states of West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura, this task yet remains to be fulfilled. It is known quite well that without fulfilling this, neither a powerful agrarian movement capable of completing the agrarian revolution can be thought of, nor any significant changes in the correlation of class forces can be brought about in order to develop the Left and democratic alternative to the bourgeois-landlord class rule. It is by developing the peasant movement we can wean away the peasantry from the political influence of bourgeois-landlord classes, bring them close to the working class and forge the worker-peasant alliance. This weakness was again highlighted in the political organizational report of the Eleventh Party Congress. After analysing the situation on the Kisan front the report pointed out the following shortcomings:

"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 organization 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 organizational 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 organized 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 organization, and the masses, who are prevented from taking a more active interest in the running of the organizations. 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 generalizations if they are uniformly and mechanically applied to a particular situation, it is fraught with serious risk. The main reason that it is important task of all the units to

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 organizational and political importance for our functioning.

“Fifth, 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 organization, very few of our units at any level undertake the task of imparting political education to them and raising their level 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 organizational 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 not 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 farmers, labourers and sharecroppers which are offered by a number of Governments, cooperative industries, panchayats and so on. Many of these about are undoubtedly dull and lack glamour, and might be insignificant and of lesser importance than some but we should realise that all these help to build

the movement, to organize our actions, and in their own inconspicuous way, even help to strengthen our militant struggle and confrontations with the repressive forces of State power.

“Lastly, one of the most important weaknesses of our organization 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 organizations of the peasantry. Let us also admit that given the smallness of our organization 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 organized 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 realise 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 organizations together. When we join hands with other organizations 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 friction 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 some taluka levels in certain 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 organization, 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 mobilizing 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 organized 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 organizational 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 is no doubt that there is an increase of 10 lakh in the Kisan Sabha membership since the Eleventh Congress but this increase mainly comes from only one state of West Bengal and in fact the proportion of West Bengal in the All India membership has increased from 55 per cent to more than 75 per cent during the last four years. In quite a few states there is either decrease or stagnation. The reasons are the same which have been mentioned in the shortcomings referred to above. Neither is any conscious effort made to raise the consciousness of the peasants for the need of agrarian revolution nor are there planned efforts to build and expand the Party among the peasants in most of the states. This is to be noted that the breakthrough was not made in spite of the aggravation of the agrarian crisis in the country which undoubtedly has shaken the base of the ruling party in the rural areas. Before dealing with this question let us have a glance at the activities of the Kisan Sabha during the period.

### **Drought & Floods**

The year 1982 experienced an unprecedented drought affecting 11 states and two Union Territories which continued its devastating effect till early months of 1983. Combined with the drought situation, within a few months the country was

faced with heavy rains and floods playing havoc in 12 states. Again at the end of the year, Tamil Nadu faced a very serious situation because of the floods. In all these affected states, Kisan Sabha units took up the demands of the drought and flood affected population through rallies and demonstrations demanding relief assistance in the form of foodgrains and cash assistance. The Kisan Sabha also took up the demands of postponement of the recovery of land revenue and cooperative loans from the peasantry in distress and cancellation of land revenue and other taxes for this year.

### **Remunerative Prices**

Next important question faced by the peasantry has been the question of remunerative prices for their produce. The year 1984-85 again saw the precipitous fall in the prices of agricultural produce, whereas the prices of inputs and other essential commodities went up very much. This fall was further aggravated in the year 1985, when the newly formed economic policy openly aimed at throwing the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the peasantry. In fact 1985 budget proposals itself gave big concessions to the monopolists and brought a situation by which the price of commercial crops steeply fell. For instance, jute which was selling at Rs.700 per quintal in 1984 came down to less than Rs. 200/-, price of cotton from Rs. 500/- to Rs. 350/-, price of coconuts from Rs. 4000/- to Rs. 1100/- per thousand. Even in the case of foodgrains there was meagre increase of Rs. 5/- per quintal for the producer whereas the price of inputs had risen by more than 15 per cent.

Then there was the question of taxation. There was increase in the water charges and electricity charges in many states, apart from the increase in bus fares, etc. This over and above the rise in prices which, due to inflation, has very adversely affected the poor man who is squeezed with his meagre income. The period also saw the growing indebtedness of the peasantry which according to the official estimates has reached the enormous figure of Rs. 1300 crores

out of which government is able to provide only 40 per cent through various institutions and for the rest of the 60 per cent the peasantry had to depend on money-lenders, who charge usurious interest.

The All India Kisan Council which met at Sultanpur, Uttar Pradesh, on 3 and 4 March 1984, took stock of the whole situation and reviewed the mass struggles against various aspects of the anti-people policies of the Congress(I) government, took note of the urge for unity amongst all sections of the toiling people particularly the peasantry and decided to translate this urge into building wider and wider unity in action. It formulated the 12-point charter of demands covering the main demands of the peasantry and appealed to all its units to mobilise the peasantry in support of these demands and organise struggles in unity with other parties and peasant organization. This charter of demands was popularised throughout the country.

The West Bengal Kisan Sabha distributed two lakhs of copies comprising the charter. A pamphlet was brought out by the AIKS office explaining the importance of these demands. In West Bengal a Padyatra was organized which started from Coochbehar in the north and terminated in a huge rally in Calcutta. In West Bengal there was also state-wide bandh on these demands on 12 September 1984.

The Kerala Karshaka Sangham ran a campaign on these demands focussing on the issue of price of rubber, cashew-nut and coconut. They held state level convention on 24th July. In Bihar a big rally was held on September 23 on the basis of these demands. In U.P. at the call of six opposition parties rallies were held at all district headquarters. Many other Kisan units organized satyagraha for the fulfilment of these demands. They took up other issues also such as water-logging, desilting of canals, stoppage of recovery of the cost of lining of canals, and police repression etc. The Kisan Sabha units of Assam and Punjab continued to take up the demands of peasantry despite the difficulties created by the imposition of Sec. 144 and other restrictions by the

administration in the name of dealing with the situation created by the activities of the separatist forces.

Apart from this, conventions were held in various states on some concrete issues. In Kerala and Andhra Pradesh conventions of growers of several agricultural commodities, like paddy, tobacco, coconut, tapiocca were held. Mass picketing of Government offices was resorted to in Kerala on the question of crash in coconut prices. In Tamil Nadu a convention on tenancy rights on temple land was convened, by the State Kisan Sabha and in Punjab the resistance against the eviction of Abadkars was organized. The West Bengal unit took up the problem of jute growers and a delegation of legislators belonging to various kisan organizations came to Delhi to present a memorandum to the Minister of Agriculture. The LDF legislators from Kerala also came to Delhi to stage a dharna at the Boat Club to protest against the Government policy, vis-a-vis coconut producers.

In this period certain units of the Kisan Sabha such as Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, tried to organize the tribals in their states in certain areas, though these efforts are at the initial stages. In Bihar Kisan Sabha is constantly taking up the question of evictions and is fighting against the landlord offensive on this question. There are reports from certain Kisan Sabha units that they took up also the demands of working class, apart from raising the demands of agricultural workers. This is a good sign though this as yet may be the beginning. Another significant development to be noted is that in Tamil Nadu the CITU Unions collected Rs. 40,000/- last year to help organizing the Kisan Sabha and promised to collect Rs. 1 lakh this year for the same purpose. This will undoubtedly help in strengthening the Kisan Sabha and in building the unity of the working class and peasantry.

### **Attacks of Divisive Forces**

The period between the Eleventh and Twelfth Congresses has been a difficult period in the sense that utilizing the

discontent growing out of the anti-people's policies of the Government, the divisive communal and separatist forces backed by imperialism under different garbs became very active. In Punjab their activities took the form of a separatist movement. In Assam the movement against foreigners had a separatist connotation. In Bihar the caste conflicts took a very acute form. In Gujarat the issue of reservation policy announced by the ruling Congress divided the toiling people of the state. Among the Scheduled Castes, a new organization, DS-4, entered the field and began rallying them on the basis of caste approach as against the class organizations. Christian missionaries became very active among the tribal people. Muslim and Hindu fundamentalists intensified their activities rallying the people on communal lines. All this is done with the aim of diverting the popular discontent into divisive channels and to disrupt the democratic movement especially the peasant movement. Our State units in Punjab and Assam had to face a very difficult time but continuously raised the banner of unity and fought these forces even at the cost of risking their lives. In Assam many of the Kisan cadres sacrificed their lives. Similarly in Maharashtra the Kisan Sabha units intervened when the communal forces organized the riots in Bhiwandi and other areas. In Gujarat though our unit is very weak, it took a principled stand against the efforts of the vested interests to divide the toiling people on the basis of reservation and anti-reservation slogans.

### **Defence of Democracy**

Few months after the Eleventh Congress, Assembly elections were held in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, J & K, Haryana and some other states. The Congress was badly defeated in its strongholds where even in 1977 it was able to maintain its mass base. But in 1984, the Central Government resorted to authoritarian tactics. In Haryana, a defectors' Government headed by Bhajan Lal was allowed to be set up as against the clear majority of the opposition parties, which

was demonstrated to the Governor. In J & K a duly elected government of the National Conference headed by Farooq Abdullah was dismissed by organizing defections and defectors' ministry was set up. In Andhra Pradesh, Telugu Desam government headed by NTR was dismissed in spite of the fact that he continued to enjoy the majority in the legislature. This aroused the anger of the people throughout the country. Big demonstrations took place against these authoritarian measures and the peasantry under the influence of Kisan Sabha played an important role in defence of democracy.

### **Restructuring of Centre-State Relations**

This period has also highlighted the necessity of restructuring Centre-State relations. The use of the state power for narrow interests of the ruling party, lack of resources for the states, discrimination against the Left Front government of West Bengal and Tripura, uneven economic, social, cultural development has made the peasantry begin to realise that it is necessary to review the Centre-State relations with a view to strengthening the federal character of the state. The growth of divisive forces also show that without restructuring these relations Indian unity cannot be maintained. The Kisan Sabha units have been highlighting this demand.

### **Fight for Peace**

The Kisan Sabha units at various places took up the question of peace and joined the other democratic and peace-loving forces in rallying the peasantry against the danger of a nuclear war emanating from the policies of U.S. imperialism headed by Reagan administration. Kisan Sabha units participated in large numbers in the 1st September 1983 peace rallies held all over the country. Kisan Sabha units also participated in observing 13 April 1984 as the day for peace, call for which was given by the All India Peace Convention convened by 8 Left and secular Opposition parties. Kisan Sabha also joined with other progressive organizations

in observing 9 May as a day of 40th Anniversary of Victory over Fascism. The Kisan Sabha workers and followers joined in large numbers in these rallies.

### **Weaknesses Still Persist**

Narration of these activities should not lead one to the conclusion that the Kisan Sabha units have been able to discharge the responsibilities in this period. The reality is that in the face of tremendous possibilities which are present in the situation, these activities do not acquire great significance, specially when we take the country as a whole. Another factor is that in spite of all these activities the organization has not expanded. Apart from the shortcomings mentioned above which were explained in the report of the Eleventh Party Congress three things more are to be noted. Firstly, our pattern of work continues to be reformist. We do not base our activities on the intensification of the class struggle and through that the building of class unity of the peasants. The pattern of work is the same as inherited from the national movement. We popularise the demand, we organize the struggles, but never try to consolidate them later on. Our own experience shows it is only in the states where we have boldly led the struggles and then tried to consolidate them in the form of building mass organizations that we have become a significant force. As compared to this where we have led not only campaigns but also struggles but subsequently failed to consolidate the gains, the political benefit accrues to the bourgeois parties, not to us. For instance, there was a big struggle in the early 70s in Rajasthan on the question of land. It had a big impact and followed by it the Annual Session of the All India Kisan Sabha at Sikar, was very successful, but our Kisan Sabha membership has been declining constantly. Same is the case with many other states. There is still hesitation in many states in popularizing the demands of the agricultural workers. The Central Committee had decided that while setting up the separate organization of agricultural workers, coordination committees of

Kisan Sabha and A.L. union at different levels be formed, so that, both in unity with each other are able to play their role in rallying the peasantry for agrarian revolution and both organizations do not pull in different directions.

Secondly, if a concrete examination is undertaken we will find that in many states at some places where there are Party units in the villages, Kisan Sabha or Agricultural Workers Units are not there. If census is taken in some states many Party members will be found to be not members of any class organization and this goes against the basic organizational principles. If in a village a Party member is not a member of any class organization how can he be able to discharge the responsibilities of a Party member in rallying the masses behind the Party's line. This principle of Party organization has to be strictly adhered to otherwise there will be corrosion of organizational structure of the Party.

Thirdly, though mentioned earlier in the shortcomings no efforts by the state committees or district committees are made to make a concrete study of the situation on the agrarian front in a particular area, or a unit and work out slogans on the basis of that. Situation in different states vary from each other. Problems are different in many states. For instance in Bihar today the problem of share workers, exploitation of adivasis and atrocities on Harijans and oppressed sections by the landlord-goonda-police combine is very acute. In the other states where capitalism in agriculture has developed more, questions of remunerative prices, taxation, credit requirements are in the fore.

### **Failure to Popularise the Achievements of Left Front Governments**

Another significant failure is the failure to popularise the achievements of the Left Front government of West Bengal and Tripura in ameliorating the conditions of the peasants and agricultural workers. If today West Bengal Kisan Sabha commands the confidence of majority of the peasantry including the agricultural workers, it is due to the consistent

work of the organization as well as measures taken by the Left Front governments. Operation Barga, ensuring minimum wages to agricultural workers, concessions in land revenue and taxes including relief and other measures have contributed a lot in widening and deepening the base of Kisan Sabha. In spite of the CKC decisions we could not run our all India campaign for the clearance of comprehensive land reforms legislations of West Bengal which is pending before the Central Government since four years. This campaign would have helped a lot in focussing the issue of land reforms again.

### **State of Kisan Sabha Organization**

There has been some improvement in the functioning of the AIKS Centre. But it will be wrong to say that Kisan Sabha Centre is in a position to provide guidance to the states and help to equip them to counter the propaganda constantly unleashed by the bourgeois landlord classes and their parties as well as by communal and divisive forces. Merely on the basis of organizing the economic struggles it is not possible either to consolidate the gains arising out of the economic struggles or to develop a powerful organization. It is necessary to fight the ideological political influence of the bourgeois landlord classes. This requires a constant help and guidance from the Kisan Sabha centre, which is lacking today. We had pointed out in the Eleventh Congress that we failed to function the Central Committees' Sub-Committee on the agrarian front. But subsequently we gave up the effort itself. But the situation in most of the States is much worse. No detailed information is available about the district and lower level units in different states. But one thing is clear that except in some States like West Bengal, Kerala, Tripura, Punjab and Tamil Nadu, the situation has actually worsened. In most of the states there is no regular functioning of the district centres. Even the district councils and executives do not regularly meet. In majority of states there is no effort to functioning the village level unit. Even if

they are formed they become defunct after some time and are unable to function on their own. This underlines the imperative need of educating the key functionaries at the village level. The situation in the state offices is also not very satisfactory. We do not receive regular reports from the states except a few. But even where we ask for the reports they are not sent. Struggles are conducted but they are not reviewed and lessons drawn. This also hampers the functioning of the centre. In the absence of the reports from the States, centre cannot pool the experience and make that experience part of the whole movement. This state of affairs has to be put an end to if the Kisan organization is to be developed and the various state committees have to undertake the examination of the work on the Kisan Sabha in their respective states.

We on our part owe a big responsibility because the Central Committee has to undertake the concrete study of changes which have taken place in the agrarian relations specially in reference to development of capitalism in agriculture and the necessity of reformulating certain tasks in consonance with the changes which have taken place. This is over-due. This task has to be fulfilled and mechanism has to be evolved. We can get the help of some academicians, who have made studies and a CC Sub-Committee has to be formed which goes into them and try to integrate them with the practical experience of the movement.

### **Tremendous Possibilities**

The Political Resolution of the Party Congress has highlighted the accentuation of the agrarian crisis. The failure of the Congress to carry out agrarian reforms, the retention of semi-feudal relations over a greater part of the country and the continued concentration of the land in the hands of the small section, which makes the crisis inevitable. This had led to increase in the incidence of poverty and thereby an inevitable shrinking of market for industrial goods. This had also led to tremendous polarisation of the wealth, money in

the rural areas. Growing indebtedness, heavy taxation, market loot through precipitous fall in the prices of agricultural produce. It has also noted that the agrarian crisis and the crisis of the capitalist path is bringing the rich peasants into conflict with the government and narrows the rural base of the ruling party. This crisis of the capitalist path and its need to find more resources also leads to a push and pull between the two partners of the ruling alliance.

The Resolution states that the agrarian crisis manifests in an increased rural unemployment which now exceeds 40 million. Evicted peasants, agricultural workers, ruined artisans all swell the increasing army of the unemployed. Official schemes of the rural employment do not touch even the fringe of the problem. Men, women and children from Adivasi area, the worst affected by lack of employment sell themselves into permanent bondage or in the flesh market. In floods and drought, whose vicissitudes often alternate the peasants, the Adivasis, the Harijans and agricultural workers are left defenceless mute victims to the ravages of nature.

Therefore, it is natural that the discontentment is going to increase among the peasantry in the coming period at a very fast rate. If we intervene there are tremendous possibilities of building the powerful movement of the peasantry and overcoming the lag.

Bhartiya Kisan Union, an organization of the landlords has become very active among the peasants. In the absence of the organized peasant movement they take up certain immediate issues affecting the peasantry, raise demagogic slogans to mislead and rally the peasants and try to arouse them against the political parties, especially the Left parties. Their aim is to disrupt the organized peasant movement. They have to be isolated by fighting for the urgent demands of the peasantry and by organizing united movements.

### **Immediate Tasks**

In this respect, we want to mention that the CKC has decided to observe the year 1986 as the Golden Jubilee Year

of the Kisan Sabha. The CKC has issued an appeal to all units to celebrate the whole year with special attention to expand the Kisan Sabha, to take the message of agrarian revolution to the peasantry, to organize struggles against the burdens that will be thrown on the peasants by the Government's new pro-private sector, pro-multinational economic policy. It has already increased tremendously the administrative prices of petroleum, diesel, kerosene, fertilizers. Whereas, it has increased the procurement price of wheat only by Rs. 5 per quintal this year the issue price of wheat has been increased by Rs. 48 per quintal. This is apart from the rising inflation. Many more attacks such as further increase in bus fares, electricity charges etc., are in store. The CKC has given the slogan that there should be no revenue circle in the country without a AIKS unit. With this end in view it has fixed these targets for the Golden Jubilee year :

1. To increase the membership of the All India Kisan Sabha to 8 million.

2. To hold meetings and rallies in at least 50,000 villages in the Golden Jubilee Year.

3. To publish pamphlets on important struggles conducted by the Kisan Sabha.

4. To produce literature on current problems.

5. To interview leading comrades who joined All India Kisan Sabha before independence and record their experience so that it can be pooled for AIKS workers.

The state committee of the Party must ensure that these tasks are fulfilled. For this they will have to activate the fraction committees at different levels and activate the Party in the rural areas. This period has to be utilized also to mobilise the peasantry in defence of peace against the danger of nuclear war. The C.C. sub-committee has to be formed to give necessary guidance to the All India Kisan Sabha.

The AIKS had decided to hold the Jubilee Session in Patna on 25, 26 and 27th April 1986. Every effort must be made to make it a grand success. The different states are also holding Jubilee Sessions in their states. All these functions

have to be made successful by focussing attention on the problems of the peasantry and to make the Party aware of the necessity of overcoming the lag in the peasantry.

### AIKS Membership

State Wise	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85
1. Andhra Pradesh	1,02,000	1,46,500	1,60,900
2. Assam	33,299	1,03,884	1,39,436
3. Bihar	1,00,000	2,35,000	1,50,000
4. Gujarat	12,000	11,000	13,000
5. Himachal Pradesh	6,604	6,704	7,000
6. Haryana	10,000	3,700	4,104
7. J & K	13,200	14,000	16,000
8. Karnataka	61,586	76,000	83,920
9. Kerala	5,22,640	6,47,218	5,01,220
10. Madhya Pradesh	20,000	25,000	—
11. Maharashtra	60,000	72,000	48,000
12. Orissa	20,000	21,480	18,248
13. Punjab	97,850	88,262	90,000
14. Rajasthan	29,834	37,252	35,060
15. Tamil Nadu	76,310	71,412	68,000
16. Tripura	65,000	21,942	67,657
17. Uttar Pradesh	82,000	88,000	76,000
18. West Bengal	51,95,591	55,82,492	52,35,625
19. Manipur	—	—	260
<b>Total</b>	<b>65,08,594</b>	<b>72,52,646</b>	<b>67,14,430</b>

### Agricultural Workers' Front

The Salkia Plenum Report stated—"The 1967 Resolution on tasks on the Kisan front gave a correct orientation regarding the agricultural workers. Our comrades have been moving to organize 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

organizations of agricultural labourers should be formed. The advanced movement in some states demands an all India Organization of Agricultural Labourers. Recognizing the dual nature of agricultural labourers, the agricultural workers' organization where they are separately organized must coordinate their activities with the Kisan Sabha. They should also have growingly closer relation with the trade union movement."

But there was resistance inside the Party to set up a separate all India organization of agricultural workers. Even after the Salkia Plenum it took the Central Committee two years to take a decision in this respect. Based on this decision of the C.C., the AIKS, in its Trichur meeting on 1st December, 1980 decided to set up an all India body consisting of five state agricultural workers' organizations affiliated to AIKS. On October 12 & 13, 1981 a meeting was called in Vijayawada (A.P.) and the All India Agricultural Workers' Union was formed.

The meeting adopted the Statement of Policy which stated that, "the agricultural workers constitute the most important part of the agrarian movement in the country. They form the link between the urban working class and the peasantry. They are the worst exploited economically. A big chunk of them come from scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, who still continue to be the victims of social oppression at the hands of caste Hindu landlords and all other vested interests. Hardly a day passes when we do not read reports of atrocities on Harijans and adivasis in the daily Press.

"All the solemn promises made to them by Congress rulers have been thrown to the winds. The much tom-tommed twenty-point programme of the Emergency days has not been able to bring any desired improvement in their conditions. Even after 24 years of independence they continue to work under semi-slavery, are denied even house-sites for shelter, are paid meagre wages, and are subjected to bonded slavery at the hands of money-lenders and landlords. They are subjected to most crude and inhuman forms of social

oppression and indignities, including violent attacks on their person and property. Their womenfolk are dishonoured in various ways. The much talked of land reforms over decades by the Congress Government have failed to provide any security of tenure to the share-croppers and tenants, have helped in swelling the ranks of agricultural workers with evicted tenants, year after year. This resulted in the sharp growth of unemployment which tends to grow further with the increasing use of machinery in the farming operations.

“The capitalist path of development which the Indian ruling classes are pursuing is leading to the growing pauperisation of the peasantry—throwing millions into the ranks of agricultural workers. According to 1971 census reports, the percentage of agricultural labour to the working population has increased from 16 per cent to 25 per cent between 1961 and 1971. If we take into consideration other rural labourers, this percentage will go up further. Although the results of 1981 census are not published yet but the number of agricultural workers have increased much more. It shows that instead of surplus manpower having been siphoned away from agriculture to other sectors of the economy, the dependence on agriculture is on the increase. This is reflected both in falling level of real wages and declining number of days per year during which work is available to them. More than 63 per cent of agricultural worker households are under debt. According to a survey conducted by the National Labour Institute, there are in all 23 lakh bonded labourers spread over 8 States although the government could identify only 1,01,972 by March 1983 and rehabilitated only 31,842. In fact a large section of agricultural workers are described as ‘farm servants’, but given their dependence on the landlord-money-lenders for work, food and occasional help during marriage and other social occasions, these labourers cannot leave their landlords at will and get away from their clutches.

“The agricultural workers in several parts of the country have to work 12 hours a day. It is only in the State of Kerala that there is a legislation to protect their interests about

wages and working conditions. The state governments are not implementing wage rates and social security measures even in the Government-run farms. The agricultural workers are to face bullets if they ask for increase in wages or trade union rights, medical, educational and housing facilities which are meagre for them. Even drinking water is not available in a number of places. The agricultural workers in many areas live in conditions of slavery. What to say of radical land reforms, the Congress(I) governments have failed to distribute the surplus and waste lands to the agricultural workers. It is only the Left-oriented Governments of West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura who have been implementing some land reforms, and taking steps for ameliorating the conditions of agricultural workers by raising their wages, distributing house-sites, providing employment opportunities, giving debt relief and old age pensions and protecting them from the attacks of the landlords and the harassment of the police.

“In the other states too, the agricultural workers have started resisting the attacks of the landlords and the government. They are carrying on struggles in various parts of the country for wages, house-sites, distribution of surplus and waste lands, against unemployment and for social progress. In this they are fighting back the combined offensive of landlords and other administrative machinery of bourgeois-landlord governments and the sense of unity and consciousness is growing amongst them. They are becoming more and more aware that without abolition of landlordism and distribution of land gratis to the landless and the poor, the problem of poverty, hunger and unemployment cannot be solved. In the process of struggle they are also going to realise that the carrying out of agrarian revolution is linked with the removal of bourgeois-landlord classes from political power. They are bound to feel the necessity of fighting against the danger of divisive forces and casteism which under the cover of fighting against social oppression and equality are trying to wean them away from the toiling peasants and other

democratic forces—their natural allies. They are becoming conscious about the imperialist manoeuvres in this sub-continent and the growing danger to world peace.

“But their awakening is to be channelised into building a powerful organization, and it is with this objective that All India Agricultural Workers’ Organization is taking shape.

“We are fully conscious that the agricultural labourers, today, constitute a sizeable section of our agrarian population and they have come to live mainly, on selling their labour power, though some of them may be having a part of their income either from their small plots of land or other subsidiary occupations. Their immediate day-to-day demands, no doubt, are for wages, distribution of house-sites, employment, debt relief and other amenities. They are vitally interested in the radical land reforms. Thus agricultural workers organization and movement become an integral part of the agrarian movement—the movement which is being carried out since long for the abolition of landlordism and land to the tiller. A victorious agrarian revolution is inconceivable without a solid unity of the entire peasantry including the agricultural workers who happen to be its most militant and fighting section. Therefore, this organization will work in close coordination with the units of the All India Kisan Sabha at all levels.”

The policy statement put forward the demands of agricultural workers both basic and immediate with a view to developing powerful movement and a strong organization capable of playing its proved role in carrying out the agrarian revolution.

The statement concluded by pledging “to develop movements in unity with other mass organizations for the fulfilment of other demands. It appeals to the agricultural workers of the whole country to join the organization in big numbers and to build their organization to fight against economic and political exploitation and social oppression of all kinds and march forward to carry out the agrarian revolution in unity with all other democratic classes and sections.

The Agricultural Workers' Union will also forge links with the working class movement and will make its own contribution to the workers-peasants unity in the country."

Vijayawada Party Congress report noted that, "the question of setting up an all-India organization of agricultural workers had been under discussion for many years. This has been finally decided and All India Agricultural Workers' Union has been formed." It expressed the hope "that this will give an impetus to the agricultural workers movement throughout the country and will strengthen it tremendously."

Subsequently first Conference of AIAWU was held at Midnapore (West Bengal) on November 4, 1982. The Conference endorsed the statement of policy and adopted the Constitution.

Let us examine how far we have implemented the policy statement and the decisions of Vijayawada Party Congress in relation to agricultural workers.

More than four years have passed since the formation of the AIAWU. At the time of the formation of the organization (AIAWU), five States viz., Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab and Tripura were represented in it. Later on during the last four years it has developed only in Bihar and a nucleus has been set up in Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra. Other States have yet to take the initial steps. In West Bengal they are organized in the Kisan Sabha and constitute more than 40% of its membership which stands at 52 lakhs. Some steps are required to coordinate them with AIAWU.

This shows the clear neglect by the state committees in orientating their work towards building the organization of agricultural workers. Already the peasant movement has suffered a lot due to its weakness in neglecting the agricultural workers which constitute the leading force of agrarian revolution. Taking the country as a whole the agricultural workers remained the base of the bourgeois-landlord ruling party. Now when after about four decades of experience they have started moving away from the Congress Party, in the absence of their strong class organization they are being

rallied by casteist organizations to which they fall easy prey due to continued caste oppression. It is only in the states where general agrarian movement is strong and agrarian reforms of some significance have been carried out like West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura that they are organized under our fold.

### **Activities of AIAWU**

During this period, along with BKMU, an all India strike was conducted on July 15, 1983 demanding a Central Legislation for agricultural workers. Considering it was the first all India action, the response was good. On the very same demand, demands day was observed on January 20, 1984 in unity with four other unions by conducting dharnas before the collectorates throughout India. These dharnas were more widespread than the strike action.

Observance of demands week in the first week of June 1983 and joint conventions on land reforms in some states, in unity with Kisan Sabha, and observance of demands day on 3 June, 1983, and conducting dharna before the collectorates on July, 15 1985 independently by our Union, holding a national convention on Central Legislation at Delhi on August 12, 1984 and collecting signatures and presenting it to the Governors of the States for the same, in unity with other unions were some other important campaigns conducted during this period.

Struggles for wage increases etc, have been conducted successfully in the States of Kerala, Andhra Pradesh on a wide scale and in some areas in other States.

There was a scheme for preparing the census of the families in Kerala at the block levels whose income is below Rs. 3,500/- per year for giving IRDP loans etc., in future. The Kerala State Union has been able to intervene quite successfully in preparing the list of deserving persons through the enumerators by sending union workers with them. Similarly there was another scheme of giving houses through voluntary organizations. In this also due to the fight of the Union,

it has been possible to make the government accept the union also as one of the voluntary organizations.

Some advances have been made in taking up the issues of colony resident people and the tribals. By this not only it has been possible to a great extent to foil the attempt of the government to woo the agricultural workers by way of giving concessions etc., but our Union has been able to extend its base among the agricultural workers.

A few joint struggles along with Kisan Sabha have been conducted in all the states on various occasions on the demands such as:

1. Taking over surplus land and distributing it to agricultural workers and poor peasants;
2. Implementation of minimum wages for agricultural workers;
3. Remunerative prices for agricultural produce;
4. Giving assent to the Land Reforms Bill of West Bengal Government.
5. For assent to Kerala Land Reform Amendment Bill passed in 1980.

Some problems cropped up in conducting the united actions with BKMU and other unions. This led to the development of negative attitude of some of our units towards united action. We have to fight this tendency and have to take initiative for joint actions with other unions especially with BKMU. While intensifying our independent activity we have to organize united actions as well. This will immediately strengthen the movement. Our membership position is given on below.

State	At the time of Midnapore Conference			
	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85	
1. Kerala	368329	479978	423375	402933
2. Andhra Pradesh	237062	182000	250000	270391
3. Tamil Nadu	92836	90904	86259	73280

State	At the time Midnapore Conference	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85
4. Punjab	60892	58266	55000	57575
5. Tripura	12901	19977	22443	30940
6. Uttar Pradesh	15000	13500	22700	10000
7. Bihar	—	10000	30000	43440
8. Madhya Pradesh	2000	2000	5000	—
9. Haryana	1400	—	—	400
10. Rajasthan	—	—	4000	—
11. Maharashtra	—	10000	17374	15460
<b>Total</b>	<b>790420</b>	<b>866625</b>	<b>916151</b>	<b>899419</b>

The examination of this chart will show that during the last four years the membership increased marginally in the first year after the setting up of all India organization. But in the subsequent two years there has been a decrease except in the case of Andhra Pradesh. The other weakness of the situation is that nearly 45 per cent membership is from Kerala and more than 28 per cent from Andhra Pradesh. This shows the uneven development of our organization in the country as a whole and that we have not been able to have a breakthrough. This membership does not include West Bengal where the agricultural workers form the solid base of the Kisan Sabha. The state committees have to examine the reasons and overcome the weaknesses in this respect.

### **Functioning of the Committees**

The AIAWU has not been able to strengthen the functioning of the Central office due to various reasons. So far as states are concerned except Kerala and Andhra Pradesh the functioning of the states unions also is weak. Shortage of cadres to work for the state centres is one of the main reasons for this. In Kerala, at the State level there are three full time cadres for the functioning of the state Centre. In Andhra Pradesh there are two full time cadres for this. In all other

states there is one full time comrade each. There is the problem of regular wages for comrades working on the agricultural labour front. Overcoming all these difficulties the functioning of the state centres has to be strengthened. Regular functioning of the district committees is lacking, not to talk of the village or Panchayat units. Serious efforts should be made for the effective functioning of the basic units for successfully conducting the activities of the union and also to extend its base.

In West Bengal the agricultural workers are enrolled in the Kisan Sabha. It is understood that more than 40 per cent of the membership of the Kisan Sabha is from agricultural workers.

### **Agricultural Workers in the Country**

S. No.	Name of the States/UTs	In thousands No. of agricultural workers according to 1981 census
1.	Andhra Pradesh	8,292
2.	Bihar	7,340
3.	Gujarat	2,511
4.	Haryana	588
5.	Himachal Pradesh	42
6.	Karnataka	3,636
7.	Kerala	1,901
8.	Maharashtra	4,851
9.	Madhya Pradesh	6,505
10.	Manipur	46
11.	Meghalaya	58
12.	Nagaland	7
13.	Orissa	2,385
14.	Punjab	1,105
15.	Rajasthan	763
16.	Sikkim	5
17.	Tamil Nadu	5,948
18.	Tripura	145
19.	Uttar Pradesh	5,273

S No.	Name of the States/UTs	In thousands No. of agricultural workers according to
		1981 census
20.	West Bengal	3,849
21.	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	2
22.	Arunachal Pradesh	8
23.	Assam	1
24.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	5
25.	Delhi	16
26.	Goa, Daman & Diu	32
27.	Mizoram	5
28.	Pondichery	53
	Total	<u>55,372</u>

Their number was 27.51 million in 1951. Within 30 years their number has doubled. There is no official machinery except in Kerala, West Bengal and Tripura to implement whatever minimum wages are fixed or revised from time to time.

### Further Sharpening of the Agrarian Crisis

The conditions of agricultural workers have deteriorated in all respects. Their number had swelled from 47.48 million in 1971 to 55.37 million in 1981. The statewide number of agricultural workers as per the 1981 census (except Assam where the census had not been taken place) are given below:

In West Bengal and Tripura not only strict instructions are given to the authorities concerned to strictly implement the minimum wages but alternate workdays are created through SREP and other schemes.

Equal wages for equal work for men and women is a long standing demand. In the agricultural front women's wages in general are very low, when compared with men, and they are discriminated. Even though the Supreme Court has passed judgement against this, nothing has been done till now to ameliorate their conditions and pay equal wages for equal work. Another section is the farm workers attached to the

peasant families. They are the victims of ruthless exploitation. In many parts of the country, wages are paid in kind and also partly in kind and partly in cash.

Except a few state, the real wages are on the decline when compared with 1960-61 price levels. The reports of the first and 2nd Labour Inquiry Committees of 64-65 and 74-75 reveal that the total working days of men and women declined from 217 to 193 and from 149 to 138 respectively. From there also it has declined further. Their indebtedness is on the increase. A socio-economic survey conducted in Uttar Pradesh in 1983 among scheduled castes and tribes found that 44.17 per cent of the sample household are indebted to the tune of Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000 and the majority of the loans were for consumption purposes. The atrocities which include crimes like murder, arson, assaults, burning down huts, rapes etc. were 16729, 15575, 19152, 19102 respectively in the years 1980, 1981, 1982 and 1983. Seventy five per cent of these crimes are from Congress(I) ruled States of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan. As compared to this, in West Bengal and Tripura such figures can be counted on fingers. Unemployment and price rise have become a very serious problem for them. Rehabilitation of bonded labourers also is an utter failure, and actually their numbers also are increasing. Land reforms have been given the go by. There was a surplus of 63 million acres of land according to Mahalonobis in 1969 on the basis of a 20 acre family ceiling. Revised ceiling laws were passed in early 70s and the result is that, up to August, 1985, surplus declared altogether came to only 4,474,852 acres, out of which 3,124,014 acres were taken possession and only 2,261,415 distributed. If we take the earlier figures also, not more than one per cent of the land under utilization has been declared surplus during the last 33 years. Out of the land distributed 7,99,224 acres or 17.7 per cent goes to the credit of West Bengal Government.

The Left Front Government of West Bengal tried to plug the loop-holes by passing a Land Reforms Second Amendment

Bill but it has not been given assent by the Central Government for the last four years. The number of landless persons is increasing in the countryside. Thus the agrarian crisis has sharpened further and discontent is growing day by day. But we have not been able to channelize this into an agrarian stream or build a strong organization on a country-wide scale. They have started moving away from the ruling party and the Congress(I) and its Government is trying to pacify their discontentment by using various dubious methods to keep them under their fold by extending them certain concessions. But it is clear that they cannot be fed on promises for long. Because of the weakness of our movement, the various communal and castiest organizations and the Christian missionaries are trying to divert their discontentment into disruptive channels by trying to organize the agricultural workers on communal and castiest lines.

The Congress(I) and its Government have adopted the new 20-point programme as part of their plans under which schemes like Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), National Rural Generation Programme (RLEGP), Training for youth for Self-Employment Programme (TRYSEM), Drought Prone Area Development Programme (DPAP) and so on, by which concessions are given to a small section and much publicity is given to create illusions among others. Various kinds of housing schemes for the poor also have been announced. In addition to these general poverty alleviation schemes, special schemes for ameliorating the conditions of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and bonded labourers, etc., are taken up. The Congress(I) always poses as the defender and champion of reservations for these sections.

But at the same time we must understand that only Rs. 900 crores have been allotted for IRDP, NREP, RLEGP, etc., for the 1st Year of the VIIth Plan and that is 8 crores less than the last year. There is exploitation, bribery, mismanagement and even plunder in execution of these schemes. But we should not in any way underestimate the illusions

created by these schemes and the division created among the agricultural workers. Only by the active intervention of the agricultural workers' unions especially at the lower levels, the ruling party's tactics can be exposed and defeated and some concessions can be made available to the deserving persons.

### **Meet the Challenge of Communal and Casteist Forces**

As stated earlier communal and casteist forces are very active among the agricultural workers. The Gujarat experience tells us to what extent the damage can be done by rousing the passions on the question of reservations. The gravity of the situation can be seen from this. If we fail to intervene effectively on all the above mentioned issues we will be failing to defend the class unity of agricultural workers.

The most dangerous development is the formation of various communal and casteist organizations, among scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. A new organization under the name of D.S. 4 (Bahujan Samaj Party) has come up in various States of the country. They have got ample foreign funds and are working among scheduled castes on casteist lines. They spread hatred against other political parties and are opposed to the class organizations. In the absence of a strong agricultural workers' organization and due to growing discontent among them, they are gaining a good base among them, thus posing a big danger to the democratic movement.

They are raising mainly the slogan of representation in services, their promotions, social oppression, upper caste supremacy etc., for organizing the scheduled castes. If we have to counter them we will have to take up the real issues of these sections and conduct struggles for their solution. Our organization must propagate that we stand for the reservation for scheduled castes and tribes.

There are various Christian missionaries also who are concentrating their activities especially on scheduled tribes and scheduled castes. They also use foreign funds, construct houses for some of them and extend educational and other

facilities. In parts of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Nagaland, Mizoram, etc., conversions to Christianity also continue. They organize these sections in their own way and divert them from the general democratic movement. Here also we will have to fight back their nefarious activities and win these sections to our side.

In spite of all these constraints, big opportunities are opening up before us as the discontent among the agricultural workers is growing and the agrarian crisis is becoming acute.

In such a situation why we have not been able to make a breakthrough has to be seriously analysed and remedies found.

Our weaknesses pointed out in the Salkia Plenum and Vijayawada Party Congress Political and Organizational Report regarding the Kisan Front are valid even today and are much more applicable to the agricultural workers front. Even though it pointed out the need of a concrete study of the class changes brought about in the countryside, and to assess them properly and work out the tactics, such a study has not been conducted either by the C.C. or state committees till now. If we go on examining the weakness pointed out one by one, we will see that we have not been able to overcome these weaknesses. Regarding the spontaneous struggles, our attention, intervention and leadership is not at all there to any appreciable extent.

When we plan some struggles, we pay little care to rouse the entire mass of workers and make them participate in the struggles. It is conducted as a routine affair. Our own subjective understanding prevents us from seeing and taking up the burning issues of the workers and conduct struggles on the above issues. We refrain from the in-depth studies of the issues of the workers also. Always some generalizations are coming to the forefront. Only by the training and development of cadres change can be brought in this.

We have to undertake the following as our immediate tasks :—

1. The line adopted through various Party documents for this front has not become the part of the consciousness of the entire Party even today. Vigorous educative campaign should be undertaken by the state units in this respect so that it must become the part of the consciousness of the entire Party. It must be realized that no advance towards the agrarian revolution can be thought of without bringing the agricultural workers into our fold.

2. For winning the workers to our side and to strengthen their organization, struggles should be developed on their pressing immediate demands. Due to the lack of understanding there is still hesitancy in organizing the agricultural workers separately and taking up their issues and conducting struggles. This attitude has to undergo a drastic change.

3. For winning the demands of agricultural workers the support of the peasantry is a must. When struggles are launched especially on the question of wage increase etc., contradiction is bound to arise. This contradiction has to be resolved by raising the consciousness of the peasants and unity built.

For this :

a) Agricultural workers must support and participate in the just demands like remunerative prices for the agricultural produce of the peasants and their struggles for the same;

b) Effective campaign among the peasant is required before starting the struggles for wages;

c) Importance must be given to joint struggle. Joint struggles are to be conducted on the joint demands of agricultural workers and peasants. We cannot claim we have succeeded much in this. We must overcome this weakness.

4. For coordinating the activities of the agricultural workers and peasants it was decided to form Coordinating Committees of Kisan Sabha and Agricultural Workers' Union at all levels so that the unity of the agrarian movement is strengthened. This has not been done in many places. Proper importance has to be given to this.

5. The struggle for surplus land has become the struggle of the agricultural workers alone. Poor peasants also are to be mobilized for this and joint struggles of agricultural workers and poor peasants should be developed.

6. As earlier stated we will have to study and intensify our intervention in the implementation of the schemes under the 20-point programme, relief programme etc. While we do so, care should be taken to educate the workers that this is not going to solve their problems and that their solution lies in the completion of agrarian revolution. We have to fight out the communal, casteist and divisive forces which seek to divert the discontentment into divisive channels.

7. Availability of proper cadres is a serious problem in many states. A way has to be found to allot proper cadres at the state, district and taluka levels by the Party for organizing the agricultural workers and conducting their struggles, etc.

8. The AIAWU Centre should be strengthened. At least one cadre from the Hindi speaking areas should be spared for functioning at the all India Centre.

In the end, it has to be again pointed out that there are tremendous possibilities for developing the agricultural workers movement in the country. If we fail to take the initiative, the communal and divisive forces will utilize their discontent and divert them into disruptive channels. We have to seriously undertake this task and overcome all weaknesses in this respect.

### **Youth Front**

In November 1980, a little over a year before the Vijayawada Congress of CPI(M), different state level youth organizations with different names, constitutions and flags came together under one banner, constitution and flag of the Democratic Youth Federation of India. This was a period when the Party Congress noted "that in the present situation when the masses are in ferment, there is immense scope for expanding and broadening the mass organizations".

### Growth of Membership

The growth of the youth organization has reflected this trend by and large. From a membership of 15,49,270 in 1980 it grew to 20,38,701 in 1981; 24,34,594 in 1982 and 29,86,672 in 1983 and maintained a steady increase of 20 per cent to 25 per cent each year. In 1984, however, the membership fell to 25,41,735 largely because of Indira Gandhi's assassination and general elections that followed, making it impossible to enroll membership at the end of the year, which is still the common practice in most of the states. In 1985, they have enrolled over 31 lakh members. In this growth, the traditional strongholds of the democratic movement have the major share. In the Hindi belt, though there is a constant increase of membership, it remains mainly marginal except in Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan, to some extent. Objective analysis shown that West Bengal, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Tripura enrolled 93 per cent of the total members. Assam, Bihar, Punjab, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh, which belong to the distant second group of states, enrolled this year a little over 4 per cent of the total. The rest of the states have only 2 per cent share in enrolment. Though the bases and area of operation have been extended during the last four years considerably, the basic weakness of unevenness could not be changed. The following chart will give a picture of year-wise and state-wise growth of membership:

TABLE - 1

State	1982	1983	1984	1985
1. Andhra Pradesh	96,358	84,025	1,12,888	1,28,316
2. Assam	20,294	28,333	44,503	34,278
3. Bihar	34,994	42,691	26,579	29,433
4. Delhi	3,791	5,608	6,690	9,435
5. Haryana	4,497	3,015	5,062	9,225
6. Himachal Pradesh	2,000	10,325	14,286	18,560
7. Kerala	8,57,000	9,81,921	8,02,550	10,04,000

State	1982	1983	1984	1985
8. Karnataka		4,000	6,558	8,000
9. J & K		4,000	100	—
10. Maharashtra	2,435	2,862	5,925	12,985
11. Madhya Pradesh	5,284	6,366	8,175	5,000
12. Meghalaya		110	124	130
13. Orissa	6,572	6,073	2,058	7,742
14. Punjab	22,491	25,389	24,766	24,923
15. Tamil Nadu	59,631	78,266	65,104	76,548
16. Tripura	58,040	62,475	50,000	69,626
17. Uttar Pradesh	11,101	18,501	20,000	18,049
18. West Bengal	12,40,779	16,10,516	13,38,359	16,24,253
19. Gujarat		150		
<b>Total</b>	<b>24,34,594</b>	<b>29,86,672</b>	<b>25,41,735</b>	<b>31,02,523</b>

One of the reasons of weakness of membership is the failure to enroll women members. In spite of repeated attempts, the situation has not improved except in Kerala, where 30 per cent of the membership was women, in 1984. In West Bengal, the women membership will not be more than 10 per cent. In Hindi States, the women membership is almost nil. A large number of members are unemployed. About 51 per cent of members in Kerala last year were unemployed and there were no illiterate members. In West Bengal more than 25 per cent members come from workers, poor peasants and agricultural labourers, through special drives in bustees, special conventions of the working youths etc., but still the majority of the members come from the middle class and peasantry.

### **Tasks before the Organization**

In the primary stage, up to the 2nd Conference of the youth organization, in February 1984, the major task was three-fold :

1. To inculcate a unified understanding among varied state organizations that had developed to different degrees under different conditions and experiences; (2) to develop a broad-

based mass organizational approach; and (3) to establish the independent identity of our organization. To the extent to which a common understanding emerged, the organization was able to establish an All India Centre and starting with membership in 15 States, with a State level organization in 12 of them in 1980, today there is a membership in 20 States and with state level organization in 17 of them, except in Gujarat, Meghalaya and Jammu and Kashmir. The extent to which the organization increased its membership reflected the increase of its mass activities, but already the Second Conference noted that the mass organizational sense has not penetrated in all states uniformly or at all levels, either.

### **Party Schools for Youth Cadres**

To raise the consciousness of the leadership at various levels the attempt was made from the Centre and state committees. Though a Party Central School could not be organized, almost all states organized state-level or district level training camps with varied subjects during last four years. Kerala organized three regional training camps last year to train teachers for lower level schools. Uttar Pradesh organized a state level camp of 60 comrades followed by three regional schools with 110 students. Tamil Nadu had a 5-day school with 132 comrades followed by district classes. Bihar had a four-day training school at Darbhanga, followed by some district classes. In Assam a 3-day school was attended by 36 comrades. Madhya Pradesh had organized four regional training camps attended by 151 comrades for 2 to 3 days. Delhi had a three-day training class recently. Maharashtra had a 3-day camp which 66 attended. Karnataka organized a 5-day class attended by 55 comrades. Punjab and Haryana had several district level classes. Rajasthan organized state and district level classes. Though there was no state level class in West Bengal almost all districts and local committees organized training classes for the comrades. Generally, in those classes, the subjects were political economy, dialectical materialism,

independence struggle, current political situation, role of imperialism and divisive forces, Party programme and tactical line, youth movement, organization of DYFI, etc. Comrades from the DYFI Centre and Party leaders conducted the schools. All these definitely helped to develop some all India consciousness and unity of thought in the organization.

### **Call of the Second Conference**

The Second Conference of the Youth organization noted the success in building up both an all India structure and a unified understanding, and took up the following tasks to consolidate the organization and expand its base, keeping in mind, problems that are bound to come up as a result of uneven development, both of the organization and of the movement: (a) Creation of an all-India consciousness through carrying out regular common countrywide programmes; (b) Encouragement to state programmes to help development of organizational confidence and encouraging flexibility in states with different levels of movement; (c) To encourage activity among unorganized and backward youth through popular programmes; (d) Encourage enrolment of women members and; (e) Consolidation of what has been achieved giving the slogan of "one step forward at every level" of the organization.

### **All India Programmes and Responses of the States**

Some of the all India calls may be mentioned to make the point clear. To organize movement against unemployment, the most burning problem before the Youth-observance of 28th March as anti-unemployment day and the 15th September with the slogan, "Job for All, Education for All"—marked considerable success. The popularity of this slogan is reflected in the growing number of youth and students participating in these struggles every year. In 1984, about 10 lakhs youth and students were mobilized on 15th September all over the country. Kerala mobilized 2.5 lakhs youth with 50 lakh signatures. In West Bengal more than one lakh youth

gathered at three places. Assam found its biggest youth student rally with 20,000 mobilization in spite of unprecedented floods and attack by divisive forces. Himachal also had its biggest youth rally of 5000 at Simla. Madhya Pradesh had the same experience in Bhopal with 15,000 rally; Maharashtra had 20,000 gathering; Haryana 5000 at Hissar, Tripura 10,000, Punjab 1,500. Tamil Nadu 10,000, Delhi 1,000 and Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Andhra had rallies in most of their districts.

With same enthusiasm Andhra Pradesh held one of the biggest youth student rallies with 20,000 in the year 1985. West Bengal organized an unprecedented *Pada Yatra* from Salt Lake to Haldia when 1½ lakh gathered at Calcutta and 5 lakhs were mobilized on the concluding day at Haldia. Even Rajasthan had a 10,000 gathering at Jaipur on 15th September this year. Orissa had a 3000 rally at the State capital while all other states had their district and sub-division rallies in hundred of centres to express the anger of the youth against the policies of the ruling classes.

On the 28th March every year, there was similar experience in all the states. They observed this day at various levels and the day has become anti-unemployment day for the youth.

### **Struggle for Unity Among Youth**

Another call was repeatedly given by the DYFI to campaign for national unity. It tried to link the struggle for national integration with the struggle against imperialism and for bread. Bhagat Singh Day was observed on 23rd March. These programmes were organized independently as well as jointly with other student youth organizations. This has made the organization an important force linking up the question of national integration with an anti-imperialist outlook among the youth. We took initiative to organize national conventions drawing 10 to 35 organizations on the question of Assam and Punjab. All the State Committees organized conventions of this issue. Hundreds of meetings, seminars

and conventions were also organized at the district and local levels. In the course of these activities, divisive, communal and anti-national forces have launched attacks on youth comrades in Assam, Tripura, West Bengal, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Bihar, Andhra and Punjab. More than 250 comrades laid down their lives, in such struggles. We were able to mobilize a large section of the youth against authoritarian and divisive forces. However, a weakness was noted in attempts to mobilize youth independently on the issues of anti-imperialism and peace. While hundreds of youth participated in the call to observe 6th August as Peace Day (Hiroshima Day), we mobilized thousands of youth in Peace-Marches organized jointly by Party and other organizations at the state capitals and various other places in the country.

### **Multifarious Popular Activities**

There has been a growing stress on popular activities in all states. Initially, the hesitation in the organization, at various levels, to organize multifarious activities to draw the backward and non-committed youth prevented the increase of the mass base with rapidity. But due to constant persuasion, these activities are getting growing attention. Sports, cultural programmes, exhibitions, youth festivals, relief work, campaign against illiteracy and decadence etc., were organized at various levels, during last few years. The West Bengal Committee organized massive garbage cleaning involving thousands of its activists. It organized blood donation camps all over the state for drought relief and constructing a library, for which 3950 and 1050 youths donated blood. This is a regular programme. It organized afforestation programmes. e.g., at Memari 4000 trees were planted. They involved hundreds of clubs, social organizations and DYFI units in these programmes in all districts, round the year. It organized eye donation camps where 350 people donated their eyes. It organized cleaning of hospitals and got wide popular support. Organizing sports is one of the most important activities. In all the 16 districts, 472 local

committees have organized sports and tournaments of various games. All its 5987 units in last few years organized one or more sports and games meets such as football, volley ball, cricket, Kho Kho, swimming or any other indoor or outdoor game and childrens' sports. The Burdwan district committee organized a district sports competition where 300 clubs and 8000 players participated as competitors. In Midnapore, it organized block level sports and cultural competition where 150-300 clubs participated in each block. Midnapore even organized exhibition football match with visiting team from Bangladesh. Both in villages and towns these units organized cultural programmes. All the units observed the birth anniversary of leading nationally or internationally known poets, social workers and artists, and then organized dramas, recitations, film shows, exhibitions, etc. More than 1600 night schools were organized by the DYFI units. One for example (Patilcochi) local committee in Coochbehar district organized 65 camps and made 1200 persons literate. In Howrah, 4 local committees organized youth festivals. Without all this day-do-day work those thousands of units could not have increased their membership at the rate they have done.

The State Preparatory Committee for the observation of the International Year of the Youth in West Bengal organized massive cultural and sports programmes where DYFI-SFI played an important role. In the block, sub-divisional and districts level competitions, a total of 2,57,912 competitors and 30,000 judges conducted all these competitions. More than a dozen items. Similar number of competitions were conducted in the sports competitions also. The State Preparatory Committee had also organized sports programmes in 1984-85. They have organized 143 libraries, 310 cultural squads with 2052 participants, 151 adult education centres with 1518 students, social service activities in 298 villages, organized sports in 61 villages with 141 teams. During 1985 Pongal sports were organized in 17 districts, and also 85 sports competitions in which 6000 young

sportsmen took part. They have started a new "Political Picnics" involving a large number of youth. It independently organized youth festivals which were unprecedented in the state; in districts 2659 sportsmen-women artists participated and in State festival 258 sportsmen-women and 151 artists took part along with a 30,000 mass rally on the concluding day.

In Bihar, the DYFI units organized 42 Rahul Study Centres, 41 night schools, 50 games, and 22 cultural teams as also a number of youth festivals.

In Assam, during "Bihu", cultural programmes were organized all over the State. Besides they organized 8 plays and 2 film festivals at Gauhati; 7 games and 5 cultural troops, 9 seminars and 30 exhibitions; in 1983. They independently organized a youth festival in 1985, which was reported in all the Press as the most organized and one of the biggest cultural event in the state, where 20,000 youth attended the concluding session.

Tamil Nadu also organized cultural programmes during Pongal festival; the units arranged such programmes at more than 100 centres in 1985, covering all districts. Thousands of youth participated in drama, songs, competitions, seminars, debates, essay competitions and rallies specially in Madras (14 centres), South Arcot (40 centres), Chengalpet (10 centres), Salem (5 centres), Trichi (7 centres), Madurai (4 centres), Kanyakumari (10 centres). Coimbatore district organized a State kabadi competition also. In Madras Mela at Madras on 3rd November was also organized.

Kerala, in the month of September arranged and took a massive programme on cultural activities. In which all of their 12,000 primary units organized. They arranged for song, drama, dance and other attractive programmes.

In Chandigarh, the DYFI organized K. Singh Memorial Tournament in 1985, where 60 kabadi teams, 10 volleyball teams and 90 athletes took part and more than 10 thousand people viewed these events. Another such competition was also organized in Patiala district.

In Tripura, block level and sub-division level sports competitions were organized. Thousands of youth took part.

### **Relief Work**

As a popular relief programme, Kerala DYFI collected money and medicine worth Rs. 3.2 lakh for the Bangladesh relief fund, whereas West Bengal State committee contributed Rs. 2.5 lakhs and huge quantity of medicine also. Inside the country wherever there was floods, cyclone, drought or accidents like Bhopal gas tragedy or anti-Sikh riots in Delhi, the organization came forward and played an important role in relief work.

Now all the state committees are motivated to such activities and are getting a wider and popular mass base through such programmes. But still these activities must be developed much more independently and widely to achieve and organize the mass of unorganized and backward youth.

### **Movement on Local Issues**

Besides these, to organize struggle on the local issues is very important for the day-to-day activity; thousands of units are taking interest on such issues like municipal problems, roads, water scarcity, flood and drought, scarcity of medicine in hospitals, police harassment, atrocities on weaker sections, dowry question, problems faced by local clubs etc., such work has to be increased much more to build up wider living contacts with the youth.

### **Among Urban Youths**

The major activity of the units in urban areas and among the urban middle class youth are : social work drives, cultural and sports activities. At the same time, the question of ~~ideological~~ ideological struggle is one of the important tasks, which is much needed among educated middle and lower middle class youth. As they are misled by bourgeois press, we have to contact them everyday through debates, discussion, talks. Here the wide circulation of progressive literature is

required. Though some state committees took some programmes here and there but there has been no consistent effort in this regard. Kerala State Committee decided to sell progressive books and magazines (May 1984) and sold books worth more than Rs. 1 lakh. In West Bengal, during Durga Puja every year, DYFI comrades take initiative to open book stalls at the Puja pandals where 100 to 150 book stalls are organized all over the State. Many other States take some token programme in this regard. But we have to do much more.

### **Youth Journals : State and Centre**

Along with such occasional literature sales, many of the state committees run their own magazines. Kerala publishes a monthly 'Yuvadhara' with 15,000 circulation; West Bengal has a good monthly Journal "Yuva Sakti" with a circulation of 25,000 to 30,000. Bihar has a Hindi journal "Yuva Sanket" which sells 2500 to 3000 copies quarterly. Tripura publishes 'Yuva Sangram' 3000 to 5000. Tamil Nadu started a quarterly 'DYFI Ilaignal Muzhakkam' with a strength of 3000, regularly, Madhya Pradesh State Committee started 'Naujawan' with 2500 circulation, but irregularly and Punjab also had a 'Naujawan Leher', which is irregularly published. All the State Committees from time to time publish pamphlets and booklets in their local languages. Recently Haryana has published 10,000 copies of a booklet on the Punjab issue, widely sold among the youth in the State.

In the face of constant demand from the state committees it was decided to publish a journal "Youth Stream" from the Centre. Though there is demand for a Hindi one, but at present it is published in English only with much difficulty. It was decided to print it as a quarterly and two issues of it have been published so far, 5000 copies each. The state committees are selling about 3500 copies and some are directly sold from the centre. The distribution chart of the last two issues is as follows :

States	1st Issue (May 85)	2nd Issue (Dec. 85)
1 Andhra Pradesh	500	400
2 Assam	300	400
3 Bihar	200	50
4 Delhi	—	10
5 Haryana	50	50
6 Himachal Pradesh	300	250
7. J & K	100	50
8 Kerala	350	300
9 Karnataka	150	250
10. Madhya Pradesh	200	100
11. Maharashtra	200	200
12. Orissa	50	100
13. Punjab	150	150
14. Rajasthan	100	50
15. Tamil Nadu	150	200
16. Tripura	150	200
17. Uttar Pradesh	100	100
18 West Bengal	500	500
19. Gujarat	50	50
20. Goa	50	50
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,650</b>	<b>3,460</b>

### Central Functioning

Organizationally, the strength of all India Centre of the Youth Organization has been increased to five from two functionaries. A full time office set up in New Delhi has been appointed. In this period, the functioning has become more regular and varied, and this could not have been achieved without the better functioning than before. The work of the Centre also has improved. The Centre has been able to extend its functioning from the states to the districts. The members have also been given duties in looking after states other than their own. So the Centre can give better guidance to the states.

### **United Movements with other Organizations**

The increased strength of the centre now allows a far greater possibility of intervention in building up joint movements with other organizations on issues like National Integration, Unemployment etc , also maintaining and developing relations with like-minded youth organizations internationally. With our effort, there has been development of joint movement at national and State level. We succeeded to bring other student-youth organizations with us on various issues, sometimes in struggle, sometimes in campaign and sometimes to issue statements. Some 10 to 15 organizations have come together on several occasions. In this attempt, the Left youth student organizations should have played a more important role. But the role of AIYF-AISF in this regard has not been always helpful, though other Left youth organizations are co-operative.

### **Relations with Youth Organizations of other Countries**

The organization was actively involved in the preparation for the 12th World Youth and Students' Festival held at Moscow and chaired a Session of the third International Preparatory Committee Meeting. It also played an important role for the first time, in organizing a national preparatory committee consisting of all youth organizations for an All India Youth Festival and sent a delegation to the Regional Festival organized in the People's Republic of China for the International Youth Year.

Delegations were exchanged with USSR and People's Republic of China during this period and delegations from both sides attended the Second Conference of the International Youth Festival. The AIYF-SFI delegation attended the Regional Festival and the USSR delegation each attended the International Youth Year. The AIYF-SFI and UJSARIO-THE SA. also exchanged delegations and worked with the Indian Youth Association of Great Britain and many like-minded organizations in other countries and Protocol signed with Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan. All these

could not have been achieved without expansion of the organization at the Centre.

### **Party and Youth Front**

But as the section of the population youth represents provides most fertile ground for the growing divisive activities, we have to pay serious attention to organize them. The organization's mass base must be rapidly increased among them and greater number should be brought inside the Party from them. The Party has to take special measures at various levels. But many state committees have either not made serious efforts in this direction or have not given proper attention to this front.

At the Central level, there are five wholetimers though all cannot still give their full time for the Central functioning. Along with them there is a full time office Secretary. The office functioning and the Central level activities, thus have improved in the last two years. But, still there is scope of further improvement. There is a central level youth-student fraction committee of seven members, five of them are in the youth front and two in the student front. This committee works under the guidance of P.B. and it has helped to improve the functioning of mass organization.

At the state level, there are youth-student fraction committees or sub-committees, separately or jointly in some States. The Eleventh Party Congress directed the state committees to form such committees. So far 13 States have formed joint youth-student sub-committees such as : West Bengal, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Tripura, Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. Haryana has separate youth sub-committee. In Punjab, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Jammu and Kashmir and Meghalaya, no such committees have yet been formed. Generally one State Party Secretariat member looks after each state level sub-committee and these committees meet from time to time when needed.

At the state centres also many states have Party wholetimers. Generally the Secretariat members of the states are Party

members and overwhelming majority of the state committee members also are Party members. As per available information, the state centres have wholetimers as follows : Bihar-4, Tamil Nadu-2, Assam-1, Madhya Pradesh-1, Orissa-1 (without Pay), Delhi-1, Uttar Pradesh-1, Himachal-1, Tripura-3, Rajasthan-1, Punjab-1, Karnataka-1, Andhra Pradesh-2. But in the secretariat of the states, a large number of wholetimers are working. Such as in Madhya Pradesh state secretariat 6 wholetimers are there, but only one is exclusively for Youth Front; In Assam-2, Himachal-4, Tamil Nadu-10, and in West Bengal out of 16 Secretariat members, 9 are wholetimers.

Among the state committee members, some more wholetimers may be there but no information is available. In the stronger states, all the state committee members are Party members but in other States there are some non-Party State Committee members. The actual numbers are not available.

After the Eleventh Party Congress, the youth front has grown considerably and a large number of youth have been enrolled as its members. At the same time, a good section of youth activists has joined the Party during this period. In West Bengal all the 65 state committee members and 820 district committee members are Party members, among the 10,430 Anchal(Local) Committee members, large number are Party members, among the 78,947 Primary Committee members, a section is in the Party but the large section of them may be recruited in the Party if it is planned properly. In Kerala also 32,305 Party members are from the Youth Front. All the state committee and district committee members are in the Party and a large section of the Taluk and primary committee members also are Party members. The total number of primary committee is 12,000 and the primary committee members will be more that one lakh. There is also good possibility of recruitment of a large number of them into the Party. In Delhi-96 Party members, 26 candidate members and 25 activists are working on the youth front. Similarly in Uttar Pradesh-208 Party members, 4 CMs and 43 AGMs are from the youth front. In Andhra Pradesh 23 Party members

are in the state committee of the Youth Organization. This shows the immense scope for new recruitment in the Party from the youth front, if all the state committees take special measure to train this huge resource for the democratic movement and plan to bring them inside the Party.

### **Weaknesses During the Past Years**

However, the expansion of the organization, its growing popularity among youth, strengthening of the Centre brings with it other problems of growth, of different levels of consciousness, of complexities of functioning which must be and are being dealt with organizationally. This is even more important today as the organization must deal effectively with the illusions being spread among the youth and the opportunism among youth being fostered by Rajiv Government and the Youth Congress(I), the coalition of divisive forces in Assam, Kerala, Punjab and Tripura, the increasing burden of unemployment that will arise from growing computerization and mechanization, which opens up new avenues of joint resistance with other organizations as well.

In this context we have to find out the weaknesses and take timely and effective measures so that we can face the challenge of the situation :

One of the weaknesses felt widely in the weaker states particularly, and at the lower level of the organization generally, is the lack of proper understanding of the role of the mass organization and its relation with the Party. The correct understanding of the C.C. document on mass organization should be taken to the Party at all levels, to remove the misconception regarding youth organization and youth movement. The elementary understanding, such as the youth organization is not only for unemployed youth or not only for men, but for all the youth is still lacking. That is for backward youth, not only for the advanced or active youth, is yet to be realized. That it is not a rival organization to the Party or to other mass organizations, but a mass organization led by the Party is yet to be understood.

The concept of massive mass membership is not accepted in practice in some areas. They are happy with a few thousands of members while there is possibility of enrolment of lakhs. To recruit women in youth organization, is to double its membership. But this is still not realized. Even in stronger States like West Bengal, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, etc., no special attention is paid to enrolment of women. Though Gujarat State report shows large DYFI membership, but no membership fee was deposited with the Centre and failed to enrol any membership during last two years.

Secondly, there is lack of understanding about the importance of multifarious, popular activities, cultural and sports activities, social service activities, and local movement on hundreds of local issues, to mobilize wider section, specially the backward section of the youth. And the partisan outlook in these activities also sometimes restricts the flow of youth to our fold.

Thirdly, the functioning of the Party in the mass organization and the functioning of the mass organization itself are defective. No proper fraction and sub-committee functioning is there. Many states have not yet formed these committees, where there are such committees, they do not meet regularly. Lack of proper planning for the organizational expansion and consolidation is also absent. Even, proper democratic functioning of the mass organization has not developed at various levels.

Finally, the primary units are the life cell of the organization but many comrades fail to understand this. Without properly nourishing these actual implementing units, no effective movement can develop. Many units are born each year and die the next year. This jeopardizes the growth and continuity of the organization and movement.

### **STUDENT FRONT**

At the time of the Eleventh Congress, the SFI membership stood at 7,14,074. The SFI was then organized in 20 states

and Union territories. During this intervening period the SFI's influence spread to three new areas of Goa, Andaman and Sikkim. The SFI is now organized all over the country except Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Nagaland and Meghalaya. Of the 23 States and Unions territories, in 20 of them there are state level organizations and committees functioning (except for Andaman, Sikkim and J&K).

The Fifth Conference was held in January 1984 at Dum Dum. The SFI membership for the year 1983 reported at this Conference increased to 11,05,662. In 1984, however, the membership declined slightly to 10,54,572 (excluding Gujarat, Manipur, J&K, Sikkim and Andaman who had not sent in their reports). The reasons for this fall, apart from the pre-occupations with political developments that gripped the country after Indira Gandhi's assassination, can be traced mainly to the fall of 53,000 in Maharashtra, 38,000 in West Bengal, 7,000 in Uttar Pradesh, 6,000 in Andhra Pradesh and 6,000 in Tripura. This is more than the total fall in membership in the country as a whole. The general practice has been to enrol membership during the last quarter of the year. Particularly, in West Bengal, the enrolment is after the Pooja vacations. For the past few years, efforts are being made to correct this wrong practice and ensure continuous enrolment. In Maharashtra, however, the fall can be traced to organizational factors also. The massive increase in membership last year which crossed one lakh was not accompanied by the necessary measures for consolidation. This adversely effected the process of members enrolment and renewals, resulting in the fall. In Tripura, apart from the general reasons, the activities of tribal extremists and the consequent tension adversely affected enrolment. All other states have maintained their membership with marginal reduction or increase except for Kerala where the membership increased by close to 50,000. The target for 1985 membership is 12,14,500 (excluding Gujarat, Manipur, Jammu & Kashmir, Sikkim and Andaman). Though the final figures are not yet available,

as the SFI membership closes on 31st December each year, reports indicate that this target will be reached.

### **Political Situation—SFI's Role**

The Fifth Conference of the SFI, taking stock of the situation facing the student community, concluded "under these circumstances the most important task before us as students is to unite the broadest sections in the struggles to improve our lot and in the defence of our rights. As citizens of India, our task is to unite with all patriotic and freedom loving people in the defence of our country's integrity and in the struggles to safeguard democracy. As citizens of the world and as a part of the international youth that aspires for a better future our task is to unite with all peace-loving forces and foil imperialism's evil designs to plunge this world into atomic holocaust".

In pursuance of this understanding, the SFI has been trying to unite the maximum sections of the students in their day-to-day demands and educational issues, on the question of national unity and in defence of world peace. In the process, the SFI during this period has not only consolidated its position as the largest organization of democratic minded students in the country but also as the chief initiator of united struggles.

Experience during this period reveals that some weaknesses regarding united movement, which were noted earlier, continued to persist. On the one hand, there was a tendency to shun united action on the grounds that other organizations are reaping benefit at our expense and on the other there is a tendency to tail behind other organizations at the expense of our independent activity.

During these four years, to a large extent we have been able to correct the second distortion. This is reflected in the number of independent campaigns undertaken by the SFI and the wide range of issues these covered. Apart from the 15th September observations each year on the slogans of "Job for all, Education for all", the campaigns included the

defence of democracy (NTR dismissal issue) defence of students rights (against the recommendations of various committees set up by the UGC, Visva Bharati Amendment Bill etc.), in the defence of national integrity (All India call of 'Save Assam Save India' was successfully observed on 5th April 1983), on issues of war and peace (an all India week-long observations), in all India signature campaign demanding the release of Nelson Mandela, donation of medicines to Nicaraguan fighters valued over 20,000/- and other anti-imperialist actions, relief work for Bhopal gas victims and conducting an extensive survey and other day-to-day activities. One concrete experience of strengthening our independent activity has been that this has helped us in bringing other organizations together and thus widened and developed the scope for united actions.

The first distortion, however, continues to persist. This is so primarily because of two factors : (1) groupings and regroupings of the bourgeois opposition parties and their general disarray, particularly since after Mrs. Gandhi's assassination has had its obvious impact on the youth and student organizations. (2) The nature of experience we have had with our allies shows that in many states these organizations have joined the camp of reactionary forces in opposing us in student union elections or placed their partisan organizational interests above that of the advance of joint struggles. The Fourth and Fifth Conferences of the SFI, while noting this concrete reality, underlined the fact that "in the present context we should realize that the ruling classes are interested in further fragmenting the student movement while we are interested in overcoming this. We should, therefore, guard against such tendencies which lead us with legitimate pride in our organization, to do things independently or adopt a condescending attitude towards others....continuous and patient effort should be made to draw other organizations into united actions. Even though their association is nominal, the greater the number of organizations the greater the appeal to the student masses."

On the basis of this understanding the SFI during this period has been able to forge united struggles at the lower levels. One weakness, however, has been that at the all-India level no such agitational and mobilization activity was possible. However, a joint convention on National Integration, by 13 student youth organizations was organized in August, 1983. This was the first time that these many organizations came together on a single platform. But effective follow-up action was not possible for the reasons mentioned above.

A major part of the united activity during this period was taken up in the preparations and participation in the World Youth Festival. The experiences of this were not very satisfactory. Though it is correct that on the issues of war and peace we can cooperate with the ruling Congress(I) youth and student organizations but this posed obvious problems for us. The attitude of the CPI student and youth organizations was very unsatisfactory. At all points of dispute, they would line up with the Congress(I) youth and student organizations against us. They did not display any genuine interest to strengthen united struggles with us during the course of this Festival and also on many other occasions where united activity was possible, during this period.

While participating in the National Preparatory Committee for the Festival, we tried our best to carry our point of view on the questions of war and peace and anti-imperialist solidarity to the Indian students. Independent activities of the SFI on this issue have been successful in some states. In various states, particularly in West Bengal, Tripura, Assam, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh etc., Youth Festivals were organized under our leadership.

On the whole, our participation in the Festival was successful, we managed to put across our independent view-point and establish bilateral contacts with many organizations.

Apart from the Youth Festival, on many issues facing the

student community, though the possibility of united actions were immense, these could not fructify thanks mainly to the attitude of others. While the AISF/AIYF displayed lack of sincerity in this direction, all our other allies were preoccupied with maintaining themselves in the face of the political disarray of their parties, though at the lower levels and in some states at the state level united movements were launched during this period. Notable mention must be made of the joint struggle against the central interference in the affairs of Calcutta University and for the removal of the Governor. The subsequent padayatra for industrial development and against discrimination of West Bengal by the Centre was a very significant mobilization. Special mention must also be made of the recent month-long agitation in Kerala which succeeded in reversing the state government's decision of opening private Ayurvedic colleges.

The fact remains that notwithstanding the growth of our independent activity and the growth of united actions, the student community continues to be fragmented and extremely vulnerable to the designs of the ruling classes and divisive forces. Our future activities must be directed at overcoming this fragmentation by utilising the possibilities that exist for strengthening united actions.

The fragmentation of the organized student movement is evident from the existence of the large number of organizations.

The NSUI(I), the student wing of the ruling Congress(I) has considerable influence which is based on the popularity of the ruling party and not on its independent activity. It functions directly as an appendage of the ruling party and does not have any systematic membership. However, of late, some efforts at improving the organization are visible. Goonda and anti-social elements operate in educational institutions under its cover.

The ABVP/JVM, the student wing of the RSS/BJP, remains the strongest organized force in north India. However, since the last Lok Sabha elections, there is a visible

shift in its following towards the NSUI(I). This is reflected in the reverses it has suffered in the elections to the students unions.

The other student organizations, viz, AISF, Yuva Lok Dal, Yuva Janata, NSUI(S), NSUI(J), AISB (Forward Bloc), RSU(RSP) have been cooperating with us at various levels, notwithstanding the limitations of united actions pointed out above. Of these the Yuva Lok Dal and Yuva Janata have some influence, particularly in the north. This influence is based more upon individual leaders than on organized efforts. The NSUI(S) and NSUI(J) have limited influence, while the AISB and PSU are confined mainly to Bengal. Of these, the only organization with some organized influence is AISF. They too, however, do not have any systematic membership and hence their claim can never be verified. While, their influence is on the decline, their main strength is in Bihar and Andhra Pradesh.

The extreme vulnerability of the student community to the designs of the divisive forces is evident from their participation in the secessionist and anti-national movements in Assam and Punjab. The AASU and the AISSF have been the main armies of these movements. The anti-reservation agitation in Gujarat too, had as its mainstay the students. The feature of this period has been that while on the one hand the democratic movement has been strengthened, on the other hand, the participation of students in such reactionary activities has also been on the increase.

While Hindu communalism finds expression amongst the students through ABVP/JVM, Muslim fundamentalist groups are also active. The student/youth wing of the Jamat-e-Islami, Jamate-e-Tulba is the main force behind the students for Islamic Movement in India (SIMI). Efforts are being made to organize SIMI on an all India basis.

Apart from communal groupings, the student community is being divided on the basis of caste. Separate caste associations particularly those of the backward and scheduled castes exist in various universities, particularly in Bihar,

Andhra Pradesh etc., patronised by ruling party, these associations have often succeeded in breaking the democratic unity of the student community.

Apart from the growth of divisive forces, that have swayed a large section of the student community in various parts of the country, another disturbing aspect has been the growth of anarchism. The SFI has had to face these anti-democratic tendencies and carry out a relentless campaign against anarchism. Special mention must be made of the successful efforts of the Andhra Pradesh SFI in combatting such anarchist tendencies.

During this period, the SFI has had to pass through several stresses and strains and had to face various attacks. There have been increased attacks on the student community as a part of the overall attacks on the Indian people as a result of the authoritarian drive of the ruling Congress(I). These attacks have come in various forms. Firstly, by way of ordinances promulgated which attack the democratic rights of the students. Secondly, through police repression on student struggles. Thirdly, through victimization, blacklisting etc., of student activists. During the intervening period since the Eleventh Congress, 30 SFI comrades have been martyred.

The SFI units in various states have been actively associated in the campaigns against the divisive forces and for upholding national unity and integrity. The Assam unit of the SFI has played a heroic role in fighting the chauvinist and secessionist agitation. In Punjab the SFI unit had to face the attacks of the Sikh extremists. In Gujarat, though the SFI's influence is limited and confined to certain pockets, the unit could uphold the correct position on safeguarding the reservations for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

Apart from the day-to-day activities and struggles on educational and general issues, the SFI during this period has been able to organize multifarious activities that interest the student community. Seminars, discussions, essay competitions and elocutions on topical issues were held in many states. The occasions of Marx Centenary and the 40th anniversary

of victory over fascism were utilized by almost all state committees for such activities. Some state committees like Andhra Pradesh, Assam, have begun popularising our slogan of 'study and struggle' by publicly acknowledging such comrades and giving prizes on occasions to those who attained distinctions in academics and sports, to even those who are not our members. Such activities, reflecting the general aspirations of the student community have increased our appeal. There is a necessity to recognize these aspects as a part of SFI activity and pay proper attention, which in many cases is lacking.

In the face of these developments, the SFI will have to forge the broadest possible unity for which immense possibilities exist. Though our membership has crossed 12 lakhs, this constitutes only a small fraction of the student population. Political campaigns along with organizational consolidation are the important tasks ahead. The recently announced education policy provides an opportunity to unite the broadest sections of students. Though the SFI has already initiated independent actions on this in various states, the possibilities of joint action must be utilized.

### **Organization—SFI Centre**

At the time of the Eleventh Congress, the SFI centre had four office-bearers functioning as wholetimers, viz., M.A. Baby, Nepal Bhattacharya, Saifuddin Choudhary and Sitaram Yechury. Saifuddin Choudhary was already a member of the DYFI CEC and was subsequently elected as its Vice-President in 1984, continuing to remain a member of the SFI Central Secretariat. M.A. Baby was relieved from the SFI Presidency at the SFI Fifth Conference, January 1984, and was subsequently elected as Joint Secretary, DYFI. As a result, the SFI centre was left with only two central functionaries since January 1984. At a time when the need was to strengthen the centre, it was actually weakened. In January 1984, a decision was taken that both West Bengal and Kerala would send one comrade each to strengthen the centre. This has not

been implemented till date. The SFI centre continues to be manned by the President and Secretary only, with some assistance from Saifuddin Choudhary. As a result, team work and collective functioning suffered and adequate attention for developing the all-India student movement suffered.

Subsequent to the strengthening of the DYFI centre in 1984 and given the need to constitute a Party Committee for the central functionaries of SFI & DYFI, a seven-member fraction committee was formed in 1984, with Hannan Mollah as the convenor. This committee was being guided by the Polit Bureau member incharge of these fronts, Comrade M.B. During the period since the Eleventh Congress, the SFI and DYFI centres were constantly in consultation and being guided by the Party Centre and the Polit Bureau member incharge.

At the time of the Moscow Youth Festival in connection with the work of the delegation, certain organizational and personal problems arose between the members of the fraction committee. These were discussed and reviewed by the fraction committee in the presence of Comrade M.B. The report presented to the Central Committee noted : "The discussions on the functioning of the SFI, DYFI centre revolved mainly around the following issues, (a) lack of collective functioning, (b) elevating the post of general secretary of the mass organizations to that of the Party and undermining the authority of other leaders, (c) individual functioning, (d) lack of proper distribution of work, and (e) lack of proper reporting.

"On the basis of prolonged discussions it was decided by the fraction that (a) concrete division of work and responsibility and accountability should be ensured, (b) all the available fraction members will meet daily, (c) full meeting of the fraction will be held once a month, (d) preferably written or in their absence oral reports by all fraction members would be placed at these meetings." The relevant decisions and corrective steps are being implemented.

Though the formation of the fraction committee and its functioning has provided a Party forum and helped co-ordinated activities between the SFI and DYFI, this had not helped

solve the problem of inadequacy of personnel at the SFI centre. Immediate steps must be taken to strengthen the SFI centre, even to discharge the minimal responsibilities.

### Literature

One of the major tasks of the SFI centre was to regularly publish the monthly journal *Student Struggle*. Since July, 1980 this was being published, though not monthly, at least on an average eight issues a year. While it has been widely appreciated, it has suffered from a perennial problem—clearance of dues by the state committees. In August 1985, the SFI CEC, in the light of a staggering dues of Rs. 40,000 decided to stop the publication and to restart it only when the dues are cleared. August 31st was decided as the final date for clearance. While subjective opinion of all state committees was not in favour of stopping publication, this has not been reflected in the clearance of dues. As of 15th February 1986, the dues amount to Rs. 24,200. Of this a major share of Rs. 14,520 is due from Kerala.

During this period three issues of the Hindi central journal *Chhatra Sangram* were brought out. For similar reasons, this could not be continued.

Apart from the *Student Struggle*, it was also decided that the SFI centre would periodically bring out booklets on topical issues. There has been total weakness on this score. No such booklets were brought out. The main reasons were the understaffing of the SFI centre and the financial constraints.

Eight SFI state committees are publishing their state journals. (West Bengal—*Chhatra Sangram*, Kerala—*Student*, Tripura—*Chhatra Samvad*, Assam—*Chhatra Shakti*, Andhra Pradesh—*SFI Bulletin*, Orissa—*Chhatra Aikya*, Bihar—*Chhatra Abhiyan* and Maharashtra—*Chhatra Sangharsh*). Apart from the Bengal journal, the others are not regular in publication. The average circulation in Bengal is 15,000 apart from some special issues of which a lakh of issues were printed. The average circulation of others: Kerala(2000), Maharashtra(2000), Bihar(2500), and Orissa (1000). The

circulation remains low in comparison to the level of the movement and influence of SFI. The quality and content must also be improved. There has also been a general weakness to organize special sales drive of progressive literature. This has to be overcome.

### **Party Building**

Salkia Plenum's resolution on Organization had noted "it is necessary that the Central and state committees ensure democratic functioning of the mass organizations and effective supervision over the functioning of the fraction committees to enable the Party to fulfil its guiding role in relation to the mass organizations". In the light of this, the Political Organizational Report of the Eleventh Congress discussed in detail, state-wise, the link between the Party and the SFI. On the basis of the strength and weaknesses in this regard, the report suggested remedial measures. A review of these decisions shows, that during the intervening period, there is considerable improvement in this direction in all states. There are, however, specific problems in some states which need the attention of the Polit Bureau and those state committees. While these are the positive developments, weaknesses regarding strengthening committee functioning at all levels and consciously building teams at various levels, persist. Necessary and adequate attention in this direction must be paid by the state committees, particularly in the light of the immense potential available from the student front.

However, a proper study and state-wise review is not possible due to lack of information from the state committees. Only six states had responded to the Polit Bureau circular sent in October 1985 to obtain this information. On the basis of available information through Party conference reports the following state-wise analysis is being given.

#### **A. States where no Sub-Committee/Fraction Exists**

1. *Jammu & Kashmir* : The Eleventh Congress Political Organizational Report had noted that for obvious reasons

the organizational work should begin not under the name of SFI. However, work started in the name of the SFI. The SFI had come under severe attack at the hands of the Muslim fundamentalists. Despite these attacks, which prevented mass membership and activity, a core group exists which can be developed. Proper attention and guidance is required. Figures for PMs/CMs/AGMs are not available.

2. *Gujarat* : There is no fraction or sub-committee at the state-level or at the districts. The State Party Conference had directed all district committees to pay attention to the front. The present membership is around 8000 but this has to be verified. There are no wholetimers and the figures for PMs/CMs/AGMs are not available.

3 & 4. *Andaman & Sikkim* : The SFI has just begun to establish contacts in these places. The prevailing political situation restricts open activity. However, in Sikkim we have been able to conduct some membership drive and activity. No information is available regarding the relationship between the Party and mass organization and on Party building.

## **B. States where Fraction/Sub-Committee Exist**

1. *West Bengal* : A joint student-youth sub-committee exists and functions properly looking after Party assessment and guidance. Similar committees exist in the districts. At the level of local committees more attention is required in this regard. The SFI is organized in all districts of the state and is a force in all seven universities controlling the student unions (except the Jadavpur University Engineering Department). However, with regard to college union elections some weaknesses exist that are being corrected. West Bengal accounts for 1/3 of the all India membership of the SFI. Sixteen of the 24 state secretariat members are wholetimers. Information regarding the total number of wholetimers, PMs/CMs/AGMs is not available.

2. *Kerala* : A student sub-committee functions at the state level. Similar committees functioning at the district level. The SFI is a force in all the districts of the state controlling

all the three universities' student unions. Of the SFI membership of 3,36,914,2362 are members of the Party. The figures for wholetimers are not available.

3. *Andhra Pradesh* : A student-youth sub-committee exists and functions properly at the state level. Full information is not available regarding similar committees at the district level. There are two wholetimers at the state level and 9 at the district level. The SFI is organized in 20 out of the 22 districts. Information regarding PMs/CMs/AGMs is not available.

4. *Tripura* : A joint-student-youth sub-committee functions at the state level guiding the mass organization. Apart from the SFI, Party members work in the Tribal Students Federation which is affiliated to the SFI. The SFI is the major force amongst the small student population in the state and is successfully facing the extremist onslaughts. Information regarding wholetimers, PMs/CMs/AGMs is not available.

5. *Assam* : A joint student-youth sub-committee functions at the state level. Information regarding such committees at the district level is not available. Information regarding wholetimers, PMs/CMs/AGMs is also not available. Proper Party guidance was available during these exacting months when the SFI faced the chauvinist frenzy most heroically.

6. *Maharashtra* : A state level student sub-committee exists. Similar committees exist in some districts but their functioning is not up to the mark. There is a wholetimer at the state level and 6 at the district level. There are 80 PMs, 81 CMs and 142 AGMs. The SFI is organized in 23 out of the 30 districts.

7. *Tamil Nadu* : A state-level Party committee functions and similar committees exist in 6 districts. There are two wholetimers at the state level and 5 at the districts. Information regarding PMs/CMs/AGMs is not available.

8. *Punjab* : A state level student fraction committee exists. Information regarding such committees at the district level, wholetimers, PMs/CMs/AGMs not available. The SFI has been resisting the secessionist onslaught of AISSF during this period.

9. *Delhi* : A joint student youth sub-committee exists and functions at the state level. There is one wholetimer, 19 PMs, 7 CMs and 12 AGMs.

10. *Goa* : The SFI has started functioning recently in the state only after the Eleventh Congress. There is a state level Party committee, but no wholetimers. There are 3 PMs 2 CMs and 5 AGMs.

11. *Madhya Pradesh* : There is a joint student youth sub-committee. There are six wholetimers on the student front and 37 PMs/CMs. The SFI is organized in 20 out of the 45 districts.

12. *Haryana* : There is a state level Party committee. Similar committees exist in two districts. There is one whole timer and information regarding PMs/CMs/AGMs is not available. The SFI is organized in 5 districts with contacts in two more districts.

13. *Himachal Pradesh* : A joint student-youth sub-committee exists at the state level. Similar committees exist in 4 districts but the functioning is not up to the mark. The SFI is organized in 8 out of 12 districts. In two districts there are no colleges. Apart from the Himachal University Students Union the SFI controls the unions in 12 out of 15 colleges in the state. There are 2 wholetimers at the state level and 4 at the districts. There are 70 PMs/CMs.

14. *Bihar* : There is a state level Party committee but the existence of such committees at the districts levels is not known. Information regarding wholetimers, PMs/CMs/AGMs is also not there.

15. *Uttar Pradesh* : There is a joint student youth sub-committee. Similar committees exist in some districts but full information is not there. There is one wholetimer at the state level and one in the district. Of the information available from 10 districts there are 29 PMs.

16. *Orissa* : There is a joint student youth sub-committee. Similar committees exist in 4 districts. There are two wholetimers at the state level and four at the districts. Information regarding PMs/CMs/AGMs is not available.

17. *Karnataka* : A state level sub-committee exists. There are two wholetimers. No information is available regarding Party committees at the district level and PMs/CMs/AGMs

18. *Rajasthan* : A state level Party committee exists but its functioning is not satisfactory. Information regarding PMs/CMs/AGMs is not available. There is no wholetimer.

19. *Manipur* : There is absolutely no information regarding Party committee on the student front, wholetimers, PMs/CMs/AGMs. The SFI membership is being done and at times some information regarding activities is being received.

Due to lack of information a proper analysis and study of the task of Party building could not be done properly. However, three broad conclusions can be drawn :

(a) In all states tremendous possibilities exist for the growth of mass organization. With proper Party guidance, committee functioning and a Party review of activities this is possible.

(b) The Party enrolment is very low compared to the mass organization's influence, proper guidance for setting up AGs must be given. Considering that a majority of students are there in educational institutions only for three years, this must be taken up seriously.

(c) Experience has shown that where the task of Party building has not been taken up properly, even the strength and influence of the mass organization has declined. Party committee functioning and proper attention must be paid to the student front. This particularly so for the states from number 14 onwards.

### **Schooling**

Another aspect that requires more attention is the schooling of Party comrades working on the student front. While this would be true in all situations, it acquires a special significance at this juncture when the ruling classes are launching a concerted ideological offensive to woo the younger generation through slogans of 21st century, modernisation, etc., accompanied by a tirade against Marxism and when the

reactionary communal and fundamentalist forces are actively mobilizing the students. Further, schooling is an important factor in integrating the Party members coming from this front into the working class party. While, at the mass organizational level, there has been a considerable improvement in all states, more attention must be paid by the Party committees in this direction. In June 1984, a central Party school was organized in Delhi for 125 comrades from all the states, conducted by the Polit Bureau members. There is a need for conducting similar classes at the state level.

While the SFI growth has been satisfactory during this period, three things must be noted. (1) Notwithstanding the growth, the SFI is still only a fraction of the student body. (2) Though there has been only a marginal growth in the Hindi speaking areas, there is no real breakthrough, and (3) In order to utilize the immense opportunities now available, the organization must be consolidated and strengthened.

The SFI Central Secretariat in May 1984 had given the call "consolidate to expand, expand to further strengthen the student movement". In this process of consolidation, which has shown a marked improvement in all states, the importance of strengthening the functioning of primary units must be emphasised.

In order to organize the students from scientific and technical streams, it was decided to organize separate conventions from medical, technical and engineering, and agricultural university students. During this period, only the convention of medical students could be held at Gwalior in July-August 1983. The deliberations of this convention helped us considerably in organizing the medical students, but the resolution of the convention was not properly popularized. This has been a weakness.

During this period, the SFI's relations with student youth organizations of Socialist countries and national liberation movements improved significantly. Apart from the opportunities provided by the Youth Festival and its preparatory work, SFI-DYFI delegations visited the Soviet Union on

occasions and the People's Republic of China on two occasions. We have received two delegations from the Komsomol and one from the All-China Youth Federation during this period. The SFI has signed on agreement of protocol with the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan. During the preparations for the Youth Festival, we have had bilateral discussions with 29 organizations and contacts with 19 other organizations. Through these exchanges we have been able to explain our positions and clarify many misunderstandings concerning the CPI(M).

### S.F.I Membership

	1981	1983	1984	1985
Andhra Pradesh	43324	70619	64575	86804
Assam	23626	35305	51898	43626
Bihar	28381	22785	19449	33417
Delhi	1690	2589	1543	1989
Goa	—	1163	991	1333
Gujarat	4230	5117	—	—
Haryana	3882	6225	7792	4427
Himachal Pradesh	5165	8452	8974	10647
Jammu & Kashmir	1525	912	—	—
Karnataka	5117	15644	15191	17990
Kerala	225081	287433	336914	394010
Madhya Pradesh	7335	16692	19142	13033
Maharashtra	31856	103193	50380	59381
Manipur	1610	1307	—	—
Orissa	9823	12441	10089	11106
Punjab	25000	19034	20473	9500
Rajasthan	10000	11495	9200	14924
Tamil Nadu	8158	12641	16017	19222
Tripura	25500	30407	24058	35241
Uttar Pradesh	8976	17569	10754	7566
West Bengal	243200	425607	387132	447280
<b>Total</b>	<b>714074</b>	<b>1105662</b>	<b>1054572</b>	<b>1211500</b>

## **WOMEN'S FRONT**

### **Work Report**

At the time of the Eleventh Party Congress in Vijayawada, it was not even a year since the formation of the women's organization. At that time although the membership of the organization was as much as 12 lakhs mainly because of the organizations in the bigger States such as West Bengal, Kerala etc., the experience of building an all India Women's movement with perspective of drawing in the broadest sections of women, was limited. There were different approaches and differing perspectives based on the work within one's own state. However it can be stated with the experience of the last 4 years a collective understanding, a perspective has emerged which views the oppression of women at three levels—as citizen, as part of the class, as women. It is with this correct understanding that efforts have been made to build up a broad all India women's movement and the results have certainly been positive.

Along with the general political tasks set out by the Vijayawada Congress, the women's front was faced with the specific situation of a deterioration in the status of women and increasing discrimination and attack in all spheres, whether in the form of dwindling employment opportunities and increased retrenchment; increasing dowry deaths and rape incidents; deteriorating health conditions and increased illiteracy in the background of increased poverty and skyrocketing prices.

Politically the last four years have seen increased attempts of parties of the ruling class to directly intervene on issues concerning women and divert the struggle. The Congress(I) has formed its own women's organization, the BJP in the last ten years has also organized its women's wing. On the other hand there is a direct attempt by imperialist funded voluntary agencies to penetrate into the women's movement through propagation of ultra-radical feminist slogans with the specific aim of disrupting the common movement of all oppressed sections and isolating

the women's movement by projecting it as a movement against all men. Our women's organization has to consciously fight all these trends in the women's and joint movement. Although in the course of our struggle, both independent and joint, our principled perspective has helped to isolate these forces, the reality is that the large majority of women are still under the influence of reactionary ideology. In the last election also we noted that large sections of women emotionally moved by the brutal assassination of Indira Gandhi had voted for Congress(I).

Another aspect which is of serious concern to the women's movement is the growth of fundamentalist and religious forces of both majority and minority communities which directly and adversely attack democratic rights of women. Separatist and divisive forces backed by imperialist agencies have been actively at work in several states and our women's organization in all the states has had to actively meet the challenge.

It is in this background that we have had to work out our slogans and decide the issues on which to build up the movement. It can be said that a positive feature is that by and large the issues highlighted at the central level have been taken seriously by the states and implemented according to their capacity. This is also because we have concentrated on highlighting the issues rather than observance of this or that particular day which is not always possible.

It should be noted at the centre that observance of international women's day has become a regular feature even in the weaker states. Its observance is seen as a political task and is used to highlight certain specific issues—for instance in 1982 throughout the country international women's day was observed as a day for peace. In 1983 the day was observed as women's employment day. Similarly June 1st is observed as children day by most of our units.

Our independent campaigns on all India basis have been wide ranging, we give below a brief report of the major campaigns taken up.

**(i) Against Imperialist Nuclear War Threat and for Peace**

As mentioned earlier in 1982, March 8 was observed as peace day and a campaign was held in almost all the states on this issue for which a leaflet on peace was prepared by the centre and sent to the states. We have actively participated in all the joint programmes held in this period including all India peace rally, all India peace convention, observance of September 1 jointly with trade unions, participated in the programmes of 40th anniversary of defeat of fascism, observance of Hiroshima day etc. However although we have taken up the issue, our independent activity on this issue highlighting the experiences of women's role has to be increased. On other issues we have organized international solidarity actions such as, in support of South Africa's liberation struggle against apartheid and condemning the Moloise execution, in support of Pakistan; and Iranian women's struggle for their rights, against repression of women in Iran etc.

**(ii) For National Integration Against Communal and Divisive Forces**

Our committees in the affected states have been actively campaigning for national integrity in the face of tremendous odds. Particular mention must be made of the heroic work of women comrades in Tripura and Assam. We were the first to react against the Akali demand for Sikh personal law and organized a representation to the P.M. in 1983 against it. In Punjab some efforts were made to organize women in the struggle. At the central level as early as August 1983 a call was given to observe a week as national integration week and it was taken seriously by almost all the States. In West Bengal and Delhi relief work was done for the affected during the anti-Sikh riots after Indira's assassination. A call was given by the centre for a relief fund and a sum of Rs. 12000 was collected from various states. Similarly, after the communal riots in Bhiwandi money was sent for relief work from the centre and from a few states. In Tamil Nadu

on the issue of Tamil rights in Sri Lanka our committee then actively struggled against chauvinist slogan raised by DMK and AIDMK. The struggle for national integrity and against divisive forces has become part of our regular campaign.

The struggle against majority communalism has to be stepped up particularly as it is affecting those states in Hindi belt where our movement is weak. As far as the rights of minority women are concerned our women organization in various states has been in the forefront of the struggle particularly after the recent Supreme Court judgement granting maintenance for divorced Muslim women. In fact ours was the first women's organization to take up the question of common civil code for all women. In 1982 itself we highlighted the issue and 8 lakh postcards from all over the country were signed and sent to the P.M. on this demand. Our states have been directed to make this an ongoing campaign and we are getting a good response from Muslim women through the efforts of our committees in Kerala, West Bengal, Delhi, Tamil Nadu etc.

Although our work on this all-important issue of struggle for national integrity is certainly positive, our ideological struggle against the forces of religious obscurantism has to be stepped up.

### **Women's Rights**

1. *Economic* :- On the economic aspects of this issue at central level we have mainly concentrated on the questions related to employment, retrenchment and against government's economic policies like the present budget leading to the price rise. In 1982 centre prepared a document on the question of women's employment. In August 1982 women's employment day was observed throughout the country through demonstrations, padayatras, and public meetings. Our units in many states have independently and jointly with fraternal mass organizations of youth and trade unions actively campaigned against the recent general and railway budget of

Rajiv Gandhi government through picketing and dharnas of railway stations etc. The struggle against rising prices has been an issue which has been regularly taken up by all the states throughout the country.

2. Starting with the joint movement with the women's organizations in Delhi, the anti-dowry agitation and movements have been taken up by all the units throughout the country. In 1982, 1983, and 1984 campaigns were organized on an all India level for amendments to the dowry prohibition Act 1961 through holding of numerous dharnas, processions, padayatras and public meetings and seminars etc. In the campaign for change in the legislation pertaining to women including the anti-rape laws and for family courts, the movement was strengthened by the presence of two of the office-bearers who as M.P.s could put forward the organization's position in the committees set up by Parliament. Lakhs of signatures were collected and sent to the Government demanding change in the laws. April 10, 1984 was observed as protest day against Government's delay in implementing recommended amendments to the laws and was highlighted by a 50,000-strong women's rally in Calcutta, which also has a 12-point charter of demands. With the increasing atrocities on women, the units in many states have organized legal cells which are functioning well as in Delhi, Calcutta, Madras and in Kerala. The experience of the cells is that it helps to reach out to broader sections of women previously outside the scope of the movement. The central organization took the initiative to organize a convention against aminoscentesis in Delhi.

3. The AIDWA is the only women's organization to seriously take up the question of observance of the women's decade as a review of the real position of women in India in all spheres during the decade and thus to some extent we could counter official propaganda which made tall claims of the development of women under Congress rule. A good document with descriptive notes with government statistics was prepared by the centre and presented to the Prime Minister

and used as the basis for leaflets distributed in the states. Padayatras, meetings, seminars, etc., were held in various states. A central call was also given against decadent culture and portrayal of women in the media. The committees have also organized demonstrations against obscene films and posters such as organizing protest actions at the picture-halls showing such films in Calcutta and Delhi, blackening the obscene posters in Tamil Nadu or the many processions and meetings against obscene portrayal of women in the media as in Andhra Pradesh and against obscene cabaret dances as in Kerala.

Apart from taking up these issues, certain state units have been active on many issues directly pertaining to the developments in the state. Our committees have also been active on local issues like lack of civic amenities etc. It should also be noted that both centrally and at the state level, the women's organization had actively participated in solidarity struggles with other sections of the struggling people. Particular mention must be made of the solidarity with the Bhopal gas affected victims. Apart from a central delegation which visited Bhopal, the committees have collected thousands of rupees worth of medicine and sent to Bhopal at the call of the centre. We have also participated in the electoral battles against the forces of authoritarianism and communalism in the various states and in support of Left and democratic candidates.

### **United Struggles**

The major united struggle on all India basis was on the issue of amendments in the Dowry Act under the aegis of Dahej Virodi Chethana Manch consisting of five all India organizations. Big struggles were led by Chethana Manch in Delhi including march to parliament in 1983, padayatra to the parliament in 1984, dharnas, hall meetings etc. We could approach new sections of women through these united actions. The movement was successful in pressurising the government to move certain amendments to the Cr.PC and Dowry Act which although insufficient, is certainly a step forward.

In the course of the above struggles we had to fight

against two trends—one which tried to shield the Government and the other which tried to give a purely feminist viewpoint. In all the documents we emphasised on isolating both the trends.

The other issue on which campaign at the central level was held was the question of women's development in relation to the 6th Plan. Here also we succeeded in highlighting the main issues and successfully fought the disruptionist demand for reservation of jobs for women. Several actions were also held against price rise and for peace.

However the efforts for intensifying united struggles have to be stepped up. Very often because of the weakness in organization we are unable to take the initiative at the central level. At the state level also joint struggles have been organized only in West Bengal, Kerala, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. Much more attention has to be paid to this aspect—and question of united struggles has to be taken very seriously by other states.

### **International Contacts**

On international level our organization has no official contacts with any other women's organization. On the question of women's decade and peace, twice our representatives were invited by the Soviet Women's Federation and three comrades attended the seminar in Moscow, where they put forward our perspective. We also sent one delegate to Nairobi although she was seriously hampered by the fact that there were no established contacts.

It is necessary for us to make contact with other like-minded women organizations in other countries.

### **Political Tasks**

1. Continue the struggle against war and for peace.
2. Step up the struggle against government policies relating to women economically and socially particularly in view of widespread illusion among women about the Rajiv Gandhi Government.

3. Continuous campaign against divisive forces and the communal forces both ideologically and in action while fighting regularly communal influence among women. Specifically also highlight and fight for rights of minority women.

4. Struggle for radical amendments to the various legislation relating to women.

5. Take initiative for united struggles on burning issues facing women, while waging continuous struggles against disruptive forces such as feminists.

### **Mass Organization**

All India Democratic Women's Association (AIDWA) was formed at the All India Conference held in Madras in March with a view to "organize the masses of women in towns and villages of India and for building a powerful broadbased women's movement for the uplift and betterment of the women as a whole, to remove all discrimination between man and woman to fight for democracy, equal rights and emancipation of women in a society free from exploitation"(AIDWA constitution). The aims and objects, programme and constitution was adopted at the conference.

The AIDWA, being of federal character gave immediate affiliation to the state and local organizations of 15 states from which 398 delegates and 24 fraternal delegates participated in the conference. The states were : West Bengal, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Bihar, Delhi, Rajasthan, Tripura, Gujarat, U.P., M.P., Assam and Punjab. These state organizations together at that time had a membership of about 12 lakhs. The biggest contingent, West Bengal, had a membership of over 5 lakhs. All India Committee was formed with 51 members.

Gradually, AIDWA units were formed in the areas of Delhi, Rajasthan, Assam, Punjab, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh. The state committees were formed in Delhi, Assam, Punjab, Rajasthan and Bihar.

The membership available from the states rose in 1984

(annual enrolment) to 15 lakhs among which are: West Bengal 8,22,886; Kerala 2,23,283; Tamil Nadu 70,488; Tripura 4300; Andhra Pradesh 40,000; Maharashtra 20,000; Rajasthan 1,284; Delhi 5090; Uttar Pradesh 2,800 (Kanpur). Membership according to the paid up amount in the central office is given separately.

### **The State and District Committees**

The state committees which are functioning regularly are, West Bengal, Tripura, Assam, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Delhi. In West Bengal there are district committees in all the 16 districts, about 5000 primary committees and 354 block and municipal committees.

In Tripura, there are 10 divisional committees under which there are 58 local committees and many primary committees.

In Tamil Nadu, there are 16 district committees and 737 taluk and town committees working under state committee.

In Kerala there are 14 district committees and 122 area committees, and there are also primary and panchayat committees at the lower level.

In Maharashtra there are seven district committees and 21 area committees.

In Andhra Pradesh, there are 9 district committees and many taluk and village committees.

In Delhi, there are 3 committees functioning at district level under the state committee and area committees also are there down below.

In Uttar Pradesh there is no elected state committee as yet. The ad-hoc committee is defunct. Out of 31 districts there are members only in 5 districts and Kanpur alone has 2800 members as mentioned earlier.

In Madhya Pradesh there are units in 5 districts only. The Gwalior unit in M.P. is functioning well. In Rajasthan, the state committee was formed in the conference recently held. Three district committees and two ad-hoc committees are functioning under the state committee.

### **Composition of Membership of AIDWA**

Regarding the composition of membership of AIDWA, the available reports show:

West Bengal—Middle Class—30 per cent (Approx) peasants and agricultural workers—60 per cent (Approx) and others the rest.

In Tripura, main composition of membership is urban middle class, poor-tribal Jumia and non-tribal peasants and agricultural labourers and tea garden workers.

In Kerala, the major part of membership comes from poor peasants, agricultural workers, from the traditional industries such as beedi, coir, and also from plantation etc. About 10 per cent comes from middle class housewives.

In Andhra, the major section of membership i.e. about 60 per cent comes from middle class and the rest is from the agricultural workers and workers in beedi, rice mills and tobacco industries.

In Tamil Nadu, in Tanjore district 90 per cent of the membership consists of Harijans and agricultural workers. The membership in other districts comprises of middle class and working class housewives.

In Delhi, the composition of membership is approximately 95 per cent from the working class families living in various colonies of Delhi and Faridabad. In Madhya Pradesh majority of members come from lower middle class, poor section of working women.

In Rajasthan, the majority of women members are from the working class. In Karnataka, besides 10 per cent which comes from the middle class, the rest is from agricultural and beedi workers.

The composition in Maharashtra consists of working women and slum dwellers. In some districts it is poor peasants and lower middle class women.

Even though, the organizational data from the other states are not available, as a whole the major section of the membership of AIDWA consists of poorer sections of population in both urban and rural areas.

### **Central Functioning**

The Party has to pay special attention and take necessary organizational steps for proper central functioning of the All India Democratic Women's Association. At present, we have a central office in New Delhi and there are two part-time office comrades (paid by the AIDWA) but there is no senior wholetime comrade residing in Delhi to help in running the Centre.

The available CEC members meet from time to time and the minimum functioning of running the office is managed somehow. The directives regarding campaign programmes given by the CEC, resolution adopted from time to time are carried out by the individual states according to their own strength. The centre has to keep regular contacts with the states for better functioning and guidance. It is not possible to run an all India organization with a mass membership without a team of wholetimes and a responsible leader at the centre. There is a tremendous possibility and scope to develop AIDWA as a real broadbased all India organization. In all the states many new and young women cadres are coming forward locally. We have to train them politically and to assign to them proper jobs in order to develop them as leaders of the organization. The AIDWA has penetrated in the Hindi belt in most of the states for the first time. We are aware that we have many drawbacks in our work. We have to expand our mass organization among all sections of women and at the same time make it stronger.

We suggest that the major states like West Bengal and Kerala should provide trained cadres to help the centre so that it can fulfil the responsibility properly.

It should be noted that the growth of the membership of a mass organization depends much on the strength of our Party in the respective states and the areas.

### **AIDWA Publications and Political Education**

With regard to the publication of literature and political education of the membership of AIDWA, it is to be noted, that the centre has prepared documents on women's

employment, on peace, on women and laws, on atrocities on women, on International Children's Day, on Women's Decade and these were published in spite of many handicaps at the centre. The reports and resolution on current situation and on national and international problems highlighting the special problems of women were sent to the states after every CEC meeting for their political education.

West Bengal has a regular monthly magazine *Eksathe* and a bi-monthly news bulletin and a publication section which has up to now published 14 booklets on women's movement. Tamil Nadu has started publishing monthly magazine *Chinthanai* and published 10 booklets on women's movement.

It is urgently felt by all comrades that in order to co-ordinate the movement and organization in all states, it is essential that the proposed Hindi bulletin from the centre should start as early as possible.

### **Party Organization**

Over the last four years the most important development to be noted is the increasing number of women participating in mass struggles all over the country including the major political issues facing the democratic movement. Thousands of women have actively participated in class struggles on specific issues in rural and urban areas. Undoubtedly the influence of the Party has grown in a number of states among women. In states where the Left Front governments are in power like West Bengal and Tripura the role of the Government, the Left Front and the Party has undoubtedly helped raising the consciousness of the women and their participation in the movement. In these states it is a welcome feature that many women candidates have been put up in the Panchayat and Municipal elections as Party candidates.

But the question that has to be squarely put is that does the growing participation of women in the great democratic and class movements reflect in increased women's membership in the Party? The answer is No. Only some states have given a reply to the questionnaire related to this aspect:

West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Kerala, Tripura and Andhra Pradesh committees. Those who have not sent reports include Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab, Bihar and Gujarat. But it is unfortunate that many of the states do not have any detailed information of the actual women's membership in the Party in comparative terms for the last four years. With the available information it is clear that maximum women's membership at any state level is only 7 per cent of the total (Tripura). It is less than 5 per cent of the total membership in West Bengal and Kerala. All India percentage will certainly be less. Thus it is clear that the Party at all levels has to pay specific and special attention to the recruitment of women into the Party. Sometimes it is found that women are working around our Party for years, but still are not being given Party membership. Sometimes there is resistance to recruiting women members and chauvinistic attitude of our male comrades stands in the way. Party has to seriously note this weakness and take steps to overcome it or otherwise all-round development of Party will be hampered.

As far as the organization at work of women members in the Party is concerned, sometimes because of special family responsibilities or because of specific social conditions it may not be possible for women comrades to attend branch meetings which are usually held in the late evenings. In such cases after discussing it in the relevant committees it may be necessary for the Party to organize separate women's branches.

However, one of the key committees, for the guidance and development of women's movement i.e. the women fraction committee or sub-committee is not taken seriously by the Party. At the centre itself only 6 meetings have been held in the last 4 years. In many states particularly the weaker states where the organization of such a committee is essential i.e. in all the Hindi-speaking states with the exception of Delhi no single state in the Hindi belt, including Punjab has a fraction committee. This is really unfortunate and this weakness

has to be ended. It is a reflection that the womens' movement is not treated with the seriousness it deserves by the Party in the states. The states which have fraction committee or sub-committees at the state and district level are West Bengal, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tripura, Tamil Nadu and Delhi. The Party in Gwalior pays attention to the women's movement. Central committee should give directions to various state committees to form women fraction committees at whichever level possible.

As far as development of women cadres is concerned only 15 women cadres have reached the Party state committee level. West Bengal (3), Tripura (1), Kerala (3), U.P. (1), Maharashtra (2), Andhra (1), Tamil Nadu (2), Rajasthan (1) and Delhi (1). At the district committee level the available figures are as follows : Kerala 15, Tamil Nadu 10, Tripura 8, Delhi 4, Rajasthan 3, Andhra Pradesh 7.

Women cadres have to face specific difficulties and hardships when they work and special care should be taken for their development. In certain cases where women cadres have reached a level of political maturity and commitment they are sometimes kept out of leading committees in the name of limited number of places in committees or some other reason. In such cases they should either be included or at least made invitees to the relevant committees. We have also asked for specific details about the number of women wholetimers and the wages that are being paid.

It is clear that every effort must be made to review at all levels of the Party the number of women wholetimers which at present is very meagre with the exception in Kerala. In very few areas are women paid full wage. In any case the Party has to pay special care to look after women wholetimers not only for their own development but so that more and more women could become fulltime workers for the Party or the mass organization.

The other important aspect is that of political education. The Party has to take special interest in the education of women Party members. One of the major weaknesses of the

women's centre has been the inability to work out a syllabus for women activists. In spite of repeated assurances the Party centre has also failed to hold any central class for our leading women members.

As far as the general approach of the Party is concerned the unfortunate truth is that women's issues are seen to be the concern of mainly of it is women members. This has to be consciously changed and the major demands of the women have to be included as part of the demands of the democratic movement. This will also help the struggle against feudal and backward attitude prevailing among some section within the Party towards women.

The organizational tasks before the Party on the women's front according to us are follows :

1. Special attention to recruitment of women in the Party and their political education through holding of regular study classes.

2. Proper allotment of responsibility for developing women cadres.

3. Special care to develop women wholetimers at all levels.

4. Fraction committees (State or ever other level possible) must be formed in all the states without delay and Party leadership must directly check up and guide their functioning.

5. Women organization to establish its separate offices as soon as possible with separate accounts.

6. In states like Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, Uttar Pradesh and Karnataka etc. where women's organization does not exist or has a negligible membership, Party committees have to pay special attention to the development of women's organization.

7. Women's issues to be included as part of general propaganda and agitation of the Party and not to be considered as the concern only of women members.

8. Apart from central bulletin to be brought out by women organization in Hindi at the centre, efforts must be made to bring out bulletin and publication for women by the bigger states like Kerala.

9. More help should be given by the Party centre to help and guide the women's fraction committee at the centre of AIDWA.

### AIDWA Membership

State	Member- ship 1982	Member- ship 1983	Member ship 1984
1 West Bengal	5,89,952	9,38 298	8,22,886
2 Tamil Nadu	60,000	69,622	70,488
3. Kerala	3,00,000	3,67,011	2,44,233
4. Andhra Pradesh	40,000	20,000	30,000
5. Punjab	10,000	10,000	—
6. Tripura	50 306	52,100	43,609
7. Delhi	2,300	3,008	5,060
8. Rajasthan	2,000	215	984
9. M.P.	—	838	760
10. Assam	15,327	21,000	23,062
11. Gujarat	—	5,000	5,000
12. Bihar	—	7,000	5,200
13. Maharashtra	—	14,000	26,000
Total	10,68,085	15,08,092	12,77,282

### PARLIAMENTARY GROUP

The Eleventh Party Congress held in January, 1982, at Vijayawada, having reviewed the functioning of our Party's parliamentary group since the Salkia Plenum made a sharp criticism about its failure to "make revolutionary use of the legal possibility available to us, including the forum of Parliament and State Legislatures".

It noted that "the weaknesses mentioned in Salkia report have not been removed...The MPs have not done their job as enjoined upon them by Party documents..... 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.... 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 Polit Bureau.... This is leading to disastrous consequences.”

The situation became still more serious after the December (1984) Lok Sabha elections when not only was the numerical strength of our group in the Lok Sabha reduced from 35 to 22 but many who had experience of parliamentary work were defeated in the elections. Our group therefore became far weaker than earlier. Other parties like the Janata which have more resourceful leaders became the spokesmen of the Opposition, though they are smaller in numbers than our Party. The Telugu Desam which is more strongly represented in the Lok Sabha than us also could not assert its position as the biggest Opposition group in the Lok Sabha.

Despite this numerical weakness, however, our group in the two houses has been making serious efforts to improve. Outstanding contributions were made, for instance by Com. Saifuddin Choudhary in the Lok Sabha on the Muslim Personal Law. The performance of some other comrades in the Lok Sabha as well as in the Rajya Sabha on some other questions has been good. The fact, however, remains that the groups in both Houses have the common failing that the members do not take pains to develop themselves as the spokesmen of the Party with a thorough grounding in Party policy and the ability to project the policy on the floor of the House which requires mastery of the technique of work in Parliament. Comrades who have abundant experience of mass work in their respective constituencies or districts can easily acquire both if only they do their home work properly. Failure to do this home work is the root of the failure of our MPs. The result is that, while the spokesmen of other Opposition parties are able to project themselves with their

respective parties' approach to national problems, our comrades content themselves with their own local (at best state) problems.

The responsibility for this rests partly on the MPs themselves and partly on the Party Committees of the areas/localities, districts and states from where they are elected. Although it has been clearly laid down in Party documents that the MPs are at the disposal of the Party centre during the sessions of Parliament, this directive is generally ignored by the district and area/local committees who give directions to the MPs concerning some or other work in their own localities without considering the commitments regarding the work in Parliament which should have priority in planning the entire work of an elected member. The MPs for their part take this attitude of their respective state, district or area/local committees as binding on them and not that of the Polit Bureau and Central Committee.

This, however, is not a pure question of organisational discipline but of politics. The source of this negligence towards the work of the MPs as *MPs* arises out of the failure to realise the key role of our group's organized work in the Parliament in enabling the Party to intervene in all-India politics as well as internationally. While our MPs with a few exceptions are unconcerned about the national and international problems in which the general public—even MPs belonging to other political parties and groups—are keenly interested, they are vigilant and active on questions which affect their own area/locality, district or state. The state committees too fix up such programmes for them on state, district or local issues at the very time when their presence and activity in the house are of key importance for the entire Party.

It should be further noted that as Communist MPs, our comrades should be available for Party work (a) in the House itself and (b) anywhere else where some burning issue of the people comes up and Party's intervention is required. Visiting such places and raising the mass issues on the floor

of Parliament should be considered one of the duties of an M.P. Failure to do this is one manifestation of that federalist tendency about which we have been repeating.

This attitude finds reflection even in the selection of candidates for elections. The capacity of a particular candidate to develop himself or herself as an effective parliamentarian is rarely if ever taken into consideration. The result is that many who may be competent for other jobs but not for parliament get selected as candidates for election. In some other cases, comrades who can "shine" as a parliamentarian (because of his mastery of legal and constitutional procedure) but who have inadequate understanding of Party policy are selected. In either case, it is clear, the comrade so selected would not be able to develop himself or herself as a Communist parliamentarian.

While insisting on making the two qualities of a comrade—ability to master the art of parliamentary agitation and fairly correct understanding of Party policy—in selecting candidates for the future, it should be emphasised that several comrades who are today in either house of Parliament and are unfortunately not effective in their work as Communist parliamentarians can develop themselves as such, if (a) they themselves take pains to master the art of parliamentary agitation and get a correct grasp of Party policy; and (b) the Party group under the direct guidance of the Polit Bureau brings about the collective functioning of the general body and the committee of Party MPs, together with the comrades in the Party unit working as staff members. The effort should therefore be to bring about this collective functioning of the general body and the sub-committees of MPs as well as the Party unit in the parliamentary Party office. This is the direction in which the work of the parliamentary group should be directed.

The sub-committee and general body of MPs should, in organizing the work of our MPs, bear in mind that

(a) the closest contacts are kept with the class and mass organizations which have their central offices in Delhi for

material on which they can use the interpellation, special mention and other provisions of the rules to focus public attention.

(b) the MPs should never give the impression that they are the spokesmen only of their states and not of the Party in the entire country.

(c) It is of the utmost importance to have the floor coordination with other Opposition groups in general and of the groups of Left parties in particular in the two houses. Whatever little has been done in this direction has certainly yielded results but it can be improved upon if only the work is systematised.

## WRITERS FRONT

### Janwadi Lekhak Sangh

Our comrades are working in the Janwadi Lekhak Sangh, an organization of Hindi and Urdu writers formed in February 1982. Its first conference was a big success. It was attended by more than 500 progressive and democratically minded writers from different states. After the national conference, state conferences and district conferences were held and state units were formed in many states.

The second conference was held in October 1984. It lacked the earlier enthusiasm and momentum. This was due to organizational inexperience of our comrade writers who are working in this organization and inability to put sustained and continuous organizational efforts, so necessary to consolidate a new organization. Individualism and lack of common understanding about the role of the organization among our comrades hampers them from playing an effective role in expanding the organization rapidly. However our comrades are making serious efforts to overcome these shortcomings through regular discussions and exchange of views.

The organization held several seminars on literary subjects and issues of national importance which were well attended.

These seminars and activities of the organization are getting more and more response. Some states are more active than others. With overcoming the weaknesses mentioned earlier there is no reason why the organization should not register striking advance. It has decided to start its organ and this will definitely help expansion of the organization if the paper is conducted in the spirit of a broadbased organization.

## LAWYERS FRONT

### All India Lawyers Union

Our comrades are working in the All India Lawyers Union. The first conference was held in March 1983. The second conference was held in November 1985.

The organization now has units in a large number of states—West Bengal, Tripura, Punjab, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Chandigarh, Karnataka and Kashmir. In other states activities have started which should lead to formation of state units in a few months.

West Bengal is the most powerful unit followed by Tripura. The Tripura membership now covers 1/3rd of the practising lawyers of the state.

The expansion of the organization was helped by its well edited organ, *Popular Jurist*, which is widely appreciated in legal circles. It is necessary that our comrades make serious efforts to increase the circulation of the paper. It will definitely help in further consolidating and building the organization.

The November conference passed resolutions on peace and disarmament, national integration, democratic rights and civil liberties, Centre-State relations, lawyers problems, problems of the professions, legal aid and Shah Bano case.

The AILU has yet to become a powerful and decisive organization representing the views of the profession. Lot of work requires to be done to achieve this aim. It demands patient and continuous work keeping the broad character of the organization in view. It also demands much better understanding and collective functioning on the part of our comrades.

**REPORTS FROM STATES****West Bengal**

The Left Front government in West Bengal has completed eight years of existence. The role of the Party in running the government and widening the mass support of the Party constitutes the outstanding achievement of the Left movement in the country. The Left Front government is the advanced outpost of democracy in the country. Facing constant harassment and political attacks by the ruling party at the Centre, the Party has correctly guided the government in discharging the minimum responsibilities promised to the people. The work of the Party and mass organizations have resulted in the deepening and widening of the mass base of the Party.

The premier unit of the Party has functioned in the past four years in the complicated situation of the attacks by authoritarianism and the challenge of the divisive forces. It has discharged the responsibilities as laid down by the political-tactical line of the Eleventh Congress. The Party and the ever-growing mass organizations have conducted innumerable struggles in defence of the people's rights and livelihood and to combat the authoritarian and divisive forces. In this process 246 comrades laid down their lives in the past four years, martyrs to enemy class attacks.

The Party has registered steady growth. Its membership in 1985 stands at 1,36,980 as compared to 82,500 in 1981. Nearly 58,000 new members have joined the Party in the last four years. The mass organizations position is as follows:

	1981	1985 (up to November)
CITU	6,20,107	6,99,425
Kisan Sabha	38,60,992	55,82,625
Mahila Samiti	4,40,723	8,22,886
DYFI	7,37,926	13,39,359
SFI	2,10,372	3,88,192
	58,70,120	88,32,487

In the Assembly elections held in March, 1982 the Left Front was re-elected to office with a two-thirds majority. The Left Front secured 238 out of the 294 seats with CPI(M) getting 174 seats. The Left Front got 52.7 per cent of the votes polled. Following this in the Panchayat elections, the Front got 66.8 per cent of the total seats with the CPI(M) along getting 60.1 per cent of the seats.

These two elections showed the deep roots the Party has struck amongst the masses in the State. The elections to the Lok Sabha in December, 1984 were held in special circumstances after the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi. Despite the sympathy wave for the Congress(I), the Left Front got 26 out of the 42 seats with the CPI(M) getting 18 seats. The Congress(I) vote rose to 48.16 per cent while the Left Front votes fell to 48.43 per cent. But this cannot be an accurate yardstick to assess the strength and influence of the Left Front. The PC reviewed the election results in detail and initiated steps to remove weakness in the organizational front and for improving the performance of the government. The Conference report notes that while 35 per cent are close supporters of the CPI(M) and Left Front, around 30 per cent are supporters of Congress(I). The rest are uncommitted and of which about 10 per cent vote. The Party must reach out to this section and raise their consciousness.

The existence of the Left Front government and the expanding influence of the Party and mass organizations has brought about significant changes in the balance of political forces in the rural areas. A survey has shown that 85 per cent of the 55 thousand elected members of the Panchayats do not either have any land at all or possess less than 5 acres of land. The Kisan Sabha has become a mighty organization embracing 5.6 millions. On the agrarian sector, the State Conference political-organizational report has noted that the movement for wage rise by the agricultural labour has increased and become more organized. At the same time the report notes that: "Although the middle peasants are small in number, they are an effective weapon in building

up public opinion. We have to take more initiative in building up firm alliance with them. However, the interest of the fundamental base of poor peasants and agricultural labourers can never be sacrificed.”

The struggle to implement alternative policies in West Bengal by the Left Front government on the basis of the minimum programme has a number of achievements to its credit. The number of share-croppers (bargadars) registered has reached 13.17 lakhs. One lakh and eighty two thousands lakhs have been provided with homestead plots. Twenty six per cent of the state budget has been allotted to education and the number of girl students in the primary schools enrolled is the highest in West Bengal. The cottage and small-scale industries sector has registered good progress, particularly the handloom sector.

All these achievements have taken place in an atmosphere where the democratic rights of citizens are ensured and the government has declared it will not use the preventive detention laws.

In the sphere of industry, the Central government has resorted to blatant discrimination against the state. Controlling the licensing and financial power, the Centre has refused to grant the Haldia petro-chemical complex in the public sector. The policy of freight-equalisation has damaged the industrial development of the state. Further, the Centre by withholding the Eighth Finance Commission's recommendations for 1984-1985 deprived the state government of Rs.325 crores of its legitimate share of resources. In a situation of mounting unemployment and the non-cooperative attitude of the Centre, the Left Front government decided to go in for joint sector projects with industrialists who are willing to invest in them. Given the nature of state power in the country, the fostering of capitalist path of development by the Centre, the Left Front government's efforts to develop new industries is an essential step to provide minimum relief to the people while continuing the battle against the pro-big bourgeois landlord policies of the Central government.

The Party and the Left Front government has also a fine record in maintaining communal harmony and in taking steps to defend national unity. The Assam chauvinist agitation and its attack on minorities had its impact in the state, but no opportunity was given to disruptive forces to disrupt the unity of the different linguistic groups in West Bengal. Efforts at Hindu-Muslim discord have been scotched with popular mobilization. After Mrs. Gandhi's assassination, the efforts to foment violence against Sikhs were firmly rebuffed by the government and the Party which mobilized its cadres.

The Political-Organizational report of the state conference underlines the necessity to analyse Party's activities in the background of the Left Front government. Three points have been made in this connection:

"First, the Left Front government is the result of a long struggle waged by the toiling masses.... This government is founded on the political consciousness of the people generated by Left and democratic movement.

"Secondly, this government is a source of inspiration to the toiling masses all over India. The existence of this government in the context of the struggle for democratic rights inspires the masses in other states of India.

"Thirdly, a reorganization of Centre-State relations is needed in the interest of the undeveloped and less developed regions of all states. This requires more resources and powers in the hands of the different states.... For the realization of this demand for additional resources and powers a strong movement for the reorganization of Centre-State relations must be built up. The presence of the Left Front government can help greatly towards directing the movements."

In the last four years ceaseless struggles have taken place. Movements for the realization of economic demands of workers, employees, landless labourers have been continuous. Counting major strikes in industry, agricultural labourers' strike, students' strikes and general strikes and bandhs—altogether seventeen such actions have taken place successfully in the last four years. These include such important

actions as the 84-day jute workers' strike. The 25th July, 1983 state-wide strike of agricultural labourers; the August, 1985 state-wide strike all over rural West Bengal for support price for jute; and finally the united trade union call for industrial strike on 12th September 1985 which was a big success.

A historic march was organized in 1983 from Cooch Behar to Calcutta through nine districts to publicise the 18-point charter of demands to the Centre. There was mass walk from Salt Lake Stadium to Haldia to propagate the successes of the Left Front government and to highlight the slogan "Food-for all, Education for all, Health for all". Against the increase in rail fares a big movement was launched in which students played an important part.

The political-organizational report of the state conference reviewing these mass actions notes: "The massive struggles and movements in the last four years are evidence that the tides of mass movement have never abated in West Bengal....

"There is a lacuna in the understanding of the changed character and status of mass movements in the changed perspective. Some people think that mass movements are in a state of stagnation. It is not true that within this period there have been no rallies, sit-ins, conventions, strikes in a single industry, industrial strike, general strikes etc. But there being in this state, a Government which plays a supportive role in these mass movements, there has been no repression unleashed upon these movements, police forces have not been used to suppress them. Rather, the movements have been aided by the existence of the Government. This situation thus does not tally with earlier situation where militancy of the movements was directed against an anti-people State Government run by class enemies.

"Secondly, the higher phase which has been reached by mass movement is not comprehended by many. Very often it is said that economic movements have to be raised to the level of political movements. In the last 8 years, there have

been many mass movements which are political in character. This is a great advance in the sphere of mass struggle. The movement for raising wages is not the only class struggle. The struggle to develop an alternative to the anti-people policies of the ruling classes is also a higher form of class-struggle. The struggle to establish the power of the rural poor in the Panchayats, the struggle for a pro-people education policy as opposed to the anti-people education policy of the ruling classes, the struggle for readjustment of Centre-State relations, struggle against authoritarianism—all these are forms of class-struggle.”

The state committee took up the question of the peace campaign seriously. In September, 1982, and in December 1983 huge rallies were organized to oppose the war plans of the imperialists and in defence of peace. September 1 as anti-war day was observed every year from 1982. In 1984, meetings and conventions were held in the districts. The 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism was observed on a large-scale this year.

Political-organizational report points out: “We know in the coming days, the total membership of our different mass-organizations will cross a crore. The number of Party members and of members of auxiliary groups will increase enormously. We have lakhs of possible cadres among the people themselves; it is only by preparing them politically that we can break through enemy ranks and win over the masses of people to our side. It is for the leadership to train the cadres in this way. Different forms of struggle, including electioneering, must be undertaken while remaining steadfast to the goal of people’s democratic revolution. No struggle can be successful unless through it we can raise the political consciousness of the people, and make them aware of our political strategy, the political necessity of the Left Front.”

Among the organizational weaknesses listed in the report for rectification are: 1. The task of setting up a Party unit in every factory. 2. The task of enlisting large number of women into the Party from the large numbers participating

in the mass movements. 3. Strengthening regular links between the state committee centre and the sub-committees and state teams. 4. To ensure proper coordination between the local Party leadership and panchayat leadership. 5. Improving the scrutiny of membership by submitting written report by LCs to the district committees.

The report states that the biggest weakness of the Party leadership has been the relative lack of success of the state committee and its Secretariat in inculcating a clear political understanding among the mass of Party comrades of the complex situation and problems consequent upon the running of the Left Front government and of the decisions being taken in different areas in different times. "There remains a gap in understanding between the leadership and the rank and file at various levels of the Party on the issue of the functioning of the government, and its constraints and successes. A regular arrangement for bridging this gap will make the link between the Party and the people more meaningful."

In 1983, the PC decided to pay serious attention to the maintenance of standards and norms by Party members in their daily lives and dealings with the people. A three-member committee was set up to consider complaints and grievances against the Party functionaries in various bodies. The cases of corruption and anti-Party behaviour have been small in number, but the Party takes a serious view of the same so that the high standards of the Communist Party can be maintained.

The state conference has also stressed the importance of Party education. It notes that the district leadership has been more conscious of the need for education and have taken steps in this regard. However, it notes that Party education programmes have reached only thirty to forty per cent of the Party members and special attention must be paid to education for the working class. In this connection, Party education series in Hindi and Urdu have also to be brought out.

The influence of the Party and CITU has not found reflection in the small increase in the CITU membership.

Weakness in Party building among the workers continues. Special attention has to be devoted to the mass of Hindi-speaking workers who are influenced by the political conditions of their home states.

Side by side with the attacks of the ruling classes, the hostile propaganda against the Party and the Left Front government must be met effectively. The quality and circulation of the daily *Ganashakti* must be further improved. Regular Party letters have been issued by the Party Centre and at the time of the elections, the number of campaign booklets circulated exceeded 5-6 lakhs. However, the key task of expanding circulation of Party papers of both central and state-level needs to be emphasised as the growth in its sales is not commensurate to the requirements.

The summary of the report adopted by the West Bengal state conference given above does not fully answer the political question how the nearly 9 year-long work of the Left Front Government has helped the main aim with which our Party is enjoined to function the government, namely "to use it as an instrument of struggle for rallying more and more allies to the working class and its party in the struggle for people's democracy and subsequently for Socialism and Communism".

The report no doubt narrates the multifarious activities of the government in serving the people. This shows the point at which the government headed by our Party in the state demarcates itself from the earlier Congress government as well as from the Congress or other non-Congress state government elsewhere. It however does not adequately explain whether and how far the services rendered by the government to the people of West Bengal have helped the Party to win over more and more people from political influence of the bourgeois-landlord parties to the Left and democratic movement in the state itself; furthermore, whether the functioning of the government and its policies have influenced people in the entire country and attracted them to the Left and democratic front.

It is a matter of credit for our Party that it has been continuing to enjoy the support of the people ever since it was installed in office nearly 9 years ago. The attempts to topple it by various means have all been foiled. This is in a situation in which the government is faced with innumerable difficulties of a financial and organizational character faced with the hostile economic blockade of the Centre and the impact of the capitalist crisis enveloping the whole country affecting the state also. This has helped our Party to maintain its traditional base (although there has been some erosion in urban pockets of the state).

The fact remains that polarisation has not yet taken place, the Congress and other Opposition parties can get 40 per cent of the vote and the Left Front 40 per cent in the state. The remaining 20 per cent who are not committed and can go either side and the votes for the Congress have to be won over to the CPI(M) and the Left Front. Winning over a big chunk of this pro-Congress mass, together with those sections of the masses who extend their support to other bourgeois parties, should be the major aim with which we function the government and carry out our mass responsibilities. The state committee should, therefore, address itself to these crucial questions and outline the ways and means of bringing about a change in the correlation of political forces in the state.

It is in this context that the state committee has to examine the actual position occupied by the Party among the people. The state committee should examine whether the implementation of the agrarian policies by the government in favour of the poor peasants and agricultural labourers has led to any adverse reaction from sections of the middle-peasant and rich peasants. Our position in the urban middle-classes should also be examined. Unless these are done, it can prove costly to us, if only the Congress organization in the state is able to take advantage of lapses on our part.

Coming to organization, the state committee itself has realized that there are some organizational problems in some

districts. Action has in fact been taken against some comrades against whom there were serious charges. It is however not clear whether the streamlining of the organization whose importance was emphasised in the Salkia document has been taken seriously. We therefore suggest to the state committee that they should consider all the above points and made further self-critical assessment of the political-organizational position in the State so that this strongest base of our Party can fully discharge all its responsibilities.

### **Kerala**

The period under review has seen a sharp demarcation between the Left and democratic forces headed by our Party on the one hand and the rightist combination of communal, casteist forces headed by the Congress(I) on the other. The Left Democratic Front today consists of the CPI(M), CPI, Congress(S), Janata and RSP. The Congress(I) led coalition consists of Muslim League, Kerala Congress, SRP, NDP and some other splinters—i.e., all the forces which are organized on the basis of caste or religion. In May 1982, assembly elections were held when the Congress(I) found it unable to maintain its ministry surviving on the casting vote of the Speaker. The assembly elections gave the LDF 63 seats while the UDF got 77 seats. However, the difference between the two Fronts was only that of 95,000 votes.

The record of the Karunakaran Government for the past three and a half years has been the unprincipled and dangerous appeasement of all varieties and hues of communal and caste groups to remain in power. It has also attacked the people's living standards and rights by continuous hikes in prices; undemocratic dissolution of the city corporations and suspending the elections to the local bodies and panchayats; blatant corruption and selling of education to private interests.

The state unit of the CPI(M) has taken the lead to fight this unprincipled gang up of communal and reactionary forces and defend the people's interests. By its independent activities

and the LDF joint campaigns, the Party has stood against the spectacle of unscrupulous bargaining and bickerings in the UDF coalition. On the one hand, there is the CPI(M) and LDF which rallies the people of Kerala for secularism and democracy, on the other hand the ruling coalition has become synonymous with appeasement of obscurantism, casteism, communalism and corruption.

The Party membership has increased to 1,22,071 in 1985 from 1,04,085 in 1981. An increase of around 18,000. The membership is organized under 14 district committees, 135 taluk/area committees, 1124 local committees and 11,549 branches.

The mass organizations have also registered growth. The total membership in the CITU, AIKS, Agricultural Workers' Union, DYFI, SFI and AIDWA now is nearly 30 lakhs. The membership position is as follows:

	1981	
CITU	2,76,000	3,22,000 (1983 figure)
AIKS	4,20,788	5,30,814 (1984-85)
AIAWU	3,68,329	4,00,000 (1984-85)
DYFI	7,84,126	10,04,785 (1984)
SFI	2,25,081	3,69,914 (1984)
Mahila Samiti	2,88,836	3,69,216
Total	23,63,160	29,96,725

The Party and the mass organizations have registered growth in this period facing police repression; RSS attacks and capitalist-landlord attacks; 71 comrades of the Party and the various mass organizations have laid down their lives in enemy attacks.

But the growth could have been much more. It must be remembered that lakhs of people are still under the influence of the bourgeois-landlord and caste/communal forces. The State Committee and the Central Committee have during the last three years held many rounds of discussions in which the central question has been how to alter the correlation of forces further in favour of the Left and democratic

forces and isolate the Congress(I)-led caste-communal gangup. In 1983, when the inner quarrels heightened in the UDF, the question came up whether any partner of the UDF such as the Muslim League or Kerala Congress factions could be taken into the LDF and an alternative ministry formed. The Polit Bureau after discussions gave its opinion to the state committee that this would be wrong and goes against the political line of the Party to fight all forms of divisive forces. The Kerala state committee endorsed the line. It called for stepping up mass struggles to isolate the ruling coalition and continue a relentless battle against all forms of casteist and communal politics.

Kerala witnessed many big mass protests and mobilizations during this period. Noteworthy among them are the big bandhs organized. The LDF called for a 'rail roko' stir on August 8, 1983, this was followed by a bandh on 9th August. The demands focussed on adequate ration supply, and adequate assistance to the drought affected areas. Thousands participated in the rail roko stir and the strike called by the trade unions took the shape of a general bandh. The LDF prior to this organized six campaign jathas. Again bandh was observed on March 3, 1984, in support of the employees' struggle. A successful bandh was also observed on August 25, 1984, in support of the demand to reinstate the NTR ministry in Andhra. Finally, the bandh in October, 1985 focussed on the plight of the coconut growers. These series of general strikes brought lakhs into protest actions against the Karunakaran Government and the Central Government's policies.

An important aspect of our political work in this period has been to stand firm against caste and communal demands and defend the unity of the toiling people. Subsequent to the police firing on Muslim procession in Alleppey, our Party in Alleppey played an outstanding role in preventing the situation from deteriorating. In Trivandrum riots erupted and though we intervened afterwards, we were successful in only partially stemming the clashes. On the Nilakkal issue, state allowances to Muslim priests, Karunakaran's manoeuvre to

get all MLAs to take oath on God, to be represented in the Dewaswam boards—in all these the Party took a principled position in defence of secularism and has enhanced the prestige of the Party. In recent months, the Party has firmly stood by the rights of Muslim women on the divorce maintenance issue drawing the wrath of the fundamentalists.

The Party is waging this two-pronged battle: fight against the anti-people policies of the Karunakaran Government and Central Government along with the fight against caste, communal and obscurantist forces and making all efforts to reach to wider sections of people, in order to bring about a change in the current balance of forces. Determined and patient work on these lines will pay the Party good dividends in the future. A short-sighted approach of allying with communal forces to form Governments or win elections will only strengthen the rightist forces and tarnish the record of the Left. It is in this context that the departure of the All India Muslim League from the LDF must be seen. It broke away, after the Party firmly refused to compromise on the issue of women's rights against the onslaught of Islamic fundamentalism.

Reviewing the Party organization, the state conference report has given direction for improving the functioning of the Party at all levels. At the branch level, the live contact with the people has been stressed. It has called for the restoration of the Communist style of squad work. It has also emphasised the importance of proper recruitment through auxiliary groups and the education of the militants.

The report also highlights the importance of local and area committees in providing leadership to the branches and in promptly intervening in mass issues. In this connection, it has called for the implementation of regular branch secretaries meetings for reporting on political situation. The process of Party education must be taken up by the district committees seriously and taken down to the local committees and branches.

At the state committee level, the report emphasises the necessity for PCMs to be state-level functionaries. Except

DC secretaries and those allotted special tasks PCMs should be state-level cadres. Similarly this principle has to be applied to the district committees also.

For improving the style of work, the report warns against bureaucratism in dealing with the people. The report states: "At least a few comrades have lost the ideal way of life and strict morality of a communist. We shall fall a victim to such evils if we do not find out such trends and fight them out and make the whole Party vigilant against them." The report pays attention also to the fact that despite state committee's directive, some comrades still subject to alien influences, conduct marriages ostentatiously and take recourse to religious and communal customs for marriages and funerals. The report also highlights the Communist method of work in local self-governing institutions and cooperatives where Communists by their functioning must show the people the difference between them and the corrupt functionaries of bourgeois parties.

The CITU unions' membership went up to 3,22,000 in 1983, though about 44,000 members' affiliation fee was not received. The CITU has been able to do more to bring about wider unity in the trade union front. However, organization in the traditional industries like coir, cashew, fishing, beedi etc., has to be strengthened. A large number of workers are still unorganized in these sectors. The state trade union sub-committee has functioned more regularly during this period.

The Kisan Sabha and Agricultural Workers' Union have conducted many state level and local campaigns and struggles. Better coordination between the two is required, particularly in some districts.

The DYFI has emerged as the most powerful youth organization in the state. It is also noted that in an analysis done of 1,16,362 members in 1983, over thirty two thousands were found to be working on the youth front. The Party has to now ensure that more and more of the mass membership of youth participate in the class organizations. Also in some of youth Party members 'frontal consciousness'

predominates and proper education must be there to integrate them with the general political-organizational outlook of the Party.

On the student front, the SFI has continued to advance and has maintained its dominance over the three university unions in Kerala along with its allies. It has been in the forefront of struggle against the privatisation of education by the Karunakaran government.

The AIDWA has forged ahead and is now in the forefront of the movement in defence of women's rights, particularly those of the Muslim minority community who are being subjected to fundamentalist threats. However, it is disappointing to note that women Party members are only 3810 in 1985 which is also slightly less than the previous year. This constitutes only 3 per cent of the total Party membership. The Party has to take up this issue seriously and educate Party cadres at all levels to ensure entry of women into the Party and organize its meetings etc in such a way that women find it possible to participate.

In the field of ideological struggle, the Party daily *Deshabhimani*, the weekly *Chintha* and the literary weekly occupy an important role. The two, month campaign in 1984 launched by the state committee to boost the sales of *Deshabhimani* yielded good results. As a result of the campaign the paper became the fourth largest circulated daily in the state. However, this tempo could not be kept up and sales have gone down again. Some steps have been taken to streamline the managerial and technical aspects of the paper. The paper plays an important role in reflecting coordinating and carrying forward the movement. However, it should be noted that in the initial stages of the paper, the circulation was more than the number of Party members. Today, it is the opposite. The circulation is just half the number of total Party members in the state. Given proper attention at all levels, the circulation of the daily can rise to the figure of one lakh as envisaged in the Trichur Party Conference in 1981.

The daily along with the *Chintha* and the literary weekly are still far advanced in terms of production, circulation and utility compared to the position in the rest of the country. The state committee will have to continuously pay attention to improving and sharpening the use of these journals.

The *Chintha* publishers have brought out over 120 titles of progressive books and Marxist literature. It has 11 branches. The total annual sales through them is Rs. 6-7 lakhs of which Party literature is only Rs. 2-3 lakhs.

The summary of the state committee report given above does not deal with the major political-organizational development of the period, namely the political changes brought about under the guidance of the Polit Bureau and Central Committee and the political-organizational problems connected therewith.

As noted earlier, there was a strong minority which was opposed to the change suggested by the Polit Bureau and Central Committee. Furthermore, the minority went against all the norms and forms of the Party organization by converting itself into a faction against the majority in the state committee itself and against the Central Committee. With this end in view, they prepared a document alternative to the letter addressed by the Polit Bureau on instructions from the Central Committee. To begin with, they approached the Centre for the circulation of this document in the Party in terms of Article-XXI of the Constitution which provides for inner-Party discussion. On being told that the discussion can be organized under that article only if the state committees representing 1/3 of Party membership make a request to the Central Committee and that, being a minority in the state committee itself, they are not entitled to make this demand, they forced a discussion of the document at the Conference. This was done by clandestine circulation of the document among the delegates.

The whole incident illustrates the serious erosion that

has taken place both in the political understanding as well as in the organisational practices of a substantial proportion of Party leaders at the state level. The state committee therefore should undertake, with concrete assistance from the Party Centre, a complete rectification of the political line as understood by Party members and of the organizational practices that have come in vogue. What happened before and at the state conference should not be dismissed as the aberration of a few individual comrades but indicative of a deep malady affecting the entire Party in the state.

### **Tripura**

This small border state has the distinction of having a Left Front government headed by CPI(M) for the past eight years. The Party in Tripura has been in the forefront in the fight for national unity by preserving and defending the unity of the tribal and Bengali speaking peoples in the state defeating the efforts of reactionary forces like Amra Bengali, TUJS and the connivance of the Congress(I) with these forces. The Party has deepened its ties with the working masses and the Left Front government functioning under severe limitations of resources and discrimination by the Centre has set a good record of service to the people.

In defence of the Party's line, one hundred and ninety seven comrades and supporters laid down their lives in the period since the Eleventh Party Congress, martyrs of TNV, TUJS, Amra Bangalee and Congress(I) attacks. This indicates the intense struggle the Party and Left Front government has waged in Tripura to defend national unity, counter imperialist conspiracies, struggle against the authoritarian Congress(I) and stand by the interests of the working people. In implementing the line laid down by the Eleventh Congress, the Tripura State Committee has done signal service.

The Party and its mass influence has expanded in the face of these difficult challenges. The Party membership has risen from 6580 in 1981 to 11,414 in 1985, registering a growth every successive year.

The mass organizations' position is as follows:

	1981	1984
CITU (Affiliated) (non-affiliated unions)	10613	15,177
		6,411
		21588
AIKS	80,240	64,402 (agricultural labour)
DYFI	45,000	51,305
SFI	25,500	24,058
AIALU	—	30,940
Mahila	—	51,077

The victory of the Left Front in the 1983 Assembly elections was of great political significance. While in 1977, the Left Front got a large negative vote against the Congress, in 1983, the record of the Left Front government was the test and it reflected the increased political consciousness of the voters. The Congress(I) combined with the separatist TUJS in a dangerous alliance. The majority of the tribal people, scheduled castes voted for the Left Front. The working people in rural areas, and tea garden and rubber plantation areas voted massively for the front. Only among the Muslim minority, the Congress(I) had more influence at many places. The Left Front got 50 per cent of the votes polled in the Assembly elections as compared to 47 per cent in 1980 in the Parliament election. Votes polled by Congress(I)-TUJS went up from 36 per cent to 41 per cent in this period. The gain being from the Amra Bangalee vote which declined by 8 per cent. The voting result showed that despite terrorist attacks, slander campaign etc., the Left Front popularity continues to increase. The weakness noted was that in urban areas a section of the middle class did not vote for us.

The Panchayat elections were held in Tripura in 1984. Once again the Congress(I) and TUJS combined and the elections were held in the background of intense terrorist attacks. The TNV killed 6 people on the eve of the elections.

The Left Front won 460 out of 704 of the Gram Panchayats. However, the elections also showed some organizational weakness which were pinpointed in the review.

In the 1984 Parliament elections, despite the sympathy wave for the ruling party, the Left Front retained both the seats from Tripura.

The economic and industrial backwardness of Tripura is compounded by the difficult and meagre means of communications with the rest of the country. The Left Front government for the past eight years has had to wage a relentless struggle against the Centre's discriminatory and non-cooperative attitude. The Party has had to take this issue to the people in a big way and make it part of its political platform to mobilize the people to force the Central Government to concede the state's just demands. The 'padayatras' which were organized in November, 1984 made a big impact in the state especially in the rural areas and immensely popularised the 15-point charter of demands with demands like expansion of railways, setting up of new industries, expansion of employment opportunities etc.

The existence and policies of the Left Front government has led to the guarantee of freedom of association and rights of the working people in the State; despite all the limitations the Government has distributed land among more than a lakh of landless people; the local self-governing institutions working in the rural areas have been able to increase the tempo of development activities and to create employment opportunities for the rural poor, of course, in a limited way.

The Left Front and the Party had to fight off the demand of the Congress(I) and TUJS to declare the State as a disturbed area and deploy the army. They also demanded the dismissal of the Left Front government and imposition of President's rule.

The Left Front government and the Party's prolonged fight for tribal rights met with success with the tribal areas being constituted into an autonomous district council under the Sixth Schedule. The Left Front government has recognized

the Kok Borok language and appointed a thousand teachers to impart education in this language at the primary stage. Effective steps have been taken for the restoration of illegally transferred tribal lands to the original tribal areas.

The growing class conflict in the state has been taking place in the background of the intensification of the activities of the separatist and divisive forces backed by imperialism. But for the strength of the Party and the existence of the Left Front government, the 1980 ethnic violence would have created permanent barriers and hatred between the tribals and Bengalis. However, patient and determined work and political propaganda of the Party has resulted in the unity being fostered. This unity has been reforged in the face of the terrorist activities of the TNV operating from across the border based in Bangladesh; the chauvinist Amra Bangalee sponsored by the sinister Anand Marg and the opportunistic gang up the Congress(I) forged with the TUJS.

The principled political fight put up by the CPI(M)-led to two achievements in the fight against tribal separatism and extremism. The group led by Binanda Jamatia, who was later murdered, surrendered to the state government and laid down arms and joined the Upajati Ganamukthi Parishad. Secondly, the split in the TUJS occurred with a group protesting against its alliance with the Congress(I) and formed the Tripura Hills Peoples Party.

The Centre is not willing to strengthen measures to police the border and check infiltration of the terrorists. The Centre promised to deploy two battalions of Assam Rifles in Tripura more than a year and a half ago but it has not been done yet.

Class differentiation is gradually heightening among the tribal population also and these developments create fertile ground for the petty-bourgeois sections to be swayed by chauvinism. The Party is educating all its ranks on lines "Struggle for the conservation of tribal rights is a struggle of the whole Party". Had not but been for the Party's front-ranking role in championing the tribal rights, language, culture

and autonomy, the situation would have worsened as in other north-eastern States. The achievement of the autonomous district council under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution has increased the prestige of the Party amongst the tribals and developed their confidence.

From all the reviews made by the state committee of the last three elections to the Assembly, Panchayat and the Autonomous District Council the Conference report concludes: "From all such reviews one fact has come out clearly that we lost support mainly among the petty-bourgeois middle class sections. It is more pronounced in the urban areas but the rural areas also were not completely free from this trend". Reason for this are stated to be the harmful impact of communal politics; growing unemployment; unrealistic expectations of relief from the government which leads to frustration. It is found necessary that more stress be paid to political-ideological campaigns while taking up the economic demands of these sections.

The Panchayats and Cooperatives are drawing the ire of the reactionaries. It is no doubt an important instrument to give relief to the people. But it would be wrong to see the matter from the economic point of view only. There is a lack of realization that the Panchayats and Cooperatives properly handled can play an important role in bringing change in alignment of forces in the rural areas. There has to be better co-ordination between the peasant movement and these bodies. The state Party has to make a systematic effort to educate the ranks about the correct approach to work in these institutions.

Unlike West Bengal, in Tripura the Left Front consists of partners who have hardly any base at all including the CPI. In 1983, the CPI was brought into the front. In the Panchayat elections, the CPI did not reach agreement with the front and virtually fought against the Left Front candidates. Despite these negative trends, the Party is seeking to strengthen the unity of the Left Front partners.

*Left Front Government and Party:* All policy matters and

important administrative decisions are discussed and decided first in the Party. Meetings of Party Secretariat and ministers are also held but these must be held more frequently. To make the ministry more effective in the second term, important comrades had to be assigned ministerial tasks, thereby 7 out of 8 Secretariate members became ministers. No doubt this has strained the organizational resources, but this step was required to instill confidence in the people about the Government.

The sales of literature through the book stall and through book fairs show that in 1982 Rs. 92,652 worth of literature was sold and this rose to Rs. 1,50,462 in 1984. The *Deshar Katha* daily has a circulation of 4850 and the weekly 1,937. Apart from this there is circulation of *Ganashakti* 117, *Desh Hitaishee* 547 and *Marxbadi Path* 210 brought out from West Bengal.

### Andhra Pradesh

The State has a glorious tradition in the history of the Communist movement of the country with the Telangana armed struggle of the peasantry occupying a special place. In the last Congress political-organizational report, a survey of the ups and downs of the Communist movement in the State and the line of the Party in meeting the revisionist and Left-sectarian challenge was outlined.

The Andhra Party's renewed growth was witnessed in the successful holding of the Eleventh Party Congress in Vijayawada and the massive open rally. The Party membership since then has increased from 14,589 in 1981 to 18,668 in 1985.

The mass organizations have also registered good progress in this period as the figures below show:

	1981	1985 (in round figures)
CITU	45,000	63,700
Agricultural Workers Union	2,00,000	2,70,400
AIKS	1,50,000	1,59,300
DYFI	67,000	1,28,200
SFI	43,300	65,300 (1984 figure)
AIDWA	42,000	42,000

The membership in these mass organizations have gone up from 4.8 lakhs in 1981 to 7.3 lakhs in 1985.

It is to be noted that the membership of AIKS and AIDWA for the year 1985 stood where it was in the year 1981. The marginal increase of 9,000 in the AIKS is negligible the state committee will have to examine the question, and take remedial measures.

With regards the CITU membership in the state, it is stated in the Conference Report that it increased from 45,000 in the year 1981 to 63,700 in 1985. But it adds that the "CITU centre informed that till August, 1985 only 53 unions with a membership of 27,420 paid the affiliation fee". It reveals that the majority of membership is not affiliated to the CITU. Such a state of affairs should not continue.

The State saw the rapid growth of discontent against Congress(I) rule in 1981-82 a feature noted in the 1981 State Conference in the following words: "It is a fact that the people are day by day turning their faces away from the Indira Congress and looking towards the opposition parties." However, in the assembly elections in 1983, the State Conference report states that "we did not become partners in the stream that defeated the Congress". The report reviews the mistake and erroneous estimate made by the state committee and the review made by the Central Committee subsequently which was self-critically accepted. The erroneous approach to the Telugu Desam, the giving in to the CPI in taking rigid stand on seat adjustments with the Telugu Desam and the basic misreading of the fact that the masses were shifting in a big way to look for an alternative to the Congress(I).

However, after the notorious episode of the Congress(I) engineering the defection of Bhaskara Rao and the formation of a majority Government with the connivance of the Governor, the Party promptly came in defence of the Telugu Desam Government and the attack on democracy by the authoritarian Centre. From the beginning it consistently rallied the people at all levels to fight the conspiracy. This role

played an important part in the big mass upsurge in the state for a month which ultimately forced the Indira Government to retreat and reinstal N.T. Rama Rao. This significant struggle and its success against the authoritarian attack immeasurably strengthened the forces of democracy in the country.

In the elections to Assembly and Parliament held recently the Congress(I) faced a debacle being decisively rejected by the people twice for its anti-democratic role. Our Party had an understanding with the Telugu Desam and the united fight played its due role in routing the Congress(I). However the stand of the CPI in the Parliament elections and the subsequent assembly elections was disruptive and hampered the common fight. Prey to electoral opportunism the CPI refused to concede Khammam seat to us and this led to the victory of the Congress(I). The Party won the Mriyalaguda parliamentary seat. In the Assembly elections also the CPI tried to disrupt the understanding in Khammam district and failing in this, after the adjustment of seats, put up independent candidates and supported them in two seats.

The anti-CPI(M) manoeuvres and parliamentary opportunism of the CPI has embittered relations and caused a setback to the development of the unity of Left forces in the State.

During this period, in the days of the Congress(I) regime the Party played an important role in developing the united mass movements against the anti-people policies by the mass peasant actions against indebtedness, student struggles and working class actions.

The Party is adopting a correct approach to the Telugu Desam Government when it welcomes those policies which are beneficial to the people and firmly opposes anti-people and pro-vested interests policies. In this connection the Party is vigilant to take an independent stand on such issues as the Karmachedu incident, the recent proposal for Press Bill etc., while at the same time demarcating from the Congress(I) which is now resorting to whipping up casteism, regionalism etc., to buttress its position.

The Andhra State Committee has paid serious attention to developing the peace movement in the state. They organized an anti-war Conference in March, 1982 in Hyderabad which was attended by delegates from all the districts. On 1 September, 1982 anti-war day was jointly observed with CPI in 69 talukas in which over 32 thousand people participated.

On October 1, 1982 the Party gave a call for anti-war demonstrations in the State. The Vijayawada rally was attended by one lakh people. Similarly big rallies were held in Hyderabad, Kurnool and Vizag. State-wide demonstrations for peace were held on September 1, 1983, and again at CITU's call between December 20-28, 1983.

The state committee also organized a widespread campaign to observe the Marx death centenary and hundreds of meetings and seminars were organized. The state committee also organized a week-long campaign on the Punjab and Kashmir issue between July, 1985.

The state committee paid special attention to Party education. The Party schools were held in five district centres, besides the school for CITU activists. The total number of students who attended these schools were 1035. Out of these, 826 students were Branch Secretaries. All these schools which were held during 1982-85, were ten-day long schools.

Besides these above mentioned Party cadre schools, there were a series of schools in different centres of the State for SFI activists. The total number of them are 1200.

The state committee's Conference Report also mentioned that "several other schools were organized in different districts for members and sympathisers".

This intensive schooling has helped to activate the Party on a wide scale. The results are clearly seen in the successful mass campaigns run by the Party, in the large-scale collecting of Party funds and in the increased sale of Party literature.

To cite two examples : The Party levy collected in the year 1982 did not exceed beyond 48,000 rupees. But by

1985, the levy collection went up to Rs. one lakh and fifty thousands i.e., nearly fourfold increase. Similarly the Party fund collections during 1982-85, were around 32½ lakhs. No doubt the state committee is still to clear off Rs. 3 lakhs amount which it borrowed for press and building construction etc.

The state committee had a successful literature and *Prajashakti* sales campaign in August 1984. During the week literature worth Rs. 1,87,000 were sold.

The agricultural workers movement has shown progress in the state with big struggles for wages and house-sites having taken place, the notable state-wide movement for wages being in June, 1984. The youth organization has doubled its membership since 1981.

Two other organizations have also registered growth. The Andhra Prajanatya Mandali, the cultural organization has now 250 units (including 3-member song squads) and 3,000 members. They have staged three thousand performances from 1982 up to now.

The United Teachers Front has increased its membership from 37,000 to 45,000 by 1985 and its journal has a circulation of 13,000.

The Party's prestige among the masses also reflected in the successful fund collections conducted during the period. For the new Press and building for *Prajashakti*, Rs. 20 lakhs were collected. For the A.K. Gopalan Bhawan Fund the States quota was Rs. 5 lakhs but so far Rs. 9.6 lakhs have been deposited with the Centre. Apart from this the Andhra State Committee sent Rs. 1.6 lakhs to the election fund of West Bengal and Kerala elections and recently Rs. 50,000 for the Punjab elections.

In memory of Comrade Sundarayya, the call for setting up a "Sundarayya Vignana Kendram" has met with an unprecedented response from people of all walks of life and so far in the last five months Rs. 25 lakhs have been collected.

Various steps have been taken to strengthen Party organization. There are 225 wholetimers in different districts. Serious

efforts have been made to improve the level of branch secretaries and activate the branches. Levy collection has shown improvement. Party has registered since last conference progress in Kurnool, Nellore, Vishakhapatnam and Mahboobnagar. At the state level sub-committees are working in trade union, agricultural workers union and Kisan Sabha. There are fraction committees for the youth and student fronts. These are functioning and helping in coordination though the women fraction committee is not functioning properly.

The class composition of the total membership analysed in 1983 shows that agricultural labour and urban workers constituted 42 per cent of the membership (28 per cent and 14 per cent respectively). Poor peasants of artisans constitute another 39 per cent (29 per cent and 10 per cent respectively). Middle peasants constitute 14 per cent and middle-class employees 5.4 per cent.

During the period since the last State Conference in 1981, 40 comrades laid down their lives, martyred in attacks by naxalites, Congress(I) goondas, police etc. The political and organizational battle against naxalite groups, in particular the Radical group, which is killing our comrades has to be carried on relentlessly. Among those murdered by the naxalite-Radical gangsters include Comrade Malakonda Reddy, state committee member of the Party.

The circulation of *Prajashakti* is around 15,000 and the State Conference has chalked out steps to improve its circulation.

### **Assam**

The Assam State unit's role in courageously facing chauvinist terror and defending working class unity and defence of minorities rights constitutes a proud chapter in the Party's struggle to defend national unity and fight against imperialist efforts to encourage secessionism in India.

In this struggle waged by the Party in Assam 45 comrades laid down their lives, most of them young Assamese who refused to be cowed by the AASU-AAGSP terror tactics.

It is in this background that the Party steeled in battle, has registered advance belying the hopes of its enemies and the bourgeois press.

The Party membership has grown from 7120 in 1981 to 9074 in 1985, registering a growth in successive years. The mass organizations working in difficult circumstances have increased their influence as the following figures show:-

	1981	1984 (in round figures)
Kisan Sabha	83,000	1,40,000
CITU	20,000	25,000
SFI	23,000	52,000
DYFI	18,000	44,000
Mahila Samiti	12,000	25,000

The progress, in the face of the chauvinist terror registered is commendable. In 1981 the mass organizations' membership was 156,000, in the current State Conference the report showed that it had increased to 2,86,000.

### **Situation in the State**

A 7-party alliance was formed during Janata rule consisting of CPI(M), Congress(S), CPI, Lok Dal, PDP, RSP, RCPI.

In January, 1982 the Governor allowed Keshab Gogoi to form a minority Government. It did not last long. The Janata Party and PDP went in for open support for the "anti-foreigner" agitation.

The AASU and AAGSP held that unless and until the main demand of expulsion of foreigners was achieved, economic struggles would only divert the masses. With this slogan they opposed all pressing demands of the workers, peasants and students and sought to divide employees' and workers' organizations on the basis of nationality.

The Party faced with this situation, called for mass struggles disregarding murders and armed attacks. As a result, the industrial strike of January 19, 1982 achieved big success. Tea workers played a leading part in this. The Kisan Conference was also held successfully in Manipur in the

agitationists' area and the rally was attended by 15,000 people. The SFI also held state-wide demonstrations on demand of education and on August 15. The SFI, DYFI held anti-imperialist demonstrations. The AASU retaliated by intensifying terroristic attacks, social boycott, burning down of homes, 'curfew' to prevent meetings, and goonda attacks and murder of or comrades like Gauranga Paul at Goreswar.

The independent work of the Party strengthened the 7-party alliance further and the Party maintained the morale of its cadres and followers.

The Party and the 7-party alliance demanded elections and no extension of Presidential rule. The 1983 elections saw mass murder of minorities, burning down of villages, intimidation of candidates and their families. Thousands were killed, thirty thousand fled to West Bengal and 3 lakhs took shelter in camps as a result of the AASU-AAGSP call for boycott. The administration collapsed and BJP-RSS preached anti-Muslim hatred on one hand, and the ruling party resorted to rigging the election in many places.

The agitationists and bourgeois Press suppressed the truth that lakhs of people were prevented from exercising their franchise. Despite this 32.76 per cent votes were polled. Only in three districts was it nominal. The Party cadres courageously took the Party line to the masses even in the worst affected areas. It got only two seats which did not reflect the strength of the Party due to the abnormal conditions mentioned above. During the election and in the post-election period, 24 comrades were murdered by the AASU-AAGSP for their participation in the elections.

The state committee and the Polit Bureau reviewing the elections stated that participation in the elections had been a correct step.

With the Saikia Government in office, the Party with two MLAs became the main Opposition spokesman. In the Assembly we spoke out against evictions, for fair prices peasants' produce, for civil liberties, against handing back of surplus lands to planters and exposed serious cases of corruption.

The Party after 1983 elections had to go it alone as the alliance got disrupted due to the CPI and RCPI's tactics. They wanted to have the next elections on 1971 rolls which meant loss of franchise for over 2 millions.

The accord between Rajiv Gandhi and AASU is sought to be bracketted with the Punjab accord. The Assam State Committee opposed the provisions of the accord which go against the minorities. As the State Conference report points out: "Punjab accord has opened the path of understanding between Sikhs and Hindus and isolated the secessionist and extremists, while the Assam accord has divided the people on nationality basis deeply and the extremists and even secessionists have captured leading positions, alongwith AASU leader in the resultant regional party (Assam Gana Parishad) formed in Assam."

In 1984, the CPI did a volte face and lined up with the Janata and others in compromising with the agitationists. It played a key role in breaking up the 7-party alliance. It has come out in support of the accord and has been campaigning for it.

The Party organized a big central kisan rally and march to the State Assembly in March, 1984 in which ten thousand kisans participated. The march was significant as it followed the breakup of the 7-party alliance due to the CPI's tactics. The march in which Assamese peasants constituted over 75 per cent showed that the Party had grown despite the AASU's terror tactics.

In September 1984 the SFI and DYFI held a rally in Guwahati demanding jobs for all and education for all in which 12,000 students and youths participated. Similarly they organized a big campaign in connection with International Youth Year and the World Youth Festival and in the three-day celebration's conclusion. Fifteen thousand youths participated of which 90 per cent were Assamese and tribals. In September also under Party's guidance the JCTU organized a big march to the assembly against closures and for removal of Art. 311 from the Constitution in which 6,000 to

7,000 workers and employees participated. These along with the Karl Marx death centenary and anti-Budget campaigns widened the Party's political and mass activities.

Among the tribal minorities, opposition to the AASU had grown and there is opposition to the accord. However imperialist and Christian agencies are seeking to whip up separatist movement. The Party will have to pay special attention to the tribal question.

The *Ganashakthi* weekly in Assam has a circulation of around 4,000 and the Conference has decided to take immediate steps to expand its circulation.

The analysis of the credentials report of the State Conference shows that 59 per cent of the delegates were below 40 years of age. Fortyeight per cent have joined the Party in the post-1977 period. The youthful composition properly trained and developed augurs well for the future of the Party in Assam.

### **Tamil Nadu**

The Party in Tamil Nadu has registered advance and has consolidated its influence in some spheres. The political line adopted by the state committee has helped the Party to put forward a correct line on the Sri Lanka Tamils issue and counter the opportunist and chauvinist ideological positions of the Dravidian parties.

The Party membership during this period has gone up from 22,170 in 1981 to 27,053 in 1985. The mass organizations have also registered progress, though it is not reflected in membership of the CITU and AIKS. The CITU membership of unions stands at 1.3 lakhs. The AIKS membership for 1984-85 is 68,000. The DYFI membership is now 67,163 as compared to 44,700 in 1981. The SFI membership has grown to 16,032 as compared to 8158 in 1981. The AIDWA membership is now at 70,488.

The Party participated in the Save Democracy Front which was formed in 1982. Except the Congress(I), AIDMK and DMK all other parties joined it. The mass movement unleashed by the Front compelled the DMK also to join. This

was the beginning of the 14 parties' movement which conducted many statewide struggles on people's issues. In December, 1983 there was state-wide picketing in which 72,833 courted arrest, of which nearly 23,000 belonged to the Party. The 14-party front also conducted a successful bandh on the issues of the dismissal of the NTR Government.

On the question of the repression against Sri Lanka Tamils and their struggle, the Party took a principled position opposing the state repression and demanding that the problem be settled internally by granting autonomy to the Tamil-speaking areas within a federal set-up. The Party firmly refused to be swayed by emotional sentiments and kept the danger of imperialist intervention in mind while working out its line. The report to the State Conference states: "Our Committee decided on our stand taking guidance from the P.B. Regional autonomy within the United Sri Lanka in the areas where the Tamil-speaking population live in considerable number. There must be political solution to the problem. The Left democratic forces in Sri Lanka should find a solution to the problem. The democratic forces world over will support these forces for a political solution. The Indian Government must use its influence with the countries of the NAM and raise the issue of genocide in the forums like the Human Rights Commission and pressurise Jayewardene to stop the killings.

The Party carried out its independent campaign on this basis. The front with the DMK notwithstanding, we made it clear that there could be no joint stand on this issue.

In the elections to the Assembly and Parliament held in December, 1984 the Party had seat adjustments with the DMK and its allies. The Party contested 17 assembly and three parliamentary seats. The Party candidates won five seats to the Assembly. Reviewing the election campaign it was noted by the P.C. that while joint campaigns are conducted during elections, independent campaign of the Party on national and international issues must be conducted, which was lacking.

To put forward the Party's understanding independently a special State Political Convention was organized in Madurai

in August, 1984. This had a massive attendance and helped to highlight the Party's stand on various political issues and problems facing the people. The State Conference report stresses the necessity for taking the Left and democratic programme to the people independently by the Party continuously in its propaganda, which has not been done sufficiently.

The trade union work has shown advance in the state. This is reflected in the progress in Madras where the CITU leaders have been elected to big factories like Ashok Leyland, Binny Engineering, Madras Rubber Factory etc. It has advanced into new sectors such as the Hosur Industrial belt, the Salem Steel Plant etc. The CITU has played an effective role in initiating joint actions which have been more sweeping and prolonged in character. The 19th January strike was called by only the CITU and AITUC. In August, 1984, the CITU, AITUC and DMK unions gave successful call for general strike against the anti-labour policies of the Tamil Nadu workers. The continuous efforts of the CITU has led to the wider unity of the trade unions in strike actions despite some breaks in the unity which were overcome.

The Party line for the trade union front has been sought to be seriously implemented in the state. The review of joint struggles and the necessity to examine why our influence and membership does not grow commensurate to our activities has been taken up. The Tamil Nadu CITU has also established a good precedent by paying attention to the peasant movement and initiating solidarity actions. A one-rupee levy on the union members for a fund for the Kisan Sabha yielded Rs. 40,000 in 1984. Efforts are being made to strengthen the work in the key industries.

The Kisan front requires more attention. The decision to set up the state centres of the Kisan and agricultural unions taken at the 1981 conference has been implemented.

The Kisan Sabha has committees in all districts, however, the agricultural workers' union has committees only in four districts. The PC keeping in view the necessity to deploy wholetimers on this front at the district level took concrete

steps and as per this decision full-time workers were fixed for five districts. Similarly arrangements have to be made throughout the State. The total membership of the agricultural workers union comes to 73,279 and of the Kisan Sabha at 59,753 for the year 1984-85.

The Party has paid attention to the needs of political propaganda material and education. Forty five pamphlets were published during the last four years.

The daily *Theekathir's* sales rose as a result of the campaign conducted in 1984. It went up to 9000 copies. Now its circulation is 7,500. Some efforts to improve the paper editorially have also yielded results. Continuous steps have to be taken to further increase the sales of the paper.

For Party education, two state level schools were organized in 1982 and 1983 in which 250 comrades attended. Classes for branch secretaries have been held in the district also. And 7-party letters were also issued for inner-Party education.

To streamline the Party organization, middle-level committees were formed under the district committees. Altogether 124 such committees have been set up.

The Party membership has gone up by nearly 7500 in the past four years. To improve recruitment the functioning of auxiliaries and training of candidates must be improved. The number of women members is 314 which works out to 3 per cent of the total membership. The Conference Report has emphasised the importance of enrolling more women members in the coming years. There are 273 wholetimers of the Party working in different fronts.

The DWA organized a series of classes for women activists which is commendable. Based on a common syllabus 2-day classes were conducted in 16 districts in 1984. This was followed by a teachers' training camp and 36 classes were conducted through those trained. One thousand two hundred and eighteen women took part in these classes and it has helped in developing their consciousness of women's problems and social questions.

The report of the Tamil Nadu committee mentions only in

passing an important weakness in the functioning of the Party—a weakness which the Central Committee has been repeatedly pointing out and to which the State Secretariat members themselves have often drawn the attention. It relates to the functioning of the Party during the elections along with other parties with whom there is an electoral agreement.

It has been the experience of past elections and it was the experience of 1985 election also that during the electoral campaign our Party virtually merges with other parties and is hardly able to put its independent line on many important problems.

The 1984 campaign was mainly carried through meetings addressed by more than ten parties with our Party having only one speaker. This obviously left out of consideration important facets of our Party line, like foreign policy, and other national issues. Even if national and international issues were sometimes referred to by our speakers they got drowned in a host of speeches from other parties which confined themselves to local issues and often indulged in personal attacks and criticism of the rival candidates.

The last election was perhaps the worst in this respect. Our leaders were confined to their constituencies and the responsibility for state campaigning was left to Karunanidhi, the DMK leader. At the state committee meeting held to review the elections several state committee members drew attention to this lapse, to this surrender of state campaigning to the DMK and strongly criticised the way in which we conducted the election.

The Secretariat accepted the criticism and embodied it in its final summing up. However, the sharpness and the strength of the criticism is not adequately reflected in the state committee's report. It is presented as if there was a minor mistake, some inadequacy only and not a wrong line of functioning inside the electoral front. It is clear that unless this weakness which has existed over years is sharply nailed down and fought, progress in Tamil Nadu will be hampered. It should be criticised sharply and unequivocally so that every party member becomes aware of it and is armed to combat it.

Though the report of the Tamil Nadu state committee gives an account of its activities in connection with the Sri Lanka agitation and correctly places the work it has done, it is not enough to convey the seriousness of the chauvinistic challenge and the courageous and unflinching fight with which the state committee and Party comrades faced the situation. In our Party there is not sufficient awareness of the happenings in Tamil Nadu and the active role played by our Party in combating the grave menace of Tamil chauvinism. This is mainly because the attention of our Party was almost exclusively concentrated on the disruption in Punjab and Assam.

It is a fact however that the challenge in Tamil Nadu was a serious one and at one time it appeared as if the entire situation would go out of hand. In the beginning the ruling and opposition parties including the CPI had come to the conclusion that there should be armed Indian intervention in Sri Lanka. An all-party delegation had gone to the Centre to plead for it. It was therefore necessary to pursue a line which gave full vent to the feeling of the people against the atrocities in Sri Lanka and at the same time save them from the chauvinistic and secessionist appeals of number of local parties. Every effort was made to slander us, denounce us for our sober and principled stand and isolate us from the people. But our Party leadership managed to lead the Party successfully, kept its rapport with the people and defeated the chauvinistic game of isolating us. The remarkable fact is that in this explosive situation there was hardly any vacillation among the people following us and only a few initially had doubts about the correctness of our line. This fight has enhanced the ideological prestige of our Party and strengthened its organizational unity.

### **Maharashtra**

The State Conference report noted that several united struggles and independent activities of the Party have taken place in the period since the Eleventh Congress. However, not much progress has been registered in the task of forging a

Left and democratic front The anti-authoritarian platform has also received a setback with the break-up of the Progressive Democratic Front. The report notes the possibilities for building a front of Left and democratic forces on a new basis in the state are emerging. However, in order for this to advance, it is clear that parties like the BJP will have to be scrupulously kept away. The review of the 1985 assembly elections highlighted this fact in view of the experience of the Congress(S), Janata and PWP jettisoning the Left and democratic alliance to team with the BJP.

The report recounts the significant role of the Party in the success of the "Bharat Bandh" of January 19, 1982; the CITU-led militant struggle of 5-lakh powerloom workers in 1984; the massive all-party unity and Bandh on January 31, 1984 in support of the peasant struggle in Uran (Dist. Raigad) for adequate compensation for land taken by the ONGC—a struggle, moreover, which was sought to be drowned in blood by the Congress(I) rulers; resulting in five martyrs laying their lives.

The three Left parties in the State—viz. the CPI(M), CPI and PWP (Peasants and Workers' Party) and the mass organizations led by them organized three major joint actions during this period—the peasant-agricultural workers' march to the Maharashtra Assembly in Nagpur on December 20, 1982, the one-lakh strong statewide participation in the Jail Bharo stir of November 22, 1983, and the massive state level student-youth demonstration in Bombay on September 21, 1984.

Independently, the Party organized a major demonstration in Bombay on April 11, 1984 to protest against the landlord atrocities on Adivasis at Shelti in Dhule district. Other independent activities included the observation of the National Integration Week in April 1982 and the Punjab Week in July 1984 both these being Central Party calls. The Karl Marx Death Centenary was also observed in many districts in 1983, as also the September 1 International Peace Day each year.

Inner-Congress rivalry has had the disastrous effect of aiding and abetting divisive and reactionary forces like the

Shiv Sena, Muslim fundamentalism, Maratha Mahasangh and the like. Analysing the May 1984 communal holocaust at Bhiwandi, Thane and Bombay, as well as the attempts to whip up passions on the question of reservations, the report particularly stresses the grave danger that divisive forces pose in Maharashtra today.

The report then analyses the two "independent" leaderships that have emerged in the state in the trade-union and kisan fields viz., the Datta Samant-led Kamgar Aghadi (Workers' Front) and the Sharad Joshi-led Shetkari Sanghatana (Peasants' Organization). While nursing no illusions about the class nature of these organizations, the Party has supported some of the specific agitations led by them and joined in united actions with them from time to time, e.g., stir against the new textile policy, remunerative prices for agricultural produce, the Bombay textile strike and so on. But the report also draws attention to the recent opportunist attempts in the direction of forming a Bal Thackeray-Sharad Joshi-Datta Samant axis in Maharashtra, noting its grave implications.

### **Organizational Picture**

The organizational report self-critically examines the working of the Party in the light of the guidance of the Salkia Plenum.

Party membership since the last Conference has registered a modest increase from 3,331 (1981) to 4,472 (1985). Effective steps, however, need to be taken to enhance the quality of this membership.

The mass organizations have registered some growth as the following figures show:-

	1981-82	1984-85
CITU	58,000	72,000
AIKS	42,000	48,000
SFI	31,856	50,380
DYFI	2,200	12,000
AIAWU		15,474

The CITU membership has increased from 58,000 at the

last Conference to about 72,000 at present, but this membership is mainly restricted to the smaller factories. In the key industries like docks, transport, electricity and power, and the major fields like textile and sugar industry, it is a negligible force. However, CITU work has begun among sections of rural workers.

During this period the CITU has played a significant role in initiating united actions on various issues. Independently, the CITU-led powerloom workers' struggle in Ichalkaranji, Solapur and Sangli in 1984 was undoubtedly an important landmark. But due mainly to its weakness on the textile front in Bombay, effective independent intervention was not possible in the Bombay textile strike, though the CITU did play an important role in united actions during the strike. In general, independent activity of CITU unions has lagged behind.

A Party Plenum on the trade union front was held in March 1983, and this laid down valuable guidelines for future work.

The Kisan Sabha membership increased from 42,000 at the last conference to 80,000 in 1984. The bulk of the membership is, however, restricted to the Adivasi areas. A Party Plenum on the Kisan Front was held in February 1984, and it has stressed that there is no future for the Party unless the movement rapidly extends to the vast mass of the peasantry. The Plenum has laid down important guidelines for achieving such expansion of the Kisan Sabha.

The Agricultural Workers' Union was started in the State in 1983, and its membership today stands at 15,474. Its main work is concentrated at present in Thane, Dhule, Nasik, Amravati and Beed districts. It has fought a number of battles in this period, for minimum wages and on other problems.

The report notes the progress made by the SFI in various fields during this period. The SFI membership which was 31,856 in the last Conference, increased to 1,03,193 in 1983, but due to the pre-occupation with Lok Sabha elections last year and other organizational weaknesses, it fell to 50,380

in 1984. However, advances have been registered in the fields of movement and agitations, organizations, political education of cadres and Party-building. Though the organization has spread to 25 districts, its consolidation and removal of some serious organizational weaknesses remains a priority task.

The DYFI-ordination at the State level was started only in 1984, but with a membership of 12,000 at present spread over around 10 districts there are hopeful signs for its rapid growth.

The Mahila Front has organized united and independent actions against price-rise and other issues in places like Bombay, Thane, Raigad and Ichalkaranji. There is now need for state-level co-ordination. In the above places, the Mahila Front plays a role in organizing women's resistance to high prices, violation of women's rights and atrocities against women.

The influence of the Party has increased on several other fronts as well. Party comrades lead important mass organizations. Its influence among the college teachers organization, especially, has increased, and it has been able to lead several important struggles of college teachers.

The organizational report stresses the need to increase the circulation and sale of the Party weekly *Jeevanmarg* and other Party journals and publications.

The credentials report of the Conference states that 54% of the delegates were aged 40 years and below, 63% had joined the Party after 1970. This indicates that a new generation of cadres is coming up at the different levels of the Party. For the future growth of the Party this composition will have to be kept in mind and organizational steps taken to develop them to fulfil the Party and mass organization responsibilities.

The situation in Maharashtra will not change unless drastic steps are taken to overcome present weaknesses. The State Secretariat requires more cohesion to give the necessary push to move forward. Very few district committees

report their activities to the state Secretariat and the committee. Most of the reporting is done only at the state committee meeting. The circulation of the state Party organ is very low. And yet there are heavy arrears to payment for the copies sent to the districts.

The trade union movement is badly affected. There was no meeting of the State CITU committee for a whole year. In this state of affairs it is difficult to help the movement build new unions, and give correct guidance. Bombay and Maharashtra have many unions established during the days of freedom struggle. They possess anti-communist bias. There must be a systematic plan to carry on fractional work in them. But no thought is given to it.

What the patient and systematic work can achieve even in the present situation is seen from the experience of University teachers front and the student front. The big success among the powerloom workers must be consolidated and proper attention should be paid to strengthen the union and draw recruits for the Party.

The proceedings of the Party conference show that new and younger elements are active in the Party and they showed utmost seriousness during discussions and debate. To arm them with the better understanding of Marxism must form an urgent task before the Party. Secondly, the state committee should make use of forum of a wider plenum to keep in touch with the lower units and get an idea of the problems agitating the minds of Party members. This will not only make for greater unity it will also make discussions at Party conference more fruitful and pointed. Besides it will provide the leadership of the lower units essence of growing participation in the discussions and shaping of Party decisions.

### **Punjab**

Since the 1981 state conference at Nakodar, Punjab has gone through a critical period for its people and the democratic movement. Four years back the State Conference had noted:

“In Punjab, the activities of communal, extremist and

separatist forces under the slogan of Khalistan are increasing and communal tension and division is growing which is endangering the democratic movement of the state....

“After the split in the Akali Dal both Akali Dals are vying with each other in rousing the religious and chauvinist feelings of the Sikhs. Both Akali Dals are raising provocative slogans of “Sikhs are a separate nation” and for realising the Anandpur resolution. Consequently the situation in Punjab started deteriorating and communal tensions increased....

“While the communalists of both the hues—Hindu and Sikh—and Sikh extremists and separatists are responsible for deteriorating the situation, both the factions of the ruling party Congress(I) in Punjab and the state government are also responsible for it. The fact is that the government instead of finding political solution of Punjab problems, it is causing great harm to the cause of Punjabi people and pursuing the policy of provoking strife amongst communities and amongst states....”

During this period the Party and the mass organizations led by it took a consistent stand against the activities of the extremists and communal forces and vigorously campaigned for communal amity, exposing the imperialist conspiracy to support the separatist Khalistani elements and to defend secularism by rallying the Punjabi people as a whole on their common demands.

The State Conference report has noted that the happenings of the last four years have fully proved the correctness of the decisions, approach and policy adopted by the state committee and the Central Committee.

In brief, this understanding can be summed up as follows:—

- 1) “To rouse the people against the danger posed to communal harmony, unity of Punjabi people and to unity and integrity of India by the extremists and separatists supported by imperialists, particularly American imperialists and Pakistan military clique, and to combat this danger.
- 2) Main responsibility for worsening the Punjab situation

devolves upon the Central Government and Congress(I). The Central Government instead of relying merely on administrative approach should adopt a political approach for solving the Punjab tangle through negotiations; it should differentiate between Akali Dal and extremists.

- 3) "The Akali Dal also, which did not clearly demarcate from the extremists, cannot escape responsibility for the worsening situation.
- 4) "Similarly, Hindi communalists also contributed to aggravating the situation.
- 5) "Akali Dal's approach of presenting common Punjabi demands as that of Sikhs alone, alienated it from democratic mainstream of the country; these common demands can only be achieved by disassociating from extremists and with the co-operation and support of secular and democratic forces of the country."

The Party and the mass organizations launched various campaigns to rally the people against the extremists and for communal harmony. The Party published and distributed thousands of pamphlets, among which were Comrade Surjit's letter to Prakash Singh Badal, Mrs. Gandhi and the open letter to Sant Harchand Singh Longowal. A fortnight in June 1982 was observed through hall meetings and rallies in all districts to take the Party line to the people. The CITU, Kisan Sabha, DYFI and SFI also carried on the independent programmes by holding rallies and conferences through their respective platforms. In September, 1983, a massive demonstration was held at Chandigarh to pressurise the Central Government to make a political settlement. The police resorted to severe lathi-charge resulting in over 200 comrades being injured. One comrade from Sangrur district died due to the injuries sustained.

The Party took the initiative for united actions to intervene in the deteriorating Punjab situation. Five Opposition parties decided to launch a joint campaign. This campaign led to joint rallies in many districts and the state level rally in

January 1984. More than 50,000 people participated in this rally. In January, joint peace marches were also held by the CITU and AITUC. The Railway workers also took out jointly an impressive peace march in the city. These activities were conducted in the face of dire threats from the extremist elements who raised the slogan of liquidating "atheists". The State Conference reviewing the work during this period, observed that there were certain weaknesses also. These were:

- a) The understanding of the Party in its totality could not be grasped by all the comrades in the beginning. The imperialist intervention and the threat it posed to the unity of India through the activities of the extremists could not be fully grasped.
- b) Our ideological campaign against the communal appeal and the ideology of the Akali Dal remained weak. Criticism of the Akali Dal for its responsibility for worsening the situation remained mild. The difference between the Akali Dal and the extremists was correctly made, but alongside it, it was also necessary to wage continuous ideological campaign against the communal appeal made by the Akali Dal. Had this campaign been carried out more consistently, our work would have yielded better results.

Summing up the State Conference report noted:

"During the last four years Party remained active in carrying out this campaign. This Party has emerged before the people as a consistent champion of unity and integrity of the country and communal harmony, and also defender of minorities. That is why people particularly minorities and Harijans looked towards the Party with increased respect."

In the elections to the Assembly held in September, 1985, the communal polarisation and the impact of the assassination of Sant Longowal led to the victory of Akali party. Our Party did not win any seat in the assembly. The Party conducted a vigorous election campaign propagating its line and demarcating from both the Congress(I) and Akali Dal.

The review of the election results noted that the Sikh peasantry was influenced by the communal polarisation and a section of the Sikh peasantry under Party's influence also voted for the Akali Dal.

It is a positive feature that the election results have not demoralised our ranks and the Party as a whole is unified behind the political line.

The State Conference report has laid stress on the necessity for stepping up our ideological struggle against all forms of religious fundamentalism and communal ideology. The whole Party must take up this as a priority task while conducting day-to-day struggles of different sections of the people.

On the organizational front, it is noted that there is no noteworthy increase in the Party membership. The abnormal situation in Punjab has had its effect on the expansion of the Party membership. The Party membership is 7305 in 1985 as compared to 6450 in 1981. The mass organizations' membership is as follows:

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Kisan Sabha	90,000
Agri. Workers Union	57,575
DYFI	24,766
SFI	20,473

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The Conference has emphasised the importance of improving the quality and circulation of the daily *Loklahar*.

The credentials report shows that the age composition of the Party is changing, 17 per cent of the delegates were 30 years and below of age and another 46 per cent were 31 to 50 years of age. As for class composition, 3 per cent were from the working class; 21 per cent agricultural labour; 22 per cent poor peasants; 39 per cent middle peasants; and 5 per cent rich peasants.

### Orissa

"The Congress(I) rule in the State has earned the notoriety of maladministration and anti-people policies, corruption and nepotism, rape and atrocities on women, attack on

journalists and above all the killings of Paradeep Port workers and Burla Engineering College Students. Against these the people of the State have raised their voice through a number of partial struggles and two State-wide Bandhs in 1983 and 1984 in which our Party played an important role. Despite the withdrawal of Janata Party, the Bandh call of August 9, was successful which was organized by the CPI(M), CPI, Socialist section of Janata and the NCC of the trade unions. But all these could not be consolidated because of inner-party situation and could not find reflection in elections to the State Assembly as the State Committee adopted erroneous election tactics.”

As mentioned in the last Congress political-organizational report, the State Party has suffered from inner-Party differences and violation of organizational norms. The State Conference held in November, 1985 has stressed the necessity to root out factionalism in the Party from the top which affects the functioning of the State Centre. The Polit Bureau and Central Committee have been intervening in the organizational affairs of the state to unify the state leadership without much success during this period.

Finally, the preparations for the State Conference was utilized to pin down the alien and individualistic trends and the State Secretariat after a sitting with the Polit Bureau unifiedly prepared the draft report. The report states, “Improvements are there following such intervention by the Polit Bureau. Comrades have become more vigilant....The disease is deep-rooted which cripples the State Centre, its intervening capacity on organizational matters and at times affects the adoption of a correct political-tactical approach to issues concerning movements and elections. After the Cuttack conference these deviations have become more virulent so that gross violation of discipline is being overlooked whereas smaller issues are being brought to the forefront....The Party cannot make advance unless the factional situation is brought to an end. To strengthen the unity and integrity of the Party, to end factionalism we shall have to take definite steps.”

The tasks set forth by the Conference for the state committee will have to be earnestly implemented by the whole committee and particularly the Secretariat.

This inner-Party situation has resulted in halting progress in the advance of Party and mass organizations. The Party membership which was 2381 in 1981 now stands at 2543 in 1985.

The CITU membership is 17,000 (of which 10,000 is in Sundergarh district). The Kisan Sabha membership is 18,248 as compared to 16,785 in 1981-82. The SFI membership has gone up from 9,823 in 1981 to 12,441 in 1983 and dropped to 10,089 in 1984. Closure of educational institutions and general elections affected the membership drive in 1984. There is progress in enrolment of girl students. The SFI won in 27 colleges in 1982, 22 in 1983 and 27 in 1984 including the premier institution of the state, Ravenshaw College. The SFI also won two out of the four student-seats in the Utkal University Senate.

The DYFI membership is lagging behind at 2058 in 1984 and not much attention has been paid to developing this front and developing cadres.

The effort to set up a state-level committee of the AIDWA has not been successful. In Cuttack, Rourkela and few other places some local level functioning and activities have started.

In the Panchayat elections in January, 1984, the Party fought alone and there were no adjustments. The Congress won 55 per cent of the gram panchayat; Janata 30 per cent, CPI won 130 and we won 96. The Party contested the Bhubaneswar seat in the Lok Sabha elections in alliance with Janata and CPI and polled 1,47,086 votes. Had the State Committee not adopted wrong tactics with regard to adjustment of seats during Assembly elections the Party could have done better.

After assassination of Indira Gandhi, our Party and CITU played a significant role in providing protection to Sikh community at Rourkela which even got the recognition of the administration in form of appointment of more than 200 comrades of ours as a special police force to maintain peace during the riot period.

The State Conference has critically noted the failure to carry on a sustained ideological struggle which could have steeled the cadres and put the organization on correct lines. The weekly *Samyavadi's* circulation is very low and in many districts Party members are not taking the paper. The fight against feudal ideology which predominates in the backward social conditions in Orissa must be taken forward with vigour.

Only when the Party leadership from top to bottom is moulded on correct Marxist-Leninist lines can the Party make rapid advance in Orissa where the bankruptcy of the Congress(I) and other bourgeois landlord parties is being increasingly exposed.

The credentials report of the State Conference shows that 67 per cent of the delegates were 40 years and below of age, 71 per cent of the delegates and observers were from the middle class. The composition shows that proper attention to mould these cadres on Marxist-Leninist lines is essential for the Party to develop.

### **Karnataka**

The State saw an important turn in its politics when the Congress(I) was defeated for the first time since independence in the 1983 elections. A Janata Government, with the support of the CPI(M), CPI and BJP came into existence. The elections saw an understanding with the Janata by the Party and we won three seats in the legislature for the first time. This victory was a big fillip to the democratic forces and weakened the authoritarian party's hold in the South along with the defeat in Andhra.

However, the machinations of the Congress led to the Kranti Ranga faction walking out. The Central Government tried to topple this ministry. The developments in 1984, culminating in Mrs. Gandhi's assassination led to the Congress sweeping the Parliament elections by winning 24 out of 28 seats. Hegde resigned and mid-term Assembly elections were held in March. The understanding with BJP and Janata

broke down and the Janata came to an understanding with CPI(M) and CPI on seat adjustments. In the background of the massive Parliament elections victory, the Janata won an absolute majority in the Assembly thereby giving a firm rebuff to the Congress for the second time. This victory of the anti-Congress forces has strengthened the democratic forces. Our Party won two seats, losing its earlier three sitting seats.

The performance of the Janata government after these elections have taken a retrograde path. They have adopted many anti-people measures such as hike in bus and electricity rates; going back on the capitation fees issue; succumbing to linguistic chauvinistic pressures etc.

Our Party is independently and along with the CPI and Left forces seeking to put up resistance to these policies and mobilizing the people while at the same time countering the Congress(I) moves to create disruption and gain.

The July, 1985 agitation against the step-motherly treatment of the Centre towards the development of the State saw 20,000 people all over the State participating in the rail-roko and picketing of post offices at the call of the Party. On August 9 at the trade union level a big movement was held for fixing minimum wages and 30,000 people picketed State Government offices. Over 5 lakh workers struck work that day.

The state committee and Secretariat had to seriously consider the penetration of ultra-Left and Christian Left elements into the Party and mass organizations. Due to a wrong understanding and liberalism on the part of the State Secretary and the Secretariat, the Central Committee had to appoint a three-man commission to enquire into the matter. On the basis of the commission's recommendations, the Central Committee directed that steps be taken to check this organizational infiltration and educate the whole Party ideologically to counter the influence of petty-bourgeois and pro-imperialist agencies. The State Secretary was replaced and certain committees were reconstituted. The Eleventh Congress

political-organizational report had warned off this danger and the last two years have been taken up with educating the Party to counter the influence of Christian Left, dalits and naxalites. This process of education must continue. The state committee will have to guard itself in future against the young versus old trend which is alien to Marxist-Leninist principles of organization.

The Aikya Ranga weekly circulation is only 2300. More efforts have to be made to improve its content and circulation.

The influence of CITU is increasing amongst the workers. Some progress has been made with respect to public sector units. The all-India Public Sectors-Convention was held successfully in Bangalore.

The Party membership since 1981 has gone up from 2196 to only 2432 in 1985. The membership increase is not commensurate with the influence the Party wields. For instance the membership in Bangalore is below 200.

As for the mass organizations, the Kisan Sabha has registered good progress in membership with 83900 members in 1984-85 as compared to 30,000 in 1981-82.

The SFI has also been able to expand its influence and its membership stands at 15,191 in 1984 as compared to 5172 in 1981. The membership of the DYFI was 6553 in 1984.

The State Conference has decided that work on the women's front and cultural front must be reviewed in the light of past experience and reoriented so that pseudo-Left and ultra-Left tendencies do not derail these organizations.

The circulation of *People's Democracy* in the state is only 374. Attention has not been paid to this aspect.

In Karnataka inner-Party situation and organization needs lot of improvement. It is necessary to see that the Bangalore district committee functions with greater cohesiveness and sense of collective functioning. Continuous work by individual comrades is no substitute for collective work.

Factionalism, individualism and bureaucratic behaviour often manifest themselves and they obstruct the progress of

the Party. This is accompanied by liberalism towards those who opportunistically violate Party norms. There is need for greater collective functioning at Party secretariat level and the CITU and Trade Union levels.

### **Uttar Pradesh**

The most populous state in the country is U.P. It is undergoing serious economic crisis, collapse of administration at the lower levels, increasing attacks on scheduled castes and growing activities of communal and casteist forces thanks to Congress(I) misrule. The concentration of land continues with land reform measures proving to be an eye-wash. Land holders up to one hectare numbering 70.4 per cent occupy only 28.2 per cent of the land. On the other hand, holders above five hectares (12.5 acres) held 20.1 per cent of the land, if benami transfers are taken into account the unevenness becomes more acute. The ceiling legislation in the past 25 years has been able to distribute only one per cent of total agricultural land.

The growing nexus of ruling class politicians and criminals is evident by the fact that ninety legislators, eight thousand cooperators and half of the village pradhans and about 30 per cent of the block chiefs have criminal records. Crimes against scheduled castes and tribes and communal riots have risen considerably. Mafia gangs enjoying political patronage are used to attack the rural downtrodden.

The Party has been a weak force in this state and the Left in general has no decisive intervening capacity yet. However, the Party in the past four years has been active in raising the demands of the people. The jail bhara movement in September, 1983 saw a total of 21 thousand Party workers and supporters going to jail of whom 15 thousand were from the peasantry. This number was seven times that in the previous jail bhara struggle in February, 1981.

Party membership has registered some progress being 6546 in 1985 as compared to 4780 in 1980. This rate of growth is however slow keeping in view the vast size of the state.

As for mass organizations, the CITU unions show a membership of 14,000 for which affiliation fees have been paid for 1984 which does not reflect the organizational influence of the CITU. The Kisan Sabha membership which was 1,02,733 in 1981-82 now stands at 75,035 in 1984-85. The Khet Mazdoor Union has 10,000 members.

The SFI membership has gone up to 10,754 in 1984 as compared to 8,976 in 1981. The DYFI membership has gone up from 7000 in 1981 to 20,164 in 1984.

The weaknesses in the organization of the Kisan Sabha were pinpointed in the Conference Report and steps suggested to remove the impediments to its growth. Similarly, the Khet Mazdoor Union is also weak without a state centre.

Kanpur hosted the fifth CITU national conference in April, 1983. Rupees three lakhs were raised for this conference, of which half was raised in Kanpur itself. The CITU unions exist in 36 districts of the state. There is failure to send affiliation fees in time and regularly. Due to CITU initiative a joint trade union coordination committee has been set up in the state.

The SFI membership is existing in 24 districts. However, the SFI is weak in the University campuses of which there are 19 in the state.

On September 15, 1982 over 5,000 students and youth were mobilized from all over the state on the demand of jobs for all and education for all. The DYFI and SFI together collected over a lakh of signatures for this rally.

So far no state-level organization of the Mahila Samiti has been able to function. District level membership and units are being formed. In nine districts there is membership. In Kanpur, 2850 members have been enrolled and district conference has been held.

In the March, 1985 Assembly elections, the Party contested 27 seats. We won election in 2 seats, Gangapur and Akbarpur. In three others the Party candidate came second. In the previous Assembly elections, we had not been able to win any seat. Overall the opposition parties improved their position in the Vidhan Sabha as compared to 1980.

The circulation of *Lok Lahar* has not improved. Since last conference it has gone down from 3200 to 2800. Serious effort has been lacking in this respect by the Party units. The sale of *Marxvadi* is very low and immediate steps have to be taken by the Party committees to organize its circulation.

The credential report of the conference shows that 49 per cent of the delegates were graduates or post-graduates; 48 per cent joined the Party after 1977; and 45 per cent were 40 years of age or below. This composition highlights the needs for urgent education and proper check up of the development of the new cadres, without which the Party will not be able to advance and spread its influence.

### **Rajasthan**

The State Committee of Rajasthan has unified the Party and advanced in the past three years after waging a serious battle against the anti-Party activities of Punamia and his group since their expulsion in 1981. With the assistance of the Polit Bureau, this group was isolated and the mass base of the Party in Kota and other places preserved. In this fight, many Party comrades had to face physical attacks in Kota. The success of this battle can be gauged from the fact that despite the majority of the district leadership being expelled, the workers of the Kota, in particular J.K. factory, rallied behind the CITU and the Party despite all attempts at disruption.

Rajasthan has the legacy of deep-rooted feudal traditions which provide the basis for casteism and communalism with the development of capitalist relations. Old feudal princes and jagirdars still hold thousands of acres violating the laws. The Party has been active in leading struggles of workers, peasants and tribals. It has made advances in face of severe repression among the tribal people in Dungarpur and Udaipur districts.

The Kisan Sabha has old traditions in this state of struggle against feudal princes. It has to reorient its outlook and

set up an efficient organization from top to bottom if it is to consolidate the various struggles in the different districts.

On the trade union front, the CITU has had to wage a two-fold struggle, one against the capitalist-goonda-police attacks and the other the disruptionist activities of the anti-Party elements.

In the elections to the state assembly in March, 1985, the Party won one seat in Ganganagar district. We lost another with a small margin while polling 32 thousand votes. However, in the sitting seat in Sikar, we lost badly.

The Party membership is 2234 in 1985 as compared to 2124 in 1981. This is a negligible increase given the potential.

As for the mass organisations, the Kisan Sabha has increased its membership from 27,900 in 1981-82 to 35,000 in 1984-85. The CITU unions membership is lagging behind with 17,444 in 69 unions up to September 1985.

The DYFI membership stood at 13,163 up to September 1985. The SFI membership has grown from 6300 in 1981 to 9200 in 1984. The big mobilization of youth and students, ten thousand strong in the DYFI-SFI rally on September 15, 1985 shows the potential in these two fronts. The Party has to pay more attention to their development.

The Mahila Samiti has been organized in four districts and has been in the lead to take up dowry murders and oppression of women.

The Party has increased its influence in the school teachers movement.

There is a big drop in the circulation of *Lok Lahar* of a thousand copies. Sufficient importance has not been given to its sale. It should be remembered that the wide circulation of *Lok Lahar* in Kota helped the Party to fight the disruptionists. The sale of *Marxvadi* also does not exceed 50. Given the fact that 51 per cent of the delegates at the State Conference joined the Party after 1977 and the youthful composition, much more stress has to be paid to ideological training and inculcation of Marxist-Leninist norms of organizational functioning.

**Bihar**

Bihar has become notorious for being one of the worst administered states under the Congress(I). There is collapse of administration at the lower levels and rule of law is absent in many districts where dacoits and landlord's armed gangs hold sway. Atrocities against scheduled castes and tribes are a regular occurrence as also attacks by upper castes landlords on agricultural labour and landless. The Party and its cadres in the rural areas face constant attacks and threats in resisting landlord oppression.

The Bihar state unit had to combat the disruptive activities of S.S. Shrivastava, former secretary, who was expelled from the Party in April 1983 after trying to disrupt the Party by parallel factional activities. The state committee with the assistance of the Polit Bureau fought out this disruptive move and succeeded in rallying the big majority of the cadres and members to the Party's line. Thanks to these efforts for the past three years, some of the comrades who were misled by the anti-Party group have now realized their mistake and re-entered the Party fold.

The gross violation of democratic centralism and wrong political understanding of these elements led to the State Committee paying greater attention to strengthen collective functioning and to educate the Party ranks on the lines of the Eleventh Congress and the Salkia Plenum. This process is continuing. As a portion of the Party's energies were spent on this, the organizational growth of Party and mass organizations do not fully reflect the multifarious activities of the Party and mass organizations.

The Party membership was recorded only a marginal increase of 11,613 in 1985 as compared to 11,224 in 1981. The CITU membership has remained stationary at approximately 70,000 in 1984, the same as in 1981. The AIKS has recorded an increase of 25,000 in this period from 1,25,000 in 1981 to 1,50,000 in 1985. The Khet Mazdoor Union membership stands at 37,850 in 1984. The DYFI membership has remained stagnant at 30,000. The SFI membership

is thirty three thousands in 1985. The Mahila membership is 5000.

The State unit has played a good role in united actions and moving independently on issues of defence of democratic rights and people's demands. Against the Bihar Press Bill which sought to throttle Press freedom, the Party actively participated in the 10th September State Bandh on the issue. This was followed by a big state level rally organized by the Party in Patna against the Press Bill and other issues in which Com. E.M.S. Namboodiripad participated.

In July 1983 Left parties and secular opposition united and gave a call for the August 9 State Bandh which was also successful. Due to the mass resistance, the Press Bill was withdrawn.

The growing united actions were hampered by the CPI going back on its written assurance to support the Party's candidate for the Legislative Council elections. The CPI has continued to adopt an unfriendly attitude and in the Assembly elections also no agreement could be reached due to their disruptive tactics.

The Party took up many issues and launched independent actions. In June, 1984, it organized padayatras to district headquarters. This was followed up by observance of Punjab week in July.

The Party also worked actively to make the Bihar Bandh call given unitedly, a big success on August 29, 1984 demanding the reinstatement of the NTR ministry in Andhra Pradesh.

In the Parliament election, the Party contested three seats, Nawadha, Khagariah and Rajmahal. The DMKP and CPI supported us in these three seats. The Party polled 2,63,850 in these three seats with over one lakh votes polled in each of the first two seats.

In the March Assembly elections of 1985, the Party could get only one seat contesting 45 seats. In these elections there was no understanding at the State-level between opposition parties and us. In nine seats we came in second position. In eighteen seats we clashed with the CPI. The attitude of the CPI once again showed their anti-CPI(M) stand.

The State Committee self-critically reviewing the elections noted that it should have stuck to its earlier decision to fight up to 30 seats so that the campaign could be better organized and resources concentrated.

At the Party organizational level, the main emphasis in the report to the state conference has been laid on educating the new entrants to the Party. There have been some schools organized at the district-level in the period but considering the requirements Party schooling has to be stepped up in a big way. Proper cadre policy and ensuring regular wages to whole-timers has also been stressed.

The State Committee has opened a book stall next to its office. As for Party papers' sales, the *Lok Lahar* circulation has shown some improvement having gone from around 2500 in 1981 to 3400 in October, 1985. However, the sale of *People's Democracy* has declined to around 600. The sale of *Marxvadi* is 250 in the State.

The Bihar unit of the Party has good potential to go ahead and develop a strong base given the acute social contradictions and militant traditions of the oppressed people in the State. The elimination of the anti-Party tendencies and the reorienting of the Party on correct lines should lay the basis for future growth. The credentials report of the State Conference shows that the bulk of the delegates are young and 33 per cent joined the Party in the post-1975 period (though this is not as high as other Hindi speaking states). Proper attention will have to be paid to train up these cadres to take up the work of leading the mass struggles and manning the mass organizations. A sustained ideological moulding of these new cadres and Party members is necessary to equip them to fight against casteism and bourgeois-landlord ideologies so that the Party can strike deep roots among the working masses.

### **Madhya Pradesh**

This sprawling state in the heart of India has always been a weak region for the Left movement. After the split in

1964, the CPI(M) began organized state-wide functioning only after its third conference in 1978. Since then, with the limited resources, the Party has made some progress. The recent conference has shown that the Party membership is 1128 in 1985 compared to 1074 in 1981. The Party membership has not grown commensurate to the expanding activities of the Party and mass organizations. In the assembly elections in March, in Bhilai the Party polled 30,708 votes and lost to Congress(I) by only 1124 votes. In 1980 the Party had got 12,177 votes.

The Party in Madhya Pradesh did good work in mobilizing people from the state to participate in the October 1982 Peace March in Delhi.

The state centre and Party in Bhopal has been active in meeting the situation caused by the gas tragedy. The Party in coordination with the AIDWA, SFI and Delhi Science Forum has been running a campaign in the gas affected areas. The SFI conducted a detailed survey of the victims and a medical clinic has been run with the help of medicines and doctors coming from other parts of the country. In July an impressive demonstration was held by the CPI(M), CPI and mass organizations, in which the role of the multinational, Union Carbide, was exposed.

The mass organizations have registered some progress. The SFI membership was 19182 in 1984 compared to 6182 in 1982. The DYFI membership was 8175 in 1984 compared to a thousand in 1982.

Kisan Sabha works only in a few pockets. In adivasi area it works only in Sahdol and Behar. State Kisan Sabha committee is defunct and revival of the committee and organization is immediate priority after the conference. There were 25,000 members in 1983-84 but no membership has been deposited this year.

The AIDWA work has developed in Gwalior, Morena, Raipur and Raigarh. Work has also started recently in Bhopal. Attention will have to be paid now for a state-level functioning body.

On the trade union front despite many struggles and growing influence of the CITU unions, the organization has not shown any improvement. In the coal belt our influence has grown but the membership increase is marginal. In Bhilai the work of the fraction is improving. But in major textile centres, Bhopal, Jabalpur, etc., no organized work has progressed. The CITU centre is functioning only minimally and it has to be strengthened. The CITU union's membership has not been ascertained.

At the Party level with a weak state centre and a state with vast area, federal tendency among district units gets pronounced and the state committee must check this trend and concentrate work in the areas selected by them to consolidate the work done so far. Training of cadres politically and ideologically will have to be given high priority.

There has been no increase in the circulation of *Lok Lahar* in this period, in fact there is a slight drop. It stands at a thousand currently which is low for such a big state and the growing needs of the Party's activists.

Analysis of the credentials report shows that 49 per cent of the delegates were aged 35 years and below, 53 per cent were graduates and post-graduates. This youthful and educated composition has to be intensively trained to take up the tasks of developing the Party in this important and big state.

## **Delhi**

The Party in Delhi has been active in building up the influence of the Party in an area which has traditionally seen the dominance of two forces, the Congress(I), and the BJP. In the past four years, the Congress(I) has gained at the expense of the BJP as seen in the 1983 Metropolitan Council elections and the Lok Sabha polls.

The Party membership has increased from 732 in 1981 to 832 in 1985, a small increase. Being basically drawn from the working class, the membership has also suffered due to large-scale closures and lockouts in the industrial belts of

Delhi, Ghaziabad and Faridabad. The youth and women's organizations have progressed well with the DYFI membership increasing from 4771 in 1981 to 6554 in 1984. The Mahila Samity membership has grown from 2315 in 1981 to 5090 in 1985. The SFI membership has not shown any increase being at 1543 though this does not reflect the influence of the organization.

The Party has paid serious attention to the anti-war movement and had mobilized well for the October 4 peace march and subsequent calls in 1983 and 1984. It has also taken the lead to stage anti-imperialist demonstrations in the capital.

The Delhi State Committee conducted a good campaign for the A.K.Gopalan Bhavan fund and raised Rs. 85,000 against their quota of Rs. 50,000.

The Party members working in the college teachers front have good influence in the teachers movement. In the 4000 strong DUTA, in the last two biennial elections, the candidate of the Democratic Teachers' Front has been returned as the president, defeating pro-Congress(I), pro-BJP candidates.

The Delhi state unit sells 150 copies of *The Marxist* and 100 copies of *Marxvadi* regularly. However, it has failed to substantially increase the sale of *Lok Lahar* which is still in the region of 900 copies per week.

The CITU has a membership of 27,108 in its affiliated unions as compared to 30,000 in 1981. To make further advance it requires a planned effort to establish itself in the big units and key sectors in Delhi city. The Party has to continue to pay much more attention to Party building in the factories in Ghaziabad and Faridabad.

In JNU, the SFI has been winning continuously the elections to the students union for well over a decade. In the 1984 and 1985 elections, they have won all four office bearers' posts and getting a majority in the Council. Sufficient attention has not been paid by the student front leadership to increase SFI membership in the state. The Janwadi Mahila Samity has played a leading role in the anti-dowry movement in the city.

Given the fact that 63 per cent of the Party members have been enrolled in the post-1977 period, a lot of attention has to be paid to Party education. The State Committee conducted two state schools including one for branch secretaries during this period, apart from some local schools.

Levy collection is regular and the annual levy collection deposited at the state centre has nearly doubled compared to the 1981 figure.

Analysis of the 1985 Party membership shows that 70 per cent of the total membership is from the working class. fiftyeight per cent of the members are below 35 years of age. The working class component being the bulk, the Party has to systematically educate them and equip them to fulfil the trade union and general Party tasks.

### **Haryana**

Haryana is a region which during the days of the anti-imperialist movement had been deprived of the progressive impact of the mass participation against imperialism. The peasant mass had been mobilized by the union Party headed by Sir Choturam who advocated collaboration with the British while championing peasant demands. As a result the Left movement has been historically weak and the influence of casteism is very strong.

In the last few years since the Emergency, the Party has made progress in advancing its activities and building up mass organizations. It has been successful in attracting educated youth from the urban and rural areas and the student and youth fronts have developed and expanded their base. The SFI membership has increased to 7792 in 1984 as compared to 2,200 in 1981.

The state centre has been strengthened by the establishment of a state office at Rohtak which was absent at the time of the last conference. The functioning of the state committee and Secretariat has shown improvement while more attention will have to be paid to removing the weaknesses in the functioning of the district committees. The

Party members and district cadres have to be educated on Communist method of work in mass organizations.

On the trade union front, the membership of the CITU unions have been adversely affected with large-scale closures, such as the Hissar Textile Mills and the absence of a regularly CITU state centre. The membership in 1984 of the unions was 7000.

The Party has paid some attention to organize cultural forums and debates to counter the grip of the feudal and backward ideologies of casteism and communalism which have met with a good response. This will have to be stepped up.

The Bhajan Lal government has set up a notorious record in its corrupt practices, unscrupulous defections and goondaism. A nexus of corrupt officials, police, Congressmen and goondas are terrorising different sections of society and the opposition. They are also used to break workers' struggles in factories.

The Haryana Party took a correct and principled stand on the Punjab accord and refused to be drawn into the stand of the bourgeois opposition parties like Lok Dal and BJP who opposed the accord and began a campaign.

The State Conference has stressed the importance of re-orienting work in the Kisan Sabha and building up an effective organization in view of the growing discontent among the peasantry with the impact of the agrarian crisis. The kisan membership is only 4104 in 1984-85.

On the ideological and educational front, the fact that 66 per cent of the delegates joined the Party in 1977 shows the urgent necessity for training and equipping them on Marxist-Leninist lines. In this connection the failure to step up sales of *Lok Lahar* which stands today at 553 was noted.

## Gujarat

The Gujarat state unit of the Party faces a very difficult situation because of its general weakness. The Party and the mass organizations continue to be weak in spite of several upheavals involving tens of thousands, even lakhs of people.

Because of this and similar weakness of the Left forces in the state the accumulated mass discontent gets easily diverted into reactionary channels. The anti-reservation agitation, the caste and communal riots, were manifestation of this diversion.

Between Vijayawada and Calcutta Congresses, Party membership increased from 500 to 908; CITU membership from 18,000 to 25,000; Kisan Sabha from 12,000 to 18,000; DYFI 3,000 to 5,000; SFI 4,000 to 8,000; Mahila Samiti from 500 to 8,000.

The Party took a correct stand on the question of reservation and sought to lessen the harm that was done by the splitting activities of the caste forces. Among the kisans the Party is active among the adivasis and has recently taken up a number of problems affecting them. The Party fought the assembly elections but fared badly. The CPI also is a weak force and both parties being weak, they are unable to intervene effectively in mass movements or electoral struggle. The initiative thus always lies with one or the other bourgeois opposition party.

The circulation of Party papers *People's Democracy*, *Lok Lahar* and *Hakal* is very meagre and no serious effort is made to increase it.

The report presented to the State Conference refers to alien tendencies inside the Party and nails down the wrong attitude towards working class elements joining the Party. It says that sometimes members with educational qualifications coming from higher strata get automatic promotion to higher bodies. The report also criticises the failure to increase Party membership especially in industrial centres of Ahmedabad and Baroda.

The anti-reservation movement gave a serious blow to working class unity. The Party took a correct stand on the question of reservation and in spite of many weaknesses revealed in the course of movement, improved its image among the scheduled caste workers.

While the report deals at length with a number of deviations

it does not give proper attention to the growth of bureaucratism inside the Party leadership, arbitrary actions against Party members in the name of maintaining discipline. In one district a large number of members were arbitrarily deprived of membership on the eve of the district conference. These practices need to be curbed and strong action is called for against those indulging in them. The new leadership is now aware of the harm done by bureaucratic practices and is intent on the strict observance of Party norms at all levels. A proper programme of mass actions combined with concentration of certain districts and on certain fronts will enable the Party to overcome its present deplorable state. Special importance attaches to the SFI and DYFI fronts which if properly and constantly guided are capable of rapid expansion. In addition, it is necessary to hold regular Party schools to educate the membership, a big section of whom requires constant attention in the matter of Party Programme and Marxist ideology. It seems the state committee did plan to have such Party schools but the plans did not fructify. This weakness must be quickly overcome to streamline the Party activities and increase its inner unity.

### **Himachal Pradesh**

In this weak state for the Party, the Left movement has registered good progress in Party membership. From 273 in 1981 it has more than doubled to 621. The Party has been able to increase its influence among different sections of the population particularly, students, youth and workers. In this, the Party has been greatly helped by the growth on the student front. The SFI membership stood at 8985 in 1984 as compared to 5165 in 1981. The SFI won in 12 out of the 15 college union elections held in 1984. It is also the strongest force in the Himachal University campus.

The CITU has also developed its activities and the recent 60-day strike by hotel workers in Shimla showed that the CITU union had emerged as the biggest force. There are now over 4000 workers organized into 13 unions.

Thy DYFI has now increased its membership to 14000 in 1984 and it has membership in all the six districts.

The growing impact of the Party can be seen from the fact that in the March assembly elections, the Party candidate in Shimla polled 5368 votes as against the Congress(I)'s 8825 and BJP's 8195.

The State Committee was not functioning with a centre at the time of the last conference. Now since a year, the state Party office has been set up in Shimla.

There are 24 wholetimers today as compared to 1981 when there were four wholetimers, of which 18 are paid wages.

The Party membership is organized into seven district committees and a local committee, in which there are 61 branches.

The State Conference credentials report has shown that out of 103 delegates and observers, 55 were post-graduates or graduates. Of the total, 75 per cent joined the Party after 1977. If these cadres are properly trained and equipped, the Party can make quick progress in this state.

The Kisan Sabha membership which was around 4000 in 1981-82 has gone up to 7365 in 1984-85, with work centres in five districts. There has been improvement in the meetings of the State Kisan Council. District and village level organizations will have to be strengthened.

The circulation of *Lok Lahar* is only 375 which has to be improved.

### **Jammu & Kashmir**

The Party had suffered in Jammu and Kashmir due to the whole unit having gone over to the naxalism in 1968. Since the leading comrades realized their mistake and came back in 1976 to form the CPI(M) unit, work has progressed.

In 1981 Party membership was 200, and it is 291 in 1985. The kisan membership has increased from 12,000 to 17,000.

The Party during this period has had to face the attacks

of the Muslim fundamentalists, particularly the Jamiat-e-Islami. These miscreants have attacked Party members and sympathisers in Bogam, Sandhu, Dialgam, Brinty, Aragam and Bandipora. They have physically attacked Party and Kisan Sabha rallies and also houses of the comrades. Every Party unit in the state had boldly faced these attacks and carried forward the Party's work. The Party unit organized a state level peace convention along with the CPI in September 1982 which was attended by 800 delegates. The Party also held a big convention to mark the Marx death centenary which was addressed by Jyoti Basu. This enrages the fundamentalists further.

The Congress(I) has been playing a dangerous game by toppling the elected Farooq ministry and hobnobbing with communal elements. The state has seen in the recent period increased activities of the secessionist and fundamentalist elements under the defector ministry. They make a special target of the Party and preach virulent anti-communism.

The Party joined the joint movement to protest against the toppling of the Farooq Abdullah ministry by the Centre. Some of the comrades were detained for these activities. The Party has continued working to strengthen the employees' movement. There is no industrial development in Kashmir but Jammu is developing. The Party has to take steps to develop CITU there.

The SFI has not been able to make much headway after a good start due to fundamentalist attacks and campaign. An organizing committee has been formed and work is being restarted. More attention has to be paid to develop the DYFI also systematically in both Jammu and in Kashmir.

The circulation of Urdu *Lok Lahar* which was around a thousand at the time of the last conference has declined to 524 now. This has been noted self-critically in the conference and emphasis paid to improving circulation.

Three state Party schools of 3-4 days duration were conducted during this period.

## CONCLUSION— IMMEDIATE TASKS

The foregoing description of the Party and mass organizations at the Centre and in the states enables us now to outline the tasks to be immediately fulfilled.

It is now 22 years since the Party Programme was adopted, 7 years since the Salkia Plenum underlined the importance of developing ourselves into a mass revolutionary Party of the working class and 4 years since the Eleventh Congress outlined the task of building the Left and democratic front. We see now that the crisis of the capitalist path along which the country is being taken by the ruling Congress Party and its Government has turned the national economy into shambles, its political institutions exposing their utter incapacity to deal with the developing problems in the country, the ruling party riven with internal dissensions and factional intrigues and so on. The shortlived euphoria following the electoral victory of Rajiv Gandhi in December 1984 is being replaced by frustration in his own party which is as divided a house as it ever was.

The bourgeois Opposition parties in their turn have proved their incapacity to take the country out of the ever-deepening crisis into which the ruling party with its anti-people and anti-national policies is driving the country. None of the bourgeois opposition parties in fact has any socio-economic programme which can be projected as an alternative to the programme of the ruling party. Some of them adopt programmatic positions which support the anti-national and divisive forces of casteism, communalism, regional separatism etc. Even many which are relatively secular have failed to challenge the basic socio-economic policies of the ruling party, their approach to the planned development of the country being virtually similar to those of the ruling party.

Against this background, our Party's call for the unity of Left and democratic forces is of crucial importance. Only by the Left parties plunging themselves into the day-to-day struggles of the working people, cooperating with all others in

strengthening these struggles, unifying the fighting millions engaged in these struggles around a programme which is the radical alternative to those of the ruling Congress Party and of the bourgeois opposition parties will it be possible for a united Left to draw the disillusioned masses within the bourgeois opposition parties as well as within the ruling party into struggles in defence of the working people's life, of the unity and integrity of the country and defend democracy.

A positive development of this four-year period is that the Left is increasingly coming together, cooperation between the Left and other secular democratic forces is also growing. As against this however is the fact that there are serious differences of an ideological, political and practical character among the Left parties themselves and between them and other secular democratic forces. The CPI(M) happens to be the most clear headed among them having consistent policies on international as well as national questions. The Party in fact has emerged as the most dynamic Left force in the country, its initiative on political questions being welcomed by several other parties, organizations and groups, though its organized striking force is confined to a few pockets. The expansion of the Party in terms of membership, its improvement in terms of the class and age composition of its membership, the level of its ideological and political understanding, its capacity to go to the people and guide their movements and struggles; and, above all, its acquisition of the character of a disciplined revolutionary party—these have become the key elements in transforming the entire political situation in the country.

The question is whether we have such a Party today, whether the Party which has been built over the last two decades is capable of discharging a task which devolves on the CPI(M) as mentioned above. The reports made and the discussions held in the State Conferences and during the last 4 days in this Congress have demonstrated the increasing political-organizational unity of the Party. As against this however are various problems—ideological, political and

organizational. The Party can consolidate the gains made and overcome the weaknesses revealed if only the leading units of the Party—the Polit Bureau and Central Committee above, and the secretariats and state committees below—take steps to find solutions for the problems.

The main problem that has arisen is that, although we have a correct ideological-political line which is valid for the entire country, its implementation is hampered by many factors, the most important of them being that the Party line is not properly understood or concretely applied. There is in fact a good deal of confusion on issues on which the Party has come to conclusions after full inner-Party discussions, since the authoritative documents of the Party Congress and the Central Committee are not used for that ideological work whose importance was emphasised in the Salkia Plenum and the following documents. What has been done by the Central Committee and the state committees by way of running schools, organizing systematic reporting from top to bottom and from the bottom upwards, bringing out of journals and pamphlets etc. is inadequate to meet the requirements of the situation.

The Polit Bureau and Central Committee, the secretariat and state committees should, therefore, plan the further improvement of their work in this regard. If this is properly done, there is vast scope for attracting towards the Party the large number of cadres of the ruling and bourgeois opposition parties who are being increasingly disillusioned with the policies and practices of their own organizations and leaders. On the other hand, if this task is neglected, there is danger of our own comrades themselves being affected by alien class ideas emanating from the bourgeois-landlord classes.

The documents and reports of the State conferences held before this Congress show that, while the Party and the mass organizations have been growing in some parts of the country, there are several states, where there is stagnation. There is no relation between the increasing popularity of the CPI(M) among the people at large and our Party's endeavour to utilize this favourable situation.

Stagnation is revealed not only in the matter of Party building and the building of the mass organizations. It is glaringly reflected also in the sale of the weeklies, dailies and other agit-prop literature. Some states like Assam and Punjab no doubt had some special difficulties in this regard during the last 4 years, but no such difficulty is found in several other states. The Polit Bureau and the Central Committee will have to sit with the state committees where the Party growth is stagnating for years. Concrete targets for a year or so will have to be fixed for each state and constant watch on their implementation kept. If necessary, some organizational reshuffling may have to be done; in that case, we should not hesitate to do so.

A sharp break should in fact be made from the present practice of having the review of the political and organizational situation only when the Party conferences are held at the state and the district levels, followed by the Party Congress. This means that there is no review for 3 to 4 years—sometimes even longer as it took full six years between the Ninth and the Tenth Congress. While the state committees as well as the Central Committee normally review the current situation and take appropriate decisions, there is no overall planning of future work or review after the plan is implemented. It is therefore suggested that at least once a year, the Central Committee should familiarise itself with and give guidance to the state committees on the political developments in that particular state, help the state committees to deal with them as well as with the organizational questions such as membership recruitment check up on the work done by the members, their theoretical and practical education, their organized work in mass organizations, participation in the continuing battle of ideas etc. The Central Committee in other words should be actively involved in the identification and solution of all the problems with which the state committees are concerned. So should the state committees actively help the district committees in identifying and solving the problems with which they are concerned. Similarly,

Party units at every level should actively engage themselves in working out concrete plans of action for the committees lower than theirs. This is the concrete manner in which the principles of democratic centralism are put into practice.

Popular agitation on current problems is an important form of activity through which the growing discontent of the followers of all bourgeois political parties and non-party people is roused, they being made to realise the need for building the Left and democratic front. The Party organs occupy the most important position in this respect. This unfortunately is one of our weakest spots. The organs that are coming out today are generally addressed to the political elite, rather than to the common people. That is why even in states where the Party is running dailies they are way behind the bourgeois papers in their circulation. States where the Party polls lakhs or even millions of votes and the Party, together with the mass organizations is able to bring millions into the streets on burning issues of the day, the daily has a circulation which can be counted in thousands. On the other hand, the bourgeois media whose political support base is much smaller than ours, have circulations several-fold than ours. This is a basic weakness seen even in our strongest areas. All the more so in states where we are weak and have to content ourself with weeklies or other periodicals. Every aspect of running the paper—from its editing to its circulation and its financial management—should therefore be subjected to rigorous examination as a top priority.

Running the Party organ, however, is only a part, though a very important part of popular agitation. One need not make a list of other forms—public meetings, demonstrations, padayatra etc. The main thing is that the Party's spokesmen who go to the people should talk to them on issues which agitate them in terms of the present understanding of the sections of the people who are being addressed. While doing it however, care should be taken to relate a concrete problem which is at the moment agitating the people to the more general problems to which they are in fact related:

That relation may not be apparent to them; it is the task of the Party spokesmen or agitator to begin with the present understanding of the people but raise it to the level of the Party's understanding. The Party's spokesmen or agitators should thus be able to relate agitation on current problems, with the education of the people on the understanding of the Party on these questions.

This is obviously related to the problems of education of the Party members on the one hand and the regular bringing out of agitational pamphlet on every issue that comes before the people. Both these tasks are unfortunately neglected. The regular organization of the Party School—at the Centre and in the states, in English and Hindi as well as in all other individual languages—does not receive any priority in the Party's scheme of things. As for the bringing out of agitational pamphlets on current problems (by the Central Committee and by the State Committees) it is virtually non-existent.

The central schooling has to be planned for the year of 1986. Concrete syllabi should be worked out for such central schools, including the West Bengal industrial policy, the Kerala dissident demand for the formation of a front and government with caste and communal allies, the problem of caste and on the question of language and nationalities. There should also be a class on the Party constitution on the basis of which the Marxist-Leninist principles of organization should be taught. It should be noted that there are large number of comrades who do not know, or have forgotten if they had earlier known, the difference between the organization of a revolutionary proletarian party and the parties of the bourgeois, landlord, petty-bourgeois and other classes.

Party organs, publishing houses etc., should have properly constituted and functioning editorial and managerial teams. Polit Bureau/Central Committee at the Centre and Secretariats/State Committees should have systematic check on the work of these teams. The accounts of these institutions as well as of the Party units should be systematically maintained and audited by comrades authorized for the purpose.

Above all, the regular and systematic functioning of a lakh if not more of Party units, covering about 4 lakhs of Party members, is a stupendous task which unfortunately is today being left to spontaneity which, as is well-known, is the very anti-thesis of Party organization. Although the essence of the revolutionary Party of the working class is the iron discipline of every Party member, his or her entire life and activity being fully controlled by the Party units of which he or she is a member, this has ceased to be the practice. Unit meetings are not held regularly and, when held, they are not properly prepared either politically or organizationally. Proper political reports are not made, the participants of the unit meeting being therefore unable to get involved in the political functions of the Party. Nor are organizational reports made enabling the participants to assess the positive and negative aspects of the work turned out by every member. As for the committees higher to those whose meetings are held, they do not consider it their obligatory duty to criticise and correct the functioning of committees which are under their charge.

These weaknesses of the functioning of the Party units cannot be removed unless Party committees at every level consider the question of Party organization as a district job, to be undertaken by the Committee as a whole, with some individual member assigned with the responsibility to enforce the decision of the Committee. Proper division of work among committee members, their reports being checked by the Committee as a whole on the principle of collective decision with individual responsibility for implementation should be strictly enforced. Meetings of Party branches as well as of higher units of the Party should be the forum where not only are political developments discussed and unified understanding arrived at but the work of carrying out the decisions by each individual member is reviewed in a critical and self-critical manner.

The task outlined here are the key to the further development of the Party into an organization which gets things

done by way of developing mass movements and struggles on the life of the people, carrying on popular agitation on the burning political problems, unifying the participants in the movements and struggles in a strong Left and democratic front envisaged in the political resolution of the Party Congress.

With the above as general guidelines, concrete plans of action should be worked out for the state committees under direction from the Polit Bureau.

## Annexure

### Analysis of Credential Reports of State Conferences Delegates and Observers

#### 1. Age classification

Sl. State	Below 30 years	31-40	41-50	51-60	above 60 years
1. Andhra	16%	42%	30%		11%
		(35-45)	(46-60)		
2. Assam	17%	42%	26%	9%	6%
3. Bihar	11%	70%		19%	
		(31-50)		(above 50)	
4. Tripura	10%	41%	24%	16%	9%
5. U P	11%	34%	33%	11%	11%
6. Delhi	23%	41%	28%	4%	3%
7. M P	11%	38%	37%	16%	
	(below 25)	(26-35)	(36-50)	(above 50)	
8. Haryana	21%	51%	20%	9%	4%
9. Rajasthan	27%	34%	19%	12%	7%
10. Himachal	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
11. Karnataka	43%	30%	17%	10%	—
	(below 35)	(36-45)	(46-55)	(56-75)	
12. Kerala	7%	23%	27%	30%	12%
13. Orissa	16%	51%	20%	10%	3%
14. Tamil Nadu	11%	39%	26%	17%	7%
15. West Bengal	—	25%	33%	25%	17%
16. Maharashtra	20%	34%	19%	17%	9%
17. Punjab	17%	46.6%	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
		(31-50)			

In the above states on the average 53% of delegates and observers were below 40 years of age.

*II. Period of Party life*

Sl. State	Pre-1947	Pre-64	65-70	1971-76	Post-77
1. Andhra	20%	26%	36%	—	18%
2. Assam	40%	9%	39%	—	48%
3. Bihar	—	20%	47%	—	33%
4. Tripura	8%	13%	31%	32%	17%
5. U P.	19%	—	33%	—	48%
6. Haryana	—	10%	12%	12%	66%
7. M.P.	—	11%	21%	—	68%
8. Delhi	1%	6%	10%	19%	63%
9. Rajasthan	—	27%	8%	13%	51%
10. Himachal	—	10%	15%	—	75%
11. Karnataka	5%	22%	44%	—	29%
12. Kerala	10%	53%	18%	14%	4%
13. Orissa	2.5%	11%	17.4%	41%	28%
14. Tamil Nadu	9%	26%	43%	—	22%
15. West Bengal	15%	38%	31%	10%	5%
16. Maharashtra	8%	17%	11%	48%	15%
17. Punjab	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.

On the average 38% of delegates and observers in the above states joined the Party in the post-1977 period.

### III. Educational Qualifications

Sl.	State	Post-Graduate	Graduate	Inter/Matric Higher Secondary	Elementary to class 10	Primary
1	Andhra	27%		15%	43%	14%
		(both post-graduate and graduate)				
2	Assam	N A	N A	N A.	N A	N A
3	Bihar	14%	33%	15%	29%	7%
						(Literate 3%)
4	Tripura	5%	27%	31%	37%	
					(incl Primary)	
5.	U P.		49%	30%		20%
		(both postgraduate and graduate)				
6	Delhi	27%	26%	24%	18%	
					(literate 1%)	
					(up to primary)	
7.	M P	23%	30%	25%	26%	
					(incl. primary)	
8.	Haryana	28%	19%	29%	25%	8%
9.	Rajasthan	17%	21%	35%	9%	11%
10.	Himachal	29%	24%			
11.	Karnataka		30%	28%	10%	30%
		(both post-graduate and graduate)				
12.	Kerala	6%	21%	37%	17%	14%
13.	Orissa	11%	30%	35%	24%	
					(below matric)	
14.	Tamil Nadu	7%	17%	37%	38%	
					(up to elementary)	
15.	West Bengal	N.A.	N A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
16.	Maharashtra	10%	19%	32%	8%	27%
17.	Punjab	10%	33%	57%		4%
				(matric below)		(illiterate)

On the average, 39% of the delegates and observers in the above states were graduates or post-graduates.

*IV. Class Background*

No. State	Worker	Agri. Work-er	Poor Pea-sant	Middle pea-sant	Rich pea-sant	Land-lord	Middle class	Bourgeois
1 Andhra	4%	18%	16%	39%	15%	8%	13%	(others 7%)
2 Assam	5%	—	18%	24%	6%	41%	45%	
3 Bihar	7%	3%	27%	42%	5%	15%	11%	
4. Tripura	3%	29%		20%	0.4%	—	49%	
		(both agr. Worker and poor peasant)						
5. U P	11%	5%	31%	22%	—	—	29%	
6 Delhu	43%	—	—	3%	2%	—	50%	
7. M.P.	31%	—	4%	19%	—	—	46%	
8 Haryana	17%	—	2%	51%	1%	—	29%	
9. Rajasthan	22%	2%	40%		1%	—	19%	(15% unknown)
		(both poor and middle)						
10 Himachal	26%	3%	34%	—	2%	—	35%	
11 Karnataka	53%	5%	13%	1%	—	28%		
			(small peasant)					
12 Kerala	28%	9%	67%	—	—	—	2%	—
			(all categories of peasant)					
13 Orissa	5%	1%	11%	6%	1%	5%	71%	—
14 Tamil Nadu	26%	11%	20%	17%	1%	1%	23%	—
15 West Bengal	5%	1%	13%	—	—	4%	76%	—
			(all categories of peasant)					
16 Maharashtra	16%	—	59%	—	—	—	25%	—
17 Punjab	3%	21%	22%	39%	5%	NA		

On the average, 24% of the delegates and observers in the above states were of working class and agricultural labour origin.

## **B.T. Ranadive's Intervention on Joint Sector\***

*The following is the text of Comrade B.T. Ranadive's speech during the discussion on the Political-Organizational Report explaining the Party's position in relation to joint sector in West Bengal.*

Comrades, I am speaking because many comrades feel that the part dealing with the joint sector in West Bengal in the Draft Political-Organizational Report needs further clarification. Obviously many comrades are not satisfied with what is stated there in a summarised form. The confusion and demand for clarification are understandable. They show the vigilance of the delegates to guard the purity of our Party's line and the basic principles of policy.

The confusion arises because we are dealing with a new situation. We should understand this measure in the context of the class developments that are taking place in our country.

In the first place, the Political-Organizational Report reasserts our basic position regarding multinationals. Our Party is opposed to them and their plans to dominate our economy. We insistently fight all concessions made by the Central Government to them and urge the Central Government to mobilize the internal resources to meet our needs and obviate reliance on foreign companies. The Central Government possesses full economic powers to raise resources to do this.

Confusion has arisen because in West Bengal the Left Front

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Ministry has entered into a joint sector agreement with a private capitalist firm connected with a monopoly house.

### **Context of Class Struggle**

The confusion will not be clear unless we place in class context the functioning of the Left Front Government and its role, the limitations under which it has to work and the tasks which it has to achieve.

Can we treat the Left Front Governments just as an electoral victory of one party over another? Shall we equate them with the NTR Ministry or Hegde Ministry, with any other non-Congress Ministry? Many people are so equating them. But these Left Front Governments, though Constitutionally elected, constitute an alien element in the present social set-up. They represent a class who is not expected to have charge of administration anywhere, a class whose progress and advance is bound to be restricted by the ruling classes. The two Left Front Governments are the direct results of the class struggle in our society where the major contradiction between the people and the ruling classes and the ruling party is manifested in a number of ways. One is the formation of the two Ministries and their functioning.

### **Instruments of Struggle**

How do we utilize the full potentiality of these Ministries? Some people identify full potentiality with giving this or that relief. Of course, relief is always necessary, but that does not exhaust the potentiality of the Ministry. Some people talk as if the Ministries can change the face of Bengal and Tripura. This is reformism. So long as the present socio-economic set-up continues there can be no basic change. Full potentialities mean that functioning within the framework of the present socio-economic system in which the bourgeois-landlord classes dominate, the Ministry can serve as an instrument of mobilization of the basic classes, and deepen our influence over the masses, the same masses who tomorrow may have to adopt a different form of struggle, struggle on the streets.

We never expected that the Ministries would be able to launch a frontal attack on the capitalist system. Such an expectation is reformist and overestimates the role of the Ministry. As an instrument of struggle the Ministry must lead to greater and greater consolidation of the people and the classes whom we consider to be important in the struggle for People's Democratic Front, greater consolidation of the hold of the Party over the people. If the Ministries serve this purpose their potentiality is realized.

The reality is that the existence of the West Bengal and Tripura Governments is accompanied by continued struggle between the Centre and the States. But unlike the struggle between other non-Congress ministries and the Centres it is a struggle between the bourgeois-landlord Government and the working class and the people. In this struggle the Central Government is adopting various means to destabilize and discredit the Left Front Ministries.

### **Economic Blocade**

In the beginning they tried to create the law and order problem. They resorted to slander about our Party being responsible for the murder of Congress(I) people and so on. The 1982 election showed a tremendous victory for our Party and the Left Front, with our Party getting an absolute majority in the Assembly. The balance-sheet of the first phase of the class struggle showed extremely favourable results for us. The task of rallying the people around the Party continued.

After the formation of the second Ministry the struggle took a still more acute form. In the first phase, as well as in the second, the Central Government adopted economic discrimination and obstruction as a weapon of discrediting the Ministry and breaking its link with the people. The economic weapon consisted of withdrawal of Central resources and discouragement to any investment in West Bengal by private firms. For this purpose industrial licences were denied and legitimate help from the Central Government was withheld.

Here was an attempt to show to the people that the Left

Front Government was incompetent to handle the situation facing West Bengal.

In fact the Congress(I) party did reap some benefit from this propaganda in the parliamentary election. Capitalizing on the sympathy wave they told the people that factories could be re-opened if the people voted for the Congress(I). Some people did fall in the trap and voted for the Congress(I).

This policy, which can be described as an economic blockade of West Bengal, is considered by short-sighted people as discrimination against Bengalees. In reality it is a form of acute class struggle waged against the working class and the people of the State.

The significance of our victory lies in the fact that in Bengal we are achieving a change in the balance of class forces among the people which our Jullunder Congress declared as absolutely essential to march forward to revolutionary developments. After five years of ministerial functioning, we not only isolated the ruling Congress(I) party but all bourgeois parties. And besides we ourselves have become the decisive force among the Left parties. The former feature constitutes an element in the sharpening of the class struggle and the latter contributes to the stability of the Left Front Ministry.

Many of our comrades failed to see that the achievements of the Left Front Government are secured in the process of an intense struggle. It is not realized that such an important achievement as protecting the democratic rights of the people, the refusal to use any repressive legislation against the common man, constitute a struggle against the policies of the Centre and strengthen the forces which oppose the present social set-up. This happens because many of our comrades consider measures taken through the administration as non-class parliamentary acts. That they are part of the class struggle waged by the working class and its Party now occupying ministerial authority is not seen. Therefore the effects of such measures in intensifying the aspirations of the people and the class struggle are not understood.

This is because a large number of our people who have

led the movement in the past and have suffered for the cause of the Party, who have built our mass movements are accustomed only to one form of resistance, namely the form of economic struggle for partial demands.

### **Advance Outposts**

Our Party considers the two Left Front Ministries as advance outposts of democratic struggle in India. Their continued existence sharpens the class struggle and becomes a rallying point for the Left forces in our country. This role of theirs becomes more and more prominent when larger and larger sections in these two States come under the influence of the Party. We judge their potentiality and efficiency by the way they are able to discharge this task.

It is in this background that we have to understand our agreement regarding the joint sector. It is, of course, our Party line that the public sector should always have predominance over private sector; that the public sector concerns should not be handed over to private capitalists. We criticise the joint sector under Congress Government as opening the way to complete privatisation.

All this is true; at the same time the question is directly connected with the struggle between the Centre and West Bengal. It is a constant effort of the Central Government to demonstrate that so long as a Left Front Ministry exists in West Bengal, industry cannot advance and all hopes of increase in jobs will have to be postponed till the Congress(I) returns to power. To achieve this aim it denies licensing for new industries in West Bengal, it discourages private capital from investing in West Bengal not in order to promote public sector but to bring down the Left Front Government.

### **Struggle Against Centre**

Should counter-measures be taken against this class conspiracy? Or should we allow it to succeed and let it be demonstrated before the people that the Left Front Ministry is incapable of organizing any industry?

It is in this background that this particular joint sector question arose. Denied financial resources, denied capital investment due to political manoeuvring by the ruling class Government at the Centre, the Ministry countered by agreeing to participate with a private firm when the alternative was closure. This is not abandonment of basic strategy but a counter tactic to meet immediate attack.

Besides, joint sector with private capital under the Congress(I) Government should not be considered as identical with the measure we are considering. The question is—who controls whom? If we represent the public sector in a joint venture the equation is not the same as in the case of a bourgeois party. Such temporary measures have often to be taken by all progressive Governments.

We have not declared this to be our policy and there need not be any apprehension about it. We have also not declared that so long as we are there in the Ministry no private capital or concern will be allowed. One may go to the extreme and say, when any new concern is started, that this 'also is a compromise since it invites capitalist exploitation of workers. Such criticism does not recognize the reality under which the Ministry has to function.

### **Unfounded Criticism**

The confusion arises because of two things. First, our measures are not considered in relation to the economic situation. They are not understood as our counter-measures to defeat one part of the offensive of the Centre.

Secondly, there is confusion between the strategy and tactics, between basic policies which can be implemented only after the change in the power equation on the one hand and what is practical and necessary today to secure further advance of the class movement on the other. It is quite clear that our basic slogans of abolition of monopoly, nationalization of private sector are yet in the propaganda stage and sufficient mass sanction are not yet forged to secure their implementation. Hence the need of tactical approach,

transitional measures to advances further by consolidating our mass base by meeting certain immediate demands.

Tactics are necessary to make the slogans of the Party the action slogans of the people.

Whatever tactical measures we are forced to take because of the present class situation, whatever tactical measures we are forced to take to foil the designs of the Centre to weaken and destabilize the powerful instrument of Left Front Ministry, we must never forget and must constantly popularise our basic slogans, our strategic objective with regard to private capital, multinationals and monopolists. We must keep in mind that we have to evolve suitable tactics so that we do not play into the hands of the ruling class. Every successful tactic of ours is described as opportunism by the Press since they want to force us to adopt a strategic position on every issue so that no practical results for the masses arise from our activities.

Some opinions and statements in relation to this have appeared in the Press which are erroneous and do not represent the Party line. Such statements can be corrected and a proper understanding of the issues involved arrived at.

Our Party has never subscribed and does not subscribe to the illusion that we can change the face of Bengal through ministerial performance. To think of turning Bengal into a land of gold by ministerial activities is sheer reformism.

Of course, our Party comrades must judge every measure in the context of the given situation and opine whether it involves the sacrifice of long-term interests of the people or whether it enables the people to consolidate their strength and meet new challenges with greater confidence.

In discussing our line and policy we should not forget that in the present political situation the defence and maintenance and strengthening of the Left Front Government is an urgent political task of the Party and the entire democratic movement.

**M. Basavapunnaiah's Reply to  
Discussion on Political -  
Organizational Report adopted by  
the Twelfth Congress of CPI(M) held  
in Calcutta on December 25-30, 1985\***

Comrade M. Basavapunnaiah replied to the lengthy discussion on the Political-Organizational Report. During the course of his reply he referred to the agrarian question and said that further elaboration on the issue would be incorporated in the final Report since many of the observations made by the delegates were correct.

He said that one of the reasons why generalizations about the agrarian question were difficult was because in-depth studies had not been conducted so far on the manner in which differentiation within the peasantry had taken place. For example, the question as to how the middle peasant had been affected by various land reform measures, especially in the Left-led States, still needed to be understood in depth.

In this context, he suggested that if sample studies were to be conducted of two villages in each district where the Party was strong, this would greatly aid in better understanding the agrarian question and the effects of the policies that the Left Front Governments had brought about. Such studies were also essential to understand the precise mechanisms operating in the agrarian sector.

He said that the Centre would be able to give proper guidance after such studies were conducted by the State Committee.

Related to the agrarian question was also the question of the tribals, who are strewn about in several States and who

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might number around forty million. Studies about the concrete conditions of the tribals would also have to be conducted by the State and incorporated in the Report.

M.B. underlined the fact that in the absence of the Party units themselves conducting such studies, it would be very difficult to make generalizations and give the correct general slogans from the existing disconnected and fragmentary evidence available.

Coming to the role and character of the bourgeois Opposition parties, M.B. said that except for the BJP and the Muslim League which were blatantly communal in nature, the remaining could be broadly considered to be secular, although some of them did display vacillations at various times. In the case of the Akali Dal, for example, its reliance on the Panth gave to it a communal and religious slant even though most of the demands that it raised were democratic. It would therefore, be wrong to hastily compartmentalise bourgeois Opposition parties as communal or secular once and for all. Room should be left for flexibility when formulating various tactical approaches.

### **Federalism**

Referring to the problem of federalism inside the Party, M.B. said that in a country with so many languages and cultures it was a complex issue to tackle. But against federalism a constant ideological battle would have to be waged in all its manifestations.

He said the problem of federalism was such that its continuance led to a form of "Stateism" in a broader sense and weakening of the Party Centre. The entire Party must, therefore, recognize that federalism in any of its manifestations was an evil that needed to be urgently rectified. This was so because federalism militated against the concept of democratic centralism, the key organizational principle of a revolutionary party. Its accentuation could lead to liquidationism.

One major manner in which federalism was to be tackled was to develop an all-India outlook and not consider major

events taking place in a State of value to that State alone. For example, major mass movements took place in the States. But it was not always the case that reports on these movements, often led by the Party itself, were sent to the Centre or reports sent by the State Committee to the Party's central organs, *People's Democracy* and *Lok Lahar*. In the absence of suitable persons appointed for the task, when such reports were sent, they were inadequate and sent in long after the event had occurred. M.B. said that this was also one form of federalism, when the State considered the event to be of importance only to itself and not of value to the entire Party.

He commended the idea expressed in one of the State conferences that a few delegates from other States be invited to attend any State party's conference and asked the Congress to consider the proposal.

Coming to the preparations for the Party Congress itself, he said that it had been planned six months in advance. But even then some State Conferences were held only one month before the Party Congress. This increased the burden on the Centre to properly process all the reports that came in. Moreover, the task of preparing documents, such as the Political Organizational Report became difficult.

He said that the mass fronts also displayed such weaknesses at times, with their reports not coming in time to the Party Centre.

M.B. said that finally it was the task of the States to strengthen the Party Centre by providing it with the requisite cadres. In this context, the Salkia Plenum had laid down the correct line on the strengthening of the Party Centre.

Discussing the developments in Kerala, M.B. said that the parting of ways of the Left and Democratic Front with the Indian Union Muslim League had proven to be correct and the Party had emerged with greater political authority in the State as well as the country as a whole. This was in spite of the fact that a small section of the comrades had reservation about the correctness of this line. M.B. asked

the Congress to authorise the Central Committee to assess the subsequent developments that might take place and to appropriately intervene whenever it considered it necessary to do so.

Basavapunnaiah then appealed to the Congress to authorise the new Central Committee to finalise the Draft document and release it. In this context he also appealed to the delegates to send the various points of factual correction in the draft to the Party Centre within two weeks so that they could be incorporated in the Report.

**Resolution on Political-Organizational Report placed before the Twelfth Congress of CPI(M) held in Calcutta on December 25-30, 1985\***

The Twelfth Party Congress authorises the new Central Committee to finalise the Political Organizational Report incorporating the reviews of mass fronts and various suggestions made which are in consonance with the understanding and direction of the Report.

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## **Amendments to the Constitution of CPI(M) as adopted by the Twelfth Congress held in Calcutta on December 25-30, 1985\***

(1) In the present Article IX of the Constitution, the first sentence reads as follows : "All Party members as well as candidates shall pay a Party membership fee of one Rupee per year." The above sentence is to be amended as placed below: "All Party members as well as candidates shall pay a Party membership fee of Rs. 2 per year." The rest of the Article remains as it is.

(2) In the present Constitution, Article XIV, clause (b) reads as follows : "An extraordinary Party Congress shall be called by the Central Committee at its own discretion, or when it is demanded by the State Party organizations representing not less than one-third of the total party membership." It should be amended in the following manner : "An extraordinary Party Congress shall be called by the C.C. at its own discretion, or when it is demanded by two or more State Committees representing not less than one-third of the total party membership."

(3) In the present Article, XIX clause 7, it reads : "No disciplinary measure involving expulsion of a Party member shall come into effect without confirmation by the next higher committee. In case of expulsion, the penalised Party member shall be removed from all Party activities pending confirmation."

Add at end of the above clause, "The expelled member stands suspended from the Party membership till the expulsion

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is confirmed by the next higher party committee. The higher committee will have to communicate its decision within six months.”

(4) The present clause 1 under Article XXII reads thus : “Two months before the Party Congress, the Central Committee will release draft resolutions for discussion by all units of the Party.....” etc.

A sentence to the effect that “it is obligatory on the party of all State Committees to render it into respective languages and forward to all Branch Committees the required number of copies in the shortest possible time after its release by the C.C.”, can be added to overcome the difficulty.

(*Note* : Some comrades are moving certain amendments which, strictly speaking, come under the bye-laws to be framed under Article XXIV of the Party’s Constitution. So far no bye-laws are drafted and adopted by the C.C., and it has to be expedited. All such suggestions and proposals, which come under the category of bye-laws, can be forwarded to C.C. for its consideration).

## **Other Resolutions Adopted by the Twelfth Congress of CPI(M) held in Calcutta on December 25-30, 1985\***

### **(a) Current Economic Policy and Seventh Plan**

The twelfth Congress of the CPI(M) expresses grave concern over the recent trends of economic policy which are taking the country towards greater privatisation, opening doors to multinational corporations, downgrading the role of the public sector and scuttling whatever planning we have had. Together these policies are bound to further deteriorate the living standards of the people, increase imperialist penetration into the economy and strengthen authoritarian tendencies aimed at restricting the democratic movements of the working people.

The shift in the economic policy is exemplified by the New Computer Policy introduced in November 1984, the Union Budget for 1985-86, the Import-Export Policy, the Textile Policy and more recently by the Long Term Fiscal Policy. These policies have entailed the relaxation of the system of industrial licences, raising limits on MRTP companies, greater freedom to foreign capital and relaxation of FERA regulations, reduction of taxes on corporate income and wealth and the incomes of the rich, abolition of estate duty, the 'liberalization' of imports and the increase in the number of foreign collaborations and curtailment in public sector plan outlays.

This set of policies closely conforms to the strategy advocated by imperialism and its agencies such as the World

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Bank and the International Monetary Fund. It is a response to the crisis of capitalist development in the country which was sought to be promoted without eliminating the influence of foreign capital and without undertaking thorough-going land reforms. The continuance of extreme land concentration meant that the domestic market remained narrow and productive forces in agriculture could not be released. Without the exhaustion of the scope for expansion of markets for domestic capital, the Indian big bourgeoisie is now attempting to reach out to export markets, for which it seeks the help of metropolitan capital, and obtain 'modern' technology from it.

Metropolitan capital in turn, however, is demanding a price in terms of greater penetration into the domestic market itself, especially in the context of the world capitalist crisis. The new policy consequently would lead to a flood of imports: of luxury consumption goods and components thereof, and of capital goods and technology which are either already domestically available or whose purpose would be to displace workers through automation and to strengthen the means available for the exercise of State power. The inevitable result will be a loss of jobs for lakhs and lakhs of workers, liquidation of a large number of small and medium industrial units, a crisis in the balance of payments leading to a debt-trap and a destruction of the technological base built up in the country over the years. In short, the new policy will undermine our economic sovereignty and generate pressures for subverting the policy of non-alignment.

The Seventh Five-Year Plan fully reflects the shift in the direction of economic policy. Land reforms which are a necessary pre-requisite for the economy to get out of the crisis-ridden path it now traverses, barely get a passing reference in the Plan. The Government which advertises its intention of reducing poverty by putting assets into the hands of the rural poor is not prepared to redistribute in their favour the most vital asset, i.e., land.

Not only is the public sector to play a secondary role,

but even the outlay of Rs. 180,000 crores provided for it is not likely to be met, notwithstanding the drastic squeeze on the living standards of the people implicit in the Plan's assumption. The depth of the fiscal crisis facing the State is such that the contribution of the Budget (at existing levels of taxation) to Plan finance is expected to be negative. Consequently, resources for the Plan are to be mobilized at the expense of the mass of the people through additional heavy doses of indirect taxation and inflationary deficit financing, as well as through borrowings from abroad.

The resource arithmetic of the Plan, however, is faulty because of a number of conscious omissions and erroneous assumptions, e.g. DA payments that would fall due during the Plan period have not been accounted for; the possible implications of the Fourth Pay Commission Report have not been incorporated; and the surpluses of the public sector enterprises are assumed unrealistically to increase six-fold, purely as a result of greater efficiency and better utilization of capacity.

The trade projections made under the Plan, by providing for an absurdly high rate of growth of exports and low rate of growth in imports (despite massive import 'liberalization') consciously underestimate the depth of the crisis facing India's balance of payments. In fact, trade policy over the Plan aims at furthering the process of "liberalization" initiated in recent years, and much higher exports are assumed as the means for financing this strategy. However, the experience of even the first four months of the first year of the Plan has called this bluff. Figures for April-July this year show that while imports increased by 30 per cent, exports rose by less than half a per cent compared with the corresponding period of last year. As a result the trade deficit has nearly doubled compared to the already high level it reached during the same period in 1984-85. If this trend persists, the deficit would touch the staggering level of Rs. 10,000 crores in the current year, pushing India into a crisis of unequalled magnitude.

The claims made in the Seventh Plan document that 40 million new jobs will be provided and that the percentage of those in abject poverty will be brought down from 37 to 27 per cent have extremely hollow foundations. In fact, the assertion that the proportion of population below the line of poverty has been brought down to 37 per cent during the Sixth Plan is itself of a most dubious nature, and given the total package of Seventh Plan programmes and policies, the burden of poverty will be further aggravated. The wholesale destruction of jobs through industrial closures and mindless computerization, which the new policy entails can only intensify the crisis of unemployment.

The insincerity of the Government's approach is brought out by the degree of callousness with which the existing rural employment generation programmes is treated when 30 million tonnes of foodgrains are rotting in the Government godowns. If even 5 million tonnes out of this stockpile are used in a year for employment programmes wherein each worker is paid 1 kg. of grain per day, 5000 million man-days of additional work can be created. However, in 1984-85, a mere 1.70 lakh tonnes of foodgrains (less than 1 per cent of available stocks) were deployed for the National Rural Employment Programme.

The Congress calls upon the Left and democratic forces in the country to take the lead in exposing the dangerous implications of the Government's new economic policy and in rousing the people to resist it.

### **(b) In Defence of the Left Front Governments**

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) warmly greets the Left Front Governments of West Bengal and Tripura, both of which have completed over eight years of service to the people. The Left Front Governments are the products of the prolonged political struggles of the people led by the CPI(M) and the Left forces. Their existence is marked by the continuous conflict between these ministries and the Central Government which

has been trying to throttle them. Despite the discriminatory policies adopted by the Centre, the Left Front Governments have emerged as the fortresses for the defence of democratic rights and as instruments for struggle against authoritarianism.

The struggle for implementation of policies in defence of democratic rights and the economic interests of the people in the teeth of opposition by the Centre, represents a significant phase in the class struggle in our country. Amidst the all-round crisis in the bourgeois-landlord system, these Left Front Ministries have been successful in protecting the rights and liberties of the people.

The record of these Governments and their continuing activities constitute a vital source for strengthening the Left and democratic forces in the country. These Governments have refused to utilize repressive laws against the popular movements. The working people have been able, through their organized strength and struggles, to achieve improvements in wages and working conditions. In spite of the severe limitations on the financial resources of these Governments imposed due to the discriminatory policies of the Central Government, steps have been taken by the Left Front Governments to provide relief to the people.

The implementation of alternative policies is seen clearly in the way the West Bengal Government carried out the Operation Barga programme and has taken up the issue of land reforms. It is also seen in the way the two Governments are assisting the democratic working of the panchayat system. These Governments have taken significant steps to extend educational facilities to the vast mass of the people. The Tripura Government's tackling of the tribal question illustrates the difference between the Left approach and the bourgeois-landlord approach to this vital issue. The Left Front Governments have been in the forefront of the fight for more powers and resources for the State Governments. These Governments have consistently taken a firm stand against divisive and chauvinistic forces. They have effectively nipped in the bud the outbreak of communal riots and

prevented atrocities against scheduled castes, women and the village poor.

The Central Government, however, continues to carry on its policy of vindictiveness towards these Governments. Since the attack against the Left Front Governments is a part of the attack against the Left and democratic movement in the country, it is the paramount task before the people of India to rise in defence of these Governments. With the growing isolation of the Congress(I) party from the toiling people, these attacks are likely to become more ferocious. The failure of the Central Government to solve the basic problems of the people will make it more reckless in these attacks.

The Twelfth Congress calls upon all the Left and democratic forces in the country to mobilize their full strength to defend these advanced outposts of democracy. Every step taken to consolidate these two Governments and defend them from the onslaughts of the bourgeois-landlord Government will help in the struggle to win more and more people to the Left and democratic cause.

### **(c) On Assam**

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) notes that the recent elections in Assam have gone in favour of the Asom Gana Parisad, the political party of the leaders of the six-year-old agitation. The new party, as well as its success in the election within weeks of its birth, are the outcome of the Assam Accord.

The Congress also takes note of the fact that the Congress(I) party, which ruled Assam for 36 years since independence, has suffered a very serious setback in the election. The Congress(I), like the AGP, took its stand on the plank of the Assam Accord. While the Accord gave the Parisad its big victory, it brought ignoble defeat for the erstwhile ruling party. The Congress(I) had to pay the price for its anti-democratic and unprincipled line of political discrimination against the minorities in the name of solving the Assam problem.

The emergence of the United Minority Front as an

anti-Accord platform cum political party of the minorities, as a significant force in the State Assembly, is another outcome of the election, which strengthened further the divisive trend on which the Government of Rajiv Gandhi sought to put the stamp of State policy by its Accord.

The Party Congress takes note of the fact that this election has put the parties and groups based on ethnic communities—the majority and the minority—and communal groupings in the forefront of the State's policy and has relegated to the background all national political parties, wiping out a few altogether. The CPI(M) warns that the imperialist agencies active in north-eastern India for a long time, may take advantage of this polarisation of political forces in Assam.

The Parisad Ministry has already been installed. The Congress notes that the Government as well as the leaders of the AGP have repeatedly made appeals for peace and amity and have promised to safeguard the democratic rights of the minorities. It hopes that these policies will be implemented by the new Government with the firmness which the situation in Assam today demands. The people throughout the country will judge it on the basis of its performance in maintaining peace and amity and in defending the economic interests of the masses. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) will lend support to all measures of the Government to restore peace and friendly relations among all sections of the people in this multi-lingual State, safeguard the democratic rights of the people including the minorities who constitute about 40 per cent of its population, and to bring relief to the long-suffering masses.

At the same time the Congress strongly condemns the innumerable cases of assault on the political opponents of the Asom Gana Parisad. Severe attacks on the life and property of the CPI(M) members and supporters have taken place and one Party member has been hacked to pieces.

The Congress records its strong protest against the recurrence of violence following the poll, despite appeals for peace from leaders. The Congress demands that the Govern-

ment of Assam take speedy steps to fight lawlessness and attacks on the democratic rights of the people.

As regards the poll, 100 per cent polling in many centres, 99.5 per cent polling in a constituency as a whole, inordinate delay in counting of votes, etc., indicated that the Election Commission had failed to make the election completely free and fair in Assam. The Commission resorted to palpable, unlawful and unprincipled methods to prepare the Electoral Rolls in Assam after disenfranchising about two million citizens. Its performance was no better in the last poll. According to the Party Congress, it is a serious matter as it erodes the faith of the people in our electoral system and encourages destabilizing forces.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) has opposed the curtailment of minority rights in the Assam Accord and has been defending the unity of the country from the very beginning. It would continue to do so as long as the danger to national integration and suppression of legitimate rights of the minorities do not end.

The Congress congratulates the Party unit in Assam for valiantly facing the situation.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) has always held high the flag of unity of the country, unity of Assam and her people, and our Party has had to sacrifice valuable cadres in its cause. The Congress pledges that the Party will never relent in this struggle for democracy, people's unity and national integration.

#### **(d) Solidarity with the People's Struggle in the Countries Neighbouring India**

The Twelfth Congress of Communist Party of India (Marxist) warmly greets the people of Pakistan and Bangladesh who are struggling against the military regimes in their countries and for the restoration of democracy.

As part of its plan to destabilize India, U.S. imperialism has assiduously worked towards surrounding India with a ring of hostile countries. The economic and political

penetration of India's neighbours and the military facilities U.S. imperialism is acquiring in these countries constitute a grave threat to India's independence and integrity.

In Pakistan, the Zia regime refuses to restore parliamentary democracy and civil liberties. It utilizes anti-democratic laws to illegalise the opposition and jail its opponents. Dependent on imperialism for its survival, the Zia regime has allowed the USA military base facilities in Peshawar and Gwadar. The USA is pumping sophisticated weapons into Pakistan. Instigated by imperialism, the Pakistani regime has sheltered and trained the Khalistani extremists from Punjab who cross the border to conduct their terrorist activities.

The U.S. imperialism is creating animosity between the two neighbours. A new danger is posed by the development of the nuclear weapons programme by Pakistan. The CPI(M) wants no country in the region to develop nuclear weapons and all efforts must be made to improve relations between the two countries.

The struggle against the Pakistani military regime and Islamic fundamentalism by the democratic forces in Pakistan assumes special importance in this context. The Congress extends its full solidarity and support to all the democratic forces in Pakistan who are waging the battle for democracy and the end of imperialist interference in its internal affairs.

In Bangladesh, the military regime continues to deprive the people of democratic rights; opposition parties are persecuted and multinationals given a free hand to exploit the economy. Chittagong has been offered to the USA as port for refuelling facilities for its naval vessels. The Congress extends its fraternal solidarity to the Left and democratic forces fighting to end imperialist exploitation and for restoration of democracy in Bangladesh.

In Sri Lanka, the Jayawardene regime having allowed imperialism to capture vital sectors of the economy, has now let the USA use Trincomalee as a base for its fleets operating in the Indian Ocean.

In the Indian Ocean, the Americans have gone ahead with the stationing of warplanes equipped with nuclear warheads. From this base the U.S. can threaten the littoral States and threaten the security of India.

The Twelfth Congress sends its greetings to the People's Democratic Party and the people of Afghanistan. It notes with satisfaction that the Afghanistan Government and the people have rebuffed all the attempts by the counter-revolutionary gangs based in Pakistan to create terror and destabilise normal life. It condemns U.S. imperialism and the Pakistani military regime for sheltering, arming and aiding the mercenary gangs. The Congress extends its full support to the Government of Afghanistan in its endeavours to rebuild the economy and society, overcoming the backwardness of centuries of exploitation. It extends its support to the Afghan Government's moves for a negotiated settlement to end foreign interference.

In Nepal King Birendra is resorting to severe repression to suppress the democratic movement and has imposed a ban on activities of political parties. The Congress expresses its full solidarity with the Left and democratic forces in Nepal which are fighting for restoration of democracy defying all repressive measures.

The peoples of the sub-continent are united by the common bond to preserve their countries' independence, won after a hard struggle against colonial domination. The efforts of U.S. imperialism to erode this independence must be foiled by the united will of the peoples of the sub-continent. The Congress pledges to strengthen the bonds of solidarity between the fighting peoples of the Indian sub-continent.

#### **(e) On South Africa**

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) greets Nelson Mandela, the indomitable leader of the South African liberation struggle, who has been languishing in the racist South African regime's jail for the

past 16 years. It demands his immediate and unconditional release. The Twelfth Congress hails the courageous struggles of the black people of South Africa, who have risen up in mass upsurge to overthrow the racist regime of the white minority and to end apartheid once and for all.

Braving bullets and ferocious attacks of the armed forces the South African people have demonstrated that brute force cannot cow down their struggle for liberation and equality. Over one thousand brave sons and daughters of South Africa have become victims of police and military attacks. Thousands more are languishing in jails under the hated preventive detention laws. Carrying forward the glorious traditions of the martyrs of Sharpeville and Soweto, tens of thousands are daily battling the armed might of the racist regime in the cities and "townships" of South Africa. The racist regime imposed a state of Emergency in July 1985 to suppress the mass protests. It hanged Benjamin Moloise, the young poet and freedom fighter, despite world-wide appeals to spare his life.

The white minority Botha regime is flagrantly defying international public opinion and resolutions of the United Nations in refusing to end apartheid. Twenty million South Africans are leading an enslaved existence for the rapacious profits of the white capitalists and their international patrons—imperialism. Imperialism headed by the Reagan Administration and the British Government, is continuing to bolster up the racist regime. The USA has 14 billion dollars of investments in South Africa. To safeguard their huge investments, the Reagan Administration and the Thatcher Government are refusing to impose mandatory economic sanctions.

In no other issue today, internationally, is imperialism's anti-human and rapacious character seen so clearly as in its support to apartheid and the basic denial of human rights in South Africa.

The South African regime acts as the policeman of imperialism in the African continent. It conducts aggressive

raids with impunity on the front-line States, in particular Angola, where it seeks by armed intervention to destabilise the Government. It continues to occupy Namibia defying world opinion. It has close links with Israel and is an active partner in the Zionist schemes for expansion.

The Twelfth Congress calls upon the Government of India to step up its aid and support to the African National Congress in every possible way. It should take the lead as the Chairman of NAM to mobilize world opinion to force the U.S. and British Governments to impose mandatory sanctions.

The African National Congress has given the call, *Make South Africa ungovernable by the racists*. The Twelfth Congress greets the African National Congress, the fighting organization of the oppressed people of South Africa. It calls upon all sections of people in India to step up their support and solidarity to the struggling people of South Africa.

#### (f) On Nicaragua

The Twelfth Congress of the CPI(M) unequivocally condemns the U.S. manoeuvres to crush the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua and expresses its solidarity with the Nicaraguan people and the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

Following the victory of the revolution in 1979 against the Somoza regime which was backed by the U.S., the Nicaraguan people have been subjected to constant hostility and threats from the USA. Apart from enforcing economic sanctions, the U.S. has mined the Nicaraguan port and consolidated its presence in Honduras, EL Salvador and Costa Rica. The U.S. navy's manoeuvres off Nicaragua's Pacific and Atlantic coasts are going on. The U.S. has also drawn up plans to invade Nicaragua. The anti-government mercenary gangs known as the *contras*, backed by the Pentagon and the CIA, sheltering in Honduras and Costa Rica, are indulging in terrorist acts to disrupt normal life in Nicaragua.

The *Contadora* group of countries has made repeated

proposals to establish peace in central America, which have been torpedoed by the Reagan Administration while Nicaragua has accepted them.

Under such trying conditions the Nicaraguan people are organizing a heroic defence and advancing their revolution. All international progressive forces and the Socialist countries are rallying to the defence of Nicaragua.

The Twelfth Congress of the CPI(M) greets the Sandinista National Liberation Front and the Nicaraguan people and extends its full support to them in their struggle to defend national independence and for progressive social transformation.

### **(g) Against U.S. Imperialist Manoeuvres in Asia**

The U.S. imperialism, in the background of the world capitalist crisis, is stepping up its drive for global domination. It has specially targeted Asia for this purpose. It is militarising the Indian Ocean, conspiring against the Socialist countries in this continent, and trying to destabilize those countries which refuse to succumb to its pressures. It utilizes its economic resources and the multinationals to advance its neo-colonialist ends. This offensive of U.S. imperialism is meeting with resistance. In different parts of Asia, popular movements have arisen to counter the designs of American imperialism.

#### **West Asia**

The Twelfth Congress notes with concern that Israel, actively assisted by the USA, is continuing its aggressive expansionism. It refuses to vacate the occupied territories of Syria, Jordan and Lebanon. Imperialism is utilizing the Zionists to attack the Palestinian liberation movement. The USA seeks to utilize Egypt to divide the fighting unity of the Arab people. It has acquired its military bases in Egypt and facilities for the Rapid Deployment Force.

After the heroic battle in Lebanon against the armed might of Israel and the Lebanese reactionary forces, the Palestinian fighters had to withdraw. The difficulties created by this

situation are being overcome by the fighting organizations of the Palestinian movement.

The Congress greets the Palestinian liberation movement and all the progressive forces in the Arab States who are fighting to foil the efforts of U.S. imperialism to break their unity and establish its hegemony in West Asia. The Congress greets the people of Lebanon who are daily putting up stiff resistance to the Israeli aggressors who are still occupying parts of Southern Lebanon.

### **South East Asia**

The Twelfth Congress greets the people of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea who, after decades of war, are engaged in peaceful reconstruction of their society. It extends its full solidarity and support to them. It condemns the efforts of the U.S. administration to isolate Vietnam. It condemns the arming of the Kampuchean counter-revolutionary groups based in Thailand by the USA.

In South East Asia, the USA is propping up anti-democratic regimes or military dictatorships in Thailand, Philippines, Indonesia. The USA assists these regimes to suppress the mass protests and democratic opposition in these countries. It has big military bases and armed personnel in Thailand and the Philippines.

The Congress extends its solidarity to the democratic movements in the Philippines, Thailand and other South East Asian countries which are actively struggling to overthrow the U.S. imposed regimes and for full political and economic independence.

### **East Asia**

The U.S. imperialists are propping up the puppet regime in South Korea. It has stationed 40,000 troops in South Korea and over a thousand nuclear projectiles aimed at the DPRK. The USA is responsible for keeping Korea divided.

The Twelfth Congress greets the Workers' Party of Korea and the people of the DPRK who have consistently put forward

constructive proposals for the peaceful reunification of Korea and to normalise relations between the two sides.

The U.S. imperialism has adopted the dangerous course of encouraging the militarisation of Japan. It has drawn the Nakasone Government into its *global military strategy* and the Washington-Tokyo-Seoul axis threatens the security of the countries in the Pacific region and Asia.

The United States continues to support the Taiwanese regime and obstructs the reunification of Taiwan with China. This Congress supports fully the efforts of the People's Republic of China for reuniting Taiwan with China.

The Twelfth Congress demands that U.S. imperialism dismantle all its military bases in Asia. It demands a halt to the U.S. policy of active support to the military regimes and dictatorships which are repressing the peoples of the respective countries in Asia.

The Congress calls upon all working people and peace-loving forces in India to strengthen the bonds of solidarity with all the progressive, anti-imperialist forces in Asia, to defend national independence, fight neo-colonial designs and struggle to ensure the economic independence of all the countries and peoples of Asia.

#### **(h) On May Day Centenary**

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) welcomes the call given by the World Federation of Trade Unions to observe the Centenary of MAY DAY, the day of international solidarity and unity of the working class.

MAY DAY is consecrated to the memory of the Chicago martyrs, the earliest martyrs of the labour movement in the grim class struggle between the workers and capitalists. In this early brush with the capitalist State and bourgeois democracy, several workers were killed and their leaders framed and hanged. The Twelfth Congress pays homage to the memory of the heroic warriors of the working class who walked to the gallows with their heads erect.

The firing and executions were the reply of the U.S.

capitalist class to the workers' demand for an eight-hour day in place of the 12 to 14 hours. But the killings could not check the class struggle that was unfolding and, within a few years, the eight-hour day was legally established in several countries.

In the years following the Chicago massacre, the working class movement in all countries was to face innumerable firings and hangings, but it marched forward. The fight was carried on in the dungeons of the Russian Czar and the torture chambers of Hitler fascism. Today again it is being carried on in the torture prisons of Iran, Chile and several other States.

In the same years the working class marched forward from success to success. The Great October Revolution and the Great Chinese Revolution were accomplished under the leadership of the working class, and one-third of the world today holds aloft the banner of successful Socialist revolution. The working class of several countries played an important role in fighting fascism and in the national liberation struggles. The rise of the Socialist world constitutes a fitting tribute to the memory of the early martyrs who fought for an eight-hour day. The great Centenary comes in the midst of serious challenge, with U.S. imperialism making aggressive preparations for war against the USSR in order to destroy the working class conquests of a century. Reagan has openly announced his intention of destroying Socialism, of destroying Marxism-Leninism. The Centenary celebrations must be converted into a mighty rally of the world working class against war and for peace. On the Centenary Day the entire working class of the world will raise the banner of peace for mankind and pledge to the peoples of the world that imperialist designs to destroy Socialist countries and reconquer the world will be defeated.

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) calls upon all the Party units and mass organisations led by the Party to observe the Centenary in a fitting manner, raise the banner of international solidarity, and assures

the international movement that the working class of India will devote all its energies to defeat the imperialist plans of war.

**(i) Against the Threat of War and in Defence of Peace**

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) denounces the preparations for war taken step by step by U.S. imperialism which is threatening to engulf the whole world in a nuclear war and endanger the future of humanity. A nuclear war would extinguish life and human society in all continents. It calls upon all sane thinking people in India to rally round in defence of world peace and make their contribution to foiling the imperialist designs.

The Reagan Administration has brazenly gone ahead in placing the Pershing and Cruise missiles in Western Europe, defying popular opposition. It is pressuring its NATO partners to fall in line with its aggressive war preparations. It has given the go-by to the SALT-II terms; it has now embarked upon the dangerous step of militarising space through its so-called Strategic Defence Initiative. This programme, popularly known as Star Wars, is taking the arms race to a qualitatively new level and threatens to upset the whole process of arms control. Around 300 billion dollars is spent annually for military weapons by the USA. At the Geneva Summit, Reagan has refused to positively respond to the reasonable proposals put forward by Gorbachov on behalf of the Soviet Union for immediate steps to control the arms race.

In contrast, the Soviet Union, befitting a Socialist country, has relentlessly pursued the path of defending world peace and reducing the armaments race. It has declared that it will not be the first to use nuclear weapons; it has declared a moratorium on testing of nuclear devices for six months in August 1985, and stated its intention to extend it if the USA responds; it has suggested a bold proposal for fifty per cent reduction of strategic nuclear weapons by both sides; it has so far refrained from any step to militarise space inspite of the Star Wars project. As per Gorbachov's

declaration, SS-20 missiles have been dismantled from the European sector of the USSR; it has welcomed the six-nation leaders' appeal for steps to reduce world tension. China has also declared that it will not be the first to use nuclear weapons. These show the intentions of the most powerful Socialist country and the Socialist camp. However, the U.S. imperialist and its allies have rejected all these initiatives.

The danger of war is real because the U.S. imperialists are hectically producing new weapons in their 'holy war' against Communism and to implement their drive for global domination. Not satisfied with ringing the Soviet Union and Socialist countries with military bases and nuclear weapons, the U.S. uses its armed might to shamelessly intervene in newly independent countries and against national liberation movements. The invasion of Grenada illustrated the U.S. aims for world domination. In this pursuit, the USA has built up the Rapid Deployment Force to be dispatched to any country which defies its will; it aggressively seeks new bases in the Third World countries and seeks to police the oceans and seas with naval vessels equipped with nuclear weapons.

The Twelfth Congress greets all the world-wide fighters for peace who are waging a continuous and determined battle to avert the threat of war. A massive peace movement embracing people of all walks of life is actively mobilising and fighting the war plans in the countries of Western Europe, United States and Japan and in all parts of the globe. The peace movement has gathered strength and picked up in many countries. This powerful current, along with the efforts of the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries and the Non-Aligned Movements, is the firm guarantee that the warmongers can be defeated.

The Twelfth Congress calls upon all the patriotic and well-meaning forces and parties to unite and build a broad-based peace movement to rouse the Indian people against the threat of world war and to join the ranks of the

world-wide peace forces. The working people must be mobilised to play a leading role in order to widen the existing peace movement. All peace-loving and patriotic Indians must be united to combat the imperialist war designs.

**(j) Solidarity with National Liberation Struggles**

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) notes with satisfaction that national liberation struggles against imperialist and colonial domination have grown from strength to strength in the recent period. All the efforts of imperialism to halt the victorious march of national liberation in different parts of the world have failed and the revolutionary struggles against colonial and neo-colonial enslavement have reached new heights.

The Twelfth Congress greets the heroic people of El Salvador and the Farabundi Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) who are waging a determined battle for liberation and for the overthrow of the neo-colonial regime of Duarte which is imposed on El Salvador by U.S. imperialism. Thousands of men and women have been killed by the death squads sponsored by the reactionary armed forces and their U.S. advisers. The brave fighters of the FMLN have struck hard blows at the reactionary army and their U.S. advisers and liberated one-third of the country from their control.

The Congress extends its warm solidarity with the FMLN and the people of El Salvador.

The Twelfth Congress greets the fighting people of Namibia and its sole legitimate organisation, the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) who, by their protracted struggle, have advanced the cause of liberating Namibia from the clutches of the white minority regime of South Africa. The racist regime has continued to occupy Namibia defying international public opinions and successive UN resolutions for decolonisation, under the pretext of defending the Namibian territory that it has usurped. It attacks Angola and the frontline States for providing assistance to SWAPO. The Namibian people's struggle has in the face of armed might of South

Africa gained strength by the overwhelming unity and consciousness of the people. The armed struggle in Namibia continues despite the brutal suppressive measures undertaken by the racists.

The Congress expresses its support and full solidarity with the Namibian people and SWAPO and wishes it further successes and total victory in its cause.

The Congress extends its staunch solidarity with their cause.

The Twelfth Congress notes with satisfaction the big successes registered by the struggle of the people of Western Sahara and the Polisario Front in advancing towards national liberation. The failure of the Moroccan regime to isolate the Polisario Front politically and to crush it militarily is becoming evident to all. Fighting under hard conditions but imbued with an unconquerable spirit, the Saharawi people are reshaping their destiny. Sixty-three countries including India have now recognised the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic.

The Congress sends its fraternal greetings to the Polisario Front and the Saharawi people and pledges to continue to render full support to their struggle for ultimate victory.

The Twelfth Congress extends its solidarity with the people of East Timor who are under the difficult conditions of Indonesian occupation, continuing their arduous battle for independence and self-determination.

#### **(k) On Punjab Situation**

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep concern over the disruptive and murderous actions of Sikh secessionists in Punjab. They are carrying on their anti-national activities from gurudwaras and their ranks are constantly replenished by youths trained for sabotage in the training camps of Pakistan. They have the patronage, covert or overt, of the authorities in the USA, Britain and Canada.

The Akali Party which had made the acceptance and

implementation of the Punjab Accord its main plank in the election, refuses to fight the anti-national challenge politically, by mobilizing the mass of people who brought it to power. On the other hand, a prisoner of Sikh appeal, it repeatedly compromises with the challenges thrown by the extremists and orders closures of schools and colleges whenever calls for strike and hartal are given by them.

It is unfortunate that the Central Government has altered the terms of reference of the Mathew Commission in violation of the Punjab Accord. It is allowing the Haryana State Government and the Congress(I) party to raise extraneous issues to inflame the people of Haryana against the Punjab Accord. It has also not yet announced the formation of two other Commissions envisaged in the Accord to deal with the water and territorial disputes. This policy of drift helps only the game of extremists and imperialists and will prove very harmful to the interests of the country.

The Congress notes that some other Opposition forces are also active both in Punjab and Haryana to sabotage the Accord. In Punjab an agitation is being carried on against the completion of the SYL canal. In Haryana, the Lok Dal, BJP and Janata are carrying on an agitation against the Punjab Accord, describing it as a betrayal of the interests of the Haryana people.

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) therefore demands of the Central Government that it give up the policies of drift and implement the Punjab Accord in letter and spirit.

It demands that the Akali Government should denounce the activities of the extremists and mobilize the people against the anti-national activities and ensure the protection of life and property of the minority. It should not allow the use of gurdwaras for political activities.

The Twelfth Congress appeals to the people of Punjab and Haryana to oppose communal forces, both Sikh and Hindu, and while fighting against the extremist and separatist forces, expose all those who are trying to sabotage the

Accord. The Left and democratic forces in Punjab should do everything to reforge the unity of the Punjabi people on the basis of secularism and separation of religion from the State.

The Twelfth Congress notes with appreciation the incessant struggle waged by our Party, our ranks and leaders, to meet the challenge of the secessionist forces and hold aloft the banner of national unity.

### **(1) On Equal Rights for Women**

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) views with grave concern the growing inequality of women in the country followed by intensified atrocities on women.

The Constitution of India has enshrined equality of women in India in its Directive Principles. The Constitution provides the fundamental right to equality before law for all citizens of the country. Notwithstanding all these Constitutional declarations and provisions, all women in the country continue to be denied, and deprived of, equal rights.

The notorious dowry system has taken deeper root, resulting in an increasing number of dowry deaths. Rape is almost becoming a weapon of vengeance against women. Inequality in wages in the dominant sectors of production, both industrial and agricultural, continues. The illiteracy among women is appalling and has increased from 225 million in 1981 to 250 million in 1983, out of a total women's population of 330 million. In vocational training also, women are being discriminated against. Employment opportunities have not only shrunk, but on the other hand, women are the worst victims of large-scale retrenchment, consequent to the deepening of the capitalist crisis.

The Government of India has not only done nothing to protect the rights of women, but is siding with the obscurantists when they mount an attack on the rights of women.

The Congress views with grave concern the statement of the Prime Minister at the recent Momin Conference that the Government of India is considering the demand of the fundamentalists for exempting Muslim women from

Section 125 of the CrPC, in order to eliminate the legal eligibility for alimony to divorced Muslim women.

This Congress takes a serious view of and protests against the opinions expressed by the Prime Minister at the recent meeting he had with women's organizations, which threaten to condemn Muslim women to permanent slavery, in the name of applicability of Personal Laws.

The Congress demands that effective legislation be adopted—for the effective elimination of the dowry system, for protection against retrenchment, for equal wages for men and women, and for all-sided social security measures, and steps be taken for their implementation, with the active cooperation of advisory committees on which women's organizations are represented.

The Congress demands that the Government of India desist from any move for amending Section 125 of the CrPC and take steps to ensure all legal protection to their existing legal rights.

This Congress demands of the Government of India to ensure literacy for women.

This Congress of the CPI(M) assures its full support to the fighting women and their organizations in the country who are organizing women, and struggling for equal rights. It calls upon all its ranks to take up this struggle in right earnest.

#### **(m) On New Education Policy**

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is strongly critical of the changes being proposed by the Central Government in the field of education.

Apart from already strengthening the elitist character of the education system, these changes are directed at creating two specific streams—one that is equipped to meet the requirements of modern technology, and the other, the millions, being consigned to ignorance and backwardness. On the one hand, 'pace-setting model schools' and 'centres of excellence' are to be created for the privileged, and on the other, 'non-formal' methods, even at the school level, and 'open universities' are to be opened for the masses.

For the first time since independence, the Government has announced its decision to abandon the task of providing free and compulsory education for all children between 6 and 14 years. This Constitutional directive was to have been implemented by 1960 and subsequently extended up to 1990. The document released by the Government and the Seventh Plan, makes it clear that by 1990 at least 600 lakh children of this age-group will be outside the schooling system both formal and non-formal.

Abandoning universal elementary education, allocating meagre resources for education as a whole, particularly adult education, and severe restrictions on higher education are accompanied by several attacks on the democratic rights of the university community.

These policies come at a time when two-thirds of our population is illiterate. Instead of adopting measures to eradicate illiteracy, these changes amount to a strategy that will increase illiteracy and unemployment.

These changes are linked to the recent shifts in the economic policy. The reliance on capital-intensive technology in a labour surplus economy, modernisation, induction of foreign technology and increasing collaborations aiming at the export market, etc., require an exclusive manpower adequately trained to meet the needs of modern technology. While training this exclusive section, the vast masses are dispensable for the ruling classes and hence can remain backward and ignorant.

These changes are being put forward before the country under the cover of the populist slogan of marching towards the 21st century. Jobs are to be delinked from degrees in order to eliminate the concept of educated unemployment and specifically to mobilise the youth by stating that even without education they will be provided jobs. The reality of modernisation reducing even the available job opportunities is being concealed. This delinking is a part of the strategy to curtail higher education, while at the same time the Government endorses the concept of capitation fees,

proposes to increase fees and states that any expansion that takes place will be at the initiative of private business.

The CPI(M) is pledged to mobilise the entire people against these retrograde policies demanding that the right of education be enshrined in the Constitution, and calls upon the people to expose this as a strategy of increasing illiteracy and unemployment.

#### **(n) Against Atrocities on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes**

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its indignation at the growing activities perpetrated against the toiling people belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in several States, by the police and the armed gangsters engaged by the landlords and the rural rich belonging to upper and lower castes.

Gang rape of Harijan women-folk, looting and burning of property belonging to Harijans, forcibly taking possession of the crop cultivated by Harijans, evicting them from the land owned by them, killing their children and elderly family members mercilessly, have become a matter of daily occurrence under the Congress(I) rule in India. In most of the cases the local police shamelessly side with the gangsters and abet the crime—while the culprits invariably go unpunished, the activities against scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are often described as clashes between two communities.

The struggles conducted by agricultural workers for higher wages or for demanding implementation of the minimum wages notified by the State Governments have always become a cause of reprisals against scheduled castes and scheduled tribes most of whom are working as agricultural labourers. The police brutalities and depredations of the gangsters have no limit, and a constant reign of terror is let loose against the Harijans to browbeat them into submission to the heinous exploitation of the landlords and the rural rich.

The social oppression of the Harijans is forcing them to live a life of humiliation and degradation. The annual re-

ports published periodically by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Commissioner have given a ghastly picture of their social oppression.

It is acknowledged by the Reports of the Central Government that West Bengal and Tripura are free from atrocities against Harijans and tribals, and the Governments have been taking stringent measures against those who indulge in wantonly attacking the Harijans. In contrast with this, in Congress(I)-run States even the Congressmen have been found to be guilty of attacking the Harijans. Police lock-up in Congress(I)-run States have become torture chambers for Harijans, while many deaths of Harijans have been reported in the police lock-ups of these States.

After nearly four decades of reservation of jobs, the plight of these downtrodden sections has not improved. Reservation of jobs, while it has given much needed relief to the educated sections against discrimination, has not led to any change in the basic conditions of these masses. Serious efforts have to be made to draw the scheduled caste and tribal toilers into the common movement against the bourgeois-landlord policies. This is the only way to advance the struggle for their freedom from exploitation and discrimination.

The Twelfth Congress of the CPI(M) calls upon all the Party units and mass organisations led by the Party to fight against the atrocities and social oppression against Harijans and tribals and for giving full protection to them from the gangster attacks of the hirelings of the landlords as well as the upper and lower castes of the rural rich.

### **(o) On Muslim Minority Rights**

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its shock and grave concern over the complete breakdown of the law and order machinery during the course of Hindu-Muslim riots in all the Congress(I)-ruled States. As a result, as in Bhiwandi, the minority community is left without legal protection and security and becomes the object of arson and murder at the hands of the

anti-social elements from the majority community. The police force under Congress(I)-ruled Government's gets affected by the communal virus and is unable to check violent mass attacks against the minority community. The perpetrators of murder and loot are rarely brought to book and the minority often lives in suspense and terror.

The Twelfth Congress denounces these happenings and demands concrete security measures for the protection of life and property of the minority.

The Twelfth Congress congratulates the Left Front Ministries of West Bengal and Tripura in ensuring security protection for the minority and dealing with all communal elements with a firm hand.

The Twelfth Congress denounces the minority-baiting propaganda by RSS and other Hindu communal agencies.

The Twelfth Congress considers that national unity and integrity cannot be safeguarded without maintaining the secular character of the State and Administration and without strict implementation of equality before law, irrespective of sex, religion, etc. The practice under Congress(I) rule is in utter contradiction to the guarantees of the Constitution and a violation of the rights of the minority community.

The Twelfth Congress is of the opinion that the minority community suffers from unequal treatment in several matters, and demands an end to all discriminatory practices. The acid test of democracy is the treatment of religious and other minorities, and the Congress(I) Government is unable to pass this test.

The Twelfth Congress assures the Muslim minority mass that the Party will continue to fight for just and equal treatment of the minority and for its fundamental rights under the Constitution.

The Twelfth Congress at the same time warns the Muslim masses against the disruptive tactics of orthodoxy and fundamentalist elements to rouse their passions, for maintaining obscurantist traditions in the name of religion.

The Twelfth Congress warns the people of both commu-

nities that communalism and a communal outlook outright play into the hands of imperialist agencies who seek to divide the country and enslave the Indian people, as well as harming and disrupting the united struggle to free themselves from the exploitation of the ruling classes.

#### **(p) On Repression in Iran**

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) condemns the wave of executions and barbaric tortures to which the reactionary Khomeini regime is subjecting all those who oppose its obscurantist and anti-democratic rule, in particular leaders and cadres of the Organisation of Iranian People's Fedaian (Majority), the Tudeh Party and other progressive groups in Iran.

Tens of thousands of political prisoners are presently in illegal confinement in the dungeons of the Khomeini regime under sentence of death.

The Congress calls upon democratic public opinion in this country to raise its voice against this brutal repressive policy and demands the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners in Iran.

The Congress expresses its firm solidarity with the Organization of People's Fedaian (Majority), the Tudeh Party and all its brave fighting cadres.

#### **(q) On Sri Lanka Tamils**

The Twelfth Congress of the CPI(M) views with grave concern and anxiety the continued gruesome mass killings of innocent men, women and children belonging to the Tamil ethnic minority in Sri Lanka, by the Sri Lankan security forces, and strongly condemns it.

The Congress notes that the Thimpu talks and the ceasefire understanding provided an opening for the process of a settlement through negotiations. But the gap created by the postponement of the negotiations, was used by the Jayawardene Government for continuous violations of the ceasefire, to secure more and more arms from imperialists and the serv-

ices of British and Mossad mercenaries and to unleash large scale killings of innocent Tamils in the name of stamping out terrorism.

The Congress considers that these actions of the Jayawardene Government confirm that it is proceeding on the path of a military solution of a just and democratic ethnic issue. This stand of the Sri Lanka Government is also a diversionary move, to bail itself out from the rising discontent among the Sri Lankan people arising out of the deepened economic crisis. This Congress of the CPI(M) states that the policy of military solution by the Sri Lankan Government has made it more and more dependent on American imperialism, which has already used it to secure a military base in Trincomalee, which not only threatens the sovereignty and independence of Sri Lanka, but peace in the region.

The Congress considers that the demand for separate Ealam objectively helps the Jayawardene Government to suppress the democratic aspirations of a suffering ethnic minority in Sri Lanka.

The Congress considers that the latest proposals of TULF accepting the principle of utmost autonomy within the framework of a united Sri Lanka provides the basis for resumption of negotiations and settlement.

The Twelfth Congress calls upon the Government of India to pursue the efforts at fostering a settlement which will protect the fundamental rights of the ethnic minority so that conditions can be created for the safe return of the refugees.

The Congress supports the stand of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka and other Left forces which have consistently fought for autonomy for the ethnic Tamils and who stand for the unity of the working people of Singhala and Tamil origins.

The Congress expresses its solidarity with the suffering Tamil ethnic people of Sri Lanka and appeals to all Left and democratic forces in Sri Lanka among all sections of people including the ethnic Tamils, to fight for the democratic solution of the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka.

The Congress directs the State units of the Party to mobilise people in support of the rights of Sri Lankan Tamils and for a just political settlement of the problem.

**(r) On Bhopal Gas Tragedy**

This Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) held at Calcutta on December 25-29, 1985, denounces the multinational Union Carbide Ltd, of the USA for its criminal negligence in not providing adequate safety measures, causing the world's worst industrial disaster, leaving a trail of 5000 dead, 25,000 seriously ailing and 250,000 suffering the ill effects of MIC afflictions. It did not provide the same safety measures as provided for similar plants in West Virginia, in order to save costs and reap super-profits. Worse still, it did not even follow its own safety manual which it had provided at the time of obtaining a licence. It did not take steps when accidents took place on earlier occasions. On the other hand, it tried to suppress the gas leak incident and for nearly three hours kept it from the knowledge of the people and the police and thus compounded its criminal acts against the people of India.

This Party Congress also indicts the Congress(I) Governments both at the Centre and the State of Madhya Pradesh, for their callous attitude towards the sufferings of the people affected by the deathly MIC gas and for not taking adequate measures to give succour to the affected people. Instead of rousing the entire people of the country by mobilizing democratic mass organizations led by various political parties for organizing medicare and relief to the affected people, and on that strength to punish the U.S. based multinational guilty of such a dastardly crime against the people of India, they have virtually knuckled under in the face of the threat of adverse effects on trade and relations with the USA and have now finally stopped the functioning of the N.K. Singh Commission. This coupled with the non-cooperation which this Commission faced during its tenure, also proves that the judicial enquiry was ordered not to

determine the agencies or persons who were guilty of violation of already existing safety rules, which undoubtedly were inadequate, but to assuage the feelings of outrage among the people keeping an eye on the coming general elections.

This Party Congress demands that the Government of India as well as that of Madhya Pradesh revise their policies, arrange long-term medicare and relief to the people securing adequate compensation from the U.S.-based multinational, by nationalising the assets and properties of this multinational and its subsidiaries functioning in India, without any compensation, and calls upon its members to build up a sustained movement on these demands. The Congress notes with appreciation the significant work undertaken by the Madhya Pradesh Party and other mass organizations in providing relief to the suffering people.

This Congress conveys its deep sympathies to the suffering people and condolences to the bereaved families.

## **Messages and Greetings from Fraternal Parties sent to the Twelfth Congress of CPI(M) held in Calcutta on December 25-30, 1985\***

### **Message from the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan**

The Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan expresses its sincere comradely greetings and felicitations on the convocation of the Twelfth Congress of the CPI(M) to you, esteemed comrades and, through you to Communists, the working class and all toiling people of India and wishes you great successes in the work of the Congress.

The convocation of the Twelfth Congress of the CPI(M), this great and significant event in the history of the struggle of the CPI(M), and its resolutions and decisions will play a significant role in defending the interests of the working class and all toiling people of India, progress and social justice and in consolidating peace and detente.

The CPI(M) has always been deeply respected by peace loving and progressive humanity for its part in exposing the shameless plots and conspiracies of world imperialism led by US, imperialism and regional reaction and for its struggle in defending the integrity, independence and national unity of India.

The existing relations between the PDPA and the CPI(M), relying upon the principles of the progressive ideas of our time and proletarian internationalism, successfully traverse

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the path of their growth and development. We are fully confident that these relations also will develop in the interests of the peoples of the two countries and the world workers' movement in future.

While once again expressing our felicitations on the convocation of the Twelfth Congress of the CPI(M), we wish you ever greater successes in the work of the Congress.

Auspicious be the Twelfth Congress of the CPI(M)!  
Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!

With comradely greetings  
Central Committee, PDPA, Kabul.

### **Message from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia sends you, the delegates of the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India(Marxist), and through you all members of the Party sincere comradely greetings.

The Congress of your Party takes place at a time when a consistent struggle against the arms race, for averting the militarization of outer space and for liquidating the hotbeds of tension on all continents is the most urgent task before the nations of the world. The dangerous plans of reactionary circles of the United States aimed at destabilising the countries in South Asia and at militarising the Indian Ocean directly endanger the interests of the people of India and of all nations in that area.

The strengthening of unity and cooperation is the task of all progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces of the world so that they might even more resolutely face the aggressive policy of imperialism and escalate their struggle for the preservation of world peace.

The Czechoslovak Communists esteem the resolute struggle of your Party for the strengthening of the independence of the country, the tireless struggle for equitable social and political rights of the working people of India, for a happy life of the people of India. We are convinced that the

conclusions of the Twelfth Congress of your Party will further contribute to the attainment of these noble goals.

We wish you, dear Comrades, many successes in your struggle for social progress and for the preservation of peace on our planet.

Central Committee  
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

### **Message from the Communist Party of Vietnam**

On behalf of the Communist Party, the working class and the people of Vietnam, we would like to extend our warmest greetings to the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

During the past years, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has made important contributions to the cause of the Indian people's struggle for independence, territorial integrity and prosperity of the country, as well as to the common struggle of the people in Asia and the world over for peace, independence, democracy and social progress.

We are elated at the achievements recorded by the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and convinced that your Party will achieve new successes in your noble revolutionary cause.

May the militant solidarity, the friendly relations and co-operation between our two Parties and our two peoples be ever more consolidated and developed.

May your Party Congress be a good success.

Central Committee  
Communist Party of Vietnam

### **Message from the Communist Party of China**

On the occasion of the convening of the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), the Communist Party of China extends its warm congratulations to the Congress, and through the Congress, sends its cordial greetings and high respect to all members of the CPI(M).

The CPI(M) is a Marxist Party with glorious tradition of

struggle and close ties with the people. Over a long period of time, the CPI(M) has made unremitting efforts to win and defend national independence, uphold the unity of all nationalities in India, develop national economy and protect the people's democratic rights. It has engaged in active struggle to oppose imperialism and colonialism, support national liberation movements and safeguard world peace. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people hold in high esteem the valuable contributions made by the CPI(M) in defending and further developing the friendship between our two countries and two peoples. We express heartfelt congratulations to the CPI(M) on its achievements.

In the past few years, the relations between China and India have improved as a result of the joint effort made by both sides. We hope they will be further improved. We are convinced that the friendly relations between our two Parties, which are built on the basis of Marxism and the principles of independence, complete equality, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, are conducive to the consolidation and further development of the friendship between our two countries and two peoples.

We wish the Twelfth Congress of the CPI(M) a complete success.

Central Committee  
Communist Party of China

### **Message from the Communist Party of Italy**

On the occasion of your Congress, we send the friendly greetings of the Italian Communist Party and its assurance that it will have positive results for the future activities of the CPI(M) and for the progress of your great country and its people and we hope to continue to develop the exchange of information between our two Parties and extend our invitation to the coming Seventeenth Congress of the Italian Communist Party Congress.

Hoping for your success and cordial greetings,  
Central Committee

### **Message From Polisario Front**

On the occasion of the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) the Polisario Front would like to convey to you, on behalf of the people of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic, its warmest greetings and best wishes for the success of your Congress.

The Polisario Front would like to take this opportunity to convey to you its warm thanks for the militant solidarity your Party has not ceased to express to the national liberation armed struggle waged, since 10 May 1973, by the Saharawi people under the leadership of their sole and legitimate representative, the Polisario Front, for freedom, independence and national sovereignty for their homeland, the Saharawi Democratic Republic (SADR).

We would like also to express to your Party the will of the Polisario Front to further strengthen the cordial and friendly relations existing so happily between them in the framework of the peoples' struggle against colonialism, imperialism and racism.

Warm fraternal greetings,

Commission for External Affairs and  
Information of the Polisario Front

### **Message from the Communist Party of Great Britain**

We send warm fraternal greetings to the Twelfth Congress of your Party.

There have been close ties of friendship and co-operation between Britain and Indian Communists for many years. We continue to follow with active interest the developments in India and the policies and actions of your Party.

We are all, in all parts of the world, facing complex problems and great danger. The threat of nuclear annihilation is an ever-present one. We know that in the event of nuclear war, there would be few survivors. The struggle to avert this threat, to achieve real measures of disarmament, to impose new standards in international relations, is a crucial one. India plays a key role in this, both through its own

action and through representing the Non-Aligned Movement.

However, this is possible because of the strength of popular feeling in India, and the mobilising of millions of people in favour of peace, disarmament and non-alignment. India in recent times has faced severe attacks on national unity, and imperialist pressure to change its international policies.

Your efforts and those of other Left, progressive and democratic forces are important in resisting that pressure and in influencing the course of Government policies.

We wish you all success in your future activities.

Long Live Peace and Socialism!

Gordon McLennan

General Secretary,

Communist Party of Great Britain

### **Message from the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea**

On behalf of People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, working class and People's Republic of Kampuchea we would like to send to the Twelfth Congress of CPI(M) and through the Congress to the Indian working class and people our most sincere and brotherly congratulations. With their traditional arduous struggle and labour of creative efforts, Indian working class and people have obtained great realizations in defending and building their country, making India a country of modern and developed industry and agriculture day by day. Together with Indian progressive forces and people, your Party has always struggled for a foreign policy of peace, against imperialism, neo-colonialism, expansionism, hegemonism, zionism, apartheid and actively support liberation movements. In the role of Chairman of NAM, India essentially contributes herself in preserving peace in Asia and in the world. Taking this occasion we would like extend our sincere gratitude to CPI(M), Indian progressive forces and people for their firm support to the people of PRK in the cause of struggle against imperialism and international reactionaries for defending and building our motherland.

We wish you great new successes in the struggle for independence, and for peace and a nuclear free zone in Indian Ocean, against arms race, preventing nuclear war, for peace in the region and in the world.

May the Twelfth Congress of CPI(M) be successful.

### **Message from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia**

On the occasion of the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) we wish to express our best wishes for the successful and fruitful deliberations of your Party's important gathering.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia is following with great attention the activities and efforts the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is exerting together with other progressive forces in your country in improving the living conditions of the people, as well as in promoting social progress in your country. We are confident that subsequently, by adhering to the assessments and resolutions to be adopted at the present Congress, you will render contribution to the all-out efforts aimed at achieving the accelerated development of India and to the future affirmation of the policy and the movement of Non-Aligned countries.

On this occasion again, we wish to emphasise the readiness of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia to promote further its co-operation with the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in the interest of strengthening the friendship between the peoples of our two Non-Aligned countries, and in the interest of peace and Socialism.

### **Message from the Communist Party of Spain**

Wish to transmit our warmest greetings and fervent hope that you will achieve success in defence of the interests of your people and of peace and Socialism.

Central Committee  
Communist Party of Spain.

**Message from the Communist Party of Nepal**

Hearty Congratulation on your Twelfth Party Congress.

Balram Upadhyay

Central Committee, Communist Party of Nepal.

**Message from the Communist Party of Pakistan**

On behalf of all our members and working people of our country, we send you revolutionary and fraternal greetings on this auspicious occasion of the convention of the Twelfth Congress of your Party.

We have always attached great importance to the struggle of your Party against imperialism, regional and local reaction, for defending the interests of the working class and all the working people of India. We highly evaluate your role in bringing about a Left democratic unity based upon the unity of the Communist movement, and consolidating the Non-Aligned and anti-imperialist position of India. Our people along with the people of India, favour good neighbourly ties between our two countries based upon genuine Non-Alignment, bilateralism and without outside imperialist interference.

We hope that your Congress will express its militant solidarity with our people in their struggle against military dictatorship, now bent upon civilizing its face, against imperialist encroachment and for establishing a genuine democratic order based upon the realization of the just rights of all our nationalities and all the working people, as well as based upon a peaceful Pakistan being in close co-operation and friendship with all its neighbours, including India and revolutionary Afghanistan.

At the end we express once more our felicitations and fraternal greetings for the convention of the present Congress and wish you all success in its deliberations and the realization of its decisions thereafter.

With fraternal regards,  
Central Committee  
Communist Party of Pakistan.

## **Message from the Communist Party of Australia**

**Dear Comrades,**

The National Committee of the Communist Party of Australia, and our entire Party, sends our warmest comradely greetings to the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and wishes your Congress every success in its deliberations.

We look forward to hearing of the outcome of your Congress, which we are sure will enable your Party to advance the struggle for socialism and democracy in India, and the development of India as a modern, economically developed nation in accordance with Socialist principles.

Your Congress takes place shortly after the Geneva Summit between U.S. President Reagan and the Soviet Communist Party leader, Mr. Gorbachev. Whilst the positive outcome of the Summit is most welcome, we believe that a halt to the arms race and real progress towards nuclear disarmament depends not just on initiatives by the USA and USSR, but on a world-wide people's movement for peace and disarmament, in which Non-Aligned nations such as India can play a significant role.

Of course, the danger of nuclear holocaust stems from the predatory activities of Western, and especially U.S. imperialism in its desire to preserve and extend its political and economic interests around the globe, and to keep other nations and peoples, especially in the Third World, in a state of economic subjection and exploitation. It is little over a year since the oppressive face of US imperialism showed itself to the Indian working people in most tragic fashion at Bhopal, when many thousands of people were killed and injured due to the multinational Union Carbide Corporation's reckless hunger for easy profits, regardless of danger to human life.

We are sure that your Party, and all socialist, democratic and progressive forces in India, will continue to struggle for full economic and political independence for your country, and an end to Western multinational exploitation.

Once again, we wish your Congress every success in advancing the struggle for democracy, peace and socialism in India.

With warmest comradely greeting,  
National Committee,  
Communist Party of Australia.

### **Message from the Communist Party of Cuba**

Please receive our fraternal greetings and our wishes for success during the sessions of your most important meeting. We are sure the event will contribute to further strengthening of the Party and will also contribute to the struggle of your country in defence of its sovereignty, national integrity, world peace and the welfare of the Indian people. We renew our willingness to further strengthen the relations between our two Parties.

Central Committee  
Communist Party of Cuba.

### **Message from the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary**

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, we are sending comradely greetings to all participants in the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and to its all members. We wish that your debate will serve efficiently for the success of your struggle waged for social progress, for defending right of Indian workers, for closing the ranks of all progressive forces.

Central Committee  
Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

### **Message from the Polish United Workers' Party**

On behalf of the Polish United Workers' Party we convey to you, the delegates to the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), greetings and best wishes.

We are confident that your Party Congress, laying down the guidelines for your future activity, will contribute to the

strengthening of unity of the international communist and workers movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

We wish you, dear comrades, that the resolutions you will adopt would serve the cause of consolidation of the anti-imperialist front in the common struggle for peace, progress and Socialism.

Central Committee  
Polish United Workers' Party

### **Message from the Communist Party of Japan**

On the occasion of the Twelfth Congress of the CPI(M) we extend our cordial congratulations and greetings of solidarity to Congress Delegates and all Party members. We hope your Congress will be successful in making advances in the struggle of the Indian people to defend their fundamental interests and the rights of the working class against big bourgeois-landlord rule, to expand democracy and social progress, consolidate your Party ranks, to defend progressive State Governments of West Bengal and Tripura headed by the CPI(M) and develop the unity of Left and democratic forces, to defend and develop India's policy of Non-Alignment and defeat reactionary manoeuvres of secessionist and communal forces which hamper independent and united development of the country in a world facing the threat of nuclear war that endangers its very existence. It has become more urgent to develop world opinion and movement for prevention of nuclear war and a complete ban on and abolition of nuclear weapons, linking them organically with diverse demands and struggles against nuclear weapons and for peace in each country including those for establishment of nuclear free zones and against deployment of nuclear weapons. In its Seventeenth Congress held in November JCP called solemnly for formation of anti-nuclear international united front which will isolate forces that cling to nuclear weapons by bringing together all those who demand elimination of threat of nuclear war and abolition of nuclear

weapons in Japan. It also called on the people, irrespective of thoughts and beliefs, to form the broadest possible front based on consensus and co-operation on a non-nuclear policy with a proposal for overthrowing the pro-nuclear Government of Prime Minister Nakasone which is collaborating openly with the USA in nuclear war preparations, and for establishing an anti-nuclear Government. At the same time JCP attaches importance to the struggle for the defence of the right of every people to establish independently its line opposing all manifestations of imperialism and hegemonism and struggle for dissolution of all military blocks as an important international task—at a time when contradictions of world capitalism are sharpening with economic crisis affecting developing countries, best seen in growing external debts, poverty and famine, international struggle for establishing a new international economic order in opposition to nuclear arms race and neo-colonialist economic order and in defence of peace and economic sovereignty of all nations. The JCP is the only progressive opposition party that stands up to the Nakasone Government, the most reactionary of all post-war Japanese Governments. It is speeding up arms build-up, militarisation of the country, and a fascist transformation of Japan. We are determined to make headway against the Japan-U.S. military alliance in order to build a Japan of real independence, peace, Non-Alignment and neutrality and achieve progressive change. This year we received CPI(M) representatives to the international symposium held in Tokyo in July and JCP Congress in November. We are very happy to see relations of friendship and solidarity develop between JCP and CPI(M) parties which are working in their respective countries in Asia but under different historical conditions. We hope these relations will further develop in our common struggle for prevention of nuclear war and a ban on nuclear weapons and for peace, democracy and social progress.

Central Committee  
Japanese Communist Party.

### **Message from the Communist Party of France**

On the occasion of your Twelfth Congress, the Communist Party of France sends you its warmest greetings. Our Party has followed with great attention the struggles of the Indian people for social progress, justice, democracy and the defence of peace.

We know that India which is contributing greatly in the Non-Aligned Movement and on the international plane, plays an important role in the search for solutions to the major problems of our epoch : peace and disarmament, a new international economic order, the struggle against hunger, etc. We express our solidarity with the democratic and peace forces of your country, who are fighting to put an end to the nuclear arms race and its extension into space followed by American imperialism as also the manoeuvres aimed at undermining the independence and integrity of your country.

We wish you all success in the work of your Congress, which without doubt will make a big contribution to the struggle of the Indian people for social progress, democracy, peace and disarmament.

Communist Party of France.

### **Message from the People's Revolutionary Party of Lao**

On behalf of the members of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the Lao working class and labouring people of all ethnic groups, we wish to convey our warmest greetings and congratulations to the Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and through it to all members of the Party, the working class and labouring people of India. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) has always carried out its activities in mobilising and leading the Indian working class to ceaselessly struggle for the sake of legitimate interests of the working class and labouring people for peace, independence, democracy and social progress in India. At the same time the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has actively carried out its activities in the struggle for the preservation of peace and stability in Asian region and in the world.

Once again we wish to express our congratulations to the brilliant success recorded in the implementation of Resolution of the Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in the past, thus contributing to the strengthening of the movement for international peace and security and new international economic order. We are satisfied that the relations between our two Parties have been further developed and strengthened unceasingly.

On the auspicious occasion, wish this Congress crown with a brilliant success.

Wishing the relations of friendship between the two Parties and the countries—Lao and India—on the basis of principles of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism be further developed and strengthened ceaselessly.

With Revolutionary greetings,

Central Committee  
The People's Revolutionary Party

### **Message from the Workers Party of Korea**

The Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea warmly congratulates the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and extends heartfelt greetings through your Congress to all your Party members.

Convinced that your Congress will greatly contribute to the struggle for the strengthening and development of the Party and the democracy in the country, we congratulate your Party upon the successes it has so far achieved in its struggle to defend the democratic right and vital interests of the toiling masses.

Believing that the relations of friendship and co-operation existing between our two Parties will further strengthen and develop in the future, we avail ourselves of this opportunity to sincerely wish your Congress great successes in its work.

Central Committee  
Workers' Party of Korea

### **Message from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany**

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany extends to the delegates to the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) warm militant greetings from all members of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and all working people of the German Democratic Republic.

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) takes place at a time when greatest importance attaches to actions of all peace-loving forces to avert world-wide nuclear conflagration, to prevent the arms race from spreading to outer space and to stop new armaments on earth. The activities of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) contribute to the forces of peace gaining strength at the national and international levels.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany appreciates your Party's policy, which is aimed at defending the independence and unity of India. It follows with great interest and sympathy the struggle waged by the members of your Party for social progress.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is confident that the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) will give a fresh impetus to the struggle for the prosperity of the Indian people.

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany sends you, dear comrades, best wishes for the success of your deliberations.

E. Honecker  
General Secretary  
Socialist Unity Party of Germany

### **Message from the Communist Party of Canada**

It gives us great pleasure to extend our good wishes to your Twelfth Congress and wish it every success in its work.

Meeting as it does at a complicated period of time, when the issue of peace and war are at the centre of world attention, we are sure your Congress will hammer out policies which will help to unite all the forces which can be united

in India in the struggle against the threat of nuclear, chemical and outer space war, and against the forces of imperialism and separatism which are determined to undermine the unity of India.

Now more than ever is there need for unity and co-operation of all Communist and Workers parties of the USSR and the Socialist community of States, to advance the struggle against imperialism and the threat of nuclear war. Now more than ever is there need to consolidate the ranks of the International Communist movement on the sound principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Again wishing success to your Congress.

Wm. Kashtan,  
General Secretary,  
Central Executive Committee,  
Communist Party of Canada

**Message from the Organization of Iranian People's Fedaian (Majority)**

Dear Comrades,

Please accept our heartiest greetings on the occasion of holding the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). We are confident that the Congress will lead to valuable results for the Indian working class and also for all forces of peace and progress.

In view of the situation that humanity is threatened by the most destructive war of history due to creation of tensions by world imperialism headed by American imperialists the emphasis of your Party on necessity of mobilization of wide forces in defence of peace is considerably important.

Esteemed Comrades,

At present the Indian Ocean has become the region of development of U.S. naval forces and its bases. The war which was started due to instigation of imperialism and is continuing between two countries by regimes of Iran and Iraq, has converted the Persian Gulf region into one of the

important foci of tension in the world. The struggle of your Party to halt this war is part of the struggle that all Communists and peace-loving forces pursue to preserve the world's peace.

Dear Comrades,

We take advantage of this opportunity to extend our appreciation for the efforts of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) for defending the Iranian people in their struggle against war mongering and suppressive regime of Khomeini. Your continuous solidarity with Iranian Communists who struggle under the most formidable repressive condition is glorious manifestation of international proletarianism.

We wish you victory in your struggle for peace, democracy and Socialism.

With the most sincere Communist greetings.

Farokh Negahdar  
First Secretary,  
Central Committee of the  
Organization of Iranian  
People's Fedaian (Majority)

### **Message from the Communist Party of Romania**

On the occasion of the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) on behalf of the Romanian Communist Party and its General Secretary Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, we convey to you, delegates to the Twelfth Congress, to all the Party militants and the working people of India warm comradely greetings and best wishes for success in the Party's future activity.

The Romanian Communists and the working people of the Socialist Republic of Romania are following with interest and with feelings of solidarity the activities carried by your Party, devoted to the promotion of the interests of the working people, the aspirations for social progress and welfare, for democratic development, for peace and understanding among peoples.

Devoting all their energies to the implementation of the decisions and objectives set forth by Thirteenth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, the Communists and the working people in the Socialist Republic of Romania pronounce themselves and consistently militate for actions to prevent the international situation from further deteriorating, for the defence of the supreme right of men and women and nations alike to existence, to life, freedom and peace.

Wishing you full success in the deliberations of your Congress, we take this opportunity as well to reaffirm our satisfaction with the steady development of the relations of friendship and comradely collaborations between our two Parties and to express our conviction that these relations will expand continuously, in the interest of our two peoples, of the solidarity of all anti-imperialist, progressive and democratic forces, for the upbuilding of a better and more just world, for comprehension and collaboration among peoples

Central Committee  
Romanian Communist Party

## Credentials Committee Report placed before the Twelfth Congress of CPI(M) held in Calcutta on December 25-30, 1985\*

The total number of delegates and observers for this Congress as decided by the C.C. was :

Delegates :	596
Observers :	50
Total :	<u>646</u>

Of the delegates, Comrade Jawahar, delegate from Kerala passed away, while he was on the way for attending the Party Congress. Comrade Chandubhai Patel, C.C. Member and Comrade Subodh Sen, a delegate from West Bengal could not attend the Congress due to illness. One delegate from Rajasthan did not attend the Congress.

The C.C. office distributed 592 delegate cards and 50 observer cards.

Out of the delegates, who have been issued delegate cards, Comrade Jamini Saha, from West Bengal, could not attend due to illness.

We received 591 forms from delegates and 50 forms from observers.

On the basis of the forms submitted we present the following report to you.

Sex	Delegate	Observer
Male	563	42
Female	28	8

\*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, January 12, 1986.

Age	Delegate	Observer
Upto 30 years	14	2
31-40 years	118	17
41-50 years	138	16
51-60 years	170	6
61-70 years	99	6
Above 70 years	52	3
<b>Oldest</b>	Comrade Ratanlal Brahman (West Bengal—87 years.	Comrade Biresb Misra (Assam) —80 years.
<b>Youngest</b>	Com. A.S. Radha Krishnan (Kerala) —21 yrs 10 months	Comrade Valeti Krishnan (AP) —27 yrs 9 months

Class Origin	Delegate	Observer
Working Class	71	7
Agricultural Labourer	25	—
Poor Peasant	66	7
Middle Peasant	123	6
Rich Peasant	20	1
Landlord	29	—
Bourgeois	—	2
Middle Class	241	25
Petty Bourgeois	16	1
Not mentioned	—	1

**Education :**

Up to Primary stage (class V)	35	2
Upto Elementary stage (class VIII)	62	3
Class X/Matric	125	8
Intermediate/Pre-Graduate		
Higher Secondary/ITI Dip.	111	2
Graduate	150	17
Post-Graduate	103	18
No formal schooling	5	

<b>Continuous Party Life :</b>		
	<b>Delegate</b>	<b>Observer</b>
Before 1942	98	4
Before 1947	67	1
Before 1964	229	9
Before 1970	119	12
Before 1977	60	14
After 1977	18	10
<b>Longest Party Life :</b>	Com. B.T. Ranadive December 1928	Com. Biresh Misra (Assam) 1938
<b>Shortest Party Life :</b>	Com. N. Basudevan (Andaman) 1983	Com. Kumar Shiralkar (Maharashtra) 1980
<b>Party Organization Status :</b>		
	<b>Delegate</b>	<b>Observer</b>
P.B.M.	8	—
C.C.M.	30	—
All India Fraction		
Committee Member	12	—
State Secretariat Member	74	11
State Committee Member	241	20
State Sub-Committee/Fraction		
Committee Member	29	2
District Secretariat Member	44	1
District Committee Member	122	3
Area/Taluk/Zonal Committee		
Member/Secretary	3	—
Local Committee Member/ Secretary	—	1
Unit Member/Secretary	19	1
Not mentioned	9	11

<b>Mass Organization Status :</b>	<b>Delegate</b>	<b>Observer</b>
All India Office-bearers	54	4
All India Committee Members	89	5
State Level Office-bearers	96	22
State level Committee Members	153	6
District level office-bearers	23	1
District level Committee Members	19	-
Nil	157	12
 <b>Entry Into Party Through :</b>		
Trade Union Front	139	16
Kisan Front	119	4
Agricultural Labour Front	22	1
Youth Front	36	2
Student Front	212	15
Mahila Front	9	2
Cultural Front	4	2
Others	50	7
Not mentioned	-	1
Part Timer	83	21
Whole Timer	508	29
 <b>Working in :</b>		
Party organization	254	17
Trade Union	131	5
Kisan Sabha	106	-
Agricultural Labour	33	2
Middle Class Employees	101	-
Student	12	2
Youth	20	-
Mahila	17	1
Cultural	6	1
Others	22	1
Not mentioned	7	-

<b>Income Group :</b>	<b>Delegate</b>	<b>Observer</b>
Up to 300	93	4
301-500	171	14
501-1000	189	10
1001-2000	80	5
2001-5000	24	10
Above 5000	6	—
No Income	11	3
Not mentioned	17	4

**Jail life :**

Up to 6 months	159	26
Up to 1 year	28	4
Up to 3 years	131	3
Up to 5 years	60	1
Up to 10 years	65	2
Above 10 years	21	1
Nil	127	13

**Maximum period of Jail :**

Com. Ganesh Ghosh (West Bengal) —29 years,	Com. Mahadev Saha (C.C. Staff) — 12 years.
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<b>Number of Times Jailed :</b>	<b>Delegate</b>	<b>Observer</b>
1	112	11
2-3	147	13
4-5	102	6
6-10	67	5
More than 10	14	2
Not mentioned	12	—
Nil	127	13

<b>Underground Life :</b>	<b>Delegate</b>	<b>Observer</b>
Up to 6 months	70	11
Up to 1 years	36	2
Up to 3 years	153	4
Up to 5 years	53	—
Up to 10 years	43	3
Above 10 years	5	—
Nil	231	30
<b>Maximum period of underground :</b>	Com. Radhika Bhattacharjee (West Bengal) —14 yrs. 6 months	Com. Biresh Misra (Assam) —8 yrs 6 months

<b>Number of Time Went Underground :</b>	<b>Delegate</b>	<b>Observer</b>
1	134	12
2-3	156	5
4-5	50	1
6-10	8	2
More than 10	—	—
Not mentioned	12	—
Nil	231	30
<b>Marital Status :</b>		
Married	499	43
Unmarried	90	7
Not mentioned	2	—
<b>Number of Children :</b>		
1	99	5
2	127	10
3	77	11
4-5	108	7
More than 5	33	1
Nil	55	9

<b>Elected Positions :</b>	<b>Delegate</b>	<b>Observer</b>
M.P.	18	-
Chief Minister	2	-
Minister	23	-
M.L.A.	30	-
Mayor	1	1
Corporation/Municipality	2	1
Zilla Parisad	9	-
Panchayat Samity	-	-
Gram Panchayat	3	-
Syndicate	2	-
Senate	3	-

In this connection we like to be permitted to suggest the following :

(i) A standard credential form may be prepared, as suggested by the Credential Committee elected by the Eleventh Congress.

(ii) Present profession of the delegates may be included in the credential form.

(iii) Party and main mass organization, where the delegates are working may also be included in the credential form. The present form only provides this for the whole timers only.

(iv) The Sub-Committees/Fraction Committees may not be treated as Party Unit in determining Party status of the delegates and may be excluded from the credential form.

With revolutionary greetings,

December 29, 1985

1. Chittabrata Majumder
2. N.K. Shukla
3. S. Ramchandran Pillai

## New Central Committee of CPI(M)\*

Elected in the Twelfth Party Congress held in  
Calcutta on December 25-30, 1985

The Twelfth Party Congress decided to constitute a seventy-member Central Committee. The Congress elected 66 members to the new Central Committee and kept four places vacant to be filled up later. The names of the Central Committee are as follows :

- |                            |                              |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. E.M.S. Namboodiripad    | 20. M.H. Rao                 |
| 2. B.T. Ranadive           | 21. L.B. Gangadhar Rao       |
| 3. M. Basavapunnaiah       | 22. N. Prasada Rao           |
| 4. Harkishan Singh Surjeet | 23. Ahilya Rangnekar         |
| 5. Jyoti Basu              | 24. Godavary Parulekar       |
| 6. Samar Mukherjee         | 25. S.Y. Kolhatkar           |
| 7. E. Balanandan           | 26. Nandeswar Talukdar       |
| 8. Nripen Chakravarty      | 27. Achintya Bhattacharya    |
| 9. Saroj Mukherjee         | 28. Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi |
| 10. V.S. Achuthanandan     | 29. Shivaji Patnaik          |
| 11. Abdulla Rasul          | 30. Dasarath Dev             |
| 12. Manoranjan Roy         | 31. Satwant Singh            |
| Benoy Chaudhury            | 32. G.S. Randhawa            |
| 14. Shantimoy Ghosh        | 33. S.D. Tiwari              |
| 15. E.K. Nayanar           | 34. M.K. Pandhe              |
| 16. T.K. Ramakrishnan      | 35. Nrisingha Chakravorty    |
| 17. Susheela Gopalan       | 36. Biman Basu               |
| 18. A. Nallasivan          | 37. Buddhadev Bhattacharya   |
| 19. R. Umanath             | 38. Mohd. Amin               |

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\*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, January 12, 1986.

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|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 39. M.M. Lawrence          | 53. Prakash Karat         |
| 40. Ravindranath           | 54. Mohd. Yusuf           |
| 41. S. Ramachandran Pillai | 55. Raghubir Singh Hooda. |
| 42. P.R. Parameswaran      | 56. P. Ramachandra Rao    |
| 43. V. Narasimha Reddy     | 57. Sitaram Yechury       |
| 44. Kortala Satyanarayana  | 58. Sunil Moitra          |
| 45. Hemen Das              | 59. Sukomal Sen           |
| 46. Sudodh Roy             | 60. Anil Biswas           |
| 47. N.K. Shukla            | 61. Biplab Dasgupta       |
| 48. Ajaya Rout             | 62. N. Sankariah          |
| 49. Manik Sarkar           | 63. P. Ramachandran       |
| 50. Ram Sumer Yadav        | 64. Mangat Ram            |
| 51. Moti Lal Sharma        | 65. Hannan Mollah         |
| 52. Hari Ram Chauhan       | 66. Nurul Huda            |

The newly elected Central Committee re-elected E.M.S. Namboodiripad as the General Secretary.

The Central Committee elected the following to the Polit Bureau of the Party :

- |                            |                        |
|----------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. E.M.S. Namboodiripad    | 6. Samar Mukherjee     |
| 2. B.T. Ranadive           | 7. E. Balanandan       |
| 3. M. Basavapunniah        | 8. Nripen Chakravarty  |
| 4. Harkishan Singh Surjeet | 9. Saroj Mukherjee     |
| 5. Jyoti Basu              | 10. V.S. Achuthanandan |

## **Concluding Speech of E.M.S. Namboodiripad before the Twelfth Congress of CPI(M) held in Calcutta on December 25-30, 1985\***

Comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad, in his concluding speech, said that after a thorough discussion the Party has evolved a common approach on various problems facing the country. It has been able to present alternative lines on foreign policy, internal economic policy, political, social and cultural problems. The gain of the Congress has been that the Party has shown people step by step that it has developed and that there is unanimity on our political line. This Congress can be termed as the Congress of Unity, E.M.S. added.

The Party's advance in organizational sphere has been noted though this may not be reflected in electoral terms outside of a few States.

In Punjab and Assam, where the CPI(M) had to go through fire and hell, Party comrades bravely stood their ground. In these two States together with the advancement including in Hindi States, the Party can proudly say that not only does it have a correct political line but also the courage and organization to overcome all difficulties.

E.M.S. said many of the tasks on the organizational front as visualised in Salkia remained to be fulfilled. Had this weakness in organization been overcome, the Party's advance would have been far more extensive and rapid. E.M.S. also explained how the new Central Committee and Polit

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\*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, January 12, 1986. This concluding speech was given on December 30, 1985

Bureau, in consultation with the State Committees, would chalk out plans to overcome these weaknesses.

Referring to the massive crowds that had collected outside the venue of the Congress, E.M.S. said people were looking to the Party with great expectations. Recounting his experience of the huge crowds that came to various State Conferences, E.M.S. said that this underlined the enormous responsibility put on the Party's shoulders. He said if the Party workers march forward on the line unanimously adopted at the Congress, it would be possible to develop the Party as visualised at the Salkia Plenum.

Comrade E.M.S. thanked the West Bengal comrades for making the excellent arrangements for the Congress and the big mass mobilization that was witnessed during all the sessions.

## Open Session of Twelfth Congress of CPI(M) Witnessed A Mammoth Rally in Calcutta on December 30, 1985\*

A massive gathering at the Brigade Parade Ground in Calcutta marked the Open Session of the Twelfth Congress. The gathering was unprecedented in nature.

The sprawling ground as well as the surrounding area were packed with people with even the area beyond it close to overflowing. Such was the massiveness of the gathering that even the otherwise cynical big Press had to concede that this was the biggest rally that the historic city had witnessed in very many years. Long before the leadership mounted the rostrum, the entire area was a sea of surging humanity, above which waved innumerable Red Flags.

A full day before the rally was scheduled to take place, streams of orderly processions had started to arrive on the *maidan*. People came from all over the country, not to speak of the States adjoining West Bengal, to attend the Open Session.

The Party volunteers looked after the incoming processions, distributing food packets, and putting up temporary shelters in open spaces. A visit to the *maidan* the night before the rally revealed clusters of such shelters where the marchers were chatting near crackling fires, and occasionally bursting into mass songs. Some were seen sewing together big Red Flags and banners for display at the rally.

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\*Report published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 12, 1986 This report was sent to 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', by Comrade Sampad Pal.

With the crack of the dawn of December 30, 1985 millions of marchers started to converge on the *maidan*. People from all walks of life—men, women, workers, peasants, students, youth, and children—marched along the city thoroughfares shouting inspiring slogans. The marchers showed exemplary discipline and even the big Press had to grudgingly admit the lack of traffic snarls, even in the heart of the city.

Presiding over the Open Session was the State Secretary and newly-elected Polit Bureau Member of the Party, Saroj Mukherjee. In his address Mukherjee thanked all those who had made the Congress a glorious success. He offered his thanks to the people of the province.

Addressing the rally, the General Secretary of the Party E.M.S. Namboodiripad declared how the Congress(I) was intrinsically incapable of solving the country's problems and maintaining its integrity and unity. "The Congress(I) leaders are always talking in terms of the dangers lurking in casteism, communalism, and regionalism", said E.M.S., and "yet they are ready to join hands with these very forces in order to cling desperately to power". This had happened earlier in Kerala, and later on in Assam, Punjab, and Tripura. Gujarat was burning today because the Congress(I) had set one community against another by raising the reservation issue. And the recent pronouncements of the Prime Minister show how his party is willing to compromise with the Muslim fundamentalists over the question of Muslim Personal Law. The Congress(I), noted E.M.S., "was no longer the party it used to be". He added that it was now "a mere collection of self-seeking individuals who want to remain in power through fair means or foul". It was the Leftists who have inherited all that was noble and lofty in the Congress in the anti-imperialist struggle. E.M.S. served a warning that fresh attacks will continue to be mounted against the democratic rights of the people by the Congress(I), and that there must be a united resistance offered by the Left, democratic, and secular forces of the country.

Citing the example of the way the Prime Minister disapproved of the criticism of the Seventh Plan by Jyoti Basu and Nripen Chakraborty, E.M.S. pointed out that this was authoritarianism, plain and simple. It was against this anti-people, anti-progressive stance of the Congress(I) that mass movements must be built up. In conclusion, the Party General Secretary urged the people to continue the massive support that they have given to the Party Programme in the years to come.

Polit Bureau Member of the Party, B.T. Ranadive addressed the massive gathering in Hindi. B.T.R. noted at the outset how some people had been led into thinking that the succession of Rajiv Gandhi in Delhi would usher in an era of change. But the fact was that although "the actor was new, he belonged to the same old company". Describing how the Congress misrule has brought about an intensification of the economic crisis confronting the country, B.T.R. emphasised how the new line of computerisation would enhance the profit of the monopolists whilst causing massive lay-offs. He described how the Congress rule has harmed national integrity and unity by fostering regionalism and separatism. Things have come to such a pass under the Congress regime at the Centre that regionalism and the fatuous "sons of the soil" theory had all but submerged the notion of national identity.

The working of the *Left Front Governments in West Bengal and Tripura* had shown the way a pro-people Government should function. Under Left Front rule, people have been kept free from the baneful effects of communalism, regionalism and casteism. B.T.R. highlighted the fact that the Left Front Governments during the course of their existence have consistently refused to use repressive laws and preventive detention. The *Left Front Governments are the result of intense class struggle spread over 30 or more years*. People's support is the strength of these Governments, pro-people as they innately are. B.T.R. said class struggle, and mass movements as part of that struggle, were the two weapons

that the Left forces had. These must be used extensively. The Left and democratic forces along with the secular elements must be brought together to fight authoritarianism and the anti-people policies emanating out of the Congress(I). And the working class must take the leadership in this struggle.

The State Chief Minister and Polit Bureau Member, Jyoti Basu felicitated the people for the spontaneous way they had come forward to make the Twelfth Congress such a glorious success, and he added how the Open Session had roused immense enthusiasm among the masses who had thronged to the venue in their hundreds of thousands. Basu noted how the new economic policy of the Centre would surely lead to massive lay-offs and in the ultimate analysis prove repressive for the working class. The new economic policy is angled towards encouraging exports whilst starving the home market and depriving the common man of whatever purchasing power he commands. And it is a great shame how even after six Five-Year Plans the sufferings of the people have increased. The Congress(I), however, hardly cared, for it looks only after the interests and prospects of a small class of vested interests. Basu pointed out that it was patently ridiculous of the Prime Minister to talk of revamping the Congress(I). The Congress(I) centenary affair in Bombay more than underlined the cancer that was eating fast into that party. And it was difficult to understand how a party that has not had democracy within itself could secure democracy in the country. Indeed, the Congress(I) has taken on a mass scale to make anti-socials out of the section of the youth suffering from frustration, which also was due to the all-India anti-people policies of the Congress(I) itself. Basu described how the Centre had organized an economic blockade on West Bengal under the Left Front Government. He expressed confidence that the Left Front Government would certainly be able to ensure the public sector's full control over the joint ventures.

Basu noted how under Left Front rule there has been an unprecedented spread of mass education; communal harmony

has been maintained; and extensive land reforms have been successfully undertaken. The Left Front Governments of West Bengal and Tripura stood for pro-people democracy and were looked at as a source of inspiration by the common people of the country. It is the widespread popular support behind the Left Front Governments that have enabled them to ward off the attacks mounted against them by the bourgeois parties and big Press. The Left Front rule has restored the dignity of the common man, something that was trampled underfoot during Congress misrule. Concluding his address, Basu urged the people to strengthen the Party further—just as no village in West Bengal is without a primary school so should no village be without a Party unit. The struggle, he said, must go on with ever increasing fervour.

## **Polit Bureau Statement on Punjab\***

**The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) issued the following statement to the Press on Punjab situation :**

**The Polit Bureau is alarmed at the intensification of the activities of the extremists in Punjab which have become almost a daily occurrence because of the complacency and lenient attitude of the Akali Dal Government towards them. They are making full use of the Gurudwaras to carry out their activities of violence and lawlessness.**

**In this connection the Polit Bureau welcomed the belated statement of the Punjab Chief Minister, Surjeet Singh Barnala calling on the people to fight the menace of extremism which is threatening peace in Punjab and is aimed at torpedoing the Punjab Accord. The Polit Bureau feels that this statement has to be followed up by banning the use of gurudwaras for anti-national activities and by arousing the people against these separatist elements. It is also necessary that all obstructions created by the followers of the extremists in the way of digging the S.Y. L. canal which is supplying water to Haryana have to be removed because the completion of this canal by August 1986, is an important part of the Accord. The activities of the extremists and the soft attitude of the Akali Government towards them has proved very harmful in bridging the gulf between different communities in the State. Its mixing up religion with politics provides grist**

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**\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 12, 1986.**

to the mill of extremists. If allowed to continue it can prove equally harmful to the interests of Sikh community living outside the State.

The Polit Bureau urges upon the Central Government not to dilly-dally with the Punjab Accord and instead implement it in letter and spirit.

The Polit Bureau appeals to the people of Punjab and Haryana not to allow themselves to be swayed by the propaganda of interested parties who are bent upon in opposing the Accord, and do everything possible to see that it is implemented, and the game of separatists and imperialists is foiled.

It appeals to all national parties to restrain their respective units in these States from indulging in such activities which instigate the people of one State against others, and one community against others and thus harm the national unity.

## **CPI(M) Welcomes Proposals of DPRK\***

**Statement issued by the Polit Bureau**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) fully supports the new proposals made by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to lessen tensions in the Korean peninsula and to advance the North-South dialogue in a peaceful atmosphere.

On January 11, 1986, the DPRK Government declared that "as an important measure to ease the tension on the Korean peninsula and create a decisively favourable environment for the dialogue between the North and the South, (it has) decided to refrain from large-scale military exercises throughout the northern half of the Republic from February 1, 1986, and stop all military exercises during the period of the North-South dialogue." It has called upon the U.S. Government and the South Korean authorities to reciprocate and announce that they will not hold military exercises in the whole area of South Korea from February 1. The DPRK wants the acceptance of this proposal to help the ongoing dialogue between the North and the South which will be in tune with the aspirations of the Korean people for peaceful national reunification.

The P.B. notes with concern that the USA and its South Korean ally are planning to undertake military exercises in the South, similar to the *Team Spirit 1985* military exercises it conducted in February, 1985. If such exercises are repeated

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 26, 1986.

this year, it will heighten tensions and prove a setback to the North-South dialogue.

The P.B. notes that the stock-piling of over a thousand nuclear weapons in South Korea by the USA, and maintaining forty thousand troops and nearly forty military bases in that country, make the Korean peninsula a dangerous flashpoint for nuclear war. In this connection, it fully supports the proposal made by President Kim Il Sung that tripartite talks be held immediately between the DPRK, the USA and the South Korean regime, and the old armistice agreement be replaced by a treaty of non-aggression and peace.

The P.B. calls upon all peace-loving forces in India to support the constructive proposals put forward by the DPRK Government. It calls upon the Government of India as the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement to respond in such a manner that the constructive proposals made by the DPRK are strengthened and the initiative taken to reduce tensions in the Korean peninsula.

## **Polit Bureau Statement on Punjab Situation\***

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep concern over the dangerous situation that is developing in the Punjab where the secessionist extremists are getting the upper hand. The Akali leadership's vacillating and compromising stand, and its lack of firmness to fight the anti-national separatist forces have led to one compromise after another. The secessionists who were isolated during the elections which gave a big mandate to the Akali party to defend and carry forward the Accord, have now virtually captured Harminder Sahib and declared themselves the sole religious authority.

The Akali leadership and the Government led by it are letting down the people and the country and compromising national unity by their vacillating stand. The leadership does not reckon with the fact that the extremists speaking in the name of Khalistan and Sikh religion are instruments of the external enemies of India and they are financed from and trained abroad.

The Congress(I) party and the Central Government must share responsibility for contributing to the deteriorating situation. The delay in the transfer of Chandigarh has helped the secessionists to decry the Accord and create doubts about those who signed it. The openly chauvinistic statements of Bhajan Lal, Congress(I) Chief Minister of Haryana, have added fuel to the fire. If the Central Congress(I) party is

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unable to discipline Bhajan Lal it should give up all talk of keeping the country united. It is difficult to believe that Bhajan Lal's chauvinistic anti-national militancy does not have the tacit approval of the Congress(I) High Command.

There was no reason to mix up the question of Abohar-Fazilka with the transfer of Chandigarh. The villages which were to be transferred in lieu of Chandigarh were to be located keeping in view the principles enunciated in the Accord. The Mathew Commission could have given its award in time. The Water Commission could have been appointed earlier and could have given its verdict by now and Chandigarh could have been transferred on the agreed date along with the contiguous Hindi-speaking areas in lieu of Chandigarh. Several precious months have been lost and the country is again faced with a crisis.

Rajiv Gandhi's Government has exposed its utter bankruptcy and its inability to carry out the Accord because of pressure from a section of the ruling party. It may be added that some Opposition parties in Haryana have also played this anti-national game. The P.B. calls upon all democratic forces to intervene and ensure that the terms of the Accord are carried out. It also urges the Akali leadership to give up its vacillations and take a firm stand against the secessionists and isolate and defeat them with the support of the people.

In this it will have the support of all the democratic forces who all demand that the terms of the Accord should be carried out without delay.

## **Polit Bureau Statement on Espionage Activities\***

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses deep concern at the revelations made in connection with the espionage activities of a Taiwan-based firm. The investigating authorities have found that behind the Taiwan firm were the intelligence agencies of the major imperialist powers in the world beginning with the American CIA.

Heavily financed by imperialism, the king-pin of the intelligence net-work Rama Swarup, was able to use, besides the corrupt bureaucrats and businessmen, the anti-Communist politicians and journalists. It is clear that this is part of the imperialist manoeuvre for the destabilization of the country and that serious damage had already been done to national security.

The P.B. demands that the Government should take stringent measures to save the political administrative set-up of the country from the activities of imperialist agencies.

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## **Polit Bureau Statement on the Price-Hikes\***

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its condemnation of the decision of the Government to raise the prices of a number of commodities of daily use and saddle the tax payers with a burden running into hundreds of crores of rupees. This exercise in pilfering the incomes of the people is done on the eve of the budget session to stall a meaningful opposition to the burdens.

The Government while offering a pittance of increase in floor prices of wheat and rice, proposes to raise the issue price of wheat by Rs. 48 per quintal and of rice by Rs. 14 per quintal in the coming months. It has raised fertilizer prices by 10 per cent and on January 31, it ordered heavy increases in the prices of petrol, diesel, cooking gas and above all kerosene. It is estimated that the rise in the prices of petroleum products alone will impose a burden of not less than 1000 crores of rupees on the people. The hike in the prices of petroleum products in the face of falling oil prices in the international market, only reveals the unscrupulous character of the decision. It shows that the Government is resorting to extortionate measures to raise resources and fill the budgetary gap.

The Government, since the last budget and subsequently, has offered hundreds of crores of rupees in concessions to the capitalists and businessmen. Now it is asking the people to pay for these. These steps are similar to the austerity

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measures forces on debt-ridden countries by the IMF and World Bank. It will not be surprising if the same agencies have forced the Government to take these steps. It is high time that all Opposition parties, progressive forces, get together to fight these measures and save the common people from new unconscionable burdens.

## **Withdraw the Hikes\***

**Statement dated February 11, 1986 issued by the Polit Bureau of CPI(M)**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) congratulates the people and Left Fronts of West Bengal and Tripura for the total success of the protest bandh calls on February 11, 1986. The massive support to both these bandhs shows that the people will not tolerate these savage attacks on their livelihood. The success of the Delhi bandh call given by all Opposition parties including the CPI(M) yesterday also indicates the growing resistance to these measures of the Central Government.

The Polit Bureau calls upon all democratic forces to unitedly intensify their protest actions against these price-hikes and rally all sections of the people to force the Central Government to withdraw these measures which are causing acute suffering to the people.

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## **Polit Bureau Statement on All India Bandh on February 26, 1986\***

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its support to the decision of the Opposition Parties meeting held on February 18, which chalked out a programme of mass actions jointly against the price hikes. The Opposition Parties have decided to hold joint demonstrations all over India on February 20, 1986. This will be followed by All India Bandh on February 26, 1986. In those States which have already observed bandh on this issue other appropriate protest actions will be taken up. The meeting also declared its support to the Strike Call of the State Government employees throughout India on February 26 against the use of clauses of Article 311 of the Constitution to dismiss the employees.

The Polit Bureau appeals to all Party units to cooperate with other parties and organizations to make this protest action a total success.

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## **Fight Price-Hikes Unitedly, Defeat Divisive Forces\***

**Communique issued by the Polit Bureau of CPI(M)  
after its meeting held in New Delhi on  
February 18-19, 1986**

Meeting in New Delhi on February 18 and 19, 1986, the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) reviewed the major political developments since Twelfth Congress of the Party held two months ago.

### **Fight Price-Hikes Unitedly**

The Polit Bureau greeted the millions of people throughout the country who spontaneously rose in protest against the heavy increases in the prices of essential commodities as well as of the petroleum products which would inevitably raise production costs and thus increase the danger of inflation. Nobody will be deceived by the marginal cuts in the increases made later, obviously to cover up the big attack on the people.

The Polit Bureau congratulated the Left Fronts of West Bengal and Tripura, as well as the Opposition parties in Delhi, who took the initiative in giving expression to popular discontent. Their initiative culminated in a successful bandh in each of the three States and inspired the all-India Opposition parties to give their call for the observance of a protest day on February 20 and a bandh in the rest of the country on February 26.

The Polit Bureau associated itself with the Government employees who are running a country wide campaign against the use of Article 310 and 311 of the Constitution. It

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extended support to the one-day strike being organized by them.

The pronouncements made by the Prime Minister and other spokesmen of the Government make it clear that they are determined to pursue the policy with still greater vigour. That in fact is the "advice" tendered to the Government by the World bank, the IMF and other agencies of world capitalism.

The Polit Bureau is happy to note that the voice of protest against these policies finds reflection even in the ruling party. It is necessary now for all the fighting organizations of the working people, all the political parties who support the fighting people, to still further strengthen the unity shown in the West Bengal, Tripura and Delhi bandhs.

The Polit Bureau appeals to all Party members and units to organize independent campaigns and unite with everybody who is prepared to fight the new measures of taxation and price increases.

### **Struggle Against Communal and Divisive Forces**

The ruling classes are trying to divert popular attention from these real questions of people's life and to make them fight against one another on divisive issues.

The Polit Bureau noted in this context the explosive situation that has arisen following the recent court verdict on a temple in Ayodhya which has become the bone of contention between the Hindus and Muslims who call it Ram Janam Bhoomi and Babri Masjid respectively. While the Hindu and Muslim communal organizations are using it to inflame passions and organize riots all over the country, the Congress party cannot escape its responsibility in the matter. Nor can one be blind to the reality that there are some leaders of Opposition parties who, far from helping the preservation of peace and communal harmony, do the very opposite. The Polit Bureau called for a determined struggle against such attempts from whichever quarter they come.

The Polit Bureau noted with concern that the Akali party

and the Government of Punjab have failed to deal firmly with the terrorists. While calling on them to put an end to the appeasement of the terrorists, the Polit Bureau appreciated the pressure of the people which has been instrumental in forcing out some compromising elements in the Akali party. The Akali party and the Government of Punjab should at least now act firmly.

The Kerala developments of the last few weeks have, in the Polit Bureau's opinion, completely exposed the opportunism of the Congress party which wants to continue its caste/communal alliance, though the bankruptcy of that policy has become clear to all and the Congress-led UDF is in shambles.

The Polit Bureau denounced the move of the Rajiv Gandhi Government to appease Muslim fundamentalists through a legislation which will deprive Muslim women of the right conferred on them by the Supreme Court judgement in the Shah Bano case. This blow to the progressive sections in all communities is bound to strengthen the obscurantism of the Muslim community, alienate it from the rest of the Indian people and make it easier for the Hindu communalists to attack it. The Polit Bureau, therefore, called upon all progressive parties, organizations and individuals in all communities to raise their voice of protest against the move.

The Polit Bureau expressed its concern that the AGP Government in Assam has failed to give protection to the activists of the CPI(M) and other Opposition parties against whom hooligan attacks have been going on since the assumption of office by the AGP Government.

The Polit Bureau noted that in Tripura where the Congress is in alliance with the TUJS, the people are being attacked by TNV terrorists who get full support from the TUJS-Congress alliance.

### **Imperialist Espionage**

The revelations made by the arrested Ram Swarup have fully confirmed the worst fears that the country's administration

is honey-combed by imperialist espionage agencies which has been going on for over three decades. The Polit Bureau is of the opinion that the Government has failed in its elementary responsibility concerning Indian security.

### **Popularise Anti-War Campaign During May Day Centenary**

The Polit Bureau noted with satisfaction that the CPI(M) and the CPI are taking joint initiatives for uniting all like-minded parties and organizations to organize the country-wide observation of the Centenary of May Day which is taking place against the background of the developing world-wide struggle against the nuclear, chemical and space war that is being plotted by imperialism headed by the USA. The Polit Bureau appealed to all the members and units of the Party to cooperate with all other parties and organizations to make this programme a complete success.

## Message From the Communist Party of Mauritius\*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Mauritius presents its sincere and heartfelt salutations to the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

The Communist Party of Mauritius has learned about the successful implementation of the Congress of CPI(M) which took place last year and which represented a major event in the life of the Party, the working class and the progressive people throughout the world.

The Communist Party of Mauritius greatly enjoys the reelection of Comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad to the post of General Secretary of the CPI(M) and we hereby submit comradely congratulations to Comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad under whose guidance the CPI(M) has directed the working class of India to the defence of its inalienable rights of a just and equitable life, against the inhuman exploitation of man by man. The CPI(M) has become a major force in the Indian society with its influence increasing day by day.

The Communist Party of Mauritius and the CPI(M) are faced with problems which are of the same character due to the fact that both Mauritian and Indian society have certain similar racial composition. It ranges from communal matters and its influence exercised on the population by right-wing and fascist parties.

The Communist Party of Mauritius is deeply overwhelmed

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by the initiatives and resolutions taken at the Congress of the CPI(M) and the determination of the CPI(M) to enlarge the Party activities which are watching closely to the protection of the rights of the working class and the safeguard of minority rights.

As debated within the Congress, the economic crisis hitting the capitalist and developing countries stems directly from the nature of the capitalist society itself. This in turn leads to the militarisation of the State apparatus in order to counter the growing agitation of the working people and the rebuffing of its rights to strike. Furthermore, as is the case of CPI(M) members faced with repression from Congress(I) Government the Communist Party of Mauritius expresses its unconditional solidarity and support to our Indian friends.

The year 1986 declared by the UN as the 'year of peace' is of utmost significance to the peace-loving people of the world. In this context, India has to play an important role as a Non-Aligned nation and due to its geographical importance. We are certain and convinced of the necessity of the CPI(M) to mobilize the public opinion, create a mass anti-war movement to oppose all sorts of militarisation and demand the convocation of an international conference as scheduled by the U.N. of for the turning of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and cooperation.

While hoping that the fraternal cooperation between the two parties will grow deeply and be further consolidated, please accept our wishes of success in your task.

## **Grim Situation in Jammu & Kashmir\***

**Statement dated March 6, 1986 issued by the Polit Bureau of CPI(M) in New Delhi**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep concern at the continuing communal tension and deteriorating situation in Jammu and Kashmir. The past few days have seen this State with sound secular traditions and communal amity being plunged into communal clashes instigated by the Jamaat-e-Islami and other fundamentalist forces in the Kashmir valley.

The attacks on the minority community have been conducted in an organized and planned manner. Anti-Indian and pro-Pakistan slogans have been raised. Anti-national forces are utilizing the situation to spread hatred and separatism. The State Government headed by G.M. Shah and supported by the Congress(I) has not only failed to curb the attacks but has contributed to the worsening of the situation by its appeasement of the hardcore reactionary forces.

Such a Government foisted on the people by the Central Government and the ruling party has reached the stage of complete administrative breakdown and paralysis. Even at this late stage, the only way out for the Union Government to safeguard national unity and communal amity in Jammu and Kashmir is to dismiss the Government forthwith.

The Polit Bureau appeals to all sections of the people in Jammu and Kashmir to unitedly rebuff the machinations of the communal forces and defend the traditions of amity and

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tolerance. All patriotic forces must realise that the continuance of the State Government and its activities is harmful to the interests of the State and the country.

## **Central Committee Calls for Forging Broad Unity\***

**Communique issued by Central Committee of CPI(M) after its meeting in New Delhi on March 14-16, 1986**

A three-day meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) concluded in New Delhi on March 16, 1986.

The meeting condemned the dastardly assassination of Mr. Olof Palme and placed on record its high appreciation of his contribution to the struggle for peace. Peace has lost an ardent champion who was held in high respect by the peoples of the world.

### **CPSU Congress**

The two-member delegation consisting of M. Basavapunniah and Harkishan Singh Surjeet which participated in the Twenty-Seventh Congress of the CPSU reported on the proceedings of the Congress. The Central Committee expressed its appreciation of the constructive initiatives taken by the Soviet leadership in the cause of world peace. It was further noted that the Soviet Party leadership is taking vigorous measures to improve Socialist construction in the country—a necessary condition for fraternal cooperation with other Socialist countries. The measures adopted for developing democracy in the State administrative institutions, other social organizations and in the Party were also appreciated. All these are of significance for the Communists not only in the first land of Socialism but throughout the world.

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### **Deteriorating Economic Situation**

The Central Committee noted that during the nearly three months since the Twelfth Party Congress, the situation inside the country has witnessed still further deterioration. The policy of capitalist liberalization-modernization initiated by the Rajiv Gandhi Government in its March 1985 budget has started yielding its evil fruit; import liberalization has been ruining Indian industries causing still further aggravation of unemployment and the ruination of a large number of entrepreneurs. Together with the failure of exports to keep up with increasing imports, this is worsening the balance of trade and exchange. Internal finance situation is also deteriorating with the expansion of deficit financing, as is shown in successive budgets presented in Parliament. On top of these are the steep increases in indirect taxation, in the administered prices of essential commodities and other burdens which the common people have to bear.

As opposed to these, however, are the big concessions given to the big landlords and capitalists through the budget and several other measures.

### **United Opposition to Price-Hike**

The Central Committee expressed its satisfaction at the resistance put up by the bulk of the common people to these policies. Highly indicative of the mood of the people were the Delhi bandh of February 10, the West Bengal and Tripura bandhs of February 11, the countrywide demonstrations on February 20 and the February 26 Bharat Bandh. They were the biggest mass actions witnessed in the country for several years. They show that timely and common appeal to several organizations and political parties can give effective expression to mass discontent on burning issues and isolate the ruling party. The Central Committee calls upon its units and ranks to continue this struggle against these policies.

The Central Committee greeted the State Government employees who organized a successful all-India strike on February 26 against the use of the clauses in Article 310 and 311, thereby showing their determination to fight for

their right to organize and agitate for the improvement of their living and working conditions.

The Central Committee noted that popular discontent against the anti-people policies of the Government is reflecting itself even inside the ruling party. Several responsible leaders of the party found it necessary to ventilate the grievances of the people against the price increases, thanks to which the Government itself had to make a show of giving concessions. The Central Committee was sure that the paltry concessions forced on the Government will not lull either the people in general or those Congressmen and women who are getting increasingly disillusioned.

### **Increased Activities of Divisive Forces**

The Central Committee expressed its grave concern over the increasing activities of the separatist and divisive forces all over the country in general, and Punjab, Kashmir and Assam in particular.

It is now clear that imperialist agencies from abroad are encouraging and helping the divisive forces in their pursuit of their plan of disintegrating the country. The British Government openly encourages the Khalistan secessionists and USA does not lag behind. Several Opposition parties turned a blind eye to this danger and provided alibi to the divisive forces and their patrons abroad.

The Central Committee is of the opinion that the unlocking of the Ram Janam Bhoomi Temple-Babri Masjid by the panicky Government of Uttar Pradesh has done a big disservice to the cause of national unity and it serves as an act of provocation in the midst of an already existing tense communal situation. It has helped the fanatics from both communities to inflame communal passions and organize riots. The responsibility for this must rest on the shoulders of the Congress(I).

### **Attack on Muslim Women's Rights**

On the Muslim Women's Bill, the Congress(I) Government has chosen to side with the fundamentalists to deny Muslim

women their rights. In doing this, its leaders are going against the advice and protests of progressive opinion from both communities and the Left and democratic forces.

While expressing satisfaction that the Left Opposition parties have adopted the principled position of fighting fundamentalism and separatism of all varieties, the Central Committee regretfully noted that most of the other political parties, including the Congress have been communally divided both on the Muslim Women's Bill and on the Ram Janam Bhoomi-Babri Masjid. The Central Committee, however, expressed its satisfaction that secular forces are growing in all communities and in all political parties. It is indeed a matter of satisfaction that voices of sanity were heard inside the Congress parliamentary party, a member of the Union Council of Ministers resigning on the issue. A large number of prominent Muslims had no hesitation to come out in defence of the unfortunate Muslim women who are being made victims of the obscurantist attack.

The Central Committee greeted the large number of women's organizations who took up the challenge and are fighting in defence of the Muslim women whose rights are under attack. The Central Committee was particularly happy at the work done by the All India Democratic Women's Association in championing the cause of Muslim women.

### **Forge Broader Unity**

The Central Committee reviewed the work of the State and other Committees of the CPI(M) in mass mobilization of various issues, such as price-rise, attack on women's rights, incitement of communal riots in various parts of the country, etc. Reiterating the Party's view that further strengthening of united action among all the Left parties will give a great fillip to the development of broader political unity, the Central Committee authorised the Polit Bureau to take necessary measures for the purpose.

### **Disturbing Trends in the Subcontinent**

The Central Committee takes serious note of recent developments in Indo-Pak relations. Till recently the spokesmen of the Government of India were assuring the people that relations between the two countries were improving fast. While these assurances were coming from the Government, the USA was pouring sophisticated arms into Pakistan and they were being deployed on the borders of India. Now the Government of India is itself openly accusing the Pakistan Government of helping the Khalistani secessionists and other unfriendly acts. The visit of the U.S. Seventh Fleet to Karachi harbour is a matter of deep concern to the entire sub-continent and exposes the double-faced policy of the Zia Government. The Central Committee, while supporting every effort for genuine understanding between the two countries and expressing its solidarity with the people of Pakistan in their struggle for democratic rights, warns that the deterioration in Indo-Pak relations is such that should concern both the peoples.

The Central Committee expressed its grave concern at the continuing crisis in Sri Lanka where the Jayawardene Government refuses to seek a political solution to the ethnic problem. The Sri Lanka Government's insistence on a military solution, the killings that are going on, the air raids on the Tamil people are the biggest hurdle for a political solution. The Central Committee called on the Government of India to persevere in its effort through the good offices of the Non-Aligned Movement and other organs of the anti-imperialist world movement, to prevail upon the Jayawardane Government to seek a political settlement.

### **Strengthen Unity of Left and Secular Forces**

The Central Committee noted that the policies pursued by the Congress(I) High Command are leading to dissatisfaction and disillusionment among the sections of Congressmen. Simultaneously group fighting and factionalism are eroding the authority of the High Command and the unity

of the party. Group rivalries, corruption, jobbery and nepotism bring about the downfall of Ministries. The result of all these is that the entrenched bureaucracy becomes the real repository of power, notwithstanding elected legislatures and Ministries. Many of the Opposition parties too are opportunistically taking up issues which, far from helping the development of uniting the common people against the anti-people policies of the Government, would divide the people on sectarian, communal or separatist issues.

This underlines the importance and urgency of the Left and secular forces coming together on issues affecting the common people and helping them to unite on popular issues, as was done in the 1983-84 all-India conclaves of Opposition parties and in the recent price-rise agitation. The Central Committee, therefore, appealed to all other Left and secular Opposition parties to continue to forge unity in struggle against the anti-people policies of the Congress and against divisive and separatist forces.

### **May Day Centenary**

The Central Committee calls upon all Party units to celebrate the coming May Day Centenary in a fitting manner worthy of the big successes of the working class movement. Reminding the ranks and the people of the war danger and U.S. plans of nuclear war, the Central Committee calls upon all to voice on May Day their full-throated support to Soviet proposals for eliminating nuclear weapons to protect world peace, and protect the world from the holocaust of nuclear war.

## **Central Committee Resolution on Jammu & Kashmir\***

**Adopted in its meeting held in New Delhi on  
March 14-16, 1986**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) draws the attention of the people to the dangerous and explosive situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The dismissal of the Shah Ministry and the establishment of President's rule in the State emphasises the gravity of these situation which is now left to be tackled by the bureaucrats without the support of the elected representatives and authority of an elected Assembly.

The present crisis is the direct result of the opportunist policies of the Central Government which extended support to the defectors' Ministry of G.M. Shah who was neither known as a democrat nor a man with nationalist outlook. His 20 months' rule, carried on with the support of the Central Government, provided a free run to the forces of communalism and fertile ground for the rearing of pro-Pakistani elements. Never before under any other regime had the pro-Pakistani elements such freedom to raise pro-Pakistani secessionist slogans with such effrontery and impunity.

The Muslim communal forces, particularly Jamat-e-Islami, fully exploited the situation to create law and order problems. Every day saw increased violence on the part of reactionary forces and imposition of curfew on several cities. Law and order broke down completely with no safety and security for the common man. It was obvious that

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G.M. Shah, who has no popular base was trying to strengthen himself with the aid of these anti-national forces.

This led to the recent unprecedented communal riots in Kashmir where no such occurrences were seen during the several upheavals which the State passed through during the last so many years. The reason was obvious. Due to G.M. Shah's policies communal polarization was taking place in the State and democratic forces were forced on the defensive.

The provocative activities of the Shiv Sena and other Hindu communal elements in Jammu also played a part in deepening communal tensions and rousing hatred.

The growing disunity could be fought only by the conscious democratic forces determined to save people's unity. The Congress(I) policies had weakened these forces. The Central Government now expects to restore normalcy through administrative methods which will alienate the people still further.

The situation is being fully exploited by the secessionist elements. But the battle can still be fought if the secular and democratic forces in Kashmir unite and rise to fight reactionaries of all shades and all religious hues. The CPI(M) highly appreciates the work of our Kashmir unit to maintain the secular unity of the people and fight the offensive of the secessionists.

The democratic forces are active and strong and their strength should not be underestimated. The strike of State Government employees on February 26 in the midst of a very difficult situation—a strike which showed class unity rising above other considerations—shows that the masses of Jammu and Kashmir are capable of giving a rebuff to the reactionary forces.

The Central Committee demands the dissolution of the Assembly and holding of fresh elections. The Central Committee makes an earnest appeal to all democratic and secular forces in the State to unite and fight the common danger and prepare for the election. A popular elected Government relying on the democratic forces will save Kashmir and its people and strengthen Indian unity.

## **Central Committee Resolution on Punjab\***

**Adopted in its meeting held in New Delhi on March 14-16, 1986**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep concern over the deteriorating situation in Punjab. Not a day passes without the extremists taking a toll of innocent lives leading to the fear for the lives of people belonging to the minority community. This has led to communal passions being aroused among the minority community. The Sikh extremists are killing also those Sikhs who are opposed to them. They have captured the Golden Temple and many other historical Gurudwaras and in spite of Sarbat Khalsa at Anandpur and its decision to liberate the Gurudwaras from their control, the SGPC and the high priests are not prepared to assert their authority.

The Akali Government which came to power on the basis of a massive mandate against the extremists and the secessionists, instead of carrying forward the struggle for unity of the Punjabi people, is displaying its pathetic helplessness to counter the murderous challenge of the Khalistan secessionists and terrorists. These elements are encouraged by Pakistani rulers and the imperialists who have intensified their activities. In the name of seeking an amicable settlement, the Akalis are surrendering one position after another, providing further encouragement to the extremists. The conciliatory stand of the Akali Government towards the extremists is leading to further collapse of the administration which finds itself in a state of utter demoralization

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The favourable situation created by the Punjab Accord for normalising the situation in Punjab and reforging the unity of the Punjabi people has suffered a set-back. On the one hand, the Akalis have not drawn proper lessons from the past and have not shown determination in meeting the challenge of secessionists and extremists. On the other hand, the Central Government is again pursuing the policy of drift and has not implemented the Punjab Accord, as promised. It is thus helping the extremists in Punjab and opportunist politicians in Haryana to utilize the situation for the accentuation of communal passions. The activities of the Haryana Chief Minister Bhajan Lal are adding fuel to the fire.

If this situation is allowed to continue the entire initiative will pass into the hands of secessionists and extremist elements posing a serious threat to the unity of the country.

The Central Committee appeals to the Akali leadership to take immediate action to curb the extremist activities and restore confidence in the minority community that their life and property are safe. It urges upon the Central Government to give up the policy of drift and implement the Punjab Accord in letter and spirit and thus allay the genuine fears of the people of Punjab and Haryana and help in isolating and fighting against the forces of disruption and disintegration.

The Central Committee further appeals to the Left, democratic and secular parties to realize this menace and do everything to defend the unity of the country against the onslaught of communal separatist forces.

## **Central Committee Resolution on Assam Situation\***

**Adopted in its meeting held in New Delhi on March 14-16, 1986**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) notes with grave concern that violent attacks on the members and supporters of the Opposition parties go on unabated in Assam, and peace and amity have not been restored, despite assurances given by the AGP Government. Scores of cases of terroristic attacks, including gruesome murders, kidnapping, severe assaults, arson and destruction of hearth and home, imposition and forcible realization of heavy fines and oppressive social boycott on the members and supporters of the Opposition parties have lately been reported by every one of the all-India political parties including the Congress(I). The CPI(M) has become a major target of this violence.

These attacks cannot be dismissed as the aftermath of the election-time rivalry. These, in fact, constitute a protracted campaign of violence to silence the Opposition and strike all criticism of the AGP Government.

The Central Committee condemns this campaign of violence to suppress the democratic rights of the Opposition parties and individuals. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's claim that the Accord brought back peace and amity in Assam has been belied by these deplorable events.

The Central Committee notes that the AGP Government has lately made Assamese compulsory in the secondary schools in all non-Assamese schools including those having tribal

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language as medium, upsetting the long-standing arrangement and disregarding protests from the minorities. Along with this, anti-reservation moves have been initiated by a section which has already invoked passionate protest from the scheduled tribes and castes and other backward communities in Assam. The AGP Government has not so far clarified its position to allay the fears of these sections.

These developments go to further strengthen the divisive and other reactionary forces, which thrive on suppression of the rights of ethnic and other minorities to keep the State in a destabilized condition.

These events, seen in the context of the growth of reactionary and divisive forces inimical to unity and integrity of India, cannot but give rise to serious misgivings in people's mind.

The Central Committee welcomes the broad-based action of the Opposition parties in Assam to fight the violence and to defend democratic rights of citizens in Assam. The re-emerging of this unity and the successful mass actions on the February 26 Bandh day show that the masses are again on the move in defence of their rights against the disruptors of their unity and struggles.

The Central Committee calls upon the Government of India and the AGP Government to fulfil their pledge and restore peace, secure democratic rights of the Opposition and safeguard minority rights in Assam.

## Formation of Control Commission\*

The Central Committee in its meeting held from 14 to 16 March, 1986, elected the following 3 member Central Control Commission :

1. M.A. Rasul (Convenor)
2. K.N. Ravindranath
3. Shankar Dayal Tiwari.

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## Central Committee Appeal for Rs. 5 lakh Fund\*

The Central Committee in its meeting held from March 14 to 16, 1986, decided to issue a call for collection of a Central Party Fund of Rs. five lakh for the year 1986. This fund call comes in the background of the successful conclusion of the Twelfth Congress of the Party held in December, 1985. The Congress has enjoined upon the whole Party the task of forging the widest resistance to authoritarianism; building Left and democratic unity; and stepping up the independent activities of the Party.

The Party, as the biggest Left force in the country today, is engaged in multifarious activities among the people to organize their day-to-day struggles and forge the unity of the working people. It has to take further initiatives to mobilise the people in defence of world peace and against the U.S. imperialist threat to plunge the world into a nuclear war. It has to wage a continuing and determined battle against the divisive and separatist forces who are threatening to destroy the unity of the country. The Party, in cooperation with all Left and secular forces, has also to continue the serious battle to reverse the dangerous economic policies of the Rajiv Gandhi Government and its attacks on the people's livelihood.

The Rajiv Gandhi Government's decision to raise the prices of essential commodities and its surrender to Muslim fundamentalism by bringing the new Bill for Muslim women, has aroused opposition throughout the country—even within the

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ruling party. The Party will have to persevere in fostering wider protest actions on both these issues.

The building of a mass movement against the policies of the Rajiv Gandhi Government, to unite the people against the divisive forces and mobilise the people in defence of world peace, demands that the Party intervene in the political situation in a big way. Currently, the Party is waging a courageous and principled battle in Assam, Punjab, Tripura and Jammu & Kashmir in defence of national unity. Its cadres and supporters are daily being attacked or killed in Assam and Tripura. In Punjab, the Party is fighting to preserve communal amity and isolate the extremists. The efforts to rouse passions on the Ram Janam Bhoomi/Babri Masjid issue by both Hindu and Muslim communalists has led to tension and clashes in many places, requiring the urgent intervention of the Left and secular forces.

The Twelfth Congress has called for the Party to step up its ideological work and propaganda to combat the ideologies of the ruling classes. This requires more publication and material to be brought out by the Party Centre. The education of the Party cadres requires more schooling in a systematic manner at the Central level.

The Party Centre, in order to fulfil all these tasks and to provide correct guidance to the mass organizations and movements, require to augment its resources monetarily so that these responsibilities can be properly discharged. Every year these responsibilities increase, and the Party has to cope with this challenge.

It is with this in view that the C.C. has given the annual call for a Central Fund. This money will be raised by the Party units from amongst the people. It will be an occasion to carry the Party's line to them and to propagate the cause of the Left and democratic forces.

The C.C. is confident that all Party units, members and sympathisers will launch a vigorous drive to collect the Fund. The C.C. appeals to all the numerous well-wishers and supporters of the Party and the Left movement to generously respond to the call and help in making it a complete success.

## CPI(M)'s Message To Bulgarian Party Congress\*

*The following is the text of the message sent by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) to the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Bulgaria. On behalf of the CPI(M), Polit Bureau member Harkishan Singh Surjeet, had gone to Bulgaria to attend the Congress :*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) sends its warm greetings to the Thirteenth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Your Congress is meeting at a time when the world is faced with the serious threat of nuclear war, when unbridled arms race unleashed by imperialist countries is pushing mankind to the brink of self destruction with the prospect of orbiting space nuclear weapons which would increase the threat to peace manifold and make the arms race irreversible. Due to its characteristics of militarism and aggressiveness, the U.S imperialists have not positively responded to the peace proposals of Comrade Gorbachev, General Secretary CPSU, for a four-stage reduction of nuclear and chemical weapons and their total elimination by the year 2000. The Reagan administration has also rejected the proposals of six nations, including India, that all the nuclear tests be suspended till the next summit. It wants to continue S.D.I. in spite of opposition to it from all over the world. Thus the situation is fraught with serious danger today. Continued efforts of Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact countries, all Socialist

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countries, Non-Aligned Movement and all forces fighting for peace are required to check this menace.

After the rise of fascism in Germany when the world was faced with the threat of Second World War, it was Georgi Dimitrov, outstanding leader of the international working class, great son of Bulgarian people, who gave a call of united front in defence of peace. As early as 1935, he said:

“We need a front of peace, which will spread over all parts of the world, from Tokyo to London, from New York to Berlin. We must encircle the globe with such peaceful movement of international solidarity, with active initiative of a united international proletarian policy in the interests of safeguarding peace that it will be possible to stay the criminal hands of warmongers”.

This call of Georgi Dimitrov is valid today with added emphasis.

We are aware that true to its traditions, the Bulgarian Communist Party and the State is doing everything in supporting the cause of world peace, contributing to the peace efforts of Warsaw Pact countries and through various initiatives in world forums. Your proposals for turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear weapons, as well as latest initiative along with Romania for turning the Balkan Peninsula into a zone free of chemical weapons, are indicative of your peace policy.

Peoples' Republic of Bulgaria from its inception has opposed the imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of other countries and firmly supported the struggle of the people of various countries for the defence of the independence and for national salvation, whether it is the Middle-East, Southern Africa, South East Asia, Central America or the Caribbean.

Bulgarian Communist Party and the Peoples' Republic of Bulgaria have contributed a lot in developing and strengthening the Socialist system. Based on the general policy laid down by Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, of building Socialism and further developed by the April 1956 Plenum, it has succeeded in building a sound basis for

Socialism in Bulgaria. Thanks to the leadership provided by the Bulgarian Communist Party, from an enormously backward country Bulgaria stands in the front-rank of the countries of developed Socialism. Between 1956 and 1984 the volume of national income rose seven-fold, the real income per capita of the population went up more than five-fold. Apart from the speedy industrialization of the country, Bulgaria has the proud record of being the third country in the world in Europe where within 14 years complete Socialist reconstruction of agriculture was carried out.

The Draft Thesis of the Thirteenth Congress of Bulgarian Communist Party which is going to be finalised in this Congress, sets new grand tasks to be fulfilled by the Ninth Five Year Plan (1986-1990) and for the period leading up to the year 2000. The deep-reaching qualitative changes are sought to be made in the economy, focussing mainly on highly automated and science intensive industries. In terms of figures you have set the goal of achieving labour productivity 2 to 2.5 times higher by the turn of century as compared to 1985 and national income to be thrice higher. This is a source of inspiration to all who are fighting for peace, democracy and Socialism.

Bulgarian Communist Party and the People's Democratic State have been always helping the developing countries in their struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism. Bulgaria's relations with India have been steadily developing. Mutual cooperation between our two countries have helped the growth of trade between the two countries beneficial to both. Bulgaria has also helped in building industries. Indo-Bulgaria friendship has been constantly growing.

Today when Bulgaria along with other countries of Warsaw Pact are doing their utmost to rally the people against the threat of nuclear war and against any threat from NATO Powers, India has been encircled by imperialism through hostile regimes and every effort is being made to destabilise it from within with a view to pressurise it to force it to give up the path of non-alignment and peace. Our Party is doing

everything along with other Left, democratic and peace forces to rally the masses to defeat the game of imperialism and contribute to the world struggle for peace. We are also fighting against the slanderous propaganda by reactionary elements in our country who try to equate the two super powers to blur the edge of peace movement against imperialism.

We are glad that the common bond of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism unites our two Parties in the world struggle for peace and Socialism.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) once again wishes the Thirteenth Congress a grand success.

**Long Live Bulgarian Communist party!**  
**Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!**  
**Long Live Indo-Bulgarian Friendship!**

## **On Aggressive Actions Against Libya\***

**Statement dated March 27, 1986, issued by the  
Polit Bureau of CPI(M) in New Delhi**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) denounces the aggressive actions by the U.S. naval forces against Libya in the Gulf of Sidra under the pretext of its right of access to international waters. The Reagan Administration, in a blatant act of provocation, reminiscent of the days of "gun-boat diplomacy", has sent in ships of the Sixth Fleet to carry out acts of war and threaten Libya. The ships and planes of the Sixth Fleet have fired upon Libyan vessels and shore installations.

This new round of dangerous escalation by the USA has been condemned by all the Arab States and the countries of the Non-Aligned Movement. The CPI(M) declares its full support and solidarity with the Libyan Government and people who are firm in resisting such imperialist blackmail. It supports the proposal of the Soviet Union that all naval forces be withdrawn from the Mediterranean Sea so that tension is defused.

The Government of India, as the Chairperson of the Non-Aligned Movement, is expected to take a more forthright position by calling upon the U.S. Administration to immediately desist from any aggressive measures.

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## **Polit Bureau on Punjab Situation\***

**Statement dated March 27, 1986 issued in New Delhi**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) is shocked at the murder of Comrade Arjan Singh Mastana, a CPI leader, and his security guard at his village in Amritsar district early this morning. He was killed by extremists who came in police uniforms. This cowardly attack has been perpetrated to weaken the voice of the Left supporting the Accord and who are opposing the extremists and separatists. This murder shows that the motive of the terrorists is nothing but to create a situation of destabilisation in the State in order to serve the interests of the imperialists.

Coming after yesterday's incident at Anandpur Sahib when the extremists tried to disturb the meeting of the Akali Dal, it shows the desperate mood of these anti-national elements who are doing everything to disturb peace in the State. In Anandpur Sahib, they tried to disrupt the meeting of the Akali Dal addressed by Akali Dal Chief and Chief Minister Barnala, with naked swords in their hands, and the police was forced to resort to firing to protect the lives of Ministers and other Akali leaders. These activities pose a serious threat to national unity and a challenge to all democratic and patriotic forces. The Akali party must realise that without mobilising the people, the game of the extremists cannot be defeated.

The Polit Bureau appeals to all the Left, democratic and patriotic forces in the country, especially in Punjab, to rise to the occasion, mobilise the people and defeat the nefarious designs of the extremists.

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## **Problems of National Integration Today\***

**Memorandum submitted by the General Secretary of CPI(M) to the National Integration Council meeting held on April 7, 1986, in New Delhi**

*The following is the text of the memorandum submitted by E.M.S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), to the National Integration Council meeting held on April 7, 1986 :*

The first meeting of the reconstituted National Integration Council is being held under conditions which should cause concern to every patriotic Indian. With Punjab in flames, secessionists and destabilisers in Kashmir increasingly active, and the soil of neighbouring Pakistan being turned into the training ground for the terrorists, the entire North-West is in unprecedentedly unsettled conditions. In the North-East too, forces of destabilisation and secessionism are active and receiving generous assistance from abroad. The Union Government is in possession of sufficient material to show that these forces of destabilisation are being egged on by American imperialism whose agents have deeply penetrated into sensitive areas of the administrative set-up. American imperialism is encircling India with its Navy and Air Force. Internally the forces of casteism, communalism and national chauvinism are playing havoc in the entire country, receiving generous assistance from imperialism. Never before since the eve of independence and the immediate post-independence days, has the country been in a situation as dangerous as it is today.

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The question, however, arises : Would the present meeting or the subsequent work of the newly constituted National Integration Council help the ruling and Opposition political parties, the other organizations, groups and individuals represented in this body, to find reasonable solutions for the problems that are rocking the nation? From the experience of the previous National Integration Councils—the first formed in 1961 but dissolved a year later, the second constituted in 1968 which became defunct in the 1970s; the third constituted in 1980—one is unable to draw any optimistic conclusions regarding the functioning of this Council. It is not suggested that the objective situation in the country is not helpful for the functioning of such a body. On the other hand, the steady deterioration of conditions in the country makes it obligatory for every party, organization, group and individual interested in national unity to concentrate on making it function. The question is whether there is the political will, particularly on the part of the ruling party, to make the Council function.

### **Failure of Ruling Party**

In singling out the ruling party for the failure in making the previous National Integration Councils function, it is not suggested that the Opposition parties do not have to share any part of the blame. Conceding the responsibility of the Opposition parties, however, it should be pointed out that, being the ruling party which, besides, claims to be the successor of the national organization which led the struggle for freedom, it is for the Prime Minister's party to go out of the way in seeking the cooperation of all other political parties. Our criticism is that the ruling party failed in this, its major responsibility since it has been in power for nearly four decades, with only a brief interlude.

Let us take the developments in Punjab which have now reached the stage of serious crisis not only for the State but for the whole country. Any impartial observer can see that the Opposition parties made constructive proposals in their

June 1983 meeting for the solution of the problem. Chandigarh for Punjab, certain areas to be transferred from Punjab to Haryana the distribution of waters among the three neighbouring States of Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan—on everyone of these questions, the Opposition parties, including the Akali Dal, came to a consensus and forwarded it to the late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. If only she had accepted these proposals as the basis for negotiations, the problem could have been resolved and subsequent developments including the Blue Star operation, the assassination of Indira Gandhi, the organized attacks on Sikh community following the assassination, etc, could have been avoided. In fact, Rajiv Gandhi who succeeded her had to accept most of the proposals made by the Opposition parties then. This was what enabled him to have an Accord signed with the Akali Dal leader Harchand Singh Longowal.

At least at this stage, further deterioration could have been prevented if only the Government had seriously and sincerely proceeded to implement the Accord. But the Prime Minister failed to use his authority as the leader of the party, to curb the anti-Accord activities of his own party colleague, Haryana Chief Minister Bhajanlal. Furthermore, the question of transferring Chandigarh to Punjab and the transfer of some Hindi-speaking villages to Haryana in return, was completely bungled. The relevant provisions of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord thus remained unimplemented. Some Opposition parties in Haryana did make their own contributions to the worsening of the situation. Their actions in this respect cannot be justified. It should nevertheless be pointed out that they could have been contained if only the Prime Minister—both in his official capacity and as Congress President—had earnestly undertaken the task of getting the Accord implemented. In that sense, the Prime Minister and his Government should take the major responsibility for the present state of affairs in Punjab which is having its dangerous impact on the entire national situation.

### **Akalis Must Act**

Next in importance only to that of the ruling party at the Centre, the Akali Dal and its Government in the State should share a good part of the responsibility. Having had the goodwill of the people not only in Punjab but in the entire country, the Barnala Government should and could have mobilised the entire people (Sikhs and Hindus alike) against the extremists. They failed to do it because they did not see that the very existence of their Government, not to speak of bringing about a lasting solution for the Punjab problem, depends on their will to give a determined fight to the extremists. The result is that today the life of every Punjabi—Hindus as well as Sikhs, Akalis, Congressmen, persons belonging to any other political party—is in danger. Everything, however, is not yet lost. Serious efforts can be made to restore normalcy in the State if only the Akali Government shows determination in the fight against the Sikh extremists and seeks cooperation of all other political parties and organizations.

One cannot help referring in this context to the demands made in some circles that, since the Barnala Government has failed, the Central Government should clamp President's Rule on the State and, if necessary, even military rule. Those who make this demand conveniently forget that the earlier President's rule with the military active in the field was no greater success than the present Barnala Government. The reasonable conclusion to be drawn therefore is that, just as the earlier President's rule and the use of military force did not bring the situation back to normalcy, any new period of President's rule will fail in the objective of restoring normal peaceful conditions, in the State. What Punjab requires today is the united effort of everybody—the Central Government, the State Government, all the non-Government organizations and parties.

Our Party is behind none in criticising the Akali Dal for mixing religion with politics, for projecting the democratic demands of the entire Punjabi people as the demands of the

Sikhs and invoking the Panth for every political and organizational measure they adopt. It is to be hoped that the Akali leaders would learn from the terrible experience of the past. The fact, however, remains that the Congress which claims to be a secular party did not hesitate to come to opportunistic relations with the Sikh communalists. It is on record that had it not been for this stand of the Congress party, Bhindranwale would not have risen to the position which he occupied and which was used to create conditions of destabilisation. The failure of the Government in solving the Punjab problem should be attributed to the opportunistic use of communal tension for partisan ends. The present Prime Minister too used the Punjab tension for getting votes in the Lok Sabha election in December 1984. He did not hesitate to make the slanderous allegation against the Opposition in the course of his election campaign that all the Opposition parties supported the Anandpur Sahib resolution of the Akali Dal. One hopes that, at least at this stage, the ruling party and the Government at the Centre will retrace the steps taken so far, so that the entire Opposition including the Akali Dal can be mobilised in the struggle against the extremists.

### **Jammu & Kashmir**

In the State of Jammu & Kashmir the elected Government of Dr. Farooq Abdulla had come into existence. It was committed to secularism and was opposing the secessionists. The ruling party and the Government at the Centre, however, could not tolerate its existence since it was part of the all-India opposition and took its stand against the anti-democratic, anti-people policies of the Central Government. The office of the State Governor was therefore used to topple that Government and instal a pliable Government of those who defected from the State's ruling party. That action of the Central Government helped the rapid spread of divisive and separatist movements and organizations in the State, compelling the Centre in the end to remove the defectors'

Government. The question now is whether the democratic process of fresh election would be permitted in the State, or whether Central rule will be put on a more permanent basis. One cannot understand why the people of the State should be denied the opportunity to bring into existence another elected Government.

Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir being border States with a neighbour who is heavily armed by the USA and throws its doors open for anti-India terrorists, the serious situation in both the State poses a big danger not only to the two States concerned but for the whole country. Petty politicking which involves the toppling of elected Governments, the installation of pliable Governments with no popular support, in these border States will prove dangerous for the very freedom of the country. The ruling party and the Government at the Centre have so far failed to realise this, and have been putting the narrow interests of their party above the interests of the nation.

### **North-East**

Conditions in the north-east also are highly unsettled. Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur, Meghalaya, Tripura—all these have their respective variants of the ethnic problems, increasingly complicating the political situation. Continuous neglect of the economic, political and cultural problems of the various ethnic groups in the region have given rise to various organizations which can be and are being used by alien forces to threaten the unity and integration of the country. The ruling party and the Government at the Centre, however, has not only failed to solve but dealt with this problem from narrow partisan interests. The inevitable consequence is that not only do separatist forces operate but they work in close cooperation with anti-India forces across the country's borders.

### **Efforts in Tripura**

The only State in the region which has a Government committed to the preservation and strengthening of national

unity—unity of the various ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious groups—is Tripura where the Left Front is taking a truly national and secular position and is, therefore, able to preserve the unity of tribals and non-tribals. The Central ruling party, however, is doing everything in its power to put obstacles in the way of such a truly secular and national political force in the State. Far from helping the extension of what has been and is being done in Tripura to the rest of the north-east, the ruling party is trying to topple the Left Front Government of Tripura by joining hands with the separatist forces such as the TUJS.

### **Problem in Assam**

Assam belongs to a category apart. The continuous neglect of the legitimate aspirations of the Assamese-speaking majority as well as of the minorities had created acute discontent among all sections of the people. This, however, was given a distorted form—the Assamese-speaking majority being pitted against the minorities speaking other languages. The ruling parties and Governments at the Centre and in the State miserably failed in conceding the legitimate demands of the Assamese-speaking majority and of the minorities. It is this that prevents the mobilisations of both sections on that basis of a programme which will bring together the majority as well as minorities. Now that the last year's election culminated in the formation of an elected Government, one hopes that the ruling party and the Government in the State as well as at the Centre will begin opening a new chapter in the State's history. One cannot, however, help mentioning the sad fact that the AGP which has now become the ruling party in the State, has so far not been using its newly-acquired authority to take the whole people of Assam with it, but continues its attack on the ethnic and linguistic minorities on the one hand and the Opposition political parties, on the other. The series of attacks on Opposition parties, particularly on the CPI(M), have been listed in a memorandum submitted to the Chief Minister by

the State Committee of our Party. It is to be hoped that the AGP at the State level and the Congress party at the Centre would give serious consideration to the reality and take adequate measures to bring the situation back to normalcy.

### **Centre-State Relations**

Common to the north-western and north-eastern border States as well as to the rest of the country is the question of Centre-State relations, official language and medium of instruction, educational policy, socio-economic development in general and the problems of the weaker sections of society in particular, i.e., the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, other backward communities, tribal people, women etc, as well as the democratisation of local administration. Everyone of these problems is of great importance not only in itself but also because it impinges on the unity and integration of the various sections of the people and communities living in our country. We, therefore, propose below to make short observations on every-one of these questions.

Centre-State relations has been a baffling problem, smouldering but leading to explosions at times. The reason is that, as opposed to the understanding arrived at during the freedom struggle that the polity of free India should be federal, the ruling party and the Government at the Centre have been moving the country towards a virtual unitary system. In the very process of framing the Constitution, they had watered down, to a very large extent, the federal idea : The State's autonomy which is very much part of the federal idea, was weakened in the Constitution itself. Far worse, however, was the practice during the last 36 years, State autonomy, to the extent to which it had been written into the Constitution was steadily eroded; the States today are completely dependent on the Centre, in fact as well as in law.

This is graphically seen in the repeated use of Article 356 of the Constitution to impose President's rule in States, refusal to give Presidential assent to Bills passed in State legislatures, starving States of much-needed funds for their

development in the name of enforcing financial discipline while the Centre goes on managing its finances in the worst indisciplined manner, etc. State Governments headed by Congress Chief Ministers themselves have been demanding vital changes in the present set-up, though for obvious reasons they do not go as far as the non-Congress Governments do. The Central ruling party and the Government, however, refuse even to accept that this is a serious problem as is seen in the cavalier manner in which the Sarkaria Commission is being treated.

Our Party, for its part, has given its own memorandum to the Commission where it has been stressed that while the key functions of defence, foreign affairs, communications, currency and the overall development and coordination of the socio-economic activities of the nation should rest with the Centre, the States should have full autonomy on other questions. On questions of the socio-economic development of the country the overall authority of the Centre should be exercised through common bodies like the National Development Council in which the States should have equal representation with the Centre. This alone will harmonise the two related concepts of Central authority and State autonomy. While our Party is opposed to the type of State autonomy which denies the need for Central authority, the real danger, today is the complete denial of State's autonomy.

### **Socio-Economic Situation**

Centre-State relations, however, cannot be dealt with in isolation from the socio-economic development of the country. For, one of the reasons why relations between the Centre and the States become strained is the fact that the ruling party and the Government at the Centre have failed to fulfil the expectations of the people concerning the rapid development of the national economy and the modernisation of its socio-cultural institutions. Although our country is endowed with abundant natural resources and although we are sup-

posed to have a planned economy, the development here has been far below those of most of the developing countries, not to speak of the countries of developed capitalism or developed Socialism. The figures collected by the World Bank and the IMF show that our country stands below most of the other developing countries. Furthermore, our standing in the world community is declining rather than improving, since most of the other countries are having more rapid development. Our Party has been concerned with this slow tempo of our socio-economic development and has gone on record with its proposals for an alternate line of development. In the absence of a reversal of socio-economic policies, the natural tendency is to fight for a better, more equitable division of poverty, leading to strains between the Centre and the States between one State and another.

One indication of the country's lag in socio-economic development is that, in accordance with the by-no-means satisfactory Government records, unemployment has been steadily rising, with no prospect of its being reduced. An equally eloquent indication of poverty is that, while the majority of the people are admittedly underfed, the Government stock of food-grains is steadily rising, serious proposals being made for their export. It is obvious that more than 38 years of freedom have not meant any visible improvement in the life of our common people.

This is a situation which is ideal for the forces of disruption and destabilisation to work in. The people getting increasingly discontented against this state of affairs, can easily be led in any direction by demagogues who rouse casteist, religious, regional and linguistic passions. The natural anger of the people against unemployment, starvation and misery is directed to particular sections of the community—caste or religious community, regional or linguistic group, etc.—which are declared to be the source of people's misery. Setting caste against caste, religion against religion, language against language,—these are the bases on which passions are roused and riots whipped up. National integration, therefore, cannot

be completely separated from the socio-economic and cultural development of the country.

The line adopted by the ruling party and Government at the Centre, both on economic planning and on socio-cultural development, however, intensify, rather than mitigate, the misery of the people. Modernization and computerization which are no doubt necessary for human development, are so planned and organised that lakhs and lakhs of people are thrown out of jobs with no alternative jobs available. Furthermore, the dependence on foreign technology and foreign capital ruins the bulk of Indian industrial enterprises, once again throwing out lakhs of people who swell the ranks of the unemployed. Above all, the reliance on private multinational banks and organizations like the World Bank and the IMF, accentuates the problem of external debts. The total consequence of all the class policies of the Government is that, while a handful of the upper strata get richer and richer, the mass of the people get increasingly impoverished. This offers a fertile field for the divisive forces of various kinds.

### **Socio-Cultural Questions**

We have mentioned these aspects of the socio-economic problem not because they are the sole basis on which disintegration and destabilisation take place. They, in fact, only provide the ground on which the seeds of caste, communal, regional, linguistic-cultural and other forms of separatism are sown. It is, therefore, necessary to combine the correction of the direction of socio-economic development with proper attitudes to the socio-cultural questions concerning caste, religious, communal, linguistic-cultural and regional factors. Unfortunately, however, on every one of these questions, the ruling party and the Government at the Centre have been adopting policies which accentuate, rather than solve, the problems. Some Opposition parties too adopt incorrect policies, go on acting in such a way as to feed separatism of one or another kind. A few instances are given below.

Freedom movement in our country in the pre-independence days had taken up cudgels against caste inequalities. Modernization of socio-cultural life went several steps forward in the years of freedom struggle. In the post-independence years, however, there has been a relapse in the sense that political and factional struggle is increasingly assuming caste dimensions. Neither the ruling party nor several of the Opposition parties can be absolved of the charge that they have been making partisan use of the question of reservation. While the ruling Congress party deliberately issued an order changing the reservation ratios and procedures in Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat on the eve of the Assembly elections in early 1985, some of the Opposition parties and factions in the Congress took up cudgels against the order. Two sections of the people fighting street battles on the issue following the Assembly elections was, a graphic example of how caste animosities are roused for attaining partisan political ends.

The same thing happened in relation to the Muslim Women Divorce Bill which followed the Supreme Court judgement in the Shah Bano case. Here, however, was not a case of two sections of the people set against each other, but the obscurantist elements in a community being aroused against the progressives in general and Muslim women in particular. The important thing here is that the ruling party and the Government at the Centre gave open support to the obscurantists. Their motive in this was nothing other than gaining electoral advantage.

### **Ruling Party's Role**

The Softness of the ruling party at the Centre towards the forces of disruption like casteism, communalism, regional and linguistic chauvinism, etc., is not an accident. It came to the surface on the very first occasion when the party lost its political power in a part of the country—in Kerala in 1959. The party which claims to be a national, progressive and secular force, took over the leadership of all the caste,

communal and regional forces to get back to power. While continuing that policy in the State down to the present day, the party has steadily extended it to wherever it is necessary in its partisan interests. Open alliance with the Tripura Upajati Juba Samiti, with the Maharashtra Siva Sena and with a number of other parties and organizations of the divisive character, has become an inseparable part of Congress politics. While the Prime Minister denounced this practice in words when he spoke at the centenary celebrations of the Congress party, he is giving full encouragement and support to it in practice wherever his party's control over the State administration is in danger. That party cannot shirk its responsibility in creating the explosive situation on the Ram Janam Bhumi-cum-Babari Masjid issue.

On the question of language, the ruling party and the Government at the Centre are pursuing policies which help national disintegration rather than integration. Being a country with over a dozen major linguistic-cultural groups, each with its own distinctive characteristics and in various stages of development, national integration requires complete equality of all the existing Indian languages, with no superior position for any one of them. Instead of accepting this reality, however, the present ruling party and the Government follow the earlier British rulers in making one language superior to others, imposing it on those who speak another language. The only difference is that, while the British rulers imposed their own foreign tongue on all the linguistic-cultural groups in the country, the present rulers are trying to impose one of the several Indian languages, Hindi, on the rest of the people. This inevitably rouses passions, as it did in Tamil Nadu and some other parts of the country in 1965. In Assam where the Assamiya language was sought to be imposed on the minority linguistic groups, it led to a big turmoil which continues even today. In some other States too, efforts have been and are being made to impose on the minorities the language of the majority in the State. As against those who are trying to impose Hindi on those who

speaking any other language in the country, there are others who try to impose the language of the majority in a State on the minority groups. This being one of the irritants among the people, the principle of complete equality of all the Indian languages and replacing English by the language of the people should be strictly adhered to. The effort to have a link language should not degenerate into the imposition of Hindi on others, as is apprehended by the non-Hindi speaking people. Compulsion to have a common or link language, instead of allowing the people through the natural process of social and cultural communications and contact, would further accentuate the conflict in this field. The Centre, in fact should make its positive contribution to the development of all Indian languages, enabling the people to replace English by their own language in administration and education. The question of link language should be subordinated to this.

### **Educational Policy**

We cannot close this without referring to the educational policy of the Government. The proposals made now, go back on every commitment made by the nation during the days of the freedom struggle. Free and compulsory primary education which had not only been put forward in the days of freedom struggle but found a place formally in the Constitution, has now been given up. So it is use of the people's own language as medium of instruction. The main thrust of the new education policy in fact is the creation of an educated elite through what are called "Model Schools in every district" condemning the mass of the people to educational and cultural backwardness. Our country, in fact, will be advancing to the 21st century with the largest and growing number of illiterates in any part of the world. The objective of the ruling party obviously is to cater to the requirements of a narrow upper stratum of educated employees through which alone can monopoly capitalists and big landlords enrich themselves.

In marked contrast to all this in our country, is the stupendous development in those countries of the developing world which have adopted the Socialist path as opposed to the capitalist path of development—Mongolia, China, Korea, Vietnam, etc., in Asia and Cuba in the American continent. Those countries are able to unite the people under one banner, since the people have something in their hands which they are inspired to defend. Economic development there is not for the benefit of a few at the top but for the entire people. They are, therefore, prepared to make utmost sacrifice to develop their country for which all their internal differences of an ethnic, linguistic or national character are subordinated.

This in fact had been the objective held before the people by the leaders of our own freedom movement and hence the unity and the national integration brought about in the days of freedom struggle. After the attainment of freedom, however, the perspective of a new democratic and forward looking country taking its place in the community of nations was abandoned by those who took over from the British rulers. Hence the serious and complicated problems of national integration which we are today faced with.

## **On Developments In Punjab\***

**Statement dated April 30, 1986 issued by the Polit Bureau of CPI(M) in New Delhi.**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) is shocked to learn that the Sikh extremists who took forcible possession of the premises of the Golden Temple have declared the formation of the so-called Khalistan. It strongly condemns the statement of the extremists issued from the premises of the Golden Temple yesterday that "they have begun the battle for Khalistan" and that they would soon "set up a parallel Government of Khalistan at Akal Takht", and have sought recognition for it from all countries of the world. They have also given a call to all Sikhs living outside Punjab to come and settle there.

This atrocious declaration has been made at the behest of imperialist powers who are out to destabilise our country. This is a challenge to the unity and integrity of the nation. This has clearly exposed the anti-national aims of the extremists who are trying to hide their activities under the cover of defence of religious belief. This is nothing but the elaboration of the stand which the extremists had taken in the 'Sarbat Khalsa' organized on January 26, when they declared that "Sikhs are slaves in India and independence is their birth right". They had also repeatedly raised the slogan of Khalistan and hoisted the flag of Khalistan.

Our Party had warned against this dangerous move and demanded of the Akali party and its Government to take firm measures to flush out the extremists from the gurudwaras

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and not to allow the use of the gurudwaras for anti-national activities.

But unfortunately the Akali leadership refused to rise to the occasion and began retreating step after step in the face of the offensive of the extremists. Even the declaration of their "Sarbat Khalsa" held at Anandpur to get the Golden Temple vacated, remains on paper. On the other hand, the SGPC and the high priests virtually have abdicated their authority. The Barnala Government came to power with a massive majority. It was further backed by the National Integration Council. But it has failed so far to create confidence in the people in Punjab and outside that it can fight the menace of extremism and separatism.

Punjab Chief Minister Surjit Singh Barnala correctly reacted to yesterday's statement by the Khalistani extremists, when he vowed to crush their attempt "to tamper with the sovereignty and integrity of the country" and declared that he would do everything to eliminate "this threat to our motherland".

These words will have meaning only if the Akali party stops mixing up politics with religion and takes firm steps not only to flush out extremists from the Golden Temple and other gurudwaras but ensures that no gurudwaras would ever be allowed to be used for anti-national activities and as centres of armed rebellion. So far their policy has been objectively helping in strengthening fundamentalism among the Sikh masses and consequently providing a base for the extremists. If they are serious to fight this anti-national danger, they have to take their stand on secularism for which they have taken the oath of the Indian Constitution.

The Polit Bureau also appeals to all Akali leaders who stand for the welfare of Punjab and the unity of the country to stand united at this grave hour and not to allow their personal differences to come in the way of defeating the conspiracy of the extremists backed by foreign powers.

The Central Government for long has treated the Punjab problem as a law and order problem. Even after the Punjab

Accord—a step welcomed by all political forces in the country—it did not take serious steps to arouse the people against the extremists. It has in fact allowed the Haryana Chief Minister to add fuel to the fire by his provocative statements which have helped in strengthening the hands of the extremists, when the nation is faced with the threat to its unity. The Central Congress leadership should enforce discipline on the leaders belonging to the ruling party not to instigate the people of one community against another and one State against another. This dangerous game for narrow partisan interests in today's situation can prove very disastrous.

The Polit Bureau appeals to the democratic-minded people of Punjab who have made tremendous sacrifices in the cause of national independence—the inheritors of Jallianwala Bagh heroes, Gaddar heroes, Babbar Akalis, Bhagat Singh and his colleagues, innumerable martyrs of working class and peasant movements whose sacrifices tremendously strengthened the bonds of unity between the people of different communities—to stand together to fight this danger of extremists and separatists, isolate them from the people and defeat their game to dismember India. The patriotic feelings of the people have to be aroused to defend the unity of the country and establish communal harmony.

## **Union Government's Ordinance Assailed\***

**Statement dated May 17, 1986 issued by the Polit Bureau of CPI(M) in New Delhi**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) considers the proclamation of the Ordinance through which the Government has assumed powers to withhold reports of Commissions of Inquiry from Parliament or State legislatures, as uncalled for and an attack on the rights of Parliament and the legislatures.

The CPI(M) condemns the issuing of such Ordinance a few days after the adjournment of both Houses of Parliament. The Ordinance is a serious encroachment on the basic right of accountability to the elected bodies. The Party demands immediate withdrawal of this anti-democratic step.

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## **Protest Against Attacks on Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia\***

**Statement dated May 20, 1986 issued by the  
Polit Bureau of CPI(M) in New Delhi**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly condemns the bombing and military attacks on the three sovereign countries—Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia—by the South African racist regime under the spurious pretext of attacking African National Congress establishments.

This criminal and savage attack on the three countries has led to the loss of lives of many innocent people. It is yet another demonstration of State terrorism, as in Libya, by an unlawful regime backed by imperialist powers. This act of naked aggression is meant to intimidate Zimbabwe, which will soon be hosting the Non-Aligned Summit. Coming in the wake of Rajiv Gandhi's visit to the frontline States as the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, these attacks are meant as a retaliatory measure against the forthright stand that the Non-Aligned Movement has taken against apartheid.

The South African racist regime stands totally isolated from world opinion and these raids have evoked universal condemnation. However, the imperialist powers, the USA and Britain, persist in backing the Pretoria regime by refusing to impose mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa.

The Polit Bureau expresses its solidarity with the frontline States and is confident that such terroristic acts will not be able to halt the successful advance of the liberation movements led by the African National Congress and SWAPO.

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## **Genocide in Sri Lanka Condemned\***

**Statement dated May 20, 1986 issued by the  
Polit Bureau of CPI(M) in New Delhi**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its indignation at the recent turn of events in Sri Lanka where the armed forces of the Jayawardane Government have undertaken large scale military operations in Jaffna. The indiscriminate aerial bombings which have already led to loss of innocent lives and damage to civilian population and property, are nothing but a genocidal attack on the minority Tamil population.

By its military action in Jaffna, the Sri Lankan Government seems to have abandoned its earlier professions of a negotiated settlement of the ethnic issue in the country. The efforts to find a military solution to the vexed ethnic problem in Sri Lanka would lead not only to prolonged sufferings to the people of Sri Lanka but would also lead to estrangement of relations between the two Non-Aligned countries, India and Sri Lanka. The course that the Jayawardane Government is following is inspired by imperialism to increase its stranglehold in Sri Lanka in particular and in the region in general.

While holding no brief for terroristic activities, the CPI(M) strongly condemns the Sri Lanka Government's action which is bound to worsen the situation. The CPI(M) reiterates that a negotiated political settlement between the Tamil minority and Sri Lankan Government is the only solution to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka.

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The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon the people in India to express solidarity with the suffering Tamil population in Sri Lanka. It calls upon the democratic people in Sri Lanka to raise their voice of protest against this barbarous attack on the minority population. It also urges upon the Government of India to take more energetic measures to bring about a peaceful settlement.

## **Aggression on Angola Condemned\***

**The Polit Bureau of CPI(M) issued this statement in New Delhi**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly condemns the South African racist regime's military aggression in Angola. In the latest of its continuing acts of banditry, the racist Botha regime has conducted a missile attack by naval vessels on the Angolan port of Namibe.

Obviously, this is another desperate move to terrorise Angola and the frontline States in the face of the mounting wave of opposition within South Africa and the world, against the hated policies of the regime.

The Government of India should, apart from condemnation of this incident, take urgent steps to provide all forms of assistance and aid to the Angolan Government in keeping with the spirit of the visit of the Prime Minister to the country recently.

The CPI(M) extends its warm solidarity to the Government and people of Angola and the MPLA, the Party of Labour, who are courageously fighting to foil the imperialist conspiracies and consolidate their independence.

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## **Akali Dissidents Assailed\***

**Statement issued by the Polit Bureau of CPI(M) in New Delhi**

The happenings inside the Golden Temple yesterday are a warning to all those who stand for the unity of the country and for communal peace in Punjab. The Akali dissidents led by Badal and Tohra not only joined hands openly with the Sikh extremists and secessionists led by the All India Sikh Students Federation and Damdami Taksal in denouncing Barnala and the high priests, but also used the occasion to raise the slogan of Khalistan. Encouraged by the dissidents, the extremists tried to recapture the Golden Temple; the task force organized by the SGPC was attacked; one was killed, and many others injured with naked kirpans and lethal weapons. Their aim is to utilise the Golden Temple for anti-national activities to fulfil their nefarious designs to destabilise the country.

It is unfortunate that these dissidents, who make much of the police entry into the Golden Temple to flush out the elements who had declared Khalistan, have not a word of condemnation for those who are organizing the killings of innocent people and who, inspired by their speeches, attacked the Task Force of the SGPC, taking the life of an ex-soldier. A day earlier, in a Press conference, they reiterated the extremists' slogan that without full acceptance of the Anandpur Resolution, Sikhs cannot be satisfied. In fact, by this declaration and subsequent actions, they have cast their lot with the extremists. Had they not launched a campaign against

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the Barnala Government, the extremists would have been isolated and normalcy restored in Punjab. It is the dissidents who have emboldened the extremists to intensify their activities, threatening peace and communal harmony in the State.

In this situation, the Polit Bureau demands that the State Government take all measures to protect the lives and properties of the minority community. It appeals to all the political forces in the State to denounce the Akali dissidents and mobilise all patriotic elements to isolate and fight against the extremists to restore communal harmony in the State.

## CPI(M)'s Message to the Congress of Polish United Workers' Party\*

*The Tenth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party began in Warsaw on June 28, 1986. On behalf of the CPI(M), Samar Mukherjee attended the Congress as a fraternal delegate. We give below the message sent to the PUWP Congress by the Central Committee of CPI(M) :*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) conveys its warm greetings to the Tenth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party. The Congress is an important occasion in the process of consolidation and development of Socialist Poland

The world is witnessing the dangerous consequences of the reactionary policies of the USA headed by the Reagan Administration. With world capitalism in perpetual crisis, the imperialists are stepping up their military preparations and aggravating tensions in Europe and all parts of the globe. In contrast, the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries, including Poland, are committed to preventing war and establishing a lasting peace. With this in view, a series of initiatives has been taken by the Socialist community to bring the ruling circles of the West to see reason and negotiate for peace. However, the USA, by embarking on the "Star Wars" project and opting out of the SALT-II parameters, is bent upon heightening tensions.

Our Party fully supports Poland's firm commitment to the Warsaw Pact and the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union.

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This fully accords with the national and historical interests of the Polish people. Having gone through the horrors of war, four decades ago, the passionate commitment of the Polish people is expressed in your Party's principled stand to defend peace and the sovereignty of your country.

Four decades ago, the Polish people fought a life and death struggle against Nazi occupation with a heroism and determination which continues to inspire succeeding generations. We observed the fortieth anniversary of the victory over fascism last year and this year we have just observed the anniversary of the treacherous Nazi attack on the Soviet Union. The lessons of history are clear—all peace-loving and progressive people must unite for the crucial task of preserving world peace. We are confident that the Polish Communists in their Congress will make a significant contribution to this goal.

We are happy that Poland, after overcoming the counter-revolutionary aims of imperialism to disrupt the Socialist system, has taken up the task of restoring Socialist norms in its economic life and eliminating the distortions which crept in during the past. The emphasis on Socialist values in social life and enrichment of Socialist democracy provides the basis for the renewal and advance of your society. We wish you all success in your discussions on the draft programme of the PUWP and the socio-economic objectives for 1986-1990. Our Party has always supported the measures taken by your Party for the safeguarding of the foundations of Socialism in Poland and its further advance.

In India, imperialism is active in seeking to destabilise our country and breed separatism. The fight against imperialist penetration and combatting the divisive forces is an urgent task in which our Party is actively engaged. Our Party seeks to forge the broadest unity of all the Left, democratic and peace-loving forces against the threat to world peace and U.S. imperialism's efforts to encircle India and pressurise India to divert from its policy of non-alignment. It is in this background that the Left forces are

struggling to bring about basic social transformation in our society.

As a Party grounded in Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, we have always stood with the forces of Socialism and peace and, in particular, unwaveringly supported your efforts to safeguard Polish sovereignty and Socialist gains. Our Party condemns all the efforts made by the imperialist circles to create difficulties in your endeavours. Even the tragic accident at Chernobyl nuclear plant was sought to be utilised by certain Western ruling circles to put obstacles to economic relations. You have, relying on the Polish working class and all patriotic sections, overcome these problems. We are confident that the process of consolidation and advance registered by your country in the past few years will be given a greater fillip by your Congress deliberations.

The PUWP as the Party of the Polish working class has set out to conquer all difficulties based on the scientific and humane ideology of Marxism-Leninism. We wish the Tenth Congress all success.

## Message to the Congress of League of Communists of Yugoslavia\*

*[The Thirteenth Congress of the League of Communists was held in Belgrade from June 25-28. On behalf of the CPI(M), Samar Mukherjee, Member, Polit Bureau, attended the Congress. The following is the text of the message from the Central Committee, CPI(M) to the Congress.]*

On the occasion of the Thirteenth Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) sends its warm, fraternal greetings to all the delegates attending your Congress.

Both our Parties share the common concern about the deterioration in the international situation and the growing threat to world peace. The U.S. imperialism has stepped up its aggressive war preparations. It has adopted a policy of threatening the Socialist countries and nations which refuse to toe its line. All this is endangering peace and security in every part of the globe. It has stubbornly refused to respond to the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the Non-Aligned Movement. The recent announcement of its abandonment of the SALT-II agreement is a further step in its war-like postures. The forces of peace and progress in the world over have to unite, exercise greater influence and interventions to check this deterioration. In this struggle, the Non-Aligned Movement of which your country is one of the founder members, plays an important role. We are

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confident that your Congress deliberations will further contribute in strengthening the Non-Aligned Movement and will strengthen the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces in Europe and the world.

Your Congress has been convened at a juncture when the heroic fight of the South African people against the racist regime has reached a crucial stage. Defying the most brutal repression by the racist regime, millions have by their courageous fight shaken the foundations of the hated apartheid system.

Similarly, in Central America, the brave people of Nicaragua and its revolutionary movement are rebuffing the counter-revolutionary intervention on its borders and boldly exposing the threat of American intervention. In both these countries, which are in the frontline of the struggle against neo-colonialism and racism, the reactionary role of U.S. imperialism stands exposed.

Active solidarity and full support to these two people and their struggles is an important link in the struggle to preserve world peace and defend the rights of the oppressed people. Your Party has always supported the struggles against neo-colonialism, racism and the fight to preserve national independence of the Third World countries.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia has the glorious traditions of the valiant fight against fascist occupation under the leadership of Marshal Tito. It has since liberation built up the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, giving equal and full rights to the various nationalities. It opted for the Socialist path and made considerable advance. Your Congress is meeting at a time when you will be discussing in depth the question of how to take the country forward overcoming adverse economic factors and cementing the unity of the Yugoslav Federation. We wish your deliberations in this regard full success. We are certain that based on sound Socialist principles and Communist initiative, the Congress will mark a turning point in the further all-round development of the Yugoslav people and their society.

We in India are currently engaged in building up a powerful broad-based peace movement against the imperialist war threats and for the defence of our independence and sovereignty against the divisive and separatist forces backed by imperialism. Unity against imperialism and defence of national unity are important tasks set before us by our recent Twelfth Party Congress. At the same time the Party and the Left forces are continuously involved in the manifold struggles to end class exploitation and defend democracy with the cooperation of all other democratic forces.

Our Party extends support to the non-aligned foreign policy of the Government of India and is striving to make the mass of the people aware of the anti-imperialist content of this policy and the necessity for vigilance to defend this policy.

We are satisfied with the close relations of friendship existing between our two countries and governments ever since India attained independence. Alongside this we wish to deepen the ties and relations between our two parties—both sharing a common outlook of cherishing national independence and social progress.

We wish your Congress a big success and look forward to its fruitful conclusions.

## **Polit Bureau Reviews Current Situation in its meeting held in New Delhi on June 18-19, 1986\***

A two-day meeting of the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) was held on June 18-19, 1986, at Delhi. The P.B. heard reports of the West Bengal Municipal elections and conveyed its warm greetings to the people of West Bengal, the Left Front and the CPI(M) Party members in the State on the magnificent victory they secured in the elections.

### **On Punjab Situation**

The P.B. felt that recent developments in the country reveal the concerted and growing offensive of the divisive forces against national unity. The blindness of many Opposition parties to this challenge should be a matter of deep concern for all patriotic minded people. The daily tale of murders and assassinations in Punjab, the insecurity felt by the minority in the State are providing ammunition to those who, in utter disregard of considerations of national unity, are preparing to rouse communal passions. The treacherous conduct of Badal and company in Punjab who have virtually ganged up with anti-national Khalistani elements reveals the depth of treachery and degradation reached by opportunistic politics for ministerial power. It is necessary that every step should be taken to protect the minority in Punjab in order to prevent the communalists in other States from unleashing the forces of disintegration.

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The Khalistani terrorists in Punjab are trained and financed on the soil of Pakistan by imperialism who are intent on dividing our country. Any one who plays the communal game in other States pitting the Hindus against the Sikhs, only aids and abets the imperialist conspiracy. The P.B. appeals to all people and specially to the people of Delhi and Haryana, who are deeply affected by the happenings in Punjab, to reject the short-sighted communal appeal and prepare to wage a successful battle against anti-national elements by firmly maintaining communal harmony.

The P.B. is of the opinion that the appointment of various commissions to deal with the Punjab problem and their decisions have complicated the situation instead of paving the way for a solution. It reveals underestimation of the gravity of the situation on the part of the Central Government. The situation demand quick steps to strengthen the Barnala Government's hands in the fight against the terrorists. The P.B. feels that, despite the challenge of the dissidents, the Barnala Ministry is maintaining a correct posture against the disruptors and anti-national elements.

### **Fight Communal & Divisive Forces**

The P.B. noted with concern that Hindu and Muslim communalists are active all over the country. While tensions on the Ram Janam Bhoomi/Babri Masjid in U.P. are continuing, new divisive issues are being raised and new centres of conflict opened up. Rajiv Gandhi Government's policy of appeasing Muslim fundamentalists on the question of maintenance right for divorced Muslim women, has helped the fundamentalist forces from the Hindu side to spread themselves.

Communalists and divisive forces are now able to sidetrack and distort the legitimate discontent arising out of the economic situation. The sky-rocketing prices of essential commodities, throwing out of work lakhs of employees and workers, the increasing burden of the indirect taxation, all these make the daily life of the common people increasingly

difficult. The consequent desperation and frustration makes it possible for the divisive forces to manipulate the discontent. In this situation, the imperialist agencies operate from behind and use every manifestation of mass discontent for destabilizing the country. The P.B., therefore, appeals to all the patriotic, nationalist and secular forces to fight these disruptive agencies by forging the unity of the common people.

The P.B. noted that though the CPI(M) and the Left Front in West Bengal have been championing the rights of the Nepali people to get their language recognized and used for educational and administrative purposes, the chauvinist leaders, financed from suspicious sources, have been spreading secessionist propaganda for a separate Nepali State in Darjeeling and neighbouring areas. A section of Congress leaders in West Bengal also initially supported the chauvinistic movement out of sheer political opportunism, betraying the fight for national unity. The P.B. greeted the democratic forces among the Nepali and Bengali communities for the principled stand they adopted to unite the people for national unity and in defence of the rights of the Nepali people.

### **Settle Linguistic Disputes Democratically**

The Polit Bureau noted the whipping up of passions among the Kannada and Marathi speaking people in general and particularly on the borders of the two States. The P.B. is opposed to the imposition of the State language anywhere on the linguistic minorities living in the State who have the democratic right to get their language recognized for purposes of education. This is all the more important in the border areas of States which are bound to be bilingual. There are, besides, large industrial centres all over the country, every one of them having multilingual population. Any attempt to foist the language of the majority in the State on the minorities is undemocratic and is bound to lead to fictions and conflict among the people.

The P.B. is of the opinion that notwithstanding the justice of the demand against imposition of the State language,

it was politically inadvisable to start an agitation considering the critical situation facing the country. All avenues of settlement should have been fully explored. The P.B. hopes that a mutual settlement on the basis of accepted democratic principles will soon emerge after the projected talks. The P.B. notes with satisfaction that the CPI(M) State Committees in Maharashtra and Karnataka have refused to be swayed by chauvinist propaganda. This is in marked contrast to the Janata Party and Congress(S), whose leaders have been in the forefront of the recent agitation which is rousing linguistic passions on both sides.

Regarding the disputes concerning borders between States, the P.B. is of the opinion that if any revision is to be made it should be on the basis of contiguous linguistic areas with the village as the unit. With this democratic principle as the basis patriotic and secular parties and organizations should try to evolve mutual understanding wherever there are conflicts. It is, however, regrettable that in Maharashtra some Opposition parties are allying with the Shiv Sena to further the cause they are championing.

The P.B. is of the opinion that the opportunist stand adopted by the ruling party and some Opposition parties also facilitated the growth of divisive forces. The P.B., therefore, appeals to all patriotic and secular forces, including those in the ruling and Opposition parties, to refuse to fall prey to these manoeuvres and fight for national unity in the struggle for democracy.

### **Kerala : Congress(I) Surrender**

The P.B. was of the opinion that the recent political developments in Kerala where the Congress has once again surrendered to the anti-national and reactionary forces, have become a threat to national unity. The restoration to office of former Minister, Balakrishna Pillai, who was thrown out because of his anti-national utterances, and the presence in the Government of Ministers who were declared undesirable aliens by the Central Government, show that in Kerala the

Congress party and its all-India leadership are prepared to go to any length to continue in ministerial office.

### **T.U. Centres Come Together**

The P.B. was gratified to note the coming together of all major trade union centres in the country on a number of important and urgent problems including world peace, struggle against apartheid and fight for national unity and against divisive forces. The P.B. urgently asks all trade unions to continue their initiatives to defend national unity and world peace and throw the full weight of the organized working class in the fight against war and fight against communal and divisive forces.

### **Develop Peace Movement**

The P.B. noted the increasing threat to world peace posed by the Reagan Administration. All reasonable proposals made by the Warsaw Pact nations for curbing the armaments race have been rejected by the USA though many of its alliance partners have second thoughts on it. The P.B. extended support to the recent proposals by the CPSU General Secretary, Gorbachev, and called upon all Party units to develop a movement in their support.

The P.B. expressed full solidarity with the people of South Africa and its neighbouring countries who are heroically fighting the apartheid regime and its American, British and other supporters. Sanctions against the apartheid regime have become the common demand of the democratic and anti-imperialist forces throughout the world. It is echoed even in the ruling circles of the developed capitalist countries. The U.S. and U.K. Governments, however, refuse to listen to the voice of protest coming from all over the world. They both have jointly vetoed the resolution in the U.N. Security Council calling for sanctions.

The Government of India has expressed itself strongly against apartheid and its imperialist supporters. It has demanded sanctions against South Africa and expressed its

denunciation of the South African aggression against Angola and other neighbouring countries. This has helped to strengthen the anti-racist, anti-imperialist forces in the country. It would help the progressive forces in the country to carry the battle against apartheid to the mass of Indian people.

The P.B. had high hopes that a way would be found to settle the Punjab question and ensure the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab on June 21 as decided. It regrets to note that this has not been made possible and the transfer has been deferred to July 15. It hopes that by then the problem will be settled with mutual understanding in the interests of national unity.

## **Develop Powerful Resistance to Economic Policies, Campaign Against Divisive Forces\***

**CPI(M) Central Committee Communique issued after its meeting on July 4-6, 1986**

A meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) was held from July 4 to 6, 1986. It reviewed the major developments in India and abroad since the March meeting of the Committee.

### **U.S. Manoeuvres**

The Committee noted that while the common people and progressives in all strata of society all over the world are more and more coming out for world peace, the aggressive ruling circles in the USA and its allied countries, are persevering in their "Star Wars" and other aggressive moves, posing a serious threat to the independence, unity and integrity of all developing countries, including India.

American imperialism is manoeuvring in India and her neighbouring countries to keep them in mutual conflict, forcing them to spend huge resources on defence and to strain their economic resources to the breaking point. The recent deterioration of relations between India and Pakistan, the daily attacks on Tamils in Sri Lanka, the use of the soil of Pakistan and Bangladesh to train terrorists to operate in India, etc., are matters of serious concern to our country.

The C.C. noted that serious efforts are being made to find reasonable solutions to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka within the framework of the unity of the country. Failure in these efforts will give a handle to imperialism to directly

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intervene in the affairs of that country which poses a threat to India as well.

### **Solidarity with South African People**

The C.C. expressed its sense of solidarity with the fighting people of South Africa, Namibia and their neighbouring countries who are facing the aggressive apartheid regime in South Africa. While appreciating and extending support to the strong stand adopted by India and other non-aligned countries on the struggle against the apartheid regime, the C.C. felt that the time has come for India, along with other Commonwealth countries, to take a firm stand against the pro-apartheid Government of the U.K.

### **Defence Collaboration With USA**

Against this background the Central Committee considered it ominous that negotiations have of late started between India and the USA for collaboration in the field of defence research. This is a clear departure from the policies pursued by earlier governments and unless put a stop to, will end in disaster for the country. The Committee, therefore, called upon all the members and units of the Party to work in alliance with all others prepared to awaken the people against the danger of imperialist conspiracies for the disintegration of our country.

### **Dangers of New, Economic Policy**

The Committee noted the growing crisis of the capitalist path of economic development in the country. The heavy concessions given to the Indian big business and foreign multinationals in the new economic policy outlined by the Rajiv Gandhi Government is detrimental to the interests of the Indian people including sections of the Indian capitalists. The Arjun Sengupta Committee Report recommending privatisation of public sector enterprises, has caused concern even among the Association of Public Sector officials who have raised the question of the Indian shipyards being

starved of orders, while the Government of India is providing subsidies for the Indian Merchant Navy to import ships.

Similarly, while no country will allow the import of electric equipment if these are indigenously manufacturing electric power equipment, huge imports are allowed while BHEL is starved.

While the new economic policy is thus detrimental to the interests of the nation in general, it is all the more injurious to the mass of working people who are subjected to rising prices of essential commodities, no fair price for the agricultural and other produce, growing unemployment, etc. The Central Committee, therefore, called upon all patriotic forces to join with the CPI(M) and other Left parties to develop a powerful resistance to the economic policies of the Central Government.

### **Elitist Educational Policy**

The Central Committee noted with satisfaction that there have been country-wide protests against the New Education Policy which goes back on the national goal of universal and free education up to the secondary stage. While it is no doubt necessary to bring our education system in line with modern science and technology for which education at the higher levels should be reorganized, this should be based on the universalization of primary and secondary education. The Central Committee hoped that all those who are interested in the extension of education to the entire people, will oppose the New Education Policy which, under the cover of modern scientific education, will keep the mass of people illiterate and create only a handful of educated cadres to serve the ruling classes.

### **Punjab**

The Committee noted with concern that the failure of the Central Government to transfer Chandigarh to Punjab, expeditiously settle the distribution of water and other problems arising out of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord, has worsened the situation. This has given opportunity to the extremists to mislead sections of the Sikh community. The activities of

the dissident Akalis led by Badal and Tohra have added to the complexity of the situation. The C.C. appealed to all those who are interested in the solution of the problem to isolate and fight the extremists who are now operating with the blessings of the dissident Akalis.

### **Safeguard Rights of Linguistic Minorities**

In Assam, the AGP and its Government have been using their newly acquired power to attack the Opposition parties and the minorities. Their language policy, like the language policies of some other parties and State Governments, is one of imposing on the minorities the language of the majority. Our country being multi-lingual and with the existence of linguistic minorities in every State, national unity can be preserved only if the right of the minorities to have their education in the mother-tongue is protected.

An equally serious development was the language-cum-boundary agitation in Karnataka and Maharashtra. It is regrettable that, while the Janata-ruled Karnataka and the Congress-ruled Maharashtra have made the State's majority language compulsory for the minorities, an agitation was launched on this question in which the Janata and Congress(S) leaders played a prominent role. The C.C. appreciated the fact that CPI(M) units in both States kept out of the agitation.

### **Communal Danger**

Still another threat to national unity and integration is the rapid growth of Hindu, Muslim and other fundamentalist forces throughout the country. The country-wide agitation on the Muslim Personal Law, the passions roused on the Ram Janam Bhoomi/Babri Masjid, the riots that broke out in Allahabad, etc., have posed a serious threat to communal harmony and national unity.

### **Mizoram Accord**

The Mizoram Accord signed now brings to an end the prolonged state of armed confrontation in that part of the

country. However, the essence of the Mizoram Accord is that the leader of an insurgent army is put in the position of the Chief Minister of the State while the elected Chief Minister himself has doubts on how the Accord will work. It is therefore natural that the people all over the country will have apprehensions on the impact of this on the neighbouring States in the region where forces of destabilisation and secessionism are operating.

### **West Bengal Civic Elections : Great Victory**

The C.C. greeted the people of West Bengal, the activists of the Left Front in particular, for the magnificent victory in the recent Municipal elections. It is a victory not only of the Left Front against the Congress, but of secular forces and against fundamentalists and communalists.

### **Campaign Against Divisive Forces**

In view of the serious threat arising out of the activities of the divisive forces, the C.C. decided to observe a week of countrywide campaign against divisive forces of all kinds.

### **Review of Activities—Mass Organizations**

The Central Committee heard reports from the States, concerning the political and organizational activities of the Party since the Party Congress. Reports were made also on the activities of the all-India mass organizations in which the CPI(M) members are working, including the Golden Jubilee Session of the All India Kisan Sabha. While appreciating the progress made, the Committee noted that much remains to be done to make them capable of discharging their tasks.

### **Kerala**

The Committee reviewed the recent political and organizational developments in Kerala and noted that the Party's line of building the unity of democratic and secular forces has made a basic change in the State's political situation: lines are now drawn between the Congress-led alliance dominated

by anti-national, obscurantist and separatist forces on the one hand and the united alliance of the Left, secular and progressive forces on the other. It was against this realignment of forces that a former member of the State Secretariat, who was suspended in March, M.V. Raghavan, has now raised the banner of revolt. Ratifying the State Committee's decision to expel M.V. Raghavan, the C.C. appealed to those who, in one form or another, are associated with him to calmly consider whether Raghavan's profession of fighting the CPI(M) leadership in the interests of struggle against the Congress, accords with the practice in which he gets full support from Congress leaders and from the media supporting them.

### **Resolutions**

The C.C. adopted condolence resolutions on the passing away of Moses Mabhida, General Secretary of the South African Communist Party, Sarath Muttetuwegama, Polit Bureau Member of the Sri Lanka Communist Party and Member of Parliament, and Shri Jagjivan Ram, President of the Congress(J).

The C.C. in a resolution criticised the Fourth Pay Commission Report for its refusal to accept the principle of parity of wages with the public sector and cent per cent neutralisation and automatic linking for all categories to compensate for the price-rise.

## **Resolution on Fourth Pay Commission\***

**Adopted by the Central Committee of CPI(M)  
in its meeting held on July 4-6, 1986**

This meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) notes with deep concern the fact that the Fourth Pay Commission has refused to grant parity in wages for the Central Government employees with Public Sector employees. The Commission has also refused to consider the erosion in the real wages of the employees, notwithstanding dearness allowance and to do justice to this fact. It has taken the specious plea that the public sector companies were set up for some special type of production and the Government services could not be compared to that. The Commission has forgotten the fact that it was the Second Pay Commission which had introduced the principle of favourable comparison with banks and LIC for pay scales of clerks, stenographers, peons etc., which have the same or similar nature of jobs in order to deny the need-based minimum wage as per the Fifteenth Indian Labour Conference norms. The Third Pay Commission could not counter the validity of the argument in favour of pay parity, but directed that the Government should ensure reduction in the pay structure in public sector.

The Fourth Pay Commission, while admitting that the difference in the minimum of the pay scales has increased further, has arbitrarily refused to do justice to the demand. The principle of equal pay for equal or similar nature of work, stands violated. All Central Government employees

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and the railway employees who heroically fought in 1974 for this principle are dismayed at the outcome of the Commission. The recommendations in concrete terms would give them a wage rise of only 20 per cent of basic pay which is one third of the present emoluments subject to a minimum of Rs. 50 which works out to 7 per cent of the present emoluments or less in many cases. The principle of equal pay for equal work stands denied. Those who occupy Government quarters would have to pay increased rent and hence their take-home pay packet would not reflect the increase of Rs. 50 fully in many cases.

While reducing the pay-scales, the Commission has unnecessarily elongated the pay scales with lesser amount as increments. In cases of those in lower scales of pay the rate of increment is not only much less than those in the public sector but also has no relation to either the Consumer Price Index number or the new scales of pay. The Commission appears to be generous to the higher echelons towards whom the report has taken an elitist approach in the name of fast changes in the technological scene.

On the question of sanction of dearness allowance, the recommendations perpetuate the delay inherent in a system of six monthly adjustment on yearly averages. The principles of automatic linking and cent per cent neutralisation for all categories has not been accepted. Though it is claimed that substantial increase has been granted in house rent allowance, it is much less than the entitlement in the public sector. Besides a great injustice has been done by giving the A, B1 and B2 cities the same rates of HRA, which is not realistic.

This meeting, therefore, demands that the Government should remove all those anomalies and recognize the principles of parity in wages with public sector employees and cent per cent neutralization for rise in prices so that the real wages of the Government employees are protected. This meeting appeals to the Central Government employees to close their ranks and unitedly struggle for their just demands.

## **Solidarity with Struggle in Pakistan\***

**Statement issued by the Polit Bureau of CPI(M)**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) greets the fighting people of Pakistan who are struggling for the restoration of democracy in their country. The Zia regime has unleashed brutal repression on the Opposition parties and people for demanding their elementary right to organize and hold meetings in connection with the Independence Day celebrations. Thousands of Opposition leaders and activists including Benazir Bhutto have been arrested. Scores of people have been shot down by the police. The army has been called out in Sind to suppress the people's movement.

The CPI(M) strongly condemns the Zia military regime backed by U.S. imperialism for its severe repression, its refusal to concede basic democratic rights and to hold free and fair elections. The Party expresses its warm solidarity with the democratic forces of Pakistan engaged in the difficult battle for democracy and calls upon all sections of the Indian people and democratic circles to extend their whole-hearted sympathy and support to the people of Pakistan.

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## Polit Bureau Statement on Gorkhaland Issue\*

*The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) issued the following statement on the agitation for "Gorkhaland" :*

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses grave concern over the continuing agitation for the formation of Gorkhaland in the northern districts of West Bengal. This is a link in the chain of destabilisation being whipped up in the various parts of the country.

Unless the challenge is taken seriously, the stage is set for a repetition of what is happening in Punjab.

The leader of the agitation has left no doubt about his anti-national intentions and activities. He has appealed to Nepal, Pakistan, the USA, U.K. and United Nations against this country. Even Bhindranwale had not displayed his treachery in such a blatant manner. It is also to be noted that he is well supplied with lots of money, the source of which is obvious. Those who do not see in the agitation an attack on India's integrity, launched with the help of external forces, are either totally blind to the reality or are deliberately cheating the people.

The Polit Bureau expresses its sense of abhorrence and shock at the utterances of Shri Arjun Singh, Congress(I) Vice-President, who pleads that the Gorkhaland movement should not be considered anti-national. The Punjab Governor Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray also pleads in the same

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way. This reminds one of the Congress(I) attempt to soft-pedal and support Bhindranwale in the earlier phase of the Punjab agitation. The Polit Bureau warns the people against the dangerous game behind the masking of the secessionist content of the Gorkhaland movement.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) and other Left forces in West Bengal and the rest of the country have always stood for the democratic demands of the Nepali-speaking people of Darjeeling district and adjoining areas of West Bengal. They have championed the cause of the Nepali language, facilitating its teaching in the schools, and have been asking the Central Government to include Nepali as one of the Indian languages recognised in the Indian Constitution. The Left Front Government made Nepali one of the official languages of the State. They have also supported the proposal that the Nepali-speaking areas of North Bengal should have regional autonomy within West Bengal. These democratic demands of the Nepali people in West Bengal would have been realised but for the Congress Government at the Centre refusing time and again to accept them. But while the Central Government has always refused to accede to these demands, now a section of the Congressmen in West Bengal uses the Gorkhaland agitation to create conditions of destabilisation in the area.

The Polit Bureau congratulates the workers of the tea gardens for their steadfast adherence to the cause of Indian unity and integrity. These workers, mostly belonging to the CITU unions, are confronting the attacks of the separatist elements. They include Nepalis, Adivasis, Bengalis, workers whichever language they speak. They are supported by large sections of peasants, middle-class employees and intellectuals, who have the courage to defy the separatist agitation. Three workers and office employees have had to lay down their lives in the struggle for national unity.

The Polit Bureau is of the opinion that this separatist movement can be countered politically, if all parties and democratic organizations unite and throw their full popular

weight behind the fight against disruption. Such agitations can never be handled only through administrative channels. It is only the counter-weight, political agitation combined with persuasive convincing propaganda, that will enable the isolation of the separatists from the genuine masses.

The Polit Bureau is gratified to note that the West Bengal units of all political parties including the Congress(I), attended the All-Parties Conference called by the Chief Minister and jointly appealed to the people to fight the disruptive anti-unity and anti-national movement.

The Polit Bureau greets all Party members, the members and activists of Left Front partners, and the democratic mass organizations, particularly those in the northern districts of the State, who have been heroically fighting the disruptive movement and defending the unity of West Bengal and India.

## **CPI(M)'s Greetings to China\***

On the Thirtyseventh Anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) warmly greets the Communist Party of China and the great Chinese people.

The victory of the Chinese Revolution led by the Communist Party of China, after the Great October Russian Revolution and the victory over fascism by the Soviet Red Army in the Second World War, contributed decisively in changing the correlation of class forces on a world scale in favour of peace, national independence, democracy and Socialism.

Having made successful efforts to overcome the serious setback suffered due to the erroneous policies of the "Great Leap" and the so-called Cultural Revolution, Socialist China is again taking rapid strides in Socialist construction and social advance. People's China is now currently set on the course of modernisation to build a powerful Socialist State with a high level of technology, culture and democracy along with socio-economic development. In this endeavour we wish them all success.

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## Polit Bureau on Prime Minister's Visit to West Bengal\*

*The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) issued the following Press statement on September 22, 1986 on the Prime Minister's recent visit to West Bengal:*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is shocked by the irresponsible and reckless statements and speeches of the Prime Minister during his visit to West Bengal last week. The visit was apparently undertaken to discuss the Left Front Government's demands and suggestions for Central help and participation in developmental projects. But the coming elections seem to have dominated the speeches and statements of the Prime Minister, creating an atmosphere of confrontation, when more understanding and common measures are required to face the urgent problem of the divisive challenge in the Darjeeling district. The Chief Minister of the Left Front Government, Jyoti Basu, has explained in his Press interview what the announced munificence of the Central Government means and how far it will meet the real needs of the people.

### **Ridiculous Charges**

It became clear that the show of reasonableness to discuss the West Bengal problems was only a ploy to launch an electoral offensive against the Left Front Government, to issue totally unsubstantiated charges against its performance. The ridiculous charge was made that the law and order

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situation in West Bengal is worse than in Punjab; that no one in West Bengal has benefitted from the performance of the Left Front Government though the Central Government's Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes Commission has praised the Left Front Government's performance in land distribution to the weaker sections. Facts and truth are of no concern to the Prime Minister when he is egged on for a demagogic election campaign by his advisers.

### **Opportunism on Gorkhaland Issue**

This opportunism of the Prime Minister has landed him in directly encouraging the forces of secessionism in Darjeeling district. This is done when separatist forces backed by imperialism are doing everything to disintegrate Indian unity. All political parties worth the name are shocked by the Prime Minister's glib talk that the Gorkhaland agitation cannot be considered anti-national. He has certified that the demands of the agitators are within the framework of the Indian Constitution. The Prime Minister has further said that the Central Government has no evidence that the agitation is anti-national. If that is so, the Rajiv Government is unfit to govern the country, because Ghising, the leader of the so-called Gorkha National Liberation Front, has not concealed his designs. He has appealed to the UNO to make the Gorkhaland issue an international dispute. He has appealed to the King of Nepal in a sychophantic manner : "The Gorkha National Liberation Front submits the memorandum to the true and dynamic leadership of your Majesty to take up a bold step for historical decision and your Majesty's solomonic judgement." Ghising writes more as a subject of the King of Nepal and less as an Indian free citizen.

The letter says : "Even 36 years after Bharat's independence, the settled ethnic race of the Gorkhas..... is living as degraded human beings in every part of the country....and further, they became the naked victims of the foreign nationals issue, the deportation issue and unnecessary police torture, arrests, raids, killings and continuous undesirable

inhuman acts of deliberate imposition of the systematic domination of the Indian races.”

This appeal with charges against India is sent to the UNO, to the President of the USA, USSR and more interestingly, to the President of Pakistan, who is sending armed terrorists into the country. The Prime Minister seems to be unaware of all this.

In his speech delivered on June 2, 1985, Ghising says: “in the papers sent to the UNO we have reported about the genocide crime against the Indian Gorkhas conducted by the Indian Government”.

### **Prime Minister's Cover-up**

By declaring that the Gorkhaland agitation is not anti-national, the Prime Minister covers up the big secessionist plot of traitors who want to slice off Indian territory into an independent State. The people of West Bengal will not tolerate another division of the State.

The Polit Bureau condemns this anti-national stand of the Prime Minister and warns the people not to be again trapped by his argument. Did not the same Rajiv Gandhi assure the people that Bhindranwale was not a politician but a saint?

### **CPI(M) Demands of Centre**

The CPI(M) and the Left Front Government have taken several steps to overcome the problems of backwardness in the Darjeeling area. At the same time, taking into consideration the composition of the area, they have also recommended to the Central Government to include the Nepali language in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution and create an autonomous region so that enough scope is given to express the ethnic identity of the Nepali-speaking people. But the Central Government refused to accede to this democratic demand and even now opposes it. To create a sense of equality among the Nepali-speaking people of the area, the Left Front Government of West Bengal gave the status of official language

to the Nepali language and took steps to promote its development.

### **CPI(M) Fights Secessionists**

The Polit Bureau notes with satisfaction that all political parties worth the name are one in condemning the opportunism of the Congress(I) President. The CPI(M) assures the people that notwithstanding the difficulties created by Rajiv Gandhi and his party, its members will continue to fight the secessionists in Darjeeling as they have been doing in Assam, Punjab and Tripura. Already five CPI(M) and CITU workers have been killed by the GNLFF gangs. In Tripura, it must be noted, the local Congress(I) party is secretly in alliance with the TNV terrorists.

The Polit Bureau calls upon all patriotic elements to raise their voice in defence of national unity. The Polit Bureau calls upon our Party in West Bengal, its ranks, and all the Left parties to continue vigorously their fight against the secessionist forces and put the issue of national unity as a basic issue in the coming elections. Let the people of West Bengal decide who stands for the maintenance and strengthening of national unity and who works against it.

## **Review of the Current Situation by the Central Committee of CPI(M)\***

**In its meeting held on October 31-November 2, 1986**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) which met from October 31 to November 2, 1986 reviewed the international and national developments since its last meeting in July.

At the start the Committee paid homage to the memory of Comrade Shantimoy Ghosh, Central Committee member of the CPI(M) and veteran leader of the peasant movement; the Mozambican President Samora Machel and the Chinese leader Marshal Yeh Jianying.

### **Anniversary of October Revolution**

Meeting a few days before the Anniversary of the October Revolution, the Central Committee sent its greetings to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the working class and the people of the Soviet Union and wished them success in their new plan of economic development and their indomitable struggle for world peace. The Committee said November 7 this year finds the Soviet Union poised to achieve new unprecedented victories in economic progress while carrying on its great battle for world peace in the interests of peoples of all nations, of entire humanity.

### **Reykjavik Fails**

Regarding recent international developments the Central Committee observed that the failure of the Reykjavik meeting

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will lead to intensification of the arms race. For nearly two years the USSR had imposed on itself a unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests, giving the USA and the rest of the world an opportunity to follow suit and check the armaments race. But Reagan's insistence on continuing the 'Star Wars' project in spite of the historic offer of the Soviet Union to drastically reduce all strategic and tactical weapons, destroyed all chances of an agreement.

The Central Committee strongly condemns this irresponsible and bellicose attitude on the part of U.S. imperialism and traces it to the domination of the USA by the industrial military complex. Though the USA and its allies have rejected the Soviet offer of peace, the rest of the world welcomes it and the forces of peace are developing greater strength as a result of the Reykjavik summit.

### **Non-Aligned Summit**

The Central Committee noted that the Harare Non-Aligned Conference was another outstanding event which marked further isolation of the USA from the Third World countries. Its achievement was a stirring call for economic and other sanctions against the racist regime, a call which has given added strength to anti-racist resistance all over the world. The Central Committee noted that the Asia-Pacific Region is already becoming a region of widespread tensions. One of the largest American contingents numbering 3,60,000 men are stationed there. There are 32 American military bases in Japan and another 40 in South Korea. This is the basis on which a Washington-Tokyo-Seoul axis has been forged, and around which it is proposed to have a kind of Eastern NATO which will draw the Asian countries to it. This poses a real threat to the peace loving countries of this region.

It is to save the people of this region from this threat that the Soviet Union had taken a new initiative spelt out in Gorbachev's speech at Vladivostok on July 26. In this connection the Central Committee appreciated the work done at

the working group meeting of the Communist Parties of the Asia-Pacific region held at Moscow recently.

### **Arming of Pakistan**

The recent U.S. offer during Weinberger's visit to Pakistan to supply the sophisticated AWACS planes to the Zia regime poses a serious threat to India's security. It also compromises Pakistan's sovereignty as there is a proposal for the equipment to be manned by American personnel. The Central Committee condemns this new provocation by U.S. imperialism to step up the arms race in the sub-continent.

### **Gorbachev Visit**

The Central Committee welcomes the forthcoming visit of Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU, to India. His visit will further strengthen Indo-Soviet relations and will enable the country to strengthen its position against the imperialist efforts to destabilise the country.

### **Deteriorating Economic Situation**

The Central Committee took note of the rapidly deteriorating economic situation in India, under the impact of the Government's open door policy. Already a number of Indian industries are threatened with closure and protests are rising from many quarters.

The Government itself is often forced to make a retreat withdrawing some concessions, then again forced by the pressure of the World Bank and the economic situation to announce further concessions to foreign capital. Under this impact private capital-based industry as well as public sector concerns are being victimised and the country's industrial capacity is growingly under-utilized to make way for liberalized imports.

The Central Committee warns all parties and the people that within a short time the results of this policy will be found completely unbearable, creating a situation unprecedented in the last 40 years since Independence.

The contradictions in policy were clearly seen when on the advice of the Planning Commission, Rajiv Gandhi asked in July 1986 that the Industry and Finance Ministries jointly chalk out a plan for protecting capital goods production from cheap imports. But when the Industry Ministry accordingly prepared a plan it was vetoed by the Department of Economic Affairs within the Ministry of Finance, and the PM's Secretariat, both heavily staffed by World Bank men. The result is that capital goods will not be protected.

### **Weinberger's Visit**

It was in this background that the U.S. Defence Secretary, Casper Weinberger came to India to negotiate terms for selling super computers and aircraft engines to India. Every effort was made by the mission to pressurise India into accepting its terms for transfer of technology, terms which would have imposed enslaving conditions on the country. Fortunately it seems that the U.S. pressure did not prevail and nothing much came out of the mission's efforts, while the sale of a few engines have been decided upon. The Central Committee, however, warns that any negotiations with the USA in matters of defence constitute a standing danger to the sovereignty and freedom of the country and every pressure should be brought on the Government to break these talks.

### **Need for Political Initiative in Punjab**

The Central Committee expresses its growing concern over the rapidly deteriorating conditions in Punjab. In its last meeting it had noted the worsening situation and called for urgent efforts to remedy it by seizing the political initiative. But because of the erroneous policies and refusal to take a bold stand to unilaterally implement the Punjab Accord, the initiative is rapidly passing into the hands of the anti-national forces in Punjab. The vacillations of the Barnala Government have increased though the Chief Minister verbally adheres to the task of defending national unity and fighting the secessionist forces. His Government is unable

to sanction effective measures for fear of losing Akali support.

In this situation it is essential that all democratic forces should pool their strength together to see that the Centre keeps its word and the Barnala Government is given encouragement and popular support to go in for decisive measures against the secessionists who seem to have now established complete control over the Golden Temple and a number of Gurudwaras. It was therefore thoroughly irresponsible of the Congress(I) in Punjab to boycott the all-Parties meeting called by Barnala to discuss the new acts of terrorism. The extremists had called for a "Sarbat Khalsa" to project their secessionist demands. This was a time when it was necessary for all secular parties to condemn with one voice the acts of the secessionists and announce their unity to fight them.

The Central Committee feels that what is required is political initiative to be unitedly seized by all secular forces to isolate the terrorists from the people. Backed by this initiative which must include implementation of the Punjab Accord, the forces of law and order can deal effectively with the bands of assassins financed and trained by India's enemies.

### **AGP Government's Anti-Minorities Stand**

The Central Committee expresses grave concern at the deteriorating situation in Assam. The AGP Government in pursuing its divisive policies seeks to impose Assamese as the sole official language in the State where 40 per cent of the population speak other languages. Tens of thousands of citizens of the minority communities are sought to be branded as foreigners and driven out. Tens of thousands of peasants are facing the danger of eviction from their homes and lands. A Bill has been passed in the Assembly amending the Land Ceiling Act (1973) favouring the landlords.

The AGP Government is utilizing the bureaucracy and police to obstruct the normal work of Opposition parties, particularly the CPI(M). The Central Committee demanded that these curbs be removed.

### **Congress(I) Opportunism in Jammu & Kashmir**

Since the last meeting of the Central Committee, the situation in Kashmir has further deteriorated leading to growing outbursts of communal and anti-national forces. This was the direct result of the opportunist policy of the Congress(I) which toppled the Farooq Abdullah Ministry, by befriending and allying with communal forces. Now the same Congress(I) has reached an understanding with Farooq Abdullah and the National Conference to form a coalition Ministry and face new elections after inflicting serious damage to the unity of the people. The Central Committee would very much like to see a combination of all secular and national forces standing together in Kashmir to face the challenge of the pro-Pakistani disruptors. It, however, does not feel assured that the understanding between the National Conference and Congress(I) would be able to mobilize all the nationalist and secular forces. On the other hand, there is every possibility that it will hamper the National Conference in its fight against the communal forces with the opportunist record of the Congress(I) fresh in the minds of the people.

### **Protest Against Centre's Stand on Gorkhaland Agitation**

The Central Committee considered the situation created by the Gorkhaland agitation in Darjeeling district and highly appreciated the role played by the tea garden workers, the CPI(M) cadres and others in defending national unity at the cost of their lives. More than 20 Nepali-speaking followers of the CPI(M) have been killed by the secessionists. More than 100 houses belonging to the CPI(M) leaders and its followers have been burned and razed to the ground by the Gorkhaland agitationists, and yet a courageous fight is being waged by the Nepali and Bengali-speaking people to save the unity of the country.

Instead of appreciating the patriotism of these people, Rajiv Gandhi equated their fight for unity with the arson and violence of the secessionists. The Central Committee

condemns this stand. It follows from his original proposition that the secessionist agitation is not anti-national. The certificate to the secessionist movement and subsequently equating the CPI(M) and the Left-Front Government with it, has encouraged the agitators to continue their anti-national activities. The Central Committee calls upon all patriotic elements and all political parties to protest against the attitude of the Central Government and the ruling Congress(I) party.

### **Guarantee Equality of All Indian Languages**

The Central Committee heard reports from Tamil Nadu about the agitation following the recent Central Government circular on the use of the Hindi language. It was thoroughly irresponsible on the part of the Central Government to issue circulars which are likely to create apprehensions about the imposition of Hindi. In any case the Government fully knew the hostility of certain sections towards the Hindi language and such circulars constitute only an invitation to them to rouse anti-Hindi chauvinism in Tamil Nadu.

The Central Committee asserts the position of the Party about equality of all languages. The problem of linguistic differences can only be solved by Constitutional assurance of equality of all languages in administration. Instead of this democratic assurance, the Nehru Government gave an assurance about the continuation of English along with Hindi. Any attempt to disturb this assurance or an apprehension that it is being disturbed is bound to lead to chauvinistic demonstrations and encourage separatist ideas. The Central Committee congratulates the Party in Tamil Nadu for its courageous stand to defend the equality of all languages and its resistance to linguistic chauvinism.

### **Broaden Peace Movement**

The Central Committee appreciated the growing unity of the trade union movement on important questions facing the country. It is a matter of great satisfaction that almost all

trade unions have decided to sign a common appeal on the question of apartheid, divisive forces and peace. This initiative of the trade unions should help to mobilize the working class to defend the unity of the country and defend the cause of world peace.

The Central Committee appreciated the efforts of the Polit Bureau to gather all forces and personalities committed to peace to broaden the peace movement and bring them all together on a single platform thereby giving an impetus to fight the danger of nuclear war.

### **Support Struggle of Public Sector Workers**

The Central Committee also appreciated the initiative of the public sector unions and the Central Trade Unions in calling a convention of public sector organizations to protest against the Government policies of liquidation of the public sector. The resolution passed by the convention reveals the vigilance and the patriotic awareness of the public sector workers to defend the public sector and its role in building an independent economy. The Central Committee fully endorses the call of the convention for a one-day strike on January 21, 1987, and calls upon all the trade unions in the country to express solidarity with the public sector workers in this common fight against the Government's economic policy. The Central Committee has decided to observe a Punjab Week all over the country to make the people aware of the danger to the country in the present situation. The Central Committee has also decided to issue a joint appeal with other secular parties to condemn the Government of India's attitude on the Gorkhaland question and rouse the people to the danger of the growing secessionist forces.

## Polit Bureau on Punjab Massacre\*

Statement dated December 1, 1986 issued in New Delhi.

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly condemns the inhuman massacre of 24 bus passengers by the terrorists in Hoshiarpur district, on November 30. These cold-blooded murders show the depth of degradation, the anti-social and anti-national motives of the Khalistani extremists.

The CPI(M) emphasises once more the need for united and determined resistance to the extremists by all parties and forces in Punjab which are committed to national unity. No efforts should be spared by the State Government and Central Government to combat the extremists, while taking fresh political initiatives so that the maximum number of people are mobilized in defence of national unity and for isolation of the extremists.

The Polit Bureau appeals to all sections of the people in Punjab and parts of the rest of the country, to foil the extremists' plans and remain calm in face of this grave threat.

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 7, 1986.

## Situation in Andhra Pradesh\*

### Political Resolution Adopted by the State Committee of Andhra Pradesh of CPI(M)

*The Andhra Pradesh State Committee of the CPI(M) meeting in Vijayawada on December 14-16, 1983, attended by General Secretary E.M.S. Namboodiripad and Polit Bureau member M. Basavapunnaiah, undertook a detailed review of the one-year rule by the Telugu Desam Government in Andhra Pradesh.*

*The Political Resolution adopted at the end of the discussion makes an evaluation of the performance of the Government in this one year, of which a summarised version is given below :*

The victory of the Telugu Desam party at the January 1983 elections was the direct result of the mounting dissatisfaction against Congress misrule on the one hand, and the prolonged struggles jointly waged by the CPI(M) and other Left and democratic forces against that misrule, on the other. Welcoming it as the first non-Congress Government in the State, the CPI(M) also appreciated the steps taken by it to join hands with other non-Congress parties and the Opposition parties to fight the dictatorship of the Centre. The Committee welcomed the pro-people policies taken by the Government, expressed anxiety about other policies and measures and hoped they would be amended.

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\*Published in the 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi January 8, 1984

### **Points of Support**

Similarly the CPI(M) extended to the Chief Minister its support to certain measures outlined in the ruling Party's manifesto prior to the elections. They included the scheme to provide rice at Rs. two per kg, and midday meals; equal property rights to women, a separate women's university; execution of the Telugu-Ganga Canal Project; abolition of capitation fees and nationalization of certain private academic institutions; abolition of the Legislative Council; termination of the pension scheme for former MLAs and MLCs; discontinuance of the practice of legislators holding the post of Chairmen of Zilla Parishads or Samitis; bringing the Chief Minister under the purview of the Lokayukt Bill; the annual publication by all Telugu Desam Ministers and MLAs of their individuals assets; and a Bill against defection.

While the women's university has been set up and the Bill for equal property rights for women and the abolition of pensions for legislators implemented, on the other promises, the Committee regretted to note, there has either been a going back or a very half-hearted follow-thorough on their implementation, or an arbitrary modification of the proposals.

The assets of Ministers and MLAs have not been announced, and no concrete steps proposed or taken to curb defections. Though the Bill abolishing the Legislative Council has been passed by the Assembly, no effort has been made to mobilize the people in cooperation with the other political parties, for joint action against the Centre's deliberate delay in giving assent to the Bill. While there has been an effort to implement the Lokayukt Bill, the Chief Minister has been excluded from its purview, and without consulting either the Opposition parties or the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Lokayukt was appointed.

Similarly, while capitation fees were abolished, not only were private managements simultaneously given permission to enhance the annual fees paid by students, which they have done in astronomical fashion, there was talk of the

Government itself enhancing fees in the medical and engineering colleges. With regard to private institutions, after six months of hesitation the Government was finally pleading to allow their management to rest in private hands and to bear whatever losses that ensue. Thus, instead of taking over the Vijayawada Medical College, the Government allowed the college to admit non-resident Indians and collect high capitation fees.

The scholarships due to students have not been paid, the promised allowances for day-scholars not increased, and few scholarships made available for needy students, though the State has several thousand students belonging to the Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and the economically backward classes, most of whom require some financial help. To meet the agitation over these issues, three universities—the Sri Krishnadevaraya, Sri Venkateswara and Osmania—were closed down.

The Government had further promised to encourage technical education but instead has abolished twelve existing Junior Technical Schools attached to Government Polytechnics. While it abolished the ideal schools, meant for elitist students, and banned private tuition by Government teachers, it has failed to implement its promise of providing employment opportunities for 16,000 teachers.

### **Midday Meals, Cheap Rice .**

Though the midday meal scheme is being taken up, its coverage has been restricted to students of the Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and backward classes. Likewise it was promised that 25 kgs. of rice at Rs. two per Kg. would be made available to everyone. Then the scheme was limited to those with a monthly income of less than Rs. 500, while the amount was reduced from 25 kgs to five kgs. per head per month against a minimum monthly requirement of 15 kgs. Supplies have been erratic in several places. With the wholesale trade in rice remaining in private hands, facilitating smuggling to other States, the unavailability of rice at the controlled

price of Rs. 2.70 is forcing the people to buy in the open market at much higher rates. Hence the relief envisaged for the people has not been forthcoming.

### **Undemocratic Functioning**

Similarly against the assurance given by the Chief Minister of democratic political and administrative functioning, the Government has increasingly resorted to rule by Ordinance, bypassing the due process of Assembly debate and approval, and consultation with Opposition parties. The duration of the Assembly sessions has been cut from 100 to only 55 days in a year. To date, 28 Ordinances have been issued, some extended for a second time, and even Bills amended in this fashion.

Vis-a-vis its own employees, the reduction in retirement age was announced over their heads, again through an Ordinance, forcing the employees to go on strike. Failing to break the strike by repressive methods, the Government was finally forced to come to a compromise after making certain concessions. The issue is now before the Supreme Court. This leaves thousands of employees in suspense, while the Government cannot escape paying their salaries.

In the functioning of the various corporations, while the chairmanships were abolished, the Government has begun to accommodate its own men in these institutions. The principled stand to remove the Zilla Parishad Chairmanship with simple majority vote was welcomed, but the eagerness to continue holding these posts led the Government to issue another Ordinance extending the grace period before relinquishing the post, from six months to one year.

### **Fight Against Corruption**

After the first initial measures against corrupt officials, no further steps have been taken, and the situation within the administration has reverted to what it was during the earlier period. There is interference in the day-to-day administration.

Even budget allocations or cuts made have been found to

be irregular. For example the Vote-on-Account Budget was originally Rs. 826 crores, subsequently enhanced to Rs. 896 crores then again reduced by ten per cent to Rs. 817.65 crores. The same treatment is to be found in the allocations for electricity and irrigations, social welfare schemes and the Telugu-Ganga project.

### **On Land Reform**

The Land Reforms Act has not been amended and excess land distributed among the poor, assured before the elections. Not even the surplus lands of the Challapalli Zamindar were taken possession of. On the contrary, the agitating poor peasants were arrested and cases filed against them. On the other hand, the Government went ahead with the sale of temple lands after exempting them from the Tenancy Act, despite the prolonged agitation of the poor peasants and share-croppers who are the actual tillers of this land. Nor has the Government implemented the Minimum Wages Act for agricultural labour.

Similarly the Government has failed to help the peasantry by looking after their particular needs ensuring marketing facilities for commercial crops like cotton, tobacco, sugarcane; supply of essential commodities at reasonable prices; crop insurance schemes which it has given up altogether; protecting the tobacco-growing peasant against the tobacco monopolies—rather police firing during their agitation killed three peasants.

### **Industrial Policy**

In the Industrial field the Government seems inclined to follow a policy of transferring public sector undertakings to the private sector, in some cases to multinationals, as for instance the A.P. Steels to Raci Cement, or the Tyre Factory in Mangalgi and the Fertilizer Factory of Kakinada to a foreign monopoly.

At the same time the Government adopts a hostile attitude towards strikes of the working class. Workers' advisory

committees, instead of being manned by trade union representatives, are being filled with Telugu Desam Party people.

In this background there has been an appreciable deterioration in the law and order situation—dacoities, robberies, attacks on women and the weaker sections is increasing. In Warangal and Nalgonda districts, the attacks by landlords and their goondas on CPI(M) cadres is continuing. Police brutality against the people continues, and the police are also being used against the Opposition parties. Communal riots have affected Hyderabad city.

Neither on the question of flood-relief measures, nor on the question of by-elections nor on the demands made on the Centre, does the Government or the ruling party consult or take the cooperation of the Opposition parties, until pressure through agitation is exerted. The Government and party leaders are already proclaiming that the Telugu Desam party will contest all the 42 seats if parliamentary elections are declared, on the ground that only the strongest party in any particular State should contest all the parliamentary seats. If this happens to be a regional rather than a national party, then all the national parties should support the former. This is unacceptable to any national party.

The CPI(M) State Committee, while assuring its support to the State Government on its stand on Centre State relations, expresses the hope that bearing all these factors and experiences in mind, the Government will live up to the aspirations of the people who voted out the Congress(I) from office and elected the Telugu Desam.

At the same time the State Committee has stressed the need for independent mobilization by the Party of the masses on their demands, conducting a political ideological campaign for correct policies, and taking the initiative for united actions.

## **CPI(M) J & K State Committee's Statement\***

The J & K State Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) condemns the efforts of the Congress(I) to create a law and order situation in the State, with a view to seeking central intervention to topple the legally established Government of Farooq Abdullah. In this game the State Congress(I) leadership is openly being encouraged by its Central leadership. In the plenary session of the AICC there was an open call to Congressmen to create trouble, with the Prime Minister herself taking the initiative. Since then they have intensified their activities to obstruct the working of Government offices everywhere.

The Congress (I) leadership has started talking about the growing activities of the separatist and other divisive forces in the State. We are aware that the Jamaat-e-Islami, Jamaat-e-Tulba and other separatist forces have been very active in the State and we have been warning against their activities. It is also known that such forces have been encouraged both by the Congress(I) as well as the National Conference in the past. While Farooq Abdullah has made repeated statements about the accession of Kashmir to India and that J & K is a part of India, the present activities of the Congress (I) will provide a handle to communal and separatist forces in this sensitive State. The Committee urges on the Congress(I) and the Central Government to stop such activities which can prove extremely harmful.

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The Committee also appeals to Farooq Abdullah to rely on the support of the democratic-minded people of the State as well as democratic forces in the country to meet this challenge and desist from the temptation of using the police and administrative machinery to deal with the situation. Such use of the police will amount to playing into the hands of the Congress(I) and will alienate it from the democratic minded people.

## **Eleven Demands of the Demands Day on February 13, 1984\***

**Formulated by the Opposition Parties**

*Following are the eleven demands on which the Opposition parties have called Demands Day on February 13, 1984 :*

(1) The Union Government should guarantee adequate supply of essential commodities to the consumers at reasonable prices by drastically curbing the profits of wholesalers and organizing a comprehensive network of the public distribution system. This calls for changing the priorities of production in favour of mass consumption goods needed by the poor and middle classes, and for subsidised supply of such commodities as major foodgrains, pulses, edible oils, salt, sugar, domestic coal, kerosene, common cloth, paper, life-saving drugs, match boxes, etc. Excise levies on all such goods need to be drastically reduced and their movements given top priority;

(2) Remunerative prices be ensured for agricultural produce by adequate purchases through State agencies;

(3) A total re-structuring of economic policies with a view to increasing the production of mass consumption goods and expanding employment opportunities for all sections, including small artisans and craftsmen;

(4) The food-for-work programme be revived and expanded;

(5) The right to work be included as one of the Fundamental Rights in the Constitution;

(6) The existing land reform legislations be speedily

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implemented after plugging the loopholes, and immediate assent be accorded to land reform Bills passed by State Legislatures;

(7) Ensure cheap credit and supply of farm inputs to the peasantry;

(8) Enforce minimum wages to farm workers and initiate other measures to improve the living and working conditions of the rural people;

(9) The anti-labour policies of the Union Government be reversed and obnoxious measures such as the NSA and the ESMA be scrapped and the demands formulated by the National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions be accepted and effective steps be taken to prevent industrial closures and lock-outs.

(10) The national policy of economic self-reliance be restored, and fiscal, monetary and investment policies which encourage the big monopoly houses and multi-national corporations at the expense of the interests of the poor and the working classes be abandoned; and

(11) Energetic measures be introduced to put an end to the continuing economic injustice and physical attacks on the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, religious minorities, women and other weaker sections of the society.

## Opposition's Concern over Punjab, Haryana Developments\*

Statement dated February 20, 1984, issued by the Opposition Parties after meeting in New Delhi

*A meeting of Opposition parties held in the Central office of the CPI(M) on February 20, 1984, discussed the developments in Punjab and Haryana.*

*The meeting was attended by B.T. Ranadive and Harkishan Singh Surjeet (CPI-M), Rajeswara Rao (CPI), Madhu Dandavate and Sahabuddin (Janata Party), Tridib Choudhury (RSP), Tarakeswari Sinha (DSP), Bedabrata Barua (Congress-S) and Mahendra Kumar Saini (Janwadi Party).*

*After deliberations for two hours, the following statement was issued :*

The Opposition parties had suggested the revival of the tripartite talks on Punjab in a move to settle the issue on the basis of a consensus in an atmosphere of amity.

The deplorable outbreak of mass violence in Haryana last week had completely vitiated the atmosphere. The responsibility for this squarely lies on the Government for its lack of foresightedness ignoring our timely warning. Today violence and communalism have once again gained ascendancy.

We feel that communal extremists are making a last ditch effort to torpedo the tripartite talks.

We appeal to the people of Punjab and Haryana to foil their designs and urge the Akali leadership to reconsider their decision about participation in the talks.

In the meantime, we call upon the Government to take effective steps to maintain law and order and protect citizens' lives and properties.

\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 26, 1984.

## Surjeet's Letter to Prime Minister on Developments in Punjab and Haryana\*

*The following is the text of a letter, dated February 20, 1984, addressed by Harkishan Singh Surjeet, member, Polit Bureau, Communist Party of India (Marxist), to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi :*

You must be having full reports about what has happened during the last week in Punjab and Haryana. In the background of what has been happening during the last three years these happenings are not unexpected but the pity is that the Government was totally unaware of the deteriorating situation.

Just when the tripartite meeting began in Delhi, peace was disturbed by a bandh call by the Hindu Suraksha Samiti in Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh for the release of their leaders. What happened on that day in Punjab is known to you. The imposition of curfew in a number of towns in Punjab in the wake of the spreading tension between the two communities underlines the explosive character of the situation.

Sikh extremists have been indulging in criminal activities during the last three years and Hindu and Sikh communalists have been carrying on poisonous propaganda, but the people of Punjab, both Hindus and Sikhs, have repeatedly defeated the communal provocateurs and earned the praise of the common people in all spheres. As recently as January 24, the CPI(M), CPI, Janata Party and the Congress (S) held

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\*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 26, 1984

a huge State level rally in Ludhiana to denounce extremist activities.

But starting with the bandh on February 14, the situation seems to have taken a very ugly turn. It is known that Sikh extremists and Hindu communalists never wanted the tripartite talks to succeed and attempts are being made to exacerbate the situation when the tripartite talks were in progress to settle the Punjab problem.

What happened subsequently in Jagadhri, Karnal, Panipat, Kaithal and other places puts us all to shame. It is not only that the members of the minority community were singled out, attacked and humiliated, all the values of nationalism and secularism are at stake. If all that has happened as stated, it can lead to a flare-up in other places. The reports appearing in *The Times of India* yesterday about Karnal and Panipat are only a part of the story.

The tragedy of the situation is that the police and the administration have been conniving with the miscreants and the Haryana Chief Minister, Sri Bhajan Lal has been issuing provocative statements saying that nothing has happened in Haryana and everything is peaceful. Unless he himself is interested in instigating trouble he cannot issue such statements. Even the timely warnings to your office did not bring any result.

I received a report day before yesterday at noon that on February 19 much trouble was going to erupt in Panipat and surrounding areas. I immediately contacted your Principal Secretary and informed him about the situation, told him about the complacent attitude Bhajan Lal was taking and demanded appropriate action without any delay. I also told him that the local police was acting as an onlooker. He promised to deal with the situation but what happened yesterday in Panipat would shock every sane person. One would not be beside the point to conclude that the Government is not interested in restoring peace.

During the last three years the extremists were carrying on their criminal activities. Their activities were condemned

by all Opposition parties but now the mass of the people are being drawn into communal clashes with the machinery of law and order conniving with the communal elements.

This reminds one of the situation prevailing before 1947 with communal frenzy aroused and the administration conniving with the communal elements. I also know that in the State of Punjab only a few were left to raise the flag of secularism and patriotism. I am proud that many workers of my Party laid down their lives in fighting the forces of darkness.

A big and nasty game of provocation had been staged in Haryana yesterday where two places of worship have been set on fire, members of the minority community attacked, belaboured and killed with police turning a blind eye to these incendiary activities. These attacks are intended to provoke elements in Punjab to worsen the situation there so that the communal conflagration spreads in these two States, and other States too.

I have been pointing out to you since September 22, 1981, the dangers inherent in the situation and the necessity of handling it in time but I am sorry to say that you have not been able to see the urgency of this, and we are witnessing today the intensification of communal animosity which not only is disruptive of the democratic movement but can prove a serious threat to national unity.

Once again I impress upon you to take immediate steps to check the communal violence and take firm action against all those who indulge in disruptive activities.

## Surjeet's Letter to Longowal\*

### Appeal to Save Punjabi People's Unity

*In an open letter addressed to Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, Harkishan Singh Surjeet, Member, Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) made a fervent appeal to preserve the unity of the Punjabi people which came under severe strain on communal lines during the recent Akali agitation. We are printing below the text of the letter :*

Dear Sant Harchand Singh Longowal Ji,

The democratic and patriotic forces throughout the country are watching with great agony and anguish the developments in Punjab and Haryana and the repercussions which they can have in other States. Whatever one may claim, the dominant feature of today's situation is that growing polarisation on communal lines is taking place threatening not only the unity of Punjabi people but also the values of secularism, patriotism and nationalism created during the struggle for independence through the sacrifices of thousands and thousands of our people. The memory of Jalianwalabagh where Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and Christians together shed their blood, even today inspires the millions who cherish freedom and unity of the country.

When you started the morcha on the basis of a long charter of demands, I had addressed an open letter to you. I had stated in that letter that some of the demands raised by you undermine the ideas of secularism and democracy

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and are violative of the best traditions of the Shiromani Akali Dal.

I was glad to note that before courting arrest S. Parkash Singh Badal addressed a letter to all Opposition parties pin-pointing ten major demands, religious as well as those concerning all Punjabis.

It is on the basis of this letter that Akali Dal was able to get the support of Opposition parties who pressed on the Central Government to come to an understanding with you. It was at the initiative of the Opposition parties that a tripartite conference was called in January 1984 at which the Opposition parties helped in narrowing down the differences. In fact only the territorial dispute remained to be settled. I must confess that even on that issue the attitude of the Akali Dal was reasonable. The Opposition parties came out with concrete proposals for the solution of the Punjab tangle, but unfortunately the Government did not respond.

In this situation the Sikh extremists intensified their activities, killing innocent people belonging to minority community, committing robberies and dacoities. You did demarcate yourself from them and condemned their activities which was appreciated by all. But this was not sufficient in the prevailing situation when the extremists had made the Golden Temple complex as their main place of operation.

You have many times raised your voice against the police entry in the Golden Temple because it will injure the religious feelings of the Sikh community. But does it mean that those who manage the affairs of the Gurudwara have no responsibility? Extremists hold Press conferences in the Golden Temple, they use the platform of the Gurudwara to instigate the people to take revenge, they advocate sacrilege of religious places, they announce the constitution of Khalistan and raise its "flag"! Are these not anti-national acts, and on the basis of what principle or custom are these disruptive activities allowed? How these actions are in consonance with keeping the sanctity of Gurudwaras? S. Sajjan Singh Mogendpuri who was once head priest of Akal Takhat has

written an article on this subject. I am sure you must have read it. The police not being allowed to enter the Gurudwaras places an obligation on the managing committee also. The Gurudwaras should not be allowed to be used either for harbouring criminals, or for spreading hatred against any community.

Perhaps the Government was interested in isolating the Akali Dal and did not want to expose the extremists. That is why it rejected the unanimous demand of the Opposition to issue a white paper on the activities of the extremists.

I have read two interviews published in "Sant Sipahi" of February 1984, one by you and the other by Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale. You have rightly condemned violence and killing of innocent people and defended the non-violent character of the movement whereas Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale has openly advocated and interpreted that the creed of the Sikh religion is based on revenge. Under that theory he justifies all attacks on innocent people.

Why his activities cannot be denounced as anti-national and why is he allowed to don the garb of a sant? Can you quote any *shabad* from *Guru Granth Sahib* which preaches hatred against any minority community?

On February 7 when the Prime Minister accepted the suggestion of the Opposition for tripartite talks we were hopeful of finding a solution. And on February 14 when we met again we had hoped to succeed but it seems the extremists and the Government succeeded in their game. What happened in Haryana from February 14 to 21 could not have happened without the connivance of the Government. It shocked everybody. Sikh extremists also intensified their activities to further poison the atmosphere.

At this juncture it was expected of you as a believer in Hindu-Sikh unity to suspend the movement and work for Hindu-Sikh unity. This would have helped in winning the hearts of the democratic minded people of the country. But you chose a different course. In spite of timely request by Opposition parties you decided to burn Article 25 of the

Constitution. No other decision could have played better into the hands of Sikh extremists and the Central Government. This decision of yours has succeeded in diverting the attention from the real issues and creating a feeling among the people that your agitation now is not anti-Government but anti-Hindu. This action of yours has been condemned by Sikh jurists and all political parties including those who have been supporting your genuine demands. This has resulted in creating a feeling of insecurity among the Sikhs residing outside Punjab.

About 30 per cent of the Sikhs reside in States outside Punjab. They are well established in business or agriculture. They are respected everywhere due to their hard work and talent. There was no discrimination against them. But now their position is becoming miserable. Due to the activities of the extremists in Punjab, burning of Article 25 and Press propaganda, hatred is developing against the Sikhs and a feeling of insecurity is growing. This can only help the Sikh extremists and those who advocate Khalistan and separatism.

In this situation your call for the observance of "Azad Panth Saptah" can only add fuel to the fire. The concept of Azad Panth can only provide grist to the mill of Sikh extremists, from whom you have been trying to demarcate yourself.

You are aware that on March 7, a reception was held at Capital Hill in Washington which was attended by two hundred Sikhs from America, Canada, Britain. Six U.S. Congressmen also attended the function. It was organized by Ganga Singh Dhillon, a naturalized U.S. citizen and advocate of Khalistan. Addressing the U.S. Congressmen he talked about Punjab becoming "Second Lebanon".

You have already warned against these forces which are playing into the hands of Pakistan and other foreign powers. But your struggle against Article 25 and the observance of "Azad Panth Saptah" will lead you straight into their hands.

After the religious demand had been accepted in principle your remaining demands concerned all Punjabis.

The new slogan of "Azad Panth" that you have raised

now is nothing but a slogan to provide theoretical basis for Khalistan. Whether you realise it or not, your movement which was against the Central Government is being converted into an anti-Hindu movement. Here I do not want to minimise the role of Hindu communalists to divide and disrupt the unity of not only Punjabi people but also in creating a feeling of hatred against the Sikhs in other parts of the country as well. The February events in Haryana were the result of such propaganda. The reality of the situation is that values created during the struggle for Independence, the values of secularism, patriotism and nationalism are at stake and resultantly this can lead to endangering the unity of the country as a whole.

I have explained earlier, the agitation against Article 25 has alienated the Akali Dal from the Opposition parties. Nobody says that the Constitution cannot be amended; provisions for any change is provided in the Constitution itself. However, this matter was never raised by the Akali Dal earlier since the enforcement of the Constitution. Suddenly it has been made the central issue bypassing all other demands on which agitation was going on till now.

What is Article 25? This issue has been debated in the columns of the Press and many Sikh jurists and legal luminaries have tried to argue that it does not in any way hurt the feelings of the Sikhs. It is this Article which recognizes Sikhs as a separate religious community.

I have gone through the debates of the Constituent Assembly. At no stage did the Akali representatives either oppose the Article or move any amendment to it. The fact that S. Hukam Singh and Bhupinder Singh Mann did not sign the Constitution has nothing to do with this Article. In his speech on the third reading of the Constitution, S. Hukam Singh made his position very clear.

In fact when one goes through the debates on Article 25 it shows that the fathers of the Constitution were very clear in their mind about the separate identity of Sikh religion. They turned down various amendments which could have

obliterated the differences on surface between the followers of different religions. There is, therefore, a particular mention made of the Sikh practice of carrying Kripan in Explanation I to sub clause (b). This right is conferred on the Sikhs by the Constitution.

You object to Explanation II to Article 25 which says that the reference to the Hindus shall be construed as including a reference to persons professing the Sikh, Jain, or Buddhist religions and the reference to Hindu religious institutions shall be construed accordingly. Sub clause (b) imposes a liability on the managements of Hindu religious institutions of the public character not to refuse entry to such places. Thus the inclusion of Sikhs in the expression "Hindu" is restricted only to sub clause (b). If it implied the declaration of Sikhs being Hindus, there would have been a universal application for the whole of the Constitution.

The Supreme Court decision in Punjab Rao's Case (1965) authoritatively lays down that "the definition of Hindu is expanded for the special purpose of sub clause(b) of clause II of Article 25 and for no other". Paragraph 3 of the Constitution (Scheduled Caste) order says that "no person who professes a religion different from the Hindu or Sikh religion shall be deemed to be a member of the Scheduled Caste". This makes it clear that Sikhs are a separate entity.

Therefore, your propaganda and agitation about Article 25 is only helping the extremist sentiments and has no relation with the protection of rights of the Sikhs as a religious minority.

Akali Dal has also started talking about personal law but has not spelt out what this means. This again is meant to encourage the feeling of separatism among the Sikhs. If the country has to make separate social and economic laws for different religious communities what would remain of secularism and democracy? In this case perhaps you have in mind the negation of Hindu Succession Act to deprive women of their right to share in paternal property. This will be a retrograde step and women folk will revolt against it.

By all these slogans and tactics I do not think Akali Dal has gained anything. The reality of the situation is that they have alienated themselves from the Opposition parties and the broad democratic masses in the country. The Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, pursuing the policy of drift and the Sikh extremists raising the separatist slogans wanted to put you in the wrong and derail from the main issues which unite all the Punjabis. They seem to have succeeded in their game.

The present agitation is encouraging communal feelings and your "Azad Panth Saptah" is going to aggravate the situation. This will strike at the root of communal harmony which you cherish so much. Therefore, the situation demands a bold leadership on your part in order to defend the unity of the Punjabis on the one hand and to win the genuine demands on the other. The Opposition parties in their meeting in June, 83 have provided a platform to you for this.

I know that you have been an advocate of Hindu-Sikh unity but your present policy is inconsistent with that. I appeal to you to give up the agitation against Article 25 of the Constitution, to sharply denounce the activities of the Sikh extremists as anti-national and to ensure that Gurudwaras will not be allowed to be used to harbour criminals. This will not only help in protecting the unity of the Punjabi people but also help in fighting against the Hindu communalist forces. By these bold steps you will be able to rally the support of Opposition parties and also be able to force the unwilling hands of the Central Government to concede the just demands. This will heighten your prestige and that of the Akali Dal.

With greetings,

Yours sincerely,  
Harkishan Singh Surjeet

## Opposition Parties' Statement on Punjab\*

Issued in New Delhi on June 14, 1984

*A meeting of Opposition parties held on June 14, 1984, and attended by E.M.S. Namboodiripad, M. Basavapunniah and H.S. Surjeet (CPI-M), H.N. Bahuguna (DSP), Indradeep Sinha and M. Farooqui (CPI), Tridib Choudhary (RSP), and D.D. Shastri (Forward Bloc), issued the following statement on June 14, 1984 :*

The agonising and tragic events in the Punjab have created a situation which is extremely dangerous to the unity and future of our country.

The attention is being shifted from the fight against the extremists who excelled in killing innocent people to the violation of the sanctity of the Golden Temple.

Exploiting the deeply felt feelings of the Sikh masses, reactionaries and communalists are conspiring to create permanent barriers between Hindus and Sikhs and spread the poison of separatism. Recent events show that unless all progressive forces come forward to fight this design and soothe the agitated minds of the Sikh masses, the situation might get further worsened.

A great responsibility rests on the democratic and patriotic forces to restore normal amity between the two communities, by sympathetic understanding of the Sikh feelings and by fighting and opposing all communal moves from Hindu and Sikh reactionaries.

We are of the opinion that if political measures had been

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taken earlier as suggested by Opposition parties on June 30, 1983, for a solution of the Punjab problem, the extremists would have been isolated from the people and the present dangerous situation could have been avoided. In fact, we have been pressing the Government for settling the democratic demands precisely to avert a situation like the present one and defeat the extremists politically. The Government refused to heed to the proposals and landed itself in the present impasse. .

It is necessary to adequately inform the people of Punjab about the danger posed to the freedom of the country through the activities of the extremists. The Opposition parties had repeatedly demanded in Parliament the publication of a White Paper on the extremists so that the people are properly made aware of their anti-national activities. The Government has refused to accept the Opposition's demand.

We want all sober-minded people to think whether arms can be concentrated in Gurudwaras; whether they did not violate the sanctity of the Golden Temple. We all express our deep feelings of sorrow and grief over the heavy loss of life. It should be remembered that there were certain forces who were working towards it in the name of religion. Let not the story be repeated again.

We have repeatedly stressed that administrative measures alone cannot solve the Punjab problem. In the final analysis it can be solved by creating a sense of satisfaction among the people of Punjab that justice has been done to them. We on our part call on all progressive forces to heal the deep wounds, restore communal amity and create the basis for a satisfactory solution of the Punjab problem.

We congratulate the Sikh and Hindu masses of Punjab for holding together despite daily provocations and we are confident that the two together will frustrate the designs of the reactionaries.

We call upon the Government to realise the great harm done to the nation by its policy of reliance on administrative measures alone, its refusal to do justice to the democratic

demands of the Punjabi people. Its policy is irreparably damaging the unity of our people. The Government must immediately take healing steps and find a political solution. The Government also should withdraw censorship to stop rumour-mongering.

## **CPI Responsible for Andhra Disagreement\***

**Statement dated November 19, 1984, issued by  
P. Sundarayya, Secretary of Andhra State  
Committee of CPI(M) in Vijayawada**

*Comrade P. Sundarayya, Secretary of the Andhra Pradesh State Committee of the CPI(M) issued the following statement to the Press on November 19, 1984, in Vijayawada :*

Today, the State Secretariat of the CPI has announced that their party would contest four constituencies of Khammam, Nalgonda, Vijayawada and Anantapur and the allied political parties should lend their support to their candidates. The Telugu daily, *Jyoti*, has also published another such report in its yesterday's issue.

In the report published in *Jyoti*, the CPI is alleged to have stated that there is a deadlock over the issue of contesting the Khammam constituency, that it would be proper to divide the two seats : Khammam and Miriyalaguda, between the two parties, that the CPI(M) is also deadly opposed to seat adjustments in other districts while having a "friendly" contest in Khammam, that the CPI(M) has dictated terms to other parties in West Bengal, that the CPI(M) in Andhra Pradesh, too, is following the same line and the CPI in Andhra would not yield to these dictates.

These two statements of the CPI are made at a time when negotiations over the seats were on between the Telugu Desam Party and parties allied to it. So far the CPI(M) has exercised restraint and refused to enter into an open Press controversy. In the larger interests of defeating the monopoly rule of the Congress(I), we had reduced our demand from

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five seats to the two constituencies, Khammam and Miriyalaguda, where our Party has a bigger mass base. Our Party is content with these two out of the total 42 seats in Andhra Pradesh.

Some facts regarding Khammam : In the 1971 general elections, the CPI(M) secured 92,000 votes in Khammam as against the ruling Congress which won the seat polling 138,000 votes with the CPI fully supporting the Congress Party.

In the 1977 election the CPI(M) secured 122,000 votes while the CPI could poll only 72,500 votes. The seat was won by the Congress securing over two lakh votes.

In the 1980 Lok Sabha election, the CPI(M) alone secured 1,02,000 votes against the 1,06,000 votes polled by the candidate jointly put up by the Janata, Lok Dal, CPI and the Vengal Rao faction of Congress. Then again the Congress won the seat with a vote around two lakhs.

During the 1983 Assembly election and Panchayat Samiti elections, the CPI(M) conceded some of its strong constituencies in the interests of a united fight against both the ruling Congress and the contending Telugu Desam Party. Now the CPI, exploiting these concessions made by the CPI(M), is demanding that the Khammam constituency be conceded to it.

If the CPI(M) has reduced its contest to two seats alone in the State, in the larger interests of defeating the Congress, it is unjust on the part of the CPI to demand one out of these two, and it does not in the least help in advancing the people's movement. In West Bengal, the CPI(M) conceded three parliamentary seats to the CPI in the interests of unity even though the CPI is very weak there. In the face of these facts it is regrettable that the CPI has gone to the Press saying that the CPI(M) in Andhra Pradesh is trying to dictate terms as in the alleged case of the West Bengal unit of the CPI(M).

As far as our information goes the Telugu Desam has offered to the CPI any two seats out of three seats, Nalgonda, Bhadrachalam and Anantapur. But the CPI, with the evil

intention of denying Khammam seat to the CPI(M), is insisting upon securing for itself both Khammam and Bhadrachalam—both in the same district. The CPI is mounting pressure on the allied parties to somehow secure Khammam, threatening that they would contest Vijayawada, Nalgonda and Anantapur, if they are denied Khammam.

The CPI is asking the CPI(M) to satisfy itself with one seat—Miriyalaguda. This party further assures us that Telugu Desam Party would throw its full weight behind the CPI(M) in Miriyalaguda. If this line of argument is accepted it can be argued that the Telugu Desam Party can secure the victory of the CPI candidates in both the Nalgonda and Anantapur constituencies. To demand that the CPI(M) should abandon its claim on Khammam and Miriyalaguda where it has a mass political base and go to some other constituencies is politically wrong and objectionable. It is neither correct to demand of the CPI(M) that it should surrender its mass bases nor is it prepared to concede such a demand.

We have already made clear our stand to the leadership of the Telugu Desam Party. We have also requested them to support the CPI(M) candidate in Khammam, in case the CPI is not amenable to concede the Khammam seat to the CPI(M). We have also told the Telugu Desam leaders that it will have a bad impact on the entire electoral understanding if their party takes a neutral stand in Khammam.

The entire responsibility for the failure in arriving at an electoral agreement rests on the shoulders of the CPI. We once again reiterate that the CPI(M) does not abandon its claim on the Khammam and Miriyalaguda constituencies no matter what pressures the CPI tries to bring on us. We hope that leaders of the Telugu Desam would realise the disruptive role of the CPI, and extend their full cooperation and support to the CPI(M) candidates in Khammam and Miriyalaguda, and thus facilitate the Statewide struggle to defeat the ruling Congress Party.

## Surjeet's Statement on Punjab\*

*Harkishan Singh Surjeet, Member, Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), issued the following statement dated January 15, 1985 :*

When the country's interest requires a political solution of Punjab problem in order to isolate the extremists and strengthen national unity and when Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was assuring priority to this issue and had appointed a Cabinet sub-committee, a funny and farcical proposal for the merger of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh as a solution to Punjab tangle has been mooted by Bhajan Lal, the Haryana Chief Minister supported by Darbara Singh, Member, Congress Working Committee. Such a proposal can only open pandora's box and can further complicate matters rather than providing any basis for settlement. This proposal is nothing new, and was made by the Jan Sangh before Shah Commission under the name of Mahan Punjab. This is opposed to fundamental principle of reorganization of states on linguistic basis for which the people of various states made tremendous sacrifices and will be opposed not only by the people of Punjab but also of Haryana, and Himachal Pradesh. Instead of repairing the harm done to national unity and restoring the unity of the Punjabi-speaking people this will lead to further communal polarisation. We did not pay any serious attention to this proposal although it was supported by many Congress(I) leaders. But it is a pity that in

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today's newspapers the Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi seems to have made a statement in Amethi yesterday giving credibility to the statement by saying that it will also be considered by the Cabinet sub-committee. Such a statement can further complicate matters instead of solving them.

The Prime Minister and the Central Government must consider that for the solution of the Punjab problem sufficient ground has been covered in earlier tripartite talks and the basis of agreement is already provided by the June 2 statement of the late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. And what is required is not raking up new issues but an urgent solution. I urge upon the Prime Minister to put a stop to such irresponsible statements and take steps to solve the Punjab problem, so that extremists are isolated and unity of the country is strengthened.

## **Spies in the Prime Minister's Staff**

**Editorial of 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', January 27, 1985**

The highly sensational and dangerous exposure of a spying entrenched in the topmost echelons of the staff of the Prime Minister and President of the Indian Republic speaks volumes of the callous indifference of the powers-that-be at the helm of the Indian polity. It is reported that officials of the rank of Joint and Deputy Secretaries in different government departments have been spying for some foreign imperialist agencies since long. Topmost secrets kept in classified documents are finding their way to foreign governments which are keen on undermining India's stability and integrity, and in subverting its political independence. The arrests and interrogation of a score of the suspected and proven culprits or the packing off of a handful of *foreign diplomats*, engaged in these nefarious activities, cannot and should not lull the nation's vigilance on this spying menace and its ramifications.

The sudden arrests, the resignation of the Prime Minister's Principal Secretary, Mr. P.C. Alexander, and its prompt acceptance by the Government, and the hush-hush under the plea that it is too "delicate" an issue to be debated in public, etc., carry with them the danger of complacency over the entire question. The issue is grave enough to undermine the confidence of the nation in the political-organisational skills and vigilance of the ruling Congress party which is at the helm of affairs during the last 38 years. To try to throw the blame on the 30 months of Janata rule during 1977-80 is

nothing but throwing dust in the eyes of our people in order to blind them from pursuing the issue and remain vigilant.

The planting of spies in the office of the Indian Prime Minister by foreign agencies is not an entirely new and surprising experience. As *Patriot* daily editorially comments, "it is not for the first time that the CIA has infiltrated into the Prime Minister's Office, the CIA had managed to enlist the services of the Private Secretary of India's first Prime Minister and the curtain was rung on the unsavoury episode with the removal of M.O. Mathai from Pandit Nehru's staff."

*The Statesman* of January 22, 1985, under a front-page caption, "Spying in the past", produced a report from the open remarks made by Mr. Vishnu Sahay, Cabinet Secretary in Nehru's time. Mr. Sahay bitterly complains that he was appointed to enquire into the case of Mr. M.O. Mathai's infiltration into Prime Minister Nehru's office, and his report was hushed up for reasons not known to anyone to date.

These spy episodes, exposed and still to be exposed, do not only show how foreign imperialist spying agencies are freely allowed to operate on the administration and officialdom in India, but reveal a callous behaviour of our two late Prime Ministers, Nehru and Mrs. Indira Gandhi, towards protection of the Indian nation from dastardly espionage agencies such as the Central Intelligence Agency of the USA.

It is common knowledge that the U.S. imperialist government allots annually billions of dollars to the CIA, whose principal objective is, as openly proclaimed, to organise political assassinations, to undo legally established Governments, to set up puppet regimes and to subvert the national independence of scores of countries in the world.

And yet our top government leaders never take courage to openly name such monstrous espionage agencies and warn the nation and the people at large. They now and then mumble and grumble about these nefarious activities but are always afraid to counteract this menace lest the "good relations" with the rich American creditor might get strained to the detriment of collaborationist deals with the U.S. big brother

and several other multinational monoliths under the leadership of U.S. billionaires.

It is common knowledge that the CIA's hand was there behind the Khalistan extremists, behind the Assamese secessionist agitators, behind almost all the insurgent movements in the North-Eastern region and behind several other agencies in our country whose names conceal their real aims of service to the CIA in different and devious ways. And yet the new Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, appears to be under 'shock' and is for an all-out offensive against this menace. While wishing success in any such endeavour to root out the rot and defend the nation against this menace of espionage by imperialist agencies, we are duty-bound to warn the Congress rulers that the malady is much deeper and its net-work is much wider than to be eradicated with a scoop here and there against these networks of foreign spies in our country. We are afraid that several layers of our top officialdom is honey-combed with men who have sold their national conscience for a song.

Every grant, aid and loan by the World Bank, IMF and such other agencies to India or individual industrialists, is invariably accompanied by scores of "monitors", many of whom are recruited under the directions of the CIA authorities. These "monitors" not only come into touch with the highest officers in different departments of the Indian Government, but do their utmost to, "cultivate" as many of them as possibly by offers for and appointments to several lucrative jobs—to them, their sons, sons-in-law and other kith and kin, in the U.N. and its numerous other organizations. Thus the channels so freely opened over decades have provided ample scope to all such foreign espionage agencies to entrench themselves in every sector of our socio-economic life. One is at a loss to understand how this deep-struck malady can be remedied, and whether the powers-that-be at the helm of affairs in India have the political will and where-withal to meet this menace, and ward off the danger of subverting our national independence.

We are inclined to agree with such carping observations well made by the editor of *The Times of India* that it was "the lackadaisical manner in which the affairs of the Indian State have been conducted at the highest level for quite some time" that "the leaks took place on a dangerous scale and for a long time and they never woke up to this fact", that "the discovery of the spy-ring (is the) most sensational in the history of independent India", that "it is painful to have to acknowledge that the Indian State has behaved as if it is ready, indeed waiting, to be grabbed by buccaneers, Indian and non-Indian alike" and that "the country faces a hydra-headed monster and it will just not do to smash one of its many heads. The present effort is commendable. But this is only the beginning".

Before concluding our observations on the latest spycandal in the highest places such as the office of the Prime Minister and the President of the Republic, we feel it to be our bounden duty to sincerely and seriously warn our Government and its Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi that a relative strength of the economy today should not lead one to the conclusion that our economy has become so immune as to withstand the machinations of the world imperialist powers. In his interview with *Time* magazine, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi observes : "On India's economy. Are we closing down, or are we opening up? We have always resisted foreign companies coming in. We have felt uneasy because *India was taken over by the East India Company : maybe it is a hangover* from that. Now our economy has strengthened to a position from which we have to get input.....*we will be opening up more to the private sector* so that they can expand and the economy can grow freely". (Emphasis ours)

If the fear of India being swallowed by the transnational companies and other imperialist vultures has to be allayed, it cannot be done by brave words. If the East India Company could grab not only our trade and commerce but also the country's freedom and enslave it for two centuries, today's multinationals have become such international giants

and monoliths that they not only can swallow States like India, but even developed capitalist States such as Britain, France, Italy, West Germany, Japan etc., can be devoured by them wholesale. Opening the floodgates to the private capitalist sector is to open the country for the marauding foreign monopolies to pillage and plunder. India, as it stands, is a peanut for them to bite.

As long as the dependent capitalist path of development is pursued in India it is not possible to keep the economy free from foreign finance capital and to shut the door for imperialist espionage. To promise a free hand to private capital and thereby invite multinationals is not to guard India against the spy menace.

## **On Recent Developments in Kerala Party\***

**Statement issued by the Kerala State Committee of CPI(M)**

A meeting of the CPI(M) Kerala State Committee was held at Trivandrum on January 12 and 13, 1986, T. K. Ramakrishnan presiding. Besides V. S. Achuthanandan, the Secretary of the State Committee, B. T. Ranadive, E. Balanandan, Polit Bureau members, and General Secretary E.M.S. Namboodiripad, also participated in the meeting.

The General Secretary reported on the discussions and decisions of the Twelfth Party Congress and especially on matters connected with the Kerala State Conference of the Party. He stated that the discussions in the Party Congress fully reflected the prestige and position which the CPI(M) has been able to achieve as a result of the activities carried on by the Party since the Eleventh Congress of the Party, and consequent on the political developments in the country during this period. The Party which has been taking up an independent stand as a party of the working class, on all major issues affecting the country and its people such as the foreign policy of the Government and the related issues of economic relations with foreign countries; the crisis that has been developing in the economy of the country; the drive towards authoritarianism of the Congress(I) Government; the opportunist policies and positions taken by the bourgeois Opposition parties; and the growth of the caste-communal forces and divisive forces, resulting from the opportunist policies pursued by the Congress(I) and the

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bourgeois Opposition parties. As a result of this principled stand taken by the Party, it has been able to take the initiative to develop a broad democratic force in the country. Thus at the Twelfth Congress, the Party which adopts an independent stand distinctively different from the stands of bourgeois parties, demonstrated unprecedented unity.

But as an exception to this fact, a small section of the Party in Kerala have sunk into the quagmire of parliamentary opportunism. For winning the elections and somehow getting into power by any means, they were for joining hands with caste-communal forces. The efforts made by the Central leadership of the Party to save them from the harmful effects of this opportunistic stand and the Party's decision to disentangle itself from its association with caste-communal forces, have all been welcomed not only by the rank and file of the Party all over India but also by all democrats in the country. But a minority among the members of the State Secretariat and the State Committee raised the banner of revolt, challenging the line adopted by the Central Committee after protracted discussions in the State Secretariat and the State Committee, and violating all principles and norms of the Party Constitution.

Forming themselves as a separate group against the majority of their own Party unit, and against the Central leadership, they adopted anti-Party tactics by trying to challenge the Party through their attempts to forge a majority for themselves through factional means. The Party Congress had unanimously condemned their activities and had resolved to authorise the newly elected Central Committee to take suitable political and organizational action against them.

After reporting these developments EMS stated that, at least, at this late stage the comrades who had indulged in such anti-party activities with the aim of implementing their opportunistic political stand, should subject themselves to a self-critical examination. It is possible for Party members to err at times and such mistakes might result in some of them being subjected to disciplinary action. Many of those who

are today in the P.B. and the C.C. including himself, had had such an experience. It is the duty of comrades loyal to the Party to learn lessons from these experiences and to correct themselves. Each of these comrades should try to frankly and openly admit the role that each one of them had played in the Party's State Conference, and express their readiness to accept the punishment that the Party might decide against them for their mistakes.

EMS drew the attention of these comrades to the duties of Party members to the Party which include also the principle that their behaviour towards the Party should be open, frank and honest. These comrades should understand that a decision on disciplinary action will be taken after fully examining the extent to which they had shown their honesty and truthfulness in their behaviour in this Committee.

V. S. Achuthanandan, who spoke after EMS, explained the developments before, during and after the State Conference held in Cochin. M. V. Raghavan, in his capacity as a Party member, could utilise the Conference as a forum to express his views. The P.B. members who attended the meeting of the State Committee had stated that there was no bar on such expression of views. But that was not what he did. It has now been revealed that he formed a group by joining hands with eight other like-minded comrades, within the State Committee. In the name of that group he demanded of the Central leadership that it should organise an inner-Party discussion, basing the demand on a misinterpretation of the provision in Article XXI of the Party Constitution.

Without waiting for the permission of the Central Committee, he formed a group amongst the delegates to the State Conference by taking out copies of the Note formulated by the group and secretly circulated these copies amongst these delegates. With the backing of this group he tried to cook up a majority in the Conference through unfair and false means. Throughout the Conference the group worked in an organised factional manner. After heated discussions when it was clear that they would be defeated, in an

organised manner the group was made to abstain from voting.

All these facts have now come out. As a part of the propaganda carried on in this regard by M. V. Raghavan, he did not hesitate even to tarnish the image of the leadership of the Party at the Central and State levels, and even to cast aspersions against some individuals of the leadership by name. And for this purpose he utilised some comrades working in those fronts where he occupied a leading position.

The nine comrades who presented the alternative Note to the Party, did not even acknowledge the harm done by their conduct. Not one among them sought to atone for the harm done by indulging in parliamentary tactics. From the political aspect of their behaviour, some of them admitted the political aspect of their behaviour. Some amongst them partially and indirectly admitted the organizational error in taking up the positions they had taken up. That too because they had reached a position wherefrom it was not possible to refute that they had committed mistakes. But most of the nine were not prepared to admit their mistake even to this extent, and tried to escape their responsibility of having formed a group inside the Party which had challenged the majority as well as the Central leadership. M. V. Raghavan on his part tried to save the members of the group formed by him, by putting forward the false story that copies of the alternative Note taken out by him were circulated only amongst some members of the State Committee and not to anyone else and that he had destroyed the rest of the copies. The explanation given by P. Chandran, Member of the State Committee who also held charge over the functioning of the State Committee office and who had played a part in duplicating the copies of the alternative Note, did not carry any conviction with the members of the State Committee.

The other members of the State Committee then expressed their opinion in the matter. Except the nine comrades who were signatories to the alternative Note and P. Chandran, no other member of the State Committee justified the activities

of these ten comrades. On the contrary, they all demanded that such disciplinary action should be taken against these comrades who had committed grave mistakes, as would set an example to others.

Following these discussions, B. T. Ranadive made his intervention.

The Party in Kerala, BTR pointed out, is now facing the gravest revisionist danger since the formation of the CPI(M) bid adieu to the revisionists. Immediately after the formation of the CPI(M), the danger of a sectarian deviation had arisen in the Party. The same comrades like Raghavan and ... that time had expressed; their support to ... for the Naxalites, were now raising the banner of revisionism.

There had been occasions previously when opportunistic positions displaying Right and Left deviations against Marxism-Leninism had appeared alongside each other. This is what we are finding today, here, amongst a section of comrades in Kerala. The meaning of parliamentary opportunism is not only that those affected by it are desirous of themselves becoming M.P.s, MLAs or Ministers. On the other side, parliamentary illusions consist of holding the viewpoint that the only means for the Party and the mass movement to advance is through elections and the formation of the Government, and that the advance would be obstructed if that path is blocked. What the Central leadership had hitherto been trying and even now is trying is to see that the section of comrades in Kerala who are a prey to this illusion are saved from its ill-effects, and as a part of that effort it has become necessary to take disciplinary action. This is an integral part of the struggle we have to carry on against the deviation of parliamentary opportunism.

We should all understand that no one is above the Party. It is the Party that tries to correct, censure and educate individual Party comrades. BTR pointed out that it was because of his faith and belief in this principle that he could

come back to the Party after a period when he had had to stay out of the Party, and to come to the position that he occupies today. He also recalled that when the Party had censured EMS on an occasion when he was the Chief Minister, EMS had asked the newspapers which had ridiculed him then, as to who else was there other than the Party to censure and teach him.

BTR also pointed out what was the state of those who behaved as if they were above the Party, when once they were out of the Party. Similarly, M. V. Raghavan was one who, instead of behaving with the modesty that behoves a Party member, had made it a habit to behave with egotism and arrogance.

Comrades who had subscribed to the alternative document, including M. V. Raghavan, had been able to mislead some comrades among the students and youth. This is an example of the bourgeois theory of the "generation gap", influencing even Party members. Are these comrades intending to give the slogan, "Youth of the world unite", in place of the slogan "Toilers of the world unite"? There is no doubt that youth is our precious asset, but the youth should accept Marxism. And those who accept Marxism have to stand firm on discipline in the Party, and unity of the Party. Instead of this what the comrades who subscribed to the alternative document did was to form a group of young men who would defy the Party.

BTR concluded by requesting the comrades who had endorsed the alternative document to accept without any reservation, any punishment that the Party gives them and implement the decision of the Party. It is the loyalty and honesty that they show in this regard that would save them and the Party.

V. S. Achuthanandan made the following proposals in regard to the action to be taken by the State Committee in this matter :

1. M. V. Raghavan who has been guilty of serious mistakes be suspended from the Party for a period of one year.

2. P. V. Kunhikannan, who is guilty of the serious mistakes next only to M. V. Raghavan, be suspended from the Party for a period of three months.

3. The third member of the State Secretariat who had subscribed to the alternative document, Puthalath Narayanan, be removed from membership of the State Committee.

4. The other six members of the State Committee who subscribed to the alternative document, namely E. K. Imbichi Bawa, T. Sivadasa Menon, C. K. Chakrapani, C. P. Moosankutty, Pattiam Rajan and V. V. Dakshinamoorthy, be publicly censured.

5. P. Chandran who had betrayed the confidence that was reposed in him in his capacity as the Office Secretary be removed from membership of the State Committee and from his responsibility as Office Secretary.

All these above proposals were adopted unanimously by the State Committee.

## Left Parties' Appeal : Observe 'Save Punjab Day' on April 5, 1986\*

*The representatives of the Left parties, C. Rajeswar Rao and Homi Daji (CPI), E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Harkishan Singh Surjeet (CPI-M), Ramkrishna Mazumdar (FB), Pratul Choudhari (RSP) met on March 22 and issued the following joint statement :*

The events of March 21 in Punjab have further shown the gravity of the situation which has taken a serious turn. Extremists and separatists have intensified their nefarious activities. Hardly a day passes when toll of innocent lives is not taken. Communal polarisation is taking place. The extremists have captured the Golden Temple and most of the other historical Gurudwaras and are using them for anti-national activities. The separatist slogans of Khalistan are raised. Imperialism is doing everything to destabilise our country and the Zia military regime is openly used to train the extremists, arm them and send them inside the country to create trouble. They are trying to create a situation which might affect the communal peace in the rest of the country. The unity of the country is threatened.

Unfortunately, the Akali Government in spite of the massive mandate against the extremists and separatists, has failed to rouse the people against them and defeat their game. On the other hand, they have been retreating step by step and again allowing the initiative to be passed on to the hands of extremists. The administration has collapsed and the people

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feel helpless. The law and order situation is deteriorating everyday. The efforts to reforge unity among the Punjabi people on the basis of the Punjab Accord have got a setback.

The callous attitude of the Central Government has also contributed in providing grist to the mill of extremists. It has failed to transfer Chandigarh, and Hindi-speaking areas in lieu of that on January 26, 1986, as promised in the Accord. The way the Mathew Commission functioned and the manner in which it considered only one alternative viz, Abhar-Fazilka and no other, and resorted to fresh linguistic enumeration, further complicated the situation. It has taken the Central Government eight months to appoint the Commission to settle the water dispute, allowing passions to be roused on the issue. Chief Minister Bhajan Lal is allowed to issue provocative statements. It is dealing with the situation from the narrow partisan interest rather than from the angle of national unity. Some Opposition parties in Haryana are also rousing chauvinist sentiments over the issue from their narrow opportunist consideration, undermining the urgent importance of national unity.

The situation is fraught with dangerous consequences both in Punjab and the country. Not a moment can be lost in finding a solution to the Punjab problem. It is the foremost task of every patriotic Indian to see that extremists are isolated and the game of imperialism to destabilise the country is defeated. The Akali Government has to draw proper lessons from the past and firmly deal with the extremists, establish law and order and assure the minority community that their lives and property are safe and reforge unity of the Punjabi people. The Central Government must implement Punjab Accord in letter and spirit without any delay. It must expedite the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab, simultaneously with appropriate Hindi-speaking areas to Haryana and guarantee the construction of the SYL canal.

We appeal to the democratic and patriotic minded people of the country and all those who are interested in national unity to beware of this threat to national unity and communal

peace. Observe April 5 as a "Save Punjab Day" by holding rallies and meetings throughout the country. Force the hands of Central Government and the Akali Government to play their part in implementing the Accord and normalising the situation.

## **Ruling Party Should Examine Its Policies\***

**E.M.S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary of CPI(M), delivered this speech in the meeting of the National Integration Council on April 7, 1986, in New Delhi**

This meeting of the National Integration Council takes place when our country is threatened with disintegration. Never since independence and the tragic events leading to the partition of 1947, was the country's unity and integrity so seriously challenged. To treat it as only some kind of communal aberration which can be spirited away by the usual mantram of "Bhai-Bhai" and good wishes of all for unity will be ignoring the gravity of the danger and cheating our people.

Deep forces are at work. They are financed from abroad, they work as religious missions, they work through educational institutions and they work under the cloak of voluntary associations, all with one purpose, to encourage a rapid disintegration of the sense of Indian oneness.

### **Neo-Colonial Designs**

We will be deceiving ourselves if we look at the present problem of disintegration only as an internal problem unconnected with external source and planning. Responsible people are now convinced that the Sikh secessionists are trained in Pakistan to organize acts of terror in India. Only none of them wants to mention the USA—the real power behind the Pakistani dictator's policy. This shyness continues even after the assassination of Indira Gandhi.

Destabilisation of newly liberated countries is an integral part of U.S. policy and it is operating systematically in the

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sub-continent. Having created a virtual cordon around India of so many hostile Governments, the destabilisers are now working on unleashing all the forces of Indian backwardness and obscurantism which never subordinated themselves to national unity.

Communalism, casteism and other forces have been with us for a pretty long time. Immediately after independence, they were treated as an aberration which could be cured with the passage of time. Nothing more was required, it seemed, than a constant appeal for unity whenever they raised their heads. But this complacent attitude is proving disastrous. Now these very forces are becoming an instrument of destabilisation in the interest of the neo-colonial designs of imperialist powers. This aspect today looms large and has to be seriously taken into consideration in any discussion of the question.

The question arises, why after 40 years of independence, these divisive forces should be able to attack Indian unity. The question cannot be answered and solution cannot be found unless the ruling party, which had the privilege of running the country's Government for four decades examines its policies and has the frankness to admit its grievous mistakes. In the name of secularism, the policy of the ruling party was a policy of worshipping all altars, thereby strengthening the influence of religious fundamentalism among the people.

In a country where religious obscurantism closely competed with national democratic values, this policy was nothing but helping to tilt the balance against the national and democratic values. Secondly, the economic policy pursued through all these decades, landed the country into the morass of poverty and unemployment which enable the obscurantists to divert discontent into divisive channels. The ideological failure to fight these forces through a correct educational policy and by all the means at the disposal of the State, together with the mounting economic discontentment, provide fertile ground for sectarian appeals. It is no surprise, therefore, that

the external forces out for destabilisation should use this situation to create a crisis for our country.

### **Compromise by Ruling Party**

But the matter does not end there. The ruling party itself compromises with these forces to safeguard its narrow interests at the expense of national interest. Otherwise, there is no explanation why it supported the Shah Government in Kashmir, the Ministry of a person whose parochial outlook was not very much hidden. There is no explanation why in Kerala, instead of combating the two organized communal forces the Congress(I) should be in alliance with these parties to run a Ministry which is completely at the mercy of its partners. Is it not madness to open the Ram Janam Bhoomi/ Babri Masjid in the midst of the present situation and provoke the sentiments of the ordinary Muslim? Would national unity have been in danger if the old dispute had not been settled and left to higher judiciary to decide? And was it an act of protecting national values and unity when the ruling party decided to submit itself before the orthodox Muslims and decided to sacrifice the human values and democratic rights of Muslim women? The explanation, once again is safeguarding narrow interest at the expense of national unity. With such an outlook, national unity cannot be protected.

### **Disturbing Situation**

In recent times, the country has seen a large number of communal riots. In a number of these the Muslim minority suffered very deeply. Incredible happenings and atrocities have taken place in Congress(I)-ruled States during these riots with the administration either standing still or working against the minority. In certain States the virus of communalism has siezed administration and its secular and impartial character stand impunged. How a Government committed to national unity can function is shown by the Left Front Government in West Bengal which has relied on mobilisation of the people to prevent communal outbreaks.

But today the riots are not our only concern. Worst type of secessionist movements are challenging the forces of national unity and the Government stands paralysed before them.

With Punjab in flames, secessionists and destabilisers in Kashmir increasingly active and the soil of neighbouring Pakistan being turned into the training ground for the terrorists, the entire North-West is in unprecedentedly unsettled conditions.

In the North-East too, forces of destabilisation and secessionism are active and receiving generous assistance from abroad. In this area a valiant fight is being put up in Tripura by the Left Front Government with the help of the people. But the ruling party has no qualms to ally with the Tripura Upajati Yuba Samiti which is closely connected with the secessionist and terrorist TNV.

### **Punjab Problem**

However, the dominant question is that of Punjab. Everyday innocent people are being murdered and the criminals are not brought to book. The serious situation in Punjab has been brought about by a number of factors and unless the parties concerned view the situation objectively, the problems cannot be solved.

The Accord and the election constituted a victory and a mandate for the forces of national unity. But unfortunately, the two parties—the Central Government and the Punjab Ministry—did not play the role accorded to them by the grave circumstances. For quite inexplicable reasons, the Government of India delayed implementation of certain parts of the Accord including the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab. This gave a big handle to the secessionists to launch an attack against the Accord, and left vacillations inside the Akali party. The problem became further complicated with a responsible person like the Chief Minister of Haryana speaking in provocative terms against the implementation of the Accord under the pretext of securing justice for Haryana.

The Akali party and the Barnala Ministry instead of using

their mass mandate to isolate the terrorists from the people, went on surrendering one position after another in the name of Panthic unity and thereby compounded the problem. The extremists soon took possession of a number of Gurudwaras including the Golden Temple and were emboldened to launch their campaign of murder and terror and raising Khalistani slogans.

Thanks to this opportunist line the Akali Ministry in Punjab has neither been able to pit the mass of the people against the terrorists nor shown the will to take stern measures against them through the administration. The terrorist attacks are leading to communal polarisation and the goodwill and sense of unity created by the Accord are wearing out. But even today it is not too late to defend and preserve national unity, save Punjab from a communal holocaust and foil the designs of imperialist backed separatism.

The first condition is that the Ministry should take firm measures against the terrorists and all sections of people including the minorities must feel assured that the Ministry has moved in that direction. Secondly, the Congress(I) and the Akali party, backed by other democratic parties, must rouse the people to fight the terrorists and isolate them completely. Drastic measures taken against the secessionists will not be misunderstood by the people if they are actively involved in the political fight against disruptors.

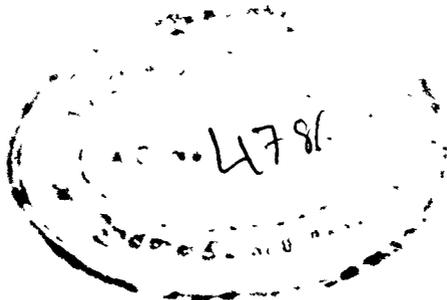
Our Party extended full support to the Punjab Accord. It is urgent today that the Government at the Centre and the State Government of Punjab jointly tackle the menace of terrorism. An essential condition for success is the speedy implementation of the Accord in toto. The territorial transfer should not be delayed. By welcoming the setting up of the new Commission I wish to point out that its verdict should be available within a few days and the date of implementation should not be deferred till June. The SYL Canal has to be completed by the public sector undertaking without delay so that the fears of Haryana are allayed.

Along with this, all patriotic, anti-imperialist and secular

forces should be ready to go among the people of Punjab, Sikhs and Hindus, to defeat the conspiracy of the forces out to disrupt their unity. In this task, our Party will extend its full cooperation and support.

My Party considers the situation to be very grave and serious and is prepared to join hands with all who comprehended the gravity of the situation. Minority and majority communalism, both play into the hands of enemies of the country and both have to be fought without making any concessions at the cost of national values. To be able to do our duty to our people and our country, it is necessary that all understand the role of external forces in the encouragement of divisive forces and the need for fighting our internal weaknesses. These weaknesses consist of an opportunist attitude towards the question and absence of a policy which devotes itself to creating greater and greater confidence among minorities many of whom suffer from genuine grievances and are victims of an anti-democratic outlook.

Before I conclude, I would like to point out that this is the Fourth National Integration Council constituted. Since 1961, when the First Council was formed, our Party has been reiterating its commitment to strengthen national unity and integrity. Unfortunately, for reasons best known to the Government, the earlier Councils did not function and fulfil the tasks set before them. I hope that this Council will be able to make its contribution to strengthen national unity.



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