

DOCUMENTS OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN INDIA

VOL. XXIV
(1992-93)



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List of Abbreviations Used

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

DYFI	Democratic Youth Federation of India
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. Basavapunnaiah

Introductory Note

This Volume (Volume No. XXIV) contains 200 documents of the Communist Movement in India of the period 1992-93. The biggest event of the Communist Movement of this period in India was the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), held in Madras on January 3-9, 1992. Comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad relinquished his post of General Secretary of the CPI(M) in this Party Congress and Comrade Harkishan Singh Surjeet was elected as General Secretary of the Party in his place.

A thorough study of these documents will reveal that during this period the political situation in India was undergoing a rapid change and the Congress(I), which was then running the Union Government in New Delhi, was fast losing its mass base and political credibility to run a government in a vast country like India. While the people all over India were still very agitated over the Bofors howitzer purchase scandal, many other scandals uncovered during Narasimha Rao's Government involving drainage of enormous national resources further corroded the props of mass support for Congress(I) and this situation further worsened when Narasimha Rao's Government allowed the RSS-BJP-VHP combination to destroy Babri Masjid at Ayodhya on December 6, 1992 plunging the whole country in a most vicious communal tension almost reminiscent of the days of India's partition in 1947.

The relevant documents of this Volume will also give a clear idea that the New Economic Policy initiated by the Narasimha Rao's Government in 1991 was totally ruinous for the economy and the industries of India and one of its main purpose was to curb

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and privatise the Public Sector in India at the behest of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. It was stated in the Political Resolution adopted by the 14th Congress of CPI(M):

“The policy of liberalisation wantonly pursued by the Rajiv Gandhi regime has come home to roost. The country’s unprecedented balance of payments crisis is the direct result of the policies of the import liberalisation, concessions to foreign capital and accepting the IMF World Bank prescriptions. These and the all round crisis have led to further pressures to privatise the economy, dismantle the public sector, open the doors indiscriminately to foreign capital and to scrap restrictions on the growth of monopolies.”

“A further rightward shift has taken place with the gamut of economic policies adopted by the Narasimha Rao Government within the space of four weeks of coming to power. The 20 per cent devaluation of the rupee; the new trade policies; mortgage of gold, the proposals in the Union Budget and the new industrial policy together represent a reversal of the limited policy of self reliance and the industrial policy worked out in the fifties. The new economic policy reflects the imperialist sponsored dominant world trend of privatisation, abolition of public sector and “integration with the global economy”. Sections of the bourgeoisie, intellectuals and the media are supportive of these right wing policies”.

The Political Resolution of the 14th Party Congress of the CPI(M) while taking note of the fact that “the Party has emerged as the most consistent defender and champion of national unity”, reviewed the existing realities in the context of grave threats to national unity and indicated:

“The policies of the successive bourgeois-landlord governments at the Centre have failed to stem the threats to national unity emanating from the secessionist forces which are operating from across the borders backed by imperialism. For nearly a decade, the Central Government has been treating this problem merely from the point of view of law and order instead of going to the root cause of the alienation, and creating conditions

by which the patriotic feelings of the people are roused and the genuine demands met. If a further drift is allowed, the situation will go out of hand. The balkanisation trends which developed in the Soviet Union and the break up of the USSR in its old form, will have a direct impact on the nationality problem in India. The CPI(M) has consistently advocated a consensus on issues concerning national unity which are of great importance for the future of the country.” “The dismantling of Socialism in the Soviet Union; the disintegration of the USSR; the collapse of the Communist led regimes in East Europe and the process of restoration of capitalism in these countries all constitute a big reversal for the world forces of Socialism. These counter revolutionary developments are giving rise to profound political, economic and social changes on a world-scale”.

This is how the prevalent situation of the world Communist movement was summarised in the Resolution ‘On Certain Ideological Issues’ adopted by the 14th Party Congress of the CPI(M) held in January 1992. In the same Resolution it was also observed: “In India too, the anti-Communist forces are on an offensive. The CPI(M) is particularly targetted for its open partisanship in defence of Socialism and Marxism-Leninism. These forces seek to obliterate the immense contribution of Socialism to the material and intellectual development of human civilisation in the 20th century”, and, “Following these reverses, as noted earlier, world imperialism led by the USA is demonstrating a new aggressiveness and is emboldened to dictate its ‘new world order’ ”.

In the same Resolution ‘On Certain Ideological Issues’ a warning was given to the effect that:

“Apart from those dealt with earlier, an erroneous conception that should be denounced is that capitalism is losing its exploitative character. It is, therefore, suggested that there is a convergence of socialism and capitalism in evolving a new ‘civilised’ world system. It is in fact being argued that multinational corporations are an example of socialist planning: Exploitation occurs under capitalism in the very production process. It is an integral part of its dynamics. The overthrow of

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capitalism is not only a moral question but a scientific and historically inevitable development to establish an exploitation-free society.”

It was also stated in the same Resolution that:

“It is in this background that the CPI(M)’s struggle for Socialism in India will have to be defined. It is very necessary to self critically note that sufficient attention was not paid in the past to understand the actual conditions in the socialist countries.”

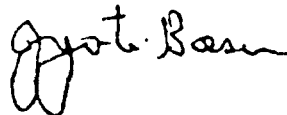
and, concluded:

“The CPI(M) pledges to strengthen the study of Marxism Leninism and spirit of proletarian internationalism amongst its ranks and propagate the ideas of scientific Socialism amongst the Indian people. The CPI(M) pledges to continue the fight against right revisionist and Left sectarian deviations. It shall carry forward the task of mobilising the Indian people in struggles to change the present correlation of class forces towards the objective of people’s democracy and Socialism.”

The stands of the CPI(M) on various political developments in the national spheres are given in a number of documents given in this Volume. These political developments relate to Punjab, Jammu & Kashmir, Tripura, Kerala and West Bengal and other places. The stand of the CPI(M) on Presidential Election, on various measures of the Chief Election Commissioner and the disruptive activities of the communal and separatist forces are also given in a number of documents.

The ‘Review of the Work on Kisan Front and Future Tasks’, adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) in its meeting held on April 16 18, 1993, is also an important document included in this Volume.

The documents included in this Volume cover a wide range of political developments and I am confident that the readers will be able to draw proper conclusion on the political situation prevailing in India in 1992 93.



(JYOTI BASU)
Chief Editor

July 20, 1998.

Foreword

The early nineties goes down in history as an extremely difficult period for forces of socialism, national liberation and the working class movement. The reverses suffered by the socialism in Soviet Union and East Europe, the break-up of the USSR and the new imperialist offensive posed a very serious danger to the forces of peace and democracy and a threat to the security and independence of the Third World countries. The U.S. imperialism was emboldened to intervene brazenly in order to impose its dictates globally. As a result, the course of advance in newly independent countries had been adversely affected and the Non-Aligned Movement, despite its continued relevance, had been reduced to passivity and ineffectivity. The U.N. and in particular the Security Council has been hijacked by the U.S. and its allies. In the new world situation the imperialism led by U.S. imperialists was then exerting all round pressure on the remaining socialist countries, committed to socialism. Cuba has been directly threatened because of the unilateral withdrawal of Soviet military aid and the U.S. blockade of its economy.

In this situation of decline of strength of the forces of socialism, the party continued to uphold its deep commitment to socialism and to revolutionary transformation of the society. The party noted that despite serious setbacks in the world revolutionary process, in this period itself, there were some notable successes of national liberation forces. The independence of Namibia and the success of democratic forces in South Africa, the release of Nelson Mandela and the legalisation of ANC and the Communist Party, the defeat of Pinochet dictatorship in Chile and nearer home, the electoral gains of communists in Nepal were some of the developments

of the potential of world capitalism both of its capacity to further develop productive forces as well as its capacity to adapt to the changed circumstance". The 14th Party Congress resolution noted that the CPI(M) as a contingent of the world communist movement, was influenced by the incorrect understanding of the 1960 statement of the 81 Communist Parties which said among other things that "today the restoration of capitalism has been made impossible not only in the Soviet Union but in other socialist countries as well". The Resolution noted that the inevitability of capitalism's collapse was not an automatic process. Capitalism had to be overthrown. Marx and Engels had projected the triumph of world socialism as the post-capitalist stage in human evolution. Contrary to their expectations, in the changed situation the socialist revolutions triumphed in countries that were comparatively less capitalistically developed. The failure of the revolution to succeed in any advanced capitalist country by itself imposed limitations on these countries to consolidate socialism. The socialist revolutions reduced the physical size and levels of operations of world capitalist market, but in the absence of a socialist revolution in any advanced country, these basically affected neither the level of productive forces already attained by capitalism nor its future potential. It was hence possible for world capitalism to adapt to the new realities of a reduced physical market and yet raise the levels of the productive forces. This was testified by its initiation of the scientific and technological revolution in the post second world war period. The resolution stated further:

"The CPI(M) continues to adhere to the understanding that the present-day world developments can be comprehended only by a proper study of the four fundamental contradictions of the present epoch, viz., between the forces of world socialism and imperialism, between imperialism and peoples of developing world, between imperialist countries themselves and between capital and labour in the capitalist countries."

"The CPI(M) continues to adhere to the understanding that of these four, the contradiction between imperialism and socialism on a world scale occupies the central role in this epoch. Further, that any of these can intensify so as to come to the forefront of

world developments at a point of time with replacing the central contradiction.”

“Notwithstanding the present reverses for the international communist movement, this understanding retains its validity, given the current historical developments. These reveal the intensification of all these contradictions, not their modification, as the CPSU propounded. The CPI(M) openly disagreed with such an understanding. The subsequent world developments only strengthen the analysis then made by the CPI(M).”

“The intensification of the central contradiction is manifested in the current reverses for forces of world socialism. The reverses have shifted the balance of class forces, on the international plane, in favour of imperialism, albeit temporarily, in the historical perspective. This permits a new aggressiveness on the part of imperialism, which it is already demonstrating in its quest for a ‘New World Order’.

Discussing the issue of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party Congress Resolution stated that forms of this dictatorship are not constant or immutable. As the socialist society develops, the forms pass through varying and different phases. The Resolution noted that “the right to dissent within the Socialist framework must be recognized”, but in doing so neither the class character of the State, nor the leading role of the party could be abandoned. A distortion in the erstwhile socialist countries, according to the Resolution was that the “dictatorship of the class was replaced by that of the vanguard, the party, and more often than not, by the leadership of the party.”

The Party Congress Resolution stated that only after the establishment of People’s Democracy and complementing the anti-imperialist, anti feudal, anti monopoly capital tasks can the Indian people advance towards socialism. The Resolution defined socialism in the Indian conditions as a system wherein people’s power would be supreme and socialist economic construction will be based on socialised means of production and central planning. Various forms will be that of social ownership of means of production. Under socialism the right to dissent, freedom of expression and plurality of opinion will flourish.

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union and setback to socialism in Eastern European countries, international communist movement suffered a major reverse and various communist parties began collapsing, leading to serious ideological confusion and various parties abandoning their names. We do not want to say that our party was not at all affected by all these changes. But the effect was comparatively much less because we have been taking an independent position on the basis of Marxism Leninism as we understood not only in relation to Indian situation but also to that of the international situation. And we were consistently in this struggle and developing the working class, peasant, student youth movements and struggles of women and other sections in the country. This enabled us to resist pressure and maintain unity in our party.

Our membership had increased during these last three years. It was perhaps not accidental that we held a seminar from 5th to 7th of May, 1993 at Calcutta to mark the 175th birth anniversary of Karl Marx. We invited only those parties which had not only not changed their names but also adhered to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Of the parties, which were invited, all 30 of them responded, either by direct participation or by sending their papers or messages. The response therefore was overwhelming and the initiative was thus a reflection of the urge and desire of the Communist and Workers' Parties worldwide. All these appeared to be the result of our consistent struggle in defence of proletarian internationalism, as well as, our increased presence and strength among the Indian people.

The 14th Party-Congress on the basis of the experience of work since the previous 13th Congress came to the conclusion that though the Party proceeded on a correct line and our assessment of the situation had been vindicated by subsequent developments, it had not been possible to bring any radical change in the political situation. Popular discontent against the ruling party had been growing fast. There had been a new awakening among the downtrodden, the tribal population and the different ethnic formations.

The regional parties in certain areas and States tend to use this discontent in reaping electoral gains. This is the result, on the one hand, of the failure of the recognised all India parties to keep in mind the sentiments of different States that constitute India. On the other, it also reflects the conflicts and contradictions between the Centre, which is dominated by the big business, and the State where the interests of regional bourgeoisie are also substantial. The Party Congress also noted the growing criminalisation of politics, which poses a great threat to democratic structure of the country.

The 14th Party Congress drew the conclusion that the change in the world situation and the economic policies opted for by the ruling Congress(I) had affected our foreign policy, with India no more playing the important role in the world arena that it had been doing so far. On issues like the solution of Kampuchean problem, a settlement in West Asia, the U.S. blockade of Iraq and of Cuba, India's voice was nowhere to be heard. Never since Bandung Conference was India so marginalised in the international sphere as it was during that period.

The question of bringing about a change in the correlation of class forces was a key question. The Left had emerged as the foremost defender of national unity. It had been able to instil confidence in the Janata Dal and the National Front that in spite of differences with them on some basic issues, there was a firm basis for working together as allies. This understanding with the two formations help us in the achievement of the objective of isolating communal forces, particularly the BJP. The emergence of alliance and understanding between the Left on the one hand and the Janata Dal and the National Front on the other was of utmost importance. The anti Communist bias prevalent in the parties of bourgeois landlord classes was on the wane. It should also not be forgotten that the Janata Dal staked their power on the issue of national unity. It would, however, be wrong to conclude that a split has taken place between the monopoly and the non monopoly sections of the bourgeoisie and the latter has become a part of the Left and democratic front.

Given the level of consciousness of the majority of Indian masses, who are still behind the parties of the bourgeois landlord

classes, the stage is not yet set for the coming into existence of such a situation. But the conflicts and contradictions that emerge among the various political formations of the ruling classes have to be skilfully utilised for the advance of the Left and democratic movement in the country. It is always required to make full use of the potential of the parliamentary struggle and combine this with our work in class and mass organisations. It is of consistent necessity that we raise the level of political consciousness of the masses.

While working with the bourgeois opposition parties, we always keep in mind their class outlook. This alliance should not be confused with our slogan of Left and democratic front. Our party experience also shows that we do not try to demarcate with them when demarcation becomes necessary. Sometime we tone down our differences in the name of unity. We also become victims of parliamentarianism under one pretext or the other. Though it was necessary to change the tactical line, in the period after Emergency, bourgeois landlord parties were able to dictate terms to us in many places instead of coming to proper understanding. While making certain very necessary compromises, we can never forget our class outlook and ideological moorings.

The 14th Party Congress adopted a "Report on Organisation and Tasks", which formed a separate agenda, an item of the Congress because a plenum of the C.C. to review the implementation of the decision of 1978 Salkia Plenum could not be held due to party's pre occupation with the rapidly changing national political situation, the serious communal challenge and the Tenth General Election.

The Report noted that P.B., C.C. and Salkia Plenum guidelines had produced good results. The Party Membership had increased from 1,61,000 in 1978 to 5,79,000 in 1991. The membership of the party led mass organisations had increased six-fold, i.e. from 4 millions to 28.7 millions in the same period. This expansion was the biggest gain from the thrust given by the Salkia decisions. But this growth had also highlighted certain continuing problems and thrown up some new ones. Even today it is relevant. The major expansion in party membership was due to increase in West Bengal and Kerala. Tamil Nadu had also made substantial progress

followed by Andhra Pradesh to a lesser extent. The proportion of party members from Kerala and West Bengal out of the total membership still continue to increase. In Bihar, the membership of mass organisations had registered substantial increase while Party membership had increased only marginally. Still today, there has been steady recruitment to the Party from basic classes, but the attention to improving working class composition is inadequate. In terms of age group at the time of the Party Congress (January 1992) the proportion of those who joined the party after 1980 stood at 70 per cent. The party had made headway in the Hindi speaking States but on the whole there were deficiencies in the functioning of the State Committees and State Secretariats.

The Report made an analytical study of party's work in mass organisations. It examined party functioning with reference to democratic centralism and the growth of the evil of bureaucratism in party organisations. The Report also assessed the state of party's ideological work and the shortcomings therein.

Outlining party's tasks, the Report called for renewed thrust in three major areas – in stepping up mass struggles, in restoring the primacy of party building as a key task and in heightening the ideological work and independent projection of party's line and policies.

Another important proposal adopted by the Party Congress was about updating the Party Programme. It was felt that even though the basic formulations in the programme regarding class character of the Indian state power, stage of the Indian Revolution, the Front required to achieve the goal, etc. were correct, in the changed circumstances, when the world balance of forces tilted towards imperialism and big change in the national situation since 1964 had taken place, and above all some of the formulations of the world communist movement were found incorrect, it was necessary to update the party programme. The Sixteenth Party Congress to be held in Calcutta in October 1998 is set to come to a decisive position on the issue and after elaborate discussion in the proper fora the updated party programme will be adopted shortly after the Congress.

In pursuance of the decision of the Fourteenth Party Congress, the CPI(M), working in such a complex situation, came out with a big solidarity campaign to defend Cuban people and their revolution. Cuba has been under American embargo for decades. With disintegration of Soviet Union, its biggest trade partner, Cuba was sought to be strangled and U.S. imperialists were pressurising others too to refrain from helping Cuba in her hour of trial. The valiant Cuban people have again and again refused to capitulate. Fidel Castro had replied to the American imperialists by reverberating the clarion declaration of Cubans – Socialism or Death! That it inspired and electrified the anti imperialist movement, which was subdued after setback to socialism, was manifested through worldwide response for solidarity with Cuba. True to the international outlook we did not forget to discharge our international duty and obligation to try our utmost to help Cuba warding off the effects of U.S. embargo. The countrywide campaign by the National Committee for Solidarity with Cuba galvanized various sections of the Indians that culminated with the shipment of 12,000 metric tonnes of wheat and rice, and medicines collected from all over the country on the Cuba liner 'Caribbean Princess' at Haldia. Befitting was a huge gathering that looked like a human sea. Apart from Left Governments a number of State Governments, like Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab contributed handsomely. The Central Government stepped in and came to the help in a big way. The concentrated expression of anti imperialist sentiments had, in actual practice, came to the fore again on this great occasion which, subsequently influenced the hesitant Central Government to overcome U.S. pressure and play its role as a leading non-aligned nation.

There were other positive elements alike. It was for the first time a President of Indian Republic paid an official visit to China in May 1992. It was followed by a first visit by an Indian Defence Minister after a couple of months. According priority to the speedy development of friendly relations with China, to the necessary steps of removing all impediments to the flowering of Indo China relations has always been an ardent desire of people of India.

As a matter of fact, the process of normalization of relation gained impetus since 1988 when the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi visited China and both sides agreed to improve cooperation in many spheres. Since its formation the CPI(M) has been asking both countries to give up confrontationist attitude and resolve the dispute across the table. In the contemporary world situation when U.S. imperialism had been going all out in its effort to establish hegemony and browbeat the Third World countries, the visit of the President R. K. Venkataraman and Defence Minister Sharad Pawar had come as a watermark of steadily growing goodwill and mutual cooperation.

The Non Aligned Movement summit at Jakarta in September 1992 in the backdrop of such a world situation, when U.S. imperialism freed from the fear of restraining counter action of the Soviet Union, was carrying on its imperialist depredations against the Third World countries, had evoked hope among the people. The pressure of U.S. imperialists on NAM to tone down its position during the previous summit at Belgrade did not succeed. The NAM failed to act meanwhile in regard to disastrous situation created by the U.S. and other western powers in Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan and Yugoslavia. The Jakarta summit, China also a participant for the first time, came to certain important conclusions on some pertinent issues. It maintained that the world today was still far from being a peaceful, just and secure place. It also urged accelerated efforts "on the prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction as a nuclear weapons free world has always been the position of our movement." It came out forthrightly on various issues like. against foreign occupation; unfavourable external economic environment characterised by crushing burden of debt and debt servicing, severely curtailed financial flows, unabated protectionism, inadequate access to technology, low international prices for commodities and raw materials; agricultural policies of imperialist countries that depressed export earnings and more importantly revitalisation and democratisation of United Nations, apart from others. We want our people to take up the issues into their hands and build public opinion so that India continues to play its rightful role.

Besides the consistent refusal by Indian Government to sign the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty, the rare of defiance in pursuing the advance in rocket technology with the launching of Agni, the period as discussed above had been marked by succumbing to U.S. pressure on various other counts such as Super 301, acceptance of Dunkel Draft on GATT, etc. despite strong public opposition.

Four important issues dominated the political scene in the period of 1992-93. They were: threat to secularism; the anti people economic policies that were threatening economic sovereignty; continuing threat to national unity from the separatist and divisive forces; and major corruption scandals.

December 6, 1992 goes down in the historical calendar of this country as BLACK SUNDAY when India was submerged into shame before the globe as the BJP-VHP RSS vandals at the instance of their masterminds had been able to demolish the four and half centuries old structure known as Babri Masjid subverting the Supreme Court decision, the Constitution and with total disregard to the secular values of the nation. Consequent to this outrageous happening at Ayodhya, the country had been engulfed in communal riots that claimed, according to official figures, the lives of 1,500 people and inflicted injuries to thousands of others, unprecedented in scale and dimension since the days of the partition. The impact of this worst criminal act was not confined to India alone. Both Pakistan and Bangladesh also witnessed riots and attacks on minorities and their places of worship following the outrage.

The most horrifying condition into which the country had been plunged was but the culmination of the events that had been taking place over the preceding years. As for the Congress(I), the shameless compromise and unprincipled appeasement which began in the days of Rajiv Gandhi with the unlocking of the gates of the mosque in 1986, and the sanctioning of the 'Shilanyas' ceremony in 1989 had been more vigorously continued by Narasimha Rao led Congress(I) Government. Even after the National Integration Council meeting which gave an unparalleled mandate to the Prime Minister to face the communal challenges and if be needed, to dismiss the BJP led government in Uttar Pradesh wherein Ayodhya belongs to, his obnoxious line of compromise continued. The Polit Bureau of our

party, taking into account all these developments, said, "instead of relying on the unstinted support of all the secular parties, the Prime Minister preferred to come to an understanding with the RSS BJP leaders. It is due to their disastrous policy that the Left parties and the National Front demanded the resignation of the Prime Minister." The party had called upon to launch immediately a sustained joint mass campaign to isolate the communal forces and defeat the compromising policies of the Congress(I).

The impact of the IMF WB dictated new economic policies since 1991 had led to the acute economic disaster in all fields, systematic erosion of economic sovereignty and the destruction of India's immense potential for building a self-reliant economy. The economic liberalisation policies had opened the floodgates to racketeering; the combination of big business, ruling politicians, black money and anti social elements had found firm entrenchment in politics. The corruption scandals galore would be belittled if it were only called to be the cases of high level corruption, it was no less than the corrupting role of the ruling party on the democratic institutions.

The growing incapacity of the government to evolve a credible policy to tackle the serious question of national unity, to fight the divisive and separatist forces had brought to the fore the opportunistic policies of the Congress(I) which showed explicitly its repeated inability to place party's narrow interests above that of the country. At a time when separatist and fundamentalists forces were posing a grave threat to the nation's very unity, the Congress(I) government by its anti people economic policies was strengthening these very forces. Thus the fight against communal and divisive forces and that against anti people economic policies were interlinked.

The above-mentioned period witnessed intensification of mass movements on all the issues confronting the country. Remarkable were the all India strike called by Central Trade Unions; massive rallies, demonstrations and dharnas all over the country, 'Jail Bharo' movement, week long observance of national unity and secularism from August 9 to 15, 1993, all-India industrial strike and magnificent 'Bharat Bandh' on two occasions called by the platform

of mass organisations to press 19 point charter of demands, widespread campaign against abject surrender to imperialist sponsored GATT proposals all these achieved spectacular success. The campaign against the communal forces after the demolition of the mosque by the Left and secular forces drew immense response from wide cross section of the Indian people.

The resounding victory of the Left and democratic forces led by the CPI(M) in Tripura in the Assembly elections in April, 1993 was unmistakable expression of the people's wrath and revulsion against the most heinous terror unleashed by the Congress(I) regime in Tripura. Hundreds had been murdered and thousands of others had to face severe hardship under semi fascist rule of Congress(I). It was followed by elections to four northern State Assemblies formerly ruled by the BJP and in the Union territory of Delhi that assumed great political importance.

Unfortunately, the Left is very weak in these States, though its prestige is very high. Excluding the Left, except in Uttar Pradesh, the other secular Opposition parties were also not strong. Hence, barring U.P., the main fight was between the Congress(I) and the BJP. It was in Rajasthan that the BJP had emerged as the largest party, that too due to complete bungling by the Congress(I). The BJP, which had campaigned on the slogan of forcible construction of temple at Ayodhya and Hindutva as its main platform, while lending full support to the anti-people policies of the Congress(I) government, had been badly humbled. In U.P., the Congress(I) had further eroded its base and the Samajvadi Party (SP) and Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) alliance emerged as a decisive force. Wherever the Left and secular Opposition alternative was absent, the people rallied behind the Congress(I).

The central thrust of the CPI(M) in these elections was to defeat the BJP and prevent its coming back to power in U.P. and the other three States. This goal had by and large been achieved. The Central Committee of the CPI(M) after analysing the election results concluded that "despite the setback suffered by the BJP, it continues to wield substantial influence both in terms of percentage of votes polled and seats won. The Central Committee, therefore,

called for continuing the struggle against the communal ideology and politics " Alongside, the party decided to intensify the struggle against the pro imperialist economic policies of the Centre. The results also showed the assertion of the backward castes. It was decided that the CPI(M) while supporting the demands of social justice would try to enhance the class unity and class consciousness without which the caste polarisation might turn to divisive channels.

There were encouraging developments around the world too. Concerted action against apartheid by the people of the world had brought South Africa to the road of non racial democracy. The victory of the alliance of the Left Parties in Poland Election marked the growing disillusionment of the people with the IMF dictated breakneck privatization. The regrouping of the Left and revolutionary forces was taking place in Russia, other Republics of former USSR and East European countries.

Withstanding and resisting U.S pressure, the socialist countries of China, Vietnam, Cuba, and also Democratic Korea were on the advance reaffirming their commitment to socialism. The pursuit of world domination of U.S. and other western powers through economic and political weapons were facing resistance from all over the world.

Rising like a phoenix from the ruins, the signs of building a stronger, more experienced, much determined and more ideologically armoured working class movement were evident everywhere.

No student, historian, researcher or a serious political activist can afford to be without this Volume. Fighters of freedom, democracy and socialism will surely find it necessary, I believe, to refer to it repeatedly to answer certain basic questions of Marxist Leninist ideology and rebuff the lies against the communists and expose the cruel aims of the reactionaries of all hues.

Harkishan Singh Surjeet

Harkishan Singh Surjeet

General Secretary,

Communist Party of India (Marxist)

July 28, 1998

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Salute to The Red Flag*

Text of M. Basavapunnaiah's Speech at the Flag Hoisting Ceremony on January 3, 1992 at B.T. Ranadive Nagar, Madras, on the eve of commencement of Fourteenth Congress of The Communist Party of India (Marxist)

On the occasion of the holding of our Fourteenth Party Congress, I am asked by our Central Committee to hoist the Red Flag. I feel it a great honour to do so since the same Red Flag has been hauled down in the former Soviet Union where it had been proudly flying for the last seven decades and more.

Whatever happens elsewhere, we in India hold this Red Flag in high esteem, as a flag of the workers and peasants, as a flag for the liberation of all mankind from every type of oppression and exploitation, and as a flag that heralds the victory of the world socialist revolution.

Let us salute the Red Flag, a flag drenched with the blood of countless Communist martyrs over the last seventy years and more.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) is holding its Fourteenth Congress. This is the third time that an All India Communist Congress is being held in Tamil Nadu. When the CPI was one party, the Third Congress was held at Madurai in the year 1953, and the Ninth Congress was also held in the same city in the year 1972. Again Tamil Nadu is the venue of our Fourteenth Congress, in Madras, from January 3 to 9, 1992.

From the Madurai Party Congress in 1953, it is nearly four decades that we have passed through. These have been decades of world historic changes, and we are now in the last decade of the twentieth century.

We are entering this decade at a crucial juncture of world history. The confirmed anti-Communists and counter-

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2 *Documents of The Communist Movement in India*

revolutionaries of all hues are shouting aloud that "Communism is dead and gone buried fathoms deep". The pen pushers in the bourgeois Press are writing hundreds of columns and pages to broadcast the message of the Communist demise.

The collapse of the Communist led regimes in the countries of Eastern Europe, the abandoning of the signboards by some Communist Parties, opting out for the discredited title of social democracy, the socio-political turmoil that has come to grip the 70-year-old socialist society in the USSR, leading to its disintegration, ending in the formation of a so-called Commonwealth of Independent and Sovereign States—all have dealt a serious blow to advancing the cause of Socialism and Communism. These setbacks, reverses and defeats in the international Communist movement no doubt sadden our hearts, while gladdening the hearts of the arch-reactionaries and consummate counter-revolutionaries.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) has, from time to time, been discussing, in depth these adverse world developments during the last three years. These discussions are being summed up in the resolutions and documents placed before the delegates to the Party Congress for discussion, amendments and adoption.

What is the sum and substance, or the gist of these Central Committee documents?

The differences and divisions in the world Communist movement are not entirely a new phenomenon of the last three/four years. Serious differences arose as early as 1957, and a first World Communist Conference took place in Moscow during the month of November 1957, in which sixty Communist and Workers' Parties had participated.

The differences could not be resolved, and a second gathering of Communist Parties took place in June 1960, in Romania, on the occasion of the Third Congress of the Romanian Party Congress. Yet differences persisted. Again a Third World meet was held in Moscow during November-December 1960, to which as many as 81 Parties came.

Besides these above-cited world Communist meets, there also took place a number of meetings on a regional or continental

basis. Could these meetings, discussions and decisions resolve the differences and restore the unity in the international Communist movement?

Unfortunately no. On the contrary the differences led to a precipitous split which took the form of the Sino-Soviet divide, with the two biggest socialist countries ranged against each other, backed by a million strong army on both sides all along the Soviet China border.

This sad confrontation had its own negative impact on Indo China relations. Thus these two disastrous divides, involving the destinies of three big and populous countries of the world, together constituting one-third of the world population, cost the Communists and their allied popular forces dearly, helping only the world imperialists, and the U.S. in particular.

But this constitutes only one side of the picture, not a real balance sheet of world developments during the last 50 years of history. On the other side it had fallen to the lot of the Communists to rout and defeat the world fascist combine of Germany, Japan and Italy during the years of 1941-45 all at the cost of the lives of tens of millions of people and billions worth of industrial destruction.

It was Soviet and Chinese Communist political-military might that inflicted a defeat on the U.S. imperialists in the war against North Korea, that also enabled a successful conclusion to the Vietnamese national liberation struggle and ushering in its socialist stage of development.

Who else held in check the mighty U.S. atomic power, and prevented the outbreak of a Third World War during the last 45 years except the forces of the Soviet Union, People's China and the other allied forces for peace, democracy and Socialism?

This is only a scrappy sketch of the historic victories of the Communist movement in the twentieth century. The anti-Communist *pundits* deliberately forget, or pretend to forget, these historic achievements of Communism and Marxist thought, while howling day in and day out that Communism is dead. We beg to differ with them and totally disagree.

4 *Documents of The Communist Movement in India*

Decades back, great Lenin who creatively carried forward Marxism, had described world monopoly capitalism and imperialism as moribund capitalism, decaying capitalism, that had come to depend, on the main, on the man slaughtering industry of manufacturing atomic and other lethal arms.

Monopoly capitalism and imperialism is the stage of the general crisis of the capitalism, a stage of inter-imperialist wars and wars of grabbing colonies and semi colonies in the world. The U.S. imperialism, which lost the least and gained the most in the Second World War, has begun establishing a new era, an American era.

These pipe dreams can never be realised and there have arisen forces in the world to check-mate and defeat it, and establish a really New Era where the bossdom of one or the other great power is no more allowed and a just new social order firmly established.

The general crisis of capitalism continues. The ongoing recession in most of the imperialist countries is not the old type of economic recession that periodically used to come and recede. The present recession is another acute phase of the general crisis of capitalism.

The bourgeois think-tanks who have been jumping and dancing about the "demise of communism", will have to reckon with the reality of the capitalist decline and demise.

The economic crisis and other crisis phenomena in our country, and several other similar newly-liberated countries, is a reflection of the general crisis of capitalism in its decline, and there is no hope nor scope, for overcoming this general crisis, no matter what the imperialist do to rescue world capitalism and resurrect it as a crisis-free capitalism.

The CPI(M)'s conviction in the doctrine of Marxism and the cause of Communism is not shaken by the recent reverses in Eastern Europe, and the ongoing convulsions in the former Soviet Union, or the present "Commonwealth of Independent States".

The CPI(M)'s conviction in the class assessment of the world correlation of forces, as was being done during the last 40 to 45 years remains valid.

The CPI(M)'s assessment that four major social contradictions are operating in the world arena remains valid, and it sees no reason to revise it.

Lastly, the CPI(M) continues to adhere to its Marxist conviction, namely, that out of the aforementioned four social contradictions, the contradiction between the forces of peace, democracy, national liberation and Socialism, and those of imperialism and counter-revolution remains the hub and centre of all world social and class contradictions.

It is this understanding that has enabled the CPI(M) to play its due role in Indian and international politics and earn the confidence of an ever-increasing mass of the toiling people and the enlightened and radical intelligentsia.

Welcome Address Delivered by A. Nallasivam as Chairman of The Reception Committee of The Fourteenth Congress of The Communist Party of India (Marxist), held at B.T. Ranadive Nagar, Madras, on January 3-9, 1992*

Esteemed guests from fraternal parties, Comrades of the Presidium, delegates and invitees, on behalf of the Reception Committee of the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), I extend our warm welcome and revolutionary greetings to you all.

In the long and chequered history of our Party, it is the third time that we, in Tamil Nadu, have been bestowed the proud privilege of hosting the Party Congress. You all know that, in 1953 and in 1972, we were given the opportunity of hosting the Party Congresses. The toiling people, democratic masses, and the multitude of Party cadres in Tamil Nadu are deeply indebted to you all for conferring this honour on us.

While welcoming you to this city of Madras, I recall with pride the innumerable and glorious struggles waged by the working class, extending back to the earliest days.

Tracing the origin of the strike struggles towards the end of the last century, several authors have recorded important strikes between 1882 and 1890 itself, by the working class of Madras:

*in Coimbatore, in a textile conglomerate of Tamil Nadu, the spinning and weaving mill workers embarked upon a strike as early as in May, 1890;

*the Southern India Spinning and Weaving Co. at Madras recorded five strikes between the years 1881 and 1890. Government Press Workers at Madras went on a six months' long strike in 1903, demonstrating the fighting resolve of the nascent working class.

The working class movement in its infancy, grew and gained in strength in the cradle of the nationalist and freedom struggles.

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The celebrated doyen of the freedom movement in Tamil Nadu, V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, led the heroic strike of the Coral Mill Workers of Tuticorin in 1908, braving savage punishment by the colonial rulers.

It should be noted here that Subramania Bharati, renowned nationalist poet and a close associate of V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, hailed the October Revolution as the greatest and the most significant event in the history of mankind.

I wish also to bring to your notice that the Railway Workers of Madras have the distinction of being one of the earliest group of martyrs in the Indian working class movement. It is also the proud record of Madras that it was the Madras Labour Union formed in 1918, with the workers of Buckingham and Carnatic Mills that laid the foundation for a modern trade union movement. Labour veterans, B.P. Wadia, Thiru. Vi. Kalyanasundaram, G. Ramanujalu Naidu and G. Selvaganapathi Chettiar were among the founder leaders of this movement. The City of Madras has also the historical pride of conducting the first ever May Day celebrations in India in the year 1923, which was organised by Comrade M. Singaravelu Chettiar.

This glorious past and rich tradition of the working class of Madras, I have recalled so far, is only to reaffirm our determination to carry it further forward.

Comrades! We are meeting here at the most critical point of time in the history of the international working class movement. Marxism Leninism and the socialist ideology are under virulent attack by the enemy class and its hired pen pushers. Not many in the world dared to stand up firmly and stem this tidal wave of slanderous attack. We, the Communist Party of India (Marxist), stand on this pedestal, asserting our impregnable faith in Marxism Leninism and resolve to hold aloft the red banner of proletarian internationalism. .

Our country is in the throes of deep crisis, in the political, economic and social spheres. Ill-advised capitulation to the IMF conditionalities by the bourgeois-landlord Government has virtually resulted in the abdication of the country's right to self-reliance in the economic sphere, with ominous portents for the sovereignty of the country.

The threat to national unity from secessionist forces, aided by imperialist powers, is assuming alarming proportions. The added strength gained by the fundamentalist and obscurantist forces is spreading the communal virus throughout the country and eating into the vitals of the people's unity.

Our Party, through the innumerable sacrifices made by our martyrs all over the country, has the proud distinction of being in the forefront of the struggle to defend freedom, people's unity and economic independence. Our Party is today at centre stage in this struggle rallying round the democratic, secular and patriotic forces.

At this point let me pay homage to the brave martyrs who have shed their blood for this noble cause in Punjab, Tripura, Assam, Kashmir and in other parts of the country.

We meet here in this Party Congress to define our political line in this international and national scenario of grim developments to formulate our policies, and draw up the impending tasks. I am sure this Party Congress will successfully accomplish this historic task and pursue it with redoubled vigour.

In Tamil Nadu, we, in our own humble way, are carrying on the political line laid down by the Party in fighting against the anti people and anti-democratic policies of the Congress(I) and AIADMK alliance. We are fighting against the communal, disruptive forces and chauvinistic trends, and trying to build up a left, democratic movement. We are trying to mobilise all sections of the people in carrying out this task and also trying, to the best of our ability, to build a mass revolutionary party.

In this connection, it is only proper to mention the proud name of, and pay homage to Comrade Ameer Hyder Khan who had come to this part of the country from Punjab as early as in 1931, to sow the seeds of the Communist movement in Tamil Nadu. I should also mention Comrade S.V. Ghate, Comrade P. Sundarayya and his colleagues of Andhra, Comrade A.K. Gopalan and the band of organisers from Kerala, who came to this part of the country and helped building the Communist movement in the 1930s and 1940s.

Our State Committee, entrusted with the task of hosting of this 7 day session, has accepted it as a great responsibility and tried to do its best. The Reception Committee has endeavoured, to the best

of its ability, to make your stay here as comfortable as possible. We may fall short in fulfilling your needs in some aspects for which I request you to kindly bear with us.

Long Live Marxism-Leninism!
Long Live the Fourteenth Congress!
With Revolutionary Greetings.

**E.M.S. Namboodiripad's Opening
Speech Inaugurating
The Fourteenth Congress of
The Communist Party of India (Marxist)
Held at B.T. Ranadive Nagar,
Madras, on January 3-9, 1992***

I have the honour and privilege of formally opening this, the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

The three years which have elapsed since the Thirteenth Congress have seen momentous changes in the international situation. This serious reverses suffered by socialism in Eastern Europe and the dismantling of the Soviet Union have radically altered the balance of world forces. There is a serious setback, temporarily, for the proletarian and progressive forces on a world scale. The surrender by the leadership of the Soviet Union before American imperialism has meant the end of the old bipolar world and the beginning of a new unipolar world dominated by U.S. imperialism. President Bush and his allies have developed ambitions for creating a "new world order" dominated by them.

While these developments have adverse consequences for the forces of peace, democracy and Socialism and for the Third World in particular, the forces to counteract this reactionary offensive will gradually assert themselves. Significant in this connection is the fact that China, Vietnam, Cuba and Korea have declared their resolve to uphold the socialist path. Among the fraternal parties in other countries too, resistance is growing to the capitulationist policies of the erstwhile leadership of the Soviet Union headed by Gorbachev. In the Third World, subject to cruel exploitation and injustice, the forces opposed to imperialist domination are going to gather strength.

Our Party has been pronouncing on the ideological questions raised by the recent events. We have come to the conclusion that

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such basic concepts of Marxism Leninism as class struggle, dictatorship of the proletariat, proletarian internationalism and the leading role of the Party are as valid today as they ever have been. The experience of their application, however, makes it necessary to make a front appraisal of the distortions in practice and restore the basic Marxist concepts to their original purity and in line with present day conditions. I am confident that our discussion in the Congress will enrich and unify the Party's understanding of the basic concepts of Marxism Leninism. Based on our own experience, our Party will never give up adherence to Marxism-Leninism and the cause of Socialism and Communism.

The three year period has witnessed rapid changes in the national-political scene. The National Front Government came to power and fell within eleven months due to the betrayal by the BJP. The tenth general elections have resulted in the formation of the minority Government of the Congress(I) led by Narasimha Rao. This Government has now launched on a whole gamut of economic policies which are a surrender to the IMF World Bank. These policies are dangerous for the country's economic and political sovereignty; they are a vicious attack on the living and working conditions of the toiling people. Our Party has taken a firm stand of opposition to these pro imperialist policies. Along with the Left and other allies, we are in the process of developing a powerful mass movement against these harmful measures. The first step in this direction has been the successful all-India industrial strike of November 29. I hope the deliberations at this Congress would help us in developing this mass movement further and inflict a crushing defeat on those who wish to mortgage our future to imperialism.

The period also saw rise of aggressive Hindu communalism. This brings me to question of the character of the major Opposition party in Parliament, the BJP. Based as it is on the aggressive ideology of *Hindutva* and organising inflammatory campaigns as on the Ayodhya dispute, the ongoing *Ekta Yatra* and the demand for revocation of Article 370 of the Constitution, the BJP has come out as the major organiser of anti-minority attacks. We have to put up a determined and united struggle against this disruptive force if national unity and communal amity is to be preserved.

Unfortunately, however, the Congress(I) which professes secularism, refuses to take forthright positions which are necessary if secularism and national unity are to be defended. It has, therefore, fallen upon our Party, the Left and our secular allies to carry forward this fight against the communal danger steadfastly. The battle against the Narasimha Rao Government's anti people policies and the communal danger emanating from the BJP must be simultaneously carried forward.

At this critical juncture, our Party is firmly conducting the struggle for national unity. The heroic fight being waged by the Punjab unit of the Party against separatism and terrorism, at the cost of precious lives of our comrades, is winning the admiration of all the patriotic forces. We express our solidarity with the comrades of Tripura who are resisting the semi-fascist terror unleashed in the State by the Congress(I)-TUIJS Government.

The CPI(M) as the major Left force in the country has earned a significant place in national politics by its consistent fight for alternative socio-economic policies, in defence of national unity and against authoritarianism and communalism. For fully discharging our responsibility, the Party has to further expand to become an all-India mass revolutionary party as envisaged in the Salkia Plenum in 1978. At this Congress we shall review how far we have strengthened our organisation, what are the shortcomings and how to overcome them.

I am confident that the Fourteenth Congress of the Party will take up this heavy and serious agenda successfully. We shall emerge from this Congress equipped to discharge our responsibilities in strengthening the Left forces, bringing about a change in the correlation of forces to forge the Left and democratic alternative.

I extend a warm welcome to the delegations from the fraternal parties.

Political Resolution

**Adopted by The Fourteenth Congress of
The Communist Party of India (Marxist),
Held at B. T. Ranadive Nagar, Madras,
on January 3-9, 1992***

INTERNATIONAL

1.1 The international situation in the period after the 13th Party Congress has been a stormy and difficult one for the forces of Socialism, national liberation and the working class movement. The reverses suffered by Socialism in the Soviet Union and earlier in Eastern Europe have altered the world balance of forces in favour of imperialism for the present. The process of restoration of capitalism in the countries of Eastern Europe, the course of dismantling Socialism in the Soviet Union and the break up of the USSR in its old form are accompanied by a new imperialist offensive. This has grave repercussions for the socialist countries and the Communist Movement, the struggle to safeguard national independence of the Third World countries and for the forces of peace and democracy. It is in such an adverse situation that the revolutionary and progressive forces must work to overcome the present difficulties.

1.2 Though significant changes began taking place in the socialist countries and in many Communist Parties by the time of the 13th Congress of the Party, we failed to grasp their deep implications then. Hence the subsequent developments which unfolded were quite unexpected.

1.3 Within a year of the 13th Party Congress, Socialism as it existed suffered major setbacks. In Eastern Europe, one country after another, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania and the GDR, went through the throes of

*Published as a booklet in June 1992

upheavals and they culminated in the process of restoration of capitalism. In the case of GDR, it led to its merger within the capitalist system in unified Germany.

1.4 In the Soviet Union, in the six years of perestroika and glasnost, what began as reforms to renew and strengthen the socialist system paved the way for the demolition process of Socialism. Ideologically and politically the reforms were so conducted that they generated forces inimical to Socialism. They opened the way for the forces which espouse capitalism and facilitated imperialist intervention to aid these forces.

1.5 The events in August 1991 were the culmination of the gathering anti-socialist momentum. These forces went on a counter-revolutionary offensive after the August events. The CPI(M) took a principled stand based on the defence of the socialist system in the Soviet Union and for the unity of the USSR—a product of the October 1917 Revolution.

1.6 The major reverse in the Soviet Union, with the disbanding of the Communist Party and the break up of the Union of Republics, will have serious and adverse repercussions in the international arena. Earlier, national liberation movements and those Third World countries undertaking progressive changes could bank upon the support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Now that countervailing force to imperialism is no more present in the old form.

1.7 For the past four years the "New Thinking" in Soviet foreign policy, based on the modification of contradictions and the absence of imperialism in its analysis, had its disastrous consequences. It has emboldened U.S. imperialism to intervene brazenly to impose its dictates globally. The war waged against Iraq by the United States and its allies illustrated this new imperialist aggressiveness and arrogance. The abandonment of the Soviet role contributed to the reversal of the progressive course of transformation in Mozambique and Ethiopia, the compromise forced on Angola to settle with reactionary and pro-imperialist forces and the disunity among Arab States. The advance of fundamentalist forces threatens the Algerian revolution. The Palestinian liberation movement is sought to be

pushed back by the division created in the Arab camp and the rallying to the imperialist side by some major Arab countries in the Gulf war. Spearheaded by the U.S., the settlement of the Palestinian question through international peace negotiations is sought to be achieved by bypassing the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. Israel continues to defy world opinion by refusing to vacate the occupied territories and settling its people in these areas. In the civil war in Yugoslavia, Germany and Austria support the secession of Slovenia and Croatia.

1.8 The new found dominance of the imperialist alliance is reflected in the weakening of the non-aligned movement and its passivity. Regional organisations like the Arab League and the Organisation of African Unity are now subjected to greater imperialist pressures and economic blackmail. The U.N. and in particular, the Security Council, has been hijacked by the U.S. and its allies with the tacit support of the Soviet Union. China abstained in the crucial vote in the Security Council on the Gulf War. Cuba was the only socialist country to oppose. In the Gulf War and its aftermath, permanent members of the Security Council used the U.N. cover, to launch its war on Iraq and to repeatedly infringe on its sovereignty by imposing humiliating conditions of war preparations.

1.9 Notwithstanding the serious reverses to Socialism and the revolutionary process, the recent period saw important advances for the anti imperialist, democratic national liberation forces. The independence of Namibia after protracted struggle; the significant success for the democratic forces in South Africa against the racist regime, the release of Nelson Mandela and the legalisation of the ANC and the Communist Party there; the defeat of the Pinochet dictatorship by the people of Chile; the agreement for a U.N. supervised plebiscite in Western Sahara; the progress in the peace negotiations in Cambodia; the advance of the democratic forces in Bangladesh with the restoration of the parliamentary system; the electoral gains of the Communists in Nepal in the first democratically held elections after three decades; the progress of the anti U.S. military bases movement in the Philippines; and the improvement in Sino-Vietnamese

relations—all these are pointers to the potential of the anti imperialist and progressive forces operating in the world today.

1.10 The new world situation is exerting all-round pressures on the remaining socialist countries which are committed to the path of Socialism. The smaller socialist countries particularly are under threat of subversion and intimidation by imperialism. Cuba, the only socialist country in the Western hemisphere, is directly threatened. The Soviet Union has unilaterally withdrawn its military aid while the U.S. maintains the Guantanamo military base on Cuban soil. The U.S. blockade of its economy, the constant efforts to subvert it internally, all will be stepped up to undermine Cuba's independence and socialist system.

1.11 Our Party expresses its firm solidarity with the socialist countries which are tackling the difficult challenge of reforming the system and renovating the economy. They are doing so in conditions where imperialism is utilising its dominance over science and technology and the world economic order to deprive these countries of their normal share and participation in world development. The on-going economic reforms in China have met with important successes. These reforms are continuing after the Government of the People's Republic of China met the counter-revolutionary challenge of the May-June 1989 events successfully. Vietnam is also undertaking important reforms while adhering to the socialist framework. We hope these reforms undertaken in the socialist countries will be able to overcome the weaknesses and strengthen Socialism. The CPI(M) supports the efforts of the DPRK, for a principled resolution of the problem of the reunification of the Korean nation.

1.12 The dismantling of the socialist states in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are the results of the accumulated distortions and revisionist deviations in applying Marxist-Leninist principles to building Socialism and the deformations in socialist democracy. The theoretical defects in summing up correctly the negative experiences of the past, the theoretical and practical distortions of Marxism-Leninism by individual parties and socialist countries, cannot be attributed to the science of Marxism-Leninism. The whole course of history since the October Revolution has confirmed the validity of

the correctness of the theory of Marxism Leninism. Hence the reverses which the Communist movement and Socialism have suffered are not permanent. Revisionism of the right or Left variety and social democracy cannot be the substitutes for the creative application of Marxism Leninism.

1.13 The struggle for peace and nuclear disarmament must be re evaluated in the new context. The forces of peace welcomed the steps initiated by the Soviet Union to check the arms race and cut down nuclear stockpiles. But in the past two years this process has become one sided and unequal. While the WARSAW Pact stands dissolved NATO is intact and worked unitedly in the Gulf War. The NATO powers have decided to modify their strategy and build up a rapid reaction force for speedy intervention consisting of troops of all member countries. The latest strategic arms limitation agreement which cuts long range missiles by 50 per cent and the mutual cuts in tactical nuclear weapons, do not bar new weapons being produced. In fact, the U.S. is embarking upon the production of a whole range of new sophisticated weapons. Even the Star Wars project is continuing. The dominance of U.S. as a single super power and its military arsenal spells a grave threat to world peace. The absence of the so-called Soviet threat should spur the world peace forces to demand major and rapid steps by U.S. imperialism and its allies to shut down its worldwide military bases, stop producing new weapons, cut down drastically on conventional forces, while negotiating further reductions in and elimination of nuclear weapons. The world peace movement must be strengthened to achieve these aims.

1.14 The setbacks to Socialism are being used by world capitalism to mask its own crisis and problems. The recovery in the world capitalist economy which began in 1983 substantially slowed down after 1988. Just when the Eastern Europe and the Soviet crisis deepened some of the major advanced capitalist countries like the USA, Britain and Canada went in to a recessionary spell in 1989 90. The U.S. despite optimistic forecasts, is still not out of the downturn. The OECD which comprises 24 advanced capitalist countries has a pessimistic forecast of GNP growth in 1991 by only 2 per cent as compared to 2.8 per cent in

1990 and 3.4 per cent in 1989. The gross domestic product (GDP) growth rates of the OECD members also shows a declining trend.

Average Annual Growth of GDP					
	1980 89	1987	1988	1989	1990
OECD					
Members	3.0	3.4	4.4	3.3	2.6

(Source: World Development Report 1991)

The imperialist world, though it experienced growth in real GNP in every year after 1982, could not recapture the high rates of growth it had achieved in the quarter century after the Second World War. The UNCTAD Report on trade and development of 1991 predicts that trade growth rate will fall further this year, the third year in succession. In short, the world capitalist system is in the midst of a protracted period of slow growth exhibiting cyclical fluctuations. While the brunt of the crisis is borne by the Third World countries, the rich capitalist countries are also afflicted by the ills of the system.

1.15 The phase of capitalist recovery and growth does not lead to the reduction of the rate of unemployment. The USA, Britain, France, Italy and Canada are all experiencing high rates of unemployment. The right wing policies initiated in the 80s exemplified by Reaganism and Thatcherism with their unbridled privatisation has led to greater exploitation and suffering for the poorer sections; cuts in social welfare and growing homelessness have been the common features in these countries. The effective harnessing of science and technology has revolutionised the means of production, but it has also intensified the exploitation of the working class by displacing large sections of workers due to retooling by increasing workload and cutting social security benefits. World capitalism is able to intervene and modify the effects of the cyclical crisis which creates new problems within the system. An important aspect of this growth of the advanced capitalist economies is the intensification of the exploitation of the Third World countries through transnational corporations, the debt weapon and adverse terms of trade. The other feature of

contemporary state monopoly capitalism is the integration of arms production through the military industrial complex. Billions of dollars which should be spent on raising the living standards and quality of life of its citizens are diverted to the production of weapons of mass destruction. The reckless drive for profits threatens the ecological balance and the environment.

1.16 In Europe, there is a growth in the influence of extreme rightwing parties in the recent period. In France, Belgium, Austria and Spain rightwing parties have gained ground. In Germany, France and Belgium racist attacks have increased on immigrants. Neonazi groups have become more active. After the unification of Germany, there have been hundreds of violent assaults on immigrants in Germany led by these groups. A striking feature which has manifested itself in the recent period is the dominance of the advanced capitalist countries over the international media and the monopoly they have established over the flow of information and the electronic media utilising the latest technology. This control has become a vital ideological weapon to be used against Socialism and the progressive forces.

Validity of Social Contradictions

1.17 The big changes in the world situation do not nullify the theory of contradictions operating in the world today. The central contradictions between imperialism and Socialism has witnessed further intensification which has manifested in the growing offensive against Socialism. The method adopted by imperialism in its struggle against Socialism is not direct military intervention but utilising the internal problems to concentrate on subversion of the socialist system. The contradiction has manifested in the present favourable situation for imperialism when a number of socialist countries have "peacefully" transformed themselves and are seeking to integrate back into the world capitalist system.

1.18 The drive for the domination of the Third World reflects the need for imperialism to intensify exploitation in an all-round manner to maintain its tempo of growth and development. The decade of 80s saw a steady deterioration of the position of the Third World countries in international trade and the world

economic order. The terms of trade for developing countries have steadily deteriorated in the last decade. The burden of debt is a major weapon for exploitation and subjugation. The total Third World external debt stood at 1.32 trillion dollars by 1989 end. The total debt received by Third World countries is now less than the debt service repayments. To ensure economic subjugation, now direct onslaughts are launched on the political sovereignty of independent Third World countries. The invasion of Panama by U.S. imperialism, the threats to other Latin American countries; the active intervention through financing counter revolutions in Nicaragua, El Salvador, certain African countries and Afganistan; and above all the brutal war waged on Iraq and the humiliating conditions imposed on it through the Security Council all portend a period when the contradiction between imperialism and the Third World countries is bound to sharply intensify.

1.19 The inter imperialist rivalries are assuming complex and contradictory forms. At the political level, the current dominance of the USA in the Western alliance is evident. In the conduct of the Gulf War, the USA was able to carry along its allies by pressures and bargaining. Even though Germany and Japan did not send troops they were made to contribute substantial funds to finance the war. But this unity of purpose is not the underlying reality in the economic sphere. The period saw the continuation of the economic decline of the USA and the vitality and strength of the rival centres Japan and Germany. The U.S. has become the world's largest debtor and its growth has been financed by foreign investments and flow of funds. The current recessionary spell in world capitalism has been uneven it hit the USA, but did not affect Germany and Japan though there has been a slowdown in their growth rates. The institution of the G7 summit meeting of the seven richest capitalist countries—has not been able to resolve the differences. At present the USA is demanding a cut in the interest rates by Germany which is being jointly resisted by both Germany and Japan. The failure of the GATT round of talks earlier in 1991 showed the sharp conflict of interest. The formation of an integrated Europe will further strengthen the centrifugal tendencies against U.S. domination. But these

conflicts and differences have been subordinated to the common interest of all the imperialist powers to launch their major offensive against Socialism. The success achieved in this regard and the exploitation of the new markets to be opened up in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union will open up new areas of inter imperialist rivalries in the future.

1.20 The decade of the 80s saw the big offensive of the imperialist ruling circles and big business against labour in the advanced capitalist countries. Technological upgradation, modernisation, anti trade union policies, cuts in social security and high unemployment rates were the weapons used to intensify the exploitation of the working class. Despite these adverse circumstances, the trade union movement has gradually faced these attacks with innumerable struggles and strike actions in defence of the interests of the workers. In Britain, France, Japan, Germany and Italy there have been big strike struggles to protect the workers' gains and interests. The contradiction between capital and labour has assumed new complex forms. The absence of revolutionary organisation and socialist consciousness have also contributed to hampering the struggles being knit together for a broad Left advance and democratic transformation.

1.21 An important area of revolutionary movements are the popular and democratic struggles in the Third World countries which have adopted the capitalist path. These struggles are directed against the bourgeois landlord regimes which exploit the people. The ruling classes in many of these countries succumb to imperialist pressures because of the pursuit of the capitalist path and compromises with feudalism. With the relentless drive to transfer the burdens of the world capitalist crisis to the Third World, the contradiction between these ruling classes and the people in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are bound to grow.

1.22 Our movement and struggles in India for democracy and social emancipation must be carried out in the background of these developments and their impact. We must firmly counter the massive propaganda unleashed by imperialism and its agencies in India that Socialism is doomed, Communism has no future and that capitalism is eternal and the last stage in social evolution.

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The entire course of 20th century history proves that capitalism cannot solve any of the basic problems of humanity. Under imperialism, billions go hungry, millions of children die of malnutrition and disease. In the advanced capitalist countries, unemployment, crime, racism and moral decay and the miserable plight of the East European countries show that capitalism is not the answer. The socialist system as it existed in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries showed the great potential of a superior system with many historic achievements to its credit such as full employment, housing, education, health care and social security for all.

1.23 We must in the face of the imperialist offensive heighten our solidarity with the socialist countries, with the Third World countries determined to defend independence and social transformation; with the national liberation movements; with the working people's struggles in the capitalist countries and the forces of world peace. The CPI(M) is pledged to fulfill its internationalist duties by mobilising all sections of the Indian people in the struggle against imperialism.

NATIONAL SITUATION

2.1 The 13th Party Congress had noted the "growing instability of the economic order established after independence. It has imposed tremendous misery on all sections of toiling people and unleashed spontaneous mass discontent extending all over the country. The discontent is often diverted into wrong channels although the objective causes are everywhere the same". The period since the 13th Congress further confirms this assessment. Instability permeates the political system due to the crisis in the bourgeois landlord order which was subjected to such severe strains as never before since independence.

Main Developments since last Congress

2.2 The significant changes since the last Congress are as follows:

- (a) The country entered a period of political instability with two general elections in quick succession. This reflects

the accentuation of the crisis in the bourgeois landlord system which gripped all spheres—economic, political and social. The Congress(I) lost power in the 1989 elections. The National Front Government dependent on the support of the Left Parties and the BJP from outside could last only eleven months. This was followed by the minority defectors' Government installed by the Congress(I) which lasted barely six months. The Congress(I) could not get a majority in 1991 elections also. This shows the further erosion of the Congress(I) support base. The two elections led to a situation in which single party majority rule at the Centre was not possible. This marked a significant break from the long period of one party dominance.

- (b) The crisis is also manifested in the continuing threat to national unity which has become a central issue. The intensification of the separatist and terroristic activities in Kashmir and Punjab with the backing of imperialism, is the gravest challenge to Indian unity. The basic bourgeois-landlord approach and policies are failing to resolve the chronic problems of national unity. Centre-State relations are reaching an impasse.
- (c) In the new world situation imperialist pressures are mounting on India with the divisive and communal forces facilitating their penetration. The assassination of Rajiv Gandhi was part of destabilisation. Along side, there are the intensified imperialist pressures to further open up India to foreign and multinational capital. The weakened position of the ruling classes has made them adopt major economic steps succumbing to the imperialist IMF pressures. The new economic measures of the Narasimha Rao Government endanger the economic sovereignty of the country.
- (d) The period since the last Congress has witnessed an unprecedented offensive of the communal forces. The Congress(I) adopted a policy of compromising with these forces. The spate of riots, the biggest since

partition, Ramjanmabhoomi Babri Masjid dispute, the communalisation of state institutions and the consciousness of sections of society, the erosion of secular values all pose a serious threat. This was reflected in the electoral gains of the BJP in the ninth and tenth general elections. The growth of majority communalism further aggravates the situation in Punjab and Kashmir by encouraging the separatist forces. The aggressive designs of Hindu communalism strengthens minority fundamentalism.

- (e) The announcement by the National Front Government of the implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendation of 27 per cent reservation of jobs in Central services for backward classes led to a widespread anti reservation movement. This violent agitation, particularly in the North, resulted in hundreds of deaths and large-scale destruction of property. Both the Congress(I) and the BJP actively supported the agitation which sought to protect the vested interests of the upper-caste sections.
- (f) The major secular opposition combination, the National Front, has been working with the Left. But the Janata Dal National Front is not a stable and cohesive entity; it is riven by dissensions both on policy and personality issues. The factional quarrels in the Janata Dal, its compromising attitude towards the BJP for some time and the absence of sustained mass mobilisation on the temple-mosque controversy enabled the Congress(I) to split the Janata Dal. The BJP treacherously withdrew support to the National Front Government and the Congress(I) joined hands with it. This brought about the downfall of the V. P. Singh Government and the installation of the minority defectors' Government of Chandra Shekhar at the Centre which played havoc in both foreign and internal policies. This paved the way for the further growth of the communal forces, particularly the BJP.

- (g) The Left could increase its prestige and maintain its strength in this period due to its consistent fight against the separatist and communal forces and its firm defence of democracy and economic sovereignty. The Left parties have been working more unitedly. The CPI(M) and the Left were successful in securing the support of the Janata Dal and the National Front to fight both the Congress(I) and the BJP. It is significant that for the first time a bourgeois combination at the national level came out openly declaring for an alliance with the Left.
- (h) In spite of its weakening, the Congress(I) continues to display authoritarian trends. It particularly attacks the CPI(M) and the Left. The continuing terror in Tripura and the attacks on the National Front Left after Rajiv Gandhi's assassination show this. Its proclivity to subvert state institutions and the democratic rights of states was seen in its connivance in dismissing the Tamil Nadu Government and the role of the Chief Election Commissioner in the last elections.
- (i) The social effects of the bourgeois-landlord crisis is being directly experienced and felt by the most vulnerable sections of society—the tribals, the dalits, the rural and urban poor. The criminalisation of politics, all pervading corruption, rise of mafia gangs, landlord-goonda armies and atrocities on dalits and women are making the life of the poor and the defenceless miserable. Booth capturing and using criminals to rig elections have become widespread in some states depriving citizens of their fundamental right to vote. The life and property of ordinary citizens are threatened by the serious deterioration of law and order. All civilised norms are flouted with the moral decay and corruption of society.

Dangerous Economic Situation

2.3 The policy of liberalisation wantonly pursued by the Rajiv Gandhi regime has come home to roost. The country's

unprecedented balance of payments crisis is the direct result of the policies of the import liberalisation, concessions to foreign capital and accepting the IMF-World Bank prescriptions. These and the all round crisis have led to further pressures to privatise the economy, dismantle the public sector, open the doors indiscriminately to foreign capital and to scrap restrictions on the growth of monopolies.

2.4 A further rightward shift has taken place with the gamut of economic policies adopted by the Narasimha Rao Government within the space of four weeks of coming to power. The 20 per cent devaluation of the rupee; the new trade policies; mortgage of gold, the proposals in the Union budget and the new industrial policy together represent a reversal of the limited policy of self-reliance and the industrial policy worked out in the fifties. The new economic policy reflects the imperialist sponsored dominant world trend of privatisation, abolition of public sector and "integration with the global economy". Sections of the bourgeoisie, intellectuals and the media are supportive of these rightwing policies. The economic policies of the National Front Government did not make a break with the old Congress(I) economic policies. Some of the proposed measures reflected the continuation of the economic liberalisation. The Chandra Shekhar's defectors' Government went further ahead in accepting the IMF dictates. This approach has been brazenly carried forward by the Congress(I) to go full steam ahead with the policy of submitting to the IMF conditionalities.

2.5 The going in for further IMF loans with the fulfilment of the conditionalities, will lead India into a debt trap and undermine economic sovereignty. India has already an external debt of over Rs. 1.8 lakh crores and an internal debt of around Rs. 2.4 lakh crores. Its annual external debt servicing is now 31 per cent of its export earnings. India has become the third largest debtor in the Third World after Brazil and Mexico. An increasing portion of this debt from the period of Rajiv Government is in the form of commercial borrowings with high interest rates. The Narasimha Rao Government is now seeking an IMF loan under the Extended Fund Facility or the Extended

Structural Adjustment Facility which will lead to the direct regulation and supervision of the Indian economy for three years by the IMF under humiliating conditions.

2.6 The liberal concessions to foreign capital and the multinational corporations in the new industrial policy will adversely affect self-reliance and endanger economic sovereignty. The policy provides for automatic clearance of 51 per cent of foreign equity capital in 34 industries. Further, a high power board has been constituted to negotiate with the big multinational companies and all but 18 industries are now open to them. The Government has declared that hundred per cent equity will also be favourably considered. The flow of foreign investment will primarily be in the elite consumption goods sector for the domestic market which will further distort the direction of the economy. Import of technology will not be geared to meet our priority needs but the requirements of multinational investments in pursuit of quick profits. The Bush Administration is blatantly pressurising the Government with the threat of trade sanctions to amend the Indian Patent Law and to accept its version of intellectual property rights. Further, it wants free entry for the transnational corporations into India's insurance and banking sectors. The GATT negotiations are also being used to make India accede to these demands. The weakening resistance of the Congress(I) Government to these pressures leads to the danger of multinationals' penetration in new areas of the economy.

2.7 The new policy is a bonanza for the big bourgeoisie and will work against the small and medium sectors. The virtual dismantling of the MRTP and the delicensing is geared to meet the monopolists' demand for greater scope for investments of the surplus capital. The Indian big bourgeoisie has fattened in the past four decades due to the pro-monopoly policies of the Congress(I). The total assets of the 20 big industrial houses which was Rs. 8,987 crores in 1981 increased to Rs. 41,523 crores in 1989 90, a five-fold increase. In the recent years the private corporate sector has increased its profits and assets substantially and now demands for more privatisation and for cutting down the

public sector. The new industrial policy accepts this demand by reducing the public sector to a handful of sectors such as mining, defence, atomic energy and railways. The dismantling of the public sector would mean the end of a self reliant path and the development of indigenous research and development. The pro monopoly policies are harming the small-scale sector by allowing the former entry into areas meant for small enterprises. While it is true that the new economic policy favours the Indian monopoly capital vis a vis a small medium capital, it is also to be borne in mind that the indiscriminate liberalisation of imports of capital, technology and commodities under imperialism is bound to generate conflicts between western monopoly capital and the Indian big bourgeoisie.

2.8 The privatisation drive is anti worker and triggers unemployment. In the period 1985-1989, employment in the private sector went up by a mere 32,000 while in the public manufacturing sector it actually declined. The exit policy being fashioned under the guidance of the IMF and World Bank will spell the end for the 2.4 lakh sick units which will not be revived throwing lakhs of workers out of jobs; it does not lead to employment oriented development. Such a policy is profoundly anti-people when unemployment in the country is steadily mounting. The registered unemployed in the employment exchanges has crossed the 35 million mark. It is estimated that with the backlog of the Seventh Plan and the new entrants, 65 million jobs have to be created during the Eighth Plan period.

2.9 The fiscal and the budgetary policies of the Government are a naked attempt to pass off the crisis on the people. The Union budget of 1991 has not increased direct taxes but heaps fresh indirect taxes on the people. The burgeoning budget deficit passes the burden on to the common people through inflation. The 20 per cent devaluation of the rupee and the indirect taxation and administered price hike have set the stage for both high inflation and stagnation. Belying all the false claims of the Government, the prices of all essential commodities are galloping and the annual inflation rate of wholesale prices in 1991 is nearly 50 per cent more than the previous year.

2.10 The agrarian situation is marked by immense suffering for the rural poor and deterioration in the conditions of the peasantry. Despite three successive good harvests the per capita consumption of foodgrains is stagnating for the past decade and in the case of pulses it has declined substantially. This reveals the pauperisation of the vast section of the rural poor and the landless. On the other hand, the landlords and upper sections of the peasants are able to garner all the benefits of the state policy with regard to credit, subsidised inputs and price fluctuations. The plight of the agricultural workers is the worst with the Central Government refusing to enact an all India legislation to protect their minimum wages and social security benefits. In the case of commercial crops, the vagaries of capitalist pricing mechanism periodically pauperises the poorest sections of the peasantry who are forced to resort to distress sales. Less than half the potential for irrigation is utilised. An important section of the rural working force, the rural artisans and those working in traditional industries like coir, beedis and handlooms are being squeezed by the policy of rampant liberalisation and encouragement to big traders and capitalists. The doors have been opened for imperialist/MNC penetration with the seeds policy and joint ventures in agro processing industry like the Pepsi Cola Project. Much of the funds allotted for rural development schemes like IRDP, RLEGP, Jawahar Rozgar Yojana are siphoned off by corrupt bureaucrats and contractors with just a trickle reaching the really deserving.

2.11 The crux of the agrarian problem, the implementation of land reforms, has been studiously ignored by the Centre and all State Governments except those led by the Left. It is a telling indictment of bourgeois landlord policy that of the total surplus land distributed all over the country, 20 per cent of it is accounted for by West Bengal alone. Even tenancy legislation goes unimplemented and land records remain uncorrected in spite of repeated promises made by the Government. Only 1.4 per cent of the total cultivated area has been distributed so far. It is this glaring fact which is at the heart of the agrarian crisis in the country. For the emancipation of the mass of the peasantry, and to

abolish the poverty which afflicts the rural population, there is no basic solution but land reforms.

2.12 There is an alternative path to the IMF dictated pro-imperialist, pro-monopoly, pro-landlord policies. Such a comprehensive alternative policy has been clearly spelt out by the CPI(M) and the Left parties. This policy has been fashioned after wide discussions, the latest being the convention organised in defence of economic sovereignty by the Left parties in July 1991. It has also been spelt out in the alternative policy document prepared by the West Bengal Government in the same month. The alternative approach requires bringing down the fiscal deficit through increased and direct taxation and the reduction in inessential Government expenditure. Loopholes in the tax laws should be plugged. Black money in circulation is estimated at Rs. one lakh crore which should be curbed through punitive measures. Wealth taxes should be imposed on the monopoly houses that have built up huge assets. The adoption of these measures will reduce the revenue and fiscal deficits and reverse the trend of relying on indirect taxes and administered price hikes to garner additional revenues at the expense of the common people.

2.13 The public sector must continue to be given prominence in the strategic industries; steps must be taken to eliminate inefficient and bureaucratic management with workers' participation in management. The policy of indiscriminate imports of capital goods and technology for luxury goods production must end. Import of high technology must be confined to those vital sectors essential for the development of the economy. Main emphasis should be on developing self-reliance and indigenous research and development. The priority task should be implementation of radical land reforms. This together with rural employment guarantee schemes are the basic steps to expand the home market. Measures are to be taken to provide relief to the poor in the period of economic difficulty. The public distribution system covering 14 essential commodities of daily life must be expanded and targetted for the rural poor. There has to be a sizeable expansion of schemes for employment generation

and poverty alleviation. These must go along with expanding primary education, literacy and health care for people. For implementing these measures effectively there has to be greater decentralisation of powers from the Centre to the states and down below to the panchayat level.

Foreign Policy

2.14 So far, over the years, successive Governments have pursued a basic policy of non alignment and taken mainly correct positions in support of national liberation movements and world peace. But the changed international situation and the domestic economic policies pursued to meet the crisis are endangering the basic foreign policy postulates. During the Rajiv regime, some steps were taken for defence production in collaboration with the U.S. A serious break was seen when the Chandra Shekhar's minority Government took the shocking stand of allowing U.S. warplanes to refuel at Indian airports. This was the first major policy decision which grossly violated the non-aligned foreign policy.

2.15 Now with the Narasimha Rao Government getting deeper into the IMF-World Bank quagmire, the pressures to shift and change foreign policy have mounted. The President's address to the budget session in July 1991 showed no awareness to reorient and strengthen non aligned movement in the face of the dramatic changes in the world. With the negative developments in the Soviet Union, a pillar of support for the non-aligned orientation of India has disappeared. There are more vociferous demands from domestic reactionary circles also to adopt a pro-U.S. and western orientation on grounds of real politik. The turn away from self-reliance and recourse to foreign capital and privatisation helps imperialism to further pressurise India which is becoming manifest in the recent shifts in foreign policy positions. India voted along with the Western powers to rescind the U.N. resolution in the General Assembly characterising Zionism as a form of racism. Further the Rao Government refused to back Cuba in the United Nations for its resolution calling for the end of the U.S. economic blockade of the country. India is being

pressurised to sign the nuclear non proliferation treaty by the U.S. More dangerously, the Congress(I) Government is now engaged in negotiating a deeper military collaboration with the USA by setting up a Joint Steering Committee for military training and joint exercises. A major struggle lies ahead for the Left and democratic forces to fight back this pro imperialist pressure and ensure that India's foreign policy retains its non aligned basis. A basis which must be oriented to ward off the strengthened imperialist pressures on all Third World Countries, including India, which is a major target. Only such a policy will help India to retain its independent role in world affairs and protect economic sovereignty.

Relations with Neighbours

2.16 India-China relations: There is a growing realisation of the need for improved relations with China. It has acquired added importance in the new international situation. A positive policy in this regard has been pursued during the last few years and progress registered. The recent visit of Chinese Premier Li Peng to India has strengthened this process. Further initiatives are required for improvement of relations including the settlement of the border dispute. This will help India in saving defence expenditure and concentrating on economic development. The strengthening of mutual ties between the two big Asian neighbours will contribute to world peace and assist in resisting imperialist pressures.

2.17 Sri Lanka: President Premadasa's policy on the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka has proved disastrous. It has served the imperialist interests in this region. Instead of the sincere implementation of the terms of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord, the Sri Lankan Government pursued a policy of encouraging the LTTE to crush the other Tamil groups to sabotage the North Eastern Provincial Council. Subsequently, it stepped up its attacks on the LTTE and sought to rouse Sinhala chauvinism. The military conflict in the northern part is taking a heavy toll of lives of the civilian population. The ethnic conflict helps imperialism to further penetrate Sri Lanka. It has serious repercussions in our

country, particularly Tamil Nadu. The only rational solution to the ethnic problem is for a political settlement on the lines suggested in the Accord whereby the Tamil areas are given due autonomy within the framework of Sri Lankan unity. The Government of India must make all diplomatic efforts for a solution on the lines of the Accord.

2.18 *Pakistan:* The U.S. imperialism continues to instigate Pakistan to foment trouble in Kashmir and Punjab. At the time of the last Party Congress, some hopes were raised by the restoration of the democratic set up in Pakistan. It was expected that relations will improve between the two neighbours. But, unfortunately, this did not materialise. After the dismissal of Ms. Bhutto's Government and fresh elections, the government of Nawab Sharief was formed, backed by the combination of rightist forces. This has aggravated the situation with the present Government intensifying its intervention in Kashmir and Punjab, and even dismissing the Government of so-called Azad Kashmir. The Jamat e-Islami is being utilised in Kashmir to foster Muslim fundamentalism. There must be a consistent effort to improve relations and solve mutual disputes on the basis of the Shimla agreement.

2.19 *Bangladesh:* After prolonged struggle the people of Bangladesh achieved a big victory by ending the authoritarian military rule of General Ershad and the holding of elections. The parliamentary form of Government has been restored and the Presidential system abolished. This should strengthen the democratic trends. It is vital that the new set up in Bangladesh adheres to the secular outlook. It should take steps to check large-scale illegal migration to India. The CPI(M) will continue to extend solidarity with the Left and democratic forces in Bangladesh.

2.20 *Nepal:* The people and Left and democratic forces of Nepal scored a historic victory with the restoration of parliamentary democracy in the country. The united movement led by the Nepali Congress and the Left, with the massive participation of the people, succeeded in defeating the pro-monarchy forces and the creation of a new Constitution. In the

elections to the Nepal Assembly, the United Communist Party (ML) won 69 seats and 14 more seats were won by other Left parties out of a total of 204 seats. The restoration of parliamentary democracy is a very significant development in the region which can help in further improving relations between our two countries on the basis of equality.

2.21 *Afghanistan*: Afghanistan is still struggling for the restoration of peace and normalcy. Pakistan, backed by U.S. imperialism, has been sabotaging the Geneva agreement arrived at for establishing peace. Different Mujahideen groups supported by Pakistan are refusing to accept the proposals by U.N. mediators. The Government of India must make all diplomatic efforts to ensure that the agreements arrived at, are adhered to and support mobilised for President Najibullah's proposal for a coalition Government.

2.22 *Bhutan and Burma*: Bhutan is a small country where a large number of immigrant Nepalis are settled. The denial of democratic rights and equal status are causing tensions and many have been forced to leave the country. It is imperative that all ethnic groups are given equal treatment and democratic rights so that the integrity and independence of Bhutan is preserved. In Burma, the ruling military junta has refused to accept the verdict of the elections held in 1991 and hand over power to an elected Government. It is brutally suppressing the movement for restoration of democracy. The CPI(M) extends its support to the struggle for democracy in Burma (Myanmar).

2.23 The CPI(M) considers it vital to ensure that India's foreign policy remains one of non-alignment with a clear-cut-anti-imperialist orientation. The adverse Soviet developments will have its negative impact on our country's external relations. The Party should mobilise the people and all political circles to ensure that the foreign policy is oriented to defence of non-alignment, strengthening bonds with Third World countries, South-South cooperation, friendly relations with neighbouring countries, and close ties with forces of world peace, the Third World countries and socialist countries. The Party has to firmly expose all imperialist attacks on Third World countries and

national liberation movements. It expresses its firm solidarity with the fighting people of Palestine, South Africa and Western Sahara. The CPI(M) will insist that the Government of India take a stand on the integrity and sovereignty of Iraq and oppose all moves to subject Iraq and its people to humiliating conditions including blockade of food and medical supplies. It extends its full support to the progressive forces in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chile and other Latin American countries which are struggling against imperialist intervention and neo colonialist exploitation. The Party extends support to the struggle for democracy in Burma (Myanmar). The Party works for developing warm relations between India and China and for strengthening the bonds with all other socialist countries. It stands for firm defence of socialist Cuba against imperialist provocations.

Grave Threats to National Unity

2.24 The policies of the successive bourgeois-landlord Governments at the Centre have failed to stem the threats to national unity emanating from the secessionist forces which are operating from across the borders backed by imperialism. For nearly a decade the Central Government has been treating this problem merely from the point of view of law and order instead of going to the root cause of the alienation, and creating conditions by which the patriotic feelings of the people are roused and the genuine demands met. If a further drift is allowed the situation will go out of hand. The balkanisation trends which developed in the Soviet Union and the break up of the USSR in its old form, will have a direct impact on the nationality problem in India. The CPI(M) has consistently advocated a consensus on issues concerning national unity which are of great importance for the very future of the country.

2.25 *Kashmir*: The situation in Kashmir is extremely serious. Large sections of the people are totally alienated from the Indian state and apprehensive about their identity due to the long years of misrule by the Central Government. The depredations of the secessionist forces have led to large-scale migration of the minority community. The CPI(M) has repeatedly stated that the

situation cannot be tackled merely on the basis of army and the para military forces. It is necessary for the Government to differentiate between those forces which are fighting for their identity and those advocating Muslim fundamentalism and accession to Pakistan. The demand for scrapping of Article 370 of the Constitution by the BJP must be exposed. More autonomy has to be provided for the state and regional autonomy for Jammu and Ladakh regions.

2.26 *Punjab*: The ruling party has so far proved incapable of learning the lessons of its disastrous policies in Punjab which were motivated by petty political considerations. Lack of a principled approach to this biggest challenge to national unity and opportunist manoeuvres have led to the growing offensive of Khalistani extremists. The tragic toll in Punjab runs into thousands of human lives. The necessity of a political solution has to be repeatedly emphasised. The just demands of the Punjabi people contained in the Rajiv Longowal Accord must be implemented immediately. Unlike in Kashmir, the overall majority of people are not swayed by the slogan of Khalistan. It is imperative that they are politically mobilised to isolate the terrorists. The coming elections to the State Assembly will be a major test for the patriotic and secular forces and those committed to national unity to unitedly face the challenge of the extremists backed by imperialism.

2.27 *Assam*: The situation in Assam remains abnormal and was made more complicated by the connivance and inaction towards violence unleashed by the ULFA during the AGP Government's tenure. After the short spell of the President's Rule and the deployment of the army, the Congress(I) Government formed after the elections has followed an indecisive and vacillating policy. Killings, kidnappings and extortions have become common occurrences. The bungling by the Saikia Government and the Centre is evident from the fact that the army was redeployed to meet the ULFA menace. As against the ULFA's demand for independence, all parties in Assam including the regional ones have expressed themselves against the separation of Assam. There has to be a serious effort to address the problems of

the economic backwardness and regional imbalances in the state. The discontent and the struggle for the identity of the tribal people must be sympathetically considered and maximum regional autonomy should be granted to the contiguous tribal region. The CPI(M) will struggle uncompromisingly against terrorism and separatism while championing the genuine demands of the people of Assam, the rights of minorities and fostering the unity of all sections.

CPI(M) in Defence of National Unity

2.28 The Party has emerged as the most consistent defender and champion of national unity. This is proved by the record of the 1980s. In Punjab, Tripura, Assam, Darjeeling and Kashmir, our Party units and cadres were in the forefront for the struggle against separatist and divisive forces. Hundreds of our comrades' sacrificed their lives for the cause of national unity. The saga of heroic struggle by our comrades in Punjab continues. Valuable cadres have laid down their lives in the battle against the Khalistani terrorists, in many cases their families being martyred along with them. It is a matter of pride that not a single comrade has deserted his post. In Tripura, the battle to maintain the unity of the tribal and Bengali people is being conducted by our Party courageously in the difficult conditions of semi-fascist terror. In Darjeeling, the Party cadres are alert to foil efforts to disturb peace and to preserve the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council set up by the Left Front Government. The small unit of the Party in Kashmir refused to succumb to the dictates of the secessionist forces. The Party in Tamil Nadu has been consistently condemning the violent and disruptive activities of the LTTE. This courageous and consistent defence of national unity emanates from the standpoint of a working class party which defends the unity of the people and the class and thereby takes an uncompromising attitude on preserving the unity of the country. The Party's line on national unity has enhanced its prestige and standing among the people. Along with the Left and democratic forces, the struggle to defend national unity must be carried forward with greater vigour.

Danger from Strengthened Communalism

2.29 The warning by the Thirteenth Congress of the growing menace of communal and fundamentalist forces, has proved correct. The three year period since then saw this threat grow in serious proportions. At no time since independence, was the communal polarisation so sharp and the threat to secularism so grave. Centering on the Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute, the VHP, RSS and their allied organisations launched a systematic and virulent campaign directing their ire at the minority community. This was supplemented by the BJP campaign against "pseudosecularism" which actually is an assault on the secular basis of our polity. The Congress(I) Government in 1989 compromised secular principles by allowing *shilanyas* at the disputed site at Ayodhya.

2.30 The stepping up of the agitation for building the temple at Ayodhya by the VHP with October 31, 1990 as the deadline and the BJP directly plunging into the movement by launching Advani's *rathayatra* were the signals for widespread communal riots. The assumption to office of the defectors' Government headed by Chandra Shekhar and its refusal to confront the VHP-BJP challenge only fanned the flames further. What happened is a blot on India's image. Gonda, Agra, Aligarh, Bulandshahr, Khurja, Etah, Kanpur were some of the worst affected districts. Outside U.P., horrific riots took place in Hyderabad, Jaipur, and in several towns of Gujarat and Karnataka. A disturbing feature was the large number of industrial centres which were affected.

BJP Gains

2.31 The political manifestation of this poisonous propaganda and its impact was seen in the tenth general elections when the BJP and its Shiv Sena ally won 123 seats in Parliament and polled 20 per cent of the vote. It came second in 128 seats. It also scored a major victory by winning the U.P. Assembly elections and forming a Government there. More disturbingly, the BJP could substantially improve its votes in some other states including West Bengal.

2.32 These elections saw, for the first time, a section of the big bourgeoisie openly backing and financing the BJP to create an alternative to the Congress(I). The BJP attracted support from many retired army and defence officers which bodes ill for the integrity of the armed forces. The BJP was able to gain new sections of the middle classes and intelligentsia in the urban areas apart from penetrating rural areas. The BJP cloaks its aggressive Hindu chauvinism with a nationalist appeal. The *Ekta Yatra* is meant for national unity but is actually directed against the minorities. It propagates the abolition of Article 370 of the Constitution for Jammu and Kashmir on the plea of containing secessionism whereas the scapping of this provision will only alienate the people of Kashmir further and help the secessionists to strengthen their hold.

2.33 The passing of the Places of Worship (Special Provisions) Act which guarantees the maintenance of the status quo as on August 15, 1947 of all other religious places of worship except the disputed shrine at Ayodhya will be helpful in countering the nefarious moves of the VHP and other communal forces to open new controversies and agitations to disturb communal amity. The CPI(M) took the initiative to get this Bill passed which was promised in the election manifestoes of the National Front, Congress(I) and the Left parties, by moving a private members Bill in the Lok Sabha on the subject.

2.34 The VHP has announced its intention to go ahead with the temple construction at Ayodhya utilising the existence of the BJP Government. The state Government issued a notification to acquire land at Ayodhya which includes portions of the disputed site. This illegal order is designed to help the VHP in its plans to begin construction. All the secular and democratic forces must be firm in opposing such a move. The Central Government must make it clear that it will not allow any alteration of the status quo at the disputed site at Ayodhya. The Ayodhya dispute involves the religious sentiments of people of both communities. There is no other way to solve the dispute than by negotiations by both sides to find a solution, or, failing which, abiding by the court verdict before whom the case lies. Any other method, of resorting to force

in violation of the court directives would be tantamount to accepting the supremacy of religious passions over the law and destroying the secular fabric.

2.35 The CPI(M) will firmly defend the rights of the minorities and protect them from the ravages of communal riots. The CPI(M) wants an end to the discrimination practised against the Muslim minority in education, jobs and social security facilities. The struggle of the deprived masses belonging to minorities, will advance only when they are able to join and participate in the common movements of the different sections of the working people. The feelings of insecurity and discrimination of the Muslims are used by fundamentalist leaders to foster exclusivity and obscurantism. These hinder the progress of the oppressed Muslim masses. The CPI(M) is opposed to the fundamentalist forces in the minority community which, in the name of religion, wish to keep women deprived of equality. The CPI(M) will resolutely fight majority communalism; it is committed to oppose the Khalistani fanatics and the Jamaat e-Islami fundamentalists who are active in Kashmir and all forms of religious obscurantism and communalism which disrupts the common interests and unity of the people.

2.36 The exposure of the dismal record of the BJP state Governments is essential. In Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh, the two-year record of these Governments show that they are essentially no different in economic policies from the earlier Congress(I) Governments. The additional new factor is their anti-minority character and open encouragement to majority communalism. These Governments, in line with the BJP thinking, are going ahead with privatisation of state undertakings and adopting anti-working class policies. They refuse to take up land reforms. The Madhya Pradesh Government has become notorious for its mass transfer of employees for political reasons, for its patronage of big contractors and big businessmen. The discontent generated by these Governments' performance was seen in the last Lok Sabha election. In U.P., the short record of the Kalyan Singh Government is marked by non performance. The law and order situation has sharply deteriorated and the

Government has failed to provide relief to the drought affected peasantry and the earthquake affected areas. In the first major communal riot in Varanasi under the BJP Government the police and administration were nakedly used against the minorities. The people are realising in these states that a BJP Government means a capitalist-landlord traders nexus and increasing communalisation of society. At the national level, the rightwing reactionary class character of the BJP has to be fully exposed before the people. It is unashamedly supporting all the pro monopoly, privatisation policies of the Narasimha Rao Government including the scuttling of the public sector.

Centre-State Relations

2.37 The last four decades have seen the twin trends of capitalist development heightening regional imbalances and uneven development and the growth of a centre with authoritarian tendencies and concentration of powers which have aggravated the nationalities question. The prolonged and adamant refusal by the successive Congress(I) Governments to reform Centre State relations has aggravated the problems of separatism. They have refused to implement even the Sarkaria Commission recommendations. Instead, the drive to concentrate all powers at the Centre and to function an authoritarian set-up has fuelled separatism and regional chauvinism. Article 356 is blatantly and repeatedly misused—the latest instance being the dismissal of the DMK Government in Tamil Nadu which had with its allies a two-thirds majority. This dismissal by the Centre was done bypassing the Governor.

2.38 The partisan use of Governors, the discrimination against state Governments run by other parties, the steady erosion of the states' financial and resource mobilisation powers—all these are the products of Congress(I)'s authoritarian outlook. Freight equalisation discriminates against the eastern states; the recent decision that coal producing states cannot levy a cess has led to the loss of hundreds of crores of rupees revenue for states like Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa. The National Front Government, in the short period of its rule, tried to adopt a different posture to

the states and not pursue confrontationist policies. It also set up the Inter States Council as provided for in Constitution. As for decentralisation of powers below the state Government level, the Congress(I) Governments have been inimical to such moves. Only the Left Front Government of West Bengal has decentralised powers to the zila parishads and panchayats. The LDF Government in Kerala constituted the District Councils in the state after holding elections for the first time.

2.39 It should be understood that without a radical restructuring of Centre-State relations, states' autonomy in legitimate spheres and democratic decentralisation of powers, the just aspirations of the different people in a complex country like India cannot be fulfilled. A broad based movement to demand changes in Centre-State relations and for a federal structure must be mounted. Without this, solutions to the problems of national unity—the problems in Punjab, Assam and Kashmir—cannot be found.

Issue of Social Justice

2.40 The National Front Government announced the implementation of the Mandal Commission report by reserving 27 per cent of jobs in the Central services for the backward classes. This step was announced without consulting even the parties supporting the Government. The Congress(I) and the BJP encouraged the anti-reservation movement putting one section of the people against the other. The stand of the Party was clearly reiterated and enunciated in the election manifesto for the 1991 Tenth General Elections as follows:

2.41 "The CPI(M) has supported the implementation of the Mandal Commission report for reservation in jobs in Central services for the backward classes. It is a step towards social justice which will provide some opportunities for those socially backward due to the oppressive caste structure for entering employment in the state sector. The CPI(M) opposes any move to scuttle reservations and wants this benefit to reach the really deserving sections amongst the backward classes. The CPI(M) has suggested that the Karpoori Thakur formula, in force in Bihar

for over a decade, should be the basis for evolving an acceptable consensus for ensuring the implementation of reservation for backward classes. The CPI(M) fully recognises that the poorer sections within upper castes also require relief.

2.42 "The CPI(M) while supporting reservation as a measure for advancing social justice, wishes to stress that the mass of the rural poor in the backward communities will find their basic problems addressed to only through radical land reforms and the elimination of feudal relations in the villages by speedy industrialisation of the country. Common struggles of all sections of the toiling people of all communities are necessary to change the present socio-economic order. Any attempt to oppose reservation by upper caste vested interests or to project reservations in such a manner as to perpetuate caste divisions are detrimental to unity of the toiling people and must be shunned."

2.43 The announcement of a new formula by the Narasimha Rao Government conforms to the above stand taken by the Party. It has retained the 27 per cent reservation for the OBCs and introduced an economic criteria so that the poorer sections get preference. If the vacancies are not filled up within the criteria, then it will be open to other members within the OBCs. Ten per cent reservation has been provided for the poor of the other communities. All efforts must be made to ensure that the issue is resolved on this basis and disruptive agitations prevented so that caste divisions are not perpetuated.

Scheduled Castes: Struggle for Assertion

2.44 The vicious attacks and atrocities on scheduled castes, particularly the landless agricultural labour, continue unabated. The Chundur killings in Andhra, the massacres in Bihar and widespread attacks on dalits in M.P., Rajasthan, U.P. and Maharashtra indicate the upper caste and feudal outlook which dominates vast sections of society. These attacks have been spurred by the growing awakening and assertiveness of the dalit sections to stand up for their rights and not to accept caste humiliations. The leadership of some scheduled caste organisations and dalit parties like the BSP seeks to keep the

masses following them away from common struggle and class issues and erect sectarian barriers. The Party must adopt tactics to reach out to these masses and for united activities with those dalit organisations which are willing for joint actions.

2.45 The approach of the Congress(I) and bourgeois parties so far has been to dangle the bait of reservation of jobs. Except for a thin strata, the bulk of the scheduled caste masses living in the rural areas have found no salvation. Their growing anger and will to resist are now sought to be suppressed by naked violence and physical terror. The formal approach of the Government to check atrocities by promises to enforce the law, has proved futile. In order to ensure that laws are effective there has to be a powerful movement to end caste oppression. The CPI(M) and the Left's championing of social justice has made the scheduled castes more receptive to Left policies. The Party must champion and fight for the rights of the dalit sections which is an integral part of the struggle to abolish the old feudal relations in the villages.

Fight For Tribal People's Right

2.46 The worst sufferers of the exploitative and iniquitous social system are the five crore tribal people. They are subject to the bondage of feudal exploitation by big contractors and landlords and also the rapacious capitalist exploitation which are converting them into semi-slaves. Driven off their traditional lands and denied forest access, and their traditional way of life brutally disrupted, they are easy prey and cheap labour for the contractors in the mines and forests. Tribal women are sexually exploited and sold as chattel. The brunt of the displacements in big development projects has been borne by the tribal people.

2.47 The Party stands for the defence of the rights of the tribal people. A major demand concerns protection of their identity and social and cultural rights. This requires setting up of regional autonomous councils wherever necessary with adequate powers in areas of contiguity of tribal population where they are in a majority. Such an autonomous council is required in the tribal contiguous majority areas of South Bihar which goes by the name of Jharkhand; similarly the Bodo people's struggle for autonomy

must be recognised and steps taken to provide them regional autonomy. The relevant provisions in the Constitution can be amended and strengthened to provide adequate powers to these autonomous councils. The vast mass of the tribal people are outside the purview of the Left movement. They must be actively mobilised and organised against brutal exploitation and for the protection of their elementary rights. It is only when the CPI(M) can widen its appeal amongst the tribal people that the unity of the tribal and non tribal oppressed sections be strengthened and the divisive and separatist forces contained.

Women's Struggle For Emancipation

2.48 The unequal status of women and the double oppression they suffer in contemporary Indian society, is highlighted daily by the reports of atrocities on women, particularly the most socially and economically oppressed sections. Crimes against women in the form of dowry deaths, rapes and molestation and trafficking in women are on the increase. Police personnel are often responsible for such crimes. The media, films and advertising portray women as sex objects and demean their image. Women are forced to bear the brunt of the economic crisis being victims of the retrenchment of existing jobs and shrinking employment opportunities.

2.49 The women's movement has made steady progress in the recent years. The Government fails to integrate in its developmental plans the creation of adequate economic opportunities for women and on the other refuses to accord due recognition to their work thereby marginalising the role of women in the economy and society. On the contrary, women are subject to discrimination, unequal wages and deprived of equal rights in property. The violation of Constitutional guarantees against discrimination and unequal treatment led to the joint women's movement for the setting up of a National Commission for Women. It met with success with the enacting of a law by Parliament during the tenure of National Front Government. However, the new Congress(I) Government has refused to implement this Act. The Party must actively help to develop the democratic women's movement

which is essential for stimulating progressive social changes and widening the democratic movement.

Tussle Between The Bourgeoisie and Landlords

2.50 With the aggravation of the economic crisis, conflicts and tussles continue to break out between the bourgeoisie and landlords who are partners in the ruling alliance. Strong landlord lobbies are working to see that they would not have to share the burdens of the crisis, whereas the IMF prescriptions would mean sharing new burdens such as the hike in fertiliser prices, increase in electricity charges, water rates, etc. These are bound to be resisted by the landlord lobby. The landlord sections actively resist the implementation of land reforms.

2.51 The agricultural policy which the National Front Government and the Chandra Shekhar Government had formulated, showed no concern for the agricultural labourers and poor peasants and was solely meant to defend the interests of the landlords and richer sections of the peasantry. The whole emphasis was on technological advance on the pattern of the green revolution with more irrigation facilities, power and liberal allocation of credit, bypassing the main question of concentration of the land ownership. In the coming days, the severe economic crisis will see sharper conflicts and pulls and counter-pulls between the bourgeoisie and landlords with its inevitable manifestations in the political sphere.

2.52 The Party must work out such tactics as to intervene to gather the growing discontent of the peasantry, basing itself on the common interests of the peasants and with particular emphasis on the demands of the poor peasantry and agricultural labourers regarding land and wages. This is essential so that the landlord organisations do not mobilise the vast discontent for the narrow interests.

For a Democratic Educational System

2.53 The new education policy brought into being by the Congress(I) Government in 1986 still continues to operate. It was a policy reinforcing the elitist bias in education; increasing the

cost of education, denial of Government responsibility and drive towards privatisation; centralisation of authority, erosion of the democratic rights of the academic community and formal delinkage between education and employment. It created two streams—the navodaya schools, autonomous colleges, elite private institutions and centres of excellence and the other stream of ill-equipped institutions from the primary to the university level for the underprivileged. This profoundly anti-democratic policy has to be reversed.

2.54 The educational system is getting increasingly penetrated and run by communal, casteist and profiteering forces. The danger to the moulding of children's outlook by these forces has to be prevented. It is, therefore, necessary to fight for the state's responsibility, in providing education for all and to check the rampant privatising and commercialising of education. A new dimension is the encouragement by the BJP run state Governments to erode the secular component in the education system.

2.55 For the past few years big movements by students, teachers and concerned intellectuals have taken place to scrap the new education policy. The Ramamurti Committee set up by the National Front Government, submitted a report on educational reforms which contained some positive features. But this could not be brought into effect with the fall of that Government. The Narasimha Rao Government plans to continue the new education policy.

Culture and Mass Media

2.56 The cultural field has not been immune to the resurgence of communal and obscurantist ideas. A major struggle has developed to defend secular values and the scientific temper amongst the intelligentsia. This struggle has to be carried forward more vigorously in the cultural sphere, as the erosion of secular consciousness has affected sections of the intelligentsia. The evolution of a democratic culture will depend on the success in this struggle. It is heartening that a large number of creative artistes and writers have picked up the gauntlet against communalism, sectarian strife and in defence of democratic

values. The protest movement and the spurt in democratic cultural activities after the heinous murder of Safdar Hashmi indicated this potential. The Party will work for and support a broad cultural movement propagating secular, democratic and progressive ideas as manifested in the creative expression of art and literature in the urban rural areas.

2.57 The bourgeois media is used to systematically purvey decadent and elitist culture. Reactionary ideas imported from the western media are propagated to divert the attention of the readers and viewers from the real problems of society. Direct access to spread these ideas to television viewers is now possible by satellite and cable T.V. Many of the Press barons are bringing out periodicals which pander to the base instincts including pornographic material. A determined struggle has to be waged against them. The Prasar Bharati Act passed in 1990 was an important step to provide an independent status to the electronic media—television and radio. The Congress(I) Government is now bent upon bypassing this Act to restructure the official media and wishes to privatise and commercialise the electronic media. There is also a proposal to privatise the second channel. This move has to be foiled and the Prasar Bharati Corporation set up as envisaged in the Act.

Threats to Democracy

2.58 In the recent period there has been an increasing criminalisation of political and electoral activities encouraged by the bourgeois-landlord parties. Rigging of elections, intimidation by criminals recruited for the purpose, connivance of sections of the bureaucracy in electoral malpractices and massive use of black money are eating into the vitals of the electoral system. The blatant partisanship exhibited by the Chief Election Commissioner in the tenth general elections in Tripura and other places is an indication of the extent to which the institutions to safeguard parliamentary democracy are being subverted. The elementary right to vote is being snatched away from people in many areas by such criminal activities. The use of caste and communal appeal is vitiating the atmosphere further. Attacks on

trade union rights are growing with the new economic measures of privatisation and liberalisation.

2.59 These dangerous trends have to be seriously combatted by all the Left and democratic forces if the parliamentary democratic system is to survive. Central to the question is the need for urgent electoral reforms. Proportional representation system with lists is one major reform which can eliminate much of the perversion of the popular mandate. Apart from this, the suggestions made by the Electoral Reforms Committee set up by the National Front Government, in which all national parties were represented, must be considered when a legislation is brought.

Rampant Corruption

2.60 All the efforts of the Congress(I) to bury the Bofors scandal, failed as evidence mounted to prove that crores of rupees were paid out as kick backs into secret Swiss accounts. Another instance of massive corruption and subversion has come to light with the BCCI scandal. This has wider ramifications as the bank's network is known to have acted as conduit for funds for terrorist outfits and also for money laundering operations for top personalities in the country. There has to be a relentless pressure built up for a thorough probe into the whole affair connected with Bombay branch of the bank by instituting a joint parliamentary committee which the Government wants to evade.

2.61 The corruption generated by the use of black money by big business, the suborn and pay roll bureaucrats and politicians is well known. What is more disturbing is the invasion of corruption in the higher echelons of the judiciary, the latest instance being the charges against a sitting judge of the Supreme Court against whom an impeachment move was initiated by MPs in Parliament.

Inner-conflicts in the Congress(I)

2.62 The assassination of Rajiv Gandhi has created a sense of uncertainty in the party and affected its cohesion further. The long awaited organisational elections are yet to be held. The choice of a new leader saw jockeying and inner tussles. The writ of the

High Command does not have any sanctity. In the states' sharp tussles for ministerial berths and between factions for and against Chief Ministers are being openly conducted. Differences on policy issues such as secularism and self reliance are beginning to manifest publicly. The growing isolation of the party and its failure to rise up to the serious challenges the country is facing, is bound to heighten the inner conflicts further.

Attitude to the Minority Congress(I) Government

2.63 The general elections led once again to an unclear verdict. The Congress(I) Government in power is in a minority in the Lok Sabha. Such a tenuous political situation has come to exist in the background of the intolerable strains to national unity and the growing imperialist pressures to erode India's sovereignty; the economic situation threatens to destabilise the country further. The communal forces are out to disrupt unity and the BJP wishes to direct the discontent from the Congress(I)'s policies to strengthen itself.

2.64 The CPI(M), along with the Left and National Front Parties, decided to function as an opposition force in Parliament. The Narasimha Rao Government has unfolded its dangerous economic policies which are a serious onslaught on the people. The CPI(M) is pledged to oppose and fight back all anti people policies within parliament and outside and vote against such measures in parliament. The CPI(M) is pledged to oppose and fight back all anti-people policies. The Party will have to stress the building of mass resistance and popular struggles against the onslaughts of the new economic policies.

Channel Discontent against Government Policies on Democratic Lines

2.65 In the coming days the new economic policies are going to worsen the situation for all sections of the working people. These will aggravate the contradiction between the ruling party and the people.. The growing discontent will be sought to be diverted by the BJP and other disruptive forces into divisive channels. It has to be the foremost endeavour of the CPI(M) and

other Left and democratic forces to direct this discontent into democratic channels by ceaselessly struggling and mobilising in defence of the interests of the working class and toiling people. The link between mass resistance to the anti-people policies of the Congress Government and the isolation of the BJP and communal forces must be understood since the BJP's economic platform is, in essence, the same as the Congress(I)'s—pro big business and pro landlord.

Independent Activities

2.66 The independent activities of the Party and mass organisations must be expanded and sustained on class and mass struggles. The degree of success we have in this task of building mass struggles and simultaneously keeping at bay the communal forces will determine the advance of the Left and democratic forces when the confrontation between the Congress(I) Government and the people develops.

Strive for Understanding with Secular Bourgeois Parties

2.67 In order to carry forward the struggle against the Congress(I) and its anti-people policies and the communal threat posed by the BJP, the understanding built up with secular bourgeois parties must be pursued. This understanding assumed a new direction after the prolonged efforts to get the National Front-Janata Dal to demarcate from the BJP. As against the all in opposition unity idea, the developments since November 1990 led to the break with the BJP on the part of the secular bourgeois combination and a national alliance between the National Front and the Left. Such an understanding will remain superficial unless it is backed up by mass movements.

2.68 While striving for wider joint actions on common issues, the Party must be clear that we do not share identical views and policies on every issue with our allies, particularly on the approach to national unity and economic policy. Here, the Party must assert its independent positions and develop its mass activities without any hesitation. With regard to regional parties with whom we enter into an understanding, on some issues they

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take positions which divide the people or cater to chauvinist sentiments. The Party must, on such issues, demarcate its stand and project the line of the Party independently. The mass activities and campaigns possible jointly are to be strengthened and widened so that we can unitedly fight the forces of authoritarianism and communalism and reach out to wider sections of people.

For Increasing Left Intervention

2.69 Due to the firm defence of the interests of all sections of the toiling people and leading mass struggles, its consistent stand in defence of national unity, against communalism, in defence of democracy and change in Centre State relations, the Left influence and intervention has increased. But given the failure of bourgeois-landlord policies and the deep problems it is creating—the Left strength and intervening capacity is far less than what is called for and it is developing in an uneven way. In the coming days, only the rapid increase of Left strength will guarantee the barring of the path of communal and divisive forces and ferocious attacks on the people's interests.

2.70 The ninth and tenth general elections saw the Left improving its strength in Parliament though not substantially. Its influence is not fully reflected in the electoral arena but goes beyond it also. The role of the Left Front Government headed by our Party in West Bengal, and by the earlier LDF Government in Kerala played an important part in enhancing the prestige of the Left and to project alternative policies.

2.71 The period after the Thirteenth Congress saw the acceleration of mass discontent against the Rajiv Gandhi Government. The Bharat Bandh of August 30, 1989 in which the Left played a key role, was a historic popular protest demanding the ouster of the Congress(I) Government for its anti-people policies. On the trade union front, the CITU and other unions have consistently organised struggles for wage rise, minimum wages for unorganised workers, right to work, against closures and attacks on trade union rights and in defence of women workers. The AIKS has been leading many struggles in defence of

the interests of the peasantry and to build joint movement for debt relief, remunerative prices and distribution of surplus land. The All India Agricultural Workers' Union conducted movements and court arrest actions both independently and jointly for the demand of implementing a Central legislation for agricultural workers.

2.72 The DYFI and the SFI conducted a series of campaigns and led struggles against unemployment and for better educational facilities. The membership of the DYFI and the SFI have shown steady growth due to these ceaseless activities. The AIDWA has been in the forefront of campaigns against atrocities on women, for equal rights and in the joint campaign for the setting up of National Commission for Women.

2.73 The last three years saw the growing offensive of the communal forces with its disruptive effects and large-scale communal riots. The CPI(M) and the Left parties played a key role in the anti-communal campaign along with the Janata Dal in Uttar Pradesh in July-September 1990. This campaign held mass rallies which were attended by over a crore of people. The CITU, DYFI, SFI, Kisan Sabha and AIDWA conducted many all India campaigns against communalism through conventions, seminars, public meetings and demonstrations. Many solidarity activities were organised by the Party and various mass organisations in defence of democracy in Tripura. On Punjab a big mass *dharna* was organised in Delhi in September 1991 by the Punjab unit of the Party and various solidarity actions were held in different parts of the country. In many centres there was a mass campaign for collection of funds for the struggling units of Tripura and Punjab. After the fall of the V. P. Singh Government, the National Front-Left parties conducted a countrywide campaign through mass rallies in defence of secularism, social justice and against the formation of the defectors' Government. After the Narasimha Rao Government came to power, the Left parties were the first to organise mass protests against the new economic policies.

2.74 All these mass activities and struggles were conducted in a period which was very complicated and difficult. The prolonged anti-reservation movement with its destructive effects and the

aggravated communal situation leading to widespread violence, had to be faced while mobilising the people. The two general elections within a short space of two years also required the mobilisation of all the Left and democratic forces to conduct the big election campaigns. The activities of the Party and the mass organisations have helped in the struggle to strengthen the Left, democratic and secular forces. These mass activities and struggles must be stepped up and expanded in a big way in the coming period.

Left: Target of Continuing Attacks

2.75 The CPI(M) and the Left have played a consistent role in opposing the bourgeois-landlord policies of the Congress(I). The Left led Government in West Bengal and till 1991 the LDF Government in Kerala were in the forefront of the struggle to implement alternative policies. The Left, all over the country, is the outspoken champion of the people's interests and the organiser of struggles. It is this record which attracts the class hostility of the ruling party. Even in the period 1989-90 when it was out of power, the Congress(I) was relentless in its attacks on the Left in its strong states.

2.76 Tripura is the prime example of this hostility where Congress(I) and its alliance Government has established a new bloody record of repression. The terror against the CPI(M) and the Left has continued unabated. Since the February 1988 elections, hundreds of CPI(M) workers and supporters have been killed. A shocking number of women have been raped or molested, many of them tribal women. The terror and lumpen goondaism has now enveloped all sections of society. All the elections since the last Assembly elections have been shamelessly rigged with the right to vote becoming a threat to life. The recent Lok Sabha elections saw systematic terror launched to prevent the CPI(M) and Left Front election campaign, and after Rajiv Gandhi's assassination an orgy of violence was unleashed with widespread arson and looting of houses and shops of Left cadres and supporters. This forced the Party to withdraw from the elections after the Election Commission refused to intervene.

The complete breakdown of all norms and constitutional obligations shows the depths of authoritarianism that a desperate Congress(I) can stoop to. The cancer fostered in Tripura by the ruling party will threaten parliamentary democracy in the country if it is not countered effectively.

2.77 The other opposition parties are still not able to understand the significance of the Tripura experience. Their failure to strongly raise their voice against the semi fascist terror will only strengthen authoritarian trends.

2.78 Fourteen years of Left Front rule in West Bengal, after winning four successive Assembly elections decisively have, not reconciled the Congress(I) to democratically accept the people's verdict. Time and again, provocations and confrontations are organised to disturb normal life and to attempt to malign the Left. In the post election period, the Congress(I) has been responsible for the deaths of 36 CPI(M) workers. But a constant chant is kept up, with their willing accomplices in the media, of violence unleashed by the CPI(M).

2.79 The victories and existence of the Left Front Government in West Bengal is a main source of the prestige and influence of the Left in the country. The achievements of the Left Front Government in the sphere of land reforms, guaranteeing the rights of sharecroppers, democratic functioning of panchayats and devolution of powers to them; its firm stand in defence of the interests of the working class and democratic rights of the people, the protection of the rights of minorities, scheduled castes and tribes—all these are in stark contrast to the performance of the Congress(I) and other Governments. In the present situation when the economic crisis is of great magnitude, the defence of the livelihood of the people assumes special significance. All governmental and administrative measures will have only limited scope given the depth of the crisis and the disastrous policies of the Centre. It is, therefore, essential that the Party and the Left Front in the state ceaselessly mobilise the people, build mass movements and raise their political consciousness regarding the difficult struggles ahead; to defend and expand the gains of the

democratic movement in the state by helping to implement the programme of the Left Front.

2.80 *Kerala*: That the Congress(I) will jettison its secular professions to fight the CPI(M) and the Left, was once again nakedly displayed in the 1991 Assembly and Lok Sabha elections. It wooed the Muslim League back into the UDF and struck an underhand deal with the BJP to fight the LDF. It also gathered the casteist forces into this alliance. The narrow victory achieved with the small swing due to the sympathy factor after Rajiv Gandhi's assassination, has now been utilised to scuttle the District Councils. The Granthashala Act has been amended to nullify its democratic provisions and plans are being made to erode democratisation of universities.

2.81 The Congress(I) led UDF has also resorted to violent attacks to intimidate and suppress the CPI(M) and LDF. In the post -poll attacks, 15 CPI(M) workers have been killed.

The Naxalite Trends

2.82 Those subscribing to naxalite ideas have been undergoing transformation, and there is greater differentiation amongst them. Some of the groups, primarily the IPF Liberation variety, have made major changes in their ideological and programmatic outlook and have entered the field of mass work and parliamentary activities. However, there are groups such as the People's War Group, which continue with their terrorist and disruptive activities. The Party should take a positive attitude to those groups and elements who are prepared to join the Left mainstream while continuing to oppose their erroneous ideological political positions. It must combat those groups which are relying on terrorism and allied to divisive movements.

2.83 The Party must be vigilant to combat the activities of imperialist agencies active in the tribal areas and in sensitive sectors which are out to disrupt the unity of the people and foster separatism and divisiveness. Special attention has to be paid to counter the Ananda Marg which relies on terroristic methods and

disinformation to disrupt and malign the CPI(M) and the Left movement.

Need for Strengthening Left Unity

2.84 In this context, the building of Left unity which has made steady progress in the eighties, must be enhanced by more independent projection of Left policies and alternatives and more joint campaigns and struggles. The relations between the CPI(M) and the CPI are crucial in this respect. While there have been greater areas of agreement in the past three years, there have been difficulties due to differences also. On the one hand, there has been by and large common assessments and tactical lines on how to deal with the fast developing national political situation. The Left parties took a joint stand during the critical days of the BJP's blackmailing ultimatum to withdraw support to the V.P. Singh Government; the resignation of the National Front Government; approach to the defectors' Government and electoral understanding with the National Front-Janata Dal.

2.85 On the other hand, the Assam situation has led to divergent views with the CPI continuing to adopt a compromising attitude to the AGP and a soft approach to the ULFA; in Punjab too, there have been differences on the appropriate time to hold elections and appreciating the situation on the ground; in Andhra, the CPI unit continues to adopt an ambivalent approach to the Congress(I). There is a divergent stand also on the issue of economic criteria within OBC reservation. But these differences have not prevented wider joint actions at the Party and mass organisational level. The success of the industrial strike on November 29 and the joint work for the September 27 rally at Delhi being the latest instance. It is vital to strengthen Left unity further in the coming period.

Present Situation and Tasks

2.86 Never before since independence has the country faced such a serious crisis situation as today. The crisis engendered by capitalist development in collaboration with feudalism and imperialism, has led to the growing isolation of the Congress(I)

from the masses. Its current position as the single largest party in Parliament is due to the sympathy wave after the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. Otherwise, a situation would have developed leaving a question mark on the future of the Congress(I). This has also intensified the inner conflicts in the Congress(I) party.

2.87 But the weakness of the Left taking the country as a whole, is posing a big problem as the discontent arising from the Congress(I)'s policies is being made use of by the BJP and its allies. The enormous growth of the BJP during the last three years, is undoubtedly also the result of the policy of compromise pursued by the Congress party, its failure to defend secularism combined with the failure of the bourgeois opposition parties to realise the communal danger. The BJP, alongwith its allies, the RSS, Shiv Sena, VHP and the Bajrang Dal, has been able to make big headway in the elections to the tenth Lok Sabha. It poses a serious danger to the unity of the toiling masses, of the workers, agricultural labour, peasants, employees and other sections of the people.

2.88 The grave threat of majority communalism which has already led to large-scale riots, combined with intensified activities of the fundamentalist and separatist forces, constitutes a well designed assault on Indian unity by the forces of reaction backed by imperialism. Therefore, the most important question before us today is to defend national unity and the unity of the country. The future progress of the democratic movement depends on whether, while firmly defending national unity, we are able to mobilise the growing discontent against the Congress(I) rule in a democratic direction or, whether the communal and fundamentalist forces are able to divert it into divisive channels. This requires a three-pronged battle on the economic, political and ideological fronts.

2.89 With the new economic policies of the Government leading to immense miseries for the people and causing great damage to the economy, the Party, alongwith other Left parties, will have to unleash united mass struggles of various sections of the people against these policies and their impact.

The November 29 industrial strike was a good beginning in this direction.

2.90 Conscious efforts will have to be made to rally all democratic and secular forces in these struggles. In spite of the crisis in the Janata Dal, the Left must strengthen relations with it and the National Front on the basis of the common agreed programmes as placed before the September 27 rally. The political significance of the efforts to draw the masses behind these parties in common struggles must be properly understood. Efforts should also be made to win over the masses with the Congress(I) who are getting discontented with the Government's policies. In the course of this campaign we must expose the Central Government's policies of accepting the dictates of U.S. imperialism and its agencies and fight against the consequent threat to our foreign policy.

2.91 Alongwith this we have to carry on the political struggle against the threats to the unity of the country and the danger of communal and separatist forces striking at the very roots of people's unity. We will have to expose the imperialist game to destabilise and disrupt the unity of the country. The Party must, in this struggle against separatism and communalism, arouse the patriotic and secular feelings of the entire Indian people and persistently try to unite all secular forces in various parties in this struggle.

2.92 On the ideological plane, with the spread of vicious and disruptionist ideas in the nefarious game of inciting communal passions, it is our prime duty to conduct continuous ideological fight against these ideas, using the traditions of our freedom movement, stressing the importance of maintaining the unity of the common people. The situation is very complex. We have to fight against the authoritarianism of the Congress(I) and its policy of succumbing to imperialist pressure and also combat the threat to national unity from the BJP and separatist forces. The success in this struggle based on a correct line is crucial to further developments in the country.

2.93 With the present unstable political situation the Government may not last long and the country may have to face a

fresh election. Bearing this in mind we have to seize the initiative and strengthen unity with the secular bourgeois opposition parties to intervene in the electoral battle when it comes, with the objective of defeating both the Congress(I) and the BJP.

Struggle for Left and Democratic Front

2.94 This great effort to mobilise all Left, democratic and secular forces to defeat the Congress(I) and the BJP and to defend national unity, to foil the destabilising designs of U.S. imperialism and to defend the vital interests of the people constitutes an integral part of the Party's struggle for building a Left and democratic front as has been pointed out in the Political Resolutions of the Party Congresses since Jallandhar. It is through these efforts to build a broad unity on the immediate struggle that the Party and the Left forces will be able to gradually change the correlation of forces and be in a position to decisively influence the developments in the country. Success in this struggle will open up bright prospects for the emergence of a Left and democratic front which alone can save the country from the deep all-embracing crisis which has been developing over the years.

2.95 The growing mass struggles led by the Party, the growth of the mass organisations, the performance of the Left Front Government, the increasing common activities of the Left parties and the closer links with the masses of other democratic parties should steadily create conditions for significant advances in which the Left can play an important role.

2.96 The CPI(M) is committed to its basic aim of building a People's Democratic Front led by the working class. Only such a front can ensure the success of the People's Democratic Revolution. The programme and activities of the Left and democratic front are to be visualised as a necessary stage in the struggle to build the People's Democratic Front.

2.97 It is necessary to work out a proper programme for immediate mass actions for the Left and democratic forces. It consists of certain immediate slogans and demands for political

agitation and mass activity. The CPI(M) suggests that such a programme must consist of the following:

- (i) Defend democracy against authoritarian onslaughts by the Congress(I). Defence of democratic rights of citizens; withdrawal of repressive legislations like ESMA, NSA and TADA.
- (ii) Restructuring of Centre-State relations with more powers to the states; abrogation of Article 356 of the Constitution; defence of Left Front Government.
- (iii) Defence of national unity against separatist, communal and divisive forces. Political solution of Punjab, Kashmir and Assam problems meeting the genuine demand of the people of these states within the framework of Indian unity. Resolve Babri Masjid dispute by negotiated settlement or by court verdict. Protect the rights of minorities.
- (iv) Reverse the IMF World Bank dictated policies; preserve economic independence and self reliant economy; increase direct taxes, curb black money; cut inessential imports and wasteful Government expenditure; resist imperialist pressures on patents, intellectual property rights and trade related investments.
- (v) Scrap new industrial policy; state take-over of sick jute and textile mills; stop closures and massacres of jobs in the name of promoting technology and modernisation. Preserve public sector in the commanding heights of the economy and debureaucratise it.
- (vi) Implement land reforms and distribution of land; enact laws to plug loopholes in land reforms; correction of land records; remunerative prices for peasantry; Central legislation for agricultural labour; ensure minimum wages for agricultural labourers.
- (vii) Measures to curb price rise of essential commodities; stop administered price hikes; expansion of public distribution system to cover 14 essential commodities

and to areas not covered by ration system; adequate food stock to be procured by the state for this purpose.

- (viii) Right to work to be embodied in the Constitution as a fundamental right; provision of unemployment benefits; concrete plans to generate rural and urban employment.
- (ix) Need-based minimum wages for the workers; recognition of trade unions on the basis of secret ballot; statutory provision for workers' participation in management; end to all discriminations against women workers.
- (x) Compulsory primary education and universal elementary education; free education up to the secondary stage; revamp the educational system on democratic, secular and scientific lines by abandoning the new education policy.
- (xi) Check atrocities against scheduled caste and tribes by stringent action. Stern measures against untouchability and caste discrimination. Ensure that quotas of reservation for them are filled. Protection of land, development of culture and language of tribal people and regional autonomy for tribal compact contiguous regions where necessary.
- (xii) Stern measures against atrocities on women; end all discrimination against women; ensure equal rights and other legal and constitutional guarantees; equal rights in property for women.
- (xiii) Inclusion of Nepali and Manipuri in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution as national languages.
- (xiv) For developing a secular and democratic culture which will combat all forms of obscurantism and promote the scientific temper; to make cultural facilities available to all sections of the people.
- (xv) Electoral reforms to eliminate malpractices; proportional representation system to be introduced.
- (xvi) A science and technology policy which encourages scientists to do creative work and nurture self reliant

basis of India's development. An environmental policy which is integrated with the needs of rapid and sustainable development. Housing to be accorded the status of a basic right. Expansion of primary health facilities.

- (xvii) Defence of non-aligned foreign policy, friendship with socialist countries, world peace, and support to anti imperialist struggles and the struggles for democracy in neighbouring countries.

The Party

2.98 All these tasks can be fulfilled only by strengthening the Party ideologically, politically and organisationally. This is the most important task today. The developments in the international Communist movement and the socialist countries raise a lot of fundamental questions and its impact can breed alien ideological ideas. The Party has to properly educate the ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and its creative application to the concrete conditions prevailing in our country.

2.99 The Party has to gear up its organisations to widen its mass base by developing mass movements of the workers, peasants, agricultural labour, employees, students, youth, women and other sections of the toiling people. There has to be constant emphasis on the expansion of the independent activities of the Party. The Party must strengthen and nurture its live links with all sections of the toiling people by championing their cause ceaselessly and organising them in struggles for the redressal of their problems. The Party has to educate the entire membership in applying the scientific outlook on all aspects of life and society so that reactionary and feudal ideologies can be combatted. Drawing proper lessons self-critically from past experience, the Party has to overcome its shortcomings. It must step up its all-sided activity so that it is able to spread its influence all over the country through its devotion and dedication to the cause of anti-imperialism, secularism, democracy and Socialism.

Political Review Report*

**Adopted by The Fourteenth Congress of
The Communist Party of India (Marxist),
held at B.T. Ranadive Nagar, Madras,
on January 3-9, 1992**

Never, since the formation of the CPI(M) in the year 1964, has the world situation undergone such disturbing changes as we have been witnessing in the last three years. In short, the international situation today has changed in a big way from that of our assessment made at the XIII Party Congress.

In the XIII Congress's documents we had stated:

“A significant development of great importance has been the agreement between the Soviet Union and the USA to eliminate all medium and short range missiles from Europe. Though this covers only 4 to 5 per cent of the total nuclear weaponry, it is first time that such an agreement was reached. Many hurdles like verification are being overcome and joint teams of the two countries are in each other's territory to verify the implementation of the agreement already reached.

“The U.S. imperialism today is being cornered by the forces of peace headed by the USSR, and its capacity to deceive the people about its security concerns has been eroded. Its promises of a quick decisive war stand exposed. The peace movements in advanced capitalist countries are growing stronger registering new successes. The people of all countries are growingly aware of the dangers of nuclear war in which nobody can be the winner; it can only result in destroying what humanity has created so far.

“This change in the situation and the victories of the world peace forces have become possible mainly due to the efforts of the Soviet Union and its industrial, military and political

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might. The nuclear and military parity which the Soviet Union gained with the U.S. imperialists, has played a major role in bringing about this situation. It was at the same time followed up by consistent struggles by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries against the dangers of nuclear war, for elimination of nuclear weapons, reduction of armaments and innumerable steps to strengthen the forces of peace. This has been backed up by the declaration by the USSR that under no circumstances would it allow military parity to be altered; its repeated assertion that military superiority by the other side would not be allowed. The programme advanced in January 1986 for the three-stage reduction of nuclear arms with their total elimination by the year A.D. 2000 was a landmark in this struggle. It galvanised the forces fighting for peace."

But today the situation is far different from the one we had presented in our Thirteenth Congress. The World Communist movement, during the last three years, has suffered severe setbacks, reverses and even some defeats.

The Communist led regimes in the countries of Eastern Europe have collapsed, with the restoration of the capitalist order in these states. Most of the Communist parties in Europe have dropped their signboards adopting Social Democracy. Tens of thousands of Communist Party members have resigned, abandoning their conviction in the scientific doctrine of Marxism Leninism and giving up its ideology.

The counter revolutionary movement is on the upswing. Our worst fears are coming true regarding the USSR. The Socialist Soviet Union has disintegrated. The CPSU has been dissolved, throwing thousands of Communists in disarray. The historic achievements of Socialist history are being negated and the Great October Revolution itself decried. Gorbachev has become irrelevant and attacks on people's livelihood and rights are mounting.

These disturbing developments have a big and adverse impact on the world's socio-political situation as a whole; it threatens the struggle for world peace, the defence of the independence of

the Third World countries, the growth of world working class movement and the struggle in defence of democracy.

All this has enabled the forces of reaction and imperialism to gain an edge over the world forces of peace, democracy, national independence and Socialism, however short-lived it might last.

In all our previous Party Congresses we had been hailing the growth of the forces of Socialism, peace and democracy while emphasising the general crisis of capitalism and the decline of the capitalist world order. But at this Fourteenth Congress we are confronted with a different and difficult situation, a situation of ever mounting obstacles confronting the international Communist movement.

We have dealt in detail various aspects of the current situation in the Political Resolution and it needs no repetition here. Some are dealt with in our Draft Ideological Resolution.

In relation to our own country some comrades have raised the question of amending the Party programme in the light of these developments. It is necessary to recall that in formulating and adopting the programme, we had tried to apply the science of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete political conditions of our country. Even after 25 years, this stands the test of time. There is some confusion in certain sections inside the Party about the programme itself, because along with the programmatic part, it includes the international and national background as understood at that time. It also endorses the declaration and statement of 1957 and 1960. These two things, of course, have to be separated. So far as the programme is concerned, it remains valid for the stage of revolution, strategy and class nature of the Indian State, class alliance and the objective of the People's Democratic Revolution. The sections on the international and national situation have to be updated along with the "Statement of Policy", in the light of the Fourteenth Congress discussions on ideological resolution and current developments.

Drawing lessons from the present experience of various countries, particularly the socialist countries, we have to appreciate the reality that revolutionary changes do take place neither according to any fixed formula nor can a timeframe be

prescribed. It depends on the national and international situation, the development of objective and subjective factors, of course with the class struggles playing the key role. But there can be no doubt that capitalism cannot provide any answer to the present contradictions prevailing in the capitalist society and only a society free from exploitation can enable social production forces to develop leading to all sided development of society. As a necessary process of the development of society none can prevent the inevitable collapse of capitalism and its replacement by Socialism. In working out the strategy of revolution in the era of imperialism, Lenin started from three fundamental world contradictions which then existed, that between the Labour and Capital; between the oppressed nations and imperialism and that between imperialist countries themselves. After the October Revolution another fundamental antagonistic contradiction surfaced that of between Socialism and capitalism. The resolution of these contradictions determine the change in the correlation of class forces between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution.

In spite of the present setbacks and reverse these contradictions are bound to intensify and it is up to the revolutionary parties of the working class to make skilfull use of all these contradictions for the advance of revolutionary movements in their respective countries.

In spite of the propaganda unleashed by imperialism and other reactionary forces about the demise of Socialism, the socialist system continues to exist in countries with a population of 1200 million. They have openly declared their adherence to Marxism Leninism and the socialist path. They are striving to overcome past distortions and are actively working for the renewal of Socialism. There is no doubt that these countries belong to the developing countries and are economically backward. It will perhaps take a long time to establish a developed socialist society in these countries. But the reality of existence of the system cannot be ignored. In course of time they again will be in a position to exercise influence on the course of world developments. In these countries where the process of restoration of

capitalism has begun resistance is bound to grow. But experience has shown that even the minimum guarantees of the right to work, to housing, to health and education and the like are no more available under capitalism, and they are joining the ranks of the huge army of the unemployed. The recent elections held in Poland are indicative of this discontent. There are reports of big demonstrations in Moscow against growing shortages and the economic policies of Yeltsin. Demonstrations observing the October Revolution have taken place despite official refusal. Forces opposing the destruction of Socialism are regrouping, though it is difficult to assess these strength and resistance power.

Unipolar World

With a unipolar world emerging after the Soviet Union has begun playing second fiddle to USA, imperialism has become more aggressive. It became clear during Gulf crisis. Now it is posing a serious threat to Socialism in Cuba and bringing pressure on that country to submit to its dictates. It has reactivated the NATO in pursuance of its aims. It is bent upon imposing its own "new world order". It has in a good measure succeeded in disrupting the Non-Aligned Movement, the Arab League, the Organisation of African States. It is carrying out a policy of blatant intervention in the internal affairs of independent countries as it likes. Recent international conference on West Asia shows how the Bush administration is trying to prolong the process in order to make use of it in the ensuing U.S. elections. It does not exert any pressure on Israel which openly refuses to vacate occupied Arab land brazenly defying U.N. resolutions.

Faced with acute economic difficulties the Third World countries are being forced to submit to the dictates of IMF-World Bank and other agencies dominated by U.S. imperialism. The forces of national liberation, however, have begun to assert. In this connection, Mugabe's call is relevant when he appealed to the Third World countries to strengthen South South relations so that imperialism is not allowed to exploit them further.

Moreover, in spite of the growth in GDP in various capitalist countries, economic crisis continues to deepen. In America, the financial crisis has grown to enormous dimensions. The United States has become the largest debtor country in the world. In addition, critical phenomenon in U.S. society are developing in various aspects and each of them will not be resolved at a small cost to the nation. As Robert Mugabe has correctly stated: "If we kneel before the north and pray for help they will act with the usual arrogance and disdain. But if we show teeth they will take note of us."... And "Now they treat us as beggars because we depend on their technologies. But they are dependent on our resources and raw material. It is the developing countries' gold and iron resources that have gone into building the European capital. If we do not sell them cotton, what clothes will they wear? It is our natural resources that have made Europe what it is today. Now we must build ourselves and trade viably to be able to call the tune. But first we must come together for our economic growth."

A recent World Bank report shows the poverty and economic dependence of developing countries. According to this report the developing countries have more than 1 billion people living below the poverty line. This is shameful. The poverty line, as the World Bank puts it, stands at an annual income of \$370 per head. One out of every three children in these countries is under nourished. Most developing countries have built their economies on export of their mineral, agricultural products and other primary products. The markets for these products are coming under the control of multinational and big business corporations. Accumulated debt provide a pretext for the banks of imperialist countries and the IMF to tighten credit conditionalities on the developing countries. Distressing economic circumstances are such as to allow the multinational corporations to have their way. An official "development assistance" can only be extended if it serves the interests of major firms in the Western capitalist countries. Under these

circumstances most of the developing countries could not advance on the path of independent capitalist development. The state of affairs in general is that no promise of independent development can be held out for them, if their future remains at the mercy of the multinational corporations which follow the 'profit first' principle. It is clear from this that capitalism cannot provide any answer to problems facing humanity. Even for the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries capitalism shows a bleak future. Market economy laid out under orders from above will not be realised in accordance with its blueprint. If this process is forced on the people it will certainly give rise to many contradictions which are bound to threaten the people's living conditions.

Therefore, it is wrong to think that capitalism can stabilise the socio economic order in the erstwhile socialist countries, and can it be rid of the deep crisis in the capitalist countries. It is bound to aggravate all the class and social contradictions; the working class and the toiling millions in these countries are sure to participate in the class battles resulting in the development of the revolutionary movements in various countries.

It must be realised that the socialist revolution which results in the emancipation of mankind from exploitation, is a very arduous process. And in today's international situation, the Communist parties have to exert more influence through struggles. This is not confined only to the economic sphere. It extends to all spheres of social life, drawing in more and more people towards Marxist ideology which alone can provide a solution to the present ills of society. Therefore, the setbacks which have occurred in the international sphere are not of lasting nature; and difficulties can be overcome.

In this background, we have to explain patiently to our ranks and the people the causes behind the setbacks which have occurred and the possibilities which lie before us for development of the working class and the Communist movement the world over based on Marxism Leninism.

National Developments

The Thirteenth Congress of our Party, outlining the concrete conditions under which the CPI(M) was to discharge its immediate tasks, while working for the objective of our class alternative, noted:

- (i) The contradiction between the bourgeois-landlord rule and the Indian people has further sharpened. At present it manifests itself through isolation of the ruling party and sharpened opposition of the people towards it. It gets intensified through the effects of the economic policies of the ruling party and the economic crisis.
- (ii) The contradiction between imperialism and the Indian people has sharpened demanding a firm policy of non-alignment. The non-aligned policy still stands but is under pressure.
- (iii) The ruling party meets the growing anger of the people by resorting to authoritarian measures.
- (iv) Its economic policies facilitate easy penetration of foreign capital and multinationals endangering the independence of the economy.
- (v) Divisive, secessionist and communal forces have launched an intense offensive against national unity and exploiting the prevailing discontent and the failure of the Rajiv Government to combat them.
- (vi) The battle for national unity has to be carried on by the Left and democratic and patriotic forces.
- (vii) The sharpening of the conflict between the bourgeoisie and landlords aggravates the agrarian situation.
- (viii) The economic crisis aggravates Centre State relations and leads to further erosion of Congress(I) influence. Opportunistic forces use the situation for divisive purposes.
- (ix) The isolation of the Congress(I) is creating conditions for its electoral defeat but the class limitation of the bourgeoisie opposition parties and their opportunist attitude to the BJP hinder the process of consolidating the anti Congress(I) secular and democratic forces.

- (x) The CPI(M) and the Left forces have increased their influence in national politics. The call for strengthening Left unity without which there is every possibility of a major part of the mass discontent petering out or being exploited by reactionary forces.
- (xi) A mass upsurge is fast developing all over the country. It is the task of the Left and the CPI(M) to guide and centralise it to change the correlation of class forces.
- (xii) It is only by intervening in the present situation, by defeating the Congress(I) in the next elections and frustrating all attempts of the communalists and pro-imperialist forces that the revolutionary forces can march ahead and strengthen the struggle for Left and democratic unity.
- (xiii) The Party must play its role by its initiative and unifying capacity.

Under these conditions, the following immediate tasks were outlined:

- (1) "Ousting of the Rajiv Gandhi Government in the coming elections while protecting the unity and integrity of the country against the divisive designs of imperialism and the secessionist and communal forces."
- (2) To work for the isolation of the communal forces and safeguard communal harmony and secularism.
- (3) To work for forging a Left-secular alternative to both the Congress(I) and the BJP.
- (4) To strengthen Left unity and "increase its weight in national policies."
- (5) To strengthen the independent mass activities of the Party. This all-sided struggle was to be linked with our efforts to build the Left and democratic front.

During the three years since the Thirteenth Congress, the Central Committee, the Polit Bureau and the Party Centre in pursuance of these objectives had taken various measures. The campaign against the Congress(I), its anti-people policies, its compromising attitude with communal forces and corruption in

high places with specific reference to Bofors were the issues on which the Party independently and in cooperation with other secular forces conducted mass campaigns. The CPI(M) had joined the other opposition forces in asking its members to resign from the Lok Sabha in protest against the government's refusal to table available information concerning the corruption in Bofors scandal.

The Party had taken many initiatives in mobilising the secular forces in the struggle against growing communalism, immediately following the Thirteenth Congress. These efforts culminated in the first anti-communal convention on May 8, 1989. The consistent warning given by us on the dangers of communalism was indicated by subsequent developments of the many campaigns conducted. One highlight has been the massive joint campaign against communalism conducted in U.P. along with the Janata Dal headed by Mulayam Singh Yadav in the state.

Constant consultations with the bourgeois opposition parties, the Janata Dal and the constituents of the National Front were undertaken to forge Left-Secular alternative. The CPI(M) had consistently maintained that such an alternative should have nothing to do with communal forces like the BJP. Unfortunately, the bourgeois secular opposition parties, in the urge not to divide the opposition vote, and defeat the Congress(I), refused to accept this position. Thus, while working for the defeat of the Congress(I), these forces compromised with the communal BJP and, as the election results later showed, helped them consolidate when the political situation demanded their isolation.

Notwithstanding this crucial difference, we, along with other Left forces, cooperated with the Janata Dal and the National Front through seat adjustment in order to defeat the Congress(I). While the National Front had separate and independent seat adjustments with the BJP, at many places the Left and the BJP contested against each other.

The elections saw the rout of the Congress(I) but did not give a clear majority to any other combination. As the results were being announced we had taken the stand that the people's verdict was for a non-Congress(I) Government and this should be respected.

We declared support to V.P. Singh to form the government. This position of ours left the BJP with no other option but to similarly declare support to V.P. Singh Government, thus, materialising the formation of the non Congress Government headed by V.P. Singh.

It must be noted that it is precisely this stand of ours that prevented the possibilities of the BJP joining the government which it was very keen to do.

While supporting the Janata Dal government from outside and the various positive measures that it took in the sphere of Centre State relations, Inter-State Council, National Integration Council etc. the CPI(M) directed its members of Parliament to resolutely oppose such anti people policies that were being proposed. Given its class character, the V.P. Singh Government had carried forward some of the economic policies of the Rajiv Government which were anti people as well as detrimental to the strengthening of a self reliant economy. The CPI(M) had to raise its protest against the very first budget brought forward by this government and its provisions which imposed greater economic burdens on the common man. It had also the occasion to oppose the invocation of ESMA to deal with strikes.

The CPI(M) had to undertake such a role, ensuring that, on one hand, the Congress(I) does not benefit from the people's discontent arising from such anti people policies, and, on the other, to champion the interests of the people in defence of their rights. Thus while ensuring that the V.P. Singh Government does not fall on the floor of the House, the CPI(M) consistently voiced its opposition against anti-people measures. Not always however was such a clear cut demarcation possible. This was weaknesses, inherent in the situation itself, that had to be constantly overcome.

The BJP, in the meanwhile, took advantage of its increased strength in Parliament and the State governments that it had come to control, to intensify its communal campaign on the Ayodhya dispute. Betraying the confidence it gave to the people at the time of extending support to the V.P. Singh Government, that its differences with the Janata Dal will not come in the way of supporting, the BJP withdrew its support following the arrest

of L.K. Advani during the *rathvatra*. This *rathvatra* had left a trail of communal riots, the worst since independence, leaving behind hundreds dead.

It was in such a communally surcharged atmosphere that the CPI(M) had demanded of the V.P. Singh Government that it stop the *rathvatra*. The Congress(I) headed by Rajiv Gandhi then had also voiced the same demand. However, when the *rathvatra* was stopped and Advani arrested, the Congress(I) instead of supporting the action of the V.P. Singh Government joined hands with the BJP in voting down the government in a vote of confidence on November 7, 1990.

The circumstances then prevailing in the country, the communally surcharged atmospheres, acted as damper on the possibilities of seeking a fresh mandate from the people. Further, many Janata Dal MPs were reluctant to go in for another election, in less than a year. Utilising this opportunity, a section of the Janata Dal led by Chandra Shekhar and Devi Lal defected. The Congress(I), supported these defectors in forming a government. Thus began a sordid episode in Indian political life, in which for four months a government headed by Chandra Shekhar continued to wreck havoc on the country without any mandate from the people. The Congress(I)'s role in propping up such a government was sharply attacked by the CPI(M).

These months witnessed hectic consultations between the Left and secular forces to forge an alternative to the Congress(I) and the BJP. All through this period, the Left parties were regularly meeting, constantly exchanging views and approached the main issues unitedly.

The Chandra Shekhar Government, despite the assurance given by the Congress(I) to allow it to continue in office for a year, was pulled down on the flimsy pretext of two constables watching Rajiv Gandhi's residence.

In the elections that followed, the Left Front and the National Front came to an electoral understanding. This was not a smooth process. The bickerings amongst the Janata Dal and the delay in arriving at seat adjustments caused some damage to the National Front Left Front credibility. While issuing separate manifestos to the electorate the National Front Left Front in the final days of the

campaign had issued a joint appeal to the Indian electorate highlighting the common issues on which this combination is seeking people's support.

Rajiv Gandhi's assassination during the course of the election campaign was seen by the CPI(M) as an attempt by the enemies of our country, backed by imperialism, to further destabilise the already fragile political and social situation. For the second round of elections that followed, the CPI(M) appealed to the Indian people, that in order to defeat such conspiracies against our country it is necessary that both the Congress(I) and BJP be defeated and sought support for the National Front Left Front combination. Rajiv Gandhi's assassination and the sympathy that it had generated, however, helped the Congress(I) in gaining electorally.

Notwithstanding this, however, for the second time in two years, the elections did not give any single party a majority to rule. The Congress(I) emerged as the largest party but short of a majority. The BJP made major gains winning 119, coming second in 128 seats and capturing the U.P. State Assembly in addition to the ones it held in M.P., Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh. Under these circumstances, the Central Committee which met immediately after the elections and while the government formation by the Congress(I) was being considered, adopted the following tactical line:

“1. With the formation of the Congress(I) Government at the Centre and on the basis of the people's mandate in the 10th Lok Sabha elections, the CPI(M) will continue to sit in the opposition.

2. The CPI(M) and the Left parties will continue to maintain relations with the National Front and the Janata Dal.

3. Keeping in mind the people's mood and the present situation, the country can ill afford another early election. But this depends upon the policies of the Congress(I) Government. The Central Committee from time to time will review the situation and adopt the necessary tactics.

4. In meeting the grave challenges which the country is facing today, like the separatist menace in Kashmir, Punjab, Assam etc., which is threatening the unity of the country; the threat to national unity arising from communal and divisive forces; the CPI(M) will make a positive contribution to finding a solution to such problems.

5. While opposing all authoritarian and anti people policies, the CPI(M) will continue to struggle for better Centre State relations; safeguarding and strengthening democracy; electoral reforms; fighting against atrocities on SC/STs; defence of minorities; and for social justice.

6. While skilfully using the floor of Parliament to advance the cause of the democratic masses and in the best interests of the country, we will concentrate on developing mass movements of the workers, peasants, youth, students, women and other toiling millions, aimed at resisting the policies that throw the burdens of the crisis on the common man, and struggle for betterment of the conditions of the toiling masses.

7. In the background of the Babri Masjid/Ramjanmabhoomi controversy, the BJP spreading its base throughout the Lok Sabha, and its coming to power in U.P., a very critical situation is bound to develop in U.P. having serious repercussions on the country. This is bound to create panic among the people belonging to the minority community. We will have to unite all the Left, democratic and secular forces to meet this challenge.

8. The CPI(M) will continue to function as an independent group inside Parliament, effectively function Left coordination and strengthen cooperation with the National Front and the Janata Dal."

The minority government headed by P.V. Narasimha Rao came into office. During the last few months of its existence the Congress(I) has once again displayed its inability to tackle any serious problem that is facing the country. Further, the economic policies that are being adopted have seriously jeopardised our country's economic sovereignty and are designed to mortgage our economy to the interests of the IMF and the World Bank.

During the period, it should be noted that the manner in which the Janata Dal functioned the Government as well as its Party affairs, contributed largely to the failure in mobilising the people on policy issues. The CPI(M) has repeatedly drawn the attention of the National Front allies to this shortcoming which obfuscated the different approaches on policy issues between the various combinations before the people. The internecine

squabbles and the subsequent defection by the group led by Chandra Shekhar and the continuous controversies within the party leadership had eroded the people's confidence in the capability of such forces forming an alternative.

One of the important issues that arose during this period was on the question of the implementation of the Mandal Commission report for reservations to the OBCs. Though this was a part of the Janata Dal manifesto, the manner in which the announcement had come without preparing various political parties and the people on the basis of a consensus provoked a upper caste backlash which resulted in bloody clashes all over the country, especially the north. Both the BJP and the Congress(I) actively aided and abetted these anti Mandal formations. The CPI(M) while upholding the decision to implement reservations for the OBCs had taken a position that this should be done on the basis of a national consensus. The CPI(M) has suggested that the basis for such a consensus could be found in the Karpoori Thakur formula which took into account both the economic criteria for the most backward of the OBCs as well as provision for economically backward sections in the upper castes. Ultimately, it was this suggestion, which formed the basis for a consensus that emerged during the P.V. Narasimha Rao headed government.

All through this period, the Central Committee had repeatedly noted that the growing political and social instability in the country is the reflection of the deepening of the crisis of the bourgeois-landlord class rule. This crisis, while on the one hand, was heaping increasing burdens on the people, dividing them on communal and caste line endangering the very fabric of national unity, on the other, creates conditions for an offensive by rabid rightwing reactionary forces to stake the claim to form a government a communal platform. Under these conditions, the Central Committee had repeatedly asserted that a solution to this crisis can only be on the basis of a change in the existing correlation of class forces in favour of Left and democratic forces. The Central Committee, in this context, underlined the need to strengthen the unity of the Left and independent activity of the CPI(M) and its intervention in mass struggle. It is only with

such growing struggles, based on policy alternatives, can such a change in the correlation of class forces be brought about. This, in fact, assumes added significance in the light of the present developments.

Struggle against Imperialism

The Trivandrum Party Congress has warned against the growing intervention of imperialism and its agencies in our country. The subsequent developments have only confirmed this. The contradiction between the Indian people and imperialism expressed itself during this period in imperialism direct support to the secessionist and communal forces to destabilise Indian policy; the growing economic pressures of the World Bank and the IMF the pressures against our non-aligned foreign policy.

The Political Organisational Report of the Thirteenth Congress had stated “the Party understood that the bourgeois opposition parties generally turn a blind eye to these developments considering them as the headache of the ruling party. Our Party, vigilant against imperialist conspiracies exposes them and warns the people against coming dangers”. This assessment continues to be as relevant for the subsequent period.

Even during the V.P. Singh Government’s time, the CPI(M) had warned that the course of economic liberalisation that was being pursued will only lead to the strengthening of the stranglehold of imperialist capital on India and place the Indian economy at the mercy of the multinational corporations. Such a course was the logical continuation of the economic strategy adopted by Rajiv Gandhi, against which the CPI(M) had mobilised the Indian people as early as in July 1986. This course was brought to its logical culmination by the P.V. Narasimha Rao Government when it shamelessly surrendered to the IMF pressures and created a deliberate impression that there was no other alternative to resolve the economic crisis.

In opposition to this suicidal course, the CPI(M) took the initiative for a convention by the Left parties where a large number of economists forcefully argued against the present course, stating that this would only further jeopardise the economic sovereignty of our country. The convention pointed out

that no country which had accepted the IMF prescriptions and conditionalities had been able to break out of indebtedness. On the contrary, the indebtedness continued to grow and the burden fall squarely on the shoulders of the common man. Even during the Chandra Shekhar Government's time the Left Parties sponsored a seminar of Left economists which had also suggested that an alternative path is available by which the economy could come out of its present balance of payments difficulties. The Left Front Government of West Bengal had also presented an alternative to the IMF path.

Ignoring all these suggestions, the P.V. Narasimha Rao Government proceeded at a breakneck speed, in accepting the IMF conditionalities and is now on the verge of accepting a larger loan with the accompanying stiffer conditions. This will mean a radical shift away from the accepted national goals of self-reliance and mixed economy. The Central Committee and the Polit Bureau, repeatedly during this period, had come out against these policies and took initiatives to organise the Indian people in protest against these policies. The massive rally of September 27 at Boat Club was the result of this effort. The CPI(M) had openly declared complete support to the trade unions' call to observe a countrywide industrial strike on November 29, 1991 which was a remarkable success. Our Party will have to redouble its efforts to ensure that the mass of Indian people and all patriots come together to exercise their powerful strength to bring about a change in these economic policies. Already the burden on the common man is becoming unbearable with rapid inflation and growing unemployment. The massive discontent against these policies will have to be channelised on democratic lines.

CPI(M) in the Forefronts of the Struggle for National Unity

During this period, on all issues that seriously threaten the country's unity and integrity, the CPI(M) has been in the forefront. In Punjab alone, over 200 of our leading comrades were martyred in the struggle against anti national Khalistani secessionists.

In these three years since the Trivandrum Congress, imperialist efforts to destabilise our country increased. There have been rapid rise in the unprecedented attacks by the communal and secessionist forces. The Central Committee had repeatedly pointed out, during this period, that these are no ordinary conflicts or communal riots but conflicts deliberately engineered with financial and other support from abroad to disrupt Indian unity. Internally, these represent an attack by the most conservative forces in Indian society the anti-national feudal forces and feudal ideology held in check in the past during the course of the anti-colonial anti imperialist struggle. The Congress(I) instead of launching an outright offensive against these forces, has often compromised with them for petty electoral benefits.

In this situation, the main burden of warning and mobilising the Indian people against these conspiracies of the anti-national forces falls on our Party and the Left. The consistent position taken by the CPI(M) on all issues relating to safeguarding and protecting national unity today remains uncontested even by the worst of our enemies.

On the question of the Ram Janmabhoomi/Babri Masjid dispute the Central Committee had repeatedly emphasised that the solution can be based only either on a negotiated settlement or through a court verdict. In pursuance of this understanding, the CPI(M) had taken the initiative to convene an anti-communal convention first on May 8, 1989 and later again in May, 1990 where even some Congress(I) leaders participated. Throughout the country the CPI(M) and the mass organisations led by it, had conducted various campaigns against the rising communal danger.

Punjab

On the basis of constant intervention and activity in Punjab, the CPI(M), on many occasions was severely critical of the policy of drift being adopted by successive governments in dealing with this issue. Even during the period of the National Front Government, on repeated occasions, the CPI(M) has suggested concrete measures to solve the issue. Unfortunately these were not heeded to. The CPI(M)'s consistent championing of national

unity in Punjab has today earned the wrath of the extremists who are targetting our leaders and cadres in their anti national crimes. The CPI(M) has consistently reiterated that the problem cannot be solved by treating it as merely a law and order issue but a political solution will have to be initiated. This will have to be based on the Rajiv Longowal Accord. On this basis, the mass of the patriotic Punjabi people can be mobilised against the extremists. On the basis of such an understanding, the CPI(M) had consistently stated that free and fair elections in Punjab were possible only when such political initiative is undertaken and the people are roused in political action against the extremists.

Both the Central Committee and the State Committee had taken various mass mobilisation actions. In March 1989, on the initiative of Left Parties, a massive *dharna* was held in Delhi. Again on May 10, thousands courted arrest. The Central Committee and state units have been publishing various materials explaining our stand. This year, a massive demonstration was held in Delhi, to create conditions for holding elections.

Kashmir

During these three years our Party had to similarly wage a relentless struggle against the secessionist in both Kashmir and Assam. In Kashmir the CPI(M) had openly criticised the Janata Dal Government's measures to tackle the issue. These resulted in aggravating the problem right from the time of appointment of Jagmohan as the Governor. The CPI(M) has stated that a law and order approach is not the solution. The CPI(M) had repeatedly suggested various measures on the basis of which a political solution to the problem can be found. Unfortunately, both the National Front and the Congress(I) Governments continue to adopt an ad hoc and piecemeal approach which only accentuate the problem.

Assam

The CPI(M) in 1989 called for firm action by the Centre and the AGP Government to prevent ULFA's secessionist activities. The Party also called for rallying of all patriotic forces in the fight

against ULFA's attempt at destabilisation. Our Party opposed the imposition of President's rule and dissolution of the Assembly in February 1991. We, at the same time, condemned the failure of the AGP Government in curbing the ULFA activities. We demanded that the Disturbed Areas Act be applied to only the really affected areas and not to the entire state.

In the elections to the Assembly held in June 1991, the Party had electoral understanding with the Janata Dal, the Congress(S) and the RCPI etc. The CPI because of its line in the state was not part of this electoral understanding.

Another question that came up was our attitude to the demand of the Bodo's for a separate state. The Polit Bureau discussed with the Assam State Committee and decided to put forward the demand for a separate autonomous district for the Bodo's. The Party also called for a peaceful solution to this problem.

Tribal Question

Other than the Bodo issue, a major problem that came up was one of defining our attitude towards the agitation for a Jharkhand state. The Central Committee in consultation with the Bihar State Committee decided to demand the formation of an autonomous district council within the state of Bihar and constitutional guarantees under the Sixth Schedule. A meeting of the State Committee members and DC members from Chhotanagpur and Santhal Parganas was attended by Comrade Balanandan. The meeting decided to campaign on the accepted lines.

The concerted offensive of the anti national forces have continued to strengthen during these three years. This once again underlines the need for the strengthening of the independent activity of the CPI(M) and the Left forces in defence of our country's unity.

In this context, it should be noted that the quest for protecting and safeguarding their separate identity and interests had been growing amongst the tribal population in our country. In order to ensure that this urge and discontent from the present ruling class policies is directed into democratic channels, the CPI(M) will have to champion their cause. Failure on this count, will only land

these sections into the laps of secessionist and divisive forces. The rich experience we have gained in Tripura, through the formation of ADC's for tribal areas, should form the basis for such struggles.

Centre-State Relations

The strains on our federal polity are increasing dangerously today. The CPI(M), recognising the reality of a multi national country has consistently championed the cause of proper Centre-State relations. A strong Centre can only evolve on the basis of strong states wedded together on the principles of a federal union. By limiting the rights of the states, thus denying the aspirations of people's of different cultures, languages and traditions the ruling classes' drive to impose a unitary state structure is wreaking havoc for our country's unity and integrity.

The CPI(M) has consistently been raising this issue in the National Integration Council in 1968, through the conclave of opposition parties from Srinagar onward and emphasising its importance in strengthening the unity and integrity of our country.

Though we were the first political force to face this issue, we have not been able to develop a movement strong enough for its realisation. In the future, this weakness will have to be overcome.

Authoritarian Drive: Tripura

The Congress(I)'s scant respect for democracy and democratic norms was clearly visible in the manner in which it conducted its attacks against the CPI(M) in Tripura. Since the Trivandrum Congress, these attacks have continued to intensify, leading to large-scale murders, looting and arson of our cadre. Rape is being increasingly used as a political weapon by the Congress(I). The Central Committee on various occasions had saluted our Tripura comrades for the brave and heroic struggle that they are engaged in, in the most adverse of circumstances.

The Congress(I)'s attacks against the CPI(M) in Tripura reflect the class hatred that the bourgeois, its landlord classes have for the CPI(M) as a Party of the working class, championing the interests of the common people. The Central Committee conducted countrywide campaign against this and gave several

calls for Tripura fund to aid and assist our fighting comrades. During these three years apart from various solidarity meetings and rallies a good amount was collected to assist our Tripura comrades.

At our initiative a team of parliamentarians led by Yashwant Sinha went to Tripura to examine the conditions and presented a detailed memorandum to the President of India which outlined the general breakdown of law and order and the Constitution of India in Tripura. Despite various people's memoranda and exposure of the Congress(I)'s crimes the situation continues to deteriorate.

At the call of the Central Committee, Tripura day was observed on August 17, 1990. Comrade Nripen Chakroborty's tour of A.P, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Maharashtra was marked by huge meetings and demonstrations.

The Central Committee, consistent with its opposition to Article 356 of the Constitution, did not demand the imposition of President's rule. All the elections during this period in Tripura were completely rigged forcing the CPI(M) to withdraw from the last parliamentary elections. The general deterioration is reflected in the fact that in the recent Assembly by-elections, the BJP candidate was shot dead resulting in a complete statewide bandh. The Congress(I) Government in the state, thoroughly isolated from the people, continues to exist on the strength of its repression and murder of democracy.

Left Unity

During the course of these three years, on important matters, the Left parties took a united stand. The consultation between the Left parties and their coordination on the floor of the House was seen improvement. However important points of differences between us and the CPI persisted with regard to Assam, Punjab, A.P. etc. the difference of approach to the developments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe also constitute an important area of difference.

In the background of the situation that prevails in our country it is imperative that the unity between the Left forces be further strengthened. This must be done at the level of mass struggles and

united actions on people's issues. It is only on this basis can the struggle for a Left secular alternative be strengthened. Further, there is a vast mass of public opinions, which in today's conditions, is eager that the Left forces should come together. This is possible only on the basis of united concerted activity on common issues that confront the nation and the people.

Some other important issues on which the Party Centre, Polit Bureau and Central Committee had taken initiative is briefly enumerated.

Nepal

In 1989-90 when the conditions in Nepal were becoming serious with the deterioration in relations with a campaign being whipped up to create conflict between India and Nepal, the Party gave a call to avoid confrontation and to solve the outstanding problem through negotiations. The Party also warned against imperialist intrigues.

When the struggle for democratic rights in Nepal was reaching a new pitch, the Party firmly came out in support of the people's struggle for democracy.

Sri Lanka

In this period the Sri Lankan developments demanded the continuous attention of the Party. In 1989 when the Sri Lankan President called for the withdrawal of the IPKF from Sri Lanka the Party issued a statement stressing the need for implementation of the provisions of the Indo Sri Lanka Accord particularly in the matter of devolution of power and the need to take effective measures to allay the fears of the Tamil people about the possible consequences of withdrawal of IPKF. At the same time we took the position that if the Sri Lankan Government insisted on immediate withdrawal, there would be no other option but to withdraw.

During the period after the withdrawal of the IPKF and the intensification of the conflict between the Sri Lankan Government and the LTTE the Party has been emphasising the need for a peaceful settlement on the basis of the Accord and calling upon the Government of India to use all diplomatic and political

measures to prevent aggravation of the conflict. The Party at the same time sharply criticised the terroristic and anti democratic attitude and actions of the LTTE. The Party pointed out that a settlement should be arrived at only by talks in which all the Tamil groups were represented. The Party had been stressing the need to see the problem of Tamil refugees as a human problem. We have been consistently warning against imperialist designs in the region. The Party's policy on Sri Lanka has been consistently for a peaceful solution of the problem on the basis of the recognition of the legitimate democratic aspirations of the Tamil people within the framework of the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka. We have been fighting against the attempts to rouse chauvinist feelings in Tamil Nadu on this question.

Gulf War

Since the Gulf crisis broke out in August 1990, the Party has firmly opposed U.S. imperialist intervention in the region, while calling for the withdrawal of the Iraqi troops from Kuwait. We also linked the Gulf problem with efforts to fulfil the demands of the Palestinian people. The Gulf crisis came at a time when the situation within the country was also very serious with the temple issue, communal clashes, fall of V.P. Singh Government etc. In spite of it the Party and the Left forces tried to mobilise the people on this issue.

When the Gulf war reached a new stage with open U.S. led intervention in January 1991, the Party took the initiative to conduct anti war demonstrations in front of the American Embassies and Consulates in Delhi, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Militant demonstrations were held throughout the country. The Left parties and the mass organisations were also in the forefront of this struggle.

We were able to expose the treacherous policy of the Chandra Shekhar Government in permitting the refuelling of U.S. war planes. Our effective intervention and the mobilisation of the widest public opinion put the government on the defensive and the refuelling operations were stopped. This was a significant success of the broad anti-imperialist forces in the country.

Following Comrade Surjeet's meeting with Yasser Arafat and the PLO leadership at Tunis in February 1991 the Party took the initiative to mobilise wide sections including the Congress(I) to press upon the Government of India to play an active role to find a peaceful solution. By and large the Party and the mass organisations were in the forefront of the fight against the U.S. imperialist intervention.

Dismissal of Tamil Nadu Government

When in January 1991, the Chandra Shekhar Government dismissed the DMK Government in Tamil Nadu, at the initiative of the Party the National Front and the Left parties gave a call for protest day on February 6, 1991. There were calls for bandhs in five States—Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and the Union territory of Pondicherry. The bandh in these states was almost total. In most of the other States demonstrations were also held.

When the Karnataka Government headed by the Janata Dal was dismissed in April 1989 the Party along with the Left parties and the National Front gave a call for a protest day on April 25. Though a few meetings were held here and there the response within Karnataka itself was poor. The infighting within the Janata Dal, the mutual charges of corruption etc., had confused the people and demoralised the Janata Dal. This was the reason for the ineffectiveness of the call.

Lenin's Anniversary

The Central Committee attaching great importance to the upholding and popularisation of Lenin's teachings in today's context decided to observe the 120th anniversary of Lenin's birthday on April 22, 1990, in a big way, through publications, hall meetings etc. The teachings of Lenin were popularised on a wide scale.

Ho Chi Minh's Anniversary

On the call of the Central Committee, Party units throughout the country observed the day popularising the revolutionary contribution of Ho Chi Minh. The visit by General Giap to

Calcutta when a huge tumultuous reception was held to mark Ho Chi Minh's centenary was a notable event. Comrade Jyoti Basu participated in the Vietnam Government and Party's celebrations at Hanoi as the official representative of the Government of India.

Comrade Muzzafar Ahmad's Centenary

The Birth Centenary celebrations of our veteran leader Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad was observed with hall meetings etc., in various parts of the country. In Bengal the celebrations were held in a big way.

CPI(M)-led Governments

The CPI(M)-led Governments in West Bengal and Kerala have continued to be the outposts of the Left and democratic movement in our country. The policies undertaken by them and the issues of national importance tackled by them, continue to inspire the Indian people exposing the stark contrast between them and the state governments led by bourgeois-landlord parties. These governments have galvanised the Left movement in the country.

In both these states, the Party decided to prepone the elections by one year and hold them along with the general elections to the 10th Lok Sabha. In Kerala, this decision was taken in the background of the spectacular results in the District Council elections, in which the CPI(M)-led LDF swept. In the Assembly elections, however, we lost the Government, with the customary narrow margin. The sympathy generated by Rajiv Gandhi's assassination and the clandestine BJP transfer of votes to Congress(I) contributed to this.

Functioning within the framework of the limitations of our Constitution, these governments nevertheless, have undertaken measures and policies that form the basis of people's aspirations elsewhere.

West Bengal

The CPI(M) led West Bengal Government has distinguished itself in the fields of decentralisation and land reforms. The three-tier Panchayat system has effectively garnered local initiative in

implementing developmental programmes and ensuring democratic participation of the people unknown in the rest of the country; 50% of the plan funds have been devolved to the Panchayats.

The remarkable success has been in the field of land reforms. By March 1990, the Left Front Government had distributed 9.13 lakhs of acres amongst 19.94 lakhs of rural poor. These included 37% belonging to Scheduled Castes and 19% to Scheduled Tribes. 14.34 lakhs of bargadars were registered, thus ensuring their claim for proprietorship. These include 30% of SC's and 12% ST's. As a result of this, the percentage of areable land in the hands of small and marginal farmers has increased to 60%. The all-India average is 29%! If bargadars are included the figure goes up to 70%. Apart from such remarkable achievements, the Left Front Government has increased the wages of agricultural workers from Rs. 5.60 to over Rs. 20. It introduced a monthly pension scheme for the aged rural poor and increased the amount from Rs. 60 to 100. In the dry season, the rural poor are provided rice at concessional rate of Rs. 2.50 a kilo. This covers a population of nearly 150 lakhs. Efforts are on to expand this further.

As a result of these measures and the rural development programmes, the food production has dramatically increased. This indicates the CPI(M)'s programmatic understanding that, land reforms would lead to increased production. During the 7th Plan period, food production increased by 29.89%. The all India average was 13.42. While the all India average for oil seeds production increased by 54.66%, in Bengal it was 78.63%. Potato production increased by 64.28% while all India average was 49.93%.

The Central Government has, all along, adopted a policy of industrial discrimination against West Bengal. Despite this, the industrial policy adopted by the Left Front Government has resulted in an increase in the small scale industries. Between 1976 and 1991 the number increased from 1 lakh to 3.4 lakhs.

The achievements of the Left Front Government are remarkable elsewhere as well. It is the only state that can, in today's communally surcharged atmosphere, boast of amity and absence

of riots. In the field of education, it expends nearly 30% of the state budget. Under its rule 10,000 new primary schools have been set-up, 100 colleges and one new university. The number of students has doubled, the literacy movement acquired new dimensions, drawing accolades even from the UNICEF.

It was the first State Government to introduce unemployment allowance. Self-employment programmes have already covered 5.59 lakhs of youth. Time bound programmes have been drawn up for execution of schemes of health, transport, power and urban development.

While the Central Government, true to its class character, rejects the CPI(M)'s proposal to distribute fourteen essential commodities through a public distribution system, the West Bengal Government set up 2762 statutory and 17,202 revised rationing centres to keep the price line within control and ensure essential commodities to those who cannot otherwise procure them.

It is such measures that have earned for the CPI(M) and Left Front Government in West Bengal the confidence of the people.

Kerala

While facing a critical financial situation and a decade long of near negative economic growth, the Left & Democratic Front Government had been able to improve the growth rate and open up a wide range of avenues and opportunities to the people especially the weak and the poor. The 1.13% growth rate of the G.D.P. during 1982-87 Congress(I) Government was increased to 5.75% during the period of the Left & Democratic Front Government.

When the L.D.F. Government came into power, Kerala's agricultural production had been on the decline. Fertiliser subsidy was extended to farmers holding less than one hectare of land. Revenue recovery measures on all loans were suspended. With a view to popularising and democratising agricultural activities, popular committees had been constituted in all Panchayats with active participation of local organisations, co-operatives, farm workers, farmers, public representatives and officials of the local bodies. An intensive vegetable cultivation programmes involving

lakhs of families had been successfully launched. A group farming system had been introduced to co-ordinate the entire paddy cultivation operations right from the production of high-yielding seeds to harvesting. Farm Committees were organised to co ordinate the activities. About 50,000 hectares of paddy fields were brought under this project covering 4 lakh marginal and small cultivators.

All these and other measures taken by the Left & Democratic Front Government improved the production of paddy and coconuts. The rate of growth of the agricultural production rose to 9.08%.

The Left & Democratic Front Government attained the unprecedented growth rate of 18.7% in industrial production. The average yearly loss from the public sector industries was reduced from 55 crores to 17 crores. Industrial relations were improved. Many new factories were set-up especially in the small scale sector generating about 3 lakh employment opportunities.

The Government took steps to reorganise the welfare schemes and started new schemes for the welfare of the poor, women, children and the toiling people. Relief and welfare fund legislation had been enacted for traditional industries like coir, cashew, khadi, handloom, house construction and *abkari* workers. Decision was taken to extend similar benefits to beedi and cigar workers, bamboo and seed workers. Under these schemes, 25 lakhs of workers will be entitled to Pension, Provident Fund etc.

The Left & Democratic Front Government revamped the public distribution system and strengthened it. A vast public distribution network consisting of Fair Price Shops, Maveli Co-operative Stores, Mobile Stores and seasonal festival bazars were brought into existence. Almost all the essential commodities ranging from the rice to groceries and palm oil to kerosene were distributed to the public at reasonable price. Those steps had brought down the consumer price index and the standard of living index in Kerala compared to the neighbouring states.

The Government took important steps for the progressive decentralisation of administration. Elections were conducted to the Panchayats, Municipalities and District Councils and the

administration of these bodies were entrusted to the people's representatives. Many of the powers vested in the State Government regarding planning, decision making and implementation were transferred to the local bodies institutions.

The major important achievement of the Left & Democratic Front Government was the attainment of 100% literacy in the state by making use of the voluntary work of the people.

Independent Activity of the CPI(M)

The Trivandrum Congress had emphasised the need for strengthening the independent activity of the Party and its intervention in popular mass struggles that are breaking out in protest against the growing attacks on people's economic and political rights. Our experience during the three years only highlights the importance and urgency of this. Since the Jallandhar Congress in 1978 our Party has been correctly emphasising that unless the present correlation of class forces is changed in favour of Left and democratic forces the major problems confronting the country and the people cannot be tackled. While working for a broad secular electoral alternative to the Congress(I) and the BJP our Party fully understands the limitations under which we have to work, the limitations of these parties. The growth of the independent activities and influence of the CPI(M) is the only way in which these limitations, to some extent, can be overcome.

The two general elections, elections to various state assemblies, the communal situation, the anti Mandal agitation, the situation in Punjab, Kashmir and Assam, the attacks on CPI(M) in Tripura and other developments during these three years, had more than preoccupied our Party organisation, which had to work under severe strain. Under these circumstances the independent activities of the Party could not be undertaken to the desired level. But, our Party's influence in these major political electoral battles has been significant in establishing the present-day political realities. This is establishing the present day political realities. This lag has to be overcome by strengthening the independent activities of our Party and mass organisations led by the Party

have conducted various struggles. Had it not been for the leadership given to these mass struggles, the Left politics would not have been able to make its influence on the national political scene. Given below is a summary of these activities.

MASS ACTIVITIES

Trade Union Front

In the period since the last Congress, on the trade union front, there have been important struggles and movements. The CITU and other trade union federations played an important role in August 30, 1989 Bharat Bandh which was the culmination of the mass movements demanding the resignation of the Rajiv Gandhi Government. The public sector workers also participated in large number in this strike action.

During the National Front Government the pursuance of policies similar to the Congress(I) on the economic front were reflected in the budget proposals and the CITU observed a protest day in May, 1990 against the steep rise in petrol, diesel, postal rates and railway fares. Another anti-price rise day was observed in August, 1990. The CITU also played a leading role in the formation of the committee of public sector trade unions and the movements on the question of Dearness Allowance.

The CITU organised a series of anti-communal campaign in late 1989 and 1990. An all-India convention was organised in September, 1990 by central trade unions in Delhi which gave all-India call for carrying on the campaign. The worsening communal situation had its effects on other struggles against closures, unemployment and price rise.

An important initiative taken by the CITU was on the question of unemployment. The movement took shape in 1990 through conventions, demonstrations and rallies in a number of states demanding the inclusion of right to work in the Constitution and unemployment allowance to the jobless. At the initiative of the Steel Workers Federation affiliated to CITU an all India convention on right to work was held at Durgapur in 1990. The decisions of the convention to launch a countrywide movement against

unemployment could not be carried forward in a big way because of the disturbed political situation in the country.

The period saw many struggles led by the CITU for minimum wages and for mobilising the unorganised workers. Consequent to the seven day Delhi Strike in November, 1988 strike actions were organised by the CITU in U.P., Haryana, Punjab and Madhya Pradesh. The demand week was organised on a charter of demands including minimum wages in 1990. In this connection a big rally of unorganised workers was held in Calcutta in October, 1990 which mobilised over a lakh of workers.

The CITU organised many struggles of working women in several states during this period. In several unorganised sectors women workers launched militant struggles. A significant development was the struggle of the Anganwadi women workers in this period. An all India convention of Anganwadi workers was held in Delhi in April, along with a rally.

The struggle of the Dalla Cement Factory workers against privatisation has led to major victory. The privatisation of the three units by the Mulayam Singh Government was bitterly opposed by the workers in which scores were killed in police firing. The dogged fight put up by the workers in which the CITU played a key role finally compelled the BJP Government to revoke the privatisation deal. A number of struggles were conducted by the CITU unions against closures and for other demands.

With the assumption of the Narasimha Rao Government to office and the new economic policies, the CITU played a significant role in organising a countrywide industrial strike on November 29, against the IMF dictated policies. The success of the strike has made a big impact which would help the development of bigger and more militant united trade union actions.

Kisan Front

At the initiative of the AIKS and the AIAWU an all India convention of the peasants and agricultural workers organisation led by the Left parties was held on 18th April, 1989 at New Delhi on the question of land reform, attended by over 700 peasant and agricultural activists from all over India.

The convention raised ten main demands which together with the local demands form the basis of the united struggle. These demands included plugging of loopholes in existing ceiling laws through suitable amendments, speed up distribution of all available ceiling surplus, waste land, forest land, banning evictions and granting *pattas* to poor peasants, vacation and distribution of land under illegal possession of landlords, physical possession to be given to allottees who should be protected from attempts by landlords to take the land back and so on.

The movement had to take the form of location and identification of ceiling surplus, benami, evacuee, fallow and waste land or forest land without green cover etc. A powerful campaign with concrete facts to expose the failure of the government in implementing ceiling laws effectively, in distributing, even the land available with the government should also be launched. It was also decided to rouse and lead the landless agricultural labourers and poor peasants for direct actions wherever conditions permit.

The convention gave a call to observe May 25, 1989 as Land Reforms Demands Day in all district centres all over the country. In pursuance to the call of the convention, demonstrations were held in Kerala (100 places), U.P. (30 places), West Bengal (more than a million people participated), Bihar (38 places), Tamil Nadu (19 places), Andhra Pradesh (14 places), Punjab (12 places), Karnataka (12 places), Orissa (9 places), M.P. (7 places), Haryana (5 places), H.P. (4 places) and Gujarat (1 place).

Following the decision of the convention land was occupied and identified in West Bengal, Kerala, A.P., Bihar, Orissa, U.P., Karnataka, T.N. and Haryana. A total of about one lakh acre land was occupied and thousands of acres of land had been identified. In Punjab and J & K due to special situation prevailing there direct action was not possible.

One of the main achievements of the struggle was that this was the first time that we took the land question in this form as an all India struggle. In many places the land movement had helped our organisation to expand in new areas and amor

newer sections. This had helped in strengthening the unity of agricultural workers and peasants and also strengthening united action with other peasant organisations.

The CKC/AIKC meeting at Patna on 17-19 August, 1990 decided to observe 31st August as anti price rise day and 8th October as Kisan Demands Day. But immediately after the Patna meeting of the CKC/AIKC large part of the country was plunged into anti reservation agitation and communal disturbances due to the Mandir/Masjid dispute which had to be attended to and intervened by our cadres so as to protect the unity of the people. Even under the circumstances the days were observed in many parts of the country.

The Left and Kisan organisation met in February 1991 and gave a call for starting powerful joint campaign on the demands of the peasantry starting from March 15 to 21 as protest week. This was observed in many parts of the country. The follow-up action was postponed due to the parliamentary mid-term poll.

Apart from the all India campaigns, the state units of the AIKS had organised demonstrations, *dharnas*, protest rallies etc. on issues like remunerative price for agricultural produces, loan waiver, against price rise etc. The AIKS units had actively participated in the work of uniting the peasantry against this attempt to divide them on the caste and communal lines by the caste and communal leaders.

Youth Front

The DYFI has been continuously campaigning for national unity and against communalism in the past three years. It has utilised Bhagat Singh Day on March 23 and Independence Day on 15th August and January 26 to have widespread programmes on these issues. In 1989 a one-week programme in March led to *Rail Roko* movement in Kerala in which lakhs of youth took part against unemployment. In West Bengal, the DYFI mobilised 25,000 youth for blood donation camps for Bakreshwar Thermal Power Plant. A national convention was held after a series of

programmes by Left and secular youth student organisations in Delhi against unemployment, illiteracy, authoritarianism and communalism. On the basis of the resolution of this convention a series of state level joint conventions were held. The DYFI organised a campaign on solidarity with the Punjab comrades and collected funds for the Punjab unit of the DYFI. It also observed Tripura Solidarity Day in July 1990 and collected funds for the Tripura State unit. With this serious communal situation the DYFI took initiative to mobilise youth against communal frenzy. A joint programme was chalked out to organise 'human chain' all over the country in the name of Maitri Bandhan.

The DYFI launched a big campaign against the U.S. imperialist attack on Iraq. Its call for food and medicines for war victims evoked a big response in all parts of the country especially from West Bengal, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, and Tamil Nadu. The DYFI organised a protest action against the anti people railway and Union budgets this year. In West Bengal and Orissa a massive *rail roko* was organised.

Student Front

The SFI independently and along with other student organisations conducted an intensive campaign on educational demands and against the communal and divisive forces in this period. In 1989 a massive students rally was held in Calcutta in which students from Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh also attended. A national convention of student-youth organisations was held in May 1989 to highlight the urgent problems of education, employment and communalism. The SFI observed an anti-authoritarian, anti-communal week in the last week of June. Together with the DYFI Independence Day was observed as a day to defend national unity and democracy. As a follow up of May convention, militant student youth actions were organised from 25th to 29th September. The whole campaign culminated in an all-India students strike on 29 September which was a big success with 2.5 crores students participating.

Many state level campaigns and mobilisations took place in 1989 for educational reforms and demands for students in different

states. A national demands day of ITI students was observed in October 1989 with state level demonstrations. The SFI along with DYFI presented a memorandum to the National Front Government on the steps to be taken on education and employment and conducted a national campaign in February highlighting the demands based on the memorandum. The SFI participated in Maitri Bandhan 'human chain' along with DYFI in October 1990. The same year the SFI has taken up the task of fighting back the disruption of students unity in the wake of anti Mandal and subsequently the Ram temple agitation.

The SFI organised a widespread campaign against the U.S. role in the Gulf War. It observed Tripura solidarity day in October 1991. It organised an all India *dharna* of ITI students at Delhi in which 1,500 students participated.

Women's Front

The women's movement led by the AIADWA conducted a big campaign on a charter of demands related to right to work a fundamental right which culminated in the September 8, all India rally at Delhi in which over 20,000 women from 18 states participated. The AIADWA units conducted a number of campaigns against price rise and for strengthening the rationing system. Particularly in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh such local actions centred on ration supply were widespread.

The AIADWA conducted a big campaign against Ujan Maidan gang rape incident in Tripura and also observed a Tripura day in 1990 all over the country. On the *Sati* issue the AIADWA was in the forefront to protest against the evil practice. Similarly the campaign to reform the law on dowry, four lakh signatures were collected in different states. Against atrocities on women there was an all India call on 30 August for hunger strike and *dharna* on specific demands of the victims of violence. The AIADWA has been conducting a sustained campaign on the question of maintenance, joint matrimonial property rights and guardianship laws. The March 8 observance of international women's day annually has seen thousands of women mobilised on their demands.

The AIADWA units played a notable role in the all India united actions such as the August 30, 1989 Bharat Bandh and in the mobilisation for the September 27th rally.

It was at the initiative and consistent pursuance of AIADWA that the National Commission on Women has been constituted.

Parliamentary Front

The role of CPI(M) MPs in Parliament is of crucial importance in the present context. While expressing the growing mass struggles in the House, our MP's have to relentlessly expose the bourgeois landlord class rule and policies. These would help galvanise people's struggles.

There have been some shortcomings in exercising this crucial role. Our MPs were also working in difficult circumstances while supporting the V.P. Singh Government, they had to protest against its anti people's policies.

However, it is necessary that our class positions are unequivocally voiced in the Parliament, assisting people's struggle outside.

Parliament is a forum where our point of view can be properly explained to the people. Recall the private members' Bill, moved by our MP, on the status quo of religious places as of 15 August 1947. That became the focal point of the struggle between secular and communal forces.

The functioning of our parliamentary group will have to improve markedly. The parliamentary office and research support for our MPs should also improve.

LESSONS AND TASKS

From the review of the last three years it can be concluded that in the prevailing correlation of forces in the country, our Party has pursued by and large a correct line. And our assessment of the situation prevailing at the time of the Thirteenth Party Congress has been vindicated. But the fact remains that we have not been able to bring any radical change in the political situation in the country. It will not be wrong to say that the country had never faced such a grave situation which is facing today.

Because of worsening economic situation in the country and failure of the government to ameliorate the conditions of the workers, agricultural labour, poor peasants, scheduled castes and tribes and because of uneven development and the inability of the ruling classes to fulfill their aspirations, discontent is growing fast against the ruling party with the development of the growing urge among the tribal population and the different ethnic formations for the protection and development of their identity. The question of restructuring of Centre State relations has come on the agenda and can be ignored only at a very high cost. The emergence of the regional parties in certain areas and states is the result, on the one hand, of the failure of the recognised all India parties to keep in mind the sentiments of the different states that constitute India, and on the other, the conflict and contradictions arising between the Centre, which is dominated by big business, and the states where the interest of regional bourgeoisie are dominant.

Another phenomenon which has to be taken note of is that in the wake of the ruling parties' failure to tackle it there is a growing criminalisation of politics. Bourgeois landlord parties in the country make full use of anti-social elements and many of them with a criminal record hanging on them get elected to the legislatures. Elections are rigged and the people are being deprived from properly exercising their right to vote. This poses a grave threat to the democratic structure of the country apart from the constant threats which come from the ruling party and its government as has been done in Tripura for the last few years.

Foreign Policy

The change in the world situation and the economic policies being followed by the Government of India has affected our foreign policy too. Big events are taking place in the world. But India, which has been one of the founders of the Non Aligned Movement, which contributed to strengthening its anti-imperialist content, is today not playing that role. Many important issues have come in during these years whether it was the solution of the Kampuchean problem, the holding of the peace conference on West Asia where U.S. imperialism is trying to impose the

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Camp David solution on the Arab countries; the continuous blockade of Iraq even at the cost of thousands of lives of women and children being lost due to starvation and lack of medical aid; the continuous blockade of Cuba, a non-aligned country by U.S. imperialism; India's voice is nowhere to be heard. Even in relation to SAARC it took a strange position when it was to play a bigger role in strengthening cooperation with the neighbouring countries. Pakistan was able to get the support for its proposal to make South Asia as a nuclear free zone. Never since the Bandung conference was India so marginalised in the international sphere, as it is today. And this is bound to happen if the economic dependence on imperialism increases. In fact, what is required today is more firmer positions by India which can help in uniting the non aligned countries to resist pressure politically and economically by the imperialist countries.

The question arises how to bring a change in the situation, how to bring a change in the correlation of class forces in favour of the Left and democratic platform? This is a very arduous process. But without such a change neither can we advance our struggle nor can we help the country to get out of the crisis in which it finds itself today. In this respect we have to understand the limitations of the bourgeois-landlord opposition parties. Because of their class nature and in the absence of any alternative policies they have been vacillating. New combinations and formations have been coming to existence with the earlier ones getting dismantled. It is only in the states where the Left has become strong a reliable alternative has come into existence like West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura. In other places, we have not been able to create a suitable situation for the advance of the democratic movement.

We have to draw some lessons from this rich experience of implementing our tactical line in different periods and stages. The building of the Left and democratic unity is not a straight course. At every turn in the political situation the Party has to seek allies to advance the strengthening of the Left and democratic forces.

The most important factor in the situation is the policy of surrender to imperialism in relation to economic policies. Gripped by the deep economic crisis, successive governments, since the

last Party Congress, were wooed by imperialists to agree to the conditionalities of the World Bank and the IMF in order to overcome the crisis. And the same economic policy was pursued by all the governments which demanded radical change in the policy of self reliance and instead imposition of the policies which subserves the interests of the multinational corporations. The World Bank reports during this period clearly indicate about this direction but with the crisis in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which resulted in restoration of capitalism in Eastern European countries and the process of dismantling of Socialism in the Soviet Union further contributed to the imperialist moves to impose its policies. The pro-imperialist circles in the Indian ruling classes got an excuse that since you cannot bank upon the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in helping to develop your economies you have no other choice but to depend on U.S. imperialism and the world agencies controlled by it. The Chandra Shekhar Government had already taken steps in the direction and the Narasimha Rao Government completely overlooking and violating the manifesto on the basis of which they were elected, surrendered to the IMF. This has been explained in detail in the Political Resolution. In spite of the opposition from the vast sections of the Indian people to its economic policies the Government continues to toe the line of U.S. imperialism. The open declaration of privatisation of public sector undertakings in the name of running in loss, the declaration allowing the foreign banks to operate, talk about privatisation of communication sector are clear indications that the government has decided to mortgage our economy to the requirements of imperialist countries. The result of these policies are being felt by the people. Price rise, inflation, growing unemployment, closure of factories are some of the indications as to where the country is being led to and as against this the government has refused to entertain any alternative solution which has been presented by the Left and number of economists who want to see India strengthened. This policy is bound to result in the growing attacks on the working class, agricultural workers, poor peasants and people who already live below the poverty line.

But it must be realised that BJP is determined to divert this discontent into divisive channels with a twin objective in mind, one that the discontent does not take the democratic direction so that no challenge emerges to the policies and the interests of foreign monopolies and Indian big business though at a heavy cost to the India's independence and the masses. Secondly, to make use of the situation, to weaken the Left and democratic forces, to create a communal divide and pursue its goal of theocratic state. And because of failure of bourgeoisie opposition secular parties to understand the gravity of the situation, BJP is successful in carrying out its game.

National Front, Janata Dal on the other hand which long with the Left could have mobilised the people to stall these forces are concentrating mainly on such issues like reservations on which consensus has already been arrived at. The result is that these parties are in disarray today. The recent by election go to show that the National Front and the Janata Dal have not drawn any lesson from the experience of the past and now instead of inspiring confidence in the people to resist anti-people policies by joining hands with the Left, Janata Dal is faced with a serious crisis resulting in the prospects of a split. And this would have demoralising effect on the growing opposition both to the Congress(I) policies and to the communalisation of politics by the BJP. The situation is also going to demoralise those Congressmen who had started taking up policy issues.

Certain bourgeoisie opposition parties try to project Mandal Commission as the panacea for all ills. Some go to make use of this slogan to perpetuate caste divisions. We must understand that apart from the communal divisions and the inter-communal antagonisms caste and sub-caste feelings also estrange social relations and endanger the socio-political integration as well as the political unity and cohesion of the country. The intense struggle for securing seats in schools and colleges, the fierce competition for securing jobs in government services and growing awareness among the oppressed and backward castes and their increasing assertion demanding their due share and place in the life of the country, all manifest in organising caste and

sub caste group consciousness and platforms. This situation can be met by way of increased cultural education and reform activities and by providing the basic objective socio economic conditions to gradually eliminate the appeal of casteism. On the contrary the ruling bourgeois parties neither has guarded from fanning caste feelings nor do they hesitate to exploit them in furthering their own vested interests. Let us take the case of scheduled castes and tribes, the most oppressed socially discriminated and mercilessly exploited strata of our society. The pittance of constitutional guarantees conceded to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes has made no dent on this issue. Ninety nine per cent of them live in the same wretched conditions in which they were living for centuries, with no land to till, with no homes to shelter them and with no social amenities for better living. The government's policies result in creating some tiny groups of persons and islands of seemingly prosperous families among them either to serve as subservient tools in the services of the ruling party or to socially degenerate into a sect of parasites thriving on the misery and sufferings of these hapless men and women. While the task of relieving the dire poverty and subhuman standard of life of scheduled castes and tribes remain mostly unfulfilled even after 44 years of independence we still witness the phenomenon of an ever growing list of new castes and sub castes and sects coming forth with their own demands for reservations and promotion in jobs. Even the leaders of the bourgeois opposition parties try to exploit rising mass discontent and growing urge in increasing section of the backward castes for furtherance of their personal and group interests. But they never go into the basic causes which require a radical change in the land relations by implementing the slogan of land to the tiller and by taking measures to raise the cultural, educational, social and economic level of these castes.

During the last two years implementation of Mandal Commission has acquired great importance. There is no doubt that most of the demands raised on behalf of the numerous backward castes, sub-castes and sects are just. Though leaders who aggressively demand the implementation of the recommendations and also the leaders of the ruling party are fully aware

that in the capitalist path of development it is impracticable to implement it. And yet the slogan for reversal of the bankrupt path and its anti people policies is not raised, lest such a slogan confront those who hold political power. The fiasco of the much talked of land reform measures is a glaring proof of this. This movement for the implementation of the Mandal Report has led to the counter-movements instigated by the Congress(I) and the BJP from behind with the conscious aim of perpetuating such divisions with a view to diverting the discontent into democratic channels. After a lot of discussions a consensus has been arrived at. Now it should satisfy all those who really desire to create confidence among the backward classes that they are concerned with their future, and their aspirations to be fulfilled. But it is unfortunate that certain sections of the Janata Dal still are carrying on propaganda against this formula and are trying to keep the issue burning so that they can make use of this issue for narrow partisan ends. Our Party has to clearly demarcate from this position because this is disruptive to the class unity of the toiling peasantry especially its downtrodden sections. And it creates a wedge between the poorer sections coming from different castes. Similarly opportunistic positions are taken by certain political forces which even provide strength to the separatist forces with a view to wooing certain sections for electoral gains. Such policies are very harmful for the development of democratic movement and class unity. Our Party is proud of its record in defending national unity and the unity of the country. It has always taken a principled position on various issues concerning the country and always held the view that such issues should be tackled through a consensus and not be made use of for partisan ends. The present policies of the ruling classes in relation to these must have proved disastrous and they must draw proper lessons from it if the country's unity is to be maintained and take remedial measures.

Unity of Left and Secular Forces

In the Thirteenth Party Congress, held in the background of the ruling Congress(I)'s attack on democratic rights and its drive towards authoritarianism in the wake of its loss of mass support,

and its compromises with communal forces, we had rightly advanced the slogan of the unity of Left democratic and secular forces both in the struggle against authoritarianism and in defence of national unity. In this Congress, we were also able to formulate the programme for Left and democratic unity keeping in mind the present correlation of class forces and the level of consciousness of the people. The tasks and slogans of the Left and democratic front were clearly delineated as distinct from the People's Democratic stage and they were so formulated which would enable us to rally the other democratic forces, when the working class and our Party had not emerged as a force that may influence the following of the bourgeois landlord parties.

The direction of the Thirteenth Congress therefore enabled us to more effectively intervene in the given political situation. The results are there for all to see. The Left has emerged as the foremost defender of national unity in the country. It has been able to instill confidence in the Janata Dal and the National Front that in spite of differences with them on some basic issues there was a firm basis for working together as allies. This understanding between the two formations helps us in the achievement of the second objective we had set before ourselves i.e. isolating the communal forces particularly the BJP. The Congress(I), the main bourgeois landlord party and its main ally the Janata Dal(S) stand exposed before the Indian masses for their rank opportunism and least concern for national unity and contempt of the electorate.

Of utmost importance is the emergence of alliance and understanding between the Left on the one hand and the Janata Dal and the National Front on the other. The leaders of the National Front and the Janata Dal have clearly stated that they will ally with the Left. The anti-Communism prevalent in the parties of the bourgeois-landlord classes is on the wane. In order to gain popular support, the Janata Dal is raising the demands of the working class and the toiling millions. Apart from talking of social justice, it should not be forgotten that it is on the issue of defence of national unity that they staked their power.

While it can undoubtedly be said that this had led to the strengthening of the Left and democratic forces, it would be

erroneous to conclude that a split has taken place within the bourgeoisie vis-a-vis the monopoly and non monopoly sections, and that the latter has become a part of the Left and democratic front. For the emergence of such a situation a further development and onward march of the Left and democratic movements is needed. Given the level of consciousness of the majority of the Indian masses who are still behind the parties of the bourgeois-landlord classes, the stage is not yet set for coming into existence of such a situation. But the conflicts and contradictions that emerge among the various political formations of the ruling classes have to be skillfully utilised for the advance of the Left and democratic movement in the country.

For the creation of such a situation, we will have to make full use of the potential of the parliamentary struggle and combine this by leading class and mass struggles and developing mass organisations. In the background of the deepening crisis in the economy and bourgeois-landlord class order, it is of utmost necessity that we raise the level of political consciousness of the masses. Unfortunately, there has been a lag in this regard. While leading class battles on economic issues, we have not succeeded in releasing the masses from the political ideological influence of the bourgeois-landlord parties. Without releasing the masses from their influence, Left and democratic advance cannot be strengthened.

We have to draw lessons from the experience of working with the bourgeois opposition parties. While working with the bourgeois opposition parties, we should never forget their class outlook. This alliance should not be confused with our slogan of Left and democratic front. Building of Left and democratic unity envisages a prolonged struggle through unleashing mass struggles. Only by leading class battles can a change in the correlation of class forces in favour of the working class and toiling people be brought about. In that process, the democratic classes, wedded to fight against monopoly capital, imperialism and feudalism, come together. This would be a lasting combination which will enable the bringing about of social transformation and strengthen the democratic fabric of our country.

But the significance of understanding with bourgeois opposition parties should not be underestimated. In united actions, masses behind these parties come in contact with our Party and the Left. They should be brought into common struggles against the dark forces of communalism and imperialism.

But on the basis of the experience of the past we have to overcome our weaknesses in working with these parties. We do not try to demarcate with them when demarcation becomes necessary. We tone down our differences in the name of unity. We also become victims to parliamentarianism under one pretext or the other. In our anxiety to some seats in the regions where we are weak we completely surrender our masses to these parties even at a time when elections enable us to propagate our views and policy issues can be posed very clearly. If we try to study the performance in the elections before 1977, when we were independently contesting we were able to expand our influence in different areas. Though it was very necessary to change the tactical line, in the period after Emergency, against authoritarianism, it led to a situation where, bourgeois landlord parties were able to dictate terms to us in many places instead of coming to a proper understanding. This tendency also leads us to allow the masses to fall prey to these parties, instead of rallying them behind our Party and the Left. Lack of sufficient demarcation on certain issues during united action affects our mass base. This shortcoming is to be overcome. Therefore, the Party has to be very careful while working along with these parties. While making certain very necessary compromises, we should never forget our class outlook and ideological moorings. In the background of the developments in the international Communist movement and the reverses and setbacks suffered, this aspect has to be given more importance. The Party, being the biggest force of the Left, has to take initiative in developing mass movements and leading political ideological battles to release the mass rallying behind the bourgeois-landlord classes from their ideological influence. In this context, the concrete application of Marxism-Leninism, to the concrete conditions prevailing in the country acquires great importance. Our Party's policies, tactics and programmes, based on concrete conditions, have stood the test of time. That is why, in spite of the

severe reverses and setbacks in the international Communist movement, our Party is able to stand united. This gives us confidence to march forward in the struggles to build Left and democratic unity which alone can provide a real alternative to the bourgeois-landlord rule.

Left Unity

It is obvious that in the present critical situation when the threat to the unity of the country is seriously posed by the separatist movements going on in various parts of the country, when the threat to national disintegration has assumed serious proportions with the BJP coming as the main opposition party to the Congress(I) with levers of power in important states in its hands and when the bourgeois parties are unable to unitedly face this challenge and the Congress(I) is pursuing its policy of compromising with communal forces it is all the more clear that it is only the unity of the Left forces which can play a vital role. The CPI(M) has to discharge its responsibility as a leading force of the Left, its responsibility as a party of the working class. It must be understood that Left and democratic front cannot be growingly built without growing unity of the Left forces and without the capacity to launch massive united struggles against the authoritarianism in defence of democracy, in national unity. The events have shown that the Left has got the potential in shaping national developments and has shown its capacity to launch independent mass actions. Any rift in Left unity will have disruptive consequences and will be a gift to the Congress(I) and the BJP. Therefore, Left unity has to be further strengthened as a matter of vital importance to intervene in the present situation and above all for building the Left and democratic front which is the only viable alternative to the present rule. The building of Left and democratic front is not possible without the increased growth of Left forces and their unity.

Strengthen the Party

All the above tasks can be fulfilled by strengthening the Party, ideologically, politically and organisationally. This issue has been dealt in a separate document in detail. Here we have to emphasise the fact that because of the resultant confusion on certain issues,

. bulk of the Party members who have joined the party in the eighties have had not the opportunity of proper study of Marxism Leninism and complicated political situation in the country, this task has acquired urgent importance. We are glad to note that during the state conferences, Party has broadly rallied round the line worked out by the Central Committee on ideological issues. The Party Congress undoubtedly will further help in strengthening this process.

The Party also has to strengthen its organisational structure based on the principle of democratic centralism. This is essential, both to inspire Party members, in day to-day activities and in making contribution to the development of Party line as well as in exercising unity of will without which a revolutionary party cannot become the effective organ for social transformation. Therefore, all shortcomings in the Party organisations are to be removed as an immediate task.

We had undertaken the task of building a mass revolutionary party. Without fulfilling this task radical changes cannot be brought in the correlation of class forces in the country. Though we have made some progress in this respect and because of the correctness of our policy, the prestige of our Party is very high in political life of the country, but its strength is not commensurate with the immense responsibilities it has to discharge in today's situation. The growth of the Party is uneven, in vast areas of the country it is not able to influence the course of political events. All these shortcomings have to be overcome and the Party Congress is going to have a detailed discussion on this aspect. Let us in this Congress pledge to fulfill the task of building a mass revolutionary party.

There are three important documents before the Congress for discussion. Let this Congress prove to be a landmark in the history of Indian Communist movement by raising the banner of defence of Marxism-Leninism, by coming out as defenders of national unity and by arousing the anti-imperialist feelings of the Indian people, by defending the interests of the workers, peasants, and other toiling millions and by defeating the Congress(I) which is out to mortgage our economic independence and authoritarianism and the BJP which is determined to disrupt the democratic movement.

Resolution on Certain Ideological Issues*

**Adopted by the Fourteenth Congress of
The Communist Party of India (Marxist), held
at B. T. Ranadive Nagar, Madras,
on January 3-9, 1992**

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Tumultuous developments and cataclysmic changes have taken place in the world since the Thirteenth Congress. The dismantling of Socialism in the Soviet Union; the disintegration of the USSR; the collapse of the Communist-led regimes in East Europe and the process of restoration of capitalism in these countries all constitute a big reversal for the world forces of Socialism. These counter revolutionary developments are giving rise to profound political, economic and social changes on a world scale.

1.2 These developments have also brought into focus a new offensive against Marxism-Leninism. World forces of imperialism, gloating over these developments, have unleashed a massive propaganda blitz against Marxism and Communism. They are being blatantly assisted by the forces of social democracy and capitulationists within the Communist movement itself. Denouncing Marxism and Socialism, they embolden to proclaim that capitalism is the end of human social evolution.

1.3 In India too, the anti-Communist forces are on an offensive. The CPI(M) is particularly targetted for its open partisanship in defence of Socialism and Marxism-Leninism. These forces seek to obliterate the immense contribution of Socialism to the material and intellectual development of human civilisation in the 20th century.

1.4 The complexity of the situation and the issues being questioned, encompass the history of nearly a century of human

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civilisation. This demands a wide, extensive and indepth study. Given the pace of developments and their nature, only some preliminary conclusions can be drawn.

1.5 The CPI(M), from its inception, had to carry on a fierce struggle against deviations in the international Communist movement. During this period of twentyseven years of struggle against revisionism and dogmatism, the CPI(M) was guided by its independent judgement on the basis of the fundamental principles of Marxism Leninism, and from its own experience.

1.6 Once again in 1968, at the Burdwan Plenum on ideological issues, the CPI(M) had to carry forward this relentless struggle against modern revisionism advocated by the CPSU headed by Khrushchev. While combatting the revisionist deviation, the CPI(M) had to conduct an intense struggle against the Left adventurist deviation advanced by the CPC which had a very adverse impact on the Indian Communist Movement. It is these struggles that shaped the CPI(M)'s efforts to uphold the revolutionary cause of Marxism Leninism and advance the Indian people's struggles.

1.7 It is this very same approach that led the CPI(M) to demarcate and publicly express its disapproval of many ideological positions put forward by the CPSU since after the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. The resolutions adopted by the Central Committee during this period define the framework of the CPI(M)'s analysis of these developments. Continuing this thread and approach, the CPI(M) is assessing the present day developments, the implications that they have for future world developments and for the strategy and tactics of the Communist movement world wide as well as in India.

1.8 In this situation, when the international Communist movement has been thrown into disarray with many Communist parties reneging on the basic tenets of Marxism Leninism, the CPI(M) attempts to gain a more indepth knowledge of the present-day world. It is committed to deepen its understanding of these developments, of human social evolution and of the experiences and lessons that have to be learnt. Only in this way, can the working class and the people of India pursue their struggle for a

people's democratic revolution and future socialist order for liberation from exploitation, social, political and national oppression.

1.9 The revolutionary changes of the 20th century and the deep imprint of socialist thought and practice on the contemporary world need to be properly evaluated with all the victories and defeats, advances and setbacks.

General Crisis of Capitalism and The New Epoch

2.1 The Marxist analysis of the development of capitalism, its maturing into the stage of imperialism and the sharpening of its inherent contradictions resulting in recurring crises, have been resoundingly vindicated by the developments of the 20th century.

2.2 The October Revolution of 1917, itself a product of the maturing of the contradictions of world capitalism in the stage of imperialism and the decisive intervention of the Bolshevik Party, set in motion developments that constitute a qualitative leap forward in history. The consequent victories of the people in their liberation struggles had a worldwide impact.

2.3 The establishment of a society that for the first time abolished class exploitation, gave a powerful impetus to the people's struggles the world over. The guaranteeing of rights, inconceivable till then under capitalism, and the transformation of once backward economy into a mighty economic and military bulwark confronting imperialism, has confirmed the superiority of the socialist system.

2.4 This epoch making revolution, the decisive role played by the USSR in the defeat of fascism, and the consequent emergence of the East European socialist countries had profound impact on world developments.

2.5 This was followed by the historic triumph of the Chinese Revolution. This was a source of great inspiration that galvanised the struggles of the people of the colonial countries for their liberation.

2.6 The heroic Vietnamese people's struggle against imperialism, the Korean people's struggle and the Cuban revolution gave a tremendous impetus to the growing working

class struggles the world over. These anti imperialist victories further strengthened the world forces of national liberation and Socialism.

2.7 These historic events and the process of decolonisation that began following the defeat of fascism, shifted the balance in favour of world forces of peace, national liberation and Socialism, thus vindicating the understanding that this was an epoch of transition from capitalism to Socialism on a world scale.

2.8 It was in this background that the international Communist movement made an assessment of the contemporary world and adopted the corresponding strategy and tactics for advancing the forces of world Socialism. The 1957 and 1960 Conferences of the Communist Parties, endorsing the shift in the world balance of forces in favour of Socialism, went beyond to formulate that Socialism is becoming the decisive factor in shaping world developments.

2.9 The May 1990 CPI(M) Central Committee resolution self critically re examined the basis of such an assessment. It had concluded that this assessment was a gross underestimation of the potential of world capitalism, both of its capacity to further develop productive forces as well as its capacity to adapt to changed circumstances.

2.10 The statement of the 1960 conference issued by 81 participating Communist Parties stated: "It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society." It goes on to say: "The world capitalist system is going through an intense process of disintegration and decay." And, "Capitalism impedes more and more the use of the achievements of modern science and technology in the interests of social progress." And that, "The time is not far off when Socialism's share of world production will be greater than that of capitalism." "Capitalism will be defeated in the decisive sphere of human endeavour, the sphere of material production." The statement continued: "A new stage has begun in the development of the general crisis of capitalism", and talked of "the growing instability of the entire world economic system of capitalism". Based on such

assessments the statement concluded that "Today the restoration of capitalism has been made impossible not only in the Soviet Union, but in the other socialist countries as well".

2.11 Self critically, it must be noted that the CPI(M), as a contingent of the world Communist movement, was influenced by this incorrect understanding. It is, therefore, necessary to evaluate and re examine the basis for such an assessment.

2.12 In retrospect, it can be said that the general crisis of capitalism was simplistically understood. The historical inevitability of capitalism's collapse was advanced as a possibility round the corner. This was a serious error that inhibited a concrete scientific study of the changes that were taking place in the capitalist countries and the manner in which it was adapting to meet the challenges arising from Socialism. In the process, the clear warning given by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* was not correctly understood: "The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production and thereby the relations of production and with that the whole relations of society."

2.13 The inevitability of capitalism's collapse is not an automatic process. Capitalism has to be overthrown. An erroneous understanding only blunts the need to constantly sharpen and strengthen the revolutionary ideological struggle of the working class and its decisive intervention under the leadership of a party wedded to Marxism Leninism—the subjective factor without which no revolutionary transformation is possible.

2.14 It is necessary to note that Marx and Engels had projected the triumph of world Socialism as the post-capitalist stage in human evolution. The process of this worldwide transformation was conceived of on the basis of the overthrow of capitalism in at least some of the major capitalistically developed countries to begin with. The maturing of capitalism to the stage of imperialism and the sharpening of its inherent world contradictions, however, permitted the possibility of breaking the imperialist chain of world bondage at its weakest link. The Russian working class under Lenin's leadership,

applying the inviolable Marxist tool of "concrete analysis of concrete conditions", converted this possibility into an epoch making reality.

2.15 However, socialist revolutions triumphed, contrary to the expectations of Marx and Engels, in countries that were comparatively less capitalistically developed and relatively backward (except for Czechoslovakia). The absence of a triumphant revolution in any advanced capitalist country, by itself, imposed limitations on these countries to consolidate Socialism. The relatively low level of productive forces and the associated backward production and social relations had to be substantially raised and at a break neck speed, bypassing the stage of capitalism, to levels that could sustain socialist construction. This was particularly true of agriculture and the peasantry. The stupendous task of transforming agriculture based on petty production, on socialist lines had to be undertaken. This was a complicated process involving the transformation of a backward peasantry. This process had to be pursued relying purely on internal resources, without access to the higher techniques of production developed by capitalism and in hostile international atmosphere when world capitalism tried all methods at its disposal to asphyxiate Socialism. It is, in fact, a testimony to the superiority of the socialist system that such a gigantic task could be achieved.

2.16 Therefore, while the socialist revolutions reduced the physical size and levels of operations of the world capitalist market, in the absence of socialist revolutions in any advanced country, these basically affected neither the levels of productive forces already attained by capitalism nor its future potential. It was hence possible for world capitalism to adapt to the new realities of a reduced physical market and yet raise the levels of the productive forces. This is testified by its initiation of the scientific and technological revolution in the post Second World War period. This, in turn, tremendously expanded the world capitalist market giving further sustenance for its growth.

2.17 It should be noted that capitalism's growth was based mainly on increased exploitation of the developing countries in

addition to the scientific and technological revolution. Following the process of decolonisation, capitalist countries adapted to the changed circumstances by perfecting various forms of neo colonial exploitation.

2.18 At the same time, world capitalism had to adapt to changed circumstances in a different way. The establishment of a socialist society and its practice had a deep impact amongst the working class the world over, in the sphere of economic, social and political rights. Capitalism met this challenge to its order, partly by adapting welfare measures and granting rights that it never conceded to the working people before. In other words, capitalism was forced to share a minor part of its profits, in order to keep the rule of capital alive. The democratic rights that are today considered as inalienable from human civilisation, are the product of the people's struggle for social transformation and not the charity of bourgeois class rule.

2.19 Such an understanding not only underestimated the potential of world capitalism to further develop productive forces but also its capacity to influence the course of economic development of the socialist countries. Since 1917, imperialism forced the USSR to divert substantial portion of its resources away from economic development designed to enhance people's well being. This was done initially through armed interventions, encirclement, trade embargoes, the Second World War and more recently the nuclear arms race. However, despite these challenges the USSR achieved nuclear parity, thus acting as a powerful deterrent against imperialism's efforts to foist its will on the world. At the same time, it provided support and material aid to the national liberation struggles and to the newly independent countries, including India, in their struggle against imperialist efforts to subjugate their economies. This massive diversion of resources to meet imperialism's challenges, coupled with the colossal task of raising the initially backward material and cultural levels, created many difficulties in the process of socialist construction.

2.20 Apart from these objective conditions, the subjective nature of overestimation of the forces of Socialism in the 1957

and 1960 documents must be noted. This prevented a concrete scientific analysis of the changes that are necessary within the socialist countries in relation to changes in the world situation and the internal growth of productive forces. The rapid growth of productive forces under Socialism that revolutionise the instruments of production warrant constant improvements in the methods of economic management. In fact, it is Socialism that extended the frontiers of science into space by launching the first man made satellite, *Sputnik*. But, there were lags in utilising such advances for innovations in the production process for increasing the quality and quantity of consumer goods, increase productivity and strengthen the economic base. A scientific study, on whose basis timely changes are initiated to meet the new requirements, is an essential ingredient of socialist construction. Such changes are not confined only to the methods of economic management and production relations but extend to social relations and the superstructure as well. The failure to initiate such timely changes have created many problems that have contributed to the present reverses.

2.21 However, notwithstanding these incorrect estimations and present day reverses, the 20th century, particularly the epoch beginning with the October Revolution, was marked by the victories of the working class, the peasantry and people in every continent of the world, in varying degree.

2.22 During this century, capitalism plunged humanity into two barbaric world wars claiming millions of lives. It produced and used nuclear weapons to demonstrate its inhuman superiority and plunged the world into a nuclear race with devastating consequences. It launched numerous wars to contain humanity's advance to socialism, intervened in the internal affairs of independent countries, organised coups, foisted reactionary and dictatorial regimes to suit its interests. Its most barbaric form was exposed in the fascist dictatorships.

2.23 On the other hand, the socialist revolutions and national liberation struggles imparted a richer content to human civilisation, by making it possible for the majority of the working

people in many countries to lead their lives without national oppression and free from exploitation. This impact continues to chart the future course of human development towards national and social liberation. This process, however, will be long, complex and full of twists and turns. But the fundamental direction of the epoch continues to be that of a transition from capitalism to Socialism.

2.24 However, the simplistic understanding that this period of transition means the immediate collapse of capitalism and the triumph of Socialism on a world scale, needs to be corrected. Socialism, the period of transition from a class to classless society, implies the prolonged existence of both capitalism and Socialism on a world scale. It is a period of continuous confrontation between the counter revolutionary forces which wish to preserve the exploitative capitalist order and the revolutionary forces that seek to liberate humanity. This continuous struggle takes place both at the world scale and internally within the socialist countries.

2.25 The success or failure of the forces of world Socialism in this struggle, at any point of time, is determined both by the success achieved in socialist construction, the international and internal correlation of class forces and their correct estimation. A correct corresponding political tactical line that follows, advances humanity towards Socialism.

2.26 Incorrect assessments and estimation, based on ideological deviations, as history is witness, lead to distortions. These, buttressed by capitalist ideological offensive, have time and again derailed the Communist movement from its class moorings.

2.27 The history of the international Communist movement illustrates the distortions that were based on incorrect assessments. The CPI(M), on a number of occasions in the past, dealt with how an erroneous understanding of a change in the correlation of class forces, following the defeat of fascism, resulted in some parties changing the political tactical line and forms of struggle. The CPI(M) had also occasion to point out as to how peace time capitalist economic growth, accompanied by stagnation in some socialist countries, succeeded in spreading right revisionist

illusions undermining the class content and revolutionary essence of Marxism. One of such manifestations was Euro Communism.

2.28 The 20th Congress of the CPSU must also be seen in this light, as an attempt made in the name of estimating the correlation of forces under changed circumstances. The victory over fascism and the consequent international developments heightened the prestige and increased the influence of world Socialism in general and USSR in particular. But instead of utilising these positive factors for enriching Socialism, the gross distortion of the Leninist concept of peaceful co-existence and the advocacy of peaceful competition and peaceful transition by the CPSU leadership under Khrushchev, threw the door open for revisionism and class collaboration of the worst kind. As a consequence, many a Communist Party was virtually decimated leaving the international Communist movement much emasculated.

2.29 Capitalism was adapting in tune with changing realities and evolving newer forms of exploitation, and intensifying the ideological struggle against Socialism. This required the strengthening of the ideological offensive by Socialism and the struggle against capitalism. On the contrary, this was diluted, thus permitting imperialism and capitalism to gain a further political advantage.

2.30 This was combined by an ahistorical evaluation of the role of Joseph Stalin. The CPI(M), since the Burdwan Plenum in 1968, has repeatedly made clear its assessment of the positive and negative aspects of Stalin's leadership. While being severely critical of certain gross violations of inner party democracy and socialist legality, the May 1990 Central Committee resolution had stated: "The CPI(M) rejected the approach which, in the name of correcting the personality cult, is negating the history of Socialism. The uncontestable contribution of Joseph Stalin in defence of Leninism, against Trotskyism and other ideological deviations, the building of Socialism in the USSR, the victory over fascism and the reconstruction of the war-ravaged Soviet Union enabling it to acquire enough strength to check imperialist aggressive moves, are inerasable from the history of Socialism.

2.31 The period following the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU had widened the ideological differences between various contingents of the Communist movement. The CPC, while initially combatting the revisionist understanding, itself fell victim to Left sectarian deviation. The distortions during the cultural revolution and the three world theories advanced by the CPC, led to many a deviation and had disastrous consequences to the world Communist movement. The following disunity in the world Communist movement caused enormous damage to the world revolutionary movement and came in handy for imperialism to mount further attacks on Socialism and the developing countries.

2.32 The CPI(M), which was born in the midst of a fierce struggle against these deviations, reiterates that the struggle to uphold the revolutionary tenets of Marxism-Leninism and the ability to correctly understand, interpret and intervene in the unfolding historical developments are inseparable. The failure of one leads to the failure of the other. The living essence of the creative science of Marxism is the concrete analysis of concrete conditions. It is, therefore, necessary to understand the present nature of world developments in order to evolve the correct strategy and tactics to advance the people's struggles.

World Social Contradictions

3.1 The CPI(M) continues to adhere to the understanding that the present-day world developments can be comprehended only by a proper study of the four fundamental contradictions of the present epoch, viz., between the forces of world Socialism and imperialism, between imperialism and people of the developing world, between imperialist countries themselves, and between capital and labour in the capitalist countries.

3.2 The CPI(M) continues to adhere to the understanding that of these four, the contradiction between imperialism and Socialism on a world scale occupies the central role in this epoch. Further, that any of these four can intensify so as to come to the forefront of world developments at a point of time without replacing the central contradiction.

3.3 Notwithstanding the present reverses for the international Communist movement, this understanding retains its validity, given the current historical developments. These reveal the intensification of all these contradictions, not their modification as the CPSU propounded. The CPI(M) openly disagreed with such an understanding. The subsequent world developments only strengthen the analysis then made by the CPI(M).

3.4 The intensification of the central contradiction is manifested in the current reverses for the forces of world Socialism. These reverses have shifted the balance of class forces, on the international plane, in favour of imperialism, albeit temporarily, in the historical perspective. This permits a new aggressiveness on the part of imperialism which it is already demonstrating in its quest for a "new world order". Its conduct in the war against Iraq, its open interference in the internal affairs of many countries in Africa like Ethiopia and Angola, in Latin America like in Panama, Nicaragua and its renewed aggressiveness against socialist Cuba all reveal imperialism's character to strengthen its hegemonistic domination over the world. It is mounting greater pressures on the People's Republic of China to open its market for imperialist exploitation.

3.5 The contradiction between the Third World countries and imperialism is bound to intensify. Exploitation through the multinational corporations, the unequal and unfair terms of trade, and other methods continue unabated. This has resulted in a marked deterioration in the living standards of the people of the developing world. The IMF's World Economic Outlook of 1990 has revealed that the gap between the advanced capitalist countries and the developing countries excluding China, in terms of the rate of growth of real per capita income during the 1980s, has markedly widened. While in the decade of the 70's these rates of growth were more or less the same, the levels were glaringly disproportionate. These data include the growth rates for the rapidly growing economies in South East Asia. If these are excluded, the divergence in the rates of per capita incomes are even more dramatic. In fact, in Africa and Latin America, the per capita real incomes in 1990 were lower in absolute terms than in 1981.

3.6 Imperialism's intensified exploitation of the Third World countries is also reflected in the backbreaking debt that these countries are groaning under. The increase in debt burden between 1982 and 1990 amounted to U.S. 429.1 billion dollars. The total debt service payments between 1983 and 1990, however, were 1155.3 billion dollars. In other words, there has been a net transfer of resources from the developing countries to the advanced capitalist countries during these years to the tune of 726.2 billion dollars. The draining of these economies through debt is dramatically reflected in the fact that the total debt service payments made by the developing countries during 1982 and 1990 amounted to 1289.5 billion dollars which is higher than the total accumulated debt itself of 1265.2 billion dollars by 1990! A damning indictment of imperialist propaganda that monetary loans are the product of its benevolence and magnanimity designed to uplift the economies of the Third World.

3.7 While this naked expropriation of resources from the developing world is taking place, their economies are further burdened due to growing unemployment and inflation. This is the result of the retrograde economic policies adopted by the domestic ruling classes in many countries. This in turn makes these economies more vulnerable to the dictates of the IMF and World Bank. The net result is that the double burden of imperialism's profits and retrograde domestic policies falls on the shoulders of the working people and the unemployed in the developing world. According to the IMF, the international comparative inflation rates (annual rates of change of consumer prices) for the developed capitalist countries was 4.2 per cent in 1990, whereas for the developing countries it was 71 per cent. The comparative figure for 1988 and 1989 are 3.3 and 70.5; 4.4 and 104.1 per cent respectively.

3.8 In addition, the terms of trade of the developing world have been markedly deteriorating. In 1990, for the non-fuel primary products, the annual percentage change in terms of trade for the developing countries, was minus 11.2 per cent. Thus the balance of payments position is continuously deteriorating, pushing them towards greater indebtedness.

3.9 Under these conditions of intensified exploitation, the people of the Third World countries are bound to face a further onslaught on their living conditions. This rapacious plunder is bound to manifest in growing struggles against this loot, thus intensifying sharply the contradiction between imperialism and people of the Third World countries.

3.10 In the political sphere as well, this contradiction is bound to intensify with aggressive demands being made by the dictates of the "new world order".

3.11 Under these conditions an important area of revolutionary movements will be the popular and democratic struggles in the Third World countries that have adopted the capitalist path. The bourgeois landlord ruling classes of these countries, exploiting the people, pursue a capitalist path of development by compromising with feudalism, on the one hand, and succumbing to imperialist pressures, on the other. With such an intensified drive to transfer the burdens of world capitalist crisis on to the Third World countries, the struggles between the people and the ruling classes in these countries are bound to grow.

3.12 The inter-imperialist contradictions are also intensifying. The real GNP growth rates for 1990 for all the industrial countries was 2.7 per cent while for the USA it was 1.7 per cent. For the same year, the USA had a current account balance of payments deficit to the tune of minus 113.3 billion dollars while Japan had a surplus of 57.4 billion and Germany of 62.3 billion dollars. It is estimated that by 1993 Germany and Integrated Europe would account for 25 per cent of the world's gross product while Japan would account for 15 per cent. In the background of the growing indebtedness of the U.S. economy, these growth patterns reveal the potential for inter-imperialist conflicts in the economic sphere. The emergence of united Germany, on the other hand, is bound to generate economic conflicts with other developed European economies such as France, Italy and U.K. The intensification of this contradiction will manifest itself in the scramble for a redivision of the world's economic resources. However, notwithstanding the growing

economic rivalry, U.S. leadership of the imperialist camp continues at the moment because of its nuclear and military supremacy.

3.13 While the capitalist countries are not, as a whole, experiencing a sharp recession they are in the midst of a protracted period of slow growth. Many advanced capitalist countries have already begun to experience recession. This slow growth rate, however, is accompanied by high rates of unemployment and inflation. The unemployment levels are amongst the highest since the Second World War and this slow rate of growth is forcing many a cut in the social welfare benefits of the working people. The disparities between the rich and the poor continue to widen. In the USA, for instance, as compared to the 1970s the number of people below the poverty line increased from 24 to 32 million in 1988. Poverty and homelessness are on the rise. The top 1.5 per cent of the population owned nearly 25 per cent of all individual wealth while the top 10 per cent owned 65 per cent of the nation's wealth. Under these conditions, the intensification of the contradictions between capital and labour in the advanced capitalist countries is bound to intensify further. However, as noted earlier, capitalism still retains capacity to manoeuvre and manage its problems.

3.14 The world that we are living in today is, thus, one where all the fundamental contradictions of the present epoch will intensify. As historical developments unfold, the forms of resolution of these contradictions will, however, vary. For example, the atomic age itself imposes limitations on the resolution of the contradictions through a war. Such a variation in forms, however, cannot be interpreted, as erroneously propounded by the CPSU, to mean the modification of contradictions. The above study of the contradictions reveals that imperialism, far from abandoning its predatory exploitative character, is intensifying this exploitation. In fact, capitalism's growth during the last decade has been at the expense of the people both at home and abroad.

3.15 This reality tellingly demonstrates the unjust and inhuman nature of capitalism. It is its rapacious plunder that is responsible

for the terrible situation of hunger, misery, sickness, illiteracy that stalk the millions in the developing world. It is directly responsible for the dangers of nuclear holocaust and worsening major ecological imbalances. The increasing moral and ethical degeneration of capitalist societies, drug abuse, violence, racist and sexual discrimination are continuously debasing the finer qualities of human beings. Despite the perennial propaganda, intensified following these reverses to Socialism, that 'capitalism is eternal', it today, as in the past, proves itself as a system incapable of solving the major problems confronting humanity.

3.16 The recent reverses to forces of world Socialism, in this background, imply that the period ahead is one of intense class struggles.

Recent Developments in Socialist Countries

4.1 The reforms initiated by the CPSU under the slogans of perestroika and glasnost and the repercussions of these in the East European countries, reveal the existence of a latent crisis both at the level of the socialist state and that of the Party, its ideological and political foundations. In order to scientifically analyse this crisis and draw correct lessons, more information and deeper study would be required. On the basis of available information and facts, it is, however, possible to draw some conclusions.

4.2 The reforms initiated in 1985 by the CPSU assumed a concrete shape at the Twentyseventh Congress in 1986. The CPI(M) had welcomed the understanding of the need for reforms in the Soviet Union, their declared revolutionary goal being the strengthening of Socialism.

4.3 The need for reform arose in order to correct and overcome certain errors and deviations of the past that led to relative stagnation in the socialist economy; the need to enrich the people with socialist consciousness that was neglected for many years; the need to eliminate bureaucratism which led to violations of democratic rights and civil liberties; the need to strengthen socialist democracy and to accelerate the social and economic development towards the fulfilment of the growing needs of the people.

4.4 The CPI(M) Central Committee in August 1988 had stated: "As a Party which takes its stand on Marxism Leninism, we realise that advance of Socialism in any country must be accompanied by increased initiative of the masses both in running the economy and running the state. Lenin's statement "every cook must learn to govern" must be a growing reality. A concrete form of these initiatives in the various stages of development embrace larger and larger number of people. Measures which contribute to the conscious participation of the masses are welcome and should be supported. Measures which free citizens from unnecessary restrictions and provide healthy dialogue within the limits of socialist society, strengthen the society.

"But it has to be understood and underlined sharply that all such measures will strengthen society if the guiding role of Marxism Leninism is preserved and the role of the Party as a leading force of society as vanguard of the working class is ensured."

4.5 The CPI(M) repeatedly expressed its grave concern at the anti socialist trends that started emerging through glasnost and perestroika. Capitalist prescriptions were being doled out as solutions to Socialism's problems by the CPSU under Gorbachev's leadership.

4.6 These negative tendencies manifested themselves sharply in the outright negation of the past socialist achievements. In August 1988, the CPI(M) Central Committee had stated that a "Correct attitude towards the past assumes great importance in the process of implementation of the reforms to strengthen Socialism. The negation of the past achievements, the glorious achievements of Socialism since the October Revolution, overcoming the challenge of the civil war, imperialist encirclement and intervention, the building of the socialist economy, the glorious anti fascist victory, sacrifices of millions of Soviet people during this period, the firm policy of peace and the struggle to avoid a unclear war, the achievement of nuclear parity with the USA and the great working class constitution, it is on these foundations that the new democratic reforms will have meaning."

4.7 What emerged was an outlook which, while criticising the deformities and distortions of the past, deliberately ignored these achievements, thus delinking the reforms from the past proletarian history and curbing the future revolutionary potential of the working class. The Party ranks and people were thus disarmed against the concerted onslaught of anti socialist forces.

4.8 This also permitted the intervention of imperialist forces which always sought to undermine socialism. The common thread of such interventions was seen in the collapse of the East European regimes within a span of a few weeks.

4.9 Serious departures were made by the CPSU from the direction of the documents of the Twentyseventh Congress. Put together, these amounted to a systematic effort at dismantling Socialism and disintegrating the USSR, under the leadership of Gorbachev.

4.10 In dealing with the international situation, the Twenty-seventh Congress had highlighted the intensification of the four fundamental contradictions, and asserted that the correlation of class forces was in favour of peace, progress and Socialism. However, soon after, in 1987, in the name of "New Thinking," this understanding was abandoned and the theory of modification of contradictions advanced. The CPI(M) had disagreed with this assessment and openly came out against it in 1988. Later the CPSU issued a Draft Platform which the Twentyeighth Congress adopted. Advancing the notion of a "humane and democratic" Socialism, this thesis counterposed "universal human values" to class values, spreading illusions about the present day imperialism and ascribing humanism to it. By advocating the "de ideologisation of state to state relations", the CPSU negated any confrontation with imperialism and sought to create, in cooperation with it, "a safe and civilised world order". The May 1990 CPI(M) Central Committee resolution dealt in detail with these and other erroneous concepts. This process culminated in the draft programme circulated for the Twentyninth Congress. Not only was there no mention of imperialism but this went further to state: "A new civilisation which is being shaped in the process of present global development, disagrees with the habitual notions of classical industrial society, its rigid division into opposing classes, polarisation between labour and

capital and confrontation of social system." The journey was thus completed. There are, according to the CPSU, no class divisions in society today, no antagonism between labour and capital, and no confrontation between imperialism and Socialism. However, the CPSU's activities were decreed illegal by Gorbachev himself before the Twentyninth Congress could take place!

4.11 In the sphere of the economy, reforms were advanced in order to "overcome the lack of correspondence between developing productive forces and relations of production". Intended to switch over the economy from extensive to intensive development, the Twentyseventh Congress report summarised the reforms by stating, "Socialist economic acceleration and the consolidation of socialism in practice should be the supreme criteria in the improvement of management and of the entire system of socialist production relations." However, instead of socialist economic acceleration systematically, capitalist reforms were being introduced. The Platform adopted by the Twentyeighth Congress advocated the creation of a fullfledged market economy undermining the role of central planning. In the name of encouraging private initiative hundreds of co operatives were allowed which turned out to be the main source of profiteering and blackmarketing. Within a span of five years, the parallel economy grew to staggering proportions creating artificial shortage of goods. Despite a bumper harvest, the Soviet Union had to go around the world seeking food aid. The existing production structures were dismantled and virtual anarchy prevailed with widespread speculation, blackmarketing and hoarding flourishing. The various plants that were outlined for the transition to a market economy, all resulted, in practice, in setting in motion the restoration of capitalism.

4.12 The Party's role was systematically undermined. The Party Programme adopted by the Twentyseventh Congress stated that "the Communist Party, while retaining its class essence and ideology as the party of the working class" asserted that "the *Party's Leading role* in the life of Soviet society inevitably grows" (emphasis in original). The Twentyeighth Congress, however, talks of "no room for dictatorship of any class".

In practice, the Party's leading role was abandoned. The office of the executive President was created on whose powers the Party had no control. The conversion of the great Bolshevik Party of Lenin into a mere social democratic one was complete in the draft programme prepared for the Twentyninth Congress.

4.13 In the sphere of ideology, there was a systematic erosion of the revolutionary essence of Marxism Leninism. The Twenty-seventh Congress Party Programme states: *"The most important source of Party's strength and invincibility is the indestructible ideological and organisational cohesion of the Party,"* and *"the CPSU is invariably guided by the time tested Marxist Leninist principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism"* (emphasis in original). The Twentyeighth Congress, however, argued for healing the rift with social democracy and ending the "historic split in the socialist movement". The abandonment of the ideological foundations was complete in the draft programme for the Twentyninth Congress which replaces Marxism Leninism "by taking on board the entire gamut of socialist and democratic ideas produced by this country and the rest of the world". Proletarian, socialist internationalism is replaced "by a new look at the historical destiny of Socialism" that denies the very existence of class struggle itself!

4.14 Instead of deepening socialist democracy, national chauvinism was allowed to grow unchecked. The Twentyseventh Congress Party Programme, highlighting the successful solving of the nationalities question, states: *"The CPSU proceeds from the fact that in our socialist multinational state, in which more than one hundred nations and nationalities work together, there naturally arises new tasks of improving national relations"* (emphasis in original). The October Revolution had liberated the various nationalities from the 'Tsarist prison house'. Undoing the oppression of centuries, a democratic nationalities policy was adopted that led to the flourishing of these ethnic groups, their cultures and traditions. However, over a period, negative tendencies developed and problems accumulated. Bureaucratism, violation of the policy of equality of languages in practice, over centralisation, all led to the growth of discontent. Discontent

also arose from another angle. These various nationalities, particularly the backward ones, made tremendous progress under Socialism. These strides, hitherto unknown for centuries, by themselves created new and higher aspirations amongst these people. The failure to meet these—cultural, intellectual and material led to the accumulation of discontent and mistrust. However, instead of resolving these within the framework of the socialist federation, anti socialist forces exploited this discontent to fan chauvinism that led to bloody riots. Clearly violating the understanding of the Twentyseventh Congress, the platform on nationalities adopted by CPSU in 1989 and the referendum of 1991 which overwhelmingly voted for preserving the unity of the USSR, Gorbachev prepared to sign a new Union treaty sealing the fate of the USSR's disintegration on August 20, 1991. The result of all this has been that the socialist federation known to the world these 74 years no longer remains.

4.15 It must be self critically noted that though the CPI(M), from time to time during these years, had the occasion to publicly express its disagreements with many of the above aspects, it could not gauge the depth and gravity of the damage these departures made to the cause of Socialism in the USSR and the world.

4.16 This process of systematic dismantling of Socialism under Gorbachev's leadership was exploited to the hilt by the counter revolutionary forces aided actively by imperialism. Imperialism was able to successfully implement its strategy of 'peaceful evolution' both in East Europe and in the Soviet Union. It fully exploited the advances in communications and information technology to achieve this.

4.17 Such an imperialist attempt to internally subvert Socialism in the People's Republic of China in 1989 was successfully thwarted by the CPC and the PLA.

4.18: In the USSR too, an attempt was made to resist this process of dismantling of Socialism and prevent the disintegration of the Union. This, however, failed. This was followed by an intense anti Communist offensive.

4.19 In addition to such attempts, it should be noted that the successes achieved by the anti Communist forces was due to the shortcomings, errors and distortions of the past that resulted in people's discontent alienating them from both the Party and the state. Instead of overcoming these, the revisionist policies pursued by the CPSU since the Twentieth Congress and intensified under Gorbachev's leadership have ultimately led to the dismantling of Socialism and disintegration of the USSR.

Major Shortcomings

5.1 These developments have brought to the fore many important questions concerning socialist construction as was practised in these countries. It is, therefore, necessary to identify the major shortcomings and distortions that have led to the present situation in order to draw correct lessons.

5.2 Before discussing these, however, it needs to be underlined that the process of socialist construction was a hitherto uncharted course of human development. With historical hind sight, understanding this dynamic process and experience of these socialist countries, it is possible to discern certain basic shortcomings.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Class Character of the State under Socialism

5.3.1 The dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., the dictatorship of the overwhelming majority over a minority of former exploiting classes, as opposed to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which is that of the minority over the overwhelming majority, is the character of the state during the period of transition from class to classless society.

5.3.2 The forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat, however, are not constant or immutable. As the socialist society develops, the forms pass through varying and different phases.

5.3.3 The ability to transit from one phase to another is determined by the correlation of class forces, both internal and international, and its correct estimation. In a situation of imperialist intervention, the civil war and the all-out attempts to destroy

Socialism that was being born, the proletarian state had to crush the counter-revolution and eliminate the forces of exploitation. This demanded the centralised apparatus of a state which was also essential for building a planned economy. However, after this phase was over, as the socialist system and the state consolidated and the correlation of class forces changed in its favour, opportunities for widening democracy and new initiatives opened up. Unfortunately, incorrect assessments of the reality led to the earlier methods of running the state machinery being carried over into the subsequent period. This led not only to the failure to realise the full potential of widening and deepening socialist democracy and popular people's participation but also to distortions such as growing bureaucratism, violation of socialist legality and suppression of individual freedom and liberty. The movement to higher phases of the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat imply the progressive enrichment of socialist democracy.

5.3.4 However, in the name of correcting the distortions, the class character of the state cannot be abandoned. This would mean the abandonment of the revolution itself.

5.3.5 The right to dissent within the socialist framework must be recognised. But, in doing so, neither the class character of the state nor the leading role of the Party can be abandoned. The Party, as the vanguard of the working class, performs the leading role in the successful completion of the revolution and in the process of socialist construction. In fact, it continues to lead the state as long as the state continues to exist.

5.3.6 While the forms continuously change, adapting to the concrete developments in each socialist country, these need not and cannot be the same for different socialist countries. The specific form of the dictatorship of the proletariat that will emerge in one socialist country, will depend upon the concrete socio-economic conditions and the historical background of these countries. Lenin, in *State and Revolution*, has stated clearly: "The forms of bourgeois states are extremely varied, but their essence is the same: all these states, whatever their form, in the final analysis are inevitably the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."

The transition from capitalism to communism certainly cannot but yield *a great abundance and variety of political forms*, but the essence will inevitably be the same: the dictatorship of the proletariat" (emphasis added).

5.3.7 Due to the lack of any other historical experience apart from the Paris Commune, the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat that arose in the specific conditions of the Soviet Union, was more or less copied in the other East European countries disregarding the local conditions and historical developments.

5.3.8 This had serious implications for the development and deepening of socialist democracy in these countries. For, the historical evolution of some of the East European countries had already established the bourgeois parliamentary system with its corresponding rights to the people. The form of the proletarian state, in these countries, naturally should have been to consolidate the gains already achieved by the people. The ensuring deformities in the state functioning, bureaucracy and the apparent violations of socialist legality spread, leading to the alienation of the people from the state and the Party.

5.3.9 Another major distortion that needs to be noted, concerns the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the dictatorship of the class as a whole, i.e., of the overwhelming majority. Often in practice, as has been revealed in the recent developments, this dictatorship of the class was replaced by that of the vanguard, the Party, and more often than not, by the leadership of the Party.

5.3.10 The Party can exercise its leading role only through its constant interaction with the mass of the people, involving them in the functioning of the state and administration and winning their confidence for the consolidation of Socialism. A leading role that is based on a constitutional fiat is, in fact, a departure from the very conception of the class character of the proletarian state. These distortions have resulted in the growing alienation of the people from the state and the Party, instead of drawing them more and more into the functioning of the socialist state by deepening socialist democracy.

Socialist Democracy and Democratic Centralism

5.4.1 Socialist democracy survives and deepens on the material basis that is created by the socialist system. It carries forward the democratic gains achieved by the people's struggles in the past. The abolition of exploitation and the provision of the basic necessities of life, lays the material basis for practising wider democracy. Bourgeois democracy can only be formal in the sense that it guarantees some democratic rights without providing the material basis for the people to exercise them. Every citizen in the capitalist country has the "democratic right" to purchase anything that is produced. The overwhelming majority, however, lacks the necessary resources to exercise this right. Socialism, on the other hand, by taking care of the basic needs of the people, lays the foundation for practising real democracy in its widest and deepest sense. It, therefore, offers avenues and the atmosphere for the creative development of all aspects and complexities of the human personality. The departures and distortions that we discussed above, dampened such an advance. At the same time, it has to be underlined that the material basis for deepening democracy had been created by the socialist system.

5.4.2 Socialist legality guarantees rights that are hitherto unknown in human history. It opens upon wider possibilities for every citizen to exercise these rights. However, bureaucracy and other tendencies that prevent the widest participation of the people in running the state, administration and economy through participation in the local bodies of self government like the Soviets and work collectives, can only lead to violations of socialist legality.

5.4.3 Guaranteeing the basic rights of food, shelter, employment, education, health care and social security, socialist democracy has to continuously expand and deepen, drawing in larger and larger number of people in the functioning of the state and society. The failure to do so, particularly in an atmosphere of rapid decline in the ideological consciousness of the people, will only provide further fuel to anti socialist propaganda.

5.4.4 Democratic centralism is a fundamental pillar of the principles of organisation of a revolutionary party. It combines the aspects of democracy and centralism, both of which are necessary for the successful consolidation and construction of Socialism.

5.4.5 While combatting alien ideological trends, inner party democracy is the sustenance of the Party's creative development. Therefore, while the strictest discipline is enforced in carrying out the decisions of the majority, inner party democracy must be encouraged and strengthened. Unfortunately, in the name of centralism, inner party democracy generally can become the casualty, leading to the growth of bureaucratism which is the very anti thesis of democracy. Tendencies alien to Socialism, such as, corruption and nepotism also surfaced. An example of this was the institutionalisation of privileges to large sections of the leadership of the CPSU and other ruling Communist Parties. In this process, the vitality of this revolutionary principle is robbed, alienating the Party from the masses and the Party ranks from the leadership.

5.4.6 Instead of correcting distortions in the implementation of democratic centralism, the abandonment of this principle will only serve the purpose of disarming the revolutionary party from discharging its historic tasks. The recent experience underlines the need for the Party to be constantly vigilant against the degeneration of this revolutionary concept where inner party democracy becomes a casualty and centralism dominates. Thus, the collective check of the people on the Party and the Party ranks on the leadership against the abuse of power and other alien tendencies, becomes undermined.

5.4.7 The socialist state draws tremendous moral force and strength from the consciousness of the mass of people, their loyalty and commitment to advance Socialism, patriotism, collective activity and creative initiative. Criticism and self-criticism from below is the conscious political activity which gives people, who are united by a singleness of purpose, the true feeling that they are the real masters of the socialist nation.

Socialist Economic Construction

5.5.1 The fundamental characteristics of socialist economic construction are the social ownership of the means of production and centralised state planning. The former eliminates the basis for the exploitation of man by man and the latter lays the basis for a balanced economic development of the society as opposed to the uneven development characteristic of capitalism. Centralised planning also lays the basis for the socialist state to discharge its social and economic responsibilities to the people. It is through this process that Socialism guarantees to all its citizens the essential requirements for their survival and development in a universal sense. Planning under Socialism will have to take into account the existing levels of productive forces. Over-centralisation which stifles the initiative and innovation that stimulate production at lower levels, will adversely affect the further growth of productive forces.

5.5.2 The principle of socialist economy is "from each according to his ability; to each according to his work". Hence the question of material incentive is built in this period. But it has to be underlined that while material incentives are necessary during this period, Socialism can sustain and flourish only on the basis of the collective socialist consciousness of the people as a whole and the ideological steadfastness of the ruling Communist Party.

5.5.3 It would be simplistic and erroneous to conclude that once the means of production are socialised and centralised planning established, then the methods of economic management that arise in those specific historical circumstances, continue to remain constant throughout the period of transition. In fact, in backward economies where socialist revolutions have triumphed, the process of socialisation of the means of production themselves take a long period of time.

5.5.4 The constant need to update the methods of economic management was noted above. If such changes are not undertaken, then a period of rapid economic development can be followed by stagnation or even decline in growth rates. This is what has precisely happened in the case of the Soviet Union in

the latter half of the 70's and 80's. Further, after the consolidation of socialist relations, opportunities to raise the people's standard of living by producing greater quantity and higher quality of consumer goods arise. The failure to meet the ever rising demands of the people corresponding to the potential of the socialist economy, can only result in breeding discontent providing cannon fodder to imperialism's anti socialist propaganda.

Forms of Property

5.5.5 During the process of socialist construction, whose time period varies from country to country, depending on the initial historical levels, the process of socialisation of means of production would go through prolonged phases. Diverse forms exist such as state owned enterprises, collectives, cooperatives and petty individual properties. The pace of the socialisation of means of production depends crucially on the initial levels of economic backwardness that these socialist states have inherited. Further, it depends on the concrete balance of class forces internally and the pressures that are mounted by class enemies internationally. Ideally, the pace should correspond to the historical circumstances and the levels of productive forces already attained. In periods of concerted internal and external onslaught of class enemies, such a process may have to be hastened for the very survival of Socialism itself. The objective factors that impose such an intensification of the pace of socialisation of means of production, by themselves, create certain material conditions on whose basis distortions can occur in this process. At the same time, an incorrect estimation of the balance of class forces will also lead to grave distortions by undermining the rights of various forms of property-owners through state coercion and not through people's participation. Thus, laying the basis not only for people's alienation but also restricting the future economic potential.

5.5.6 Any attempt to straitjacket the forms of property, that destroys individual initiative, breeds lethargy and alienation which is contrary to the socialist spirit. At the same time the

attempts to restore private property as the only way to increase productivity and overcome the distortions means undermining the very basis of socialist economic foundations.

Planning and Market

5.5.7 It is unscientific and ahistorical to conceive of a market independent of state interference or even control. The decisive regulators of the market, even under the so called open market capitalist economies, are controlled by the state. The state decides on the fiscal and monetary policies which accelerate or impede economic growth through the operation of the market forces.

5.5.8 It would again be erroneous to conclude that under Socialism the market will cease to exist. So long as commodities are produced, the market exists. The crucial question is not planning versus market but which dominates what. Under Socialism, market is one of the means for the distribution of the social product. Centralised planning, utilising the market forces and the market indicators, will be able to efficiently develop the productive forces and meet the welfare demands of the people. Therefore, ignoring market indicators leads to greater irrational use of resources which will adversely affect the plan process itself.

5.5.9 Instead of improving such a combination, the attempt to replace state planning by market and allowing the decisions on the priorities for investment under socialist construction to be decided by the market forces, is only paving the way for the restoration of capitalism.

Ideological Consciousness

5.6.1 The May 1990 Central Committee resolution, while reviewing the developments in the international sphere, had self critically noted "the underestimation of revisionist and dogmatic deviations which led to tactics that adversely affected the strength of the international working class movement and blunted the edge of the class struggle through the predominance of economism". This was true both in relation to the movement of class struggle on the world scale and the impact it had on the

collective consciousness of the people in the socialist countries itself. This can be seen in the rapidity with which the ruling Communist Parties in East Europe abdicated their role and embraced social democracy. While the objective factors for the intensification of class struggle existed, the subjective factor, i.e., the degree of organisation and socialist class consciousness of the working class on a world scale, was lagging. "It must be clearly noted that without the subjective factor—the Party of the working class, with live contact with the aspirations of the people, organising and leading their struggles and raising the collective consciousness of the people—no revolutionary advance is possible."

5.6.2 As stated earlier, Socialism can only be sustained and developed on the basis of the growing collective consciousness of the people which, in turn, is based on the material conditions created by socialist construction. Such a collective consciousness cannot be reared without the ideological steadfastness of the ruling Communist Party.

5.6.3 In the post-Second World War situation, apart from the aspects discussed earlier, the objective basis for the urge amongst the Soviet people for peace must be understood. The tremendous sacrifices of the Soviet people, with over 20 million dead during the course of the anti-fascist war, naturally created a deep urge for maintaining peace at all costs. Taking advantage of this deep urge, an incorrect estimation of the international correlation of class forces was drawn by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU when it advanced its revisionist concepts. Internally, within the Soviet Union, the impact of this revisionism led to a steady erosion of the class consciousness and vigilance, both amongst the people and the Party rank and file. Such an erosion amongst significant sections of the people and the working class facilitated the process of undermining of Socialism with minimum resistance. And Gorbachev is able to get away with decreeing a ban on the CPSU's activities without much protest.

5.6.4 These distortions in the spheres of the functioning of the class character of the state under Socialism, of strengthening and deepening socialist democracy, inability to adopt timely changes

in the methods of economic management, erosion in standards of revolutionary morality and grave deviations in the ideological sphere, laid the basis for the growing alienation of the people from the Party and the state, thus permitting the counter-revolutionary forces, both internal and external, to act in concert to dismantle Socialism.

Worldwide Impact of These Developments

Tasks before the Communists

6.1 Following these reverses, as noted earlier, world imperialism led by the USA is demonstrating a new aggressiveness and is emboldened to dictate its 'new world order'.

6.2 Notwithstanding the recent advances made in the sphere of nuclear disarmament talks and the arms cut, imperialism is seeking to retain relative advantage in order to attain the necessary leverage to consolidate its hegemonistic designs. The present conditions create scope for greater threats of nuclear blackmail by U.S. imperialism.

6.3 These developments warrant the urgent need to unite the anti imperialist forces, particularly in the developing world, and forge the unity in action with the working class in the capitalist countries and to strengthen their resistance against this renewed offensive.

6.4 One important consequence of these developments is the favourable conditions created for the growth of reactionary neo fascist forces in various countries. Targetting the progressive and revolutionary sections, these forces are mounting their political offensive.

6.5 The void in the international sphere, the absence of the socialist bulwark standing against imperialist designs, is bound to further expose the countries of the developing world to imperialist machinations and make them more vulnerable to its pressures. In this situation, where the exploration of the capitalist world order finds favourable conditions, the economic and political sovereignty of independent nations will come under greater stress. Many a Third World regime may, under pressure,

capitulate, thereby increasing the burdens on the common people of these countries. This would naturally be accompanied by more repressive measures in these countries.

6.6 The people of the former socialist countries are today finding to their dismay that the euphoria of "democracy" and "market economy" has not brought to them the pleasures and glitters of a consumer society. Instead, the social security guaranteed by Socialism has been dismantled, unemployment is growing by leaps and bounds embracing almost half the labour force in some of these countries, and inflation is eroding the real values of their incomes. The consequent rising discontent is being sought to be utilised by neo fascist reactionary forces whose ascendancy will only terminate the already eroding political and democratic rights of the people.

6.7 Wilting under the pressure of an intense ideological offensive, many Communist Parties are abandoning the revolutionary essence of Marxism Leninism and embracing social democracy. Social democracy has always been and continues to be an ideology of reform within the capitalist system, thus rejecting class struggle and advocating class collaboration in its place. Its practice over the decades has demonstrated that at every point of time, when the class battles intensified, social democracy betrayed the working class. Its experience of running Governments in many European countries, has only shown its true colours that, when in Government, it supports the bourgeoisie and when in opposition it champions the working class demands only to betray them at crucial junctures. The importance of united actions with social democracy on global problems and for world peace should not be underestimated. But in its name, to abandon Marxism-Leninism and embrace the class collaborationist ideology of social democracy will only undermine even the existing gains of Socialism and blunt the edge of the future revolutionary struggles. This ideological offensive has to be met squarely.

6.8 Another erroneous conception that was being propagated by the CPSU is the understanding that Marxism Leninism is not the only ideology that guides the Communist Party. To portray

Marxism Leninism as one of the many ideological streams of human thought and evolution, is the outright denial of this creative science. The work of Marx and Engels was the combination and advancement of French Socialism, German philosophy and materialism and English political economy. Marxism-Leninism, as a creative science, assimilates the entire creative thinking at any point of time and advances this towards realising the revolutionary objectives by providing a guide to action, not only to interpret but to change the exploitative world order. The shortcomings and failures in the process of constantly enriching this creative science in accordance with unfolding historical developments, is not due to its inadequacies or lack of scientific method of its content. It is due to the inadequacies and lack of scientific rigour on the part of those who have embraced this philosophy.

6.9 Marxism Leninism is inherently materialistic, creative and intrinsically dialectical. It is hence supremely anti dogmatic. It is a world view that embraces the vision of liberation and expresses emancipatory ideals. It is a tool for understanding and analysing the multitude of phenomena that constitute changing historical situations. It is a guide to action that defines programmatic objectives for the people's struggle for liberation, subject to the necessary adaptations as required by changing historical situations.

6.10 As a creative science, Marxism Leninism identifies the tendencies and directions of development. In doing so it provides the possibilities for popular mass intervention in these developments in the pursuit of establishing an exploitation free society. For instance, the historical inevitability of the replacement of the exploitation based capitalism by Socialism is not automatic. The key factor that can effect such a social transformation is the correct ideological, political and organisational leadership of the growing struggles of the working class, the peasantry and all working people. When this class consciousness is defused or blunted, the forces of counter revolution exploit the situation to perpetuate their class rule.

6.11 The tasks confronting international Communist movement at this juncture are indeed enormous. At a time when this ideological offensive has to be squarely and consistently met, the international Communist movement is in disarray. Imperialism attempts to gain further advantage from this.

6.12 On the basis of the revolutionary tenets of Marxism Leninism and drawing correct lessons from these reverses, the unity of purpose and action between the Communist forces in different countries must be built. This is necessary to uphold and strengthen proletarian internationalism. This must forge unity with all those struggling against the present imperialist offensive. Only this way can the imperialist efforts that seek to reverse the course of human history, be challenged. In this context, it is necessary to vigorously combat certain erroneous theoretical conceptions that are being advanced.

6.13 Apart from those dealt with earlier, an erroneous conception that should be denounced is that capitalism is losing its exploitative character. It is, therefore, suggested that there is a convergence of Socialism and capitalism in evolving a new 'civilised' world system. It is in fact being argued that multinational corporations are an example of socialist planning! Exploitation occurs under capitalism in the very production process. It is an integral part of its dynamics. The overthrow of capitalism is not only a moral question but a scientific and historically inevitable development to establish an exploitation-free society.

6.14 Theoretically, it is possible to argue regarding the "interpenetration of the opposites" in a contradiction. But as we have seen above, the unfolding of contemporary historical developments reveals the intensification of capitalist exploitation and not the losing of its exploitative character. Convergence of Socialism and capitalism in this background can only mean subsumption of Socialism by capitalism.

6.15 Likewise, it must be underlined that notwithstanding the scientific and technological revolution, the tremendously increased rates of labour productivity and the increasing component of mental labour as opposed to manual labour since

the days of early capitalism, though a change of great significance, do not negate the exploitative character of the system. Those who, therefore, argue that since the working class has changed its character from the days of Marx and Lenin, and hence the irrelevance of Marxism Leninism, negate the very basis of capitalist production, viz, the generation and appropriation of surplus value. They thus negate the need for social transformation and act as apologists for the capitalist system.

6.16 These and many other erroneous theoretical postulates that are likely to be advanced in the days to come, have to be frontally combatted in order to prevent any further spread of reformist illusions and dilution of the revolutionary content of the working class movement.

CPI(M)'s Struggle for Socialism

7.1 It is in this background that the CPI(M)'s struggle for Socialism in India will have to be defined. It is very necessary to self critically note that sufficient attention was not paid in the past to understand the actual conditions in the socialist countries. Notwithstanding the various occasions during the last two and a half decades when the CPI(M) had to join issues with various contingents of the international Communist movement to uphold the revolutionary content of Marxism Leninism, it must be noted that the information received from fraternal parties regarding the internal situation in the socialist countries, was accepted with excessive confidence. It was taken for granted that the problems and errors would be corrected and overcome. Thus, the task of equipping the Party rank and file with a proper understanding of the process building Socialism and not idealising the socialist countries' experiences was wanting.

7.2 Having this self-criticism, the CPI(M) asserts that the essential elements of Socialism is the elimination exploitation of man by man, class by class and nation by nation. It is this liberating influence that upholds and preserves human dignity and rights in their most comprehensive and universal forms that constitute the inspiration to carry forward the struggle. The CPI(M)'s struggle in defence of Marxism Leninism in the

international Communist movement, its very formation, existence and the struggle against right and Left deviations in the Indian conditions, enjoin upon it to draw correct conclusions on the basis of this experience to advance towards Socialism in the Indian conditions.

7.3 The present socio-economic conditions and existing realities in India define the stage of the Indian revolution as the democratic stage: a stage where the unfinished tasks of the democratic revolution—anti imperialist, anti feudal and anti-monopoly capital will be completed. This requires the replacement of the present bourgeois landlord class rule headed by the big bourgeoisie by a state of the People's Democracy headed by the working class.

7.4 The CPI(M) Programme clearly defines the class alliance—People's Democratic Front—that can fulfil the task of completing the democratic revolution. Based firmly on the worker peasant alliance, this front will have the agricultural labour and poor peasant as the basic allies of the working class. This front will include the middle peasant and the rich peasant. The urban as well as other middle classes and broad sections of the national bourgeoisie will also be allies of this front. The CPI(M) Programme lists the basic tasks that have to be completed in this stage. It defined the CPI(M)'s role as one "of uniting with all the patriotic forces of the nation, i.e., those who are interested in sweeping away all the remnants of pre-capitalist society; in carrying out the agrarian revolution in a thorough manner and in the interests of the peasantry; in eliminating all traces of foreign capital; and in removing all obstacles in the path of a radical reconstruction of India's economy, social life and culture." (Para 110)

7.5 In order to successfully advance towards People's Democracy, it is necessary to change the existing correlation of class forces. This can only be accomplished by mighty struggles of all sections of the Indian people. Notwithstanding the development of capitalism after independence, nearly three fourths of our population is dependent on agriculture. The millions of the peasantry, particularly poor peasants and

agricultural labour whose sufferings continue to increase under the bourgeois-landlord class rule, will have to be galvanised in struggles for a radical transformation. This constitutes the bedrock of the people's struggles to change the correlation of class forces. These tasks enjoin upon the CPI(M) to strengthen its organisation, wedded to Marxism-Leninism, and its activities to build and lead the struggles against the present class rule that is imposing greater and greater burdens on the people.

7.6 Under the present circumstances, when the right-reactionary forces are mounting an offensive, it is necessary to strengthen the struggles to safeguard the unity and integrity of our country; to establish real equality of the people and fraternity between the various nationalities and ethnic groups that inhabit our country.

7.7 It is only after the establishment of People's Democracy and completing the anti-imperialist, anti feudal, anti-monopoly capital tasks, can the Indian people advance towards Socialism. What does Socialism in Indian conditions mean?

7.8 It means, first and foremost, that people's power would be supreme. That democracy and democratic rights would be inseparable elements of the socialist juridical, political and social order.

7.9 It means that the socialist economic construction will be based on the socialised means of production and central planning. As long as commodity production exists, the market is bound to exist. As noted earlier, the market forces, however, shall be subsumed under the guidance of central planning. While various forms of property can and will coexist, the decisive form will be that of the social ownership of the means of production.

7.10 Under Socialism, the right to dissent, freedom of expression and plurality of opinion will flourish with the aim of strengthening Socialism. The question of whether other political parties exist or a multi party system will prevail, depends crucially on the role that these parties have played during the process of revolution and socialist transformation.

7.11 Socialism in the Indian conditions also means the creation of the basis for enriching and strengthening the existing

democratic rights. It means the providing of the economic basis, the fundamental and essential requirement for the continuous deepening and development of the quality of human life, on whose foundations socialist democracy will flourish.

Conclusion

8.1 Notwithstanding the twists and turns and the zigzags of history, successes and reverses, the developments of this century, particularly since 1917, reflect the profound impact of people's struggle in the evolution of human progress. The revolutionary transformations have brought about qualitative leaps in history and have left an indelible imprint on modern civilisation. The consequent economic, political and social rights have now come to be considered inseparable from human civilisation. The national and social liberation process of the people has been irregular, complex, and will take a long time to complete. Just as history has shown that the transition from capitalism to Socialism is not a one-stroke transformation but a prolonged period of intense struggle, so will history demonstrate that the process of restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and East European countries will not be as easy and simple as is being conceived. The hard won rights of the people, won over a century of struggles, cannot be easily erased. The 20th century developments testify to the fundamental direction of contemporary human development towards national and social liberation.

8.2 The CPI(M), taking into account the evolution of the socio economic systems of both contemporary capitalism and Socialism, considered both at the world level as well as in each country, is committed to carry out a deeper analysis which has been hindered, as pointed out above, by revisionism and dogmatism in the international Communist movement which, in turn, led to theoretical stagnation to a certain extent. Marxism-Leninism is the indispensable instrument for carrying out such an analysis for drawing the corresponding theoretical and practical conclusions. The CPI(M) pledges to strengthen the study of Marxism Leninism and spirit of proletarian internationalism

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amongst its ranks and propagate the ideas of scientific Socialism amongst the Indian people. The CPI(M) pledges to continue the fight against right revisionist and Left sectarian deviations. It shall carry forward the task of mobilising the Indian people in struggles to change the present correlation of class forces towards the objective of people's democracy and Socialism.

Report on Organisation and Tasks*

**Adopted by the Fourteenth Congress of
The Communist Party of India (Marxist),
held at B.T. Ranadive Nagar, Madras,
on January 3-9, 1992**

Introduction

1. The Thirteenth Congress of the Party had adopted a resolution directing the Central Committee to hold a Plenum to review the implementation of the Salkia Organisational Plenum guidelines and to concretise the tasks facing the Party organisation at present. Such a review was felt to be urgently necessary as an indepth assessment of the implementation of the Salkia guidelines and summing up the experience was not found possible in the Party Congresses held subsequently.

2. The Central Committee decided in May 1990, after the ninth general elections to begin preparations for the Plenum. A questionnaire was sent to the State Committees to prepare their organisational reports and the Plenum was announced to be held in January end 1991 at Vijayawada. However, the fast changing national-political situation with the fall of the National Front Government, the serious communal challenge and the imminence of the tenth general elections, forced the Central Committee to postpone the Plenum. After the tenth general elections, the Central Committee decided that it was necessary to hold the Fourteenth Congress as scheduled by end 1991. But the question of organisation and its review should not be shelved, therefore, it was decided that a Report on organisation be placed before the Congress as a separate agenda for discussion and adoption.

*Published as a booklet in June 1992

3. In preparing the Organisational report, the Polit Bureau and the Central Committee took into account the reports submitted by the State Committees which responded to the questionnaire in 1990 and also the State Conferences and all India mass front reports which dealt with the current state of Party organisation. The Draft Report on Organisation was discussed by the Central Committee and finalised to be placed before the Congress.

The Salkia Plenum

4. The Salkia Plenum on organisation was held in December 1978. It took place as per the decision of the Tenth Congress of the Party at Jallandhar. The background is explained in the Salkia report, thus: "While recognising the fact that the Party organisation is weak except in few pockets in the country, the Tenth Congress of the CPI(M) expressed the view that the political tactical line pursued by the Party has come to be acknowledged as correct by broad sections of non Party people and pointed out the need and urgency of expanding the Party organisation in a big way to discharge the responsibility facing the Party today the responsibility of forging the unity of the Left and democratic forces on a national scale and of bringing about a realignment of political forces in the country".

5. The basis of developing the CPI(M) as a revolutionary Party of the Indian working class was explained in the introduction of the Salkia report in the following words:

"The forging of Left and democratic unity demands an unprecedented growth in organisation and struggles of all sections of the working people, in the movements of all those who are interested in the preservation of the country's freedom and democracy. A rapid growth in the number and unity of the fighting organisations of the working class, the peasantry and all other sections of the working people as well as of the patriotic and democratic elements in all classes and strata of society, is in other words the basis and essence of the Left and democratic front. This in turn requires an enormous growth in the strength of the Party of the working class—the number of its members in different states, the militant activity in which they are engaged, their unity with all anti imperialist, anti feudal, anti monopoly and democratic forces."

6. It is with this fundamental understanding that the Salkia Plenum made a serious self critical assessment of the shortcomings in our Party organisation so that the task of building a mass revolutionary Party can be successfully accomplished. Thirteen years have elapsed since this important evaluation and tasks were formulated by the Party. Before reviewing the implementation of this understanding, it is necessary to briefly recapitulate the main directives of the Salkia Plenum. The essence of the Salkia tasks may be set forth as: (i) building a mass revolutionary Party by developing the Party in the weaker states, (ii) building a strong and effective all India Centre, (iii) developing all India mass organisations functioning democratically, (iv) strengthening democratic centralism in Party organisation functioning, (v) special attention to developing the Party in the Hindi areas, and (vi) stepping up political campaigns and ideological work in a big way.

7. It is important to remember that after Salkia, the Party has undergone many new experiences and faced new challenges with the developments on the national and international scale. While reviewing the implementation of the Salkia guidelines, we must keep in mind, the growing threats to national unity which became a central concern for us throughout the decade of the eighties, we must absorb the lessons of the struggles to win allies from the bourgeois parties in the fight against authoritarianism and communalism; we have to realise that the growing political instability and the rise of the divisive forces have sought to turn the edge of attack on our Party and the Left as the experiences of Tripura and Punjab illustrate; we must above all integrate our organisational work to the analysis of the radically changed international situation which at present has created conditions favourable to imperialism.

8. It was noted in the analysis of successive Party Congresses resolutions and in the reviews of the ninth and tenth general elections that there has been no basic change in the correlation of forces in the country despite many political changes and formation of successive governments at the Centre. The independent strength of the Left and the working class and its allies have not grown to such an extent at the all India level as to bring about any such

change. A change in the correlation of forces requires apart from the rapid expansion of the political influence of the Party, organisational consolidation of that influence which we are gaining through the Party's innumerable activities. In that sense the basic perspective set out in Salkia of the urgency of expanding the Party, enormously enhancing its influence at the all India level with the fighting mass organisations drawing in lakhs of workers, peasants and other sections of the working people remains all the more valid today.

Thrust Provided by Salkia

9. The P.B., C.C. and state committees have made efforts to implement the Salkia Plenum guidelines in its different aspects. Some of these efforts have produced good results. This has resulted in the expansion of the Party membership and the mass organisations, though it is still uneven. At the time of the Salkia Plenum in 1978, the Party membership stood at 1,61,000 in 1991 it is 5,79,000—a noteworthy increase; the mass organisations led by the Party have seen an increase in membership from 48 lakhs (4.8 million) in 1978 to 287 lakhs (28.7 million), a six fold increase. The Party polled 81 lakhs (8.1 million) votes in the sixth general elections in 1977 before Salkia which increased to 197 lakhs (19.7 million) at the ninth general elections in 1989.

10. The thrust provided for the implementation of the Salkia Plenum decisions in the initial years yielded good results. The Party membership and mass organisations registered growth and expansion in both the strong states and to some extent in the weaker states, the all-India mass organisations set up after Salkia—the youth, women and agricultural labour organisations contributed to this development. The Party Centre brought out the Hindi weekly *Lok Lahar* and the theoretical quarterly *The Marxist*; steps to improve state committee and secretariat functioning were undertaken; efforts were made to improve reporting through general body meetings and to activise branch functioning; a good beginning was made with the organising of Central Party schools and the schools at the states level; the all-India campaigns by the Party and the mass organisations became a regular feature.

11. However, this thrust could not be sustained and intensified all through. There was no doubt a concentrated effort to build mass movements in 1987-88 as seen in the all India *jatha* and the December 1987 Rally, the March 1988 Bandh, and the peasant and the trade union struggles such as the land struggle of 1988 and the all India public sector workers' strike in 1987. There was expansion in Party membership and mass organisations too but the organisational consolidation and drive to build the Party did not keep up with the momentum required. The priority to building the Party organisation which was essential was lacking.

12. Before taking up the present state of organisation and the tasks which have to be underlined, it is necessary to first make a detailed review of how the Party sought to implement organisational direction set out in the 1978 Plenum.

I. BUILDING A STRONG PARTY CENTRE

13. The Salkia resolution had stated that "priority must be given to the task of building an effective Party Centre capable of discharging the ideological, theoretical, political and organisational tasks facing the Party including the task of effective guidance to the mass movements and mass organisations. Underlying this priority was the basic understanding that a Communist Party capable of fighting for political power and winning it can be successfully built only from above, i.e., from the Party Centre.

14. An objective look at our efforts to build an effective centre would show that what was stated in the Twelfth Congress Political-Organisational report about the Party Centre is still broadly true: "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—that 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 organisational work of the entire Party." This weakness persists despite the Party Centre being successful in taking up and implementing some of the directives contained in the Salkia Plenum.

15. The concrete steps and the progress made in the sphere of the Party Centre may be listed as follows:

- (a) The collective functioning of the available comrades at the Centre and the P.B. and C.C. meetings held regularly have

by and large met the requirements of working out the tactical line, reacting to political developments and providing all-India guidance on important current issues. This has been a major achievement which has put the Party on the political map of the country as an independent force and the major party in the Left camp.

- (b) The Party Centre was able to step up all India political campaigns and give regular calls for such campaigns and mass mobilisation on important national issues. Side by side, it was able to pursue the line of united activities and joint calls with Left, democratic and secular parties. This helped to bring about an alignment of Left and secular parties in which the initiative of our Party has been a key one.
- (c) To aid the Party work in the Hindi areas and to strengthen ideological work, the Party Centre was able to begin the Central Hindi weekly *Lok Lahar* soon after the Plenum and to keep it going along with *People's Democracy*. The theoretical quarterly *The Marxist* was begun in 1983.
- (d) A beginning was made in conducting Central schools and helping the States with their schools.
- (e) The Party Centre has been able to render assistance when urgent organisational problems have cropped up in any of the states.

16. These above positive gains however do not warrant any self satisfaction. In fact, shortcomings in the Party Centre's role continue. Any complacency in the matter will lead to failure in discharging the basic tasks set forth for the Party politically and ideologically. Even after more than a decade's efforts it cannot be said that the Centre has been able to discharge or even take up all the tasks assigned to it by the Salkia resolution. The reason for this and the current state of the Party Centre with its positive and negative aspects must be gone into some detail.

All-India Campaigns

17. The Salkia resolution had entrusted the Centre the task of undertaking national campaigns on important issues from time to time. No doubt, there has been a serious and successful effort in this direction. The P.B., the C.C. and the Party Centre have been

regularly giving calls for all India campaigns and observances. Big all India rallies were organised beginning with the Kisan March in 1981. The 1987 all India *jatha* organised unitedly by the Left led mass organisations culminating in the December rally at New Delhi was the biggest mass campaign conducted by the Left in recent times. The September 27 rally was a recent example of one such huge rally in which our Party played a big role. A number of campaigns and mass mobilisations have been organised on Punjab, solidarity with Tripura, against communalism, on economic policies and on anti-imperialist issues such as the Gulf war. Such calls from the Centre have now become a regular feature of Party activities which was absent in the period before Salkia.

18. At the mass organisational level, the most significant development was the formation and activities of the National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions in which the CITU played a key role; there have been growing united actions of the Left led Kisan Agricultural Labour Organisations which also began after Salkia; the new understanding gave a fillip to a series of united actions by student-youth organisations and common actions by women's organisations. While all this has been a major achievement of the period since Salkia due to the thrust given by the Party Centre, at the P.B./C.C. level, the experience of these campaigns are not properly assessed and the new influence has not been properly consolidated.

Building Mass Organisations

19. Here comes the question of guiding the work of the all-India mass organisations. It is true that with the initial thrust of Salkia a fillip was given to the development of mass organisations. Based on the guidelines, the Centre took the initiative for the formation of three all India organisations of the youth, women and agricultural labourers. The C.C. has discussed on occasions the perspective and policy questions connected with the class and mass organisations after Salkia. It discussed the orientation of the kisan movement which was incorporated in the Varanasi AIKS Conference report. In 1981, it discussed and adopted the resolution on mass organisations clarifying the correct approach to these

organisations. In 1983, the C.C. after rounds of discussion adopted the "Immediate tasks on the trade union front" which updated the earlier tasks document.

20. However, the self criticism that has to be made by the Party Centre and the C.C. is the failure to implement the Salkia directive that enjoined upon the C.C. that it should undertake periodic reviews of our work in the mass organisations, discuss their policy questions and experiences. The Salkia resolution stated in this connection: "Further rapid progress, overcoming the weaknesses in these mass organisations, cannot be achieved unless the Central Committee periodically discuss the problems of the mass organisations, their all India experience, tactics and offers effective guidance". Though such guidance has been given by the Party Centre on an ad hoc basis, the reviews contemplated in the Salkia resolution have not become a part of the work of the Party Centre and the C.C. This weakness has to be overcome. Reports of the sub-committees and all India fraction committees must be regularly submitted to the P.B. which in turn must be placed in a systematic manner on the agenda of C.C. meetings to organise discussions and to come to conclusions. These reviews sent to the state committees would help them to conduct similar reviews. Without this process, the experience gained from the work in the mass organisations does not get properly assimilated and become part of the common experience of the entire Party. This work should no longer be neglected.

Practical Guidance to State Committees

21. After the Salkia Plenum, the Party Centre has undertaken the task of assisting many States which faced serious political-organisational problems. It had to help the Bihar and Rajasthan state committees to meet the situation arising out of the removal of the state secretaries and combating their erroneous political-organisational line; the P.B. had to directly intervene in Karnataka to resolve organisational problems there; it had to constantly intervene in the continuous factional strife in the Orissa state committee and finally took the decision to dissolve the state committee in 1991. Other urgent political questions referred by

the state committees from time to time have found the Party Centre rendering guidance and assistance in evolving appropriate responses.

22. But the Party Centre has been finding itself unable to concretely check up regularly the organisational work and implementation of Salkia by the state committees. An effort was made in 1980 to get reports on the implementation of the tasks from the states and concretise them. In 1986, after the Twelfth Party Congress, a decision was taken to get yearly plans from the state committees and to check up how these yearly plans were being implemented. But it could not be pursued. No doubt there have been reviews at the state level of Party organisational work in the state conferences held since Salkia (three rounds) and in the political organisational reports of the Party Congresses. But continuous monitoring has not been possible.

23. The Salkia Plenum had warned that federal tendencies will grow if the weaknesses at the Centre are not overcome. There has been some progress in curbing such tendencies in the period under review. The prompt intervention in all major political issues by the Centre, the continuous all-India calls and campaigns and consultation by states with the Centre on important political issues facing them— all this has prevented the growth of federalism as far as the political tactical line of the Party is concerned. Yet, a lag persists. There were a number of occasions when important issues having a bearing on national politics or affecting other states were not promptly brought to the attention of the Centre for consultations and advice. A recent example being the Karnataka state committee's failure to consult on the Cauvery water dispute. There have been many instances when the Centre had to contact the state-centres on important issues on its own initiative. The Salkia directive has been sought to be implemented by many state committees. On the Sri Lanka issue and other important state matters, the Tamil Nadu state committee was in constant consultation with Centre, the Punjab state centre is in regular touch with Centre on how to tackle the difficult situation there; Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Tripura and West Bengal and some other states have also regularly raised issues which required mutual consultations.

24. But what Salkia envisaged—getting regular reports from the states, studying them and after discussions in P.B. or C.C. giving suggestions and assistance to the state committees concerned all this has not been possible with the level of resources at the Centre. In fact, from this viewpoint, there is persistence in federal tendencies as the Centre is not able to devote sufficient time and personnel to follow and guide the states which have increasing demands with growing movements and organisational problems. With the PBMs and Secretariat members who regularly visit the states assigned to them submitting written reports, this can to some extent be improved. But with the expansion of the Party and continuing problems faced by the weaker states, the help from the Centre in giving them organisational guidance has also to be increased in a big way.

25. The resources of the strong states must be effectively utilised to help the building of the Party and movement of the weaker states particularly in the neighbouring states. A sub committee for developing the Party in the North Eastern states must be set up. The C.C. should work out the mechanism to evolve regional coordination in this direction.

Central Journals

26. The Party Centre brings out two weeklies *People's Democracy* and *Lok Lahar* and the theoretical quarterly *The Marxist*. We have failed to strengthen the two weeklies both in terms of content and editorial staff despite repeated reiteration of these needs in the past few years. The editorial staff has not been augmented for a long period of time. There are only four wholetimers for the two papers. This is affecting the quality of the papers. More coverage of news, analysis and attractive style of journalism while putting forward the Party's line—all this requires to be done. A regular mechanism for political guidance to the editorial staff will also have to be set up. A study of the circulation figures of *People's Democracy* and *Lok Lahar* shows that there is no noticeable increase in their circulation. Between the period 1979 and 1988, there was a prolonged stagnation in circulation. What is worrying, however, is that after the 13th Congress, the sale of both

papers have come down. *The People's Democracy* from 17,237 in October 1988 to 13,666 in October 1991. *Lok Lahar* from 15,284 in 1988 to 12,360 in 1991. This reversed the slight growth registered by the two papers between the 11th and 12th Congresses. The neglect of the Central papers by the Centre and the states must be urgently rectified.

27. *The Marxist* quarterly is being brought out by the Centre since 1983. It has helped in strengthening political ideological education. In 1990, after the death of BTR who was the editor, an editorial board was constituted to look after the publication of the journal. More efforts have to be made to see that the journal covers all spheres where the Party's ideological intervention is required. The circulation of *The Marxist* has stabilised at around 4000 copies. In view of the importance of approaching the minorities, the Centre began the publication of the Urdu *Lok Lahar* as a fortnightly from 1981. Unfortunately, it had to be closed in 1987 as the sales declined and the state committees could not revive circulation. We have to see how to revive an Urdu publication in some form considering the fact that the Party's prestige amongst the minorities has increased due to its consistent defence of secularism in recent years.

28. How to improve the content of the Party papers remains a serious question. Further, despite the decision, no regular meetings of Party editors could be convened regularly by the Centre. Only one such meeting was held in 1986. The C.C. decision to start a Central News Service to supply material to our dailies and weeklies remains to be implemented.

Central Schooling

29. The Salkia Plenum had accorded importance to Party education in view of the fact that a large number of Party members had joined after 1964 and due to the lack of political ideological steeling of the new membership. The Party Centre held three Central schools at three year intervals in 1979, 1982 and 1985. Two Central schools in Hindi were also held during this period. This was a good start which could not be sustained. The syllabus and notes prepared for the Central schools up to 1985 has not been updated, nor have we been able to make it comprehensive by

including subjects covering basic Marxism. It must be noted, however, that apart from these Central Party schools, all India schools for youth student cadres (three) and one school for kisan cadres were held in the intervening period. All this has, however, been totally inadequate for the Party education to be undertaken from the Centre. This is all the more so since the Party has greatly expanded since Salkia. We have to set up a mechanism for regular and continuous schooling at the Centre which will supplement the Party education at the states level. Further, the Centre has the special responsibility to organise regular schools in Hindi for the Hindi speaking states. If we are able to systematise and regularise such schools on an annual basis, we can proceed towards setting up a permanent Central Party School.

Parliamentary Front

30. The importance of this forum has grown over time and has a greater implication for the projection of our political line. The national parliament is the focus of activities in the bourgeois political system. The performance of the Party MPs over this period since Salkia, though showing improvement in some respects, has not yet reached a stage where the group is able to consistently and effectively project the Party's line and champion the interests of the classes we represent. The Party Centre has no systematic approach in guiding them and monitoring their performance. With quite a few CCMs and PBMs at present in parliament, it must be ensured that the Party's basic line on various policy questions is sharply projected and demarcated from bourgeois parties.

31. An indepth assessment has to be made of how we can realise the full potential and possibilities of work in the parliamentary system and whether there is necessity for reorienting our approach so that the full benefits for our movement can be realised. An effective Parliamentary Committee, proper liaison with the Centre, proper homework by the MPs and planning of issues to be raised and reorganisation of the parliamentary office work—all this needs to be done on a priority basis.

Paucity of Cadres

32. The main reason for the inability to consistently apply the Salkia guidelines in all its aspects and register steady progress is

the failure to increase the number of leading cadres at the P.B./C.C. level working at the Centre. At the time of Salkia, there were six PBMs and two CCMs working full time from the Centre making a total of eight. Now there are 4 PBMs and 5 Secretariat members functioning from the Centre making a total of nine. The loss of BTR being the latest. The only claim that can be made is that with the constitution of the Secretariat in 1989 after the 13th Congress to work as part of the P.B., some additional comrades have been drafted to the Centre for work. This has checked the progressive decline of members at the Centre but not led to any significant augmentation of leading personnel.

Organisation of Work at the Centre

33. This leads to an examination of the work of the PBMs and Secretariat members at the Centre. As per the Salkia guidelines, the PBMs at the Centre have seriously followed the practice of daily meetings/consultations. This has helped in prompt reactions to the political developments. The introduction of the Secretariat has helped the Centre's functioning. The full P.B. has been meeting on an average of once in two months. The collective discussions and arriving at a common approach has enabled the Party Centre to discharge its numerous political tasks. In the recent period, this has meant not only reacting to fast changing political events but keeping in touch with other political parties and leaders, taking initiatives for joint stands and activities, intervening in a bigger way on policy matters during the National Front government period and dealing with the problems of the states as they arise. While this is a positive advance, the shortage of leading cadres at the Centre and the burden of work to cope with can lead to weakening of collective functioning and fostering individualist functioning, a point noted in the Salkia resolution. To further improve collective functioning and ensure proper division of work, the experience of work at the Centre must be probed deeper.

34. The Salkia report had envisaged that with the increase in PBMs and CCMs, a number of departments/sub-committees would be set up, one of which would be for Party organisation. Such a committee/department for organisation does not exist at present.

This is necessary taking into account the fact that with the expansion of the Party in the last 13 years, a large number of letters/representations connected with organisational matters reach the Party Centre and there is no proper mechanism for looking into these complaints or getting them considered and followed up by the state/district committees. Party education requires a department or sub-committee which does not exist. So does agit prop and looking after Party journals. A trade union sub committee consisting of PBMs and CCMs working on the trade union front from the Centre was set up in 1990 and it is now functioning. This is apart from the Central Trade Union fraction which has also been meeting. The kisan agricultural labour sub-committee constituted by the C.C. has not been functioning. The youth student sub-committee has been meeting regularly. The women's sub-committee was constituted only in 1990. Apart from the sub-committees, there are at present sixteen all India fraction committees ranging from fractions for all India trade union federations to such fields as lawyers and popular science. All these require proper attention and guidance.

35. The failure to induct more cadres both political and technical at the Centre has hampered the various improvements which was possible at the Centre. Dividing up the important work into departments/sub-committees; supervising the direction of mass organisational work; taking up new tasks approved by the P.B./C.C.—an example being the failure to function the agrarian sub-committee and the minorities sub committee decided at the Twelfth Congress. All these require urgent and planned augmentation of the cadres at the Centre.

36. It is not realistic to expect that all PBMs will function from the Centre and that dual responsibility can be ended. This approach suggested in Salkia has been revised in practice. At the Twelfth Congress, we included in the P.B. the Secretaries of West Bengal and Kerala. In the 13th Congress we included the Secretaries of Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu in the P.B. The understanding being that the leadership of the strong states should contribute to the P.B. discussions and experience. In a multinational and diverse country like India it is correct to have this blend of P.B. members

working wholetime at the Centre representative leadership from the states/areas of strong movements. But as the Salkia resolution rightly pointed out, an effective Centre demands an increased number of PBMs for Central work. Hence, there should be a preponderance of PBMs working at the Centre. Out of the remaining four, EMS has ceased working from the Centre due to age and ill health this year. Therefore, the strengthening of the Centre requires: (i) more PBMs at the Centre, (ii) more secretariat and CCMs at the Centre, (iii) more cadres equipped to discharge the various responsibilities at the Centre.

37. In the period after Salkia, some of the state committees, particularly the bigger states like West Bengal and Kerala have tried to supply leading comrades for manning Party and mass organisation assignments at the Centre. Two CCMs were relieved by Tamil Nadu to work at the CITU Centre. But the situation calls for the drafting of many more equipped cadres. It is true that all the state committees are faced with the problem of shortage of leading and experienced cadres for the expanding work in their own states, but the requirement of the Centre must be given due priority. With the opening of the new Party headquarters at A.K.G. Bhawan the shortage of cadres is being acutely felt. For the Party to register all India progress and also to combat federal trends, the provision of cadres for the Centre must be an urgent task.

38. Summing up the tasks which emerge from the review of the work of the Party Centre, they must be stated as follows:

- (a) Augmenting the P.B./C.C. cadres at the Centre; recruiting equipped cadres for discharging the daily work of the Party headquarters.
- (b) Strengthening the collective functioning and individual responsibilities by organising work into departments and sub committees of which priority should be given to: organisation; Party education; agit prop and Party journals.
- (c) Ensuring that reports of mass organisations submitted by sub committees are placed in the C.C. for discussions regularly once a year.

- (d) Setting up a system of regular Central Party Schools which will be a continuous process. Special attention for Hindi schools. Issuance of Party letters on a regular basis.
- (e) Improving the content of the Central papers, expanding the editorial staff, setting up a Central News Service and expanding the agit prop literature brought out from the Centre.

II. MASS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

39. The Salkia Plenum gave a call for building an all India mass revolutionary party. This called for big expansion of the Party membership and the rapid expansion of the membership of the class and mass organisations of the people. It required the consolidation of the growing mass influence into the Party organisation and the fighting organisations of the working people. The thirteen years of implementing this directive has provided us with rich lessons. The Party and mass organisations have grown substantially in period which elapsed after Salkia. The following table sums up this significant expansion:

	1978	1990	(figures in lakhs)
Party Membership	1.61	5.79	
CITU	10.7	23.8	(1989)
(based on annual returns)			
AIKS	22.9	117.6	
DYFI	15.5	76.3	(1980)
SFI	4.1	19.9	
AIAWU	7.9	18.7	(1982)
AIDWA	9.6	31.2	(1981)

40. Party membership has increased more than three and a half times since Salkia while the mass organisations membership has increased six fold. This is the biggest gain from the thrust given by Salkia for building a mass revolutionary party. This is the result of the sincere and hard work put in by our Party committees at all

levels and the cadres working in the mass organisations facing a complex political situation and in many cases adverse conditions with constant attacks and repression. But this growth and expansion has also highlighted certain continuing problems and weaknesses and thrown up some new ones. These should be posed sharply in order to delineate our future tasks.

41. The major expansion in Party membership is due to the increase in West Bengal and Kerala. Tamil Nadu has also made substantial progress followed by Andhra Pradesh to lesser extent. In most other states though there is an increase in Party membership it is not commensurate to our growing influence and activities. This has heightened the uneven development of the Party. This is evident from the fact that the proportion of Party members from Kerala and West Bengal, out of the total membership is constantly increasing over the years. In 1978, Kerala and West Bengal accounted for 68.5 per cent of the total membership; it was 69.7 per cent in 1982; in 1985 it was 70.4 per cent and in 1991 it is 71.8 per cent. Only Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Tripura can claim to have made substantial progress amongst the other states with regard to expanding Party membership. But the picture would not be complete if we see only the Party membership figures to judge the expansion of our movement. As noted in Salkia also, there are a category of weak states whose membership and influence of mass organisations have grown but it is not reflected in Party membership and organisation. In this category falls many of the weaker states. Maharashtra has increased its mass organisation membership to over 3 lakhs but its Party membership is only 5880. Bihar has a total mass organisation membership of over six lakhs but its membership is only 15,500. At the extreme is Delhi which has expanded its mass organisation membership to cover seventy thousand (with the CITU union membership crossing 45 thousand), but its Party membership remains stagnant at 848. In many of the weaker states, the concept of Party building, the thrust to expand the Party and to gather up our mass influence into Party channels continues to be defective. Here the main attention has to be focussed on Party building through the class organisations of the trade unions, the kisan and agricultural labour

fronts. Similarly attention has to be paid to expand Party membership in the growing youth, student and women's organisations. Failure to consolidate the Party organisation and then launch into further expansion is hampering the Party's potential for greater political and electoral impact.

42. There are positive and negative aspects to the class composition of the membership which has grown over the last decade. The positive features are that there is steady recruitment from the basic classes into the Party; the Party continues to attract the younger generation and it has an exceedingly youthful composition now; there is significant representation of scheduled castes in many states which is commensurate with the proportion of that section in the total population. The analysis of the replies to the questionnaire by the states show that the working class, poor peasants and agricultural labourers are better represented in certain states; in Andhra Pradesh, the working class composition is 13 per cent with agricultural labour and poor peasant, the total is 73 per cent. In Kerala, working class (including employees) poor peasant and agricultural labour comprise 73 per cent of the total membership; in Tamil Nadu, the 3 categories total 55.5 per cent; in Tripura it is 54 per cent. In West Bengal, working class recruitment is still lagging in the Party though improved in recent years. Along with poor peasants and agricultural labourers, they constituted 50 per cent. The attention to improving the working class composition in the Party is still unsatisfactory. One of the main reasons for this is the neglect of Party building through our trade union work and the Party committees failing to draw active working class militants into the Party. In a country with predominantly non proletarian strata, the Party must emphasise on working class recruitment, their education and promotion and monitoring this performance.

43. The Party with the big expansion has undergone a sea change in terms of the age group and Party experience. Today over 70 per cent of Party members have joined the Party after 1980. Roughly the same percentage of members are 40 years and below. The figures of age groups by the state highlight this fact (see tables). This youthful composition augurs well for the Party but it also

highlights the problems posed by the growth and expansion. In a state like West Bengal, the premier unit of the Party now, the big majority of Party members are those who have been recruited in the past fourteen years after the Party has been leading the government there. This has an important bearing both in terms of ideological steeling and experience of class struggles. The expansion in the stronger states underline the vital importance of training and moulding this membership in Communist norms and discipline and in heightening their political consciousness. Most of the state committees have reported that though serious efforts have been made to conduct Party schools and classes, they fall far short of the actual requirements. West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Punjab are the states where some concrete steps were taken in this regard and progress registered. But here also the reports underline their insufficiency.

44. The proportion of Party membership from the scheduled castes in many states is a positive feature. It is 16 per cent in Andhra, 11.4 per cent in Kerala, 13 per cent in Maharashtra, 15 per cent in U.P., 21 per cent in Delhi, 17.2 per cent in Tamil Nadu and 11.5 per cent in Tripura. This means the Party's work in the socially oppressed and rural poor has registered progress. This composition in the Party should also be properly utilised to take up the special demands of these sections and to strengthen the struggle against the feudal relations in the villages and combat casteism and caste exclusiveness. More attention will have to be paid in the coming days to the questions of caste-oppression in the overall context of the anti feudal and anti-caste struggles.

45. However, in the case of scheduled tribes and the Muslim minority, the composition is not satisfactory if the total all India picture is taken. In the states of Tripura, Assam, Maharashtra, and Rajasthan, there is satisfactory representation of scheduled tribes. In the last named state, this aspect emerged in the recent state conference but has not been given proper importance so far. But in states like Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Gujarat where there is concentration of tribal population the work amongst them is insufficient. The Centre should initiate steps to prepare a document on the tribal question and to evolve an all India policy approach.

46. As for the Muslim minority except in Assam, West Bengal and Kerala (J&K being an exception), their proportion in the Party is small. The 13th Congress political organisational report noted: "The small proportion of working people from the Muslim community joining the Party indicate a serious weakness. It is to be understood that the bulk of the Muslims in the North and other states come from the poorest sections, the artisans, small craftsmen and poor peasants. They suffer not only from class exploitation but social discrimination. Of course, there are social barriers and religious prejudices which prevent their easy entry into the common movement." In the recent years, these barriers have been breached to a big extent due to the Party's principled championing of defence of secularism and minority rights. This new atmosphere must be favourably used to develop the Party amongst this community.

47. Since Salkia there has been new and significant developments in the women's movement. The decade of the eighties saw the awakening of women to their plight and the struggle for emancipation. The development of the AIDWA and the united women's movement reflects this trend. In the Party also there has been a struggle to ensure that the large numbers of women coming into our trade unions and mass organisations are able to join the Party. This requires the remoulding of the outlook of Party committees and cadres. The 12th and 13th Congress political-organisational reports noted the very small recruitment of women into the Party and stressed the need to change this situation. The current reports submitted by the state committees show slight progress since the 13th Congress of the Party particularly in Tamil Nadu. At the all India level, while there were only around sixteen thousand women Party members in 1988, the figure has gone up to over twenty six thousands. The serious lag in recruitment of the Party members in even the stronger states continues. In Kerala, for instance with lakhs of women in the trade unions, mahila, youth and student organisations, the women membership is only 5.4 per cent. Though this is an improvement over 1988 (3.1 per cent) it is still grossly insufficient given the tremendous potential. In West Bengal, the women membership is only 4.9 per cent of the total membership. It is a welcome trend that women

are being increasingly drawn into political and mass activities. However, it is a matter of great concern that, in many areas, the religious fundamentalists and communal forces are mobilising women on their platform. This underlines the urgency of remoulding the Party's outlook to women in the Party and the mass organisations.

48. While special attention must be paid to Party building in the basic classes, the working class, peasant and agricultural labour fronts, the analysis of the growth of the mass organisations and the Party since Salkia also highlights the need for proper attention to recruitment into the Party from the youth, student and women fronts. The youth student organisations have a combined membership of 96 lakhs. In many states, the expansion of the Party membership and its youthful composition is due to the entry of these sections into the Party. But still the Party committees are not doing enough to develop Party membership from amongst these sections and also in education and training them to be good Communists. If this task is undertaken and the Party's organisations work amongst the scheduled castes, tribes and women improves, then we will be able to penetrate new sections and areas to expand the Party.

Attention of Hindi-Speaking States

49. The Salkia Plenum had paid special importance to work in the Hindi speaking states as part of the perspective to build a mass revolutionary party. The report had stated: "Any talk of bringing about a radical realignment of class forces in the country without making a big dent in the Hindi speaking states and areas is devoid of substance. The C.C. was entrusted with the task of concretely assisting these state committees in the development of the Party and the mass movements. Among the tasks set out for the Party Centre were: (i) to start a Hindi weekly from Delhi, (ii) to hold Party schools for teachers and cadres, (iii) undertake political campaigns in these states, and (iv) production and distribution of political and ideological literature in Hindi. Steps were taken to implement some of these tasks. The Hindi weekly *Lok Lahar* is more than a decade old now. There have been more state-level schools in Hindi states and frontal schools for cadres in the past

decade than before though they have been irregular and insufficient. There have been more mass campaigns but the scale of political campaigns and production and sale of literature in Hindi is still very deficient.

50. The Party Centre gave timely assistance to the Bihar and Rajasthan state committees to meet the situation arising out of the wrong political and organisational practices of Srivastava and Punamia who were the State Secretaries. It helped the Party there to meet their efforts to disrupt the Party and mass organisations. Overcoming such difficulties, the Hindi states have registered some progress in spreading the Party to new areas, expanding the influence of CITU and other mass organisations and developing united struggles. Party membership in these states has shown a modest increase from 14,000 in 1978 to 30,920 in 1991. The mass organisations membership has increased by over 8 lakhs in this period. The Bihar Party membership has increased from 6359 in 1978 to 15,500 in 1991. In U.P., the increase is smaller from 4460 to 7750 in this period. After Salkia, there has been some new development in the Party units in states like Haryana and Himachal Pradesh and a few parts of Madhya Pradesh. A more detailed assessment of the actual state of the Party in these states is given in the following states section.

51. But here, taken the Hindi areas as a whole, based on the states' reports and the recent conferences, the following serious weaknesses continuing in the Party organisation must be noted: (i) weak State Centres and deficient functioning of the Secretariat and state committees, (ii) failure to go to new sections and adopt new tactics particularly towards the rural poor, the scheduled castes, minorities and the middle classes, (iii) failure to function Party primary units and district units on correct organisational lines leading to individualism, groupism and even penetration of caste and feudal influences inside the Party, (iv) wrong cadre policy which prevents timely recruitment of cadres/wholetimers, their maintenance and development.

52. While these organisational defects are preventing the consolidation and building of the Party with our existing mass influence and activities, it must be noted that there are two major

failures in our work in the Hindi states. A general survey of the mass movements and struggles launched in the Hindi states, shows that though there have been some important struggles here and there in the past decade, in the major states, we have not been able to build up sustained struggles and movements of the rural poor and the peasantry in general. It is only a powerful agrarian movement which can help us to expand the Party in a big way in these areas. The intensification of the class struggle in the rural areas has not been the main feature of the work in the kisan agricultural labour front or the Party's priority. This is not an easy task, but it cannot be underplayed in any way if we are to develop a Party with mass influence. Obviously, there are serious obstacles in the way—the deep rooted casteism which divides the peasantry and rural poor; the strong influence of landlordism and feudal elements; the growing criminalisation and resort to goonda violence against the movements of the oppressed—all these have to be surmounted by our plunging into work and raising the correct slogans and by building movements on the issues of land, wages and social oppression to mobilise the masses.

53. In a state like Bihar, our Party units and cadres and the kisan movement have conducted many struggles, but we must examine why we are not able to sustain, expand and then consolidate from the mass influence gained. Defence of such movements, militant tactics to protect our gains—all these have to be concretely worked out. In this period, the IPF—CPI(ML)—Liberation group has grown to become a mass force in Central Bihar in the traditionally CPI areas. The BSP in U.P. has been able to establish its influence among scheduled castes and a section of the backward classes. The thrust to be given to the Party in Bihar, U.P., and other Hindi speaking areas is to develop militant struggles of the peasantry, agricultural labourer and other sections of the rural poor. In the working class also, the hard work and foothold in many industries and factories in the Hindi-speaking region has been attained in the face of severe repression in many places. The working class in many of these areas comes from the first generation and to consolidate this influence requires our spread and influence in the rural areas too.

54. The second weakness which is to be noted is the failure to translate the Salkia perspective of how to develop the Left movement in an area where the social reform movement has been weak or absent and where caste and feudal ideology has a strong hold. The 1978 Plenum had called for the Party to be an initiator and active participant in the socio cultural movement to transform this situation and use all the intellectual, cultural resources of the youth, students, women and writers for this. The reports of the states reveal that not much sustained activity was possible in this direction. The Party was not able to make the anti caste propaganda and struggle part of its daily activity even among the basic classes. No doubt, there have been literary and cultural activities in many centres but they have been limited in scope and not part of the broader democratic movement. The situation should cause concern. In fact, after a decade, it must be realised that the forces of social reaction, of caste divisiveness and rank communalism have actually gained ground in the Hindi region. The rise of the BJP-VHP as an enhanced political force, the deeper communalisation of social life, the erosion of secular values in substantial sections of the educated middle class such as in U.P., the use of caste by the bourgeois landlord parties for electoral mobilisation all this has led to a retreat from secular-democratic values. This is proving very harmful for the democratic movement in general and the Left in particular.

55. This brings us to the other weakness allied to this ideological political task. An indication of the continuing defect in Party organisation comes from the analysis of the circulation of the Hindi *Lok Lahar* and other Hindi literature. It is a regrettable fact that the sale of *Lok Lahar* has not increased beyond the circulation which was achieved when it first began in 1979. In fact, in the last three years, there has been a relative decline. In Bihar, *Lok Lahar* circulation is now only 2223 as compared to the peak of 3454 in 1985. In U.P., it is only 2180 which is less than the 2516 in 1988. Even granting the two major elections were held, the communal violence and the disruptive effects of the anti-reservation movement which could affect the mass movements and activities, it still does not justify the fall when actually the

political line of the Party should have been more avidly followed and propagated in this complex situation. The Hindi *Marxist* quarterly had to be closed after a few issues as there were insufficient sales. The Urdu fortnightly, as noted earlier, also had to be wound up. It is also the experience of the Party Centre that Hindi pamphlets are less assured of a steady circulation than the English ones. This does not tally with the experience in the field. There is a demand for literature, but the extreme weakness of the Party committees and a casual approach to sale of literature proves a big obstacle. There are demands from some Hindi states and other comrades for the publishing of a Hindi daily. Unless the present publications can show steady expansion and improvement in content it will be futile to think of such a venture. What should be considered is bringing out a state based monthly in Bihar and U.P. concentrating on the political and social developments of these states.

56. The P.B./C.C. and the Party Centre must place its own self-criticism. The consistent practical guidance to the State Committees of the Hindi region for building the Party at all levels, proper guidance to mass organisations and ideological political campaigns pushed from the Centre have been insufficient or lacking. This assistance could have helped the state committees to develop the Party and mass movements in scope and depth. The weaknesses in Party organisational functioning listed earlier require patient attention and devoting of time. Given the acute shortage of leading cadres this has not been possible. All that has been done is to regularly attend state committee meetings for political reporting and discussions and to give general guidance.

57. One of the major tasks to overcome the uneven development of the Party and the mass organisations will be to concentrate more attention to this region. Bihar and U.P., must be given priority as they are the biggest and politically significant states. In both these states, the districts with potential must be given priority to strengthen the district committees functioning. Both at the Party and mass organisations' Centre level, the leadership must allot suitably equipped comrades to constantly

guide and assist these states. The Party Centre is already extending some financial assistance to these two states and other state committees. These can be reviewed and special provisions made. The use of MPs for campaigns and to intervene when major events or incidents take place which is being done now must be more systematised. Periodic meetings of secretaries of the Hindi states or of mass organisational leaders should be convened to discuss common problems and to take certain organisational decisions. As earlier stated, the Party Centre must give special attention to hold Party Central schools for the Hindi states and to help state level schools.

58. The difficulties in building the Party spelt out in the Salkia report still persists. But the impact of the bourgeois landlord policies on the people creates fertile ground for mass movements and struggles. This scope is not being fully utilised. While stepping up the Party's intervention through mass struggles, it is also necessary that in the Hindi speaking states we concentrate our organisational efforts in a planned manner in certain areas and amongst particular sections of people. Such a concentrated and planned effort must be mapped out in each state. The Party Centre/C.C. has to monitor how that work progresses in these priority areas and sections.

III. MASS ORGANISATIONS

59. An important area of progress and advance has been the building and expanding of the class and mass organisations at the all India level which was the perspective given in the Salkia documents. As noted earlier, the three all-India organisations of agricultural workers, youth and women were set up in this period which work under our leadership. The total membership of all the mass organisations today has crossed 2.8 crores which is a major achievement. All these all-India organisations have now functioning all India centres which have developed or expanded their scope of activities to different degrees. This has helped in giving a proper all India direction and guidance to the various mass movements and activities in the state units. There has also been

the development of united activities with other organisations which is also a major change since Salkia. Given these general positive aspects, the various fronts should be assessed in some more detail.

60. On the trade union front, the CITU and other unions/federations in which our Party members work have shown progress since Salkia. The formation of the National Campaign Committee marked a major advance in the united struggles of the working class; this was followed by the Committee of Public Sector trade unions as another major and wider centre of united activity. The recent Sponsoring Committee set up for the November 29 industrial strike saw the widest unity of Central trade unions and independent federations. Due to the work of Party members there has been good progress in the development and expansion of unions and all India federations of middle class employees. The development of the CITU unions and its membership is not commensurate to the work and influence gained. The membership of the CITU union in 1989 stood at 23 lakhs as compared to around 10 lakhs at the time of Salkia.

61. The Party and the CITU have been stressing the need to overcome certain defects and weaknesses which have developed over the period of growth and struggles. Neglect of temporary, unorganised and young workers, the organising of women workers and the issue of the unemployed who are actually part of the class have weakened the further development of the CITU unions and trade union movement. The efforts to overcome these weaknesses are there from the CITU Centre and in some states, but they are not adequate to tackle the problems.

62. The Central Committee document on tasks on the trade union front adopted in 1983 is still to be taken up seriously for implementation in most states. The criticism that Party members are not doing Communist style of work on the trade union front at Salkia is still applicable. Functioning of the trade unions is still dominated by and large by economism. Party building in many unions and industrial centres is not given priority by Party committees. Party's propaganda is still confused with trade union agitation. The Party must directly intervene to generate socialist

consciousness in the working class by systematic propaganda and counter alien ideologies particularly communalism. In the sphere of Party guidance and developing the Party, the functioning of sub committees and fractions are still uneven ranging from some definite progress to continued gross neglect. This is also reflected in the vital question of democratic functioning of the trade unions. Only limited progress has been registered in this sphere in some states. The Party has to stress the importance of implementing the 1983 document by taking the concrete conditions in each state into account. The Party leadership must show the initiative for this task.

63. The Kisan Sabha membership has grown from around 23 lakhs in 1978 to over 116 lakhs in 1989 90. The period witnessed the efforts to reorient the kisan movement on the basis of the 1976 C.C. resolution which was concretised in the AIKS conference report held at Varanasi in 1981. The Kisan Sabha has sought to correct the weakness noted in Salkia of the absence of united struggles and calls by Kisan organisations. There has been a marked improvement in giving all-India calls. The years 1988 and 1989 saw all-India struggles on the question of land. The work done in this period has helped the Kisan Sabha to make advances in some states other than West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura. In Andhra Pradesh, there has been good progress and some improvement in some centres in Bihar, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Haryana.

64. But the main weaknesses in the peasant front have to be noted. We have not been able to build up a strong movement for seizure of surplus land and *benami* land in most of the states; the kisan front is yet to make an analysis in depth of the development of capitalism and the concrete conditions on which basis concrete slogans and demands can be raised. The landlords and rich peasant organisations have achieved considerable success in rallying the peasantry around their demands; there is a tendency among some units to tail behind these demands for the sake of peasant unity. There has to be proper emphasis on building over all peasant unity to isolate the landlords by basing ourselves on the poor peasant and agricultural labourers. The tremendous

growth in membership of the AIKS is also characterised by extreme unevenness. The membership from West Bengal constitutes 80 per cent of the total membership and together with Kerala accounts for 89 per cent. Along with this unevenness, there is the weakness of the Kisan Sabha organisations and structure in most states. The earlier weakness of the basic units in the villages being non functioning continues. There is also no demarcation between the Party and the Kisan Sabha units at the lower levels in most states.

65. The organised activities of our Party in these two main fronts will constitute the main direction in which the Party of the working class has to move if it is to develop as a mass revolutionary force. However, the functioning of the P.B. and C.C. has been such that except on rare occasions their meetings confine themselves to the discussions and decisions on current politics and ideology in a general way. The problems faced and the review of work turned out by our comrades in the trade union and kisan fronts are seldom discussed in the P.B. and C.C. meetings. There has been, therefore, no "guidance by Party committees at all levels" as directed in the Salkia Plenum report from the C.C. downwards. The C.C. and state committees must take up this task.

66. The formation of the All India Agricultural Workers' Union in 1981 marked the beginning of our emphasis on developing the agricultural labour movement as envisaged in Salkia. The AIAWU had around 8 lakh members in 8 states then. Now it has risen to 18 lakhs in 12 states. The AIAWU has been active in the struggles for minimum wages and the question of land and house sites. However, the priority to be given to this vital front is missing in most of the weaker states. That is why at present 60 per cent of the membership comes from Kerala. Andhra Pradesh is next contributing 20 per cent members.

67. Activity has increased in Tamil Nadu, Punjab and Bihar. Fight against social and caste oppression on the scheduled caste labour must form an integral part of the organisation's activities. The struggle to provide proper attention to this front and to ensure its independent functioning with adequate cadres must be properly emphasised in our future tasks.

68. The youth front has made significant advances since the all India organisation was set up in 1980. Its membership has grown from 15.5 lakhs in 1980 to over 76 lakhs in 1990. There are state committees functioning in 20 states. The youth organisation has been able to organise big all-India campaigns on issues such as national unity, fight against communalism and unemployment. Noteworthy was the massive human chain organised by the Kerala unit and the youth rally of more than 2 lakhs of youth in West Bengal in 1987. At the Party level sub-committees of youth front or joint youth student committees are functioning in sixteen states. Proper attention has to be paid to Party building amongst this section which is a valuable asset for the Party. The youth organisation has an important role to play in the weak states where the forces of communalism and divisiveness are active to woo the youth. Proper attention has to be paid by the Party committees to ensure the independent functioning of the mass organisation and its activities must be strengthening in those spheres such as sports and cultural activities to draw the broadest sections of youth into the movement.

69. There has been steady increase in the influence and organisation of the student front since Salkia. Its membership has grown from 4 lakhs then to over 19 lakhs in 1990. Outside the three strong states, the student organisation has made good progress in Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Assam, Maharashtra, Bihar and Himachal Pradesh. After Salkia, the student front has oriented itself successfully to develop united actions with other student organisations. Another gain has been the setting up of an all India Centre and its functioning from Delhi. The student front has to concentrate more attention in the Hindi-speaking states where the potential for growth exists as seen in Himachal. Due attention has to be paid to mobilising girl students and from those belonging to the scheduled castes and tribes and minorities.

70. The foundation of the all India women's organisation has provided a fillip to the development of the women's movement. It has increased its membership from 9.6 lakhs in 1981 to over 31 lakhs in 1990. Apart from West Bengal and Kerala, noteworthy

progress is there in states like Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. Except in Bihar and Delhi, the all India women's organisation has not registered much progress in the Hindi areas, though efforts are on in Rajasthan. A big state like Uttar Pradesh neglects the building of the women's organisation. The realisation of the importance of the women's movement is lacking in many states and it is reflected also in their recruitment of women into the Party. There is an urgent need to strengthen the functioning of the all India centre of the women's organisation. Party committees must discuss the development and work on this front seriously and assist the women comrades to develop the women's movement.

71. Reviewing the work of the mass organisations, an important aspect to be considered is the relationship between the Party and the mass organisations. The C.C. resolution "On Mass Organisations" sought to correct erroneous understandings and practices of Party members working in mass organisations. Following the Salkia understanding that in mass organisations two types of deviations exist—treating the mass organisations as adjuncts or Party functionaries in mass organisations bypassing the Party committees and collective functioning, the 1981 resolution addressed the basic question of what are mass organisations, its scope and character as distinct from the Party. It stressed the need for the independent functioning of these organisations, the formulation of slogan and tactics by these organisations keeping in mind its broad character and the essential need to facilitate the entry of the broadest and the most backward sections. As distinct from the mass organisation's programme, platform and tactics, is the work of Communists within this organisation who are under the discipline of the Party and who have to also conduct political work among the sections drawn into the mass organisations. In practice, this understanding is being violated still in most states and mass organisations. The mass organisations are narrowed in scope to the Party's periphery by utilising them as Party platforms and mechanically transmitting Party slogans and understanding. In many weak

states, in the Kisan Sabha, in youth and student organisations, this problem constantly crops up. A determined struggle has to be waged to rectify and reorient the Party's outlook to mass organisations, if further growth has to be made.

72. Concluding this section on mass organisation, while acknowledging the big expansion of the mass organisations, it must be noted that it is also of an *uneven* character. As in the case of Party membership, there is an increase in the concentration of mass organisation membership from the states of West Bengal and Kerala. For instance, at the time of Salkia Plenum in 1977, 62 per cent of the total mass organisations' membership was from Kerala and West Bengal. Now over 75 per cent of the total mass organisation membership comes from these two states. This does not mean there has been no increase in the membership of mass organisations in other states, which is significant in the case of some states in certain mass fronts. But the overall increase is far less in proportion to the increase in West Bengal and Kerala. Further, in many weak states, there is the failure to register membership even where the mass organisations exert wider influence. Strengthening the centres of the mass organisations at the all India/states level is necessary to give a thrust to further expansion. In this period, the journals of the trade union, student, youth and women's organisations have been started or strengthened. Both from the Centre and the states many monthly and quarterly journals are brought out. Their content has to be improved keeping in mind the mass organisational approach of the Party.

73. The experience of running fractions and sub-committees is also a mixed one. In Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh, the two states where there is greater increase in mass organisations (apart from the strong states), one reason for improvement in Party building is the better functioning of the state level sub-committees and fraction committees on the mass fronts. In Tamil Nadu there are 2 sub-committees and 15 fraction committees. In Andhra there are 15 sub-committees and 7 fraction committees. These committees are now taking up the questions of policy and Party line and work in the respective mass fronts. It is an unfortunate

fact that in many other states, the trade union sub-committees at the state level does not function properly. In Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, Karnataka the reports show that the sub committees do not fulfill the responsibility expected of them. Though there is improvement in the state level functioning in some states, it is clear that it does not extend to the district level sub committees and fractions. It is from this level that the merging of Party and mass organisational functioning begins to affect the work. A more detailed review of fraction functioning is called for.

74. The reports of the states on how they have implemented Salkia and the state of Party building through mass organisations can be generalised in the following points:

- (i) There has been definite improvement in the functioning of the State Secretariats and state committees in terms of regularity of meetings, submission of written reports and strengthening of the States Centres. A serious effort has been made for regular Secretariat meetings and for consultations and daily meetings of available Secretariat members. In this regard, in West Bengal, the full Secretariat has weekly meetings which have helped collective functioning. The Kerala Secretariat is still unable to do so on a weekly basis. Still most of the states are not able to hold daily meetings of available Secretariat members as in many states only one or two members are available at the Centre. In all, Salkia heightened the consciousness for collective functioning. There has been an overall improvement in collective functioning at the State Committee level.
- (ii) However this cannot be said of the district committees in general. In many states, except West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura, the district centres and committees functioning is still weak. At the district secretariat level also, often work is not properly divided and written reports are not submitted to the district committee meetings. In states like Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, U.P. and Assam the next link in

strengthening the Party organisation lies in strengthening the functioning of the district centres and committees. Attention has to be paid in more developed states to strengthen the functioning of the intermediate committees below the district level.

- (iii) As regards branch functioning, most of the states report their failure in activating the branches. The norm seems to be that 25 to 30 per cent branches meet regularly at least six times a year (instead of monthly) and take part in Party programmes and activities continuously. There are still a large number of primary units which meet only at the time of renewal and then its members get activated either at the time of elections, some conferences or special programmes. There have been efforts to implement the Salkia suggestion to hold monthly meetings of branch secretaries. But this is also not systematic. Tamil Nadu state committee states from its experience that such meetings are possible once in two months. But the concept of the primary unit as the live link with the people, initiating Party work amongst the masses, transmitting its experience to the higher committee and participating in Party's policy making by holding discussions is still far from being a reality in the majority of the branches.
- (iv) The experience of running auxiliary groups is similar to that of the branches. Where branches themselves do not function well, there is not much scope for auxiliary groups being run properly. Auxiliaries are to be considered as broad groupings of militants and Party sympathisers who are to be provided opportunities for elementary education in Party programme and Party policies. They should not be treated as the first stage of Party membership, which is candidate membership. Given the weaknesses of the branches in weak states, the local committees or district committees should hold meetings of auxiliaries in a locality, factory or area basis periodically. There should be flexibility in running such groups.

- (v) The practice of holding regular general body meetings at the district, local and area level for political reporting by district and State leaders has become widespread after Salkia. This has improved to some extent the scope of reporting from higher committees to lower committees. But in many states, there are not sufficient district level leaders to conduct such reporting. Even in big states like Bihar and U.P. much of this reporting has to be done by State Secretariat members.
- (vi) As for Party schooling, West Bengal, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh have functioning Party education sub-committees at the state level. They have prepared some syllabus and notes for taking classes. West Bengal has printed five pamphlets for subjects for classes. Punjab held a workshop for training 30 teachers. In most other states, schooling is sporadic and not planned properly. In preparing the syllabus for the schooling, the basic theoretical subjects must cover also classes in Indian history, philosophy and the freedom movement from the Marxist standpoint. With the big expansion in membership and the new entrants into the Party this state of education is extremely unsatisfactory and is a major reason for the low political ideological level of the membership.
- (vii) Except in a handful of relatively stronger states, the sub-committees and fraction committees even at the state level function very defectively or are non functional. Even in the trade union front which is our main class front, trade union sub committees do not function properly in a majority of the states. Even where they meet in some of the states—it is only to decide routine matters of trade unions and not to discuss Party building or basic evaluation to see if the Party line is being implemented. State level fraction committees in industries also do the same. Similar is the situation for sub-committees/fraction committees of other mass fronts.

- (viii) There has been progress in varying degrees in improving the Party papers, its content and circulation. Of the dailies run in the states—two are in a higher category *Ganashakti* and *Deshabhimani*. They are in the true sense mass circulated dailies. Both the papers have made good advance since Salkia. *Ganashakti* became a morning daily with technically updated equipment and expanded personnel. *Deshabhimani* began a third edition from Trivandrum and also updated technology. There have been qualitative improvements in the contents and coverage also. The next category *Theekathir* and *Prajashakthi* have also struggled hard to improve. Both papers have now new buildings and new technology in printing. But both papers have not, despite the best efforts of the state committees been able to increase their circulation. The two other dailies in Tripura and Punjab, *Desherkatha* and *Lok Lahar* have faced serious difficulties because of the Congress(I) terror directed at the paper in Tripura and due to the terrorist threats in Punjab. While *Desherkatha* is courageously continuing to publish and distribute with reduced circulation, the Punjabi daily had to be suspended in the abnormal situation and is being brought out as a weekly. The weeklies in Karnataka, Maharashtra, Assam, Orissa have not been able to make much advance in circulation. Some technical improvements have been made as in Karnataka and Assam but they are not yet in a position to service or reflect the growing needs of the movement. Given the paucity of funds and editorial cadre, these states have struggled to maintain it and made some improvements as the Maharashtra weekly. But most of the weeklies still suffer from being Party bulletins with no lively writing. In Gujarat, the fortnightly *Hakal* has ceased publication.

- (ix) Apart from these dailies and weeklies, there has been the growth in the other journals brought out by the Party in certain states which must be noted. The *Chintha* weekly and the *Deshabhimani* literary weekly in Kerala, in West Bengal, the *Deshhitaishree* and *Marxbadi Path* have increased their circulation and improved their content. In Tamil Nadu, the *Marxist* monthly in Tamil was begun from 1988 and there is the literary monthly *Semmalar*. The production of agit prop material has gone up significantly in West Bengal, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh since the days of Salkia. This is real advance in our political ideological campaign.

75. The Salkia Plenum had emphasised that with the expansion of Party membership, the quality of members should be improved so that a mass revolutionary party can be built. For this the minimum duties of Party members enumerated in Article XI of the Constitution must be fulfilled by all members. The great expansion of membership in the past decade has not been accompanied by commensurate efforts to train up Party members, expand Party education commensurately and to check up their work regularly through branches. This has led to erosion of the quality of Party membership in certain areas and fronts. The streamlining of the Party organisation therefore must keep this aspect of maintaining the quality of membership in mind.

76. Since the manifold increase in all India calls for campaign and movements and similar calls by the State Centres, it is necessary to see that the calls are not given by the Party and mass organisations in an uncoordinated fashion. Coordination is required to avoid calls being given in quick succession or simultaneously so that the lower units are not overburdened or forced to observe them in a token manner.

77. The streamlining of the Party organisation so that it can be equipped for further expansion of the Party requires the following priority tasks to be implemented by the state committee and concerned lower units:

- (a) To activate the branches and all Party members to discharge their responsibilities in class and mass organisations and in movements and struggles. For this, there should be an annual review of branch functioning at the time of renewals by the district/intermediate committees based on guidelines chalked out by the state committees. The next higher committee above the branches needs to be strengthened and its work improved if they are to activate the primary units. The training of branch secretaries and the regular meetings of branch secretaries must receive the special attention of the higher committees.
- (b) Recruitment of membership as per norms of the Constitution; check up at renewals; emphasis on Party building in the trade union front; developing the Party amongst the scheduled castes/tribes, women and minorities.
- (c) Ensuring the setting up of sub committees and fraction committees at the state level in the weaker states and making them function properly; in the more developed states instituting proper functioning of similar committees at district and lower levels. Educating the Party cadres on the correct orientation to work in the mass organisations and monitoring its implementation.
- (d) Organising regular schools at the state and lower levels for the members. Preparation of syllabus and notes. Attention at the state level to train up teachers who can take classes. Encouragement for self-study by Party members must be constantly inculcated through these schools.
- (e) Improving the content and quality of the periodicals and journals in the states with state committees periodically discussing their scope for improvement. Expanding the agit-prop material to be brought out from the State Centres.

IV. DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

78. Having made this brief summing up of the efforts at implementation of Salkia, there has to be a clearer understanding of the continuing defects and weaknesses. These are of two types some are continuing since the Salkia Plenum to varying degrees, and some are new problems thrown up with our expansion and new developments. In the first category comes the question of democratic centralism. The Salkia Plenum had called for the strengthening of democratic centralism in all aspects and levels of Party organisational functioning. Though most of the state committees have expressed the need and desire for better observance of the principles of democratic centralism, there is an air of complacency and even self satisfaction in some of their reviews. Partly this stems from the understanding that if there is no factionalism or groupism in any committee then all is well with democratic centralism. But the picture drawn by the reports themselves highlight the weaknesses in basing the Party organisations on democratic centralism. With a majority of Party branches not functioning as per the minimum norms with a big section of the Party members not fulfilling the minimum duties and exercising the rights as per the Constitution, with a larger number of committees functioning haphazardly and not collectively, the state of democratic centralism is not healthy. Such conditions provide the fertile grounds for the nurturing of individualism, bureaucratism and groupism all of which violate the basis of democratic centralism which is collective and functioning. The functioning of the Orissa State Secretariat was an eloquent example. The Orissa Secretariat and state committee became the hotbeds for naked factionalism. In a few other states, the collective functioning of the State Secretariat is unsatisfactory.

79. The erosion of democratic centralism is also seen in the fact that in many states, the lower units are still seen as instruments for carrying out the decisions of the higher body but the other aspect of their own sphere of work and giving suggestions and criticisms to the higher committee is ignored. The weakness in regular reporting, collecting the views of lower committees, lack of written reviews which are circulated to the Party, all lead to a situation of

over centralisation. This over centralisation is not recognised because it is not sought to be enforced by any conscious decision, but the defects in functioning lead *de facto* to such trends. It is common for the P.B./C.C. to receive complaints from Party members and branches that their letters or representations to higher committees about their organisational problems or criticism are not even acknowledged or replied to. Another symptom of bureaucratisation and excessive centralisation is when a few letters sent are signed with a request not to let their respective committees know their names. This shows that there are still committees where Party members fear vindictive reactions on the part of the leadership. The right to express differences and to convey it to higher committees must be ensured without restrictions.

80. Side by side, there is the other distortion present also. In many states, the federal tendencies continue to flourish. At times, a state centre and state committee tolerates all sorts of violations of Party organisational norms in a district committee and similarly the DC lower down, as they do not want to touch an influential leader who is a colleague in their committee or for fear of upsetting the existing set-up. Only when a crisis erupts there is some intervention. Many state reports have admitted to federalism with some district committees violating the framework of the state committees' political-organisational line. Despite the improvement in collective functioning, still in many state committees and district committees—free and frank criticism of work of individuals or committees is not made. This only encourages further individualism and groupism and is harmful for democratic centralism.

81. Inner Party democracy within the framework of democratic centralism has to be emphasised to correct trends of over-centralisation, eliminate bureaucratisation and to heighten the consciousness of the Party members. Such inner Party democracy is not to be counterposed to democratic centralism as many of the erstwhile Communist Parties in Europe and Soviet Union did. Inner-Party democracy has to be combined with individual responsibility of members and check-up of their work and regular reporting to lower units from higher committees and vice versa. In the CPI(M), with over half a million members, the concept of inner-Party

democracy and its concrete application has to be properly estimated and institutionalised. Today the Party is not the small party it was in the sixties. At that time, the state and district leadership knew every cadre, there were strong bonds of struggling together and sharing experiences. As the Party has expanded there are thousands of members from different backgrounds and varied levels of experience. To forge a collective understanding and raise their political consciousness, there has to be much more inner Party discussions. Much of the new recruits including those from the basic classes are increasingly more educated or literate, they are able to see the changes in the modern world, their questions are more. To educate them in Marxism, to integrate their varied experiences into the Communist outlook requires patient attention and wider inner-Party democracy. It is through reporting, discussions and answering their queries that the rich experience of the Party can also be transmitted to them. This is not only with oral discussions but also through our printed Party literature.

Bureaucratism

82. A common experience in both the stronger and weaker states is the growth of the evil of bureaucratism in the Party organisations. The disease is also carried into the mass organisations, particularly the trade unions, by Party functionaries infected with such an outlook. With the expansion of the Party and mass organisations, defects in collective functioning, the pressure of workload on a few individuals, the wholetimers becoming routinised and seeing their work in careerist terms, functioning of myriad offices—all this is leading to bureaucratic behaviour in a section of our comrades. Loss of live links with the people, intolerance of criticism and the development of a lack of and atmosphere for free and frank criticism—leads to the flourishing of bureaucratism. This is a trend alien to a proletarian party, to democratic centralism and for inner-Party democracy. It harms the Party and mass organisations immensely. Only the practice of criticism and self criticism and reporting serious lapses on the part of the leading cadre to the lower units concerned can heighten vigilance to check such behaviour.

83. To strictly follow the principles of democratic centralism, which requires centralism in political line and common will of

action and inner-Party democracy, we must consider instituting these practices and forms in Party organisations.

- (i) The present Central Control Commission is practically a sub-committee of the C.C. It is elected by the C.C. from amongst its members after the Party Congress. The experience of the functioning of the Control Commission for the past two and a half decades shows that it has no independent initiative or capacities. To strengthen the Control Commission—it is proposed that the Party Congress elect a Central Control Commission directly. Its chairperson would be an ex officio member of the C.C. At the states level, at least in stronger states, this form of constituting Control Commissions may be followed.
- (ii) The panel presented in the conferences at all levels must be circulated in writing at the time of the elections so that delegates can study them. Any proposal of name from the delegates from the floor cannot be rejected or suppressed for whatsoever reasons unless the person nominated declines to contest. The elections must be strictly conducted by secret ballot.
- (iii) The Central Committee office must reply to every letter of Party members which is in the nature of complaints/ suggestions etc. regarding political or organisational affairs of the Party. Similarly, the state committee and district committee must be bound to do so. The time-limit for such replies may be set up by the state committees. Specific complaints or allegations against the Secretariat members must be also taken up within a specified time and disposed off.
- (iv) A few states send out Party letters periodically to the lower units. This practice should be systematised as part of reporting to lower units. The Party Centre should also consider issuing Party letters dealing with review of certain political-organisational work or international questions on a regular basis. A beginning can be made by utilising the Work Report of the P.B. to the C.C. as the basis for such letters.

- (v) There should be no resort to summary expulsions or summary suspensions except for the very extraordinary circumstances provided for. The Constitution provides for summary procedure only in exceptional cases.

Party Levy

84. The levy rates on income to be paid by the Party members was formulated in 1971. These rates are incorporated in the Rules under the Constitution adopted by the C.C. in 1987. The reports from the states show that in practice this levy rate is not being paid by a majority of the Party members in many states. There is resistance to the full realisation of levy as per the rates set out by the C.C. It is the hard reality that the levy rates are observed more in breach of the C.C. rates and adherence to these rates are the exceptions. The resistance to the current rates is most pronounced among the industrial workers who are permanently employed and by middle class employees who feel it is difficult to pay the levy along with other trade union and Party fund contributions. Many Party units and some state committees have requested for reduction of the levy rates. In such a situation, the C.C. considers it necessary to reduce the present rates of levy. The new rates will be fixed after the Congress. It must be stressed here that payment of levy is a question of political consciousness and every member has to make a sacrifice economically for the Party. The revised levy rates which will provide some relief to the Party members must be strictly implemented and there should be no laxity in this matter.

85. The payment of levy is not just a source of income for the Party. It embodies the consciousness and outlook of the Party members who must be prepared to sacrifice and contribute a part of their earnings for the sake of the Party.

Work in State Governments

86. Our Party has the unique experience of running state governments in three states during this period. The existence of the Left Front Government in West Bengal for fourteen years after winning the fourth successive assembly elections constitutes a remarkable achievement; along with this record, the work of the

Left & Democratic Front Government for six years through two terms in Kerala and the ten years' stint of the Left Front Government in Tripura were the products of the Party's line of building Left and democratic unity based on class and mass struggles and to project it as an alternative to the bourgeois-landlord rule.

87. It is a fact that the P.B. and C.C. have not systematically reviewed the performance of these governments and drawn lessons from it, particularly so in the case of West Bengal where we have had the longest tenure in office and the richest experiences. No doubt, the P.B. and C.C. had discussed some aspects of governmental functioning or policy matters from time to time when it was found necessary. An example being the direction of industrial policy and the framework of economic policies for the Government in West Bengal which was clinched at the 12th Congress in Calcutta in 1985. The issue pertained to the attitude of the government to big business investments in the state in a situation where the Centre was instituting an economic blockade in terms of fresh investment for the development of the state. In the case of Kerala, the P.B. and C.C. critically noted the lack of proper coordination between the Party and government leadership in initiating and implementing basic policies during the Left & Democratic Front Government's rule between 1987 and 1991. In the case of Tripura, after the February 1988 assembly elections in which the Party had to face imposition of disturbed areas and deployment of army, the C.C. review of the Left Front Government's work pointed to one of the weaknesses wherein, despite the commendable record of policies, they were implemented in such a manner as to foster the tendency to rely on the ministry instead of relying on mass struggles and mass initiatives. Hence even the steps taken by the ministry to help the people did not sufficiently increase mass consciousness.

V. IDEOLOGICAL WORK

88. The Salkia resolution stated: "It is the special responsibility of the Centre to conduct and guide the ideological struggle against all alien ideologies, religious obscurantism, separatism, feudal ideologies of casteism, communalism, national chauvinism exposing their class roots and class role. The fight against caste

and communal ideologies is all the more necessary as the ruling classes and their henchmen continually use these to divert the people and disrupt the unity of the toilers. The Centre should equip the state committees to conduct this struggle". Apart from running the weeklies and the theoretical quarterly, the Party Centre was to have increased its agit prop material. Apart from some pamphlets, the thirteen year record shows failure in stepping up the agit prop material in any substantial manner. Annually pamphlets brought out (apart from C.C. documents) does not amount to more than two or three a year. Taking up the live issues, international and national, pertaining to Indian society, countering bourgeois viewpoints and effectively projecting the Party and Marxist viewpoint remains neglected by the Centre.

89. Important efforts in this direction during this period have been the central calls for the observance of the Karl Marx death centenary, the birth centenaries of Dimitrov and Muzaffar Ahmad and the Ho Chi Minh centenary celebrations. These occasions were utilised for ideological propaganda and education. It is true that at the states level, particularly in West Bengal and Kerala and to some extent in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh this work has shown improvement. But the Party Centre's dissemination of material remains woefully inadequate. This capacity instead of developing is regressing with the daily struggle to maintain our two weeklies and *The Marxist*.

90. The stepping up of the ideological work and political education does not mean only holding Party schools. This is only one aspect of the organised battle of ideas. To equip the Party members, there has to be radical improvement in reporting from top to bottom, improvement in the quality of our papers, increase in the agit prop material. Journalism in the Party papers is still stereotyped and coverage of events and conferences loaded with speeches of leaders. The new generation of readers find such publications dull and monotonous.

91. The priority for our ideological work and independent political campaign has to be stressed in the new conditions. The reverses suffered by the socialist world and the offensive against Marxism by bourgeois circles, requires heightened ideological

consciousness, unity and propaganda. At the same time, the national situation shows the inroads made by communal ideology, casteism and erosion of the values of anti imperialism with the new economic pressures generated by the imperialism circles. Unless we vigorously assert the Marxist ideology, applied to the concrete conditions of Indian society, we will not be able to combat these forces and ideologies. The experience gained in fighting communal and divisive forces must be translated into our ideological battle to be taken to the people at various levels and forms. Distinct from ideological work, the importance of political propaganda must be emphasised. This propaganda is of two kinds. One is the constant propaganda to popularise the basic programmatic outlook of the Party; the second is the daily propaganda on policy issues where we project our policy standpoints demarcating and being critical of the policies of various bourgeois parties. All three, the ideological, the propaganda on programmatic issues and on policy questions—have to be carried out and they are inter related. Even now our daily agit prop efforts remain at the level of agitation on popular issues similar to other parties without reaching the stage of political propaganda as conceived of above.

92. One experience of united struggles and common platforms and understanding with bourgeois parties is that in the midst of such activities both electoral and otherwise, our independent projection of Party line and policies suffers. This must be avoided at all costs. We have to counter the common class moorings on economic policies of our allies in the bourgeois parties. All these while fighting the policies of major parties like the Congress(I) and the BJP. What it implies is an integrated total Marxist outlook on each and every aspect of Indian society and carrying forward the political/ideological battle. There has been a blunting of this independent position and propaganda in the recent period particularly with the exigencies of united platforms and common understanding forged on limited issues with the secular bourgeois parties. Even in the sphere of Left parties, we must carry on healthy debate on various political and ideological questions. We have to fight upper caste chauvinist ideas and also trends of caste exclusiveness among the lower castes and dalits. In Tamil Nadu, we have to

counter manifestations of chauvinist politics in the DMK and other forces with our class standpoint. In Assam, we must relentlessly combat the chauvinist ideas of the AGP and its manifestations in Assamese society; in our work amongst minorities we must also counter fundamentalist trends.

93. The Salkia Resolution called for overcoming the weakness in the ideological work. It stated: "A Leninist Party cannot be built by just popularising the Party's programme and the fundamentals of Marxism. It must continuously battle against non-Marxian and anti Marxism ideologies in the country—religious obscurantism, Gandhism, Gandhian socialism, Nehru socialism, national chauvinism, regionalism, casteism, minority and majority communalism—educating the new cadres and the people in the nature and class origin of these ideologies. The fight against caste and communal obscurantism is all the more necessary as the ruling classes and their henchmen are constantly using these weapons to divert the people and disrupt the unity of the toilers."

94. In the present situation in the country, this ideological battle, education and propaganda acquires special importance. We will be able to fight the bankrupt policies of the Congress(I) and the communal platform of the BJP and defend the unity of the country, only if along with building up mass struggles, we simultaneously wage a sustained political-ideological struggle against ruling class ideologies. To the list enumerated above we have to add the pernicious theories of Hindu rashtra, pseudo-secularism, linguistic chauvinism, the new fashionable theories of abandoning self-reliance and integrating with the global capitalist economy; the new anti Marxist and anti socialist propaganda generated by the setbacks to world Socialism. The battle to win the minds of the people who gather around us in mass struggles becomes of paramount importance. Neglects of this work will reduce our work to economism within our basic classes and the masses in general.

95. The potential for our ideological and political intervention is evident in the efforts made so far—in recent times, the Party and Left have put out the most systematic critique of economic policies and the alternative through seminars and conventions; the seminars

and discussions of communalism have also broken fresh ground; the Party's analysis of the problems of national unity has been widely appreciated. Our stand on Centre-State relations has been a pioneering one and acknowledged by all those committed to a federal structure. We evolved a distinct line on reservations for OBCs and the question of social justice. These endeavours must be carried forward.

96. In developing the agit-prop and ideological work of the Party there must be effective and imaginative use of the new technological forms of the mass media. The development of the electronic media such as video tapes, audio cassettes are being used in a big way by the bourgeois parties and in general propagation of ideas. This visual and sound medium has begun to be used by our Party in its election propaganda in a small way, particularly in the ninth and tenth general elections. Similarly the modern communication facilities must be harnessed for improving the flow of information and quality of the publications, particularly the dailies.

Cultural Front

97. There has been a growing demand for all India coordination from state cultural groups guided by the Party. At the 13th Congress the C.C. was unable to commit to such a responsibility. There has been good development of cultural activities in some states. West Bengal and Kerala have vastly expanded the scope of this work since Salkia. In Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Karnataka and Delhi and some other areas, there are various cultural groups and troupes which are active as Party oriented troupes and some are engaged in creative activities of a broader nature. The C.C. must set up an all India fraction committee to coordinate and pool the experiences on this front in the different states and help in greater intervention in the battle of ideas through the cultural sphere.

98. Importance must be accorded to mass literacy programmes. The success in achieving total literacy in Kerala through a mass movement has inspired similar efforts in other states. In the recent period, in many states, our Party cadres have been active in such work which has tremendous potential for forging new and live

links with different sections of the people. The Party must also ensure a proper approach to the problems of environment for which a basic policy document based on the Marxist outlook must be prepared.

Maintenance of Communist Norms

99. The C.C. questionnaire had specifically asked the state committees to assess the standards of Communist behaviour in leading cadres and the record of disciplinary action taken in this regard. All the state committees have reported examples of serious lapses or aberrant behaviour by certain comrades and also instances of disciplinary action. Firstly, the corrosion of Communist standards comes from the corrupting influences in bourgeois society. There have been some cases of corruption which have resulted in expulsions. Though these are still on a small scale it sounds a warning. Careerist trends have developed among some cadres and functionaries in the Party organisation and trade unions. Secondly, there are cases of succumbing to social pressures to indulge in non Communist behaviour or in obscurantist or caste practices. The last named is more widespread in the Hindi-speaking areas. The Party has not been taking seriously enough the task of remoulding the outlook of cadres and members in combating the social practices alien to Communists. When such lapses occur in the ranks of the leadership, the prestige and credibility of the Party gets affected. In the prevailing atmosphere of rank corruption, moral decay and come back of backward looking ideologies, the Party committees must consciously struggle against such trends and check them in time.

100. Another deviation spreading in the Party is parliamentarism and the crass opportunism connected with it. It is common occurrence even in the weakest states for Party committees to make exaggerated claims about fighting elections, bickerings over candidates and choice of seats. The corrosion of Communist consciousness is seen also in states where we have our governments. Hankering for posts in elected bodies such as municipalities, zilla parishads or the assembly leads to groupism. Individual ego and vested interest vitiate collective functioning. These become issues

of inner Party struggle. Such tendencies have been seen in West Bengal and Kerala. Defiance of Party decisions also becomes a feature. In Uttar Pradesh, six Party members were expelled for contesting elections defying the Party in the 1989 assembly elections. In some districts and committees in the country the only primacy is for elections and other organisational work is ignored. During elections, the candidate and members will collect substantial sums from the people but for Party organisation or wholetimers the same leaders will find no sources of funds. Elected MLAs or corporators are reluctant to pay the levy specified by the Party. Worse still is that the electoral work is never consolidated and those mobilised during elections are not brought into the mass organisational or Party fold. Liberalism and a reformist outlook with regard to this deviation must be ended in the Party.

101. With the expansion of the Party and its electoral strength and activities, the standards of Communist ethics and behaviour must be strictly maintained. By the practice of Communists, the distinction between a proletarian party and the bourgeois parties must be distinct in the eyes of the people. This is one way of assessing the quality of Party membership.

The Questions of Cadres and Their Renewal

102. The position and development of wholetimers is a key aspect of the cadre policy of the Party. There are hundreds of such wholetimers who are working in difficult financial conditions and devotedly serving the Party. Some of the State Committees since Salkia have paid some attention to their material needs and to provide them some minimum Party education. Andhra Pradesh is one state where there is a rational system of wages for the entire state. But in the weaker states the situation is still dismal. Either the wholetimers are paid a pittance as wages or they are left to their own devices to raise some money through mass organisations or the Party masses. Some of the committees have reported that they are paying unmarried wholetimers in towns Rs. 200 to 300. Married wholetimers are getting in similar circumstances Rs. 500. This partly explains why despite all the

dedication many do not become wholetimers or those do, do not last long. Despite the constant shortage of resources, there is still ample scope for improving the wages. As pointed out earlier, there are Party committees which will raise thousands and even lakhs for conferences and elections but will not build up a fund for wholetimers and organisational work. State committees must no more neglect this problem.

103. The other aspect of wholetimers and also young cadres entrusted with Party responsibilities is that their potential dries up within a few years of routinised work. They become mere job-doers and a careerist outlook develops. No attention is paid to their political development, encouragement to self-study or to check up their work to develop them further. All is left to spontaneity. This lack of cadre policy is injurious to the Party's future growth. A proper cadre policy requires constant renewal of cadres, with the experience and maturity of the old must be combined the energy and enthusiasm of the younger cadres. This also requires promotion of younger cadres at the appropriate time and retirement of old when found necessary.

Party Finances

104. A positive development is that many state committees have to some extent systematised their accounts keeping. As per the rules under the Constitution adopted by the C.C. in August 1988, many of the state committees have set up finance sub-committees to oversee the expenditure and maintenance of accounts, though some are not functioning well. At the district level this systematic arrangement for accounts is not there generally except in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura. As the Party has grown, the old habits of keeping sketchy accounts, payments and receipts based on trust and oral instructions have to change. In more developed states, even district committees have their own buildings, some have vehicles. Proper institutional arrangements for maintenance and supervision of Party property and an exacting attitude to Party finances must be inculcated in our leading cadres. Internal audit provisions for the state committee accounts is essential.

VI. TASKS AT THE PRESENT JUNCTURE

105. The detailed review of Party organisation highlights the necessity for a renewed thrust in three major areas— in stepping up mass struggles, in restoring the primacy of Party building as a key task and in heightening the ideological work and independent projection of the Party's line and policies. All these three key tasks are essential to build a mass revolutionary party.

Importance of Mass Struggles

106. The country is in a critical situation today. The Party is at the cross roads—of taking a leap forward or being left behind by the fast moving events. If the forces of authoritarianism and communalism engendered by the crisis ridden bourgeois-landlord system are to be rolled back; if the Left and democratic alternative is to be made a viable all India formations if the adverse international situation is to be neutralised and the offensive of imperialism which is targeting India foiled—all these require greater endeavours on the part of the Party to build up the mass movement and struggles which can bring about a realignment of class forces. Many of the distortions within the Party organisation and the problems of uneven development of the Party can be overcome only if we seize this vital link. The Party and mass organisations headed by it and influenced by it must go amongst the people in a big way— amongst the working class and peasantry, among the agricultural workers and rural poor, among the youth, women, students, middle classes and the intelligentsia. With the deepening impact of the unprecedented economic crisis and the pro-imperialist response of the Congress(I) government, every section will be adversely affected except the thin strata of monopolists, landlords and corrupt contractors and rich traders. The Party has to in every state and part of the country emerge as the champion of the people by organising and leading their struggles, by intervening in their spontaneous outbursts and by uniting with those who are prepared to fight for common demands.

Party Building—Priority Task

107. The expansion of mass struggles and mass movements will draw lakhs of working people to our Party and mass organisations. The Party organisation must be equipped to build the Party out of this militant following. Party building is the primary task—this must become part of the consciousness of the entire Party. Continuous recruitment of members, their training and education by activating the basic Party unit, strengthening democratic centralism at all levels with particular emphasis on inner Party democracy—all require concerted push by the Party committees at all levels. The Party has to constantly reach out to new sections of the working people and expand its organisational scope and influence.

Ideological Work and Political Propaganda

108. To combat the bourgeois ideologies and feudal and obscurantist values and to counter the anti-Marxist offensive due to the reverses suffered by Socialism on the international plane, the Party must step up its ideological propaganda and the defence of Marxism Leninism based on its creative application to the concrete conditions of Indian society. The Party publications and agit prop material must be revamped to discharge this major responsibility. At the same time, the independent political propaganda and projection of the Marxist understanding on all policy questions and social developments must be pursued vigorously. The growing united activities and platforms must not supplant these independent activities of Communist propaganda. The ideological work and organisational measures to achieve this task must be undertaken seriously.

109. The Fourteenth Congress of the Party calls upon the entire Party to discharge these major organisational tasks. Streamlining the Party functioning to build and expand the Party organisation, to spread its policies and ideology in a big way while leading bigger and wider mass struggles will radicalise the situation. It will enable the people to break out of the four and a half decades bourgeois-

landlord oppression, and to advance towards the people's democratic revolution. The CPI(M) by its consistent adherence to Marxism Leninism and its unremitting struggles and work amongst the people has shown itself to be the pace setter for the Left and democratic forces. Let us build an organisation worthy of realising this goal.

TABLE 1

TABLE OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP

State	1978 (at Salkia Plenum)	1981 (XI Congress)	1985 (XII Congress)	1988 (XIII Congress)	1991
Andhra Pradesh	9,500	14,589	18,660	23,307	26,707
Assam	3,424	7,120	9,074	10,763	10,696
Bihar	6,359	11,122	11,572	13,241	15,500
Delhi	604	732	832	842	848
Goa		65	70	70	70
Gujarat	150	522	908	1,290	1,052
Haryana	490	793	710	925	1,304
Himachal Pradesh	206	273	621	864	742
Jammu & Kashmir		200	295	577	291
Karnataka		2,196	2,342	3,469	3,804
Kerala	67,366	1,04,085	1,22,071	1,78,869	2,27,424
Madhya Pradesh	651	1,074	628	721	1,050
Maharashtra	2,647	3,321	4,472	4,860	5,880
Manipur	150		173	157	192
Orissa	1,303	2,351	2,869	3,282	4,382
Punjab	4,519	6,448	7,305	8,884	9,969
Rajasthan	1,339	2,202	2,232	2,908	3,626
Tamil Nadu	10,795	19,580	27,053	33,153	49,240
Tripura	3,971	6,884	11,414	14,367	19,189
Uttar Pradesh	4,460	5,437	6,827	7,281	7,750
West Bengal	43,342	88,983	1,36,980	1,55,243	1,89,732
Andaman & Nicobar			46	103	120
Sikkim					17
C C. Staff	39	51	65	101	81
Total	1,61,315	2,78,027	3,67,219	4,65,277	5,79,666

Total Party Membership

1978 (At the time of Salkia Plenum)	1991 (At the time of XIV Party Congress)	Increase
1,61,315	5,79,666	4,18,351

TABLE 2
CLASS AND SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF PARTY MEMBERS

State	Class Composition			Social Composition			
	Working Class	Agri Workers	Poor Peasantry	Sch. Caste	Sch. Tribe	Minorities	Women
Andhra Pradesh	13.0	23.5	24.4	16.6	5.6	3.0	2.5
Assam	16.0	1.9	23.4	4.3	10.7	17.4	8.4
West Bengal	9.9	13.8	26.2	15.0	4.1		4.9
Tamil Nadu	25.0	16.0	14.5	17.2	0.8	3.2	4.5
Tripura	8.7	19.6	25.8	11.5	25.7	7.2	7.2
Delhi	63.5			21.3		8.5	11.8
Bihar	3.6	18.8	20.6	15.0	2.6	9.5	0.9
Maharashtra	21.0		58.0*	13.0	50.0	2.6	7.4
Gujarat				13.0		9.0	15.5
Himachal Pradesh	3.6	2.1	42.6				1.7
Kerala	47.2	24.3	10.7	11.3	0.7	18.3	5.4
Uttar Pradesh	15.5	24.5	39.0	18.0	0.2		1.4
Rajasthan				4.2	19.0	2.4	1.6
Punjab	8.5	32.7	27.2				1.4

*Poor peasants & Agricultural workers

@ partial figures

TABLE 3
PARTY MEMBERSHIP
YEARWISE/AGE GROUPWISE

State	Years of joining the Party		Age Group	
	Post 1977 to 1990	Post 1985	Below 30	Between 30-45
Andhra Pradesh	71.0	40.0	26.2	40.0
Assam	62.2	47.2	29.7	33.2
West Bengal	89.3	NA	22.8	55.3
Tamil Nadu	51.0	31.0	28.0	31.7
Tripura	63.5	NA	19.2	NA
Delhi	90.3	65.7	31.0	52.5
Bihar	45.8	NA	59.0	NA
Maharashtra	90.0	NA	27.0	33.0
Gujarat	56.0	10.0	21.0	42.0
Himachal Pradesh	91.0	NA	56.6	29.6
Kerala	86.0	40.0*	42.6	31.0
Uttar Pradesh	74.0	18.0	24.0	53.0
Rajasthan	NA	NA	NA	NA
Punjab	72.9	NA	24.6	43.3

*Post 1988

TABLE 4

**CIRCULATION OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY
AND LOK LAHAR**

State	People's Democracy		Lok Lahar	
	1978	1991 (Oct)	1981	1991 (Oct.)
Andhra Pradesh	982	700	20	3
Assam	955	837	106	26
Andaman & Nicobar	27	12		
Bihar	1,180	484	2,397	2,223
Chandigarh		80		81
Goa	3	8		
Gujarat	64	39	172	85
Himachal Pradesh	36	36	117	266
Haryana	90	39	541	658
Jammu & Kashmir	67	47	10	20
Kerala	641	666	4	3
Karnataka	642	454	32	4
Madhya Pradesh	277	198	1,237	1,207
Maharashtra	784	544	459	398
Manipur	2	7		
Meghalaya	61	23	—	
Nagaland	10	—	—	—
Orissa	470	227	73	60
Punjab	555	270	428	195
Pondicherry	50	40		
Rajasthan	90	70	2,248	807
Sikkim	1			
Tamil Nadu	1,326	1,309	2	2
Tripura	279	279		5
Uttar Pradesh	489	297	3,312	2,180
West Bengal	6,191	6,577	1,865	3,530
Delhi	737	370	709	605
Foreign	138	53	3	2
Total	16,147	13,666	13,735	12,360

TABLE 5
MEMBERSHIP OF CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

State	1978	1981	1989	Active Unions in 1989
Andaman & Nicobar			2,131	10
Andhra Pradesh	35,000	45,000	90,996 (4545)	466
Assam		20,000	34,378 (9631)	103
Bihar	35,000	80,000	75,997 (3684)	93
Delhi	29,232	26,306	46,820 (1787)	94
Goa			3,879 (147)	8
Gujarat	10,000	21,000	14,786 (528)	36
Haryana		10,000	17,572 (841)	83
Himachal Pradesh		2,500*	11,746	44
Karnataka	32,000	45,000	51,970 (13909)	127
Kerala	2,00,000	2,76,000	5,39,821 (136909)	846
Madhya Pradesh		30,000	23,305 (1204)	95
Maharashtra	60,000	58,000	47,352 (1454)	82
Orissa	5,000	10,000	48,066 (7436)	65
Punjab	20,000	30,000	71,769 (4235)	156
Rajasthan	21,608	25,233	22,799 (376)	128
Tamil Nadu	80,000	1,50,000	1,68,695 (7272)	492
Tripura		10,613**	25,779 (3199)	33
Uttar Pradesh		—	29,361 (981)	206
West Bengal	5,39,170	6,20,100	10,59,020 (41566)	1481
Total	10,67,010	14,59,752	23,86,242	

Note : *formed in 1981

**As mentioned in the 12th Congress Pol Org Report
 1978 and 1981 figures are according to 11th Congress
 Pol Org Report.

1989 figures according to Annual Returns
 (figures given in brackets indicate female membership)

Total Membership from 1983 to 1989

1983	18,90,993	1986	16,43,563
1984	15,75,264	1987	16,79,684
1985	17,15,936	1988	19,16,095

TABLE 6

MEMBERSHIP OF ALL-INDIA KISAN SABHA

State	1977 78	1990 91
West Bengal	12,84,992	94,31,846
Kerala	2,54,210	9,87,878
	1,64,820*	
Andhra Pradesh	65,550	2,00,000
	1,45,400*	
Tamil Nadu ^{81,500}	2,26,100	
Punjab	57,272	60,000
	21,940*	
Bihar	47,000	3,00,000
Uttar Pradesh	63,196	1,30,921
Assam	27,000	1,06,654
Tripura	10,000	65,000
Maharashtra ^{26,500}	50,000	
Rajasthan	20,000	47,179
Karnataka	-	76,000
Gujarat	-	13,500
Orissa	14,000	19,033
Jammu & Kashmir	2,000	5,000
Madhya Pradesh	1,000	28,500
Himachal Pradesh	1,600	5,500
Haryana	4,000	11,200
Total	22,91,980	1,17,63,811

*Membership of Agricultural Labour Union

TABLE 7

**MEMBERSHIP OF ALL-INDIA AGRICULTURAL
WORKERS' UNION**

State	1982 (At the foundation Conference)	1991
Andhra Pradesh	2,37,062	3,68,239
Bihar	—	80,000
Haryana	1,400	5,000*
Karnataka		10,000*
Kerala	3,68,329	11,06,780
Maharashtra	32,600	
Madhya Pradesh	2,000	
Punjab	60,892	63,518
Rajasthan		3,366
Orissa		22,600*
Tripura	12,901	24,000
Uttar Pradesh	15,000	56,200
Tamil Nadu	92,836	1,20,185
Total	7,90,420	18,90,488

Note : *figures of 1989 90

TABLE 8

MEMBERSHIP OF D Y F I

State	1980	1990
	(At the foundation Conference)	
Andhra Pradesh	74,500	3,62,580
Assam	17,816	74,229
Bihar	40,000	79,332
Delhi	2,350	11,376
Goa		
Gujarat		5,231
Haryana	2,500	19,273
Himachal Pradesh	200	8,510
Jammu & Kashmir		500
Karnataka	5,000	16,879
Kerala	5,17,080	29,48,187
Maharashtra	-	68,160
Madhya Pradesh	1,000	8,000
Meghalaya	-	21
Manipur	-	1,764
Orissa		25,052
Punjab	40,000	40,425
Rajasthan	21,560	18,250
Tamil Nadu	37,792	2,89,195
Tripura	41,563	1,06,260
Uttar Pradesh	7,039	44,505
West Bengal	7,35,000	35,03,011
Total	15,49,270	76,30,740

TABLE 9

**MEMBERSHIP OF
STUDENTS' FEDERATION OF INDIA**

State	1978	1990
Andhra Pradesh	23,294	1,48,330
Assam	27,576	58,147
Bihar	10,556	54,700
Delhi	2,350	950
Goa		
Gujarat	1,800	14,000
Haryana	4,585	4,853
Himachal Pradesh		14,210
Jammu & Kashmir		-
Karnataka	4,500	35,604
Kerala	1,15,386	5,97,956
Madhya Pradesh	6,157	41,750
Maharashtra	5,507	62,729
Manipur	-	1,600
Orissa	5,409	15,350
Punjab	20,000	8,500
Rajasthan	10,000	27,184
Sikkim		-
Tamil Nadu	2,215	77,641
Tripura	21,812	33,824
		2,000*
Uttar Pradesh	6,026	6,885
West Bengal	1,45,530	7,84,712
Total	4,12,706	19,89,054

*Tribal Students Union (Tripura)

TABLE 10

**MEMBERSHIP OF
ALL-INDIA DEMOCRATIC WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION**

State	1981 (At the time of foundation Conference)	1990
Assam	10,000	45,173
Andhra Pradesh	10,000	1,18,715
Bihar		20,000
Delhi	2,100	12,915
Gujarat		4,000
Haryana		5,300
Himachal Pradesh		1,200
Karnataka		1,875
Kerala	2,88,236	6,63,740
Maharashtra		29,750
Madhya Pradesh	—	*
Orissa	—	7,103
Punjab	—	9,666
Rajasthan		5,705
Tamil Nadu	62,000	1,02,026
Tripura	—	75,391
Uttar Pradesh		3,200
West Bengal	5,62,288	20,13,475
Total	9,62,288	31,19,234

*Madhya Pradesh Membership for the year 1989 3,600

Resolution on Updating Party Programme*

Adopted by the Fourteenth Congress of The Communist Party of India (Marxist), held at B.T. Ranadive Nagar, Madras, on January 3-9, 1992

The Programme of the CPI(M) adopted in November, 1964 continues to remain basically valid for the stage of the revolution, the strategy, class character of the Indian State and Government and the class alliance to achieve the people's democratic revolution. However, there are sections in relation to the assessment of the international situation and national developments which need to be updated. The same applies to the Statement of Policy.

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) hereby authorises the Central Committee to appoint a Commission to undertake this task in the light of the resolutions adopted by the Fourteenth Congress. The Congress further directs the Central Committee to discuss the report of the Commission and call a special Party Conference to adopt it. The Central Committee should circulate the draft to all Party units not less than two months before the holding of the special Conference.

Till then the Party will be guided by the decisions of the Fourteenth Party Congress about assessment of the national and international situation.

*Published in the compilation of 14th Party Congress Documents in June 1992

Amendment To Party Constitution*

Adopted by the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), held at B.T. Ranadive Nagar, Madras, on January 3-9, 1992

The Fourteenth Party Congress of the CPI(M) decides to amend Article XVIII of the Party Constitution entitled "Central and State Control Commission" and replace it with the following:

1. The Party Congress shall directly elect a Central Control Commission consisting of not more than five members. The Chairperson of the Central Control Commission will be an ex-officio member of the Central Committee.

2. The Control Commission shall take up:

- (a) Cases of disciplinary action referred to it by the Central Committee or Polit Bureau;
- (b) Cases of appeal where disciplinary action has been taken by the State Committee;
- (c) Cases involving expulsion against which an appeal has been made to the State Committee or State Control Commission and rejected.

3. The detailed rules for the functioning of the Control Commission shall be framed by the Central Committee after consultation with the Control Commission.

3. (a) In the eventuality of a vacancy arising in the Central Control Commission between two Party Congresses, the Central Committee shall have the right to fill the vacancy.

4. The State Conference may elect a State Control Commission to go into the cases of disciplinary action. In whichever State the State Control Commission is set up, the functions and authority will be similar to that of the Central Control Commission, but within its own State.

*Published in the compilation of 14th Party Congress Documents in June 1992

Condolence Resolutions*

**Adopted by the Fourteenth Congress of
The Communist Party of India (Marxist),
held at B.T. Ranadive Nagar, Madrás,
on January 3-9, 1992**

Comrade B.T. Ranadive

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) pays respectful homage to the memory of Comrade B.T. Ranadive, outstanding leader of the CPI(M) and the working class movement. He died on April 6, 1990 at the age of 85. At the time of his death, BTR was a member of the Polit Bureau of the Party and President of the CITU.

One of the pioneers of the Communist Party and the trade union movement in the country, BTR's revolutionary career, which spanned seven decades, was singular for his deep commitment to Marxism Leninism and for his tireless struggle to develop the revolutionary working class movement.

After a brilliant academic record as a student, BTR joined the Communist Party in 1928. Having been steeled in the struggles of the working class in Bombay, BTR rose to be the General Secretary of the CPI at its Second Congress in 1948. He was one of the pioneers who worked from the Party centre when it was set up in Bombay in 1934-35. Elected to the Central Committee and Polit Bureau at the Seventh Congress, he remained in these leading positions till his death.

BTR played a crucial role in the fight against revisionism in the united party. He made a big contribution to foundation of the CPI(M) and its basic programmatic and ideological outlook.

BTR was the staunch defender of the Party's ideological purity. He doggedly opposed both right revisionism and Left sectarianism in the Communist movement. He made a notable contribution in fighting the naxalite Left sectarian deviation in the sixties. In his

*Published in the compilation of 14th Party Congress Documents in June 1992

last days, BTR took up the challenge of defending the fundamentals of Marxism Leninism against the aberrations and distortions of Marxist theory by the leadership of the CPSU.

In the trade union movement, BTR will occupy a special place. He was one of the prominent leaders of the AITUC from the late twenties; he was the initiator of the formation of the CITU and guided its growth as a militant trade union centre till his death. He constantly strove to take the Marxist ideology to the working class, build up class unity and develop the political consciousness of the workers.

BTR, as a true Marxist Leninist, integrated theory and practice in his daily activities. He championed the cause of the worker-peasant alliance, women's equality, and ending caste and social oppression. He was a gifted writer whose large number of books will continue to educate future generations of Communists and progressives.

BTR was a unique leader who assisted the Party at every juncture and turn in the situation in formulating correct tactics and enunciating the Marxist class standpoint. He set a high personal example for the entire Party by his life of spartan simplicity and total unwavering dedication to the cause. He underwent nine years of imprisonment and spent four years underground.

The life and work of BTR will forever inspire all those committed to people's democracy and Socialism in India. The Congress pledges to carry forward his revolutionary work. It conveys its heartfelt condolences to his wife Vimal Ranadive, sister Ahilya Rangnekar, son and other members of the family.

Comrade Saroj Mukherjee

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) mourns the passing away of Comrade Saroj Mukherjee, Member of the Polit Bureau of the Party on February 10, 1990. Comrade Saroj Mukherjee was the Secretary of the West Bengal state committee of the Party and also the Chairman of Left Front of the state.

Comrade Saroj Mukherjee joined the freedom struggle as a young student at the age of 13. He joined the Indian National Congress in 1924. While a student, he came in contact with Communist leaders

like Muzaffar Ahmad. He became a member of the Communist Party in 1931. Becoming a wholtimer in 1938, Saroj Mukherjee served the Party in many key positions. He was the secretary of the Calcutta District Committee of the CPI from 1939 to 1943. He was a member of the secretariat of the West Bengal Provincial Committee from 1943 to 1948 and from 1951 to 1964.

At the time of the split, he took a firm stand against revisionism. Later, in West Bengal, he played a major role in the struggle against the Left sectarian deviation.

Comrade Saroj Mukherjee was elected to the Central Committee of the Party in 1978 at the Tenth Congress. He was elected to the Polit Bureau at the Twelfth Congress in 1985 and continued to be a member till his death. He assumed the secretaryship of the West Bengal state committee in 1982.

He played a key role in developing the Party newspapers in West Bengal with which he had a life long association. He was the editor of the daily *Swadhinata* between 1956 and 1962; he was also the editor of the CPI(M)'s weekly *Ganashakti* from 1964 onwards and later the daily *Ganashakti* from 1967 to 1983. He wrote a number of books and pamphlets popularising Marxism Leninism and the Party's policies.

Comrade Saroj Mukherjee will always be remembered as a Communist leader who combined the finest qualities of patriotism and revolutionary commitment. He spent a total of eleven years in jail and five years underground. He was known for his affectionate behaviour and humility in dealing with all ranks of the Party and people from all walks of life.

His memory will forever be cherished by all those working for the cause of Socialism in India. The Congress conveys its heartfelt condolences to his wife Comrade Kanak Mukherjee, his son and other members of the family.

Comrade Abdullah Rasul

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) records its profound grief at the passing away of the outstanding Communist revolutionary Comrade Abdullah Rasul.

Beginning his political life at an early age with the non cooperation movement, he was soon attracted to Marxism and joined the Communist Party in 1938, when as a wholetimer he started working amongst the kisans. He made a very distinguished contribution to the growth and development of the kisan movement and participated in the first All India Kisan Sabha Conference and became the organisation's General Secretary.

Comrade Rasul was in the forefront in the struggle against revisionism. He became a member of the state Secretariat from the time the Party was formed and was elected to the Central Committee in 1982. He was convener of the Central Control Commission until 1988. His deep knowledge of Marxism, revolutionary zeal for carrying forward the cause of Socialism, exemplary steadfastness in upholding Communist norms and a spartan life made him a model Communist leader that endeared him to the old and young alike. He spent five years in jail in different periods and worked underground for six years.

The Fourteenth Congress pays deep respect to the memory of this staunch Marxist revolutionary and sends condolences to the members of his family.

Comrade Shankar Dayal Tewari

The Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) deeply mourns the sudden death of Comrade Shankar Dayal Tewari soon after returning from the Thirteenth Congress of the Party.

Comrade Tewari was attracted to Marxism while he was a student and joined the Party in 1940. From that time onwards, he devoted his life to organising the Party in U.P. He was the secretary of the U.P. state committee till 1988. Prior to formation of the CPI(M), he was the Secretariat member of the then CPI and a member of the National Council.

Comrade Tewari took keen interest in developing kisan movement and was a member of the Kisan Council of All India Kisan Sabha for several years. He spent about 6 years in jail and worked underground for 2 years. A prolific writer, Comrade Tewari authored several books and pamphlets to popularise Marxism in Hindi.

The Fourteenth Congress pays respectful homage to the memory of Comrade Tewari and sends condolences to the members of the bereaved family.

Comrade Gurcharan Singh Randhawa

The Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep grief over the death of Comrade Gurcharan Singh Randhawa who, at the time of his death, was the secretary of the Punjab State Committee of the Party.

Starting his political activities in mid thirties, Comrade Randhawa started organising the peasants and workers and came to be widely known as a champion of the downtrodden and a builder of Communist movement. His was a life of relentless struggle and building up the Party through all vicissitudes. He was a member of the Kisan Council of the AIKS, secretary of the Punjab unit, and took a leading role in the anti-betterment levy struggle. He was secretary of the Punjab state committee of the Party and was elected to the C.C. in 1978. He spent several years in jail.

A glorious chapter of the life of this indomitable revolutionary was the relentless struggle against secessionism and terrorism in Punjab and against the pernicious demand of Khalistan.

The Fourteenth Congress pays respectful homage to the memory of this devoted Marxist revolutionary and sends sympathies to the members of his family.

Comrade Satwant Singh

The Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) held at Madras from January 3, 1992 expresses its profound sorrow over the death of Comrade Satwant Singh, a staunch freedom-fighter, dedicated Communist and pioneering builder of the Party of Punjab.

Comrade Satwant Singh's life and work is inseparable from the development of the people's movement and growth of the Party in Punjab. He spent several years in jail and worked underground on many occasions. His great qualities, organising abilities and unshakable commitment to Marxism led him to play a key role in the building of the CPI(M) after the split in 1964.

Comrade Satwant Singh became the secretary of the Punjab state Committee and continued to function in that capacity until he was taken ill. He was elected to the C.C. of the Party since 1964. At the time of death he was 73 years old.

The Fourteenth Congress pays its respectful homage to the memory of this veteran comrade and sends heartfelt condolences to members of the bereaved family and his innumerable comrades and friends.

Comrade P.K. Kunjachan

The Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep grief over the sudden and untimely death of Comrade P.K. Kunjachan, a Kerala state Secretariat of the Party and General Secretary of the All India Agricultural Workers' Union.

Beginning his life as an organiser of trade unions and then of the agricultural workers, he soon came to be admired and respected by the toiling people as one of their staunch leaders and had to encounter brutal repression of the police and hired goondas.

Joining the Communist Party in 1947, he took a notable part in fighting revisionism and stood with the CPI(M) after the division. He became a member of the C.C. in 1989. He had the qualities as a revolutionary selfless service to the toiling people and unflinching commitment to Marxism.

The Fourteenth Congress pays its respectful homage to the memory of this valiant Communist revolutionary and sends condolences to the members of his family and uncountable admirers and comrades.

Foreign Comrades

The Fourteenth Congress pays homage to the memory of **Andrei Gromyko**, member of the Polit Bureau of the CPSU, veteran statesman and a former President of the Soviet Union.

Le Duc Tho, close associate of Ho Chi Minh and a legendary leader of the Vietnam Communist Party.

Dolores Ibarruri (La Passionaria), veteran leader of the Spanish Communist Party and a heroine of the Spanish Civil War.

Gian Carlo Pajetta, veteran leader of the Italian Communist Party.

Dada Amir Hyder Khan, one of the founders of the Communist movement in the Indian sub-continent.

Moni Singh, prominent leader of the Communist movement in Bangladesh.

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) dips the red banner in tribute to the memory of the Communists all over the world who have been martyred by the class enemies and repressive regimes. The Congress pays homage to those Communist leaders who passed away during the past three years and records with appreciation their services to the cause of world Socialism.

Fraternal Parties

The Fourteenth Congress pays homage to **S. A. Dange**, **C. Achutha Menon** and **Bishwanath Mukherjee**, prominent leaders of the CPI and the Left movement in the country.

Other Comrades

The Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), held at Madras from January 3 to 9, 1992, puts on record its profound grief over the death of several members of different state committees and leading functionaries. The comrades who died since the Thirteenth Congress include:

Comrade Ratanlal Brahman who died while returning from the Thirteenth Congress in December 1988. He was a stalwart of the Communist movement in the Darjeeling area, and veteran leader of the Party in West Bengal.

Comrade Paritosh Chatterjee, a well-known freedom-fighter and a tireless builder of the Communist and Kisan movements in West Bengal.

Comrade Khudiram Bhattacharya, prominent organiser of the Party and kisan movement in West Bengal and a member of its state committee.

Comrade N.L. Upadhyaya, veteran leader of the Communist movement in Karnataka and a member of the state Secretariat of the Party.

Comrade Dinkar Mehta, a former member of the Central Committee and a veteran leader of the CPI(M) and Communist movement in Gujarat.

Comrade Mohan Singh Jandiala, member of the Punjab state Secretariat, an important leader of the Kisan movement and the CPI(M) in Punjab.

Comrade P. Kannan Nair, a veteran member of the state committee of CPI(M) in Kerala and Managing Director of the Party's Malayalam daily, *Deshabimani*.

Comrade T.P. Muthuswami, one of the organisers of the Kisan movement in Tamil Nadu and a member of the state committee.

Comrade Samarendra Sanyal, leader of the CPI(M) in Nadia district and member of the state committee of West Bengal.

Comrade Kishori Lal, one of the most widely known and universally respected freedom-fighters in Punjab; associate of Bhagat Singh and a leader of the Party.

Comrade A. Narasimha Reddy, member of the Andhra Pradesh state committee and a prominent fighter in the Telangana struggle.

Comrade Subhodh Sen, member of the West Bengal state committee, secretary of the Jalpaiguri District Committee for decades and pioneering leader of the tea-garden workers' organisation.

Comrade Biren De Sarkar, secretary of the Cooch Behar District Committee and a member of the state committee and one of the key organisers of the peasant movement in the region.

Comrade M.K. Kelu (Keluttan), veteran freedom fighter, member of the Kerala state committee, leader of many Kisan and mass struggles.

Comrade Provash Roy, veteran leader of the Party and long time secretary of the 24-Parganas District Committee and a member of the state committee.

Comrade Chacha Shadiram, member of the Delhi state committee, president of the CITU state committee and veteran leader of the working class movement in Delhi.

Comrade Safdar Hashmi, young talented playwright and artiste who was murdered by goondas in Sahibabad near Delhi.

Comrade L.K. Oak, veteran leader of the Party in Maharashtra and a state committee member.

Comrade Anandan Nambiar was prominent builder of trade union movement and of the Party in Tamil Nadu.

Comrade A.B. Sawant, veteran member of the state committee of Maharashtra and long time secretary of the Bombay Committee.

Comrade Mohd. Ismail, member of the West Bengal state committee, president of the CITU state committee and outstanding leader of the working class movement.

Comrade Syed Sahidullah, veteran leader of the Party, member of the West Bengal state committee and editor of *Nandan*, literary journal.

Comrade E. Padmanabhan, member of Kerala state committee of the Party, prominent leader of the State Government employees and trade union movement.

Comrade Sarwan Singh Cheema who fell to terrorist bullets was the General Secretary of the Punjab Kiasan Sabha and a member of the state Secretariat of the Party; a popular leader of the masses.

Comrade O.J. Joseph, Kerala state committee member, veteran leader of the Party in Kerala and prominent trade union leader.

Comrade Dinesh Roy, long-time member of the West Bengal state committee and assistant editor of *Ganashakti*.

This Fourteenth Congress pays its revolutionary homage to the memory of these comrades and sends heartfelt sympathies to the members of the bereaved families and friends, and also hopes that the examples set up by them will be emulated by the younger generations. The entire Party shall cherish their memory and endeavour to carry forward their unfinished tasks.

Homage to Martyrs

The Fourteenth Congress pays its revolutionary homage to the brave martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the cause of national unity, in defence of the Party, the working class and democratic movement in the past three years.

The Congress gratefully records its high appreciation for the valour displayed by the 73 comrades in *Punjab* who laid down

their lives in the bitter struggle against the Khalistani extremists. They have shed their blood in defence of national unity and for the unity of working people in the highest traditions of the Communist movement in the country.

The Congress pays its respectful homage to the 296 martyrs belonging to the Party and mass organisations in West Bengal who sacrificed their lives in the class struggle against the enemies of the people and in defending the cause of the Party and the democratic movement. The Congress pays tribute to the valiant comrades who were martyred in Darjeeling district fighting against the disruptive forces and defending the Red Flag.

The Congress pays tribute to the 222 heroic martyrs of the Party and democratic movement in *Tripura* who were killed in the brutal semi fascist terror launched by the Congress TUJS forces and the coalition Government.

The Congress pays homage to the 74 martyrs of the Party and mass organisations in *Kerala* who were killed in the past three years by the Congress(I), RSS and anti-social elements.

The Congress pays tribute to the memory of the 30 comrades in *Andhra Pradesh* who were killed since the last Party Congress at the hands of the Congress(I), naxalites and landlord goondas.

The Congress pays homage to the memory of the comrades in *Assam* and *Kashmir* who were murdered by the chauvinist and fundamentalist forces for their stand against separatism.

The Congress pays homage to the memory of the martyrs who laid down their lives in *Bihar* in the struggle against landlords and hired anti-socials. The Congress pays homage to the martyrs in other States during this period.

The Congress pays homage to the industrial workers of the *Dalla Cement Factory in Uttar Pradesh* who were killed in the police firing while waging the struggle against the privatisation of their factory.

The Fourteenth Congress dips the red banner in memory of these valiant martyrs. Their supreme sacrifice will forever inspire us to march ahead. The Congress pledges to carry forward the movement they lived and died for. The Congress conveys its heartfelt condolences and warm solidarity with the families of these martyred comrades.

Resolutions Adopted by The Fourteenth Congress of The Communist Party of India (Marxist), held at B.T. Ranadive Nagar, Madras, on January 3-9, 1992*

(a) On Premier Li Peng's Visit to India and Indo-China Relations

The Chinese Premier Li Peng's visit to India in the second week of December last year, the first ever visit by a Chinese Premier to our country after 31 years, was a highly welcome and significant event. The results of the Chinese Premier's and Foreign Minister's discussions and negotiations with their counterparts in India will go a long way to hasten the process of improving relations between these two big neighbouring nations. The question of the border dispute between the two countries still remains to be solved. But now the leaders of both the countries have reiterated that efforts would be made to arrive at an early, mutually acceptable solution to the boundary question through friendly consultations. This Congress of the CPI(M) hails this move.

2. The three agreements on cultural and consular exchanges, immediate restoration of the border trade, and general increase in bilateral trade will create an atmosphere of good neighbourly relations, thus paving the way for the solution of the border dispute. This Congress of the CPI(M) expresses its satisfaction that both the governments have agreed to settle the border problem through negotiations and mutual accommodation. The technological, cultural and trade co-operation will strengthen the South South relations. With the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the East European socialist countries, the Third World requires such strengthening of relations among themselves and the friendships of these two nations will be a great fillip towards such a process.

3. The CPI(M) which consistently advocated such a path of negotiation and settlement, through peaceful means, of all disputes

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with China, has every reason to be immensely gratified with this welcome development.

4. This Congress of the CPI(M) goes on record that India China good neighbourly relations will go a long way in furthering the interests of not only these two countries but also the cause of peace in the region as well as the entire world.

(b) Defend Cuba : Defeat Imperialist Attacks

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) hails the heroic people of Socialist Cuba, who under the leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba, have defended with utmost vigilance and under most adverse conditions, their glorious socialist revolution, against the unrelenting onslaughts of U.S. imperialism.

In the new world situation, emboldened by the collapse of Socialist USSR, and taking advantage of the immense economic difficulties faced by Cuba, U.S. imperialism is making an all out effort to destabilize Socialist Cuba. The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) is confident that the Cuban people, under the tested leadership of the Communist Party will defend Socialist Cuba and defeat that imperialist machinations once again by their own efforts.

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) places on record its unstinting solidarity and support to the Cuban people, and vows to do everything in its capacity to help them defend their Socialist country.

(c) On Korea

The Korean nation and people continue to be divided as a result of a gigantic imperialist fraud. The U.S. imperialism, in accordance with its strategic geo-political interests, continues to keep the nation divided.

The genuine aspirations of the Korean people for peaceful reunification of the nation are suppressed by the inhuman repressive measures of the U.S. backed regime in South Korea.

The Government of the DPR of Korea and the Workers' Party of Korea have, through the years, been taking positive initiatives for a united confederation of the Korean nation. The recent advances made in this direction between the North and the South Korean Governments is heartening.

The U.S. imperialism, in its new found desire to impose its new world order has refused to withdraw its massive military deployment in South Korea until the DPRK permits an inspection of its nuclear installations. The most reasonable proposals made by the DPRK for the withdrawal of U.S. weapons and troops from South Korea as a necessary step for permitting a joint nuclear inspection of both the North and the South is being sabotaged by U.S. imperialism.

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) extends its full support to the initiative taken by the DPRK and the Workers' Party of Korea for the peaceful reunification of the Korean peninsula.

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) hails the efforts being made by the Workers' Party of Korea to uphold Socialism in the DPRK, and Marxism Leninism.

(d) On the Struggle of South African People

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) warmly greets and congratulates the heroic people of South Africa for the victories achieved by them under the leadership of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party. By using all possible forms of struggle, including a sustained armed struggle, and with the solidarity and support extended by democratic forces all over the world, the people of South Africa have succeeded in forcing the racist regime to lift the ban on the ANC, restore some civil rights, negotiate with them on the transition to a democratic non racial South Africa and begin the process of dismantling the hated apartheid system.

The Congress is confident that the people of South Africa, under the leadership of the ANC and the SACP will defeat all machinations of the racist regime and its imperialist friends, who are stubbornly refusing to accept a constituent assembly elected on a 'one person—one vote', principle to oversee the transition. These organisations like the Inkhata and other narrow tribal groupings, are being used to affect a tribal balkanisation in the interests of imperialism. The apartheid regime is also resorting to blatant provocations by ultra-racist white groups, to divide and disrupt the struggle of the African people.

The Congress expresses its wholehearted solidarity with the people of South Africa and their legitimate political representatives, the ANC and SACP.

(e) On Struggle of Palestine People

This Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) held at Madras notes with grave concern and alarm that the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people still continues to be brutally suppressed. Israel, aided and abetted by U.S. imperialism, continues to inflict on the Palestinian people in the occupied territories every conceivable discrimination, robs them of all elementary civil and political rights, plunder and appropriates natural resources, continuously expands areas of resettlement of expatriate Jews and is engaged in drowning in terror and blood the slightest protest. It is the crowning glory of the Palestinian people that all these brutal repressions have not succeeded in breaking their morale or bringing them to submission.

The nonchalant impunity with which Israel has kept trampling underfoot the scores of U.N. resolutions on Palestine and flouting world public opinion is a monument to imperialist double talk and pretentious concern for freedom and human rights. Israel continues to be a very potent source of threat to peace and stability in the Middle East, if not in the whole world.

The peace talks in Madrid were deadlocked because of Israeli intransigence and the subsequent round held in the U.S. was stalemated by Israeli stubbornness to prevent substantive peace issues from being negotiated.

Suppression of the will of the people of Palestine is a reflection of the crippling disabilities that afflict and incapacitated the U.N. when it comes to confronting imperialist conspiracy.

The Congress demands that serious negotiations for the restoration of freedom to the Palestinians be resumed immediately, with the participation of the PLO, so as to enable a free and democratic Palestine to take its place in the comity of nations, and the Palestinians be enabled to shape their own future themselves.

The Fourteenth Congress conveys its warm greetings to the heroic fighters for Palestinian freedom. This Congress calls upon

the Indian people who have stood by the cause of the freedom of the Palestinians to continue to support this cause.

(f) On Economic Policies of Narasimha Rao Government

The Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) denounces the economic policies of Narasimha Rao Government which undermines India's self-reliance and surrender its economic sovereignty to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The repeated pronouncements of the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister and other spokesmen of the minority government make it abundantly clear that whatever limited planning exists is being given the go by and the floodgates have been thrown open to the penetration of the transnational companies in all spheres of India's economic life.

These policies are pushing the country into an unprecedented economic crisis engulfing every aspect of the people's life. Economic stagnation leading to recession, growing unemployment, galloping inflation, mounting poverty and the steady drift into the debt trap, seriously threaten the livelihood of the people and the progress of the nation. The experience of several Latin American countries like Brazil, Mexico and Argentina, which borrowing from the IMF, entered into the debt trap, shows that their economies became subservient to multinational companies.

Despite the promise of bringing down prices in 100 days, the Narasimha Rao Government's economic policies have rather further hiked the prices of essential goods like foodgrains, kerosene, etc., and service charges like electricity tariff and passenger fares; administered prices of cement, coal, petrol and fertilisers have been increased. These measures are eroding the living standards of the workers, toiling people and middle classes. Under the dictates of the IMF, the Rao Government has further initiated a process of slashing subsidies which will only further enhance prices, cost of production and service charges in various sectors. These measures can only lead to closures and retrenchment.

As a result of the drastic devaluation, our exports in the current year have declined in dollar terms, while imports have become costlier resulting in a further ballooning of the trade deficit which

has to be made good by heavy external borrowings. The external debt may soon cross the 100 billion dollar mark in the next financial year itself, and the debt servicing ratio may rise to a preposterous 40 per cent or more. It looks as if the country is heading for yet another spell of foreign exchange crisis in the near future.

The acute foreign exchange shortage that triggered the present crisis, was the logical culmination of the import liberalization and external debt led growth strategy accelerated by the Rajiv Government. The country's dependence on foreign finance was used as a lever by the IMF and the World Bank to dictate terms to the Government. Devaluation of the rupee to the tune of 20 per cent was resorted to, which, in turn, immensely increased India's foreign debt in terms of the rupee, and a rise in prices due to the escalation in the cost of imported goods. The claims of the Finance Minister that this would boost India's foreign exchange earnings have fallen during the last six months, compared to the last year.

Due to costlier imports, several industries have been compelled to reduce production. Even the FICCI memorandum notes that production during the previous six months has declined by 2.5 per cent, compared to the corresponding months of the previous year. The ensuing statement of the Union Finance Minister that 1991-92 would be a year of no growth, clearly indicates that Indian economy is heading towards an unprecedented recession.

These policies of delicensing and liberalization giving freedom to the capitalists to invest as they choose, will inevitably increase uneven development of different regions, while vital sectors of industries with a lower rate of profit will remain undeveloped. By the amendment of the MRTP Act and FERA, the government has given the green signal to big business, both Indian and foreign, to increase their hold on the economy. Big business is now also permitted to purchase up to 24 per cent of the shares in the small-sector, which will result in making this sector subservient to the former. Thus it will hamper the growth of the small scale sector and increase industrial sickness.

The new policy hits the public sector the hardest. Offering 20 per cent of the equity shares in the profit-making public sector enterprises to financial institutions, is a step in the direction of

privatisation. The provision for reference of another group of public sector units to the BIFR will ultimately lead either to their privatisation or their closure. Simultaneously the refusal of the Government of India to give any budgetary support to loss-making public sector units will cripple them financially.

The removal of steel, oil, heavy engineering and power from the core sector is another retrograde step. Manufacture of Rs. 25,000 crore worth of telecom equipment in the private sector, with a high import content, will only cripple the public sector units in this sector, and turn them into sick units. These attacks on the public sector will adversely affect the country's self reliance.

The decision to allow a rise in the equity participation limit of foreign capital in Indian ventures from 40 per cent to 51 per cent, will ensure the full control of multinational companies over the national industries. Further, the deregulation measures and concessions given to foreign capital will increase foreign monopoly penetration into all spheres of our economic activity, which in turn will lead to the ruination of the traditional and rural industries in India.

In the name of reorganisation and restructuring of the country's banking and financial system, the formulations and recommendations of the Narasimham Committee are an undiluted reproduction of the World Bank IMF prescriptions. By mooted the idea of denationalisation of banks through the back door, the enunciated policies of this committee will enormously contribute to further damage of the country's financial system and economy.

The exit policy of the Government of India brings forth the hard reality that sickness and closure of industrial units are now on the agenda. Workers are being robbed of their jobs and livelihood, in exchange offered a mere pittance from the so called National Renewal Fund.

The demand of the landlord lobby for completed decollectivisation, the movement of foodgrains, dismantling of the public distribution system and free play for market forces as incentives for stepping up investment in agriculture, is now being implemented under IMF dictates. Further imports of agricultural products from developed countries is also being allowed which will

adversely affect our agricultural production. Already in nearly 70 per cent of our cultivable land production still depends on the vagaries of the rainfall, while at the same time the land is prone to floods and droughts, small and marginal peasants constituting the overwhelming majority of the peasant population, unless they are provided with infrastructural facilities like irrigation, power, etc., at concessional rates, together with better access to credit, their lot cannot be improved. But instead all subsidies are being cut—on water, electricity, fertilisers—and the rates of the latter are going to be jacked up which again will badly hit this section.

The economic crisis of the country, in fact, with all its consequences, has its basic roots in the failure on the part of the ruling classes, ever since independence, to carry out radical land reforms. Only such drastic land reform measures could have given land to the millions of landless, and unleashed the full potential of the productive forces of society, this could have helped in the all round development of the economy. Now, with the new policies, even the talk of land reforms is given the go by.

Further pressure is being mounted by imperialism on the Government of India to change the country's patent laws and enter into international agreements on trade related services which, too, in turn, will abridge our economic sovereignty and future growth.

With the recessionary trends growing in the developed capitalist countries world imperialism is attempting to pass on its burdens to the Third World countries. The attempts on the part of American imperialism to exert pressure on India under Super 301 Special 301 to give up self reliance, is an instance. In the name of intellectual property rights, India's patent laws are sought to be modified to suit imperialist designs. Conditionalities imposed to prevent India from entering into bilateral agreements with any other country will harm our foreign trade and sovereignty. Research and development in the country will be seriously affected.

The ban on recruitment and the indiscriminate capital intensive modernization are accentuating the drastically falling employment potential in the state and central services.

In order to facilitate the implementation of these policies, the Government is moving towards curtailing the trade union and other democratic rights of the people.

The World Bank and the IMF are now engaged in scrutinizing even the preparation of our annual budget and the monitoring of the implementation of the country's economic policies. Further payment of the loan instalments is linked to implementation of these prescriptions. It is also alarming that U.S. imperialist cooperation has been sought in the matter of defence. If these trends are not checked in time, they would cost India its sovereignty and self-reliance.

Experience has proved that IMF prescriptions are no solution to the country's problems. They will only retard the progress of the country and the people. The Congress rejects the arguments that there is no alternative to save the country. Several prominent economists have come forward with proposals for an alternative economic policy including strict control over imports, seizing of black money, enhancing of direct taxes on the wealthy and improving tax collections, and radical land reforms in favour of poor peasants and agricultural labour, etc., only such measures can save the country from the mire into which it is pushed.

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) congratulates the working class of India for their united strike on November 29, 1991, powerfully demonstrating their opposition to the Government of India's policies. It calls upon the working class, peasantry, agricultural labour, youth, students, women and all other patriotic sections to launch a countrywide united movement to reverse the anti-national and anti-people policies of the Government of India and to defend the economic sovereignty and independence of the country. It directs the Central Committee to chalk out a countrywide plan of action to unleash powerful mass struggles of working class, peasantry, and other toiling people to defeat these policies by bringing together all Left, democratic, secular and patriotic forces in the country.

(g) On the Danger of Communalism

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) expresses its grave concern at the growing menace of communal and fundamentalist forces. The RSS and its allied organisations are running a consistent and virulent campaign, instigating the majority against the minority communities, especially Muslims. The BJP, putting up a pseudo-nationalist secularist posture, is really fanning communal passions in its efforts to garner political dividends, the latest effort being the so called *Ekta Yatra* taken out by them, misusing the national flag also. Besides the Mandir Masjid issue, in the campaign, they are highlighting their demand for the abrogation of Article 370 of the Constitution. The BJP Government's action in U.P. towards the unlawful construction of the Mandir is yet another instance. Their Governments in M.P., U.P. and other states, while pursuing a policy not different from the Congress(I), have acquired notoriety for their anti-minority stances.

The slogan for the abrogation of Article 370, if implemented, will further alienate the people of Kashmir and add grist to the divisive forces there. In the atmosphere of whipped up communal passions in the country, it will again unleash another spell of communal riots.

The BJP, together with the other obscurantist organisations of the majority community, in this propaganda and campaigns, is openly challenging the rule of law. On the Mandir Masjid issue, while mobilizing people for *kar seva* at Ayodhya, they openly violated the court order. Even the BJP ministers, including the Chief Minister were in the forefront for these violations. In the *Ekta Yatra* campaign they are carrying the national flag, again violating all laws pertaining to the use of the national flag. When the minorities are attacked in the BJP ruled states, the governments do not act according to law giving protection to the citizens, irrespective of their religion. The BJP's distortions of history and historical facts to give them a majority communalist orientation is part of its strategy of whipping up communal frenzy. The RSS/BJP infiltration into the administration as well as the influx of retired officials and ex general into these communal organisations, make the situation exceedingly perilous.

It is significant that the BJP and its allied organisations are at these vicious campaigns when the Narasimha Rao Government, succumbing to the pressure of the World Bank and the IMF, has unleashed an all round attack on the people's living standards and on the economic sovereignty of the country. Popular protest against these anti national and anti-people policies is acquiring momentum as seen in the November 29 all India strike. While opposing the strike, the BJP extended its support to the Narasimha Rao Government. It is ominous that the RSS chief has openly given a call to his own ranks and also to the BJP and other allied organisations to join forces with the Congress(I) and to support the Narasimha Rao Government.

The CPI(M) will firmly defend the rights of the minorities and protect them from the inhuman communal riots. The discrimination practised in the Congress(I) and BJP ruled states against the Muslim minority in education, jobs, social security measures etc. should be put an end to. Feelings of insecurity and discrimination among the Muslim minority are used by fundamentalist leaders to wean them away from the common democratic and class movements, resulting in the exclusiveness of these masses. In the name of religion they deprive women of equality. The CPI(M) is opposed to all forms of religious obscurantism, fundamentalism and communalism which disrupt the common interests and unity of the people and the country.

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) appeals to the entire democratic and secular forces in the country to oppose and stem the spread of communal forces. The Congress calls upon all the class and mass organisations and democratic parties to resist the communal forces firmly and uphold communal harmony and the secular character of the nation.

(h) On Growing Atrocities and Discrimination against Women

The Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) views with grave concern the growing violence against women, widening inequality and discrimination and increasing social oppression of women.

The ghastly increase in violence against women is evidenced by the fact that, according to official reports, in just 10 months

from January to October 1991, there have been 2448 dowry deaths, 5916 rapes and 12,902 instances of molestation of women in our country. Of late, kidnapping of women, raping of adolescent girls and even forcibly sending women abroad for immoral purposes have been on the increase.

Growing criminalization of politics and political patronage to such criminals by the ruling circles have been an important cause for the spurt in crimes against women. Rape is also being increasingly used as a political weapon against the oppressed sections as seen in Tripura, where women have been raped or molested for being supporters of the CPI(M); the number of such cases has gone up to 223. Custodial rape by the police and paramilitary forces has also increased. Rape and molestation of scheduled caste and tribal women have increased in a big way. The Government's callousness in this regard is expressed by the fact that only 3 per cent of the prosecutions ended in conviction, 97 per cent of the criminals going scot-free, according to a latest police research study. Social oppression and violence on women has reached a point wherein new technologies are being used for sex-determination tests and subsequent abortion of the female foetus. Sexual assault on women at workplaces is also becoming a serious problem. This Congress strongly condemns these atrocities and brutalities against women.

This Congress of the CPI(M) views with grave concern the growing discrimination against and denial of employment opportunities to women. The Government of India is the worst culprit in this regard. In the public sector, women account for only 12 per cent of the employed, and in the central services a paltry 5.8 per cent. Even in these limited opportunities, discrimination is more in the decision making posts of administrative and judicial services. In state Legislatures and Parliament also, their representation is poor. With the new economic policies pursued by the Narasimha Rao Government, there will be not only further shrinkage in employment opportunities for women, but the axe of retrenchment will fall heavily on them.

This Congress of the CPI(M) wishes to point out that the situation is pushing most women into the unorganised sector involving

sweated labour, with no guaranteed income, no laws to protect them. The condition of rural women is worse still, with 40 per cent of the agricultural workforce being women, suffering extremely hard labour, low wages, discrimination in wages between men and women, and with absolutely no effective welfare legislation.

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) considers that land reforms and land re distribution, backed by financial assistance for cultivation and joint pattas, will go a long way in relieving rural women from their present misery. This Congress of the CPI(M) demands not only protective legislation for women, but also adequate financial allocations at the planning level itself, for its strict implementation.

This Congress of the CPI(M) wishes to go on record that even 40 years after independence, the status of women has further deteriorated. The work done by women is not socially recognised and they are still considered a burden. They continue to be deprived of the right of equal inheritance to property. The various women's organisations in the country are fighting against old custom like dowry, child-marriage, purdah system etc., and for property rights. This Congress of the CPI(M) not only supports their demands but also declares its solidarity with all their struggles.

This Congress notes with high appreciation the implementation of land reforms by the Left Front Government of West Bengal, which not only helps in raising the status of rural women, but also opened up avenues for employment, increased their social awakening and provided economic relief. This Congress congratulates the Left Front Government of West Bengal, and the erstwhile LDF Government of Kerala, for ensuring proper representation for women in village panchayats onwards (as in West Bengal) and district councils (as in Kerala). It is gratifying to note that there were hardly any instances of atrocities on Harijans and women, under the Left Front Government in West Bengal, the former Left Front Government in Tripura and the LDF Government in Kerala.

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) strongly protests against the continued refusal by the Congress(I) Government at the Centre

to implement the "National Commission for Women Act" which was unanimously passed by Parliament during the National Front Government. The recent announcement by the Narasimha Rao Government appointing a "Commissioner for Women's Rights" directly under the Government, simultaneously with the constitution of a "Women's Commission", is most deceptive. This Congress of the CPI(M) considers that the proposed appointment of a women's commissioner, is meant to undermine, curtail and sabotage the powers and functions of the autonomous commission for women proposed by the Act.

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) wholeheartedly supports the unanimous demands of major women's organisations for scraping the Government's proposal for the appointment of the said commissioner of women's rights. It demands the immediate constitution of the National Commission for Women as envisaged by the Act of Parliament.

The Congress calls upon all the women's organisations to further strengthen their unity to achieve their demands and to secure equality in society.

The Congress of the CPI(M) calls upon all its units to actively help the democratic women's movement which is essential for stimulating progressive social changes and widening the democratic movement.

(i) On Punjab Election

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) expresses its deep concern at the killings of thousands of innocent citizens in Punjab leading to the migration of people to other parts of the country.

The CPI(M) has consistently fought against the nefarious game of the secessionist forces, backed by imperialism, to divide the country, and in this heroic struggle hundreds of our comrades have sacrificed their lives. This saga of heroic struggle continues.

Our Party has always stood for a political solution to the problem. Instead of learning the lessons of its disastrous policies in Punjab, the ruling party has always been approaching this issue from the point of view of law and order and of petty partisan political considerations.

The Congress of the CPI(M) welcomes the decision of the Central Government to hold elections to the Punjab Assembly. To ensure free and fair elections it is necessary to create an atmosphere wherein the people can exercise their franchise without fear.

The Fourteenth Congress is firmly of the view that the objective of isolating and defeating the game of secessionists can only be achieved by carrying out resolute and firm political measures. Only such measures can strengthen the democratic and moderate sections among the Akalis who are interested in preserving national unity. In particular, steps for the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab, for an amicable settlement of the river waters dispute, territorial disputes and other such pressing problems are urgently required, and Haryana should be compensated for constructing its capital. These are steps committed to by the Government in the Rajiv Longowal Accord. Without these steps elections will not bring the desired results and will fail to involve the masses in the political process.

Now the elections are to be held in February. The Government and the people have to remain vigilant and alert against all sinister attempts by the terrorists to step up violence.

This Congress appeals to all political parties interested in defending national unity and defeating secessionism, to come forward to join the democratic process and to press for a political solution so that the process can be started for creating normalcy.

The Fourteenth Congress calls upon all sections of the people to unite to establish conditions suitable for the conduct of free and fair elections and to isolate and defeat the secessionist forces.

(j) On Cauvery Water Dispute

The Fourteenth Party Congress of the CPI(M) expresses its grave concern at the recent attacks on linguistic minorities in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. What started as a dispute between four states and particularly between Karnataka and Tamil Nadu for equitable distribution of the Cauvery waters, has led to intense bitterness between the two people, attacks on Tamils and some Malayalees in Karnataka, followed by attacks on Kannada speaking people in Tamil Nadu in the border areas. These events have led to deaths, destruction of property and migration of

minorities heaping a lot of miseries on innocent people. The failure of the Karnataka Government to stop these attacks at this stage, and the indifference of the Government of India to these developments, have contributed to the aggravation of conflicts and tension. The CPI(M) extends its sympathies to all the people who have suffered during these developments.

The Congress of the CPI(M) is seriously concerned at the new threat posed to the country's unity by these developments. It has been and continues to be consistent position of the CPI(M) that on issues such as equitable distribution of inter state river water, inter state boundaries within the Indian Union, etc., can be resolved only with the full understanding and willing cooperation between the people of the concerned states. This can be done by patient and persistent negotiation between concerned states. That is why, in order to avoid the present unfortunate developments, as well as to foster a peaceful settlement, the CPI(M) has been demanding time and again, following the publication of the Interim Award of the Tribunal, that the Centre should take the initiative to call all the parties to the dispute for a dialogue and settlement. This Congress of the CPI(M) is of the firm opinion that the failure on the part of the Central Government, has been the major cause of the present unfortunate developments.

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) demands that the Centre give up its procrastination and drift, and urgently initiate a dialogue between the States for a settlement. This Congress demands that the Karnataka Government take strong measures to protect the life and property of the victims, take such urgent measures as to create conditions of confidence and security to enable the tens of thousands of Tamils to return to their homes and carry on their avocations of life. This Congress of the CPI(M) calls upon the Tamil Nadu Government to take all steps to prevent any retaliatory attacks on the Kannada speaking minorities in Tamil Nadu, give adequate compensation to those already affected and take all measures to bring back all those who have migrated to Karnataka. This Congress calls upon both the Karnataka and Tamil Nadu Governments to prosecute all those who indulge in the attacks and vandalism during the recent events.

The Congress of the CPI(M) calls upon all the political parties, organisations and individuals to refrain from making statements or actions that may worsen the present situation.

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) earnestly appeals to all the people of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu to remain calm against any provocations, restore and carry forward the friendship and fraternity between both the peoples, in the interest of a peaceful settlement of the dispute, as well as protection of national unity.

(k) On Centre-State Relations

The Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) reaffirms its view that, for the unity and integrity of the country, a federal constitutional structure is absolutely necessary, and strong states are the foundations on which a strong Centre and a strong country can be built. Yet, ever since the independence of the country, successive Indian Governments have tended to concentrate power in their hands—in political, administrative and economic spheres—and have, thereby, throttled the development of states by keeping them weak, anaemic and devoid of power. Their administration has been controlled through all India cadres, fiscal power for autonomous mobilisation of resources has been denied, more and more items have been transferred from the 'State' list to the 'Concurrent' list, residual powers have been reserved for the Centre, while, through a recent legislation, efforts had been made to establish a direct link between the Centre and the district administration, bypassing the State Government, in the name of decentralisation. Para military forces move in and out of the states without the consent, or even the knowledge, of the State Governments in many cases, and the recent 59th Amendment even permits the Central Government to deploy the army in a state without the consent of the concerned State Government.

Article 356 remains hanging like a Damocles' sword over the heads of State Governments led by opposition parties, as more than 90 such Governments have been dismissed by using this authoritarian constitutional device, while Governors have been repeatedly used, in blatant partisan manner, as henchmen of the ruling party to plot, subvert and bring down a State Government

by engineering defection. The constitutional provision for an Inter State Council, for resolving Centre State issues, was totally ignored for four decades until the installation of the National Front Government, while even the very modest and limited recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission rectify the abuses with regard to the role of the Government and Article 356, have not implemented.

In the economic sphere, State Governments which are under constitutional obligation to meet various basic needs of the people, are being deprived of the fiscal autonomy required for fulfilling this task. On the contrary, by raising more of resources from outside the divisible pool, e.g., surcharge on income tax, corporate tax, etc., by taking away the rights of the states to improve sales tax on items such as sugar, textile, and tobacco, by ignoring the demand for consignment tax, by increasingly relying on administrative prices for mobilising resources, which need not be shared with the states, and more recently by diverting savings away from small savings, a major source of finance of the State Governments, through such unilateral measures, the Central Government is forcing the states into an international debt trap. Now many states are paying out more to the Centre for meeting debt obligations than the Plan assistance they receive in a particular year, thus reducing the states to a status of a abject dependence.

Various State Governments, formed by diverse political parties, and elected on the basis of their own electoral pledges and manifestoes, are not being given the opportunity to redeem their pledges and meet their constitutional obligations by autonomously raising resources from within their own state boundaries, because of such severe limitations on their powers as also the control exercised by the Central Government over them in terms of issuing of licences, allocation of credits from major financial institutions and assistance from the Planning Commission. Repeated demands from all the states, voiced in the meetings of the National Development Council for power, autonomy and authority, have been ignored, as also the demands to transform the Planning Commission, an appendage of the Central Government, into a constitutional body with autonomous status. Such a high degree

of concentration of power has also aggravated separatist tendencies in some parts of the country, as the forces opposed to the unity and integrity of the country are seizing the opportunity to mobilise popular discontent. The Congress demands the immediate strengthening of the federal structure in the Indian Constitution, and consequent drastic redistribution of power between the Centre and the States in line with the recommendations of the Kashmir conclave.

(I) On Rising Imperialist Pressures On India

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) views with serious concern the steadily rising pressures of imperialism, especially American imperialism, on India, and the strong tendency of the Government of India to succumb to such pressures.

During the West Asian war, the Chandra Shekhar Government gave evidence of this in providing fuelling facilities in India for American warplanes. The sliding back from our traditional policy of non-alignment has gathered momentum under Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao. The culmination of this was the Rao Government's support to the U.S. resolution exonerating Zionism from racism. In response to this new found expression of alignment with imperialism, a high-power military mission from the U.S. is to visit India shortly under the leadership of Lt. General Corns, who commands the U.S. forces in the Pacific area.

Recently, expelled from Philippines the USA is trying to establish its air and naval base in Singapore. President Bush's visit to Singapore and other eastern countries is connected with these moves, and they have allotted a special slot for India in the revised scheme of American military presence in the Asia-Pacific region.

It is the acceptance of IMF conditionalities that has strengthened these harmful shifts in policies. The preconditions for granting the loan, which concerns various aspects of our economic life and administration, have already begun to exert heightened inflation, accelerating the crisis in industry, and snowballing unemployment, etc., directly flow from the implementation of the IMF preconditions.

This surrender to U.S. and imperialist pressures is naturally followed by a larger influence of U.S. media efforts both on our

print and Government run electronic media. The recent opening of a centre for expanded operations of the American Cable News Network (CNN) has far reaching consequences for our Doordarshan, already bombarded by Western propaganda materials.

The newly declared plan of the I&B Ministry for establishment of a second TV channel with satellite assistance under private or joint sector corporations, points to the possibility of greater U.S. influence in these bodies. The Government of India which still refuses to implement the Prasar Bharati Act and allow a second channel to the states, goes ahead with a privately influenced second channel for which a sum of Rs.224 crore has been set apart.

Our Government media already known for purveying revivalist and obscurantist forces, will sink deeper in the mire with the pernicious U S propaganda and decadent culture. This new found fascination for the U.S. is throwing its shadow over our universities and cultural bodies which are being systematically penetrated by foreign imperialist ideas and personnel.

On the whole we perceive a systematic retreat of the Government of India from hitherto pursued foreign, defence, information and cultural policies. The policies of non alignment and opposition to imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism, which brought international prestige and Third World affection for our country, are being systematically reversed. The reversal of these policies helps the imperialists who engineer secessionist elements and seek the balkanisation of our country. They abet and patronise all types of religious fundamentalism and the communal virus which threaten the fabric of our national unity and identity. The Fourteenth Congress of CPI(M) appeals to all patriotic and nationalist forces and elements to raise their united voice against this dangerous drift.

(m) On Closure of B & C Mills

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) expresses its grave concern over the continued closure of the B & C Mills in Madras City, even 10 months after the illegal lock out.

This Congress notes that the state Government of Tamil Nadu had publicly committed itself to re opening the mills, whose major

finances were controlled by Government financial institutions. It is regrettable to note that the State Government has not even prosecuted the employer, even after declaring the lock out illegal.

This Congress demands that the State Government of Tamil Nadu carry out its commitment and re open the mills forthwith. This Congress extends its warm solidarity with the united and determined struggle of the 8000 B & C mill workers and their families.

(n) On Police Atrocities in Kerala

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the growing police atrocities in Kerala under the Congress(I) led UDF Government.

The UDF Government, since its assumption of office six months ago in Kerala, has engaged in administrative and legislative attacks on the democratic bodies like district councils and other elected institutions. The concessions and privileges enjoyed by the student community are curtailed. Police repression has become a daily affair throughout the state. Even the elected representatives, including MPs and MLAs, and also some sections of the ruling front, are not spared. Thousands of false cases, with serious charges such as attempt to murder, etc, have been fostered on several thousands active cadres and mass leaders of the Party. Attacks on women, looting of shops and houses and Party and trade union offices have become the order of the day. The five-hour attack on the AKG centre, the prestigious memorial to A.K. Gopalan in Thiruvananthapuram, which houses the Kerala state office of the CPI(M), by the police under the directions of the Karunakaran Government, shows the seriousness of the situation. Never in the history of Kerala have people experienced such police atrocities.

During the last six months, the Congress(I) BJP RSS goondas have been attacking the activities of the CPI(M) and other constituents of the LDF; many have been murdered.

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) appeals to all the democratic forces in the country to unitedly resist such growing authoritarian trends and strengthen the struggle to safeguard democratic rights.

(o) On Immediate Problems of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

The Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) views with great concern the continuous attacks on people belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the inhuman atrocities perpetrated upon them in many parts of the country. The heinous crimes which are committed against them have tarnished the image of the nation.

The facts as revealed from the periodic reports of the Commission for the Welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and from the replies put forward by the concerned ministers in Parliament, show that several thousands of them are brutally murdered every year, grievous injuries are perpetrated upon a huge number of them, their dwelling huts are burnt down in large numbers, their women are sexually tortured in unimaginable number, and in spite of the decorative prevalence of prevention of untouchability Acts and protection of civil rights Acts, they are suffering from the inhuman centuries old social practice of untouchability even now.

Even the provision for reservation in services, educational institutions, economic activities, etc, have not solved their real problems. The basic solution is connected with genuine land reforms. Eightyfive per cent of the working population of Scheduled Caste and eightythree per cent of the Scheduled Tribes, according to last census, are agricultural workers, share-croppers or small peasantry. Less than seven per cent of the total cultivated land of the country is in their possession, though these two communities as such are principally dependent on agriculture. Without radical land reforms, without distributing land to them by fully abolishing landlordism, their real problems can never be solved.

The tribal people for historic reasons and by their tradition, have a life and death relationship with their forests. But continuously they are being mercilessly deprived of their past rights on forests and they fall victim to the avarice of dishonest bureaucrats, greedy contractors, money lenders and businessmen.

The repeated gruesome and inhuman attacks on these sections in various parts of the country, by goondas belonging to the upper

astes and the rich landlords prove that even after fortyfive years of independence, the sway of landlordism and upper caste bigotry continues in vast parts of rural India. The Congress Governments, in spite of much talk of uplift of these sections, have totally failed in even implementing the declared welfare measures. Parties like the BJP, representing as they do the rich upper strata, have also failed, and are not interested in taking effective steps for the uplift of these sections. Even the parties and organisations which champion the cause of these sections fail to emphasise the need for land reforms.

This Congress is proud to note that the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Welfare has recorded that there were hardly any crimes committed against the scheduled castes and tribes under the Left Front Government in West Bengal and Tripura, and Left and Democratic Front Government in Kerala. This is due to the political will of these Governments.

This Congress is happy to note that the Left Front in West Bengal has distributed more than nine lakh acre of vested land to 19 lakh poor peasants and 12 lakh of them are scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, though they together constitute twentyseven per cent of the State's population. Similarly, from economic development and various measures like protecting the interests of share-croppers, agricultural workers, marginal peasantry and fishermen community, it is mostly the scheduled castes and scheduled tribe people, who have benefitted. Similar steps including the protection of the interests of shifting cultivators(*jhumias*) in Tripura, had been taken during the Left-Front Government. In the same way, the Left and Democratic Government in Kerala, through various measures, along with land reforms, had brought the lot of these people higher. As a result of these measures their social prestige in these States has been highly upgraded.

The age old traditions of the tribal culture as well as their language are being continuously neglected, attacked and suppressed, causing serious resentment and frustration in the minds of tribal people. In this respect as well, the just and appropriate

measures taken by the Left Front Governments of West Bengal and Tripura have set an illustrious example before the people. Overcoming numerous difficulties, spectacular achievements have been made in maintaining reservation in services for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for their educational development in Tripura and Kerala, when there were Governments under the leadership of the CPI(M) and by the Left Front Government in West Bengal in order to guarantee the economic, social and cultural development of the tribal people, the Autonomous District Council was formed in Tripura by the Left Front Government, comprising the tribal predominant contiguous areas. The same principle should be followed wherever a similar situation exists.

During the National Front Government under V.P. Singh, the Constitution was amended to provide for a constitutionally empowered Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and high hopes were generated that some justice would be done to them. But the constitution of the said commission has not yet been completed.

The Congress demands that determined efforts be made for speedy implementation of the provisions of the various legislations for the protection and uplift of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It demands that stern and exemplary punishment should be given to persons indulging in anti social actions and crimes against the SC and ST people. The provisions for reservation in the services, education institutions, etc, should be properly implemented. The Commission for SC/ST should be properly and immediately constituted and begin functioning without delay. The Congress demands that all efforts should be made to protect, develop and enrich the positive aspects of the tradition and culture of the tribal people. Above all the Congress demands drastic land reforms which will really and substantially lead to their uplift.

This Congress of the CPI(M) appeals to all democratic sections and parties in the country to come forward to defend the rights and interests of these sections without any hesitation. It calls upon the members of the CPI(M) and the mass organisations to work actively among these sections for their advancement and integrating them into the mainstream of the Left and democratic movement in India.

(p) On Semi-Fascist Terror in Tripura

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) expresses its strong indignation at the increased attacks and violation of the rule of law in Tripura.

In Tripura where the Congress(I) TUJS coalition ministry captured power by falsifying the elections, the semi fascist terror let loose has no parallel anywhere in the country. since February 1988, hundreds of CPI(M) cadres and supporters have been killed by armed gangs owing allegiance to the Congress(I) TUJS, under the direct protection of the police and the administration; as many as 222 cadres and activists of the CPI(M) and Left parties have been brutally murdered. Cases of rape, gang rape, molestation, and murder of women after rape and gang rape has now become an almost everyday affair in this jungle raj. The findings of the one man commission, appointed by the Supreme Court of India to enquire into the heinous incident of Ujan Maidan, under Khowai Sub-division, categorically states and confirms that in Ujan Maidan, a number of tribal mothers and sisters were raped, gang raped and molested by a section of the Assam Rifles jawans. The commission further commented that instead of bringing the culprits to book the coalition government of Tripura tried its level best to protect them.

During the last four years, five elections have taken place including two Lok Sabha elections, two Assembly by elections and the last elections to the Tripura Tribal Autonomous District Council; all these elections were violently rigged, mainly with the help of armed Congress(I) anti social elements, with the connivance of the police and the administration.

A new type of terror started after the defeat of the Left Front in the Tripura Tribal Autonomous District Council elections. Forcible political conversion of CPI(M) supporters and their enlistments as Congress(I) men had started. Those who refused to submit had to leave their houses, as a result their properties, worth crores of rupees, were looted and destroyed, and their womenfolk left to the mercy of the murder gangs. The Congress(I) anti-social elements declared a large part of the state as their occupied territory where all CPI(M) activities were totally prohibited. Scores of offices of the CPI(M) and its mass organisations have been forcibly occupied

and some burnt down. Thousands of supporters have had to take shelter in neighbouring states, and others in relief camps. The Muslim minorities, the government teachers and employees and the Scheduled Castes, who are largely supporters of the CPI(M), were targetted the most.

The anti tribal policies of the Congress(I) made the Tripura Tribal Autonomous District Council the priority target of attack of the coalition ministry. Tripura, which was once a tribal state with 71 per cent of tribal population, has now been reduced to a state with 21 per cent tribals. With Bangladesh on three sides of the state, in the last four years Tripura has been swamped by illegal Bangladeshi immigrants whose number now exceeds three lakhs. The coalition ministry has refused to protect the Tribal Autonomous District Council which is now being intruded by these Bangladeshi foreigners. This has resulted in frustration among the tribal minorities whose identity is further in danger.

The biggest casualty in Tripura, as mentioned above, is the issue of democratic rights. The Constitution, fundamental rights, including parliamentary rights, the right to vote and the right to life have been put in serious jeopardy. After the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, an orgy of violence was unleashed. No less than two thousand houses and shops were burnt down and more houses ransacked and looted, all belonging to CPI(M) supporters, and all happened in the presence of the police. During the last Assembly elections to the Agartala constituency, faced by a probable defeat of the Congress(I), the candidate of the BJP was murdered. This climaxed in the terror of the Congress(I) TUJS Government. Tripura's fight for restoration of democracy only warns the country against the threat to parliamentary democracy all over the country. Therefore, the Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) appeals to the entire people of the country to stand by the people of Tripura to express their solidarity.

Greetings from Fraternal Parties Abroad Sent to The Fourteenth Congress of The Communist Party of India (Marxist)*

(a) Communist Party of China

On the occasion of the opening of the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China wishes to extend warm congratulations to you for the successful convening of the Congress and, through the Congress, to extend great respects to all members of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

The Communist Party of India (Marxist), which has a glorious historical tradition, is an influential political force in Indian society. For decades, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has adhered to Marxism and Leninism, and made unremitting efforts and positive contributions to the struggles for safeguarding India's independence, protecting people's democratic rights, promoting India's economic development, improving people's living conditions and maintaining peace in Asia and the world.

There exists profound friendship between the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of India (Marxist). In recent years, the existing friendship between our two Parties has witnessed a new development. The Communist Party of China attaches great importance to the friendship between our two Parties and appreciates the positive role played by the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in promoting the development of the Sino-Indian relations. We wish to make joint efforts with the CPI(M) comrades in consolidating and developing the relations between our two Parties, promoting the improvement and development of the Sino Indian relations and safeguarding peace in Asia and the world.

*Published in the compilation of 14th Party Congress Documents in June 1992

May the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) be a complete success.

May the Communist Party of India (Marxist) achieve new progress.

The Central Committee

(b) Communist Party of Vietnam

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam would like to convey to the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) its warmest greetings and wish the Congress fine success.

Your Congress is of special importance. It is held at a time when great changes are taking place in the world situation and the forces of Socialism, national independence, democracy, peace and progress are undergoing many difficulties and trials.

We firmly believe that after this Congress, your Party will continue to march forward and make greater contributions to the cause of independence, national integrity and prosperity of India as well as to the common struggle of people in Asia and the world for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

May the solidarity, friendship and cooperation between our two Parties and two people be further consolidated and developed.

With Communist greetings,

*The Central Committee
Communist Party of Vietnam*

(c) Communist Party of France

The Communist Party of France is happy to send its fraternal greetings to the Communist Party of India (Marxist) on the occasion of its Fourteenth Congress.

We are following with attention and interest the activity of your Party and the struggles that you have unleashed in India for change, amelioration of the conditions of life of your people and the preservation of national independence. Although the imperialist forces are using the upheavals in the USSR and other socialist countries in Europe to their profit, attempting to reinforce the political and military

domination over the rest of the world, and the pillage of the planet, it is very important that in a great country as attached to its national independence as India is, the revolutionary democratic forces, the forces of change, refuse to surrender, and have decided to raise again the new defence of our time, in order to change the social system. We depend on this for strength and encouragement in our own struggle.

Regarding ourselves, it is more necessary than ever to wait for the construction of a new world economic and political order, opposed to the domination of the world by a few rich countries. This domination is harmful both to the people of developing countries as well as those of the developed capitalist countries. It is equally pregnant with danger for the peace and ideological equilibrium of the planet. This is the reason why we stand for active solidarity with all forces which, in the diversity, are agitating in favour of a new international order based on peace, democracy and the cooperation between independent, free and equal people.

For its part, the Communist Party of France has for the past many years, condemned Stalinism and its crimes, and rejected all ideas of any "model" for Socialism. The Communist Party of France has expressed its fundamental divergence from the conception of Socialism that prevailed in the USSR, and drawn lessons for itself from this unhappy experience, the crisis and the reversals that have taken place.

Profoundly attached to our Communist ideal, and defence of the independence of our country, we have proposed to our people that they themselves construct a democratic, autonomous Socialism, corresponding to their own needs. In this connection, we are agitating to develop popular intervention, and favour all manner of action, struggle, solidarity on the largest possible scale at the national and international level. At the European level particularly, we are opposing the establishment of a Europe ruled by capital dominated by the American, German and Japanese bourgeoisie on the contrary, are struggling for a people's Europe based on respect for the independence of each and the development of cooperation.

Reaffirming the interest, we hold in the development of cooperation between our two Parties, we wish you, dear comrades, all success in the unfolding of the work of your Congress.

Central Committee

(d) Social Democracy of Poland

On the occasion of the Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) to be held at Madras, we wish to convey our cordial greetings and best wishes to the delegates and all the members of your Party. We want to assure you about the respect which the CPI(M) enjoys among the members of our Party, and generally in Poland, for its struggle for national unity, against separatism and communalism, for its firm defence of democracy, economic sovereignty and its serving the interests of working people. We are convinced that the Fourteenth Congress will mark an important landmark in the history of your Party and will adopt documents which will contribute to the bright future of the people of great India, democracy, Socialism and progress.

We send the Congress our greetings.

*Supreme Council
Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland*

(e) Workers' Party of Korea

The Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea extends warm congratulations to the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), and through it friendly greetings to the entire membership of your Party.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) has made active efforts in the past to strengthen international solidarity in the struggle to champion the interests of the masses of the working people, and to build Socialism and peace against imperialism.

We are sure that the Congress of your Party will be greatly conducive to consolidating the Party, effecting closer ties between the Party and the masses of the working people and to strengthening unity with the world progressive forces.

We are convinced that the friendly and cooperative relations which happily exist between our two Parties will be further cemented and developed in the days ahead, according to the ideas of independence, peace and friendship and sincerely wish great successes to the Fourteenth Congress of your Party.

Central Committee

(f) Communist Party of Cuba

On the occasion of the Fourteenth Congress of your Party, we send you our most fraternal and militant greetings.

In this complex time in which we are living, when some have laid down the banners of the revolutionary struggle and the banner of Socialism, and pay tribute to the capitalist society the Cuban people and its Party will fight and defend with their blood, if necessary, the accomplishments made during more than three decades of revolutionary powers.

The yankee imperialists do not forgive us for this challenge they do not forgive us for our tenacity and determination. We will have very difficult days ahead, days of great sacrifices, and we can say that this is the worst time our Revolution has ever faced. However, they will not be able to defeat a people that is willing to fight. Cuba will never again be a colony of imperialism, nor will it return to capitalism.

We inform you about our unyielding decision, knowing beforehand that you, who are also fighting for an ideal which is possible to achieve, will understand and support us.

Wishing you the greatest success in your work at the Congress we reiterate our congratulations.

Central Committee

(g) Communist Party of Sri Lanka

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka on behalf of all Sri Lankan Communists, sends its warmest revolutionary greetings to the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

Your Congress assumes great importance as it is being held in the background of complex and critical international developments. It is particularly so in view of the major setbacks suffered by Socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The world balance of forces has changed in favour of imperialism. The developments have adverse effects on the other socialist countries and for the forces of peace and democracy, particularly in the Third World countries.

On the national scene in India, you are facing a growing menace of communal and fundamentalist forces in serious proportions, also a serious threat to national unity, democracy and secularism.

As a consistent defender and champion of national unity and a staunch fighter against communalist, fundamentalist and separatist forces, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has played a significant role during the period under review by your Congress. All these developments demand closer unity in the ranks of Communists and further cooperation with the other Left and radical forces.

Our Party highly appreciates your relentless efforts in the struggle to build Left unity and increase its strength, influence and prestige which is the only guarantee to defend democracy, national unity and people's gains.

We are convinced that the Fourteenth Congress will provide you with the opportunity to discuss some issues of both theory and practice, in depth, and bring about more and new victories in your struggle ahead. We express our deep appreciation of your Party's role in the efforts made by it for strengthening the traditional relations between our two countries.

Our Party takes this opportunity to reiterate our conviction, commitment and desire to strengthen further the bonds of fraternal relations between our two Parties.

We express our confidence that notwithstanding all setbacks and reverses to Socialism, we shall be able to overcome present difficulties, drawing the necessary lessons from the experiences of the former socialist countries.

(h) Communist Party of Nepal

We hereby feel pleasure to send hearty greetings for the success of the Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M). It has great importance and responsibility to lead the Communist movement, particularly in South Asia. In view of this, we ever feel to have your fraternal suggestions regularly to our Party for defeating revisionist and anti-Communist forces in our country and abroad. The Congress would give a new impetus for consolidating and championing the cause of the Communist movement and Socialism and world over. In

our view it is taking place at a critical time when the revisionist and reactionary forces, in chorus, are making a hue and cry to declare the collapse of Communism in the globe. In our country too, the CPN (UML) took a capitalist reformist line declaring its strategic programme as Bahudaliya Janabad (multi party democracy) in place of 'New Democracy'. We are tooth and nail fighting this opportunist line. We have been ever standing for the 'New Democratic Programme' as our objective.

Wishing a grand success of your Party Congress.

P.N. Chaudhari

Convener

*Preparatory Committee for the National Conference,
Communist Party of Nepal*

(i) Portuguese Communist Party

The Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party greets warmly and fraternally the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and through its delegates all Communists and the people of India.

We follow with much interest the political activity of the CPI(M) to defend the interests of the workers and the people of India. This activity has given it an important prestige which is evidenced in governing the West Bengal and Kerala States.

The struggle of the CPI(M) and other Left forces for the establishment of a democratic and Left wing Government which may prevent the sliding towards the right, replying to the aspirations of the people in India and giving a new vitality to the India's non-alignment policy, promoting a peace and cooperation policy, is highly valued by the Portuguese Communists.

In the new international situation marked by the dismantling of the USSR, following the collapse of the socialist states of the centre and East Europe, new difficulties will be put to the Communists and other revolutionaries in their struggle for social progress and Socialism.

Taking advantage of its military potential, U.S. imperialism is trying to impose its hegemony, in spite of facing an ever more serious recession on the economic level.

The European block embodied in the EEC, starting from its economic integration, is trying to recast the foundations of a new military political bloc.

In spite of the important measures on the nuclear disarmament level, the armament race goes on with the intervention of imperialism in the regional conflicts threatening peace in the world.

The situation in the Third World countries is worsening also for reasons resulting from a profoundly unjust economic orders.

In this momentous situation an important role belongs to the Communists.

In Portugal, the Communists are facing an enormous campaign aiming to divide, weaken and destroy the PCP. Encouraged by the defeats of Socialism in the present situation, the PCP's enemies are trying to break the important influence of the PCP on the masses.

However, paying attention to past experience, being open to what is new, renewing itself through the hard struggle to improve its action on behalf of the workers and the people in Portugal, the PCP firmly keeps its identity and relies on the rightness of its ideals which inspired generations of Communists for more than one century.

Facing the Right wing policy of the present Government, the PCP is engaged in the struggle for an advanced democracy on the threshold of the 21st century, and for its project of a socialist society, free from exploitation of man by man.

Conscious of the challenges that the Communists are facing all over the world, the PCP defends the strengthening of solidarity and cooperation between all Communist Parties and revolutionary forces in order to make the hegemonic plans of the imperialism recede.

Wishing the best success to the Fourteenth Congress, the PCP expresses its willingness to continue to act to strengthen the relations of friendship, solidarity and cooperation between the PCP and the CPI(M).

(j) Japanese Communist Party

The Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party sends greetings to the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

In India today, the anti people politics promoted since June by the Rao Congress Government in the name of "economic liberalisation", has resulted in deepened contradictions between the people and Indian monopoly capital associated with multinational companies. We hope that the CPI(M) will play a big role in the struggle to defend the life and rights of the working people and peasants.

The Japanese Communist Party will celebrate its 70th Anniversary on July 15, 1992. Our Party is the only party in Japan that conducted a life and death struggle for people's sovereignty against the cruel absolutist Tenno (Emperor) system and the war of aggression by Japanese militarism. In the post war period, we have fought against the U.S. domination, opposing any form of hegemonism including the Soviet and Chinese interferences; and it made the best efforts for abrogation of the Japan-U.S. military alliance and the realisation of an independent, peaceful, democratic Japan, with higher living standards. We have now established a position for the people's party with 30 members in both Houses of the Diet, and over 3,900 members in the local assemblies, publishing a daily and Sunday editions of our organ, *Akahata*, with a total circulation of three million, however modest they may be, in comparison to our political aims.

Today the liberal Democratic Government, serving U.S. imperialism and its subordinate ally, Japanese monopoly capital, continues to provide U.S. forces with many front line bases, and to try to establish a system to dispatch the Self-Defence Forces abroad, not only to the whole Asia and Pacific region but any part of the world. The JCP is resolutely fighting against such perilous policies which violate the peaceful articles of the Japanese Constitution. The Japanese people are oppressed by the highhanded big companies, contradictions deepening between the LDP politics and the working masses of the people. With objective conditions maturing, what is needed is the creation of the subjective condition

for a political change in Japan, that is, the advance of the JCP, a promoter of progressive unity. We are now working hard to make progress in the forthcoming important election for the House of Councillors (Upper House) due this summer.

The JCP, while struggling against imperialism, has dauntlessly fought against hegemonic errors committed in the name of "Socialism", including aggression against other countries and intervention in other Communist Parties. This error of "Social Imperialism" seriously impeded the world Communist and democratic movement and the whole world politics, including the non-aligned movement, providing imperialism and reactionary forces with an excuse for their aggression and policy of strength. From this viewpoint, we have pointed out that the dissolution of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a party of hegemonism—a historic evil, could mark in a wider perspective a historic turning point for a new development of the Communist movement in the world.

The move towards capitalism, clearly seen in the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries, is, of course, a retreat in history against the law of social development. But history will prove that in the direction of capitalism there can be no social progress in the interest of the majority of the people. Our Party has a wider historical view that, in due course, a situation will emerge where reconstructing independent healthy Socialism would be eagerly explored by the people of the respective countries based on their experience and demands.

The JCP issued, in December, a statement on the standards and perspective of the world-wide development of scientific Socialism. To make full use of the present historic situation for a new advance of the Communist movement in the world, our Party considers that it is necessary to fundamentally liquidate all hegemonic inclinations and subservience to hegemonism, an error having nothing in common with scientific Socialism committed in many parts of world Communist movement. Totally wrong is the argument that "Communism Socialism has collapsed" an attempt to persuade the people that the collapse of the political system of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe represents the failure and

bankruptcy of the ideas of scientific Socialism. We think that what is naturally required is to take a resolute stand on the need to promote society in accordance with the laws of social development, based on the theory of scientific Socialism as a living guide for action, when tackling various problems born of today's world and society.

The JCP is determined to make the necessary efforts to ensure that the Communist movements in the world can win a new advance, while continuously striving to advance international cooperation in various fields including the elimination of nuclear weapons, opposition to the military blocs and peace.

Central Committee

(k) EPRLF, Sri Lanka

At a time when Socialism and related revolutionary forces appear to be receding in the face of the onslaught of U.S.-led imperialism and international finance capital, it is gratifying to note that there still exist bastions of resistance in various parts of the globe. In this, the role of the CPI(M) in launching the ideological struggle against revisionism and dogmatism as well as in exposing the vile designs of imperialism is a necessary and a crucial task. We, the EPRLF, along with the Left, progressive forces in Sri Lanka, view this as a pointer to the world-wide tasks of the forces of Socialism, and extend our full solidarity and utmost cooperation. The holding of the Fourteenth Party Congress at this crucial moment in history is, therefore, fortuitous.

We, the EPRLF, in particular are also gratified by the assessment on Sri Lanka contained in Section 2.17 of the Draft Political Resolution which clearly identifies the Premadasa regime as well as the LTTE as the main obstacle to the restoration of peace, democracy and provincial autonomy in Sri Lanka. We are in complete agreement that the Indo Sri Lanka Accord remains a viable framework for the pursuit of a rational settlement of the Tamil Question within a united Sri Lanka. In this, the role of India, which remains a guarantor to the Accord, is of paramount importance.

On behalf of our people and our Party, I extend my fraternal greetings to the delegates and best wishes for the success of the Congress.

*Long Live Socialism!
Long Live the Solidarity
Between CPI(M) and EPRLF!
Colombo, Sri Lanka*

(1) Socialist Party of Australia

On behalf of the Central Committee and all members of the Socialist Party of Australia, I send warmest fraternal greetings to the delegates to the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

We are confident that your Congress will arrive at constructive and effective decisions, creatively developing your policies in the interests of the working class and all the working people of India, in the new situation which confronts us all.

Your Fourteenth Congress is being held at a time of unprecedented change and struggle throughout the world. Millions of fighters for freedom, democracy, social justice, national independence, peace, disarmament, development and Socialism, are confronting capitalism and imperialist exploitation and oppression. This struggle is the motor of change in society and the guarantee of social progress.

However, change does not always go forward and at present the defeat of some socialist States has shifted the world balance of forces in favour of imperialism. We believe this shift is temporary, but with it comes greater dangers for peace in the world. The reactionary forces have been strengthened.

More than ever this is a time when the parties adhering to scientific Socialism must take the initiative, countering the ideological attack by imperialism and giving guidance and support to the economic, political and social struggles of the working people and their allies.

We reject the assertion of our opponents that Communism is dead. Communists and Communist Parties came into existence because there was oppression and exploitation, inequality and colonialism, because there was poverty and homelessness.

Communism arises from the Marxist understanding of society and the struggles of the people. As long as there are poor and dispossessed, there will be Communists.

We are convinced that Socialism remains the best and only system capable of meeting the needs of the working people of all countries. Only a socialist system is capable of eliminating unemployment and exploitation, doing away with the booms and slumps of capitalism by democratic economic planning. Only Socialism is capable of extending and guaranteeing the democratic rights of the people. Only socialist societies consistently uphold the necessity of preserving peace on our planet.

Our Parties will learn from the distortions of socialist principles and the mistakes made in the first efforts to build Socialism, and take them into account in the continuing struggle to win and build socialist societies.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, we send you our very best wishes for the success of your Fourteenth Congress.

Socialist Party of Australia

(m) Workers' World Party of USA

The Workers' World Party sends you revolutionary greetings and best wishes on the occasion of your Fourteenth Party Congress.

We salute your Party's firm stand in defence of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of the international working class at this grim and dangerous time. We also hail the leading role played by your party in the success of the inspiring November 29 All-India General Strike, which answered the attacks of big capital and the imperialist bankers in the language of struggle, the only language they understand.

It is ironic that at the very hour when capitalist exploiters around the world are proclaiming that "Communism is dead" the utter bankruptcy of the capitalist system and humanity's crying need for socialist revolution are more apparent than ever. In Eastern Europe and the USSR, the attempted dismantling of socialist property and the reintroduction of capitalist "market principles" have brought in their wake suffering, chaos, and the revival of hatred between nationalities. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, billions go hungry as imperialist

banks and corporations tighten their stranglehold on the oppressed nations. In the Middle East, U.S. imperialism has demonstrated what it means by a "New World Order" with the slaughter and starvation of the people of Iraq in a war to enrich Wall Street banks, oil companies and arms makers. And even in the United States, the citadel of world imperialism, capitalism's vaunted "high technology" is stealing the jobs of millions of workers and driving down the wages of millions more.

The temporary victory of treasonous pro-capitalist forces in the USSR cannot resource the world capitalist system, which is spiralling ever deeper into a crisis of its own making. Nor will it prevent a resurgence of the class struggle by the oppressed and exploited all over the world. It does however heighten the danger of new military adventures by U.S. imperialism, especially against those countries where the working class continues to hold power. Class-conscious workers everywhere must stand ready to defend Korea, China, Vietnam and especially Cuba, which is now a prime target for aggression and subversion by U.S. imperialism.

The need for stronger ties between all those around the world who stand firm in the struggle against the evil system of capitalism and imperialism has never been greater. May your conference be a success, and may the future bring closer cooperation between our Parties in the struggle for the socialist future of humanity. Final victory will be ours.

Long Live Communism! Long Live Marxism Leninism! Down with capitalism, racism and imperialism! Workers and oppressed people of all countries unite!

National Committee

(n) From Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party sends its best wishes to the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

We are convinced that your Party will find the correct political answers under the new international circumstances and contribute to the successful solution of the historical tasks of our movement.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party expresses its solidarity with your fight. We are ready to develop the traditional cooperation between our Parties.

Central Committee

(o) South African Communist Party

The South African Communist Party sends its warmest greetings. We wish the CPI(M) every success with its Fourteenth Congress. The SACP greatly values the example set by the CPI(M); it is an example of particular significance in the present complex world situation. Your Party set an example of preparedness to speak up honestly, to be critical and self critical and above all, without reneging on the basics of Marxism Leninism. We were heartened by the presence of a CPI(M) delegate at our own recent Congress. *Viva proletarian internationalism. Amandla.*

With Communist greetings,

*Jeremy Cronin for the
South African Communist Party*

(p) Workers' Party of Bangladesh

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Bangladesh, I express our revolutionary greetings to you and congratulate you for the successes you have already achieved in advancing the cause of socialist struggle and the Marxist Leninist ideas in your country.

From your letter dated November 28, 1991, we learnt that the Fourteenth Congress of your Party is going to take place in next January. We have seriously read the draft resolutions of your Party sent along with the letter. We are very happy to learn that you are determined to uphold the revolutionary essence of Marxism Leninism. This very stand of your Party would give encouragement to the revolutionary working class parties of our region.

We are in full agreement with you that "Imperialism and reactionary forces . . . have mounted an intense attack on Marxism-Leninism and Communism. These circumstances demand of the Communists the world over to close ranks in defence of the revolutionary tenets of Marxism Leninism".

The Workers' Party of Bangladesh remembers with gratitude the help and the assistance rendered to our people and our Party by you during our War of Independence in 1971.

The Central Committee of our Party wishes your Congress to be successful. Hope, you would score more and more successes in future.

Once again with fraternal greetings,

Central Committee

(q) AKEL Cyprus

The Central Committee of AKEL, the Party of the Working People of Cyprus, extends to you fraternal militant greetings on the occasion of your Fourteenth Congress.

Your Congress is of great importance, as it takes place amidst very critical and complex international developments.

In these conditions, and at a moment when imperialist and reactionary forces use the recent negative developments concerning Socialism in order to attack our ideology and aims, your Congress is surely going to deal carefully and seriously with the Party's future tasks in tackling the problems faced by the people of India.

We do believe that your Congress will find the means to consolidate its ranks as well as to strengthen cooperation among all progressive-democratic forces in the country, to the benefit of the people, especially the working masses.

Our Party, faithful to the principle of cooperation between parties that share the same ideals and aims, is ready to contribute, within its possibilities, to closing the ranks of Communists and all those that support the socialist ideas.

Wishing your Congress every success in its deliberations,

Central Committee of AKEL

(r) Greek Left Party
(Telegram)

The Central Committee of the Greek Left Party (EAR) expresses its wishes for success of your Congress. The Greek Left Party and the coalition of the Left and progressive forces in which we participate, works for the cooperation of the Left-wing and progressive forces all over the world. We hope that your Congress will find new ways for the most effective action of the Left in the contemporary conditions.

(s) CPN(UML) Delegation

Greeting the Fourteenth Congress of the CPI(M) on behalf of the Communist Party of Nepal (United Marxist Leninist), Comrade Sahana Pradhan, who led a two-member delegation of her party to Madras, drew attention to the strong fraternal bonds between the CPI(M) and the CPN(UML), and said the Communist movement of Nepal and particularly her party always looked to the CPI(M) for guidance in the context of the present day complex international situation as well as the situation in Nepal itself.

Dealing in detail with the developments in Nepal during the last two to three years, Comrade Pradhan narrated how the people of Nepal under the leadership of the United Left Front and Nepali Congress had waged a heroic battle to overthrow the so-called Panchayat system imposed by the autocratic monarchy and for restoration of democracy in the country. The united movement which began on February 18, 1990, reached its climax in success in May that year, and an interim NC ULF Government was installed to prepare a new constitution and hold regular elections under the same. Subsequently, the elections were held in May 1991.

The Nepali Congress, faithfully following its bourgeois character, did not agree on taking the democratic struggle further ahead, reaching relief to the working people and strengthening its relations with the Communists. It rather concentrated its attacks on the Communists. However, the period saw a further cementing of Communist unity and the two main Communist groups, viz., CPN(M) and CPN(ML), merged together to form the CPN(UML) which gave a further fillip to the movement in Nepal. The result was that when the elections were held, the CPN(UML) bagged as many as 69 seats out of a total of 205, while the groups supported by it bagged 13 more seats. The Party thus emerged as the main opposition force in Nepali politics while the pro-monarchy forces were totally routed, and the Nepali Congress, too, could secure only a razor-thin majority. Comrade Pradhan also detailed how, in the post election situation, the Party is busy defending the toilers' interests and strengthening democracy.

Comrade Sahana Pradhan also reaffirmed the CPN(UML)'s commitment to Marxism Leninism and Socialism despite the recent

developments in the international arena. The victory achieved by the Party in Nepal, however, has been possible despite the said international developments and the bourgeois-imperialist propaganda unleashed in its wake. That was an indication that the ideal of a socialist society had not become nor will become irrelevant.

In conclusion, Comrade Pradhan expressed the hope that the traditional bonds between the CPI(M) and CPN(UML) as well as those between the people of the two countries would further deepen. She wished for the success of the proceedings of the CPI(M) Congress and hoped that they would give a new spurt to the Communist movement in India.

(t) Communist Party of Spain

On the occasion of the celebrations of the Fourteenth Congress of your Party, we would like to convey to you our best wishes. We are sure that your Congress will serve as an important link in the struggle for peace, freedom and social justice, as also will defend the aspirations and interests of the workers and the people of India.

We are also convinced that your Congress will contribute immensely to the cause of the democratic and revolutionary forces of the world and will fight together with us for the Communist ideas of freedom and liberty.

Hoping to receive at our Party the accords and resolutions adopted by the Fourteenth Congress of your Party. Once again, dear comrades, with our sincere and fraternal greetings.

*Central Committee
Communist Party of Spain*

Credentials Committee Report Placed Before The Fourteenth Congress of The Communist Party of India(Marxist), held at B.T. Ranadive Nagar, Madras, on January 3-9, 1992*

The Credentials Committee of the Fourteenth Congress of CPI(M) presented the following report on credentials of the delegates and observers:

1. The Credentials Committee was informed by the CC office that the total number of delegates and observers, as was decided by the CC, were 650 and 61 respectively. Some of the delegates and observers could not attend the Congress due to various reasons. Due to some misunderstanding the West Bengal state conference elected only 160 delegates in place of the 170 allotted. The Central Committee resolved to permit extra observers from West Bengal. Two members of the CC, Comrades Dasrath Deb and Nandeswar Talukdar, could not attend the Congress due to illness. Finally, 626 delegates and 71 observers attended the Congress. The credentials of all of them were received by the committee. Their distribution by the states is given in Table 1.

2. The distribution of major characteristics of the delegates and observers, as revealed in the credential forms, such as age, class origin, educational status, Party life, mass organisational status, mass front through which recruitment to Party took place, mass front currently working in, jail and underground experience, elected positions currently held, and monthly income, are presented in the tables below. The tables are self-explanatory and no commentary is attempted. For some of the tables, the data are presented according to broad regional groupings, viz. (1) West Bengal (WB), (2) Kerala (KER), (3) Hindi speaking states

*Published in the compilation of 14th Party Congress Documents in June, 1992

(HSS) comprising of U.P., Bihar, M.P., H.P., Haryana and Rajasthan, (4) other southern states (OSS) comprising of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Goa and Andamans, (5) other eastern states (OES) comprising of Orissa, Assam, Sikkim, Tripura and Manipur, and (6) other northern states (ONS) comprising of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir. The CC units are also included in the category ONS. Central Committee members are treated as a separate category (CC).

3. Comrade Nripen Chakravarti, 89 years old, was the eldest delegate to the Congress. He had also the longest record of life in jail. He spent 16 years in jail, besides 6 year underground. Comrade P K. Chandrannanthan from Kerala had the longest underground experience of 13.5 years. Comrade Hem Raj from Himachal Pradesh (26 years) was the youngest delegate. Comrade Mahadev Saha, who joined the Communist party in 1932, had the longest Party life.

4. The Credentials Committee placed before the Central Committee the following recommendations regarding the credential forms: (a) appropriate coded choices may be given to questions regarding "current profession", "Party organisational status", and "mass organisational status", (b) with respect to the question on the front currently working, the delegates should be asked to indicate the priority of fronts in case of multiple fronts. (c) Regarding the "elected positions held" and "mass organisation status" it should be specified that the reference is to the positions currently held. (d) A new question to ascertain the minority community and SC/ST status may also be included in the future credential form.

Table 1
Distribution of Delegates & Observers for Fourteenth Congress

	Delegates		Observers		Total		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	Total
CC	54	5	0	0	54	5	59
Andaman	2	0	1	0	3	0	3
AP	30	2	5	0	35	2	37
Assam	15	1	2	0	17	1	18
Bihar	18	1	3	1	21	2	23
Centre	22	1	10	0	32	1	33
Delhi	3	1	2	1	5	2	7
Goa	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
Gujarat	3	0	2	0	5	0	5
Haryana	5	0	2	1	7	1	8
HP	5	0	2	0	7	0	7
J & K	5	0	1	0	6	0	6
Karnataka	7	0	1	1	8	1	9
Kerala	145	14	1	0	146	14	160
Maharashtra	10	0	2	1	12	1	13
Manipur	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
M.P.	5	0	2	0	7	0	7
Orissa	7	0	2	0	9	0	9
Punjab	19	1	4	0	23	1	24
Rajasthan	6	0	1	0	7	0	7
Sikkim	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Tamil Nadu	43	2	2	0	45	2	47
Tripura	20	0	2	0	22	0	22
U P.	12	0	2	1	14	1	15
West Bengal	146	11	10	5	156	16	172
U K.	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
Total	587	39	60	11	647	50	697

Table 2
Age Distribution by Regional Groups

[illegible]

Table 3
Class Origin by Regional Groups (in per cent)

	CC	WB	KER	HSS	OSS	OES	ONS	Total	Total(%)
Working Class	12	5	25	11	22	6	11	99	14
Agri Labour	3	0	6	1	5	0	3	20	3
Poor Peasant	5	6	19	15	13	10	23	93	13
Middle Peasant	12	6	28	32	20	27	16	131	19
Rich Peasant	5	2	4	7	5	2	2	25	4
Landlord	8	5	2	5	8	4	3	31	4
Bourgeois	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	4	1
Middle Class	53	70	17	27	23	51	39	282	40
Petty Bourgeois	2	4	0	0	2	0	2	12	2
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 4
Period of Entry into Party

	CC	WB	KER	HSS	OSS	OES	ONS	Total	Total(%)
Before 1942	42	6	5	0	5	0	36	51	7
1942 1947	14	6	4	1	12	4	10	48	7
1947 1964	24	43	40	18	23	22	1	216	31
1964 1970	12	23	24	26	18	37	6	155	22
1970 1977	8	15	19	28	21	25	30	140	20
1977 1982	0	6	7	23	12	10	2	71	10
After 1982	0	1	1	4	6	0	15	14	2
	100	100	100	100	99	98	100	695*	100

*Two have not reported the item

Table 5
Front Through which Entered the Party

	CC	WB	KER	HSS	OSS	OES	ONS	Total	Total(%)
Trade Union	19	17	21	22	32	10	36	158	23
Kisan Front	9	17	14	16	9	22	10	98	14
Agri. Labour	0	1	5	1	4	0	1	15	2
Youth	2	5	16	9	11	12	6	66	9
Student	50	41	34	35	28	51	30	256	37
Women	2	4	4	1	2	0	2	20	3
Culture	0	1	3	0	3	0	1	10	1
Others	16	13	3	15	10	6	14	70	10
	97	100	100	100	99	100	100	693	99

*Four have not reported the item

Table 6
Party Congress Attended

No. of Congress	CC	WB	KER	HSS	OSS	DES	ONS	Total	Total(%)
0	0	16	7	28	29	18	30	121	17
1	0	14	19	22	19	14	17	113	16
2	2	15	15	19	12	18	20	104	15
3	5	15	13	15	12	18	13	91	13
4	14	15	15	9	9	18	9	91	13
5	7	9	7	3	6	6	6	46	7
6	20	7	9	0	1	4	0	40	6
7	5	3	5	1	1	4	2	23	3
8	13	47	6	11	3	9	2	68	10
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	697	100

Table 7
Elected Positions

	CC	WB	KER	HSS	OSS	OES	ONS	Total
MP	20	9	4	3	2	6	6	45
MLA	10	11	15	9	8	22	5	78
Minister	7	9	0	0	0	0	0	18
CORP	3	3	4	0	4	0	2	19
ZILLA	0	6	16	0	0	2	0	38
PANCH	0	1	5	3	2	2	2	16
Other	3	4	11	3	1	0	0	2
None	56	58	45	82	83	68	85	481
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	697

Note - Evidently there has been some confusion as some of the delegates reported positions held in the past also

Table 8
Educational Status

	Number	%
No formal schooling	4	1
Up to primary (Class 5)	32	5
Up to Elementary (Class 8)	48	7
Up to Class 10/Matric	131	19
Intermediate/H.S.	118	17
Graduate	195	28
Post Graduate	169	24
	697	100

Table 9
Current Profession

	Nos.	%
Wholetimer	602	86
Worker (Ind.)	9	1
Employee	12	2
Teachers	39	6
Professional	13	2
Cultivator	1	0
Others	13	2
	689*	99

*Eight have not reported the item

Table 10
Party Organisational Status

	Nos.	%
PB Members	11	2
CC Member	48	7
State Committee	395	57
Dist Committee	171	25
Area Committee	8	1
Local Committee	12	2
Party Member	52	7
	697	100

Table 11
Mass Organisational Status

	Nos.	%
All India Office Bearer	84	12
All India Comm Member	146	21
State Level Office Bearer	140	20
State Level Comm Member	125	18
Dist Level Office Bearer	17	2
Dist Level Comm. Member	26	4
Others	159	23
	697	100

Table 12
Jail and Underground Experience

	Jail Nos.	Jail %	UG Nos.	UG %
No experience	230	33	357	51
Less than 2 months	119	17	36	5
2 6 months	92	13	78	11
6 12 months	25	4	28	4
1 2 years	89	13	97	14
2 5 years	94	13	68	10
5 10 years	40	6	28	4
Above 10 years	8	1	5	1
	697	100	697	100

Table 13
Currently Working Front

	Nos.	%
Party Organisation	232	33
Trade Union	173	25
Kisan Sabha	114	16
Agri. Labour	38	5
Employees	10	1
Student	9	1
Youth	31	4
Women	40	6
Cultural	12	2
Others	38	5
	697	100

Table 14
Monthly Income

	Nos.	%
Less than 500	106	15
500-1000	270	39
1000-2000	188	27
2000 5000	78	11
5000 & above	33	5
Not reported	22	3
	697	100

Table 15
Marital Status

	Nos.	%
Married	590	85
Unmarried	85	12
Not reported	22	3
	697	100

Table 16
Period of Entry and Class Origin Through
Which They Entered the Party Origin Before
(all figures in %)

Origin	Before 1947	1948 to 1964	1964 to 1977	After 1977
Working Class	15	15	14	13
Agri Labour	10	2	1	0
Poor Peasant	11	15	13	16
Middle Peasant	9	17	22	25
Rich Peasant	2	4	4	1
Landlord	9	4	4	4
Bourgeois	0	0	1	2
Middle Class	42	43	39	37
Petty Bourgeois	3	1	2	1

Note The Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) elected the following Delegates as Members of the Credential Committee

Subodh Roy (West Bengal)

Thomas Issacs

Vijaykant Thakur

New Leadership Elected by The Fourteenth Congress of The Communist Party of India (Marxist), held at B. T. Ranadive Nagar, Madras, on January 3-9, 1992*

General Secretary

Harkishan Singh Surjeet

Other Polit Bureau Members

1. E.M.S. Namboodiripad
2. M. Basavapunnaiiah
3. Jyoti Basu
4. E. Balanandan
5. Nripen Chakraborty
6. V. S. Achuthanandan
7. L. B. Gangadhara Rao
8. Benoy Krishna Choudhury
9. A. Nallasivam
10. Prakash Karat
11. Sitaram Yechury
12. S. Ramachandran Pillai
13. Sunil Maitra
14. P. Ramachandran
15. Sailen Dasgupta
16. E. K. Nayanar

Other Central Committee Members

1. Buddhadev Bhattacharya
2. Manoranjan Roy
3. Biman Basu
4. Mohd. Amin
5. Anil Biswas
6. Kanak Mukherjee
7. Biplab Dasgupta
8. T. K. Ramakrishnan
9. Susheela Gopalan
10. M. M. Lawrence

*Published in the compilation of 14th Party Congress Documents in June 1992

11. K. N. Rabindranath
12. M. Hanumantha Rao
13. N. Prasada Rao
14. V. Narasimha Reddy
15. Kortala Satyanarayana
16. Nandeswar Talukdar
17. Achintya Bhattacharya
18. Heman Das
19. Noorul Huda
20. Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi
21. Subodh Roy
22. Joginder Sharma
23. Raghubir Singh Hooda
24. Mohd. Yusuf Tarigami
25. P. Ramachandra Rao
26. Prabhakar Sanzgiri
27. Ahilya Rangnekar
28. Mangat Ram Pasla
29. Hari Ram Chauhan
30. R. Umanath
31. P. R. Parameswaran
32. N. Sankaraiah
33. Dasrath Deb
34. Manik Sarkar
35. Ram Sumer Yadav
36. M. K. Pandhe
37. Sukomal Sen
38. Hannan Mollah
39. Vimal Ranadive
40. Saifuddin Chaudhury
41. M. A. Baby
42. Ram Narain Goswami
43. Balwant Singh
44. Harkanwal Singh
45. Ananda Pathak
46. Hari Singh Kang

Central Control Commission

1. Samar Mukherjee
2. Robin Sen
3. D. Janakiraman

(The Chairman of the CCC will be the ex officio member of the Central Committee.)

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Polit Bureau Opposes Privatisation of Civil Service*

Statement Dated January 21, 1992 Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) notes with concern the reports in the Press of a proposal to allow civil servants to work with private sector, either in Indian or foreign enterprises, for a period of up to five years. This proposal is fraught with dangerous consequences for the integrity and impartiality of the civil services. It will strike at the very root of the Indian civil service system and lead to the penetration and merger of the interests of big business with the Governmental machinery.

The Polit Bureau demands that the Government abandon any such proposal and maintain the existing norms.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, January 26, 1992

Polit Bureau Opposes Price Hike of Sugar*

Statement Dated January 21, 1992 Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) vehemently condemns the decision of the Central Government to increase the price of levy sugar supplied through the public distribution system by 80 paise per kg. This totally unwarranted increase comes in the wake of the steep price increase of wheat and rice supplied through the public distribution system. The Narasimha Rao Government is systematically hiking up the prices of essential commodities through the public distribution system in order to drastically cut the food subsidies and to pass on the burdens imposed by the IMF World Bank on to the common people.

The Polit Bureau calls upon all its Party units and all mass organisations to organise effective protest actions against these anti people measures of the Congress(I) Government.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, January 26, 1992

BJP's *Ekta Yatra* : Danger To Unity*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) Issued Statement to Press Expressing Serious Concern

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) views with serious concern the BJP leadership's decision to go ahead with the *Ekta Yatra* in Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir, despite the Central Government's appeal to desist from such a course. The situation in Punjab is well known. A big struggle lies ahead during the imminent elections to isolate the secessionist forces which have not let up on their terroristic violence. The Central Government has aggravated the situation by not announcing any political package. At such a juncture, the *yatra* programme will be a serious diversion from the concerted effort necessary to ensure the smooth holding of elections.

The nature of the slogans in the *Yatra* will only provoke the separatist elements to mount further onslaughts. Similarly, in Kashmir, the *yatra* will inflame the situation with its provocative demand to scrap Article 370. If the BJP is serious about contributing to strengthening national unity, it should give up the next phase of the *yatra* in these two States. The responsibility for endangering the struggle against the separatist forces will lie with the BJP if it does not heed the calls for a sane and responsible approach. The Polit Bureau calls upon the BJP leadership to reconsider its stand and not to inflame the already difficult situation.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, January 26, 1992.

Polit Bureau Against Decontrolling of Steel*

Statement Dated January 18, 1992 Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its strong opposition to the decision taken by the Government of India for complete decontrol of steel prices. The decontrol will lead to an increase in the prices of all items of iron and steel, and result in price increases on a host of commodities, thereby further worsening the price situation which is already serious. The assurance by steel producers not to increase prices for some time is meaningless. Simultaneously, the Government of India has announced the reduction of import duties on pig iron and other steel items which will reduce the revenues of the Government. The Narasimha Rao Government is already responsible, by its new economic policies, for raising the annual rate of inflation for 1991 based on the wholesale price index by 50 per cent compared to the previous year. The decision on steel decontrol will only fuel inflation further and increase the burdens on the people.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, January 26, 1992

Polit Bureau on Wheat Import*

Statement Dated January 18, 1992 Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau strongly criticises the decision of the Government of India to import one million tonnes of wheat. This is being done despite the announcement of a bumper crop this year and the claim that the stocks position is comfortable. The Congress(I) Government will be squandering scarce foreign exchange resources for import of wheat which is taking place for the first time in a decade. This decision also indicates the abject failure of the Government to step up procurement efforts and for countering the speculators who are hoarding wheat and creating artificial shortages. What is required are urgent steps for dehoarding and ensuring that sufficient stocks are available in the public distribution system and in the open market. Instead of adopting such a path, the Congress(I) Government is utilising the foreign loans contracted for inessential imports.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, January 26, 1992

BJP's *Yatra* Aggravates Kashmir Situation*

**Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) Issued Statement
Dated January 25, 1992 to Press**

The BJP *Yatra* having reached Jammu and proceeding to Kashmir today (January 25) has aggravated the situation and created panic among the minority community living in Jammu, some of whom have left the area for the valley. As we have warned earlier, the BJP *Yatra* has inflamed the situation, with even those elements in the valley, who were rethinking their positions turning hostile.

The explosion in the police headquarters in Srinagar which injured senior police officials highlights the extremely tenuous situation in Kashmir on the eve of the entry of the BJP *Yatra*. Despite repeated warnings and appeals, the BJP leaders have decided to go ahead to Srinagar. This has inflamed the situation in Kashmir and is providing the separatist forces backed by Pakistan the handle to intensify their activities. The Government of India has the responsibility to see that the situation does not deteriorate further.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, February 2, 1992
Refer Document under Item No 17 of this Volume

Indo-U.S. Army Executive Steering Committee : Grave Threat to India's Sovereignty*

**Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) Issued Statement,
Dated January 25, 1992 to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its strong opposition to and deep concern at the decision taken by the first Indo U.S. Army Executive Steering Committee. First of all, the minority Narasimha Rao Government had no sanction to set up such a joint committee for military collaboration with the U.S. armed forces. Secondly, the decision relating to exchange of officers on courses and military exercise and developing army-to-army cooperation, are fraught with dangerous consequences for India's integrity and foreign policy.

Coming in the wake of the sustained political and economic pressures by the USA on India in the new world situation, the steps for military cooperation will spell a grave threat to India's independence and sovereignty as this cooperation seeks to integrate India the strategic military perception of the United States.

The army collaboration is being followed up with talks with the visiting U.S. Admiral, Kelso, on naval collaboration.

The Narasimha Rao Government has taken these far-reaching steps without the consent of the Indian people and Parliament. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) demands that these agreements be halted and the Congress(I) government place all these proposals before Parliament in the forthcoming session for public debate.

CPI(M) Condemns Killing of CPI Leader*

**Statement Dated January 25, 1992 Issued by The
Polit Bureau to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the cowardly murder of CPI leader, Harpal Singh, a prospective candidate in the Assembly election, in Punjab yesterday by the Khalistani extremists.

This murder has once again sharply brought into focus the utter failure of the government to provide security. No free and fair election in Punjab is possible unless proper security arrangements are provided.

The Narasimha Rao Government, which is day in and day out proclaiming that free and fair elections will be held in Punjab, must take effective measures to ensure proper security for candidates and political activists.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, February 2, 1992

Pakistani Prime Minister's Belligerent Statement*

**Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) Recorded Protest by Issuing
Press Statement Dated February 6, 1992**

The reported statement of the Pakistani Prime Minister pledging continued support to Kashmiri separatists and his assurance to some people that his government will do all to free Kashmir from India, completely undermines the spirit and content of the Shimla Agreement of 1972.

Such a belligerent statement, far from easing tensions, will only contribute to worsening of the situation. This will not be in the interests of both the Indian and the Pakistani people.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) reiterates that any solution to the Kashmir problem will have to be based on mutual agreement through negotiations on lines defined in the Shimla Agreement.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, February 16, 1992

Greetings to Surjeet on Being Elected as General Secretary of The Communist Party of India (Marxist)*

I

On the occasion of your election as General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and on my own behalf, I would like to convey to you our warmest congratulations.

I am convinced that under the leadership of the Central Committee led by you, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) will record new greater achievements in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

May I extend to you my best wishes for your good health and successes in your noble tasks.

DO MUOI,
*General Secretary,
Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Vietnam*

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, February 16, 1992

II

I extend warm congratulations to you on your election as General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in its Fourteenth Congress.

Your election as General Secretary is a clear evidence of deep trust cherished by entire Party membership of your Party toward you.

I take this opportunity to express firm belief that the excellent fraternal relationship between our two Parties will further strengthen and develop, and sincerely wish you all the successes in your responsible work for carrying out the decisions adopted in your Party Congress.

KIM IL SUNG,
*General Secretary,
Central Committee of the
Workers Party of Korea*

Pakistan Must Stop Provocative Acts*

**Statement Dated February 7, 1992 Issued by The
Polit Bureau of The CPI(M)**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its serious concern at the provocative stand of the Pakistan government in building up an atmosphere of confrontation with regard to the proposed march by the JKLF across the line of actual control in Kashmir on February 11. The resolution, officially sponsored and adopted in the Pakistan National Assembly, reiterating the right of self-determination of Kashmir and requesting international intervention, is bound to worsen the situation. Rallies and speeches are being conducted in Pakistan to whip up feelings on the issue. While the Pakistan government has formally stated that it does not support the JKLF plan to cross the line of actual control, the belligerent statement by Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif, on February 5, indicates indirect support for the JKLF march.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M), while deploring this dangerous turn of events, reiterates that the dispute on Kashmir can be resolved peacefully only on the basis of the Shimla Agreement. The Pakistan government is violating this bilateral agreement and resorting to a confrontationist stance in order to divert attention from its domestic difficulties. It is incumbent upon the Nawaz Sharif government to take steps to call off the JKLF plan which is fraught with serious consequences for the relations between the two countries, and to abide by the letter and spirit of the Shimla Agreement.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, February 16, 1992

Polit Bureau Condemns Gaya Killings*

Statement Dated February 14, 1992 Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) is shocked at the gruesome killing of at least 39 people in Bara village of Gaya district of Bihar by extremist elements.

Such an attack appears to have been made in retaliation to the killing of ten Harijans in neighbouring villages on December 23, 1991. It is clear that caste rivalries have reached such a pitch that mass murders are being resorted to unscrupulously. Such meaningless and inhuman violence can be no solution for atrocities being committed on the oppressed sections.

Condemning this dastardly killings, the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep condolences and sympathy for the families of the victims. It calls upon the Bihar government to take all necessary security measures to ensure the safety and security of the people.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, February 23, 1992

Unscrupulous Manoeuvres in Manipur*

**Statement Dated February 15, 1992 Issued by The
Polit Bureau of The CPI(M)**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) denounces the unscrupulous manoeuvres being indulged in by the Congress(I) leadership to foist its rule in Manipur in order to deny the people of Manipur a democratically elected government of their choice.

Such unprincipled manoeuvres will only contribute to the isolation of the Manipuri people, and thus compound the already grave threats to country's unity and integrity.

The CPI(M) reiterates that the right to form a government in Manipur should be given to that particular group that enjoys the majority which should be tested on the floor of the House. No government can be foisted unless this procedure is adopted or a fresh mandate is sought from the people.

The CPI(M) reiterates in this context that the Government of India should immediately accede to the long-standing demand to include both Manipuri and Nepali languages in the VIII Schedule.

Polit Bureau Communique*

**Issued Following Its Meeting held in New Delhi
on February 22-23, 1992**

Fight the Dangerous Economic Policies

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) noted that the Narasimha Rao Government is recklessly going ahead with a series of economic measures, in spite of stiff resistance, which have far reaching consequences for the country's economic sovereignty and the people's well being. Step by step the Congress(I) Government has surrendered to the IMF World Bank conditionalities, to the extent that the framework for the Union Budget has now been determined by these international agencies. The measures unfolding on the basis of the new industrial policy constitute an outright attack on the public sector, as seen by the recent announcement of 49 per cent disinvestment of public sector unit shares; the notorious exit policy which will give total freedom to the big capitalists to close factories and increase unemployment; the moves for complete liberalisation of imports and virtual surrender in lifting all regulations on foreign investment and giving it equal treatment with Indian enterprises.

The most harmful effect of these policies is being seen by the terrible burden on the people through escalating price rise of all essential commodities, and the systematic attempts to dismantle the public distribution system. This most anti people feature is illustrated by how the public distribution system is being damaged in the States with the Centre not even sending adequate stocks for supplies.

The Narasimha Rao Government, due to its weakened position because of the surrender to the IMF-World Bank, is not taking a

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, March 1, 1992

firm stand on the Dunkel Draft Proposals for the GATT round of negotiations. These proposals have met with widespread opposition from all sections of public opinion. The Government of India, if it accepts these proposals, would be bartering away the fundamental authority of the Indian State on sovereign matters like the trade policy, foreign investments, patents, subsidies for agricultural production and social priorities like the public distribution system. The P.B. calls upon all patriotic sections to fiercely oppose any compromise by the Congress(I) Government on these anti national proposals.

The P.B. calls for determined opposition against the entire gamut of the new economic policies. The P.B. directed the Party's parliamentary group to coordinate with the NF Left parties to concertedly oppose and vote against all the harmful economic budgetary policies in the current session. The call given by the Left parties for mass actions from February 15 to March 4 at local, district and State level, is meeting with enthusiastic response. The P.B. called upon all its units to make the March 4 State level rallies and demonstrations a big success. This will be the precursor to the nationwide protest action of Bharat Bandh, which will be called in cooperation with all other secular and democratic forces.

Stop Indo-US Military Collaboration

The P.B. of the CPI(M) expressed its deep concern at the agreement made by the Indian Government for military collaboration with the USA. The Army to-Army cooperation initiated by the setting up of a Joint Executive Steering Committee last month, envisages joint training programmes, exchange of personnel and other forms of long standing cooperation. Similar cooperation for joint naval exercises have also been discussed. There is no reason whatsoever for joint military exercises with the U.S. armed forces when there is no common foe. The only purpose of such deep military collaboration is the interest of the USA to penetrate our armed forces and suborn its personnel for its strategic interest. This development is alarming and will have great repercussion for our foreign policy and national integrity. The Narasimha Rao Government has been brazenly irresponsible in

entering into such agreements without taking the people or the Parliament of India into confidence. The P.B. demands scrapping of these military agreements.

Punjab Elections

The Punjab elections have been marred by very low polling, with only 21.6 per cent votes being cast for the Lok Sabha elections. This was due to the atmosphere of fear generated by the terrorist threats and due to the cynical manipulations by the Congress(I) which, by refusing to announce a political package before the election, facilitated the boycott by the Akali groups. The Congress(I) resorted to rigging the polls in some places, further vitiating the elections. Such an election will in no way help to solve the chronic problems of the State. The Congress(I) is pleased with this hollow victory, but its selfish policy has harmed the cause of national unity by further alienating the mass of Sikhs and heightening the communal gulf in the State.

The Polit Bureau demands that the Centre immediately announce measures for the implementation of the Rajiv Longowal Accord which could help create an atmosphere for isolating the terrorist forces.

The P.B. noted with concern that the terrorists have begun threatening those who voted in the villages. Two CPI(M) supporters were killed in Sangrur district on February 21. It calls upon the Punjab administration to remain alert and foil the terrorists' attempts to disturb peace in the State.

Tripura

The recent governmental crisis which affected the Congress(I)-TUIJS coalition in Tripura, shows how the notorious regime which has been continuing terror and violence against the CPI(M) and the common people, stands isolated and badly divided. The inner quarrels and bickering intensified in the background of the increasing suffering of the people, who are subjected to depredations by anti-social gangs, a prohibitive cost of living, and even starvation. Deaths in the tribal areas have taken place.

Consequent to the resignation of Sudhir Ranjan Majumder as Chief Minister, the Congress(I) leadership has effected a patch up with the TUIS, to perpetuate its rule and a new Government has been sworn in. This Government, with the same old discredited ministers and factions, will provide no relief to the suffering people. The P.B. expresses its solidarity with the State Party unit and the Left and democratic forces in the State which are continuously mobilising people in defence of their rights and for restoration of democracy in the State.

Bofors Scandal

The reports in the Swedish daily newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* has once again provided confirmation from a top official of the Nobel industries that bribes were paid to top personnel in the Rajiv Gandhi Government on the Bofors gun deal. Since the time of the Rajiv Gandhi Government, despite systematic efforts to cover up the scandal, evidence has been mounting about the bribery and corruption which involves the highest quarters. The CBI investigation initiated by the V.P. Singh Government has been sought to be scuttled by shifting out key officials involved in the investigation. The Narasimha Rao Government cannot shirk the responsibility to come out with the truth and to identify the guilty. The Government must come out immediately with full facts before Parliament and assure the country that the investigation into this murky affair will be vigorously pursued.

Kerala : Attacks on Democracy

The Congress(I) led UDF Government is continuing with its authoritarian onslaughts against democratic institutions in the State. The P.B. strongly condemns the ordinance issued which has arbitrarily reduced the five-year term of cooperative bodies to three years, and announced the dissolution of the managing committees of such societies. By this blatantly undemocratic move, the ruling coalition seeks to nullify the democratic character of these institutions and to seize control through appointing Government administrators. The P.B. is happy to note that people from all walks of life have come out against this draconian ordinance, and greets

the resistance put up in different parts of the State to the efforts to take over the administration of the cooperative institutions. The UDF Government's action in Kerala once again shows that the Congress(I) is inimical to all genuinely democratic practices, as was seen by the earlier attack on the elected district councils, the mass literacy movement and the Granthashala Act.

Kashmir

The P.B. noted that consequent to the *Ekta Yatra* and the JKL F march to the Line of Actual Control, there is a deterioration in the situation in the Kashmir valley with extremists seeking to intensify their activities. As for Indo Pakistan relations, though there was no direct confrontation at the Line of Actual Control, on February 11, the tensions continue to persist with the Nawaz Sharif Government attempting to stoke up feelings on the Kashmir issue and internationalise it in order to meet domestic conflicts and pressures. The P.B. reiterates that only bilateral talks based on the Shimla Agreement can resolve all outstanding issues between the two countries and help normalise relations between the people of both countries.

International Events

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemns the Israeli aggression in attacking Palestinian camps in South Lebanon and the assassination of the Hizbollah, leader Sheik Abbas Musawi. This brazen violation of international law and Lebanon's territorial integrity once again shows the intransigent nature of Israeli zionism. The United Nations Security Council which is prompt in condemning Arab countries like Iraq and Libya, has not acted decisively in this instance of blatant Israeli aggression. The U.N. Security Council should demand Israeli compliance with the U.N. resolutions adopted for the vacation of Israeli occupation of Arab territories.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly criticises the U.N. Security Council resolution against Libya which lays the basis for the imposition of sanctions against it unless it complies with the American and British demands to hand over two Libyan nationals

who are alleged suspects in a plane explosion. This selective approach of the Security Council has found the support of the Indian Government which voted for the resolution. The P.B. condemned the Indian Government's shift from the nationally accepted policy of support to the Third World countries which are faced with imperialist pressures.

The Polit Bureau noted that the United States of America has stepped up its activities to isolate Cuba, while maintaining the economic blockade. It expressed its firm solidarity with Cuba, is facing a difficult economic situation while having to confront imperialist pressures. The P.B. called for stepping up the solidarity campaign in support of Cuba and for mobilising Indian public opinion and all forms of support in Cuba's fight for preserving its independence and integrity.

The Polit Bureau welcomed the recent agreement signed by North and South Korea which should help normalise relations between the countries, eliminate nuclear weapons being stationed in the Korean peninsula and advance towards the peaceful reunification of the Korean nation.

Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) on Railway Budget*

Statement Dated February 25, 1992 Issued to Press

The proposals in the railway budget for freight and passenger fare increases will only add to the growing distress of the Indian people who are faced with unprecedented price rise of all essential commodities. The railway budget proposes to raise Rs. 1,366 crore as additional revenue from increased freight and passenger fares. The 7.5 per cent increase in freight rates of all commodities and 4 per cent increase for coal transportation will add to the inflationary spiral in the economy. The ordinary people have not been spared and there is a steep increase in the passenger fares of up to Rs. 25 for second class mail and express trains and a second class sleeper surcharge of Rs. 5 for above 500 kms. The daily commuters on monthly season ticket have also been hit with increased fares.

It is evident from the budget that the annual plan outlay is being reduced for the year 1992-93 since in real terms Rs. 5,700 crore plan outlay will be less than the previous year's Rs. 5,325 crore due to inflation. This will affect the development of the railways and is part of the overall approach to reduce public investments in the Governmental sector. The Polit Bureau condemns the proposals for the privatisation of the catering service in the railways and the threat of massive retrenchment inherent in the new approach.

It is reported that the Narasimha Rao Government is planning to levy an additional dose of increase in fares and freight charges later this year in order to circumvent the public opposition to steep increases in the budget proposals. The Polit Bureau calls upon all sections of the people to demand the scrapping of the freight and fare increases and launch protest actions to force the Government to cancel the same.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, March 1, 1992.

CPI(M) Polit Bureau Demands: Finance Minister Must Resign*

Statement Dated February 25, 1992 Issued to Press

It was well known that the Narasimha Rao Government had accepted the most harmful and stringent conditionalities set out by the World Bank for the structural adjustment loan of 500 million dollars. The terms and conditionalities of this loan, just as in the case of the IMF conditionalities, have been kept a secret from the Indian people and Parliament. The CPI(M) has been demanding that these be made public.

Now the exposure of the Finance Minister Manmohan Singh's letter, written in November 1991 to the World Bank, stating the steps the Government of India proposes to take to meet the World Bank's demands, and the World Bank's 25-point conditionalities published in the *Indian Express*, are shocking confirmation of the betrayal of India's economic sovereignty by the Narasimha Rao Government. The bitter truth is that the IMF World Bank conditionalities have been dictated to the Indian Government for formulating its economic and budgetary policies.

The conditionalities of the World Bank which impinge on the forthcoming Union Budget are public knowledge in Washington. The *expose* in the *Indian Express* on the conditionalities of the World Bank show how the Indian Parliament was kept in the dark during the last winter session, and all decisions such as decontrol of steel, closure of "unviable" public sector units and 49 per cent disinvestment of public sector shares, were committed to, and implemented, as per the World Bank's directives.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemns this shameful sell-out and demands that Dr. Manmohan Singh resign forthwith

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from the Cabinet for the gross betrayal of India's sovereignty and contempt of Parliament. The P.B. further demands that the Union Budget for 1992-93 prepared under IMF World Bank auspices in Washington, be not placed on February 29. Instead to fulfil the constitutional and financial requirements, a Vote on-Account be passed. The people of India demand that the Government place before Parliament all the relevant documents, terms and conditionalities contracted with the IMF and World Bank, for a full discussion only after which should Parliament decide on the nature of the Union Budget.

Polit Bureau Statement on Punjab*

Issued to Press on February 27, 1992

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) condemns the continued spree of killings in Punjab by the extremists. The extremists have now targetted the dalits amongst the Sikhs and the CPI(M) cadres who had courageously participated in the mowed down to death in Ludhiana and Sangrur districts on February 26. Two leading CPI(M) cadres were gunned down in Sangrur earlier while the bodyguard of CPI(M) State Committee member, Kulwant Singh, was shot dead in a hospital in Jullundur district.

A strike-at-will situation continues in Punjab with the extremists able to continue their murderous activities. People feel concerned that the newly constituted Congress(I) Government in the State, instead of taking effective measures to protect the lives and property of the people, is busy dividing the spoils of office. Even at this stage the Central Government will have to realise that only elections have not solved the Punjab problem. The question of restoring peace remains and all effective measures will have to be taken in this respect. It will be criminal on the part of the Government to neglect this task.

The CPI(M) Polit Bureau conveys its heartfelt condolences to the families of all those killed by the extremists recently.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, March 8, 1992.

Condemnation of Sangrur Massacre*

**Statement Dated March 12, 1992 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) vehemently condemns the cruel and inhuman killings of 15 officials of the Indian Acrylic Ltd. factory at Gadhwan Kothe in Sangrur district, Punjab, on March 10. The Khalistani terrorists who perpetrated this massacre, deliberately targetted the employees who are non Punjabis in order to provoke panic and adverse reaction outside Punjab.

This horrible massacre has taken place at a time when neither the new Congress(I) State Government nor the Centre shows any urgency for tackling the terrorists' menace on a political plane. This incident again illustrates the failure of the administration in preventing such indiscriminate killings of innocent persons.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) conveys its heartfelt condolence to all the families of the victims who lost their lives in this outrage.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, March 22, 1992

Unscrupulous Tactics of Congress(I)*

**Statement Dated March 12, 1992 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M)**

The Congress(I), in its anxiety to remain in power at all costs, is active in trying to win over MP from some of the opposition parties in Parliament. This is evident from the efforts to instigate division in the Telugu Desam parliamentary party and the manoeuvres the Congress(I) conducted in order to pass the motion of thanks to the President's address in Parliament. That the Congress(I) is prepared to resort to any unscrupulous measure to ensure a majority, is indicated by the Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's remarks in the Congress(I) parliamentary party meeting that there are "invisible friends" in the opposition for the Congress(I). All such tactics of horse-trading and parliamentary defections will not succeed in fooling the people about the intrinsic anti people and anti-national character of the economic policies being pursued by the Narasimha Rao Government.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, March 22, 1992

Congress(I) Government's Shameful Surrender*

**Statement Dated March 14, 1992 issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly denounces the decision of the Government of India, as reported in a section of the Press, of not fulfilling its earlier commitments of selling rice to Cuba. Such a blatant succumbing to US pressures comes along with a series of policy measures that the Narasimha Rao Government is implementing to suit the interests of US imperialism. This shameful capitulation vindicates the fears expressed earlier by the CPI(M) that US dictated policy measures will not be confined only to the economic sphere but will also affect India's independent foreign policy.

India and Cuba for long years enjoyed mutually beneficial friendly relations and have been co partners in the non-aligned movement. The whole world is aware of the measures being taken up by the US imperialism to asphyxiate Cuba by continuing its economic blockade. It is indeed shameful that when the entire freedom-loving opinion in the world has condemned such US actions, India succumbs to US pressures.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) demands that the Government of India maintain close economic ties with Cuba and come to Cuba's aid in this critical moment. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon the Indian people to rise in protest against such shameful surrender of our sovereignty to US imperialism and to defend the independence and freedom of our country.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, March 22, 1992.

South African Referendum: CPI(M) Hails Outcome*

**Polit Bureau Issued Statement Dated March 19, 1992
to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) hails the results of the referendum amongst the white population of the South Africa. With the big support received by the South African President for his reforms to end apartheid, the CPI(M) hopes that these results will pave the way for the complete dismantling of the hated apartheid in South Africa and ushering in a democratic non-racist South Africa on the principle of one man-one-vote.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, March 29, 1992.

Central Committee Communiqué*

**Issued after its Meeting Held in New Delhi
on March 19-22, 1992**

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) met in New Delhi from March 19 to 22, 1992, the first meeting held since the Fourteenth Congress of the Party in January. The meeting took stock of the international and national political situation and adopted a political report. The meeting also took certain organisational decisions as a follow-up to the Party Congress. At the conclusion of the meeting, the Central Committee has issued the following statement.

International Situation

The Central Committee noted the ongoing recession in most of the advanced capitalist countries which is leading to growing unemployment, large-scale retrenchment of workers and closure of factories. The incidence of homelessness, bankruptcy of small businesses, and the deleterious effects of shrinking social security benefits is affecting the poorer sections severely in countries like Britain, USA, Canada and other countries. The growth rate of GDP of the G 7 countries has come down to 0.9 per cent in 1991. Those who proclaimed the superiority of capitalism and gloated over the reverses suffered by the socialist system, are now forced to acknowledge the inability of the world capitalist system to overcome the periodic crisis of capitalism and its resultant problems which adversely affect the people. The recession in the advanced capitalist countries is depressing the volume of world trade which will have adverse repercussions for the export growth of Third World countries. India will be badly affected.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, March 29, 1992.

The Central Committee condemned the continuing aggressive designs of U.S. imperialism which has been mounting pressure through the United Nations against countries like Iraq and Libya which have refused to acknowledge the hegemony of the USA in their region. The drive by the Bush administration to impose its new world order is leading to increasing tensions and brazen interference in the sovereign rights of the Third World countries. The Central Committee expressed its solidarity with the stand taken by the PLO for the resolution of the Palestinian problem. It condemned Israel and the failure of the USA to make it take a reasonable stand which has led to the failure of the successive rounds of negotiations on the West Asia peace talks.

The Central Committee welcomed the results of the whites-only referendum conducted in South Africa which approved the policy of President De Klerk. This result should assist in the speedy negotiations to end the hated apartheid system and to establish majority democratic rule. There should be no complacency about the difficulties ahead and the Central Committee expressed its full solidarity with the ANC stand that international sanctions should not be lifted until the transition from apartheid to a democratic society is finalised through negotiations and put into effect.

The Central Committee expressed its firm solidarity with Cuba. It condemned the naked threats being issued to Cuba to subvert its independence by the USA while the latter continues with its unconscionable economic blockade. The Central Committee called upon all its units to respond to the call of the *Cuba Solidarity Campaign* launched in India and make it a big success.

Increasing U.S. Pressures on India

It is in the background of the drive of the USA to capture more markets and investment facilities in order to overcome its internal economic difficulties and its plans for global domination, that its pressures on India have intensified economically and politically. The pressure to conform by signing the NPT or to participate in the five-nation meeting on non proliferation is being sustained at

a high pitch by the Bush administration. The relentless pressure to soften up the Rao Government to further open the doors to U.S. investments in the services sector and on intellectual property rights is being maintained through the threat of invoking Special 301 of the U.S. Trade Act and the Dankel proposals. Above all, U.S. imperialism has exposed its crude hegemonistic designs by the Pentagon paper which identifies India as a threat and proposes curbing its potential strength and influence on South Asia.

All these pressures are encouraged by the capitulationist stance of the Narasimha Rao Government on economic policy. The submission to IMF-World Bank dictates has led to shifts in the foreign policy of the government. Abandoning non aligned positions, the Rao Government has shamelessly submitted to U.S. pressures as seen by its silence in the U.N. on U.S. blockade of Cuba, in its recognition of Israel at a time when it brazenly defies U.N. resolutions, in its voting with the U.S. in the Security Council on issuing threats to Libya. The warning of the CPI(M) that the pro-imperialist economic policies will affect the independent foreign policy, is ominously proving to be true. The Central Committee calls upon all Left, democratic and patriotic forces to mount a big campaign to stop this abandonment of the policy of non-alignment and the tilt to the USA which goes against the basic interests of the country.

The Central Committee expressed its total opposition to the Indo-U.S. military collaboration formalised through the setting up of the joint steering committee for army-to-army cooperation. It also opposed the announcement of joint naval exercises finalised during the Indian foreign secretary's visit to Washington. The Narasimha Rao Government has taken this anti-national step without taking Parliament into confidence. The Central Committee called upon all its Party units and the democratic forces to explain to the people the grave implications of this dangerous step and mobilise public opinion to get this collaboration scrapped.

Increasing Authoritarian Attacks

The Central Committee noted that in the recent period, the ruling Congress(I) at the Centre, in order to perpetuate its rule, is

displaying its known proclivity for authoritarian tactics. In the north-eastern States of Meghalaya and Manipur, it engineered the toppling of non-Congress(I) ministries and in Manipur imposed President's rule. Determined to implement anti-working class economic policies, the Rao Government has now announced its intention to reimpose the Essential Services Maintenance Act (ESMA) which is a draconian law to ban strikes. The entire opposition must resolutely resist the move to reimpose ESMA. The Congress(I) is resorting to unscrupulous methods to engineer defections in the opposition parties like the TDP and thwart the people's verdict.

The authoritarian nature of the Congress(I) is glaringly evident in Tripura. Pursuing an unprecedented reign of terror for the past four years, the coalition government of the Congress-TUJS stands badly isolated from the people. The recent ministerial crisis and the change of chief minister is a reflection of this isolation. The new government under a new chief minister is following the same discredited policies when there is large-scale starvation and death due to shortage of food in the tribal areas. Terror continues to be concentrated on the tribal compact areas. The Central Committee expressed its full solidarity with the Tripura unit of the Party and the Left and democratic forces there which are fighting to defend democracy and the rights of the people. It called upon all Left and democratic forces in the country to support the struggle for democracy and the movement to oust this unpopular and hated regime from power.

The Central Committee condemned the Congress(I)-led UDF government in Kerala for its blatant attacks on the democratic institutions in the state. The ordinance to arbitrarily reduce the term of the elected cooperative bodies from five to three years is a crude bid to capture these bodies. The Karunakaran Government has launched this attack tampering with the elected district council. In Karnataka also, the Congress(I) Government has postponed elections to the Zilla Parishads and Mandals and taken over the functions of these bodies through administrators. By these acts, the Congress(I) has provided yet again an evidence of its profoundly anti-democratic character and exposed its hypocritical talk of strengthening the Panchayati Raj institutions.

Threats to National Unity

The Central Committee reviewed the situation in Punjab and Kashmir where grave threats to national unity continue unabated. The Central Committee adopted two separate resolutions on the Punjab and Kashmir situation putting forth the Party's viewpoint on the immediate steps that are necessary to tackle the situation in these two states.

Union Budget and Economic Situation

The Union Budget for 1992-93 is reactionary and one of the worst since independence. It is blatantly pro rich anti poor. It has the stamp of the IMF-World Bank conditionalities and it will lead to stifling and destroying the growth potential of the economy. The net effect of the budget proposals will be acceleration of inflation and all-round price rise, and further erosion of the economic sovereignty of the country.

The Central Committee condemned the taxation proposals in the budget. The main thrust is to provide a bonanza for the rich. Rupees 1,500 crore have been gifted to the wealthy by lowering the income tax rates. For the rich there is the significant reduction of income tax in the higher income groups, the practical abolition of wealth tax, and there is no increase in the corporate taxes.

On the other hand, there is a vicious attack on the livelihood of the common people through sharp increase in direct taxes such as the five per cent increase in special excise duty on a whole range of commodities to the tune of Rs. 1,025 crore. Alongwith the sharp increase in the railway passenger fares and freight rates, the result would be inflationary, adding to the price increase of various commodities and burdening the common people.

The Central Committee strongly opposed the partial convertibility of the rupee. With 60 per cent of the foreign exchange inflow being converted at the market rate, there is a implicit devaluation of the rupee. A major part of our essential imports will now cost more in rupee terms. This will once again have cost-push effect and fuel inflation.

In order to curtail the fiscal deficit to five per cent as per the IMF guideline, the budget seeks to achieve this by attacking the rights of the common people by cutting down developmental and capital expenditure. There are cuts in education, health programmes and in food subsidy. Also badly hit will be the rural employment programmes. While the rich are pampered, the urban and rural poor are deprived with less money being provided for malaria and tuberculosis eradication programmes, for drinking water facilities, for literacy and for rural employment programmes. More seriously, the outlay for food subsidies for the public distribution system is less than last year's outlay. This means that the public distribution system will both be curtailed and the commodities supplied under it will be more expensive through forthcoming administered price hikes.

Abjectly surrendering to the IMF World Bank conditionalities, the Narasimha Rao Government is now publicly defending these policies. Emboldened by its manoeuvres in Parliament, it is shamelessly defending acceptance of these conditionalities as witnessed by the correspondence between the finance minister and the World Bank for the SAL loan. It is going ahead with large scale massacre of jobs in the government and public sector. In railways alone it wants reduction of one lakh jobs in the next five years. The exit policy to displace workers and its implementation in sick public sector units, is being put into force.

BJP Duplicity on Economic Policy

The recent BJP national executive session has clearly shown that the BJP supports the basic economic policies of the Narasimha Rao Government while making noises about price rise and unemployment. The BJP's class interests which is pro-monopolist and pro-big traders has thus come before the people fully exposed. The BJP refused to vote against the basic policies of the government in Parliament. It has shown itself to be least concerned about the IMF-World Bank "takeover" of the policy direction of the economy and has admitted in Parliament that it is also in favour of liberalisation and pro-monopoly measures. The BJP has proved to be a reliable ally of the Congress(I) in pushing through the economic policies.

Instead of squarely fighting the Rao Government on the economic front, the BJP is back to its old game of diverting the people's attention with the temple-mosque issue. The Central Committee strongly condemned the construction work by the BJP state government of a wall around the disputed site at Ayodhya. It also views with alarm the reports that 42 acres of the adjoining land have been given in perpetual lease to the VHP and the demolition of temples and buildings adjoining the disputed site by the state government. By these actions, the Kalyan Singh Government is going against the spirit of the court directives and reneging on the commitment it made at the last NIC meeting. This path will lead to raising communal tensions. Already, riots have taken place in some places in U.P. in the past two months. The Central Government must immediately intervene to stop these provocative activities.

Centre-State Relations

The authoritarian tendencies of the Congress(I) at the Centre and its efforts to further curtail the rights of the states by imposing the burdens of its new economic onslaughts onto the states, highlight the necessity for the restructuring of Centre-State relations. This struggle is all the more essential since the Congress(I) continues its ruthless policy of eroding states, rights and take on non-Congress(I) Governments. Further, the chronic problems of national unity in states like Punjab, Kashmir and Assam cannot be solved without the devolution of powers to the states and ensuring that the genuine aspirations of the people of the various states can be democratically fulfilled. The Central Committee called upon the democratic forces to build up a broad-based movement to demand the restructuring of Centre-State relations and to make it an immediate agenda for implementation.

Build Broad-Based Unity to Fight Back Economic Policies

The Central Committee appreciated the initiative taken by the Left parties to launch a sustained and united struggle against the new economic policies. The call given by the Left parties to begin a movement against price rise and the new economic

policies from February 15, met with a big response from the people. At the end of the first phase of this movement on March 4, lakhs of people participated in the rallies and demonstrations all over the country. In Guwahati and Hyderabad, the Congress(I) state governments there unleashed repression and the demonstrators were severely lathi-charged with many injured. The Central Committee discussed the necessity to widen and intensify the movement in the second phase in cooperation with other Left, democratic and secular forces. The big media campaign in support of the economic policies must be countered. It called upon all the state units to immediately launch a big campaign through *jathas* and meetings to explain to the people the harmful consequences of the economic policies and to mobilise the widest support for the proposed "Bharat bandh" which will be unitedly called for by the National Front-Left parties and other mass organisations.

Programme Commission

The Central Committee set up a commission for the updating of the Party Programme as decided in the Fourteenth Congress of the Party. The commission will consist of E. M. S. Namboodiripad, M. Basavapunnaiah, Jyoti Basu, P. Ramachandran, R. Umanath and Anil Biswas. The commission has been asked to submit its draft to the Central Committee within six months time.

Political Report*

**Adopted by the Central Committee of The CPI(M)
in Its Meeting Held on March 19-22, 1992**

Two and a half months have elapsed since the Fourteenth Congress of our Party. The Party Congress had given a call for action to launch big mass movements and step up the intervention of the Left and democratic forces in a big way. The political resolution took note of the instability prevailing in the political system due to the crisis in the bourgeois landlord order which is being subjected to severe strains, as never before since independence. Taking note of the growing discontent against the anti-people policies of the government and the contradictions arising out of that, the political resolution pointed out that this is being sought to be diverted into divisive channels by the communal and divisive forces. The Congress directed the Party to mobilise the other Left and secular forces to seize the initiative from these forces so that this discontent is directed into democratic channels. Only this way can the Left and democratic forces be strengthened so that both the Congress(I) and the communal forces are defeated. The resolution pointed out that there is no easy course to achieve our objective and a consistent struggle on various fronts economic, political, ideological, social and organisational is required. Developments which have taken place during the last two and a half months fully validate the positions taken by the Party Congress in its resolutions.

INTERNATIONAL

The period since the Fourteenth Congress has seen a continuation of the recession gripping the world capitalist

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economy. The rate of growth of GDP of the G 7 countries stood at just 0.9 per cent in 1991 down from 2.4 per cent in 1990.

In the USA industrial production fell by an average of 2.5 per cent during the first three quarters in 1991 and by a further 0.4 per cent in the last quarter. In Japan, the rate of growth fell drastically from 6 per cent in the first quarter to 1.2 per cent in the third, and output actually recorded a decline of -1.4 per cent in the fourth quarter. In Germany, the growth rate fell from 5.1 per cent in the first quarter to 0.4 per cent in the fourth. In France, after initial stagnation, output fell by 0.7 per cent in the latter half of the year. In the U.K., which is worst affected by the recession, industrial production fell all through the year by percentages varying from 0.6 to 5.9.

The immediate impact of this recession is felt by the working people all over the world. Unemployment is registering one of the highest levels in the post-Second World War period. It is nearly 10 per cent in France and Italy, over to 7 per cent in USA, 8 per cent in U.K., 6 per cent in Germany, 15 per cent in Spain and 2.2 per cent in Japan.

Though the recession is universally effecting all the developed capitalist countries, its impact is not uniform. Japan and, to a lesser extent, Germany, retain a relative advantage. Thus the potential for economic conflict between the three main capitalist centres continues to grow. The recent threat by USA to reduce its financial and military commitment to the NATO unless the 12-Nation European Community (E.C.) accepts U.S. positions in the ongoing GATT negotiations is one expression of this. The E.C. has so far been opposing a trade agreement that blatantly favours the USA.

While the conditions of the working people in these countries are worsening with cuts in the welfare schemes, this recession has serious implications for the economic development of the Third World countries.

The recession has had a lasting impact on the growth of world trade. The volume of world exports, in the years 1985-90 rose by 6.5 per cent per annum, on the average. In 1991 the rate dropped to a mere 1.1 per cent.

The synchronisation of the recession in all the capitalist countries belonging to the OECD (Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development) has thus deeply effected the volume of world trade rendering the prospects of economic development of the developing countries very bleak. When the world trade was expanding at 6.5 per cent in volume terms, exports from developing countries grew at 9.5 per cent per annum. These high rates of growth were accounted for largely by the five dragons of South East Asia. Notwithstanding this, the rate of growth of world trade being much lower in the current year, it would be virtually impossible for developing countries, particularly India, to achieve a more than 10 per cent growth of exports by volume to make a dent on the balance of payment crisis.

The biggest casualty of this recession has been the manufacturing industry in the developed capitalist world. This signifies a further potential fall in the growth of productive forces in the coming years. Even in Japan, the growth of factory and mine output fell by 1.9 per cent compared to last year. In Germany, the orders for manufactured goods fell by 2.5 per cent. The situation has reached such a level in the USA, that the 'big three' U.S. automobile giants, General Motors, Ford and Chrysler, have all laid off tens of thousands of workers. The General Motors have in fact announced that during the course of the next four years they are planning to retrench nearly four lakh workers.

It is this continued recession that is propelling an aggressive U.S. imperialist drive to strengthen its economic hegemony over the world and pass the burden of this crisis on to the developing countries. The pressures that are being mounted on the developing world through the on going Uruguay Round of GATT negotiations, the Dunkel draft, the Super 301 threats and trade retaliation are all imperialist responses to this crisis.

As the recession deepens, (even the most optimistic of forecasts estimate that the volume of world trade in 1992 will not exceed more than four per cent) the arm twisting measures against the developing countries are bound to be intensified. This sets the stage for the contradiction between imperialism and the people on the Third World countries to sharpen further.

The U.S. imperialism's hegemonistic drive will not confine itself to economic sphere alone. Its imposition of the 'New World', order following the collapse of the Soviet Union, has been most blatantly exposed in the recent disclosures of a secret Pentagon paper. This 'strategy' has very nakedly worked out the details of how the USA will maintain and strengthen its worldwide hegemonistic designs. The U.S. imperialism is mounting pressures on independent developing countries including India to take foreign policy positions, that suit its interests.

Developments in the Former Socialist Countries

The process of restoration of capitalism in the former socialist countries has not been as rapid or smooth as the pro-capitalist forces had expected. The situation in the former Soviet Union has rapidly deteriorated. The Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) has not yet been able to come to any agreement of having a unified military command. State of civil war conditions and strife continues in many parts, particularly in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Moldavia and Georgia. The socialist infrastructure of people's welfare and security have been completely dismantled. The mass of the people are facing unprecedented price rise and unemployment. Another round of price hikes are slated from April 1 to the tune of 3 to 4 times the present levels. This may well drive the vast mass of working people below subsistence levels.

The common people have begun to rise in protest against these policies. Two big demonstrations have already been held in Moscow on February 9 and February 23. Another was held on March 17 to commemorate the anniversary of the referendum in which the Soviet citizens had overwhelmingly voted for maintaining the USSR in 1991. Earlier, on March 15, demonstrations were held in various cities of the Russian republic. These demonstrations are being organised under a broad coalition known as 'Toiling Moscow'. Apart from various trade union organisations, one of the important elements of this coalition is a new party known as Russian Communist Workers Party (RCWP) headed by Kasolapov, former editor of the CPSU's

theoretical journal, '*Communist*'. The Russian Socialist Workers Party by Roy Medvedev, the successor to the social democratic platform of Gorbachev, is not formally in the coalition. Reports indicate that efforts are on to form a federation of Communists. Apart from the RCWP, the other main groups are the Union of Communists, formed by those who earlier constituted the Marxist platform in the CPSU and Neo-Bolshevik group led by Nina Andreyeva in Leningrad. In Moscow, a federation of Communist Union has already been set up.

The situation in other East European countries is equally disturbing with growing unemployment and worsening economic status of the common people. In fact, in Poland, 53 per cent of the people, in an opinion poll, now feel that the Martial Law imposed in 1981 against solidarity strikes was justified! Similar change of public opinion is visible in other countries but it is yet to take a concrete political expression.

The situation in Yugoslavia continues to remain tense. Though there has been a respite in the civil war, the ceasefire remains tenuous. Western powers, especially Germany, have continuously fueled secessionist forces. The duplicity of U.S. imperialism and its allies is exposed by the fact that on the one hand, they have supported the despatch of a U.N. peace keeping force, but on the other, they have recognised Slovenia and Croatia as independent countries, thus cementing the disintegration of the Yugoslav federation.

The situation in the remaining socialist countries continues to remain complex.

In the People's Republic of China, the CPC leaders have urged a speedier implementation of reforms within the framework of the 'four cardinal principles'. The U.S. pressures on China, in the economic sphere, are continuing to mount. Similarly, international campaign is being mounted on the Tibet issue. Pressures are also mounting in the USA not to grant the 'Most Favoured Nation' status to the PRC.

Cuba is being subjected to a criminal isolation by U.S. imperialism. The economic blockade continues to stifle the small but courageous socialist state imposing hardships not

experienced by generations of Cubans after the revolution. The USA is pressuring other countries not to have any trade contacts with Cuba. The U.S. insistence that India not sell rice to Cuba if India wishes to buy wheat from USA is an example. The international solidarity with Cuba needs to be strengthened and our Party must make all efforts to form broad based solidarity committees in the states and collect medicines and other materials in solidarity with the Cuban Revolution and people.

North Korea is also being targetted by U.S. imperialism with pressures to open itself for a nuclear inspection. The USA has mounted surveillance on the movement of its commercial ships. Notwithstanding these pressures, the Workers Party of Korea has undertaken a series of initiatives towards the peaceful reunification of Korea and substantial progress has been made in the North South talks. A bilateral treaty on non-aggression, cooperation and exchange has been signed and various commissions set up to hasten normalisation.

Certain Developments in some Communist Parties

Faced with the growing unemployment and mounting hardships on the working people in capitalist countries, the move to dissolve Communist Parties, discard Marxism Leninism and embrace Social Democracy is being resisted in some countries.

In Italy, the Communists who disagreed with the decision of the PCI Congress to change its name to Party of Democratic Left (PDS) drop the red flag, hammer and sickle and push for an alliance with the Social Democratic Party, have organised themselves under the banner of 'Communist Refoundation' (CR). While the PDS lost over three lakh members, the CR has over 1.5 lakh members, 12 senators, 13 representatives in the National Assembly. A Congress is being planned in April to 'refound' the Communist Party.

In Spain, at the 13th Congress of the Communist Party (PCE) last December, over 70 per cent of the 700 delegates rejected the move to dissolve PCE and merge into the United Left.

Similarly, the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) reaffirmed its adherence to Marxism Leninism

and castigated the role of Gorbachev as tantamount to treason.

In the USA, the 25th National Convention of the CP, after a bitter struggle, reaffirmed its Marxist Leninist character and adhered to Democratic Centralism. A new leadership, predominantly from the working class has been elected.

In Canada, after a bitter inner-party struggle, the Party has virtually split with a majority, rallying together to defend Marxism Leninism and Communism.

West Asia

The U.S. designs to impose its 'new world order' is clearly exposed in the role it is playing in the West Asian conflict. While ostensibly appearing to work for peace in the region, U.S. imperialism refuses to exercise pressure on Israel to vacate occupied Arab lands. Israeli intransigence, has prevented any meaningful outcome in the peace talks. Not only has Israel refused to vacate occupied Arab lands, but has mounted fresh attacks on Lebanon. Hazibollah leader Sheik Abbas Musawi was murdered by Israeli helicopters in February. The Moscow Conference was boycotted by the PLO in the wake of the continuous Israeli intransigence. The later Washington round has also not yielded any result. Unless international pressure is mounted on Israel and the USA, a meaningful solution to the West Asian conflict add the granting of the long denied homeland to the Palestinians cannot be ensured. The PLO in the meanwhile has intensified the *intifada* struggle within the Israeli occupied lands.

The U.S. led total blockade of Iraq continues to impose inhuman hardships on the people. Even humanitarian aid like food and medicines is not allowed to reach. The USA seeks to completely smash Iraq's any remaining potential to emerge as a force in West Asia. The U.S. imperialism has now targetted Libya with fresh pressures. Demanding the extradition of two Libyans for their alleged role in the bombing of a Pan Am aircraft in 1989 (a case that has never been proved, even *prima facie*) USA is seeking to impose sanctions and threats. Libya has most

reasonably suggested that it is ready to hand over the concerned persons but on the condition that they be tried in a neutral country. The USA refuses to accept this and is attempting to hijack the U.N. as it did during the Gulf War.

Disturbing developments are taking place in other parts of West Asia and the Gulf, Islamic countries. The Muslim fundamentalists were on the verge of capturing power in Algeria, though no more than 40 per cent of the people participated in the elections. The democratic revolution in Algeria had lost considerable support due to maladministration, corruption and the worsening economic situation. The consequent discontent was exploited by the fundamentalists to the full. In this background, the army took over the administration. A confrontation between the fundamentalists and the army is currently on. Had the fundamentalists captured power, this would have had an adverse impact on the whole area, particularly to the struggle of the Saharwi people.

The U.N.-sponsored referendum in the Western Sahara is being continuously obstructed by the Moroccan regime. The situation continues to be tense and unless the U.N. takes a firm position and conducts the referendum on the basis of the Saharwi population, no lasting solution is possible.

Iran and Saudi Arabia have stepped up activities to foster Muslim fundamentalism in their region. A dangerous tendency of Islamic affinity threatens the anti-imperialist content of the democratic regional formations like the Arab League and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). Iran, Turkey and Pakistan have taken the initiative to rope in the five former Soviet Asian Republics. A committee consisting of these countries has already been formed with the ostensible aim being that of economic cooperation.

Kampuchea

Following the peace agreement, Prince Sihanouk has headed the interim counsel. The U.N. Transitional arrangement (UNTAC) has been established to conduct elections. The recent visit by the Chinese foreign minister has contributed to the peace

process there. If the transitional arrangements proceed smoothly then peace will finally be ushered in Kampuchea.

El Salvador

In Central America, the backyard of American imperialism, the FMLN guerrillas in El Salvador have arrived at an agreement to end the twelve-year-old war between the U.S. backed rightist government and the liberation forces. The detailed agreement envisages the completion of the peace process by October 31, 1992 with a drastic reduction in the size of the armed forces and security police, which would now be controlled by a democratically elected committee of civilians.

All the land occupied by the peasants in the liberated areas is to be legalised; land reform legislation be implemented in the other parts. It is to be seen how sincere the rightist forces will remain to this agreement. The anti U.S. feelings in Latin and Central America continue to rise with some information of protest actions which are taking place in various parts of the continent.

Afghanistan

Positive developments are taking place in Afghanistan. The U.N. sponsored peace plan envisages a meeting of all Afghan groups to the conflict. All political forces have hailed this conference which is to be held under U.N. supervision. An important feature is the positive attitude adopted by Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, the two main supporters and financers of the Mujaheddin and the fundamentalists. This change in Pakistan's policy has been due to the persistent defeats faced by the Mujaheddin in the battle front. With the successful holding of this conference, peace and political settlement in Afghanistan can be hoped for.

South Africa

The near 70 per cent endorsement received by the De Klerk Government for its policies for a democratic change in South Africa in the 'whites only' referendum held on March 17 is a significant victory for the anti-apartheid forces. The days before

the referendum saw many murderous attacks on the black population by the white reactionary forces. Though this result will have a crucial bearing on the ongoing struggle for the complete dismantling of the apartheid regime, it should not lead to any complacency. Efforts are on to stall the process of democratic changes. Therefore, international sanctions must continue till the apartheid structure is completely dismantled and a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one man-one vote. Only through this can the transformation of South Africa into a non racial democratic country be ensured.

Developments in Pakistan

The disclosure that Pakistan possesses the nuclear bomb is being utilised by U.S. imperialism to pressurise India into signing the NPT.

The situation in Pakistan is becoming complicated with the rising demands for a separate state in the Sindh province. Sindh is becoming the most difficult to govern province of Pakistan. The recent JKLf march, coinciding with the BJP's *Ekta Yatra*, has led to growing tensions between India and Pakistan. Though the IJI Government had stopped the marchers at the actual line of control, it has been making statements openly declaring support to Kashmiri militants.

The Pakistani military circles continue to support shelter and train both Kashmiri and Sikh terrorists, thus directly interfering in India's internal affairs.

With Pakistan trying to internationalise the Kashmir issue in this background, the relation between the two countries have worsened. The CPI(M) has reiterated that the Government must adhere to the stand that the only basis for a settlement on the Kashmir issue can be the spirit and content of the Simla Agreement.

Sri Lanka

The situation in Sri Lanka continues to deteriorate. The Premadasa Government has thwarted any successful solution to the ethnic conflict. Initially the Government had utilised the

conflicts within the Tamil groups to mount an offensive on the non LTTE groups. Later it has launched a massive military offensive on the non-LTTE groups. Later it has launched a massive military offensive in the Northern and Eastern provinces against the LTTE itself. The LTTE's negative attitude to arrive at a political solution is imposing untold suffering on the innocent Tamil population. The latest military offensive is heaping inhuman atrocities on innocent population.

The CPI(M) reiterates its consistent position that only a political solution can end this bloody conflict. Such a solution would have to be based on granting autonomy to the North-East Province within the framework of a united Sri Lanka.

Myanmar

Notwithstanding the earlier people's upsurge for the restoration of democracy, the military junta continues to perpetuate its authoritarianism. Despite the ground swell of public opinion, authoritarian attacks on people's democratic rights continue.

The situation in the border areas has become very tense with thousands, mainly Muslims, seeking refuge in Bangladesh.

Philippines

After many, many years U.S. imperialism is finally being forced to withdraw its military base from the Subic Bay in the Philippines. It is, however, seeking newer areas to establish its base and continue its presence in the region in pursuit of its global hegemonistic designs.

The withdrawal of the military base does not signify any change in the U.S. policy. In the complex pre election situation there, it is seeking to establish a new regime that complies with its military, economic and political interests in the region.

Pressures on India's Foreign Policy

In the background of these developments, increasing pressures are being mounted on the India's foreign policy by U.S. imperialism. By adopting policies that surrender the economic

sovereignty of our country, the Narasimha Rao Government has only made itself more vulnerable to such pressures. Notwithstanding the rhetoric of the Prime Minister that India would not succumb to these pressures significant shifts are already visible.

Reverses on our foreign policy stand is clearly seen from first supporting the U.S. sponsored resolution on Israel in the U.N. and later establishing full diplomatic relations with Israel. Both these steps were taken without any discussion in the Parliament. Later came the exposure of the Government succumbing to US pressures of not selling rice to Cuba. With U.S. pressures now mounting on all fronts, through the IMF conditionalities, the Dunkel Draft, the GATT negotiations on TRIPS and TRIMS, the seed policy, the Special 301, and so on, it is an urgent necessity for the Indian people to rise once again to defend India's economic and political sovereignty and to establish once again the inalienable right of the Indian people to take decisions relating to our country, a right which is being surrendered to U.S. imperialism, today.

Indo-U.S. Military Collaboration

The most shocking instance of succumbing to U.S. pressures has been the collaboration in the military sphere. This comes in the background of growing U.S. pressures to force India to sign a blatantly discriminatory/Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

The Political Resolution of the Party Congress had noted the dangerous move of establishing long-term military collaboration with the USA. Subsequently this cooperation has been formalised with the inaugural meeting of the Joint Executive Steering Committee of the two armies held in the last week of January 1992. This meeting accepted the main proposals made by the Lt. Gen. Kickleighter, last April which envisaged: (i) Setting up Indo-U.S. Army executive steering council, (ii) Reciprocal visits by senior commanders, (iii) Regular staff talks between the two armies, (iv) Reciprocal training and individual training programmes, (v) Unit training exchanges and observations of

training exchanges and observations of training services, (vi) Combined training activities, (vii) U.S. and Indian army participation in the Pacific Command Joint Committee level meeting programmes, (viii) Personnel exchange programme, (ix) Collective training information exchange and cooperation.

The joint steering committee meeting decided on army to army cooperation based on the above proposals including the exchange of visits, reciprocal training, arranging and participating in regional conferences and symposia. This new area of cooperation at the military level is alarming and is fraught with serious consequences for India's foreign policy and integrity. Because the nature of the military cooperation borders on military alliance, the nature of which has never been entered into India since independence. Even the close relations with the Soviet Union was mainly confined to supply of defence equipment and training of personnel connected with it.

Simultaneously the Indian Navy and the U.S. Navy have agreed to set up similar joint steering committees for the two Navies, which was finalised during the visit of the U.S. Admiral Frank Kelso, in January. During the foreign secretary Dixit's visit to USA, it has been announced that the joint naval exercises in the Indian Ocean have been agreed upon. Many of these proposals will be given a final shape during the defence minister, Sharad Pawar's visit to USA in April.

The basic fact emerging from these new relations is that India is being steadily drawn into the U.S. strategic global design and its military strategy. Such a far reaching shift in Indian policy succumbing to U.S. pressures has been undertaken without any opinion or debate in Parliament or explanation to the Indian people. The defence of India's non alignment and the struggle to maintain India's independent and anti-imperialist orientation requires that these subversive military relations with the USA is strongly opposed and all patriotic opinion be mobilised to halt this cooperation. It must be explained to the people that the USA will utilise this army to army ties to subvert the loyalties of our armed forces and penetrate the most vital sector of Indian defence forces.

NATIONAL SITUATION

The Political Resolution of the 14th Congress had pointed out the grave threat to national unity and the failure of the Congress Government to deal with them due to its narrow partisan interests.

Kashmir

Regarding Kashmir, the Party Congress took note of the fact that the situation in the valley was extremely serious, large sections of the people are totally alienated from the state and apprehensive about their identity due to the long years of misrule by the Central Government. The depredations of the secessionist forces have led to large-scale migration of the minority community. It further pointed out that "the CPI(M) has repeatedly stated that the situation cannot be tackled merely on the basis of the army and the para-military forces. It is necessary for the government to differentiate between those forces which are fighting for their identity and those advocating Muslim fundamentalism and accession to Pakistan". It also stated that "the demand for scrapping Article 370 of the Constitution by the BJP must be exposed, more autonomy has to be provided for the state and regional autonomy for Jammu and Ladakh regions". There was rethinking in certain sections of the people and some positive tendencies had emerged in the recent period. People were getting disillusioned, open clashes between different militant groups had started taking place. Good sections of the people had started realising the futility of militancy as neither Pakistan was going to act to "liberate" the valley, nor the Government of India was going to yield to secession. But the *ekta yatra* changed the situation adversely. The Government permitted it to proceed and fully collaborated in taking the BJP president in an official plane to Srinagar to hoist the flag with the protection of the army. This reversed the process and united the extremist groups.

It was a provocation against the sentiments of the common people which enabled the militants to reforge their links with the people and provided them with a chance to reorganise and reunite. The 24th January bomb blast at the police headquarters in

Srinagar had already emboldened the militants. The JKLF attempt to cross the LAC on 11th February and subsequent developments raised passions and strengthened the JKLF base. Certain excesses by the army and the security forces and some reckless measures as in the Hazratbal shrine caused further alienation.

From the earlier statements made by the government it was clear that it intended to hold elections in Jammu and Kashmir also. This idea had to be deferred after the assessment of the situation there. Recently the European Parliament adopted a resolution calling for resolving all the outstanding issues connected with Kashmir including the right of self determination through bilateral negotiations between India and Pakistan and appointment of international observers to monitor the problem. This dangerous resolution is a direct interference in India's internal affairs. While Pakistan is succeeding in internationalising the issue and both the United States and Egypt have offered to mediate in the dispute, the Government of India continues to rely on the army and the para-military forces to tackle the problem. It has not taken any step to find a political solution to the crux of the problem, without which no peace can be restored in the state nor can Kashmir be integrated with the rest of the country.

The main question in Kashmir is to win over the people to the cause of unity of the country which does not seem to be the concern of the government at all. The only step that has been taken recently, which can be called political—is the setting up of the State Advisory Council consisting of various political parties. Some persons have refused to join. Only three members, one each belonging to Congress(I), National Conference and CPI(M) have joined the council. Militants have threatened the people who meet members of the council. But, the council has elicited some positive response from the people who have started to begin placing their grievances before the members of the committee. It is necessary to reforge links with the people by taking up their grievances. It must be noted that the civil administration at the present

moment is either paralysed or working at the behest of the militants. It is not responsive to the problems of the common man. But the real solution lies in the political and economic package. Without this no peace can be restored in the state. The Party has to take up this matter and pursue the line worked out in the Party congress.

Punjab

As in Kashmir, in Punjab too, it is the policies pursued by the Central Government which are responsible for creating the present situation. For nearly a decade, the Congress(I) government at the Centre has refused to settle the genuine grievances of the Punjab people. Its criminal and partisan approach has only helped Pakistan and U.S. imperialism to aid and abet the Khalistani terrorists. It was hoped that the Centre would draw lessons from the past dismal experience and would find a political solution for the sake of the unity of the country and by this action it would involve all the political forces including the moderate Akalis into the election process. Instead of taking this course, it manoeuvred to get the parliamentary seats for its majority in Lok Sabha and capture power in the state. This attitude of the government has further aggravated the situation in the state. The Punjab elections have been marred by very low polling with only 21.6 per cent of voters participating. This is due to the atmosphere of fear generated by the terrorist threats and due to the cynical manipulations by the Congress(I) government which by refusing to announce a political package facilitated the boycott by the Akali groups. The Congress(I) did not hesitate even to resort to rigging in some places. In these elections, out of 21.6 per cent voting, the Sikhs have by and large boycotted. In no case has the figure crossed 5 per cent, it can be anywhere between 2 and 5 per cent. In the rural areas most of the people who voted either were the Hindus residing in the towns or the scheduled castes. As a result the situation is leading to a communal polarisation that did not exist in the state so far. The present government, which has been set up with such a massive majority of seats (with the lowest vote) as the Congress(I) party has never

been able to secure in the past has no credibility among the peasantry. One point to be noted is that we failed to estimate the extent of fear existing among the people. This made it difficult even to mobilise the Party base which was earlier participating actively in the rallies against extremism and separatism.

These elections will be of no help in solving the chronic problems of the state. The Congress(I) is very pleased at this hollow victory but its selfish policy has harmed the cause of national unity by further alienating the mass of Sikhs and widening the communal gulf in the state.

The Central Committee will have to consider measures to mobilise public opinion in the country in support of the framework of the Rajiv Longowal Accord which alone can help create an atmosphere for isolating the extremists and restoring peace in the state. Recent events in Sangrur district where non-Punjabi engineers and administrative personnel have been massacred goes to show the diabolical extent to which the extremists are prepared to go.

Assam

Although a cease-fire was agreed to by the ULFA after the success of the army operations in curbing their violent activities, the talks between the government and ULFA have not begun in right earnest. The ULFA leadership is still trying to convince its following about the correctness of its decision to conduct negotiations. The ULFA general council is expected to meet soon when a final decision will be taken. On the side of the Centre and the state government there seems to be no urgency in dealing with the problem. The delicate and complex task of successful negotiations has been left to the intelligence agencies to tackle where political leadership is essential. The people of Assam deeply desire to see an end to the violent activities and want peace restored. This can be done only when the gravity of the problem is realised and while tackling the ULFA's terrorist proclivities, simultaneously, the genuine problems of the people of the state stemming from economic backwardness and neglect are seriously addressed to.

Jharkhand Issue

In dealing with the Jharkhand question which has acquired prominence, the Government of India is taking a dubious stand. Instead of taking a proper stand that it is prepared to provide autonomy to the tribal people where they live in the contiguous areas within the state and even amend the Constitution if necessary to facilitate this, the government called a meeting of the Chief Ministers of four states and sought to complicate matters to encourage such movements in other states and to woo the Jharkhand Mukthi Morcha to the Congress(I) camp. This meeting was another effort to divert the issue into disruptive channels, particularly to hamper the Left Front Government of West Bengal. Calling a meeting of the four Chief Ministers means basically accepting the demand of Jharkhand Mukthi Morcha for a separate state comprising of some areas from these four states, although it is very clear that there is no compact area with a majority tribal population in the adjoining areas of West Bengal.

Already the Party Congress resolution has stated our position. We have to take up this question very seriously and raise the demand of regional autonomy for Jharkhand areas within Bihar state; autonomy where the tribals can protect their identity and are able to take steps for their economic, political and social development. The present set-up of 'autonomous council' provided in Bihar does not serve any purpose. Only provisions made in the Constitution, under the Sixth and Seventh schedule, with suitable amendments, can meet the requirements of the tribal population. While opposing the disruptive moves of the Central Government, our Party has to champion the cause of tribals not only in Bihar but in other areas too as decided upon by the Party Congress.

Darjeeling Issue

It is strange that instead of effectively working the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council and tackling the problems of the people residing in that region, GNLFF leader Subhas Ghising has started raising slogans which are inimical to national unity. In this he is encouraged by the Congress(I). The main purpose is again to

instigate the people in Darjeeling, disrupt the unity of the Bengalis and the hill people residing in West Bengal and weaken the Left Front. He has raked up the question of legal status of Darjeeling basing himself on the 1950 Indo-Nepal Treaty and stating that the struggle for independent state of Darjeeling has to be initiated. By raising such slogans Ghising and the GNLF leadership are trying to cover up their shortcomings in managing the affairs of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council. They gave a call for strike on this issue, which did not evoke the expected response. Though there is a division within the GNLF with a section opposed to him, they remain united on this question. While countering these divisive and separatist slogans, the Party has to pay special attention to the aspirations of Nepali-speaking people who constitute the overwhelming majority in the area of the Hill Council and live in other areas also in large numbers.

The question of Nepali language has to be taken up seriously for inclusion in the 8th Schedule as part of an all-India campaign and other measures in relation to their economic well being and social advance have to be given due importance in pursuance of the policy of the Left Front Government.

Similarly, in the other areas of North East, separatist movements have not completely died down. The Government by ignoring the problems of these regions is providing grist to the mill of the separatists. The recognition of Manipuri language is one important factor and in spite of the wide mass movement in Manipur, the Government of India refuses to include Manipuri in the 8th Schedule. Our Party, the Left and the democratic forces, should take up this cause and see that this is accepted.

Communalism

The Party Congress had highlighted the threat to national unity arising from the activities of the communal forces particularly the BJP and the VHP/Bajrang Dal/RSS/Shiv Sena and pointed out the compromising attitude of the Congress(I) towards these forces. Events since then, have confirmed the stand of the Party in its political resolution. It is not accidental that the Congress(I) government gives no importance to tackling this danger because

it is disruptive of the class unity of the working class, peasantry and the toiling millions. It further alienates the minority community and creates a wedge between the different communities on communal lines which is disruptive of national unity. Feeling of insecurity among the minority community is growing. The events after the Party Congress goes to show that the government refuses to realise this danger and is more inclined to overlook this danger and is leaning towards the BJP for its support. It is also banking upon the support of the BJP for the economic policies of surrender to the IMF/World Bank. It is due to this that the *Ekta Yatra* of the BJP was allowed to proceed to Srinagar in spite of the fact that the opinions expressed in the National Integration Council were very much critical of the *Ekta Yatra*. But the government did not stop the *yatra*, even its entry into Jammu and Kashmir. When the Home Minister made a statement asking the BJP to stop the *yatra* it was expected that the government was going to take some steps. Ultimately, the government cooperated with the BJP and made all arrangements for the *yatra* to proceed and helped in its successful conclusion. But the country had to pay a heavy cost as pointed out earlier for this joint venture.

The VHP has started the construction of a 20-feet high, wall around the disputed area at Ayodhya, violating the resolution adopted by the National Integration Council that status quo will be maintained and that the U.P. Government will abide by the court verdict. On this also the Central Government is keeping mum. This is creating apprehensions among the people belonging to the minority community. The Congress(I), in order to keep itself in power and also to get support for its economic policies continues to rely on the BJP, sacrificing the cause of national unity and secularism. This policy of the Congress(I) has to be thoroughly exposed.

Economic Policies

The Party Congress resolution had sharply attacked the economic policies of surrender to the dictates of IMF/World Bank, dominated by U.S. imperialism. These policies which can

prove disastrous for our country attack the very roots of self-reliance, public sector and planning, and open the doors of our economy for domination by multinationals and foreign capital and throws the burden of the crisis on the common people. During the last two months the government has been shamelessly defending these policies. It has decided to ignore the opposition to these policies and go ahead with them. Step by step the Congress(I) government has surrendered to the IMF/World Bank conditionalities, to the extent that the Union Budget presented to Parliament was determined by these conditions. This was exposed before Parliament when our Party took up the question of the 11th November, 1991 letter of the Finance Minister to the World Bank. The government was forced to place in Parliament, after the exposure in the Press, all documents related to the negotiations with the World Bank and the conditionalities placed by them. Apart from this the measures flowing from the new industrial policy constitute an outright attack on the public sector as seen by the announcement by the government in the middle of February of 49 per cent disinvestment of public sector shares as compared to the earlier steps of 20 per cent disinvestment. The notorious exit policy will give total freedom to the big capitalists to close factories and increase unemployment, the policy of complete liberalisation and virtual surrender in lifting all regulations on foreign investment.

The Party Congress had already taken note of the harmful effects of these policies with the unbearable burdens on the people through escalation in prices of essential commodities and the systematic attempts to dismantle the public distribution system. The policy of surrender to the IMF/World Bank was also seen by the refusal of the government to take a firm stand on the Dunkel draft proposals for the GATT round of negotiations. These proposals have met with widespread opposition from all sections of public opinion. These proposals are nothing but doing away the fundamental authority of the Indian State on sovereign matters like trade policy, foreign investment, patents, subsidies for agricultural production and social principles like the public

distribution system. It seeks to achieve the aims of the Special 301 pressure put by the USA through the GATT forum.

The 1992-93 Union Budget

As was expected, the Budget carries the stamp of the IMF/World Bank conditionalities. It is a glaringly pro-rich and anti poor Budget, the like of which has been rarely seen since independence. The net effect of the Budget proposals will be deindustrialisation, acceleration of inflation with an all-round price rise and further erosion of the economic sovereignty of the country.

The taxation proposals present a bonanza for the rich. Rupees 1,500 crores have been gifted to them by lowering of income tax rates. There has been a significant lowering of income tax rates for the higher income groups. The wealth tax has been changed to exclude financial assets such as shares and stock holdings which will immensely benefit the wealthy and industrialists and instead of increasing wealth taxes it has practically been wound up; the corporate taxes have not been increased and capital gains tax has been lowered.

The attack on the livelihood of the common people comes through sharp increase in indirect taxes such as increase in special excise duty by 5 per cent on a large range of commodities which is to yield Rs. 1,025 crores. This will only add to the cost-push inflationary effect. Along with the enormous hike in railway passenger fares and freight charges the result would be inflationary, adding to the price increase of various commodities and throwing the burden on the common man.

Further, within indirect taxes itself, there has been a special hike in the Central excise duty on domestically produced items and a significant reduction in customs duty on imported items (total reduction amount to Rs. 686 crores), so that goods from abroad can become more attractive in the domestic market. Similarly, in the sphere of borrowing, question of internal borrowing has been reduced, but that of external borrowing increased. Thus increasing the dependence of our economy on foreign produces and banks.

The partial convertibility of the rupee with 60 per cent of foreign exchange inflow being converted at the market rate will mean an implicit devaluation of the rupee. Since only 40 per cent of the foreign exchange inflow will now be converted at the official rate, this will not be sufficient for essential imports. Therefore, a significant part of our essential imports will now cost more in rupee terms. This will lead again to an overall cost-push effect with multiplied inflationary effects on the economy. Further experience has shown that despite this implicit devaluation of the rupee, it will not lead to any improvement in exports; last year's devaluation of the rupee has been accompanied by a five per cent decline in export earnings while it will surely add to inflation. Speculation against the rupee is likely to mount; foreign exchange inflow is likely to be held back in anticipation of the fact that the 40 per cent to be handed over to the government would be reduced further in view of the government's announced intention of going for full convertibility. In such a case, the foreign exchange situation will become more grim and the inflationary crisis more acute. The net result will be to throw the fate of the people to the mercy of currency speculators.

The proposed reduction of the fiscal deficit will bring down inflation according to the claims of the Finance Minister. This claim is bound to prove hollow since the Budget institutes cost-push factors which will operate in the economy to push up prices. One has only to recall the similar claim made during the presentation of the last Budget in July, 1991.

In order to cut the fiscal deficit to 5 per cent as per the IMF conditionality, the Budget seeks to achieve this by attacking the rights of the common people by cutting down the development and capital expenditure. There is a seven per cent cut in Central Plan outlay in monetary terms which will be much larger in real terms given the prevailing rate of inflation. Equally ominous is the fact that budgetary support to the Central Plan outlay is hardly 35 per cent. What this means is that the rest of the money has to be raised by several rounds of administered price hikes. The cuts in government spending are nakedly directed against the poor and

the vulnerable. There is a cut in the outlay for rural development programmes in real terms. Affected by these cuts are the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana which has suffered a cut of 15 per cent in real terms. More viciously, the Budget provisions for health, education and social welfare have been cut. Among the health programmes to suffer are malaria eradication, tuberculosis and drinking water programmes. In education there is a cut of 25 per cent in real terms and literacy programme outlay has been reduced. An assault has been made on the small savings programme of the states and sale of shares has been proposed for even the profit making public sector units. However, as suggested in the alternative proposal of the Left Front Government of West Bengal, the same question of fiscal deficit reduction could have been achieved if only a fraction of the annual accrual of black money (of at least Rs. 50,000 crores) were effectively unearthed, instead of resorting to these devious anti-people and anti-states measures.

In relation to public distribution system which is very important in the wake of rising prices, the government has announced the launching of revamped public distribution system in 1700 backward blocks in the country. And if we go through the budgetary provisions of Rs. 2,500 crores for food subsidies including the additional Rs. 250 crores on account of 1700 blocks (and out of which the cost of construction of godowns in these blocks has to be met) we have a total food subsidy which is lower in nominal terms than last year's Rs. 2,850 crores. This does not take into account the increase in the procurement prices which will add to the increase in the issue prices with the result that this amount in actual effect will be much less than the last year, what to say of the 1700 blocks. Then there is the provision of Rs. 5,000 crores for fertiliser subsidy. This is much less to maintain the present price level. Though the government declares that it is not doing away with this subsidy, it is only a deception. In fact the government will have to raise the administered prices of fertilisers rising the cost of production of foodgrains and other agricultural production.

Even after taking all these measures to bring the fiscal deficit to 5 per cent of the GDP there will be enormous slashing of the development expenditure, in nominal terms compared to 1991-92 Budget estimates and in real terms when inflation is taken into account. In fact the country is faced with the dismantling of the planning system, a total reversal of the national objectives of planned economic development and self reliance which the country has accepted since the days of the freedom struggle. Further sale of public sector equity to the tune of Rs. 2,500 crores is indicative of the government's intentions of dismantling the public sector. The so-called national renewal fund which provides 1000 crores as a platform for the exit policy which will lead to massacre of jobs. The total effects of the Budget is going to be greater economic burdens on the common man with no relief in sight. The prices and unemployment are bound to grow dramatically as a result of this Budget while the government is withdrawing from its responsibilities to meet the welfare requirements of large sections of the people.

The Narasimha Rao Government has come to the conclusion that there is no way out but to accept all the conditionalities put out by the IMF/World Bank. That is why the Prime Minister in his reply to the debate on the Presidential address shamelessly defended the acceptance of the conditionalities.

Our Party has rightly given the slogan in the Party Congress to mobilise the people to resist these policies and this alone will provide the answer to the anti-people policies of the Congress regime. The campaign to explain the harmful effects of the economic policies must be conducted more extensively to reach all sections of the people particularly the rural areas.

Centre-State Relations

As pointed out in the political resolution of the Party Congress the issue of Centre-State relations will assume vital importance in the coming period. There are a number of factors which make the struggle for restructuring of Centre State relations important. First, the worsening economic situation due to the Centre's new economic policies is sought to be passed on to the states by

further erosion of their economic powers. The crisis of the economy is sought to be passed on to the State Governments. One striking example is how the states capacity to raise resources has been badly affected by the fiscal and monetary policies of the Centre such as the growing inability of the states to attract small savings due to floating of mutual funds and bank interest rates set by the Centre. With the threats to national unity becoming chronic as in Punjab, Kashmir and the north east, there is no other way to strengthen unity but to create a federal set-up in which all the diverse democratic aspirations of people of different states can be accommodated. Without such democratic restructuring and ending the Centre's concentration of powers there can be no lasting solution to the problems of national unity. Finally, the struggle to defend democracy will encompass the growing authoritarian onslaught by the Congress(I) on the political rights of the states. The Congress(I) in its desperate manoeuvres to remain in power will step up its efforts to encroach on states rights by targetting non-Congress(I) governments.

Attack on Democratic Rights

A prominent feature of the recent period is the growing authoritarian attacks on democracy and the Left forces by the Congress(I). Given its tenuous position in Parliament and the drive to impose harmful economic policies at the behest of imperialism, the Congress(I) stepped up its undemocratic manoeuvres to topple non-Congress(I) governments in states like Meghalaya and Manipur. In the latter state, the Speaker was shamelessly utilised and President's rule has been imposed under Article 356. In Tripura, the Congress(I) continues its repressive terror tactics to cow down the opposition led by the CPI(M). In Kerala it has been resorting to a series of anti-democratic ordinances and legislations to subvert democratic institutions while launching physical attacks on the LDF activists. In the coming days the growing mass struggles will see the repressive measures of the Congress(I) Central and State Governments being stepped up.

Tripura

The recent governmental crisis which affected the Congress(I)-TUJS coalition in Tripura shows how the notorious regime which has been containing terror and violence against the CPI(M) and the common people stands isolated and badly divided. The inner quarrels and bickerings intensified in the background of the increasing suffering of the people who are subjected to depredations by anti-social gangs, prohibitive cost of living and even starvation deaths in the tribal areas.

Consequent to the resignation of Sudhir Ranjan Majumdar as Chief Minister, the Congress(I) leadership has effected a patch up with the TUJS to perpetuate its rule and a new government has been sworn in. This government with the same old discredited ministers and factions will provide no relief to the suffering people.

The P.B. expresses its solidarity with the state Party unit and the Left and democratic forces in the state which are continuously mobilising people in defence of their rights and for restoration of democracy in the state in the face of unprecedented semi-fascist terror. The Party must mobilise public opinion all over the country in support of the struggle for democracy in the state.

Kerala

The Congress(I) led UDF Government is continuing with its authoritarian onslaughts against democratic institutions in the state. It issued an ordinance which has arbitrarily reduced the five years term of cooperative bodies to three years and announced the dissolution of the managing committees of such societies. Ten thousand such societies had been affected by this draconian move. By this blatantly undemocratic act, the ruling coalition seeks to nullify the democratic character of these institutions and to seize control through appointing government administrators. It is heartening to note that people from all walks of life have come out against this draconian ordinance and stiff resistance is being put in different parts of the state to the efforts to take over the administration of the cooperative institutions. The UDF Government's action in Kerala once again shows that the Congress(I) is inimical to all genuinely democratic practices as was seen by the earlier attack on the elected district councils, the mass literacy movement and the Granthashala Act.

Impact of the Political Situation on other Parties

Congress(I)

The Congress(I) is going ahead with succumbing to the IMF/World Bank pressures. As stated earlier their attitude even to the Dunkel draft proposals is not hostile. Whatever resistance was there earlier on the economic policies with some Congressmen coming out has been weakened with the consolidation of power by Narasimha Rao who has been unanimously elected the President of the Congress(I) as well. For the time being there is no threat to his leadership and no other centre of power seems to be emerging. Whatever opposition was there, whether it was from the Sonia Gandhi loyalists camp or Sharad Pawar, has been weakened very much. But this does not mean that the unity in Congress(I) has been achieved. In almost all the states big quarrels have taken place on organisational elections. Eight state Congress(I) committees could not elect their presidents and they had to pass the buck on the Narasimha Rao to nominate them. Open clashes have taken place in some states like Kerala. There is no single state where two groups confronting each other are not operating. This internal struggle inside the Congress(I) is based on personal ambitions and clash of personalities. Even those who raised policy questions earlier are not vocal. Only on one question differences exist inside the Congress(I), i.e. the party's attitude towards the BJP. A section of Congressmen feel concerned about and realise the implications of cooperation with the BJP. They feel the necessity for demarcation. The softness of the Prime Minister to the BJP from the point of view of getting its support on economic policies as well as for the survival of the government is resented by many Congress(I) members. Policies of the Government concerning the Babri Masjid/Ramjanambhoomi controversy and on the *Ekta Yatra* also have contributed to this discontent. This is going to be a major issue in the forthcoming AICC session. Another aspect of the political situation in relation to the Congress(I) is that it has been manoeuvring to get its majority in Parliament. This they have almost achieved by resorting to manoeuvres like Punjab elections where they could get 12 out of 13 seats. Secondly, they have been making efforts to organise defections inside the opposition parties. Since the

last session they have been trying to woo the Jharkand Mukti Morcha. Now they have succeeded in winning over 3 out of 5 in the vote on the Presidential address. They have been able to get the support of 4 Janata Dal MPs belong ing to the Ajit Singh faction. A split has been created in the Shiv Sena with two of them changing loyalties and now the Congress has organised defections from the Telugu Desam. This they are organising with total disrespect to the democratic institutions of the country and unscrupulously indulging in purchase of elected representatives. The Congress(I) is trying to stick to power at all costs through manipulation and corrupt practices.

But this cannot make the government a stable one. Stability does not come about on the basis of numbers. It can only be brought by tackling the serious problems faced by the country. The Congress(I) party has completely failed to do so, whether it be on the question of national unity, country, strengthening the democratic structures or economic policy which benefit the people.

BJP

The BJP which emerged as the major opposition party in the Lok Sabha by exploiting the Ram temple issue and rousing communal feelings has fully exposed its right wing reaction character in the recent months. Given its pro-big business and landlord class character and the open backing it has been receiving from sections of the big bourgeoisie, the BJP was the first to come to the aid of the Congress(I) in support of its pro-imperialist economic policies. Advani extended support in clear cut terms in Parliament and followed this up with praise for the Narasimha Rao Government's economic policies during his visit to the United States. The RSS openly advocated cooperation with the Rao Government.

However this stance has run into difficulties for both the BJP and RSS. While supporting the basic direction of the new economic policies, the BJP could not ignore the price-rise and growing unemployment which were affecting the people. It had to adopt some critical stance keeping in view its electoral base. This was all the

more necessary as the Left parties had launched a mass movement against the economic policies. The BJP leadership was compelled to manoeuvre in this situation to raise slogans against price rise and the burdens on the people while continuing to express appreciation for the basic thrust of the economic policies. The RSS which boasts of its pure nationalist credentials, began a 'Swadeshi Jagran' campaign to show that it is opposed to foreign multinationals dominating the economy. At the same time it scrupulously avoided attacking the depredations of the Indian big capitalists.

Thus the BJP finds itself in a dubious position. Compelled by circumstances it speaks out against some of the results of the Congress(I) Government's policies while at the same time it wishes to advance these basic policies of liberalisation and privatisation which benefit the big bourgeoisie. This explains the contradictory and confused reactions to the Budget by its different leaders. This also explains why the BJP could not come to a conclusive decision on the economic policy at its recent national council meeting. That is why except for token protests, the BJP will not build up mass struggles on these policy issues. While seeking to project itself as an alternative to the Congress(I), it will take the line of no confrontation on economic policies. Its whole effort will be to confuse the people by deceptive manoeuvres. In the states where it runs Governments, the BJP is pursuing the same policies enthusiastically and is launching a big onslaught on the working class and other toiling sections. It is essential for the Left, democratic and secular forces while developing mass movements against the economic policies to simultaneously build mass struggles in BJP-ruled states and to expose their duplicity on the question of defence of the economic rights of the people.

National Front and the Janata Dal

The main component of the National Front is the Janata Dal. The Party Congress took note of the differences and division within the Janata Dal and a split was very much visible at that time. If any policy issue was involved at all, it was the effect of the acceptance of the recommendations of the Mandal

Commission. The other fact is that the JD never tried to develop an organisational structure. The earlier split in the JD had caused a split in its minority and backward class mainly in U.P. where the BJP rose to power. The split by Ajit Singh has been formalised and he has set up his own party. In this effort he was encouraged by the Congress(I) also. Earlier, he had rallied the support of a group of MPs from Bihar, but because of the fear of the provisions of the anti-defection act these MPs remained in the parent organisation. After being weakened in U.P., the JD's main support base is Bihar. Here too differences and divisions are there inside the organisation. The president of state unit, Ram Sunder Das is trying to revive the socialist party. Moreover, the Chief Minister is projecting the rights of backward classes in such a manner as to polarise caste divisions. Some feel that the JD has no future unless it unites with the SJP headed by Mulayam Singh. Efforts were made in this direction but there is opposition to this from sections inside the Janata Dal.

Other Constituents of the N.F.

The next constituent of importance in the N.F. is the TDP. It suffered a setback in the elections after the sympathy generated by the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. Subsequently the attitude which its leadership took towards the Prime Minister has weakened its support base, specially after its support to Mr. Rao in his election from Nandyal on the spurious ground of 'Telugu pride'. This helped the Congress(I) to a great extent. After having taken such an opportunist line it could not take the line of bringing down the government as then again the question of "Telugu pride" arises. It is because of this that the Congress has succeeded in organising defections in the Telugu Desam by splitting away six members out of 13 in Parliament. Its further repercussions in the state assembly will have to be seen.

Similarly, the Jharkhand Mukthi Morcha has also almost split because the advocacy of the provision for the formation of the Jharkhand council, which the JD Government in Bihar resents and does not fulfill the aspirations of the Jharkhand people.

BSP

We must take note of the emergence of BSP supported by the scheduled caste base which has moved away from the Congress(I). The BSP leader, Kanshi Ram is very averse to unite with the Left but is prepared to cooperate with any other bourgeois landlord party. Recently, a split has taken place, within its ranks. Every effort has to be made to champion the issues of these sections by our Party because they are worst affected sections of the society.

Left Parties

During this period the coordination and cooperation between the Left parties has been strengthened. On most of the issues we are cooperating both inside and outside Parliament and have been taking common positions though due to Party Congress, the CPI was unable to mobilise its masses in joint struggle in most places. On economic issues the approach of the Left has been common on the basis of publicly stated positions.

Mass Actions

Following the Party Congress decision, we concentrated on mass actions. We decided on the first stage to organise the movement on behalf of the Left alone. The reason behind this was to project the real alternative before the people, analyse the problems facing the people and project the issues from the Left's alternative positions. On the basis of the earlier experience we did not want important issues to be relegated to the background by issues which the bourgeois opposition parties were raising. We have decided to go in for wider united action in the second stage. Since it is a prolonged struggle, a sustained action was envisaged to be carried out and the third phase was to be a jail bhara agitation. The first stage was over with the March 4 demonstrations and rallies in state capitals and district headquarters. The response to our call from West Bengal, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Andhra was quite good. Even in states like Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan good rallies were held in the state capitals. Rallies were held in Bihar, UP, Orissa, Punjab, Maharashtra and other states too. Due

to the massive propaganda unleashed by the ruling party, the gravity of the situation is not yet realised by the vast mass of the people. It will take some time to experience the full impact of the Budget proposals and the economic policies. But our propaganda will have its impact in raising the consciousness of the people.

The working class actions of November 29, 1991 and its opposition to the industrial policy shows growing opposition to the economic policies. This is proved by the decision taken at the convention of employees of public sector undertakings for a strike in the last week of April. It is expected that this would be able to arouse the people.

The recent 42 day strike by two lakh workers from 49 jute mills in West Bengal represents a big victory for the working class. The wage increase wrested by the workers to a tune of nearly Rs. 200 per month shows the strength of the united working class struggle, in the present circumstances. It is necessary in this respect to mobilise including the agricultural labour and the peasantry. *Jathas* should be organised to tour various areas, regions, and formulate urgent demands affecting the mass of the peasantry by holding rallies in various states culminating in a Bharat Bandh.

Role of the Party

The Party has played an active role in intervening on major issues since the Party Congress. In Parliament too, it has played a prominent role in exposing the surrender to the IMF/World Bank and by raising various other issues on which the government is compromising our basic position not only in the sphere of economy but in matters related to defence and foreign policy as well. To sum up, we can only claim that we have taken some initial steps in discharging the responsibility placed before the Party by the Party Congress with the main slogans of fighting against authoritarianism, communalism and seizing the initiative by the unleashing mass actions. Initial but firm steps have been taken in this respect. In this respect the importance laid down in the Fourteenth Congress political resolution on strengthening Left unity acquires added importance. We should demarcate from the other secular opposition parties, whenever necessary, and project our alternative policies.

Resolution on Punjab*

**Adopted by The Central Committee of The CPI(M)
in its Meeting Held on March 19-22, 1992**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep concern at the deteriorating situation in Punjab. The Khalistani extremists have intensified their activities with the cold blooded murders of innocent people in the heart of Ludhiana. Curfews are being imposed. Those who had cast their votes continue to be threatened as the situation is going from bad to worse.

A graver situation emerges with the moderate Akalis being forced by the extremists to support the resolution advocating "Khalistan" in the congregation held on the occasion of Hollar Mollah at Anandpur Sahib.

The Central Committee has repeatedly warned the Narasimha Rao Government that minus a political package the process of restoring democratic rule with people's support is not possible. It is clear that the Congress(I), placing its own interests above that of Punjab and the country, has conducted this farcical election only to capture power in the State with the help of administration and garner seats in the Lok Sabha to ensure its majority. Such an unscrupulous design has played havoc with Punjab and immensely harmed the cause of the unity and integrity of the country.

The Central Committee demands that immediate initiatives be taken to announce a political package based on the Rajiv Longowal Accord. The Central Committee warns that any delay in doing so will only lead to a further deterioration in the situation damaging the cause of the Indian unity. The Central Committee appeals to all political parties, which have the interests of our country at heart, to take up this cause of Punjab before it is too late.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, March 29, 1992.

Resolution on Kashmir*

**Adopted by The Central Committee of The CPI(M)
in its Meeting Held on March 19-22, 1992**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is deeply concerned at the announcement made by the Government to hold assembly elections in Jammu and Kashmir. That such a move is being contemplated ignoring the grave situation obtaining in the valley clearly exposes the Congress(I) Government's opportunism. Placing its partisan interests above those of the country, the Narasimha Rao Government seems to be in a hurry to garner some more seats in the Parliament for its majority. The Congress(I) is seeking to repeat the holding of farcical elections as in Punjab, without creating the necessary political conditions that would ensure the participation of the people in the valley.

The CPI(M) reiterates that the Kashmir problem cannot be tackled merely as a law and order problem. A political solution has to be based on various measures that should be taken to ensure the protection of the separate Kashmiri identity, its cultural traditions and customs, and the integration of the Kashmiri people into the functioning of the Indian State and society. Specifically, the alarmingly growing unemployment among the Kashmiri youth has to be immediately redressed. Not only should Article 370 be preserved but greater autonomy to the people in the valley to decide on their developmental programmes should be ensured. Similarly, greater autonomy for Jammu and Laddakh regions of the State must be granted within the framework of the constitution of Jammu & Kashmir and in consonance with the Indian Constitution. Unless these measures

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are taken a political atmosphere for holding a democratic, free and fair poll cannot be created.

It is such a political approach which can lead to the isolation of the fundamentalists who are seeking secession of Kashmir from India. The CPI(M) warns the Narasimha Rao Government that any attempt to hold elections without undertaking such a political initiative will not only result in a farce but would further aggravate the situation in the valley, cementing the alienation of the people.

The Central Committee appeals to all patriotic, democratic and secular forces throughout the country to foil this nefarious move of the Government and work towards a political solution of the Kashmir problem.

Appeal for Rs. Ten Lakh Party Fund*

**Released to Party Press by The Central Committee
of The CPI(M)**

The CPI(M) Central Committee has been raising an annual Party fund for meeting the expenses of the Party centre. This fund call is necessary to finance the multi farious activities of the Party centre to advance the Party's political line, build the mass movement and conduct its organisational activities.

The Fourteenth Congress of the Party, held in Madras in January this year, has exhorted the Party to seize the initiative by leading mass struggles to fight back the new economic policies of the Narasimha Rao Government, isolate the communal forces, and strengthen the Left and democratic forces. The Party Congress directed the Central Committee to strengthen the organisation and take all necessary measures to build a mass revolutionary Party. The Congress also called upon the Party to step up its ideological work in defence of Marxism Leninism to counter the anti Communist propaganda offensive.

To discharge all these responsibilities effectively, the Central Committee, in its meeting held on March 19 to 22, 1992, decided that the centre must be equipped with adequate resources. For the year 1992, the annual fund target has been increased from the earlier quota of Rs. five lakh to ten lakh. This is the minimum necessary for sustaining and expanding the political, ideological and organisational work of the Party centre and the Central Committee.

This money has to be raised from the millions of working people who support the Party and the Left movement. The quotas decided for the State Committees and the amount to be raised by the lower Party committees will be conveyed to all the Party units, members, sympathisers and well wishers to make this fund call successful by approaching all sections of the people to contribute liberally to the fund.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, March 29, 1992

Statement on Bofors Scandal*

**Issued by The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M)
on April 1, 1992**

The shocking act of handing over a private lawyer's letter to the Swiss Foreign Minister, by the Foreign Minister, Madhav Singh Solanki, for scuttling the investigation into the Swiss bank accounts in the Bofors scandal, has led to his resignation. But the resignation does not answer the serious questions raised by his action. This latest bid to cover up the Bofors bribery case, shows how the accused and guilty parties are active and influential at the highest levels of the Government. The Narasimha Rao Government must come clean on this scandalous episode. The Prime Minister must place the letter before Parliament and reveal the identity of the mysterious lawyers.

Further, the investigation into the identity of the Swiss bank account holders must be vigorously pursued with the Swiss Government. The Narasimha Rao Government must commit in Parliament to speedy completion of the probe. A first step in this regard would be to reinstate the CBI officials heading the Bofors investigation who were unceremoniously shunted out.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, April 5, 1992

Statement on Sanctions Against Libya*

**Issued by The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M)
on April 1, 1992**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the U.N. Security Council resolution sponsored by the USA, Britain and France which has decided to impose sanctions on Libya, if the Libyan Government does not comply with the three nation demand to hand over two Libyan nationals accused in the airplane bombing case by April 15. By this gross interventionist step, the U.N. Security Council is set to repeat its action taken against Iraq in 1990. This arrogant and domineering attitude to Third World countries refusing to heed the dictates of the U.S. and its allies, must be resisted by all democratic and peace loving forces. The United Nations cannot be allowed to become an instrument for imperialist global hegemony.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, April 5, 1992

Homage to Comrade M. Basavapunnaiah*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep grief and sorrow at the sudden demise of one of the stalwarts of the Indian Communist movement Comrade Makineni Basavapunnaiah. Comrade MB, as he was affectionately called by all those who came to know him, was born on December 14, 1914. After an initial period of traditional education, he pursued from his studies in an English medium school and graduated from Christian College at Guntur. He grew up with the generation that was party to the experience of the early 1930s upsurge in the freedom struggle. In the wake of its consequent frustration at its withdrawal by the then Congress leadership, he chose to join the then fledgling Communist Party of India during 1934-35. This was the result of his firm conviction that the problems concerning the Indian people could be comprehensively resolved only under a socialist system, the struggle for which he conducted firmly on the basis of Marxism Leninism, a conviction that he ceaselessly carried till the last minute of his life.

Dedicating himself totally to the cause that he embraced, Comrade MB started his work as a Communist organiser in the Guntur district committee of the Communist Party in Andhra Pradesh of which he was a member from 1936-40. He was one of the founders of the organised student movement in India and was elected its all India joint secretary at the foundation conference in 1936 itself. Leading the student movement as the state secretary in Andhra Pradesh till 1940, he moved on to become the secretary of the Guntur district committee of the CPI in 1940. In 1943 he

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, April 19, 1992

became a member of the Andhra Pradesh state secretariat of the party. At the Second Congress of the CPI in 1948, he was elected to the Central Committee and later in 1950 to the Polit Bureau of the party, a position he held for four decades till his death.

Comrade MB's sterling contribution to the Indian Communist movement came in the form of steadfast adherence to the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism and its liberating influence. A relentless campaigner against all deviations in the Indian as well as international Communist movement, Comrade MB always upheld that the living essence of Marxism Leninism is the "the concrete analysis of concrete conditions". It is in this pursuit that he has made a signal contribution to the theoretical enrichment of Marxism-Leninism and the struggle for liberation of the Indian people.

Combining theory with practice, Comrade MB was one of the foremost leaders of the glorious Telangana people's partisan struggle. Along with the Communist stalwarts like Comrade P. Sundarayya, Comrade MB was deeply involved in the organisation, execution and conduct of the Telangana struggle. It is during this period that MB emerged as one of the top Indian Communist leaders.

Drawing up to the experiences of this struggle and the experiences of years of underground life braving the repression of the Congress Government, Comrade MB was one of the initiators of the inner-party discussion in the united CPI on the most important issue of the strategy and tactics of the Indian revolution, a debate which finally culminated in the formation of the CPI(M) in 1964.

During these intervening years and subsequently, Comrade MB emerged as one of the foremost theoreticians of the Indian Communist movement authoring many of the crucial drafts that attempted to steer clear of the revisionist deviations in the earlier period and Left adventurist disruptive deviations later.

As a member of the Visalandhra Committee which conducted the Telangana armed struggle from July 1946 to 1952, Comrade MB made a deep study of the national question in India. He made a signal contribution to the Indian Communist movement in arriving at its present-day understanding of the problems of the multi-national country.

During the course of the intense ideological discussions within the Indian Communist movement, Comrade MB was given the responsibility by the Central Committee to discuss these issues with the leaders of the international Communist movement. He was one of the four member delegation that went to the Soviet Union in 1950-51, to discuss with Stalin, Molotov, Suslov and Malenkov. He was a member of the CPI delegation that participated in the meeting of the world Communist parties in 1957 held at Moscow. Subsequently, he had the occasion to discuss with Mao Zedong, and also with a delegation of top Chinese Communist leaders headed by Liu Shao Chi, the problems facing the national and international Communist movement. Later he had the opportunity for conducting discussions with Chou En Lai and Chen Yi.

Comrade MB had a deep sense of patriotism combined with his impregnable commitment to the revolutionary and scientific content of Marxism Leninism. All through his years he strove to combine these to give a coherent strategy for the Indian revolution. In addition to his contributions, theoretically as well as practically, in the struggle of the Indian people for liberation, Comrade MB also made his mark as a parliamentarian. He was a member of the Rajya Sabha for full 14 years from April 1952 to April 1966.

Comrade MB during his long political career, had to spend six years underground and was jailed twice by the Congress Government during the Sino Indian conflict. What he had advocated during this period along with the other leaders of the CPI(M) was accepted by the Indian ruling class only much later—that the dispute between India and China can be resolved only through discussions and negotiations and not through conflict.

As a member of the CPI(M) Polit Bureau, since its foundation till his death, Comrade MB was a leading participant in formulating the CPI(M)'s ideological positions on the current developments of the former socialist countries. He served as the editor of the CPI(M)'s mouthpiece, the *People's Democracy*, for nearly 14 years. At the time of his death, he was heading a Central Committee Commission formed in pursuance of the Fourteenth Congress decision to update the Party programme.

Comrade MB was a unique Communist leader. For the development of the CPI(M) and the Communist movement he worked with tireless energy even at his advanced age. He was a pillar of strength to the Party sorting out its tactics in the most complex of circumstances safeguarding the revolutionary and scientific content of Marxism-Leninism against all deviations.

Comrade MB was a voracious reader and a prolific writer. Behind the steel exterior of Comrade MB was a warm and affectionate personality which all those who ever came in touch with him, will always cherish. His concern for the well-being of all those worked with him and his sensitivity to their problems was a quality that endeared him to all. Comrade MB was always accessible to his comrades at all levels for a discussion on issues ranging from international, ideological, political to personal.

His passing away has created a deep void in the CPI(M) and in the Indian political scene. His firm pen, vitriolically polemic against the class enemies, and the deep sense of confidence in the future of the Indian people and country, will be missed by the Party at this critical juncture.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) pays its respectful homage and dips the red flag in salute to this valued and beloved leader of our Party. It calls upon the entire Party to carry forward the struggle that he symbolised. The Polit Bureau conveys its heartfelt condolences to his wife, Jagadamba, and son, Jaswant Mohan. The Polit Bureau pledges to carry forward his unfinished work drawing inspiration from his dedication, commitment and ceaseless service.

CPI(M) Polit Bureau Appeals: Help Cuba*

Statement Dated April 17, 1992 Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) extends its full support and cooperation to the call given by the National Campaign Committee for solidarity with Cuba to collect one kg. of rice from every family and money from the workers to purchase medicine. This concrete expression of solidarity will be a true manifestation of Indian people's anti imperialist traditions, particularly at a time when the Indian Government is reluctant to redeem its pledge to sell rice to Cuba.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) appeals to the Indian people to fully cooperate in this effort. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon all Party members and the sympathisers to wholeheartedly participate in the campaign to fulfil our international obligation.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, April 26, 1992

Scrap Article 356 of Constitution*

Demand Made by The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) in a Statement Dated April 9, 1992 Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau strongly condemns the gross misuse of Article 356 of the Constitution by the Narasimha Rao Government repeatedly in the north-eastern states to topple non Congress(I) Governments and engineer the formation of Congress(I) ministries. The latest action in this line has been in Manipur where President's rule was imposed for a period to ensure the success of the manoeuvres of the Congress(I) to set up a government. Now President's rule has been revoked and a Congress(I) ministry sworn in. Earlier, in Nagaland, the Centre imposed President's rule though the Governor had not recommended such a course of action.

The constant misuse of Article 356 by the Congress(I) Government at the Centre underlines the necessity for scrapping this draconian clause from the Constitution. The Narasimha Rao Government is behaving true to the character of the past Congress(I) Governments in launching such authoritarian attacks on the very basis of the parliamentary democratic system. In the sensitive area of the north east this trampling on elementary norms of democracy will only aggravate the feelings of injury and alienation among the people which can prove detrimental to national unity.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, April 26, 1992

Polit Bureau on U.S. Designs on Libya*

Statement Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly denounces the latest moves by U.S. imperialism to step up its pressure and threats against Libya ignoring even the repeated pleadings of the Arab League. With the air and arms sanctions coming into effect from April 15, USA has threatened that these would continue even if the alleged suspects are handed over until Libya denounces terrorism.

The U.S. designs became clear when it rejected the Libyan proposal to try the alleged suspects in a neutral country other than the USA and Britain. It is now contemplating and expanding the sanction to cover oil as well.

The U.S. double-standards are clearly exposed by the fact that even after concrete proof is available regarding the training and arming of Punjabi and Kashmiri terrorists in Pakistan, it chooses to ignore the secessionist and terrorist activities aimed at dismemberment of India. Following the U.S. war against Iraq, its designs to control the oil rich Gulf area is propelling U.S. imperialism to take such drastic measures.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon the Government of India to take all measures in the Security Council to defuse the situation, and cautions the government not to fall in line with others in the enforcement of sanctions against Libya. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) appeals to the Indian people to thoroughly expose U.S. imperialist duplicity and hypocrisy and resist its designs to impose a new world order.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, April 26, 1992
Refer Document under Item No 42 of this Volume

Appeal to Akali Leaders*

**Made by the General Secretary of The CPI(M)
in a statement dated April 18, 1992 Issued to Press**

I welcome the release of Akali Leaders. I appeal to them not to fall prey to the manoeuvres of the Central Government, and to demarcate themselves from the separatist and terrorist forces. I urge them to advance the struggle for the just demands of the Punjabi people with the support of the democratic forces of the country.

Punjabis, including the Sikh community, have already suffered a lot and they are living in a situation of fear and terror. The only way to restore peace is by accepting the just demands of the Punjabi people. To achieve this it is necessary to forge the unity of the Punjabi people along with the democratic forces in the rest of the country.

I welcome the statement of Shri Badal which has displayed restraint. I hope other leaders will follow this approach. Punjab needs peace and everybody should contribute towards this end by drawing proper lessons from what has happened so far.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, April 26, 1992

CPI(M) Mourns Satyajit Ray's Death*

**Statement Dated April 24, 1992 Issued by the
Polit Bureau to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) deeply mourns the death of the multifaceted genius, Satyajit Ray. Satyajit Ray has been immortalised in the field of world cinema through his own creations. His work gave to Indian cinema a distinct grammar and idiom. The social relevance of the themes that he had chosen and the subtlety that characterised his creations continue to remain unparalleled. The achievements in the field of literature, fine arts and music enriched his cinematic creations.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) conveys its heartfelt condolences to his wife and son.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, May 3, 1992

On U.S. Trade Law Clause Special 301*

Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) Issued Statement Dated April 30, 1992 Condemning its Application to India

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the arbitrary, retaliatory action taken by the U.S. administration under the U.S. Trade Law Clause Special 301. By a presidential proclamation, the U.S. has withdrawn duty benefits for Indian pharmaceutical exports to the USA. After prolonged pressures mounted on the Indian Government to amend the Indian Patent Law, the U.S. has now unilaterally withdrawn the benefits under the generalised system of preferences (GSP). This hostile act is a sharp escalation of the unjustifiable tactics to force India to surrender its economic sovereignty.

The Narasimha Rao Government must give up its stand of appeasement and succumbing to these pressures.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon all patriotic sections to protest this latest infringement of Indian's sovereignty by the USA.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, May 10, 1992

On Deteriorating Situation in Terai*

**Statement Dated April 30, 1992 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its serious concern at the deteriorating situation in the Terai region of Uttar Pradesh due to the intensified activities of extremists from Punjab operating there. It strongly condemns the massacre of bus passengers bound for Hardwar, and the killings thereafter. These incidents show that the extremists are working to a plan to destabilise the situation in the area and to provoke communal polarisation outside Punjab. There are some disturbing signs of their succeeding as seen by the killing of a factory owner in the Nainital district. Neither the BJP Government nor the Central Government has been able to work out a coordinated plan to meet the terrorist offensive. The situation is fraught with serious consequences as such indiscriminate killings can easily lead to communal tensions and confrontation.

It is therefore urgently necessary that the Central Government take necessary initiative to coordinate with the State Government to implement an effective strategy, check the terrorist menace while at the same time ensure that innocent people are not subjected to unnecessary harassment.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, May 10, 1992

On Suppression of Press Freedom in Tamil Nadu*

Statement Issued by The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press

The Chief Minister, Ms. Jayalalitha, and the Tamil Nadu State Government have embarked upon a systematic campaign to muzzle the Press and intimidate those who express critical views of the AIADMK Government. This attitude of the AIADMK has been reflected in the privileges committee of the state assembly and the role of the Speaker who have issued warrants of arrest against some editors and journalists. This has been done despite the stay granted by the Supreme Court of India to one of the affected journalists.

Along with the muzzling of the Press, the State Government is persecuting the opposition by arresting and filing cases of sedition against those who make public speeches criticising the Chief Minister and the State Government. The passing of the Tamil Nadu Public Property Bill is designed to curb the activities of the opposition parties. Such an authoritarian onslaughts on the rights of the Press and the political parties cannot be tolerated. It is shameful that the Congress(I) legislature party in the assembly has been fully supporting these anti democratic measures.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) extends its full support to the journalists' organisations which have decided to oppose the anti democratic steps and calls upon all sections of democratic opinion to join in a united protest to safeguard the freedom of the Press and democratic rights in Tamil Nadu.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, May 10, 1992

Polit Bureau Condemns New U.S. Pressures On India*

**Protest Statement Dated May 7, 1992
Issued to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly denounces the new pressures being mounted by the U.S imperialism on India. The threat of penalties and sanctions on both Russia and India on the transfer of rocket technology indicates its designs of a new world order in which sovereign countries cannot enter into any agreement unless it is cleared by the world policeman, the USA. The duplicity of USA is thoroughly exposed by the fact that it itself was willing to sell this technology but at a higher price. The U.S. imperialism now sinisterly invokes concern for global security.

The Government of India, responding to the virtual unanimous voice of the Parliament and the Indian people, must take stern measures against such brandishment.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) demands that India should immediately cancel the joint naval exercises with the USA. It is ominous that the Defence Minister has chosen to ignore the sentiment of the Indian people and declared that the joint exercises will go ahead. Joint military exercises are normally conducted against the threat perception from a common enemy. The Defence Minister must answer to the country as to which common enemy both India and USA seek to counter. Such exercises will only make Indian security more vulnerable to U.S. pressures. Coming at a time when the USA is sparing no effort to change the direction of India's independent foreign policy, such military exercises will only seek to bolster U S designs.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon the Indian people to strongly demonstrate the anger against US imperialist attempts to make India subservient to its interests and also pressurise the Government of India to take stern measures in defence of our sovereignty.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, May 15, 1992

Centre Must Restore Normalcy In India*

**Statement Issued by The Polit Bureau
of The CPI(M)**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its grave concern at the deteriorating situation in the Jamia Millia Islamia University.

The controversy that began with a certain remark by the Pro-Vice Chancellor is being sought to be utilised by the forces representing Muslim fundamentalism. Even after the Pro-Vice Chancellor had clarified and expressed regret for any misunderstanding that the remarks may have caused, the situation has not been defused.

It is unfortunate that Muslim fundamentalist forces are continuing to paralyse the university functioning, and negating the very foundations and traditions on which Jamia Millia Islamia University was established.

It is strange that the Government of India has not so far seen the gravity of the situation and has not taken any initiative for resolving the crisis in this central university. On the contrary, it has been reported that some members of the cabinet are encouraging the fundamentalist forces. This is indeed shameful for a party which takes pride in claiming secular credentials.

Muslim fundamentalism and Hindu communalism feed upon each other. In the already grave communal situation in the country, the prolonging of this agitation will only cause more serious damage.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) appeals to the university community to restore normalcy by ensuring that reason prevails over passion.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) demands that the Government of India immediately intervene and not allow the forces of fundamentalism to take the upper hand. The government should take immediate initiatives to restore normalcy in the university.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, May 17, 1992

Centre-State Relations Need Prompt Restructuring*

**Statement Dated May 8, 1992 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The Communist Party of India (Marxist), for over a quarter of century, has been advocating greater devolution of powers to the states and restructuring of the Centre-State relations in the true spirit of a federal constitution. The successive Congress Governments at the Centre have not only ignored this sentiment but have acted to the contrary, attempting to impose unitary state structure. Even though Sarkaria Commission recommendations do not satisfy the aspirations of the states, they continue to remain frozen.

The absence of proper restructuring of Centre-State relations has played havoc with the unity and integrity of a multi linguistic, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural country like ours.

It is heartening to note that no less a person than the President of India has yesterday spoken in favour of greater devolution of power and authority to the states. His comments in relation to growing fissiparous tendencies threatening our national unity, have a very real significance, specially in today's context.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon the Government of India to take the necessary measures to put into effect a proper restructuring of the Centre State relations. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) hopes that the President of India will use his authority to translate his precepts into action.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, May 15, 1992

On Jamia Millia Situation*

**Statement Dated May 15, 1992 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The Polit Bureau deplores the continuing efforts made by certain fundamentalist forces to deepen the crisis in the Jamia Millia University. The fresh round of agitation by a section of students is being instigated by some quarters outside the campus. It is highly unfortunate that certain minority fundamentalist forces are being aided and abetted by certain Congress(I) leaders including some Ministers like Mr. Salman Khurshid. It is also regrettable that some Janata Dal MPs have also backed the agitation and made intemperate remarks in Parliament. The demand for the resignation of the Pro-Vice Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor is motivated by partisan or fundamentalist considerations. The Central Government has failed to intervene promptly and take a principled stand on the matter. The Polit Bureau expects all responsible political parties to exercise restraint so that the situation is not allowed to deteriorate and lead to serious consequences.

The onslaught of the sectarian and fundamentalist forces in an educational institution of such national importance as Jamia Millia will only strengthen the forces of majority communalism which are already on the offensive. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) appeals to the enlightened sections of the minority community to see that the fundamentalist sections do not harm the legitimate interests by their bigoted activities. Intolerance based on fundamentalism and sectarian considerations cannot be allowed to dictate terms in an educational institution and a secular polity.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, May 24, 1992.

Polit Bureau Statement on Ban on LTTE*

The ban on the LTTE imposed by the Central Government comes in the background of the organisation's terroristic and violent activities in Tamil Nadu and on Indian soil. By such activities the LTTE has harmed the cause of the Sri Lankan Tamils who are struggling for their just rights.

India should continue to urge the Sri Lankan Government to come to a political settlement to grant the Sri Lankan Tamils due autonomy within the framework of the Sri Lankan unity. The ban on the LTTE should not be seen as a signal to the Sri Lankan Government to continue with its military approach of subduing the Tamil population.

The Central Government must ensure that the step to ban the LTTE is not used in any manner against the large number of genuine Sri Lankan Tamil refugees who have taken shelter in Tamil Nadu. The efforts to forcibly deport refugees should be halted.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) also wishes to make it clear that given the anti-democratic and authoritarian approach of the AIADMK Government in Tamil Nadu towards the political opposition and the Press, the LTTE ban is liable to be misused by the State Government to harass or persecute those politically opposed to the ruling party in the state and to curb freedom of expression of the Press. The Polit Bureau appeals to all democratic sections to see that such misuse is not allowed.

Polit Bureau Communiqué*

Issued Following its Meeting Held in
New Delhi on May 23-24, 1992

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) met in New Delhi on May 23-24, 1992, took stock of the political developments since the last Central Committee meeting held in end March and issued the following communiqué:

Make 16 June General Strike A Big Success

The Polit Bureau welcomed the call given by the Sponsoring Committee of Trade Unions for an industrial general strike on June 16 against the economic policies of the Narasimha Rao Government which are anti-working class and anti people. The Rao Government is heaping new burdens on the people in its determined pursuit of the IMF-World Bank dictated policies. The harmful results of these policies are becoming increasingly evident. In the face of the drought conditions in several parts of the country, the big cuts in the public distribution system and the rural employment outlays in the Union budget are leading to a situation where the poorest sections in the rural areas face food shortages and hunger. Already starvation deaths have been reported in places like the tribal areas of Tripura, Sarguja in Madhya Pradesh, Thane in Maharashtra and Kalahandi in Orissa. With the failure to procure adequate stocks by the Government, there is every possibility of the public distribution system collapsing if there is a poor monsoon.

The new economic policy orientation has virtually rendered the planning process a mere formality. The Eighth Plan document does not seriously address itself to either the basic questions of

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improving the welfare employment generation, etc., or to strengthen the self-reliant basis of Indian economy.

The disinvestment of twenty per cent shares of public sector units, undertaken so far, shows that these shares have been sold off cheaply at prices one third or one fourth of the actual value. Eventually, public assets are being sold to private parties for a song. This scandal is being sought to be covered up. Those guilty of this crime must be punished and the further disinvestment of public sector shares halted forthwith. Similarly, the big scandal in the securities exchange market perpetrated by Harshad Mehta, and top banking officials including the RBI, shows the rot which has set in and the profiteering which goes on in the name of deregulation and freeing the market of all controls. The thousands of crores of rupees which have been embezzled of nationalised banks and an RBI subsidiary are all public money. There should be no mercy shown to the guilty parties. The CBI enquiry must lead to arrests and prosecution. The finance minister who heads the sectors affected, has shown no moral qualms in continuing in office after such a big scandal. The Bofor's bribery case is still sought to be covered up by the Congress(I) Government. Hunger for the rural poor, selling off public sector shares cheaply and unlimited opportunities for the cheats to prosper—all these are the ugly facets of the new economic policies. On top of all this the people are groaning under severe price-rise and the inflation rate hovers at the 13 per cent mark.

The CPI(M), along with the left parties and the National Front, has called for big solidarity actions in support of the general strike call on June 16 and to mobilise all sections of the working people to conduct a countrywide hartal on that day to register their strong protest against the economic policies. All Party units must engage themselves in the task of organising a powerful and sweeping protest action on June 16.

Growing Resistance to U.S. Blackmail

The U.S. Government has imposed two successive sanctions on India, which is an unprecedented display of hostility to India's independent policies and economic blackmail. Bent upon

praising open the Indian economy for its exploitation, the Bush administration has invoked the Special 301 clause of the U.S. Trade Act to retaliate against the Indian pharmaceutical exports to that country. This has been followed by the brazen sanctions against the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) and the Russian agency, Glavkosmos. The ISRO has been penalised for buying the cryogenic rocket technology from Russia, a similar offer from a U.S. firm having been rejected earlier as being too costly.

The Rao Government which has been assiduously propagating the forging of close ties with the USA, has not even cancelled the Indo-U.S. joint naval exercises despite the unanimous condemnation by Parliament of the USA's intimidatory tactics. There is growing resistance to the U.S. hegemonism and its efforts to undermine Indian sovereignty from all sections of the Indian people. The Narasimha Rao Government must be made to realise that its surrender postures on economic policy is resulting in further imperialist pressures in new sectors and all efforts must be made to prevent any pro-imperialist shifts in foreign policy.

The CPI(M) Polit Bureau congratulates the Indian scientists for successfully launching the ASLV. The CPI(M) urges the Government to strengthen our self-reliant space technology basis and proceed forward towards a successful test of the Agni missile.

The CPI(M) demands that the Government immediately seek the extradition of the former UCC Chairman, Anderson, who is facing criminal charges in Indian courts for the Bhopal genocide.

Solidarity with Cuba

The Polit Bureau noted that the call for aid to Cuba through the Cuban solidarity campaign is evoking a good response all over the country. The Polit Bureau appealed to all its Party units to intensify this campaign and to ensure that the campaign of collection of rice and wheat to be sent to Cuba is successfully completed.

President's Visit to China

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) welcomed the outcome of President Venkataraman's visit to China which has further strengthened the growing ties between the two countries. The importance of close and friendly relations between India and China is being increasingly recognised by different sections of public opinion in India.

BJP's Disruptive Stand on Ayodhya

Contrary to the assurance given to the NIC meeting in November 1991, the Kalyan Singh Government is surreptitiously going ahead with the plans to construct the temple at the disputed site at Ayodhya. Apart from the demolition of old temples and structures and the wall being built, digging work is also now going on. All these activities pose continuing threat of confrontation and communal tensions.

The Narasimha Rao Government refuses to take a firm and principled stand on the matter. This was evident in the manner in which the Government refused to allow a debate in parliament on the report of the joint NIC-MPs team. Further, the Congress(I) continues to play the old game of compromising and allying with communal parties. Despite the resolution in Tirupat AICC session that the Congress(I) will fight all forms of communalism, in Kerala, it continues its alliance with the Muslim League and defends it also.

That such a dubious stance is helping all sorts of communal and fundamentalist forces is seen from what has been happening in Kerala. The activities of the RSS and the new Muslim fundamentalist organisation, ISS (Islamic Seva Sangh), have led to communal clashes erupting in some places such as Quilon. The Karunakaran Government refused to counter these forces as it is pursuing a calculated policy of fostering such forces to disrupt the Left and democratic movement. The Polit Bureau called upon the Left and democratic forces in Kerala to step up their campaign and movement for mobilising the secular and democratic forces in all communities to fight back these sectarian and divisive forces.

Punjab

The Polit Bureau welcomed the call of the Punjab convention, sponsored by the Left parties in Chandigarh, which has decided to launch a campaign to see that the genuine demands of the Punjabi people are acceded to and peace restored in Punjab.

The situation in Kashmir continues to be bad and the Polit Bureau reiterates its earlier stand that elections in the state should not be held prematurely till a semblance of normalcy is restored and steps to politically tackle the problems of the identity of the Kashmiri people by devolving greater autonomy are taken up.

Jamia-Millia Agitation

The Polit Bureau reiterated its deep concern at the disturbed conditions in the Jamia Millia University. Unfortunately, the Imam of the Jama Masjid has echoed the same demands as those of certain fundamentalist quarters. This stance will only harm the minority community and their legitimate rights, and provide a handle to the Hindu communal interests to step up their anti Muslim campaign. It is heartening that many Muslim intellectuals, Urdu newspapers and academics have taken a secular and democratic position in this matter. The Congress(I) Government has failed to take a prompt and principled stand in the matter. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon all secular and democratic forces in the educational system and outside to take a firm stand to see that the situation is not allowed to deteriorate and such an institution of national importance not destroyed by the forces of fundamentalism and intolerance.

Tin Bigha

The Polit Bureau appreciated the principled stand taken by the Left Front Government of West Bengal in facilitating the transfer of the Tin Bigha corridor on lease as per the Indo-Bangladesh agreement signed in 1982. The Left Front Government has been successful in seeing to it that the safeguards for the implementation of the agreement have been met, only the BJP is opposing the agreement and is now starting an agitational programme which should be condemned. It is motivated by

narrow communal considerations and it will be a provocative step in the sensitive border areas. The Congress(I), whose Central Government made this international agreement, has not been mobilising the people in defending the necessity for this agreement with Bangladesh and countering the BJP propaganda.

The Polit Bureau calls upon the Central Government and all other political parties to unequivocally deplore the BJP stance and to support the implementation of the pact between the two countries.

Ban on PWG

Among the naxalite groups, the People's War Group's activities are marked by terrorist and violent methods which have led to the loss of lives of a large number of innocent people, the recent instance of such anti social activities being the derailing of two trains and the death of passengers. The PWG has been targetting the CPI(M) and other political opponents and killing their cadre. The Congress(I) Government has now imposed a ban on the PWG and its allied organisations. In the recent past, the Chenna Reddy ministry had struck a deal with the same group and encouraged its activities. There is every danger of the Congress(I) Government misusing the ban against political opponents and popular movements. Extremist terrorist violence cannot be solved only through administrative measures unless solutions for the acute agrarian problems and socio economic exploitation are initiated.

Presidential Elections

The Polit Bureau discussed the forthcoming elections to the post of President of India. The Polit Bureau is of the considered opinion that the personalities who occupy the post of President and Vice-President must be persons of high stature and integrity who uphold secular and democratic values. The Polit Bureau decided to consult the Left parties and the National Front constituents to arrive at a common understanding on the issue.

Earth Summit : India Must Resist Pressures*

**Statement Dated June 1, 1992 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The Earth Summit in Rio, beginning June 3, has a number of important items on its agenda for the preservation of the earth's environment. It is by now clear that the industrialisation pattern of the advanced countries, guided solely by the profit motive, has wrecked havoc with the earth's environment. Urgent remedial measures are necessary to check these growing hazards. While the question of who is going to pay for clearing up the globe as well as of the rational disbursement of funds are important, the issues to be discussed at the summit are also critical to the future developmental strategies, particularly of the Third World.

Keeping in tune with the new world order that imperialism seeks to impose in today's global conditions, the proposed treaties on global change and bio-diversity are attempts to pass the burden of remedial measures for cleaning the earth's environment on to the Third World countries. These are one sided and an attempt to freeze the current unequal development between the developed countries and the Third World. If these are accepted, without any changes, then in the name of 'green house effect' the developing countries will have to freeze their per-capita consumption of energy to roughly one-tenth the level of the advanced countries. Even in the field of genetic resources in the Bio Diversity Treaty, there is a blatant attempt to subjugate the Third World countries to a whole range of obligations with no tangible benefits of technology transfer.

India has already signed the Montreal Protocol which permits the USA to dump 1,000 times more ozone-depleting CFCs in the

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atmosphere than India. India will have to forsake the cheap refrigeration route followed by the advanced countries so far and buy refrigeration technologies at ten times the current costs.

The CPI(M) Polit Bureau demands that the Government of India, while contributing to the efforts to protect the environment, should take a firm position resisting the pressures being mounted to pass on the burden of cleaning the earth's environment on to the Third World countries and to freeze their level of development. In the background of the overall U.S. pressures on our country, it is essential that the government initiate a public debate amongst the political parties and people to protect India's sovereign right to choose its developmental strategy without unequal obligations and limitations.

On Congress(I) Violence in Ballygunje*

**Statement Dated June 9, 1992 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) denounces the violence unleashed by Congress(I) supporters in Ballygunje constituency in Calcutta after it became clear to them that the Congress(I) had no chance of winning the seat. The desperate attacks on the police and Presspersons show the lengths to which the Congress(I) men, led by Mamata Banerjee and other leaders, went to. The rampage took place even outside the constituency and the police had to resort to firing in an area outside the constituency.

The Polit Bureau finds no reason whatsoever for the Election Commission to withhold counting in the constituency as none of the polling stations were disturbed and polling passed off peacefully. Only the concocted and wild charges of the Congress(I) has been paid credence to. The Polit Bureau demands that the Chief Election Commissioner immediately announce the counting schedule.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, June 14, 1992

Condolence on Comrade Manoranjan Roy*

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep grief at the passing away of Comrade Manoranjan Roy, veteran Communist leader and outstanding trade unionist. Comrade Roy was a member of the Central Committee of the Party, Member of the secretariat of the West Bengal state committee and President of the West Bengal CITU. He died on June 13 evening after suffering a heart attack while addressing a meeting at the CITU office in Calcutta. He was 83 years old.

Comrade Manoranjan Roy joined the freedom movement while a young student and came into contact with the Jugantar group of revolutionaries. He was imprisoned in 1930 for his revolutionary activities and, while in jail, he was attracted to Marxism. Released in 1938, he became a member of the CPI. Since then for over five decades, Comrade Manoranjan Roy served the Party and the working class movement with devotion and distinction. He was one of the pioneers of the tea garden workers' movement in North Bengal. A prominent leader of the BPTUC; he became the vice-President of the CITU at its foundation conference in 1970. He served for a long period as the secretary of the West Bengal state committee of the CITU. In this capacity he played a valuable role in developing the working class movement in the state.

Comrade Manoranjan Roy stood with those who fought revisionism and contribution to the formation of the CPI(M) in West Bengal. He was elected to the secretariat of the West Bengal state committee in 1977 and he continued in this position

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till his death. He was elected to the Central Committee of the Party at the Tenth Congress in 1978 and, as a Central Committee member, made an effective contribution to the deliberations of the committee. With his death, the Party has lost a mature and dedicated Marxist-Leninist leader.

Comrade Manoranjan Roy served as MLA in the state legislature and as a member of the Rajya Sabha during his political life. Despite ill health in the past three years, he continued to discharge his responsibilities. His life long association and service to the working class movement will always be remembered and cherished.

The Polit Bureau pays its homage to the memory of Comrade Manoranjan Roy, a tried and tested leader of the Party. The Polit Bureau sends its heartfelt condolences to his wife, daughters and son and other members of his family.

CPI(M) Congratulates Striking Workers*

Statement Issued by The Polit Bureau to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) congratulates the working class for having magnificently responded to the one day strike call in protest against the new economic and industrial policies of the Government of India. In various parts of the country, industrial activity came to a grinding halt with over 1.5 crores of workers staying away from work. Banks, Insurance and related financial activities came to complete standstill all over the country. The Eastern, North Eastern and South Eastern railways could not function as a result of the people's hartal that was organised in support of the working class action. Indian Airlines flight operations were also drastically affected in many parts of the country.

The states of West Bengal, Kerala and Bihar observed a complete bandh with all activities in these states to a standstill. In a few places stray incidents occurred when Congress(I) led INTUC tried to oppose the strike unsuccessfully. In many places, the INTUC followers, affected by the new policies, joined the strike. The BJP stood completely exposed before the Indian people when its trade union wing, BMS, adopted an attitude being 'more loyal than the king'. It is clear that it fully supports the Congress(I)'s anti people policies that are undermining the sovereignty of our country.

As a result of the bandh in West Bengal, all railway and air services were totally paralysed and normally busy Calcutta wore a deserted look with no vehicles plying. In all the districts, all the markets were closed as in the major industrial areas of coal,

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tea-gardens, public sectors. State government employees participated in full, including a section of defence employees.

In Kerala, the bandh was a complete success with all industrial activity coming to a standstill. All over the state, all the government offices were closed and the state transport did not ply. All railway services were also affected.

In Bihar, the bandh was complete. The entire coal belt ceased all activities as well as in the Barauni refinery and the Sindri fertiliser factory. In Bokaro and Ranchi, the public sector units were closed. In rural areas the hartal was complete.

In Tamil Nadu, there was a complete industrial strike and hartals in many towns. All industrial units in and around Madras, including defence units, were closed. All public sector units in the state, including the Neyveli Lignite Corporation, ceased functioning. The 1480 MW power generation had come to a standstill in Neyveli. All district collectorates were closed as a result of the employees strike. In P&T, the strike was complete and about 80 per cent of electricity workers have gone on strike. The reports from districts indicate that the hartal was a big success.

In Andhra Pradesh, the industrial strike was complete with the public sector units in Visakhapatnam and elsewhere going on complete strike. The state public transport buses did not ply and the hartal was an all round success in all towns. In Visakhapatnam the state police sealed the CPI(M) district office and arrested 560 people. Over a thousand people were arrested in Vijayawada.

In Karnataka, all officers, banks, LIC and P&T workers have gone on strike including major public sector undertakings like the HAL, etc. Three districts in the state—Gulbarga, South Canara and Kolar—observed bandh.

In Punjab, over eight lakh workers joined the strike. The Punjab road transport was totally paralysed and the strike was complete in electricity, hosiery and brick kiln sectors. There was a complete bandh in Amritsar, Rajpura and Bhatinda.

In U.P., all the three major public sector undertakings remained closed. The state government employees have struck

CPI(M) Congratulates Striking Workers 385

work in many places in the state and in the remaining they were on a pen down strike. In Kanpur, most industrial units, including textile mills and the defence ordnance factory, remained closed.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) once again congratulates over 1.5 crore workers who have struck work today in a historic political action opposing the retrograde economic and industrial policies that adversely affect our country's sovereignty. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon the Government of India that no amount of its control over the media can distort the reality of the Indian working class rejecting these anti people economic policies. Crores of others have joined the working class all over the country through the hartal. The Polit Bureau warns the Government of India that unless it retraces these measures, the people's resistance to these policies will grow further.

Polit Bureau on CEC's Ridiculous Statement*

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemns the stubborn attitude of the Chief Election Commissioner in depriving the electors of Ballygunje of their elected representative to take his seat in the West Bengal Assembly. The statement issued by the Election Commission is full of distortions and, to say the least, ridiculous. The Election Commission officials sent to Calcutta to make an enquiry spent about three hours in the Writers' Buildings discussing with the Chief Electoral Officer of the state and some presiding officers of the booths. Before sending out the officers for inquiry to Calcutta, the CEC was in the full knowledge that a bandh had been called on the polling day itself to be held on June 10 which was reported in all the leading dailies of Delhi. The commission chose to ignore it and, in spite of it, sent its representatives. It should not, therefore, complain of the difficulties due to the bandh.

As for the remark "The team was also prevented from completing the task as the officers were being constantly followed by political party workers and newspapermen", the purpose of it is very difficult to understand. These are all lame excuses in justification of the CEC's arbitrary decision to stop the counting of votes. It is not difficult for any person to realise that the action of the CEC continues to be politically motivated. He should understand that, by doing so, he is inflicting incalculable harm to the cause of democracy in the country. The Polit Bureau demands that the order interdicting counting of votes should be withdrawn forthwith and the counting process begin.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, June 21, 1992

On Liquidation of Metropolitan Bank*

**Statement Dated June 20, 1992 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) views with grave concern the liquidation of the Metropolitan Bank. Hardly a month back, the Bank of Karad was sent into liquidation ruining thousands of depositors, especially of salaried middle class people. Now, with the fresh order sending the Metropolitan Bank into liquidation, thousands of people are going to be similarly affected.

Since these liquidations are the fall out of the Rs. 3,000 crore bank scam, the responsibility squarely lies with the Reserve Bank of India and the Ministry of Finance. Under the very nose of the Reserve Bank of India, despite its much vaunted rules and regulations, the banks have been defrauded to the extent of thousands of crores of rupees. It is, therefore, the Government's responsibility to indemnify in full the money deposited by the people. It has been decreed that not more than Rs. 30,000 should be paid to the depositors. Very many of these depositors are salaried middle class people who have deposited their entire life's savings including their provident fund and gratuity. With the banks thus sent into liquidation with no provision to pay up in full the money, such depositors had kept with the banks, overnight they are being reduced to paupers.

The P.B. demands that the Government of India make arrangements to pay these depositors their entire money, it necessary by promulgating ordinances and subsequently enacting legislations to safeguard their interests.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, June 28, 1992

On Brazen Interference by United States*

**Statement Dated June 22, 1992 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the reported decision by the U.S. President, George Bush authorising the CIA to step up surveillance and other covert activities against India and other Third World countries. This brazen decision to interfere in the internal affairs of India is meant to brow beat India into falling in line with the U.S. drive for total hegemony. This decision to use the CIA follows the decision of the U.S. Department of Commerce to exercise strict controls regarding exports of material to India which the U.S. thinks will be utilised for India's space and rocket technology.

The Narasimha Rao Government continues to entertain illusions of close strategic cooperation with the U.S. even while the Bush administration is shamelessly intimidating India and endangering its sovereignty. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) demands of the Rao Government to take immediate measures to counter the U.S. blackmail and appeals to all sections of the people to raise their voice against these onslaughts of India's independence and integrity.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, June 28, 1992

Polit Bureau on Presidential Election*

Statement Dated June 23, 1992 Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) has decided to support the candidature of Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma for the Presidentship of India. While doing so, the CPI(M) has taken into account the prevailing situation in the country and the necessity to have a person with appropriate stature as President who will uphold the democratic and secular values embodied in the Constitution.

The CPI(M) had wanted that the nominees for both the Presidentship and Vice Presidentship be announced by the Congress(I) President, Shri Narashimha Rao together, so that the concerned political parties could decide their respective stands and see if a consensus could be evolved for both the posts. Despite the Prime Minister's oft repeated stance of wanting a consensus, he has chosen to announce only the nominee for President and avoided publicly indicating the choice for Vice-Presidentship. Thereby, he has shown that he is not serious about finding the maximum possible agreement on this issue.

The Polit Bureau strongly protests this attitude. The Prime Minister's statement on the eve of his departure for Tokyo gives no clear indication about the Vice-President candidate. In such situation, the P.B., has decided to keep its option open as to the Vice-Presidential election. The CPI(M) is for supporting a candidate of suitable stature for this post from the scheduled castes and who has a background of upholding democratic and secular values. For this, the CPI(M) along with the Left Parties will continue their consultations with the National Front.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, June 28, 1992.

Joint Communique of The Portuguese Communist Party and The CPI(M)*

Issued in Lisbon on June 23, 1992

At the invitation of the Portuguese Communist Party, Harkishan Singh Surjeet, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), visited Portugal between June 21 and 23.

H.S. Surjeet and Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party held talks with the participation of Blanqui Teixeira, Member of the Secretariat and the Central Commission for Control and Cadres, and of Albano Nunes, Member of the Secretariat and responsible for the international department. H.S. Surjeet also met with Domingos Abrantes, Member of the Political Commission and of the Secretariat and, at the Parliament with a delegation of the Political Commission and President of the group, headed by Octavio Teixeira, Member of the Political Commission and President of the Group. He also visited Moita's town hall where he was received by the Town Council. On the evening of the June 22, a PCP/CPI(M) friendship meeting took place at Baixa Da Banheira where H.S. Surjeet and Alvaro Cunhal took the floor.

During the talks, there was ample exchange of information concerning the situation in both countries, the activity of both Parties, as well as recent international issues and the world communist revolutionary movement where a broad consensus was verified in the analysis of the situation.

A. Cunhal gave information about the PCP's struggle against the right-wing politics of the present government, which aim at completely rebuilding and restoring of the big monopolist group through a vast offensive within economic, social, political and

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, June 28, 1992.

cultural planning, and at imposing serious limitations to workers' rights and to other basic rights and liberties, as well as aiming at a de characterization of the democratic system endorsed by the constitution. A. Cunhal stressed the great importance of the struggle by the working class and other strata of the population against such policies. He underlined the PCP's firm opposition to the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty because it poses a grave danger to national sovereignty and independence.

H.S. Surjeet explained about the struggle of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in building the unity of Left and democratic forces to fight against separatism in defence of national unity, to defend democracy and against the reactionary economic policies which open the country to neo colonial exploitation. Surjeet also explained the decisions of the Fourteenth Party Congress which was able to unify the Party on ideological, political and organisational questions.

A. Cunhal and H.S. Surjeet expressed profound concern over the evolving international situation, marked by a dangerous imbalance in the power correlation favouring imperialism, and by attempts of the U.S. and other big powers, to impose a new international order against the will of the people. Considering the need to firmly resist these objectives, A. Cunhal and H.S. Surjeet underlined the importance of strengthening the relations of friendship, cooperation and solidarity between all progressive forces, of intensifying bilateral and multilateral contacts between communist parties and other revolutionary forces, and of developing common or converging solidarity initiatives towards workers and people who confront imperialism's politics of interference and aggression and who fight for freedom, democracy, national independence, peace and socialism. They stressed the validity of Marxism Leninism which is creative in essence and reaffirmed their confidence in the future of socialism and communism.

H.S. Surjeet's visit to Portugal and the talks that were held confirm the relations of friendship, cooperation and solidarity existing between the PCP and the CPI(M) and are an important contribution for the continuing development of these relations.

Condolence On Comrade Li Xiannian*

**Statement Dated June 26, 1992 Issued by
The Central Committee of The CPI(M)**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is deeply grieved at the passing away of Comrade Li Xiannian, veteran leader of the Communist Party of China, staunch Marxist revolutionary and former President of the PRC.

Comrade Li Xiannian played a notable role in China's revolutionary movement. His valuable contributions to the People's Liberation Army during the liberation struggle and in various high positions in the Party and the government are a standing testimony to his remarkable qualities.

The C.C. of the CPI(M) mourns the death of Comrade Li Xiannian, an outstanding Communist leader of China. It conveys its sincere and heartfelt condolences to the CPC and to the members of his family.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, July 5, 1992

On Situation in Tripura*

**Statement Dated July 1, 1992 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its grave concern at the continued suffering of the tribal people of Tripura who are in the grip of severe food shortage. The drought-affected area saw the failure of the *Jhumia* cultivation which already led to over 500 deaths due to the starvation and hunger related diseases. Even after the exposure of a grim situation in the media and by various political parties, the Congress(I) TUJS coalition government has miserably failed to take adequate measures to meet the grave situation. Neither has it offered double rations through the public distribution system nor made provision for different rural employment schemes. Instead the Samir Ranjan Barman ministry is playing the diabolical game of trying to pit one section against another in the name of fighting armed extremist outfits.

The Polit Bureau strongly condemns the arrest of nine tribal youth from various parts of North Tripura under the TADA. These young men have been subjected to inhuman torture and not given any medical assistance even when they have been sent to jail custody. This repression on the tribal people while they are suffering from the pangs of starvation is an inhuman policy. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) extends its full support to the call of the Tripura unit of the Party to unite all sections of people both tribal and non-tribal, to resist the State Government's repressive policies and for the withdrawal of the use of TADA in the state.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, July 5, 1992

Polit Bureau on Riots in Gujarat*

Statement Dated July 4, 1992 Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) severely condemns the repeated failure of the state government of Gujarat in preventing the recurrent flare up of communal riots in Ahmedabad, and other cities and towns of Gujarat. The administration allowed the *rath yatra* through sensitive areas instead of prohibiting such processions. The eruption of riots have all the features of prior planning. In the current spate, in two days 14 lives have already been lost due to communal conflagration. The very fact that riot, murders, lootings and arson have been continuing for the last three days shows the utter inefficiency of the government in tackling and controlling the situation in restoring normalcy of civic life. Due to the political indecisiveness on the part of the Congress(I) rulers, and administrative collusion, Gujarat has earned the notoriety as a chronic place for communal discord and riots, where in the last few years hundreds of lives have already been lost.

The Polit Bureau demands of the state government of Gujarat to immediately adopt stringent measures to ruthlessly suppress the communal elements and bring peace and amity in the trouble-prone city. The instigators and perpetrators of the riots should immediately be apprehended and brought to book.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, July 12, 1992.

Polit Bureau of CPI(M) on Happenings in Ayodhya*

Statement Dated July 14, 1992 Issued to Press

The recent happenings in Ayodhya and the Central Government's inaction in the matter have worsened the situation. The current judgement of the Lucknow bench of the Allahabad High Court refusing to intervene in the matter is creating grave misgivings among the minorities.

It is a full six days since the VHP backed by the U.P. State Government began construction work at the disputed site at Ayodhya. The Central Government has failed to take any step whatsoever to stop this illegal and provocative activity, despite the Home Minister's statement in Parliament that there is *prima facie* evidence that the Court orders are being violated.

The Narasimha Rao Government is adopting a course of drift which portends serious danger to communal amity and secular values. As in the past, when the issue of *Shilanyas* came up in November 1989, any compromising stand will only embolden the communal forces and lead to serious repercussions amongst the minorities.

The Polit Bureau urges the Government of India to take immediate steps to take over the entire disputed area so that the status quo can be maintained and the attempts to tamper with the site foiled. Any further procrastination will only lead to total loss of confidence in the Central Government's capacity to match its words with deeds.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, July 19, 1992.

Resist Bartering Indian Sovereignty*

Statement Issued by The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M)

The documents placed in the Parliament by the Finance Minister on Friday clearly expose the government's intentions of going ahead with an Extended Fund Facility borrowing from the IMF which implies another dose of stricter conditionalities and structural adjustments. The IMF loan was initially justified on the basis of a worsening balance of payment deficit and the need to finance our import bills. Even when this has risen to 5.6 billion US dollars the government's intention to go in for a further loan clearly reveals its intentions of accepting in toto the entire economic orientation of the IMF. This is a further assault on the economic sovereignty of our country and an attempt to reduce the Indian economy to an appendage to U.S. interests.

In return for a 1.6 billion dollar loan in the next year in instalments, the government has promised to drastically reduce the fertiliser subsidy by November 1992; allow more imports and refrain from imposing any new restrictions on imports; and worse, broaden the base of indirect taxation by bringing services in the tax net and reducing the scope for exemptions. The thrust of these promises implies a further shifting of the burden on to the common man through indirect taxes, while the withdrawal of any restrictions in imports would only worsen our balance of payments position.

Showing utmost contempt for the growing opposition to these policies that are already imposing severe hardships on the Indian people, with continued inflation and growing unemployment, the P.V. Narasimha Rao Government has unashamedly embarked on a policy of surrendering India's economic sovereignty. As a result of

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these policies, during the last one year the consumer price index shot up from 12.1 per cent to 14.7 per cent while the much touted IMF loan to solve our balance of payment deficits has resulted in converting a trade surplus of Rs. 102 crore in April 1991 to a trade deficit of Rs. 1214 crore in April 1992.

It is increasingly becoming clear that the government wishes to solve the crisis of its own making by passing the burden on to the common man. Further, the country is being pushed increasingly into a debt trap, with the people having no idea of how this would be repaid.

The CPI(M) in continuation of the massive all India protest of November 29, 1991 and June 16, 1992 calls upon the Indian people to strongly oppose these measures that impose greater economic burdens.

Condolence on Comrade Deng Yingchao*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep sorrow at the death of Deng Yingchao, outstanding leader of the Communist Party of China. Deng Yingchao's long record as a staunch revolutionary, her role in the historic Long March of 1934-36, her courage and spirit of sacrifice were sources of inspiration to the Chinese people. As the wife of the great revolutionary Zhou En Lai, she was his constant companion in the revolutionary struggle of an entire historic period. She was a member of the Polit Bureau of the CPC and was the Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference for a long time.

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) conveys its heartfelt condolences to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi July 19, 1992

On Activities of VHP at the Disputed Site in Ayodhya*

**Statement Dated July 9, 1992 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) denounces the activities of the VHP at the disputed site in Ayodhya. The developments reported today indicate that the VHP in violation of all the court orders including that of the Supreme Court is determined to alter the status quo of the disputed site. These developments will only contribute to the further worsening of the tense communal situation in the country and create grave harm to our country's unity and integrity.

The BJP state government in Uttar Pradesh in violation of all the court orders and the National Integration Council (NIC) resolution has been virtually aiding the VHP in its activities. The BJP state government has thus shown its supreme contempt to the Indian Constitution and its judiciary. Further, it is demonstrating scant respect to the NIC, its deliberations and decisions of which it was a part.

The P.B. of the CPI(M) demands of the Government of India that firm and effective measures must be undertaken urgently to honour the NIC resolution, the court verdict and maintain the status quo of the disputed shrine. The CPI(M) warns that unless immediate measures are undertaken there is a great threat of communal conflagration that may well engulf the entire country.

The P.B. of the CPI(M) calls upon the people of the country to raise their powerful voice of sanity and thwart the designs of the VHP BJP RSS combine which appear all set to destroy the communal harmony that unites the social fabric of our country.

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The CPI(M) calls upon the people of India to realise that it is not a question of building a temple in Ayodhya. Not one but many can be built, but to destroy a religious structure for that purpose is not the way to advance the cause of the Indian people but sow permanent seeds of discord which have grave implications for the future of our country. Such irresponsible political parties that place their electoral interests above that of the country must be roundly rejected.

Polit Bureau on Developments in Ayodhya*

Statement Dated July 12, 1992 Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemns the action of the BJP Government of Uttar Pradesh for allowing construction work by the VHP at the disputed site in Ayodhya and the Government of India's studied inaction in intervening in the situation to stop the work. The Standing Committee of the National Integration Council and the MPs team after their visit to Ayodhya submitted a report to the Government of India reporting the illegal activities being permitted at the disputed site. Since then the Government of India has sat tight over the report and refused to even get the report discussed in Parliament. This unwillingness of the Central Government to intervene in Ayodhya emboldened the BJP Government of U.P. in order to shore-up the flagging morale of the VHP-Bajrang Dal men to undertake the construction work with the open declaration that it will begin on July 9th with the building of the gate. The reluctance to intervene is all the more intriguing despite the demands of all non BJP opposition parties that the construction work should be stopped forthwith. It clearly shows that the Congress(I) Government at the Centre once again is seeking a compromise with the rabid communal forces.

As in the past it refuses to come out clearly and confront the Hindu communalists both politically and administratively. The P.B. warns the Government of India that any measure to appease the Hindu communal forces will be counter productive, giving rise to the resurgence of minority fundamentalist forces thus vitiating the atmosphere in the country leading to dangerous consequences.

The P.B. urges upon the Government of India to immediately intervene in the situation so that the construction work is stopped immediately. Unless energetic steps are taken up immediately, the situation will go out of control with grave consequences to the country.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, July 19, 1992

Protest Against Attack on Nripen Chakraborty*

**Statement Dated July 12, 1992 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly condemns the dastardly attack on Comrade Nripen Chakraborty by Congress(I) miscreants in Tripura today.

Former Chief Minister of Tripura and CPI(M) Polit Bureau Member, Comrade Nripen Chakraborty addressed a big successful mass meeting at Noluah in Belonia Sub division in Tripura this morning. He had inaugurated the new Party office that was rebuilt after the earlier one was destroyed in Congress(I) attacks. While he was returning to Agartala, his car was attacked by Congress(I) miscreants. Comrade Narayan Kar, former member of the Rajya Sabha, who was accompanying him, was injured. The Congress(I) obviously could not tolerate even the normal democratic right of addressing a public meeting.

Such attacks have become common place in Tripura today. The Congress(I) led state government has demonstrated no scruples for democracy or democratic institutions. The constitutional rights are constantly being violated. Unheard of attacks on the tribals continue unabated. The terror regime, which already has a long list of atrocities to its credit, is seeking to browbeat any opposition to its rule. Gang rapes, murder, large-scale evictions of people from their homes are part of the "culture" that the Congress(I) government has created in the state.

The CPI(M) Polit Bureau demands that immediate action be taken against the culprits. The P.B. of the CPI(M) calls upon all its units to protest against this attack.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, July 12, 1992

Central Committee Communique*

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) met in New Delhi from July 19 to 23, 1992 and issued the following statement:

Ayodhya Construction: Grave Threat to National Unity

The Vishwa Hindu Parishad, with the active backing of the BJP State Government in U.P., began construction at the disputed site at Ayodhya on July 9. Fifteen days have passed since the construction work began and the Narasimha Rao Government has done nothing whatsoever to stop the construction work despite the defiance of the court order. All the Left and secular opposition parties categorically stated that they will support any firm action taken by the Centre to intervene to stop the construction in compliance with the court directive.

The BJP has been thoroughly isolated in the Parliament and the National Integration Council with its stand that the construction cannot be stopped due to the electoral mandate it received. The unjustifiable and unwarranted refusal by the Centre to take over the disputed area at Ayodhya and to take measures to implement the court directive portends a gross betrayal of secularism. In the face of this open challenge to the Constitution and the courts, the minorities are in a state of panic. The serious repercussions of the illegal activities at Ayodhya have already been seen with the communal violence that erupted at Thiruvananthapuram in Kerala and Malgaon in Maharashtra.

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Congress(I) Government: Compromising Stand

The Central Committee demands of the Government of India to immediately intervene to stop the construction and to defend the Constitution and the primacy of the state over religion. The Rao Government's compromising attitude and the failure to act firmly will be a serious blow to the cause of national unity. The negotiations conducted by the Prime Minister with the VHP leaders show that the latter refuses to give up the original temple construction plan in which the sanctum sanctorum is within the existing mosque structure. The CPI(M) will, unitedly with other Left and secular forces, mobilise the people to oppose the anti-national activities of the VHP and the BJP's connivance at destroying communal amity.

The Central Committee noted with serious concern that rabid communal outfits in Kerala are utilising the tense atmosphere to instigate violence as has happened in Thiruvananthapuram and its neighbourhood. The aggressive activities of the RSS have spawned the formation of the Islamic Sevak Sangh (ISS) and both these organisations are active in instigating communal trouble. Six people have died in the violence and many have been rendered homeless due to arson. The UDF Government, plagued with internal dissensions, was immobilised in the face of the eruption of communal trouble. The Central Committee called upon the people of Kerala and all the secular and democratic forces there to mobilise in a big way to isolate these reactionary communal forces which are out to blemish the proud record of communal peace and harmony in the state.

Resist Imperialist Pressures

The Central Committee called upon all the democratic and patriotic forces to exercise vigilance in view of the heightened and relentless pressures on India by the USA on a whole range of issues such as the sanctions in trade matters (through the Special 301 clause); the hampering of India's rocket technology by imposing sanctions on ISRO and the continuing efforts to pressurise India to accept the NPT or equivalent options. Pressure is also being mounted to accept the Dunkel draft text for the GATT

negotiations. It is only the constant vigilance of the anti imperialist forces which can prevent the Rao Government from making further compromise on American terms and conditions.

June 16 General Strike: Significant Protest

The Central Committee hailed the success of the June 16 general strike called by the Sponsoring Committee of Central Trade Unions. This historic strike saw the participation of more than 15 crore workers and employees, drawing in large sections of the public sector workers, public sector employees, state government employees and private sector workers. The sweep and intensity of this strike was greater than the November 29, 1991 industrial strike. The response to the strike shows growing consciousness and the determination of the working class to oppose the new economic policies of the Rao Government. The significance of the strike lay in the fact that the working class did not strike work for its own economic demands but for the reversal of a major policy direction of the government.

The necessity to intensify and widen this protest movement is important as the Narasimha Rao Government has taken further measures in line with the IMF World Bank dictates. The application to the IMF for an Extended Fund Facility Loan would mean more damaging conditionalities being imposed, the self reliant basis of infrastructural industries is being undermined with further invitations to private and foreign capital; the cuts in budgetary supports to public sector enterprises is meant to throttle them and the National Textile Corporation is a prime target for massive retrenchment; the government promises to implement the exit policy to facilitate large scale retrenchment of workers and cut subsidies for fertilisers for getting the new IMF loan

Banking Scandal

The shocking scandal involving defalcation of thousands of crores of rupees of bank funds for profiteering in the stock market has exposed the real character of the liberalisation and deregulation measures. There can be no greater indictment of the new economic policies of the Rao Government. Dr. Manmohan Singh, the Finance

Minister, and the RBI Governor, Venkitaraman, who are directly accountable for this rotten state of affairs, must own up responsibility and quit office. Further, the resignation of P Chidambaram highlights the political nexus in this unprecedented scandal. A Joint Parliamentary Committee should be immediately constituted and vigorous efforts be made to uncover the entire ramifications of the scandal, identify those responsible and bring all the culprits to book.

The one year record of the Rao Government on the economic front has been a period of immense suffering for the common people. Despite the vaunted claims for the new economic policies, the 1991-92 official figures show that the rate of industrial production has fallen over the previous year – the overall rate of agricultural production has declined while foodgrain production registered a fall of 1.5 per cent. The annual rate of inflation in this one year hovered between 13 and 14 per cent. The rise in prices of foodgrains touched a high of 23 per cent. Alongwith the cuts in the public distribution system, this has led in many parts of the country's drought affected areas to hunger and starvation deaths with Tripura being the worst affected.

The Central Committee demands the strengthening of the public distribution system which is on the point of collapse. Given the loot of public sector assets in the first round of disinvestment of PSU shares by selling them off cheaply, the Party calls for an immediate halt to further disinvestment.

The Central Committee decided that the movement against the new economic policies must be widened and intensified and the rural masses must be drawn into the protest actions in a big way. It decided to prepare for the next phase of the struggle in consultation with the Left and National Front parties, so that the success of the November 29, 1991 and June 16, 1992 general strikes can be carried forward. It called upon the Party units to lead the struggles on urgent issues like price rise, threat of retrenchment and loss of jobs.

Kashmir

Despite repeated warnings, the Rao Government is bent upon pursuing a policy in Kashmir which will only worsen the situation

and not address the main problem which needs to be tackled. The talk of holding elections or revival of the state assembly without political solution to the questions of assuring the identity of the Kashmiri people is bound to prove disastrous by alienating the people further from the Indian state. It is imperative that the Central Government initiate talks with the JKLF on the question of granting autonomy to the state whereby the aspirations of the Kashmiri people are met and national unity strengthened.

Punjab

The Central Government is complacent about the situation in Punjab with the state government being satisfied with the police action in eliminating or apprehending some terrorists. Such a blinkered approach without solving the real problems dealt with in the Rajiv Longowal Accord, will not help in isolating the extremists and mobilising the people against separatism. The common people are not only oppressed by the terrorists but also harassed by the police. The Punjab Government must take prompt action against those policemen who are responsible for excesses and illegal acts against the people.

The solutions to these grave problems of national unity, whether it be in Punjab or Kashmir, cannot find an enduring solution without the restructuring of Centre State relations and the devolution of more powers to the states in a genuinely federal set up. Resistance to this basic reality by the Congress(I) is one of the major reasons for the continuance of these threats to national unity and the separatist movements.

Autonomy for Tribal Areas

The Central Committee noted that the aspirations of the tribal people in the Jharkand area of Bihar and of the Bodos in Assam are yet to be satisfactorily resolved. In both cases, unless genuine autonomy is provided for with sufficient powers to autonomous regional structures by expanding the powers under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution, the tribal assertion for identity and protection of their language and cultures cannot be met.

Attacks on Democracy: Cong (I)-TUJS Terror Condemned

The Central Committee condemned the Congress(I) TUJS Government in Tripura for stepping up its repression in the tribal compact areas on the pretext of countering certain armed outfits. The TADA has been used to arrest tribal youth. Apart from this, the terror against the CPI(M) bases and supporters continues unabated with raids on villages, killings and rapes of tribal women.

The Central Committee expressed deep concern at the plight of the tribal people who are in the grip of severe food shortages which have resulted in over 500 deaths from hunger related diseases. The Central Committee called upon the Central Government to ensure adequate supplies so that the state Government provides double rations and initiates new employment generation schemes in the affected areas. The Samir Ranjan Burman ministry has been callous to the enormous human suffering and not done anything substantial so far.

The Central Committee congratulated the Tripura state unit for the massive *jail bharo* movement on June 18, 1992 and called upon all democratic forces in the country to extend full support to the struggles in Tripura to defend democracy and elementary human rights.

Kumher Incident

The Central Committee strongly condemned the atrocities on the scheduled castes in Kumher, Rajasthan, which led to the killing of at least 14 persons. The BJP state Government is accountable because it failed to act despite prior warnings of a conflict brewing in the town.

The Central Committee condemned the series of anti democratic legislations and measures taken by the AIADMK Government in Tamil Nadu. The Jayalalitha Government has set a new record in the intimidation of the Press and in illegal measures to suppress opposition activities and in harassing political opponents. The state government had arrested over 30,000 trade union and political activists on the eve of the June 16 strike. The Central Committee called for united resistance by all Left, democratic and secular forces in the state against these anti democratic onslaughts.

BJP Government's Reactionary Role

The BJP's reactionary role in the country's politics is becoming clearer to the people day by day. At Ayodhya, the BJP leadership, by provoking a confrontation, is seeking to divert the attention of the people from the onslaught of the economic policies which spells miseries for the people. On the other hand, the state government run by the BJP are exposing their repressive anti people and anti working class character. The massacre of 17 workers in Bhilai by police firing; the suppression of the government employees strike in Himachal Pradesh by using TADA, ESMA, NASA and outright dismissals; the failure to protect the scheduled castes in Kumher, Rajasthan, and the repression on the electricity engineers of the state—all these are proof of the pro capitalist, pro landlord and big trader character of the BJP which has no compunctions in brutally suppressing the poor and downtrodden to protect the vested interests.

The Central Committee called for a countrywide campaign to expose these misdeeds and reactionary positions of the BJP Governments alongwith the campaign to counter its communal activities.

Fraternal Relations with Communist Parties

The Central Committee heard a report from Harkishan Singh Surjeet, General Secretary, on his visit to some countries abroad and the talks that he held with the Communist Parties there. It was found in these discussions that these parties share much common ground with the CPI(M) and the exchange of experiences and views have proved beneficial to our Party's understanding of the current international situation.

On the basis of his report on his visit to Cuba and the difficult situation faced by the Cuban people in the face of US blockade and intimidation, the Central Committee decided to step up the solidarity campaign for the collection of foodgrains to be sent to Cuba and to complete the collection by the middle of August.

Demand for Central Intervention at Ayodhya*

**Central Committee of The CPI(M)
Issued Statement Dated July 20, 1992 to Press**

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) expresses its grave concern at the construction work continuing at Ayodhya at the disputed site by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad violating the court directive. The BJP state government which has been conniving at this construction work has refused to take any measure to stop the illegal activities as directed by the Lucknow Bench of the Allahabad High Court. The BJP leadership, on the other hand, is justifying the construction work at the disputed site. This has created a situation in which the Constitution and the rule of law itself is challenged. As a result, the situation is deteriorating at Ayodhya and it is having serious repercussions in the rest of the country endangering communal amity and national unity. Already, violence has erupted in some places in Kerala and Maharashtra.

The Central Committee demands that the Government of India, without any further delay, immediately intervene and take all necessary steps to stop the construction at the disputed site to comply with the court order. This was the unanimous view of all the political parties except the BJP at the National Integration Council meeting, held on July 18. Such Central intervention will find the support of all democratic and secular forces in the country.

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On Certain Political Developments Since March 1992 Central Committee Meeting of The CPI(M)*

**Adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M)
in its Meeting Held in New Delhi on July 19-22, 1992**

INTERNATIONAL

The four months since the last CC meeting has seen the continuation of the economic recession gripping the world capitalist economy. The hopes voiced earlier of a recovery have remained largely elusive. The current recession has been the longest in recent history.

In the United States of America while the GNP rose at a modest 1.5 per cent between May 1991 and May 1992 the unemployment percentage rose from 6.8 to nearly 8 per cent or 10 million people. The total debt of US economy is estimated to be over 400,000 million dollars (1200,000 crores of Rupees). The US treasury is already dispersing more than 15 per cent of its revenue earnings as interest payments. UK continues to go on a downslide with its GNP registering yet another decline of 1.6 per cent in the first quarter of 1992 compared to corresponding period of 1991. Unemployment has mounted to nearly 10 per cent. This recessionary spell which is the longest since the 1930s has added over one million unemployed in two years in the UK. Germany is facing a rapid slowdown in industrial production and the volume of retail sales dropped by 6.1 per cent during March 1991 to March 1992. Unemployment continues to soar reaching nearly seven per cent. France's unemployment stands at 10 per cent compared to nine per cent last year. Its industrial production in the first quarter of 1992 grew at a mere 0.6 per cent. Industrial production in Italy registered a decline of 0.5 per cent. The Italian economy has got a 100 billion dollar budget deficit. The Canadian

*Published in December 1994

economy continues to contract with a fall in its GNP of 0.8 per cent in the first quarter with the industrial production dipping by 2 per cent. Unemployment in May 1992 was over 11.2 per cent. Even the apparently invincible Japanese economy recently faced a stock market collapse. Its industrial production fell by 8.8 per cent between May 1991 and May 1992. Importantly, in the first quarter of this year the industrial production fell by 14.4 per cent.

Any hopes for a dramatic recovery are belied by the gloomy forecasts that are emerging. The US economy, it has been forecast, would not grow at a rate of more than 1.5 per cent in 1992. For the European community as a whole it has been forecast that the GDP in 1992 will not grow at a rate of more than 0.7 per cent.

This recession continues to have its impact on the volume of world trade that the CC noted in its last meeting. In volume terms growth rate of world trade dropped from over 9 per cent to a mere 1.1 per cent in 1991. This implies that the growth prospects for the developing countries would be much worse in the current year. This is particularly true for countries like India who have embarked on an export led economic growth strategy. This would only imply further mounting of debt and miseries to the peoples of these countries.

The continuation of this recessionary spell has imposed greater burdens on the working people of these countries. The differentials of living standards between the richest ten per cent and the poorest ten per cent continue to widen.

Protests against the consequent deteriorating living conditions are growing. Germany (chiefly the former West Germany) was witness to a massive working class action. The industrial strike, the biggest action since World War II, virtually paralysed the German economy.

However, while the inherent contradictions of capitalism continue to intensify, this does not mean that capitalism has exhausted itself. Right wing forces are exploiting the consequent mass discontent to further their political ends with success in many European countries. As noted in the XIV Congress, "Capitalism still retains the capacity to manoeuvre and manage its problems".

G-7 Summit

It is in this background that the G 7 Summit took place in Munich recently. The Summit could not achieve anything substantial or set a direction for the economic recovery of the leading industrialised countries. The impasse on the GATT agreement continued to dog the advanced capitalist countries. The European countries are refusing to endorse a trade agreement that blatantly favours the USA. This is a reflection of the growing economic conflicts between the imperialist countries themselves. Thus the Uruguay round of negotiations on GATT remained in a stalemate. The USA wants the EC to stop dumping its food articles in the world market at subsidised prices as these affect the US share of the world market. The EC has so far refused to accept this condition. The G 7 Summit thus had to stay content with issuing rhetorical statements and releasing just one billion of the pledged 24 billion dollar aid to Yeltsin.

While the economic conflicts between the imperialist countries continue to express themselves, the US leadership of the imperialist camp in military and political terms continues to remain unchallenged.

In the face of this continuing recession, US imperialism's hegemonistic drive continues to intensify. George Bush's new world order continues to express itself in various fields. In the economic sphere the arm twisting measures against the third world countries, particularly India, continue to mount. The threats of Super 301 are being issued to those countries not willing to comply to US requirements. These measures are not confined to the economic sphere alone. The last four months have seen the attempt by the USA to once again hijack the UN on the Libyan issue. The central point of its new world order has been intensification of its criminal blockade against Cuba. The heroic Cuban people are today engaged in a life and death struggle to preserve socialism and human dignity.

The Rio-Earth Summit

US imperialism's refusal to accept the opinion of the world community in protecting earth's environment was thoroughly

exposed at the Rio Summit. The USA refused to sign the treaty on bio-diversity aimed at protecting world's plants and animals. While the Summit attended by 178 nations was tied down in discussing niceties of an 800 page plan of action called Agenda 21, George Bush gave a clear message to the world that the USA will not accept any responsibility for cleansing the world's environment. The threats to the world's environment today are primarily the product of the process of industrialisation undertaken by the capitalist countries. A process whose primary concern was not the preservation of the environment but the enrichment of profits. Thus the industrialised countries today bear the primary responsibility for the state of the world's environment. Instead of meeting the consequent obligations, the USA has refused to sign the bio diversity treaty. On the contrary US imperialism's efforts were to deny the developing world a path of economic development that it itself had traversed earlier. While it continues to ravage the environment for its profits, the third world is being asked to forego industrialisation in order to protect the environment. Even at this Summit the differences between the US and its allies were clearly exposed.

European Integration

The grand scheme for the European Monetary Union and Integration in 1992 has run into heavy weather. The Danish people in a referendum have rejected the *Maastricht Treaty* and refused to join the integration. France, which was the initiator of the idea years ago, is also in the process of holding a referendum in order to decide whether to join the union or not. In the meanwhile leading economists and public figures in Germany have openly come out against the *Maastricht Treaty* and in fact have suggested the reopening of the agenda for a proper unification. The European integration which envisages a common currency for the 12 European countries, in order to become a powerful economic block in the world, is seen by the Left in Europe as an attempt to deny the national peculiarities of each of these countries, with the sway of multinational capital over

Europe. Significant sections of the European Left have been opposing such an integration as this would lead to further domination and control of big countries and multinational capital.

The present situation highlights the need to strengthen anti imperialist struggles the world over, especially in the third world countries. In this context, the strengthening of international solidarity with Cuba assumes utmost significance. Our decision to send 10,000 tonnes of foodgrains to Cuba, should be urgently materialised.

The relentless pursuits of the new world order by US imperialism in the background of the continuing economic recession in the capitalist world is bound to create conditions for the intensification of all the four social contradictions.

In this background, the recent meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Non Aligned countries at Bali is significant. The outcome emphasised the anti imperialist content of NAM, which will have to be further strengthened in the present context.

South Africa

On June 23 the ANC declared that it was pulling out of the negotiations with the apartheid regime and from the *Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA)*. This comes a week after the gruesome massacre of 40 black South Africans in the township of Boipatano. Such attacks against the blacks have been mounting during the last two years when the process of dismantling the apartheid regime began. Over 7000 blacks have reportedly been killed in such clashes during the last two years.

In recent months, it had become amply clear that Prime Minister De Klerk and the *Inkathata Freedom Party* Chief, Buthelezi were working together in the CODESA. The ANC has all along been demanding that a Constituent Assembly be elected on the principle of *one man one vote* and this should be entrusted with the task of drawing up the Constitution for a democratic non racial South Africa. The apartheid regime has consistently been refusing to accept this and instead arguing that the CODESA itself should draw up the new Constitution. The CODESA is

packed with 'equal representatives' from all political forces in South Africa without any legitimate basis for their representation. De Klerk had taken a position that to approve the Constitution 75% of vote is necessary, thus virtually retaining a veto power with the white majority. The ANC had eventually agreed for a two-third majority. But the talks were deadlocked on this issue. CODESA as a body packed with the agents of the apartheid regime would not create a Constitution for true popular democracy to emerge in South Africa. In fact, the apartheid regime's efforts seem to be to control the important economic and political levers in the case of a black majority rule and towards this end they have been perfecting the divide and rule policy amongst the tribal inhabitants with the eventual aim of attempting a tribal balkanisation of South Africa in the eventuality of a black majority rule.

With the struggle intensifying and massive protest actions and nationwide strikes being organised by the ANC the international community will have to express its solidarity by not lifting the sanctions against South Africa at the present stage.

Angola

In neighbouring Angola, US imperialism has been openly aiding the right-wing forces against the MPLA. Mineral rich Angola, has always been a target of imperialism and with this intervention they hope to convert Angola into one of imperialist surrogates. These developments will have an immediate impact on Namibia which is slowly transforming itself into a black majority rule. In neighbouring Mozambique as well imperialism has been openly siding with the right wing forces. The continued impoverishment of the people and the large scale exodus of refugees from Mozambique are creating conditions of insecurity and instability.

This destabilisation of these countries by imperialism is bound to impose greater miseries on the people of these countries. People's popular anti-imperialist struggles are bound to intensify under these circumstances.

Israel

After a gap of 15 years, the Labour Party of Israel emerged victorious in the elections and has formed the government. This is significant in the sense that immediately after assuming power the government declared the creation of '*autonomy and self rule for the Arabs in the territories*'. However, the new government is so far not willing to withdraw from the illegally occupied Arab territories. This Israeli intransigence will continue to create obstacles for any solution to the vexed Middle East crisis. Central to any solution is the granting of the long denied homeland to the Palestinian people. The heroic Palestinian peoples struggle led by the PLO, for their homeland must continue to receive growing international solidarity.

Cambodia

The process of peace and normalcy in Cambodia has once again been hampered by the refusal of the Khmer Rouge to disarm itself and join the process of negotiations. Under UN supervision the Supreme National Council headed by Norodom Sihanouk has assumed charge of the country's affairs. However, the final transition towards a popular rule in this country is marred by the attitude of Khmer Rouge and as long as they refuse to lay down their arms and stop the fighting, peace and normalcy cannot be restored completely in Cambodia. International pressure will have to be mounted in order to ensure that this ravaged country is back on the rails of a popular rule and the Pol Pot agents not be allowed to once again come into positions of power.

Japan, breaking from its post war traditions, has sent its army to Cambodia as a part of the UN peace keeping efforts. The Japanese army going to foreign lands, in the background of its increased military expenditure has naturally generated apprehensions amongst Asian countries, recalling the gory experience of Japanese fascism.

Afghanistan

The tribal conflict in Afghanistan continues to ravage the country. Large scale attacks on people of Indian origin have been

reported with absolute anarchy and looting prevailing in the country. The warring fundamentalist groups are vying for power in various parts of the country. No tangible agreement seems to have been arrived between the warring factions with the Pakistan based Hikmatyar not coming to terms with the new power equations despite his nominee becoming the Prime Minister. Instability and uncertainty continue to rule Afghanistan and the conditions of the people have drastically worsened since the fall of Najib government.

Sri Lanka

The ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka has taken a new turn with the renewed military offensive of the armed forces. The Premadasa Government utilising this situation is attempting to renege on the understanding of granting autonomy to the North Eastern provinces. The CPI(M) reiterates that a solution to the Sri Lankan problem can be based only on granting autonomy to the Tamil people in the North-Eastern part within the framework of a united Sri Lanka.

Algeria

The assassination of the Algerian President, Mohammed Boudiaf has clearly shown that the fundamentalists are continuing with their efforts to subvert a secular democratic regime in Algeria.

This development must be seen in the background of the attempts being made by Saudi Arabia, Iran and other countries in the region to rope in the Asian Republics of the former USSR. Such growing activities of Islamic fundamentalism have serious consequences for the world.

Phillippines

Mrs. Aquino's candidate, Fidel Ramos has won the Presidential election as predicted in the Phillippines. But the struggle of the Filipino people for a new social order centering around radical land reforms continues in the country. The Left forces heading the

struggle are intensifying their mass actions and also taking up the issue of removal of American influence on Filipino military and administration.

U.K. Elections

The defeat of the Labour Party in the elections in the United Kingdom had come as a surprise to all the poll forecasters and those conducting opinion polls. The elections were held in the background of a deteriorating economic situation. The Labour Party, suffering from its inability to offer a radical alternative to the Conservative economic platform had in fact announced on the eve of the elections new proposals for taxation that had alienated a section of its own supporters resulting in its defeat. With the Conservatives coming back to power, Prime Minister Major is taking an active position as the US surrogate in Europe by promoting the need to conclude GATT negotiations and trying to utilise the process of European integration to favour US imperialism.

U.S. Elections

The situation in the United States of America as it moves towards the Presidential elections is complex. Following the ghastly racial riots earlier in Los Angeles and the faltering economy showing no signs of palpable recovery, George Bush running for his second term appears to face a difficult task. The growing disillusionment of the American people with the domestic situation is manifesting itself in the support being received by the maverick billionaire Ross Perot, who himself has been taking reactionary positions. The candidature of Perot and the popular support that he has been receiving is an indication of the growing disillusionment of the American people against the internal situation. Ross Perot subsequently withdrew.

Former Socialist Countries

In all the former socialist countries, including the former Soviet Union, the conditions of the common people have markedly deteriorated. With growing unemployment, galloping prices, the

conditions of the common people have fast been eroding. Resistance against the transition to capitalism are emerging in many of these countries. Large demonstrations have taken place not only in Moscow but in various other cities of Russia.

Civil war conditions however continue to intensify in many parts of the former Soviet Union. The conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia, in Moldavia, in Georgia and various parts of Russia are intensifying. The civil war in Yugoslavia continues unabated despite all attempts at intervention by the United Nations. The splitting of the Yugoslav Federation actively aided by US imperialism and Germany has resulted in serious uncertainties and instability in that region. The end of the cold war, so gloated by all enemies of socialism, has not brought peace to the former socialist countries but instead created conditions of a civil war that continue to ravage their countries.

Czechoslovakia is now slated to be divided into separate Czech and the Slovak countries. This development comes in the background of the recent elections held in Czechoslovakia where the right wing forces had come to power in the Czech part of the country and while the left-wing supporters came to power in Slovakia. It is now imminent that the country would be divided.

In the former Soviet Union, the court trial on the legality or illegality of the CPSU is continuing. Meanwhile, all its properties and resources continue to remain confiscated by the Yeltsin Government. However, the resistance of the people is growing and this is manifested in large-scale demonstrations that are regularly taking place in the former Soviet Union. The Young Communist League is reportedly being reorganised and attempts are being made to form a federation of various Communist groups that have emerged during the last one year. The struggle to reverse the process of transition to capitalism will, however, be both prolonged and arduous.

The recent elections in Mongolia, however, indicate the trend of people's disenchantment with the transition to capitalism. After much taunted reforms and general elections that were held recently, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party won

seventy two of the seventy six seats in the National Parliament. Though the opposition pro-capitalist elements polled forty three per cent of the votes, the former ruling party of socialist Mongolia won a thumping majority in the recent elections. The people of Mongolia had seen that under the illusory slogans of democracy and open society it was not the renewal of socialism that was taking place but the basic requirements guaranteed by the socialist system were being undermined.

All these developments clearly expose the fact that imperialism, through the post second world war decades, used the bogey of the Soviet threat for the purposes of its hegemonistic domination of the world. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, US aggressiveness is manifesting itself in blatant interference and domination through Bush's New World Order. Those who had illusions that global disarmament, particularly, nuclear disarmament, would now proceed swiftly, had to face the crude reality of USA's refusal. The recent arms cut agreement between USA and Russia has left the relative advantage with the USA. In the meanwhile, Britain and France continue to bolster their nuclear arsenal.

In the background of the continuing economic recession in the world capitalist economy, these factors portend new imperialist offensives on the third world countries. All the four major social contradictions of our present day world are bound to intensify.

It is in this background that the growing US pressures on India must be seen.

NATIONAL SITUATION

The four months that have elapsed since the March 1992 Central Committee meeting, show that the direction of the economic and foreign policies of the Rao Government and its attitude towards the problems of national unity, which were noted and sharply criticised in the last political report, have continued without any major changes. These policies have resulted in deepening and complicating all the problems affecting the country.

Growing US Pressures

The period saw a sharp increase in the relentless pressures being exercised on the Indian Government by the USA. This found expression in a series of measures hostile to India's national interests and was an open declaration of the Bush administration's determination to force India to accede to its hegemonistic designs. At no time before, were such a series of quick measures targetting India announced as in the recent period. These include: (a) invoking the Special 301 clause of US trade act to retaliate against the Indian pharmaceutical exports to the USA, (b) sanctions against the ISRO and the Russian Space Agency, Glavkosmos for reaching an agreement to sell cryogenic rocket engines to India; (c) export restrictions to India announced by the US Department of Commerce for US firms on supplying materials to India which may help in its space and rocket technology; and (d) the US President's order to step up CIA surveillance and covert activities in India and some other third world countries.

The sanctions on ISRO for buying rocket technology evoked widespread protests and all sections in Parliament unanimously condemned the US actions. The launching of the Agni test missile was a welcome event as it showed India's determination not to be cowed down completely. These series of actions by the US has led to a growing realisation among all sections of people that the American efforts to undermine India's sovereignty must be resisted. Yet the Rao Government is assiduously propagating *that* close ties are being forged with the US. Despite the US blackmail and the demand to cancel the Indo US Joint naval exercises, the Rao Government refused to do so and these naval exercises were held off the coast of Goa in the last week of June.

An occasion on which the Indian Government did not fully line up with the USA was the United Nations Conference on Environmental development (Earth Summit) at Rio de Janeiro. India stood by and large with the third world countries in refusing to accede to the US demands and highlighting the central concern of the poorer countries relating the protection of the environment to the removal of poverty and the need for speedy development.

It is the CPI(M) and the Left Parties which have consistently brought out the dangers of the Indo US military collaboration. Here the joint Jatha of the left oriented youth and student organisations from Cochin to Goa to protest the joint naval exercises is noteworthy. There were also protest in many other centres against these joint exercises.

Another campaign which counters the trend of increasing reliance on imperialism, being fostered by a section of the ruling classes, has been the Cuba solidarity campaign. Taking off from the point when the Indian Government was under pressure from U.S. on the rice deal, the campaign to collect rice and wheat for Cuba has assumed the shape of a movement. A broad based committee was set up for this purpose and the CPI(M) Party units have been in the forefront in the campaign to collect foodgrains and funds for Cuba.

The task of consistently rousing the anti imperialist consciousness of the people and linking up the struggle against the imperialist pressures on India's sovereignty with world wide struggle to rebuff the American drive for hegemony and the new international order, is the main responsibility of the Party and the left forces in India. The compromising and craven attitude of the Rao Government is already meeting with disapproval from new sections of the people and the Left parties must continuously strive to draw wider sections of the patriotic opinion to fight imperialist domination.

Economic Policy: Record of Disaster

The last C.C. meeting had warned that the Rao Government was going ahead with the dangerous economic policies disregarding the strong opposition to these policies.

Now Finance Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh has announced on the eve of the monsoon session of Parliament the government's intension to go in for an extended loan facility loan from the IMF. In a letter to the IMF by passing Parliament, the Finance Minister has committed to terms which are extremely harmful. This is the next step in the disastrous path of mortgaging our economic sovereignty to imperialist finance capital. The Extended Fund

Facility/Extended Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF) loan will have far more stringent conditionalities than the stand by credit loan taken so far. This will be a bigger loan with a three year IMF supervised regime for the Indian economy. There was strong case for not going in for the extended fund facility loan with the augmentation of the foreign exchange reserves due to the earlier loans. But the government has decided to plunge ahead on the path of outright liberalisation and adjusting the priorities of Indian economy to the needs of imperialist capital. Implications of this new loan are clear and ominous there will be no turning back now unless these economic policies can be fought back and defeated.

The one year record of the Rao Government on the economic front speaks for the bankruptcy of the new economic policies. The 1991-92 official figures show that the rate of industrial production has fallen by 0.8 per cent over the previous year. The overall growth rate of agricultural production was zero, while foodgrain production registered a fall of 1.5 per cent. The rate of inflation during the one year of the new government hovered between 13 to 14 per cent despite the government's promise to bring it down to 9 per cent. The rise in the prices of foodgrains touched a high of 23 per cent. Along with cuts in the public distribution system this has led in many parts of the country's drought affected areas to hunger and starvation deaths, Tripura being the worst affected with over 400 deaths and reports of starvation deaths coming from Sargooja (Madhya Pradesh), Kalahandi (Orissa) and Thane (Maharashtra).

This year the procurement of foodgrains has been below the previous year. This means that insufficient monsoon can lead to a serious food crisis in the country. The public distribution system is on the point of collapse. A steep increase in the issue price of wheat and rice is imminent. There is no other way to control price rise but by strengthening the public distribution system and ensuring that 14 essential commodities are supplied through it.

The government has in the past few months taken forward the drive to further liberalise and privatise. Along with partial

convertibility of the rupee trade regulations have been further liberalised, 28 oil and gas fields have been offered to Indian and foreign companies and public sector refineries are to be opened up for private capital; 100 per cent foreign equity participation in power generation has been invited, the self-reliant basis of all infrastructural industries is being undermined; the cuts in budgetary support to public sector enterprises is meant to throttle them and National Textile Corporation is the prime target where plans have been made for massive retrenchment; the Government promises to implement the exit policy to facilitate large scale retrenchment of workers and cut subsidies for fertilizer before getting a new IMF loan.

The rush to deregulate and liberalise all sectors affected the banking and financial sector also. The report on the money markets and the Narasimham Committee report advocated withdrawal of restrictions on the financial market and providing equal treatment to foreign banks with Indian banks. The shocking bank scandal which has led to the misuse of thousands of crores of public money is a direct outcome of the liberalisation policy ushered in by the Rao Government. Up to now Rs. 3542 crores defalcation has been uncovered by the Janakiraman Committee report. These pertain only to the trading in government securities. When the trading in public sector bonds and shares are also investigated the total figure will go up tremendously. The shady operators like Harshad Mehta in connivance with top bank officials could siphon off thousands of crores of rupees from the securities market into the stock market and all this could be done for a period of over one and half years shows the rottenness of the entire system. The government policy of giving the foreign banks a free hand to penetrate India's financial system has led to four foreign banks playing a leading role in corrupting and perverting the entire banking structure.

Another major scandal uncovered is in the disinvestment of public sector shares. This anti national policy decided last year has resulted in PSU shares being sold very cheaply, a nexus of brokers, banks and financial companies who are making a huge profit while the government has sold public assets for a song. This

is nothing but loot of government assets. None has been booked for this crime in the government circle.

It is the new economic policies which are responsible for this state of affairs. The Reserve Bank of India has failed to play its regulatory and monetary functions. It is not the "system failure" as claimed by the Finance Minister but a subversion of the system by a corrupt nexus of brokers, bankers, big businessmen and ministers. The resignation of P. Chidambaram shows how this nexus has extended to the Council of Ministers. Dr. Manmohan Singh as Finance Minister has to take the responsibility, political and moral, for this shocking crime and step down from office. The RBI governor also is equally culpable for the failure of the Central Bank and should be removed. The Joint Parliamentary Committee probe will have the big responsibility now to uncover this unprecedented crime in all its ramifications and pin down those responsible for stealing of public funds to enrich a few.

Significance of June 16 Strike

The resistance to the anti national and anti people economic policies is gathering strength. The June 16 strike call given by Sponsoring Committee of the joint trade unions and the support extended to this call by the Left parties and the National Front saw a big protest action by the Indian working class and employees of both the public and private sectors. This strike was wider in scope and intensity than the previous November 29, 1991 industrial strike. 1.5 crores workers and employees joined the June 16 strike as compared to 1.25 crores in November, 1991. The strike action was most effective in the public sector units, the banking sector and the financial institutions. Defence production employees, sections of central government employees (such as Post and Tele communications) joined the strike in a big way. A notable feature was also the participation of officers of the public-sector units and banks. In many states, state government employees joined the strike. The protest action took the form of bandhs in West Bengal, Kerala and Bihar and in states like Tamil Nadu, Andhra and Punjab and in some other towns there were localised bandhs. It was noted that workers cutting across trade union affiliation

joined the strike in many places despite the opposition to the strike by the INTUC and the BMS.

The significance of the June 16 general strike is marked by the nature of the demands for the strike call. They did not concern the economic demands of the workers but was a protest action to reverse the overall direction of economic policy of the central government. This resistance movement has to be carried forward, widened and intensified. Steps must be taken to draw in those sections of the working class, organised and unorganised who did not come into the purview of the June 16 strike. In the past four months there have been efforts by the Party units to campaign and educate the people in the rural areas about the harmful aspects of the new economic policies. The next phase in the countrywide struggle would be to draw in the rural masses in a big way along with the working class in a sustained movement. The June 16 strike was significant in that the working class in the country once again clearly expressed its determination to fight back the pro imperialist and pro monopoly economic policy and not to compromise the country's economic sovereignty.

THREATS TO NATIONAL UNITY

Punjab

The situation in Punjab after the Congress(I) government assumed office continues to be serious. The killing spree by the extremists has increased, some industries are closing down; and the police harassment of innocent people has in no way abated. At the initiative of the CPI(M) along with the CPI a convention was held at Chandigarh on the Punjab problem in May. This broad based convention saw the participation of the intelligentsia and the middle classes. A background paper drafted by Comrade Surjeet was circulated in the convention. A resolution was unanimously adopted in the convention on how to tackle Punjab problem and restore peace in the state. It is essential that an all India campaign is organised to get these demands, highlighted in the convention, conceded and to defend national unity so that peace can be restored in the state.

Instead of working out a package for a political solution to the problem the Chief Minister Beant Singh came out with a shocking statement that no political package is necessary as the situation has improved in the state. He has followed up this stand with a suggestion that Rajiv Longowal Accord cannot meet the needs at present for a solution to the problem. He has also talked of going back to the river waters stand of 1966 in the interest of the state. Coupled with the Narasimha Rao's announcement that no package was considered before the elections to the Punjab assembly, it is clear that the Congress(I) leadership will be pursuing the same old sectarian and partisan policy of putting party's interest above that of national unity. This stance spells danger for Punjab and for national unity.

Kashmir

The situation in Kashmir is also being tackled without any clear political approach to the basic problem in the valley i.e. alienation of the mass of the people from the Indian state which is the basis for the extremists influencing them. Unless a solution can be found on the basis of more autonomy for the state the people of the valley cannot be assured that their identity will be protected. Here serious efforts must be made to negotiate with the JKLF on the nature of the autonomy within the Indian Constitution. Instead of taking steps in this direction the Congress(I) leadership and the Central Government goes on stating that elections can be held in the state and the political process restored thereby. Such an approach of holding immediate elections without taking steps for political solution will be disastrous and will further alienate the people from the Indian state.

The recent J & K state legislative bill passed in Parliament constitutes an attack on democratic rights as it confers on the President the powers of Parliament to legislate for the state.

Assam

Despite the expectations that some talks would begin between the government and a section of the ULFA leadership nothing has materialised so far. There has been a division in the ULFA with a

section of its leadership and ranks complying with the demands to surrender arms by April 1, as a pre condition for talks. It is reported that three thousand ULFA members have surrendered yet it is not clear why the process of discussion could not take place. On the other hand, the excesses in Nalbari district after the resumption of army operations has further complicated the situation. The Central and State Government have failed to pursue a negotiated solution which will help in maintaining normalcy and the unity of the people of Assam.

Darjeeling

The irresponsible and wayward positions adopted by Subhash Ghising and the GNLF have created new tensions and complications in the Darjeeling hill area. Ghising has been raising a series of non-issues such as Darjeeling is “no man’s land” and has no legal status in India. This was followed by his strident and baseless demands for the recognition of Gorkhali instead of Nepali in the VIIIth Schedule of the Constitution. By his arbitrary ways he had rendered the administration of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC) defunct and has virtually disbanded it. He has called for burning of the DGHC Act.

Along with this confrontationist posture violent attacks by the GNLF men on the CPI(M) supporters have taken place resulting in the death of ten comrades including a girl student in the recent period. All this shows the desperation of the GNLF and its leader on his failure to retain popular support by its misdeeds in the DGHC administration. The people of Darjeeling Hill areas have to be vigilant against disruptive activities of the GNLF which can cause immense suffering and dislocation of normal life in the hill areas and disrupt the gains of the autonomous hill council structure which could have been used for speedy development to fulfil the aspirations of the hill people. The Central Government has to clearly rebuff Ghising’s efforts to elicit support for his destructive cause.

Tribal Autonomy

The Committee on Jharkhand matters set up by the Central Government submitted its report during this period. It has

recommended regional autonomy within the State of Bihar to the 16 districts of Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas. The CPI(M) has advocated the setting up of a regional autonomous structure for the tribal population of this region. The powers of the autonomous body should be substantial with legislative powers in certain spheres.

In the case of the Bodo problem in Assam, the Report of the Expert Committee on Plain Tribes of Assam has been submitted to the Centre. In response to this the Assam government has announced a proposal for autonomy for Bodo dominated areas in the north bank of the Brahmaputra and bringing other Bodo areas under a state level Apex Council. This proposal can be the basis for a negotiated settlement so that the Bodos are granted the maximum autonomy within the state of Assam.

Ayodhya: Threat from construction work

After the construction of a wall around the disputed area at Ayodhya, the VHP undertook the demolition of some of the old temples and building in the land acquired by the UP government. All this was done violating the assurance given to the National Integration Council by the UP Chief Minister in November 1991. Due to sustained pressure, the Centre finally agreed to send a team of the Standing Committee of NIC and MPs to Ayodhya which submitted a report indicting the BJP government for violating the court orders. But, the Rao government refused to have this report discussed in Parliament. Following this the VHP with the active connivance of the BJP state government undertook digging and levelling operations around the disputed structure.

The VHP in its meeting on 5th and 6th July at Ayodhya announced plans for construction to begin on July 9 at the Shilanyas site where in the main gate of the temple would be built. From July 9 this work has begun. Despite the strong demand by all the secular parties in Parliament that the Centre immediately intervene to stop this construction, the Rao government refused to act and allowed the construction to go on. Despite the Lucknow bench of the Allahabad High Court directing that the construction be stopped on July 15, the VHP and the BJP government refused

to comply with the Court order. In the NIC meeting on July 18, the BJP was isolated on its intransigent stand. The Rao government was told by the Left and NF parties to take over the disputed area and all other necessary measures to secure compliance of the Court order. But the Prime Minister continued with a policy of inaction and refused to clarify his position in Parliament despite strong protests.

This policy of appeasing the communal forces will prove disastrous for the country, it will lead to communal confrontation and provide a fillip to minority fundamentalism which in turn will enormously strengthen the majority communal forces. The Ayodhya issue and the aggressive moves of the BJP VHP RSS to impose its plans to build the temple by demolishing the existing structure is the single biggest challenge to national unity at present. The Party must be in the forefront in the united struggle of the secular patriotic forces to foil this conspiracy.

Growing activities of fundamentalist/communal organisations

The period saw the disturbing rise of communal clashes in Kerala. The activities of the RSS and the new Muslim fundamentalists, ISS (Islamic Sevak Sangh) led to clashes in some places such as Kollam. The policies of the Karunakaran government are encouraging these forces as it refuses to counter the communal parties being in alliance with some of them.

In Gujarat a communally sensitive city of Ahmedabad witnessed a serious communal riot after *rath yatra* procession taken through sensitive areas. The riots have claimed the lives of 29 people over a period of one week. The Hindu communal organisations have always seized such opportunities as religious processions to create communal clashes and polarise the people on communal lines.

Given the overall climate and the threat of majority communalism, Muslim fundamentalists are also active. In the recent controversy in Jamia Milia University, the fundamentalist forces wanted the removal of pro Vice Chancellor for his remarks on Salman Rushdie's book. the intolerant and undemocratic calls for his ouster and also the Vice Chancellor for being a non-Muslim only serves the interests of the BJP and other communal forces

who wish to paint the entire Muslim community in sectarian and intolerant colours. The CPI(M) took a principled stand opposing the demand for ouster of Prof. Mushirul Hassan and criticised the fundamentalists who resorted to agitations in the campus with the tacit encouragement of a Congress(I) Union Minister and the support of some Janata Dal Muslim MPs.

BJP State Governments' Reactionary Role

The BJP has been thoroughly exposed in the last four months for its reactionary, anti-people and anti working class policies. The Himachal Pradesh State Government suppressed the State Government employees strike ruthlessly dismissing hundreds of workers, using the ESMA, TADA and NSA and by deploying the army. The Chief Minister has boasted the success of his repressive policies. In Kumbhar, Rajasthan, 14 scheduled castes persons were massacred despite early warning about a conflict brewing and the state administration miserably failed to protect the scheduled caste community. In Bhilai, Madhya Pradesh, the police resorted to the heinous killing of 16 workers who were protesting against the pro capitalist policies of the State Government and the sheltering the culprits of Shankar Guha Neogi's murderers. These crass reactionary policies of the BJP governments compounded by its open communal bias underline the importance of waging a determined struggle by the left democratic and secular forces to isolate the BJP at all levels and fought its diabolical designs to erode secularism and attack the people's rights.

Tin Bigha

The opening of the Tin Bigha corridor as per the Indo-Bangladesh Agreement of 1982 took place on June 26. The implementation of this agreement to facilitate the movement of Bangladesh citizens from the mainland to two of its enclaves was used by the BJP to launch a virulent campaign that the agreement compromises India's sovereignty and to whip up anti-Muslim feelings in the border areas of West Bengal and rest of the country. The Left Front Government of West Bengal took a principled position to help in implementing the award which was an

agreement signed by the Central Congress Government with the Bangladesh Government. The lease of this corridor does not in any way compromise India's sovereignty as the Left Front Government was successful in seeing to it that all the safeguards necessary were incorporated in the agreement. The Tin Bigha strip of land is under the control of the Indian security forces who regulate the entry and exit of the Bangladesh citizens. The free movement of the people of Kuchlibadi of West Bengal to the other side through the corridor is in no way hampered or impeded. The BJP whipped up a communal campaign on the issue for its selfish motives and tried to create a provocative situation in the border areas. The mass campaign launched by the Party and the Left Front foiled their designs. In the entire episode, the Congress(I), as a party which made this agreement, played a dubious role where formally they supported the implementation, but sought to rouse anti Left Front Government feelings opportunistically. The smooth implementation of the agreement and the firm measures adopted by the State Government have resulted in an important step for improving the relations between the two neighbouring countries.

ATTACKS ON DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

Tripura

The Congress(I) TUJS coalition government in Tripura has stepped up its repressive drive in the tribal compact areas on the pretext of countering certain armed outfits. Some of these outfits were set up and armed by the TUJS and the former Chief Minister Sudhir Ranjan Majumdar. The State Government drew up a plan to conduct combing operations in the tribal areas and to declare the whole state a disturbed area and even requested for the deployment of the army for this purpose. TADA has been used in these operations against the tribal people and nine tribal youth were arrested under this notorious act. Apart from this, the terror against CPI(M) bases and supporters continues unabated with raids on villages, killings and rapes of tribal women. All these repressive measures are taking place at a time when the entire

tribal area is in the grip of severe food shortages and over 500 deaths have resulted from hunger related diseases. Despite widespread exposure of this terrible plight of the tribal people the Congress(I) led ministry has failed to provide either double rations or initiate new employment generation schemes in the affected areas. The attitude of the Samir Ranjan Barman ministry is virtually a war against the tribal people. The Tripura state unit of the CPI(M) and the Gana Mukti Parishad formed a Relief Committee which has made mass collections of rice, medicines and money. This campaign has had a big response from the people and this relief is being reached to the affected people.

The call given by the Tripura state unit of the party for a "Jail Bharo" andolan on June 18 evoked a big response from the people, both tribal and non tribal, and over a lakh of people participated in the picketting in 27 centres.

The Congress(I) TUIS government seems determined to continue with the unprecedented terror and illegal activities to suppress the CPI(M) and the left opposition. The struggle in Tripura to defend democracy requires the constant and firm support of all the democratic forces in the country.

Role of Chief Election Commissioner

The role of the Chief Election Commissioner during the recent by-elections has once again highlighted the arbitrary and partisan methods of functioning of T.N. Seshan. In the Ballygunge by-elections in West Bengal, the CEC without any basis whatsoever, acting on false complaints of the Congress(I) ordered repolling in 46 booths. The Left Front had to call a one day Bandh in protest against the CEC's decision to withhold the counting. The people of Ballygunge gave a decisive verdict in favour of the CPI(M) candidate and rebuffed the conspiracy. In the case of Bihar, the CEC took the unprecedented decision to cancel the elections to the Rajya Sabha and legislative council and ordered a fresh poll on the basis of the complaint of the Congress(I). This biased functioning of the CEC is a danger to the parliamentary democratic system in the country and vindicates that he should be impeached for gross misdemeanours.

The Congress(I) at the Centre showed its authoritarian streak once again when it arbitrarily dismissed the Governor of Nagaland who exercised the independent judgement and did not conform to the Congress(I) whims. Earlier as noted in the last Central Committee meeting the Congress(I) manoeuvred to impose Congress(I) ministries in Meghalaya and Manipur.

In the face of the June 16 general strike call, the Tamil Nadu government arrested over 30,000 trade union and political activists. In many states punitive measures have been taken against those who participated in the strike. The AIADMK government in Tamil Nadu has set a new record of intimidation of the press and has passed a series of measures to suppress opposition activity including putting up of posters. Physical assaults on political opponents are openly instigated by the Chief Minister herself, the police is resorting to repressive tactics with impunity.

The growing resistance of the people is being sought to be met by the Congress(I) government at the Centre and the State Governments of the Congress(I) and the BJP by resort to anti democratic laws and repressive methods. The struggle for defence of democratic rights and to fight off all onslaughts on democracy requires constant vigilance and the united activities of all democratic sections.

Presidential Elections

The elections to the post of President and Vice President of India came at this juncture. The Party had to work out its tactics in a situation where political instability prevails after the Tenth General Elections, the Congress(I) government is pursuing anti-people economic policies thus endangering economic sovereignty and the rise of the BJP as the major opposition party. Imperialism is trying to exploit the situation on all these fronts. In such a situation, it was necessary that posts be occupied by persons of stature and those who have a background of upholding secular and democratic values. It was essential for the Left to see that the BJP does not come to an understanding with the Congress(I) to influence the elections. The CPI(M) and the Left parties took the

stand that the Congress(I) propose its nominees for these two posts so that it can be considered by the Left and secular opposition parties. It wanted the Congress(I) to announce its nominees for these two posts together.

However, the Congress(I) leadership decided to announce only the name for the President, Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma. While the candidate for the President was a suitable choice, the Left parties criticised the fact that the nominee for the Vice President was not announced. Our Party, therefore, decided to announce support for the candidature of Dr. Sharma when the National Front decided to go ahead with the candidature of Prof. Swell on the grounds that they will support only an SC/ST candidate for the post. The BJP also declared support to this candidate. Having made it clear that there can be no joint candidate for the President with the BJP, all the Left parties except the RSP, decided to support the candidature of Dr. Sharma. They have also declared that the option for the Vice President will be kept open unless the Congress(I) declares a scheduled caste candidate of suitable stature for the Vice President's post. The BJP having been thwarted in its move for an understanding with the Congress(I) for these posts is naturally concentrating its fire on the CPI(M) for not falling in line with the concept of all-in-opposition unity. It is unfortunate, that the NF found itself in the company of the BJP in sponsoring the candidature of Prof. Swell.

By-Elections

Bye Elections to 2 Lok Sabha and 18 Assembly seats were held in mid June covering 10 states. The results show that the BJP has lost ground. It lost the New Delhi Lok Sabha seat and its votes in 2 Assembly seats won by it have come down sharply. Earlier, it lost heavily in the Shimla Municipal Elections where it could not win a single seat.

As for the Congress(I) it also could not make much headway. It lost both the assembly seats in Andhra; it lost its sitting seat in Kerala to the LDF and could not make any dent in the two seats in West Bengal held by the CPI(M). It made some marginal

gains in UP, Bihar and Delhi. The results have shown that there is disenchantment developing against both the Congress(I) and the BJP.

AICC Tirupati Session

The AICC Tirupati Session was dominated by the holding of the elections to the Congress Working Committee, the first time after two decades. The political resolution pinpointed the BJP as a communal party and making a critique of its policies. But on the economic policies there was no serious debate on the dangerous course adopted by the Rao Government. Though the issue of Centre State relations has acquired urgency there was no mention in the political resolution about the restructuring of Centre-State relations. While the resolution pointed out the danger from the BJP and other communal forces including minority communalism, Karunakaran defended the alliance with the Muslim League stating that it is not a communal organisation at the session itself; on the other hand, the resolution went to the extent of blaming the left forces for being responsible along with other for compromising with communalism.

On foreign policy, the AICC has revised its old position in its anxiety to meet the demands of US imperialism. The resolution states that:

"India's world view has always been characterised by consistency together with a capacity for change and improvement that has consistently informed our bilateral relationship. India and the United States of America share a commitment to the democratic ideal, to the freedom and dignity of the individuals and to equal opportunity to all. This affinity that unites our peoples can give definition to practical areas of cooperation between the two countries."

The working committee elections dominated the entire proceedings and the results of the elections were not to the liking of Narasimha Rao. Then began the manoeuvres and manipulations which have discredited the image of the Prime Minister who earlier earned praise for holding direct elections. Some

resignations of members of working committee were engineered to try and force others to resign so that the Prime Minister could have a working committee of his choice. When this did not take place, Rao took the unusual step of converting two of its elected members, Arjun Singh and Sharad Pawar as nominated members and declaring that these two elected seats are vacant. The elections imbroglio has lowered the prestige of Narasimha Rao and it showed a big inner party struggle in the Congress(I). The position of Narasimha Rao enjoyed before the Tirupati session as the unchallenged leader suffered a dent though there is no basic challenge to his position. The situation inside the Congress(I) is still full of conflicts. The Party is divided in many states sharply and the economic policies and other failures of the government will reflect on the Congress(I) too in the coming days.

BJP's Stance

The BJP held its National Council meeting in Gujarat in May. On foreign policy it has welcomed the establishment of full diplomatic ties with Israel in line with its anti-Arab position. It advocates India becoming a nuclear weapon power seeing the grave security threat from Pakistan. It has no reference whatsoever to the international problems faced by the growing American aggressiveness, thereby betraying its imperialist orientation.

The BJP adopted an economic policy document at this session which is virtual reiteration of its support to the economic policies of the Rao Government. The BJP in fact claimed to be the originator of these policies. The only departure made are some slogans for public consumption like *Swadeshi* and *Swavalamban*. That these slogans are just smoke screen is clear from the BJP's support to the dilution of MRTP Act and FERA and their support to outright privatisation and the recommendations of the Narasimham Committee. Even on the Dunkel proposals which constitute the gravest threat to India's sovereignty the *Swadeshi* mask comes off, as the BJP is agreeable to accept the Dunkel proposals with some minor changes. The BJP *Swadeshi* poster

shows no concern about the US Special 301 and the relentless pressures to penetrate India's financial, insurance, and service sectors.

The BJP is faced with conflicting and contradictory positions and increasing disorientation of its organisation. Having gained unexpected successes due to its communal temple campaign it is finding it extremely difficult to sustain its base, let alone broaden it. In order to enhance its appeal it claims to a party which is alternative to the Congress(I) but the dismal performance of its State Governments belies this claim. In the recent by-elections the BJP lost ground. Conscious of this there is a conflicting pull to strike a militant posture again on the temple and communal issues. The controversies within the Party echelons such as the Uma Bharati—Govind Acharya episode, the cross voting in the UP Assembly for the Rajya Sabha elections, the opposition to Chief Minister Patwa in MP—all these show the BJP's inability to consolidate its gains out of its communal politics.

National Front—Janata Dal

The Janata Dal and the National Front have not been free from their own problems. Some of their members violated the whip inside Parliament on voting for the President's Address. There is internal disarray in some State units. The dissent within the party in Bihar continues. In UP, the State President of the Janata Dal has resigned criticising the stand taken by V.P. Singh on the Presidential elections. Only the combination of Mulayam Singh's party and the Janata Dal can provide an effective counter to the BJP in UP and keep the Congress(I) out of power. But the personal ambitions of various leaders are coming in the way. The inability of the Janata Dal to act cohesively at the national level was also seen in the unilateral statements of V.P. Singh that only a scheduled caste be made President this time. Given the possibility of the Supreme Court endorsing the government's stand on the Mandal Commission recommendations a section of the Janata Dal leaders wish to concentrate on the Dalit appeal to provide an electoral platform. Though they are coming in opposition to the

economic policies of the present government they have not made much efforts to rally the people against these policies. They are also unable to come out against the landed interests in the rural areas.

After the Rajya Sabha elections, the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha has split vertically. One section has broken ties with the National Front while the other section continues to support the Janata Dal.

However, the situation that exists today with the Congress(I) government's present policies and the communal danger, provides the basis for continuing cooperation and the Left must constantly strive for drawing them into the joint mass movements and struggles.

Left Unity

The CPI Congress held in April at Hyderabad and the resolutions adopted will be helpful in strengthening the process of Left unity. Both in assessing the developments in former socialist countries to some extent, and on the political tactical line of opposition to Congress(I) to a greater extent, they have come to positions closer to CPI(M). The cooperation of the Left parties inside Parliament and outside on the major national issues should be expanded and strengthened. Despite the vacillations of some of the Left parties including the CPI on the question of Presidential elections the ongoing struggle against the new economic policies and fighting the communal danger should see the close cooperation of all the Left parties. As in the case of June 16 strike where the Party had to patiently pursue to bring around the CPI to commit to common action, the CPI(M) as the major Left party must continue to take initiative to pursue the line charted by the 14th Congress to enhance the influence of the Party in national politics.

Conclusion

The present political situation is both complex and unstable. The grave threats to national unity continue with the dangerous challenge mounted by the BJP VHP at Ayodhya; the offensive

through the reactionary economic policies is adversely affecting the common people and the country's economic sovereignty. The struggle to foil the communal designs of the BJP-VHP and the fight against the economic policies are the two major problems which must be immediately addressed by the Left and democratic forces.

While consistently defending national unity by fighting the communal and divisive forces, the Party and the Left forces should continue to take the initiative to develop and intensify the mass struggles against the economic policies. Building on the success of the June 16 general strike, the movement must be widened by drawing the rural masses and other unorganised sections. This is the key task which will rally the people against the Congress(I) government while enabling the left, democratic and secular forces to defeat the nefarious designs of the BJP and allied communal forces.

Polit Bureau Denounces U.S. Threat to Iraq*

Statement Dated July 25, 1992 Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) denounces the decision of the Bush administration to issue an ultimatum to Iraq and make preparations for a massive bombing strike if Iraq does not agree unconditionally to meet the demands of the USA and its allies. These demands, under the cover of U.N. Security Council sanctions, constitute a brazen attack on Iraq's sovereignty. The drastic conditions Iraq is expected to comply with include not only the entry for the U.N. team into the Iraqi agriculture ministry building but also reordering the borders of Iraq and prevention of sale of Iraqi oil which is necessary for maintenance of essential supplies like food and medicines to Iraq.

Compliance with such demands destroy Iraq's sovereignty and independence and will be a dangerous precedent spelling a threat to the independence and sovereignty of all Third World countries. The Government of India, which is itself facing relentless pressures from the Bush administration to compromise India's sovereignty, must come out categorically against the U.S. blackmail of Iraq. It must demand that no military measures be adopted against Iraq. All Third World countries and peace loving forces must ensure that U.N. Security Council does not become an instrument for this latest provocation by the USA.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, August 2, 1992

Polit Bureau Condemns Honecker's Arrest*

Statement Dated July 31, 1992 Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its strong condemnation at the arrest of Erich Honecker, German Communist leader and former General Secretary of the socialist Unity Party of Germany. Comrade Honecker has been imprisoned in Berlin on his arrival from Moscow.

The trial of Honecker on charges which are purely political and motivated by anti-communism, is part of the calculated campaign to denigrate a veteran leader of the Communist movement who spent years in Nazi jails for his anti fascist activities.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) demands of the German Government the immediate and unconditional release of Comrade Honecker and the dropping of all charges against him. The Polit Bureau appeals to all democratic and progressive circles to protest this witch hunt against Communists in Germany.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, August 9, 1992.

Polit Bureau on Communal Violence in Kerala*

Statement Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemns the attack on the Islamic Sevak Sangh leader in Kerala and the resultant violence which has broken out in some districts which has left scores of people injured. In the recent period, the activities of the RSS and the ISS have vitiated the atmosphere in some of the southern districts of Kerala. The attack on the ISS chief by elements suspected to be from the rival communal outfit, has only aggravated the situation. The UDF State Government, which is itself relying on alliances with communal forces, is totally failing to intervene to check the aggressive activities of these communal outfits.

The provocative activities of the RSS and the ISS are anathema to the broad sections of the people in the state. The Polit Bureau calls for a wide mobilisation of all Left, democratic and secular forces in Kerala to vigorously counter the forces of majority and minority communalism.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, August 16, 1992

Polit Bureau Condemns U.S. Design on Iraq*

Statement Dated August 17, 1992 Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the reported attempt by the USA to provoke a confrontation with Iraq early this week. Both the *Washington Post* and *The New York Times* have reported that President Bush seeks to ride back to voter popularity in the forthcoming elections on the basis of another criminal war effort against Iraq.

The CPI(M) has all along been warning that the imperialist drive to impose its 'new world order' will intensify as the domestic economic situation worsens. U.S. imperialism continues to hijack the United Nations with impunity.

The CPI(M) Polit Bureau while strongly condemning the latest imperialist conspiracy calls upon the anti-imperialist forces to resist this blatant attempt at U.S. hegemony. The CPI(M) Polit Bureau calls upon the Government of India to unequivocally oppose any such move by USA in the UN Security Council.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, August 23, 1992.

Polit Bureau on Pakistan's Interference in India's Affairs*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) issued the following statement on August 30, 1992:

All political parties and patriotic people, except the BJP, are today engaged in an effort to find a solution to the Ramjanambhoomi-Babri Masjid conflict. Such a solution can only be based on either a mutual agreement between the contending parties or firm adherence to the court verdict.

While this process is on, the Pakistani National Assembly has adopted a resolution on this issue. Pakistan, which is already aiding and abetting anti Indian forces both in Kashmir and Punjab, is once again blatantly interfering in India's internal affairs.

Such an attitude by Pakistan is not in consonance with the improvement of Indo Pak relations and is detrimental to the interests of the people of both countries.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 6, 1992

CPI(M) Supports Tamil Nadu Students*

**Polit Bureau Issued Statement
Dated August 29, 1992 to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) condemns the repressive measures of the Jayalalitha government in Tamil Nadu against the rising protest movement on the privatisation of the M.G. Ramachandran Medical College. For the past one month, medical college students all over the state have been on strike demanding that the state government retain the college as a government institution and not hand it over to a private trust. All the major opposition parties in the state have supported the demand of the students. Five opposition parties, including the CPI(M), have given a call for statewide picketing from September 1 in support of the students' struggle. Reports indicate that 20,000 workers of these parties, including some medical college students, have been arrested till now. In Madras city, yesterday, 60 medical college students were arrested, including 20 girl students, and sent to jail.

The Jayalalitha government must reconsider its adamant stand on privatisation of the MGR Medical College. The evils of capitation fees, with denial of equal access to professional higher education through privatisation, have been correctly pointed out in a recent Supreme Court judgment. The Polit Bureau calls upon the Tamil Nadu government to immediately stop the repression, negotiate with the students and take steps to stop the commercialisation and privatisation of the professional educational institutions.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 6, 1992.

Polit Bureau on Supreme Court's Stand on Ramaswamy Case*

Statement Dated August 29, 1992 Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its disapproval of the observation made by the Bench of the Supreme Court in the case of Justice Ramaswamy that the presidential order on the basis of an impeachment resolution adopted by the Parliament, is justiciable. The powers and functions of the Supreme Court have been clearly delineated in the Constitution. Whereas it is the prerogative of the Supreme Court to interpret the Constitution and the laws emanating therefrom, the Parliament remains the depository of the sovereign powers vested in the people of India. The Parliament, when seized with an issue of impeachment, turns itself into a court and is competent enough, according to the provisions of the Constitution, to pronounce its judgment against which there cannot be appeal to any court of law. In such cases, the Parliament itself becomes the supreme forum beyond which any appeal cannot lie.

The Polit Bureau deems the observation as unfortunate and hopes that the apex body of the judiciary of the country will reconsider its stand. This will enable both the judiciary and the Parliament to avert a situation of confrontation.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 6, 1992

Condemn the Move to Dismember Iraq*

**Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) Issued Statement
Dated August 28, 1992 to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the U.S. and its allies, Britain and France, for enforcing an air exclusion zone over southern Iraq. This is a blatant interference in the internal affairs of a non aligned, independent country and direct attack on its sovereignty.

It is clear that the USA, in pursuance of its "new world order", is seeking to dismember Iraq. Having failed to oust Saddam Hussain, the USA is seeking to divide the country into a Kurdish north, a Shiites south and a considerably weakened central Iraq. This move has grave consequences for the whole of West Asia. It will only deepen the already existing strife in the region.

The USA's sudden-found love for the protection of Shiites in the south is only a pretext to once again intervene in the Middle-East to deepen its control over this oil rich region. This move must also be seen as an attempt by George Bush to stir up jingoism at home, given his precarious position in the forthcoming elections.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon the people of India to join hands with all others in the Third World against these imperialist machinations that directly attack the independence and sovereignty of independent countries. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon the Government of India to continue to take firm position of opposing such U.S. actions in the U.N. Security Council.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 6, 1992

On Delhi High Court Judgement on Bofors Case*

**Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) Issued Statement
Dated September 3, 1992 to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) is shocked at the Delhi High Court judgement delivered yesterday giving a clean cheat to Win Chadha and quashing the CBI's FIR against him and two letters rogatory issued by a Special Judge of Delhi. The judgement is interpreted as putting the Bofors case twenty fathoms deep.

The High Court has taken such a stand as will be surely utilised by the accused as a cover-up measure in their attempts to extricate themselves from the Bofors deal. The judgement is all the more surprising in view of the fact that just last week the Supreme Court categorically censured Justice Chawla for his delivering the judgement, Delhi High Court heavily relied on the findings of the joint perception, recommendations of the JPC are viewed as nothing but a pathetic attempt to whitewash the misdemeanours of prominent persons involved in the deal. It is truly said that the judiciary should not only act independently but also should be seen doing as such. Unfortunately, Delhi High Court's heavy reliance on the JPC findings will not enhance the prestige of the judiciary.

The earlier government of Chandra Shekhar and the present government have tried every means to help the cover-up attempts and in the end to scuttle the probe. The Delhi High Court judgement will be seen as a part of this wider move. The Polit Bureau demands that the public opinion roused against all attempts at cover-up of the Bofors gun deal.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 13, 1992

Convene All-Party Meet on Jharkhand*

**Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) Issued Statement
Dated September 9, 1992**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is surprised at the repeated statements by the Home Minister S.B. Chavan, advocating the creation of a central Union territory out of the 16 districts of Bihar as a solution to the Jharkhand problem, and also recommending as an alternative, the setting up of a separate state of Jharkhand.

It is true that the plight of the tribal population in south Bihar is very bad due to the alienation of traditional lands and growing socio-economic exploitation. The Congress Party which ruled the state for long is directly responsible for the neglected and deteriorated conditions of the tribal people. Despite the demand by the Left for the restoration of lands to the tribals, nothing was done, nor was adequate compensation provided for their being uprooted from their homes. There is a genuine feeling amongst the tribal people for the protection of their identity and their rights.

The Prime Minister has been repeatedly stating the necessity for a consensus of all important national issues. It is, therefore, all the more deplorable that the Union Home Minister has been making categorical statements on behalf of the Government of India without taking the major national-political parties into confidence.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) demands the convening of an all-parties' meeting to discuss the Jharkhand question, so that a common approach and solution can be found.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 13, 1992.

CPI(M) Denounces Mass Killing in South Africa*

**Polit Bureau Issued Statement
Dated September 8, 1992 to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) denounces the mass killing by the armed forces in the apartheid imposed black homeland, Ciskei, in South Africa. The brutal firing by the security forces on the peaceful and huge demonstration led by the African National Congress has left at least 28 people dead and hundred injured.

This latest violent onslaught on the mass movement led by the ANC is part of the overall design to sabotage the peaceful transition to a democratic and non-racist set-up in South Africa. The De Klerk Government has simultaneously embarked upon a fraudulent "conference on federalism" to mobilise the anti-ANC forces. The recent mass upsurge at the call of the ANC shows the determination of the people of South Africa to end the hated racist regime. World public opinion must assert itself to force the De Klerk Government to speed up the transfer of power. The Indian Government must convey its strong stand against the disruptive moves of the De Klerk Government.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 13, 1992

Polit Bureau Communiqué*

**Issued Following its Meeting in New Delhi on
September 14-15, 1992**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) met in New Delhi on September 14 and 15, 1992. The following statement was issued:

Economic Situation

The Narasimha Rao Government is now set upon another round of policy measures to meet the IMF-World Bank dictates. These include hundred per cent convertibility of the rupee, further cuts in developmental and welfare expenditure, more disinvestment of public sector shares and an exit policy which will lead to massive retrenchment under the guise of the voluntary retirement scheme. Already a retrenchment plan for the NTC mills abolishing jobs of 86 thousand workers has been announced. The Indian Labour Conference held recently reveals the government's determination to go ahead with the massacre of jobs and to bring a new industrial relations bill which will curb trade union rights.

Contrary to the government's claims about the positive impact of the new economic policies, the Annual Report of the Reserve Bank of India (1991-92) has painted a gloomy picture of the state of the economy. There is a one per cent fall in agricultural output in 1991-92 and stagnation in industrial production for the first time since 1979-80. The GDP growth rate would be less than two per cent as compared to six per cent the previous year.

The country's external debt stands at Rs. 2.05 lakh crores as on March 31, 1992. The economy continues to be plagued by shrinking job opportunities and persistent inflationary pressures.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 20, 1992.

Seasonal factors and statistical jugglery account for the government's claim of curbing inflation. The consumer prices, particularly of food items, show no sign of abating. Thanks to the IMF conditionalities, the prices of milk, bread, transport and the whole range of essential commodities and services are continuously being hiked.

The government's decision to decontrol certain categories of fertilizers has resulted in a steep increase in prices. The burden of this price rise is being borne by the farmers and eventually by the consumers through the increase in issue prices of foodgrains. The P.B. called upon the peasant organisation to build a movement to resist the price hikes of fertilisers.

The Polit Bureau considered the latest decision of the Rab Government to throw open the stocks and share market for foreign company investors with no restrictions on the total volume of investment and repatriation of dividends, a severe attack on the country's economic sovereignty. The new guidelines have serious implications and should not be implemented till it is discussed in Parliament.

The Polit Bureau called for stepping up the campaign against the twin attacks on the people's livelihood by price rise and loss of jobs.

The P.B. welcomed the decision of the Convention held by the Sponsoring Committee of Trade Unions to hold a march to Parliament on November 25 against the new economic policies. It called upon all the Party units and mass organisations to make trade unions-sponsored state level *jathas* a big success so that the dangerous results of these policies are explained to the widest sections of the people.

Bank Scam, Disinvestment and JPC

The P.B. condemned the surreptitious moves to thwart the investigations by the JPC into all aspects of the securities and bank scandal. The notes circulated to selected Congress(I) members of the JPC by the finance ministry at the behest of the two ministers of state have exposed their anxiety to sabotage the probe. The P.B. noted the shameless defence of this act by the Finance Minister

Manmohan Singh. It considers the securities and bank scandal the outcome of the liberalisation policies of the government and demands that the Finance Minister resign over this unprecedented and rotten scandal.

Another major reason for demanding a clean up of the finance ministry is the shocking manner in which the first round of public sector shares disinvestment took place. The CPI(M) has already opposed the next round of disinvestment proposed by the Finance Minister. The culprits who were responsible for getting the shares sold for a song need to be brought to book.

Counter BJP-VHP Moves on Ayodhya

Whereas the Prime Minister is holding consultations on the ways to resolve the Ayodhya dispute, the VHP-BJP leaders are declaring, time and again, that nothing can stop the construction at the disputed site. They are not prepared to accept a court verdict unless, of course, it is in their favour.

The VHP plan, backed by the RSS-BJP, to hold "*paduka yatras*" all over the country in October is designed to raise communal tensions and blackmail the Central Government. The P.B. decided to give a call for a nationwide campaign jointly with other Left parties to expose these sinister plans and to rally the people around the only method of solving the dispute; either a negotiated settlement acceptable to both sides or a court verdict which should be abided by all.

Communal Ideology in Education

The Polit Bureau noted that the BJP-run governments with their reactionary anti people and anti-working class policies are now bent upon revising the syllabus and textbooks to introduce a communal bias. Whether it be history textbooks or funding RSS-sponsored educational institutions, the BJP-run state governments are set upon poisoning the children's minds with communal ideology. The P.B. calls upon all teachers, students' organisations and all secular forces to unitedly fight back this communalisation of education.

Illegal Immigrants

The continuous influx of illegal immigrants from Bangladesh is posing problems, especially, in the border states. The Central Government has not been able to initiate effective steps to check this infiltration. The BJP decision to begin a *rath yatra* in the north-eastern states to highlight this problem is clearly motivated by anti-Muslim feelings and to create a communal polarisation in the sensitive areas. The P.B. warned the people to beware of this disruptive plan.

The P.B. demanded of the Central Government urgent steps to check infiltration. This requires fencing of the border areas, effective patrolling and issue of identity cards in the border areas vulnerable to illegal infiltration.

Jharkhand: Cynical and Disruptive Move of Congress(I)

The P.B. strongly condemned the stand of Home Minister Chavan which was a categorical declaration that Bihar would be divided either by the formation of a separate Jharkhand state or by creating a Union Territory out of the 16 districts of South Bihar.

The Congress(I) Government has adopted this cynical manoeuvre to divide the state to destabilise the Laloo Prasad Ministry by wooing the Jharkhand movement.

The CPI(M) is of the firm opinion that the problem of the tribal people of the Chhotanagpur and Santhal Parganas region is the central question. Over the decades of brutal exploitation, the tribal people have been deprived of their land and access to forests. The Congress since independence, while in government in Bihar and at the Centre, has done nothing to stop the alienation of tribal land, restoration of land and compensate them for their displacement due to development projects. A state formed with dominant non-tribal population will only lead to ignoring the vital interests of the tribal people.

The CPI(M) warns the Centre not to ignore the Bihar State Government and the political parties while taking such a momentous decision affecting the future of Bihar.

The P.B. decided to place before the all party meeting to be convened by the Centre, its proposal for regional autonomy for the

tribal populated areas with adequate powers within the Sixth Schedule by amending the Constitution so that the tribal identity is protected and scope is provided for the development of their languages and cultures. A vital aspect will be the amendment of the existing land and tenancy laws to protect the tribal interests in land.

Punjab and Kashmir

The Polit Bureau noted with satisfaction that in the recently held municipal elections seventy per cent of the electorate participated. The elections saw peaceful campaigning and popular response. The CPI(M) and its supporters have won around 50 seats in the various municipal bodies.

It is not enough for the government to be self-congratulatory about the success in tackling the extremist menace by police action. The favourable situation so created must be immediately utilised to work for a political solution using the terms of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord as the basis.

In Kashmir, the CPI(M) and other political forces committed to national unity and the protection of the identity of the Kashmir people have advocated steps to involve the political parties in the administration of the affairs of the state. This has to be combined with firm action against the fundamentalist-secessionist forces and ensuring meaningful autonomy for the Kashmiri people.

Prasar Bharati Act

The P.B. demanded of the Narasimha Rao Government immediate steps to implement the Prasar Bharati Act which has been ignored by the ruling party. Autonomy for the Doordarshan and All-India Radio has to be granted under the purview of the Act instead of the moves of privatising the electronic media. The P.B. supported the movement by the Doordarshan employees in this regard.

Students Struggle Against Privatisation

The P.B. congratulated the student community of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh who have waged a big movement against the

privatisation of medical and professional of educational institutions. The protracted strike by students in Tamil Nadu and the August 29 bandh in Andhra Pradesh have evoked wide public support. The evils of capitation fees and restricting access of higher education to elite sections can be stopped only if the privatisation drive is halted.

Karl Marx Birth Anniversary Seminar

The P.B. decided to hold an international seminar on the occasion of the 175th Birth Anniversary of Karl Marx which falls on May 5, 1993. This seminar will be hosted in Calcutta and Communist Parties upholding Marxism around the world will be invited to attend the seminar. The P.B. is gratified to note that the proposal has been welcomed when consultations were held with like-minded parties.

Cuba Solidarity Campaign

The P.B. reviewed the work being done to send ten thousand tonnes of foodgrains to Cuba. It discussed the steps to make this campaign a complete success.

75th Anniversary of October Revolution

The P.B. decided that the entire Party must observe the 75th Anniversary of the October Revolution in a befitting manner. It called upon all the Party units to observe a week from November 2 to 7 to propagate the significance of the Great October Revolution and its enduring relevance in the contemporary world.

On Price-Hike of Petroleum Products*

**Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) Issued Statement
Dated September 16, 1992 to Press**

The Government of India has once again attacked the people by the exorbitant and totally unjustified increase in the prices of petroleum products including cooking gas. The impact of this increase will not only be experienced by the immediate consumers but, because of its cascading effects, will be felt in every sector of the economy leading to a heavy rise in the cost of living causing considerable misery to the people who are already suffering. Along with the hike in fertiliser prices, this will lead to an all round increase in prices.

The report that the finance minister had informed the IMF even as early as on June 2 about the intention of the government to alter the pricing system of petroleum products, and the present action once again confirms the criticism about the Government of India's following the dictates of the IMF.

The utter callousness of the Government towards the people is becoming intolerable. The Polit Bureau calls upon all parties and organisations to come forward in a bid to resist this fresh onslaught of the government against the people. The Polit Bureau calls upon all Party units and mass organisations to organise protest demonstrations immediately throughout the country.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 20, 1992.

CPI(M) Central Committee's Greetings to China*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) sends its revolutionary greetings to the People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China on the occasion of the fortythird anniversary of the Chinese Revolution.

The achievements and successes of the Chinese people in the last fortythree years are truly impressive and inspiring. The people of China, under the leadership of the Communist Party, have succeeded in overcoming many of the real difficulties and obstacles in the path of socialist construction. With the great upsurge in the growth of productive forces as a result of the fundamental reforms of the earlier period and the policies of economic reforms in the last decade and more, Chinese economy today is registering impressive growth. We are inspired to know that the living standards of the people of China are also improving in a big way.

China is playing a major role in the struggle for world peace. The policy of establishing friendly relations with all countries, particularly with the countries of the Third World, is a source of satisfaction.

The steady improvement in the friendly relations between India and China is of utmost significance and the CPI(M) is confident that in the coming years the friendly relations between the two countries and two people will flourish.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) expresses its confidence that the people of China will win greater successes in the future.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 27, 1992

Polit Bureau on Attorney General of India*

Statement Dated September 30, 1992 Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) issued the following statement on September 30, 1992.

The reports in the Press about the disclosure by the officials of the Standard Chartered Bank before the Joint Parliament Committee that Mr. G. Ramaswamy, the Attorney General of India, had received Rs. 15 lakh as unsecured overdraft from the same bank, raise very vital and grave questions. Further, the report that Mr. Ramaswamy had met Standard Chartered Bank officials even after the JPC hearings began, calls into question the role played by this official who is the topmost legal advisor to the government.

The allegations concern the very integrity of the official. It will be highly improper to allow Mr. Ramaswamy to continue as Attorney General after the revelations. The Polit Bureau demands that the Government of India take immediate steps to remove Mr. Ramaswamy from this high post.

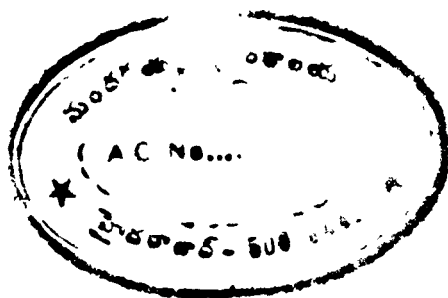
*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, October 4, 1992.

On Dr. Cheddi Jagan's Election Victory*

**Telegram Sent by The Central Committee
of The CPI(M)**

Central Committee CPI(Marxist) congratulates you for election victory and are confident that people of Guyana under the leadership of Progressive Peoples Party will succeed in their endeavours.

Harkishan Singh Surjeet
General Secretary



*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, October 18, 1992.

Greetings to CPC Congress*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) sends its warm fraternal greetings to the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of China.

This Congress is meeting at a critical juncture. World imperialism led by the USA is seeking to impose a 'new world order'. Such a hegemonistic ambition and attempt to control the world portends great dangers for the people who are in the midst of struggles for peace, democracy and socialism. The Chinese Communist Party's declaration adhering to the socialist choice is a big source of inspiration to the international forces struggling to establish an exploitation-free society.

The CPI(M) notes that the policies within the socialist system have resulted in big economic developments. The CPI(M) is confident that the deliberations of the 14th Congress will further advance this process of reforms and opening up while firmly adhering to the four cardinal principles.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) once again conveys its warm revolutionary greetings to the delegates of the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of China and expresses its confidence that the deliberations of the Congress will advance the path of prosperity of the Chinese people and consolidate socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Central Committee
Communist Party of India (Marxist)

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, October 18, 1992.

CPI(M) Mourns Col. Sehgal's Death*

Polit Bureau Issued Statement Dated October 17, 1992 to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep grief at the sudden passing away of Colonel P. K. Sehgal at New Delhi Railway Station on the night of October 16. Colonel Sehgal was a close associate of Subhas Chandra Bose who motivated by the highest ideals of patriotism left the British army and joined the Indian National Army in 1942. He was a commander of one of the first battalions of the Azad Hind Fauj.

He was tried by the British in the Red Fort along with Shah Nawaz Khan and Dhillon in the famous INA trial in 1945. Their courage and patriotism roused the people of India to fight British rule more doggedly.

The Polit Bureau mourns the loss of this outstanding patriot and freedom fighter. It conveys its heartfelt condolences to Lakshmi Sehgal, his colleague in INA, and his daughters Subhashini Ali and Aneesa.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, October 25, 1992

CPI(M) on UNI Strike*

**Polit Bureau Issued Statement
Dated October 26, 1992 to Press**

The UNI employees are on strike protesting against the summary dismissal of the chief accountant by the management. The negotiations so far have failed to yield any solution.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon the management of the UNI to immediately resolve the problem by reinstating the dismissed officer and thereby ensure the resumption of work in the news agency. The shutdown of work in the UNI adversely affects the work of the print media and the Central Government should intervene to see that the UNI's status as an important news agency is protected.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, November 1, 1992.

Central Committee Communique*

**Issued Following its Meeting Held
in New Delhi on October 28-31, 1992**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) met in New Delhi from October 28 to 31 and issued the following statement:

Intensify Struggle Against New Economic Policies

The Central Committee noted with concern that the economic policies of the Narasimha Rao Government are imposing further burdens on the people. Two savage attacks were launched on the people in the form of withdrawal of subsidy for fertilisers and the steep increase in the prices of petroleum products in the recent period. Many other hikes in prices are in the offing. This has fuelled all-round price rise and the peasants have been badly hit by the enormous increase in fertiliser prices. The inflation and steep price increase of essential commodities are affecting all sections of the people, particularly the workers, peasants and the middle classes.

The Central Committee condemned the move of the Congress(I) Government to procure another IMF loan of five billion dollars under the Extended Fund Facility and Extended Structural Adjustment Facility which will entail most stringent conditionalities. In anticipation of these conditionalities, the Rao Government is going ahead with the exit policy which will throw lakhs of workers out of jobs; foreign investment in stocks and share market without any restrictions; and further cuts in development expenditure. The public distribution system is being severely curtailed, and rural employment schemes and education and health expenditure are being drastically curtailed.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, November 8, 1992

The Central Committee noted the growing resistance to these policies all over the country. Bandhs have been observed in West Bengal, Kerala and Orissa against price hikes and many protest actions have taken place by the peasantry against the fertiliser price increase.

November 25 Rally

The Central Committee welcomed the call of the Sponsoring Committee of Trade Unions to hold a March to Parliament on November 25 against the economic policies. The Party called upon all its units to work in cooperation with the trade unions and other mass organisations to ensure the success of this rally.

The Central Committee called upon all its units and mass organisations to intensify the movement against the new economic policy. Only the widest resistance drawing in all sections of the people, particularly the rural masses, can halt the IMF World Bank dictated policies.

Banking and PSU Scandal

The proceedings of the Joint Parliamentary Committee is revealing the wide nexus between corrupt bankers, brokers, business and top politicians of the ruling party. The evidence being tendered, shows that a large number of public undertakings have been diverting funds against regulations for speculation and unauthorised market transactions. The Rao Government has gone ahead with the second round of disinvestment of public sector shares despite the scandal of the cheap sale of public sector assets in the first round. The Central Committee demands an end to the disinvestment policy. The exposure of the bank and securities scandal must be utilised as an effective weapon to debunk the new economic policy and to demand that the finance minister take responsibility for this shocking scandal and quit office.

BJP's Communal Designs

The Central Committee adopted a resolution strongly deploring the decision of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad to resume *kar seva* at the disputed site at Ayodhya on December 6. The

threat of a serious communal confrontation on the issue must be unitedly met by all the secular and patriotic forces. The national secular parties must overcome their hesitations and vacillations in uniting with all those who are prepared to fight back this communal challenge. The Central Committee welcomed in this connection the successful holding of the anti-communal convention at Lucknow on October 22.

Women's Anti-Communal Rally

The Central Committee appreciated the initiative of the six national women's organisations to hold a rally at Lucknow on November 5 for peace, unity and communal harmony.

BJP Governments

The BJP run state governments are getting increasingly isolated from the people due to their anti people and communal policies. The police firing leading to the killing of three farmers in Ramkola in Uttar Pradesh, exposed the reactionary character of the Kalyan Singh Government. In all the BJP run states systematic steps are being taken to infiltrate the communal ideology to provide a communal version of India's history and the syllabus is being revised under RSS guidance. This is a menacing development which must be exposed and fought against with the cooperation of all secular sections.

The Central Committee condemned the physical assault and public humiliation of Dr. B. D. Sharma, former commissioner, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Commission, by BJP men in Jagdalpur, M.P. This shameful attack on a prominent social worker reveals the intolerance of the BJP-run regime towards anyone who opposes its policies.

Demand For Jharkhand

The Central Committee endorsed the stand taken by the Polit Bureau on the Jharkhand question. The tribal people of the Chhotanagpur and Santhal Parganas are the most exploited sections with their land being snatched away by moneylenders and contractors, and their mass displacement through

development projects. The CPI(M) advocates the provision of regional autonomy for the tribal areas with guaranteed rights by amending the sixth Schedule of the Constitution which can help protect the identity of the tribal people.

Kashmir

The Central Committee heard a report on the situation in the Kashmir Valley, including the assessment of the Party MPs who visited Kashmir as part of the parliamentary delegation. The Central Committee is of the opinion that the Central Government should take certain immediate steps which can help ease the situation. This include activising the political forces so that a rapport can be established with the people; steps to deal with the extremist activities of the Hizbe Mujahideen and differentiate it from the JKLF; an end to excesses committed on the civilian population and steps to provide genuine autonomy to the state within the framework of Indian unity.

Punjab

The Central Committee noted the improved law and order situation in the state. But it felt that the situation cannot be maintained unless immediate steps are taken to utilise the present favourable situation to tackle the political issues which are essential for a solution to the Punjab problem. The Central Committee welcomed the mass campaign launched by the Party in the state for meeting the just demands of the Punjabi people and the proposed joint satyagraha in November to mobilise the people for getting their just demands settled.

Assam and Meghalaya

The Central Committee criticised the Centre and the Assam Government for failing to pursue a negotiated settlement which became possible after a section of the ULFA surrendered. It also expressed concern at the continuing clashes and tensions arising out of the Bodo problem. Immediate steps should be taken to concretise the granting of autonomy for the Bodo people.

The Central Committee also expressed its deep concern at the large scale riots in Shillong, Meghalaya, against so-called

outsiders leading to the killing and destruction of property of a large number of people. It is shocking that the Congress(I) State Government refused to act firmly when the riots broke out and the whole administration was paralysed.

Student Struggles

The Central Committee welcomed the call given by five national student organisations for an all-India student strike on November 18 against the growing attacks on educational rights and privatisation. It congratulated the students of Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu who, in the recent period, conducted big struggles in the two states against the state governments' decision to privatize medical and professional colleges.

Left Unity

The Central Committee underlined the importance of strengthening Left unity in the current situation in order to carry forward the struggle against the economic policies and communal danger. It is the responsibility of all the Left forces to minimise their areas of difference and jointly intervene to rally all the democratic and secular forces.

In this connection the Central Committee was of the view that the unfounded criticism levelled by the RSP against the Party does not help in strengthening Left unity.

Party Programme

As per the decision of the Fourteenth Party Congress, the Programme Commission appointed by the Central Committee is undertaking the work of updating the Party Programme. The core of the Party Programme which contains the character of the state, stage of the revolution and the class alliance, has stood the test of time and will remain the basis of the programme. The Central Committee discussed the changes that have taken place in the international and national arena since the Programme was adopted in 1964, to identify the nature of the updating of the programme to be undertaken. In the light of these discussions the Programme Commission will continue its work.

Resolution on Tripura Elections*

**Adopted by The Central Committee of The CPI(M)
in its Meeting Held in New Delhi on October 28-31, 1992**

The elections to the Tripura Assembly are due to be held in the February, 1993. The last assembly elections in the state held in February 1988 were marked by large scale manipulation including induction of the army followed by a reign of terror against the CPI(M) and the Left Front.

For nearly five years the people of Tripura have been subjected to semi fascist terror. Hundreds of opposition workers have been murdered; thousands rendered homeless; offices of political parties and mass organisations forcibly occupied or destroyed; hundreds of women were raped, molested or murdered, particularly tribal women; extortions and anti-social activities by elements patronised by Congress(I) leaders have become a common feature. All the subsequent elections and bye-elections held in the state have been rigged and voters terrorised to prevent them from exercising their franchise.

Such an unprecedented onslaught on democracy and the Constitution has never been seen in the country. The Congress(I)-TUJS Government has resorted to every illegal and unconstitutional measure to intimidate the civil services and to strangle the Tripura Tribal Autonomous District Council which was set up to protect the interests of the tribal people.

The state is witnessing the sordid spectacle of factional squabbles and clashes between different groups of the Congress(I). These are happening at a time when there have been large scale deaths due to hunger and starvation in the tribal areas and the people are groaning under severe price rise and daily threats to their lives and security.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, November 8, 1992.

The bitter experience of the terror regime and its lawlessness, the failure of the Central Government and the Election Commission to intervene to protect democratic norms, provide the basis for the real apprehensions that the forthcoming polls will see a calculated attack once again on parliamentary democracy. The people of Tripura are determined to exercise their voting rights and discredited regime will seek to thwart the popular will.

The battle in Tripura is not just the struggle of the Tripura people—it is very much a part of the struggle of the entire Indian people to preserve parliamentary democracy. In this vital fight, the people of Tripura must get the help of all the democratic and secular forces in the country.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M), therefore, appeals to all the Left, democratic and secular forces in the country, all those concerned with the elementary values of a democratic society, to come forward to ensure that the coming elections in Tripura are held in free and fair conditions.

The CPI(M) is confident that the Left and democratic forces in Tripura will mobilise the people to defeat the reactionary and inhuman regime in the state.

The Central Committee calls upon the entire Party and the democratic forces to realise the great importance of ensuing elections and its portent for the future of democracy. It appeals to all Party committees and members to campaign for defence of democracy in Tripura and for the holding of free and fair elections. All Party units are called upon to begin a mass collection of funds to help the Tripura state unit of the Party. This is an urgent and vital task.

On Disruptive Move of VHP at Ayodhya*

Statement Dated October 31, 1992 Issued by
The Central Committee of The CPI(M)

At a time when the country was waiting for some outcome from the negotiations being conducted at the behest of the Prime Minister, the religious congregation convened by the VHP has given the call to resume *kar seva* at the disputed site at Ayodhya on December 6. The Central Committee of the CPI(M) strongly deplores this disruptive move which shows that the VHP RSS is blatantly sabotaging any peaceful settlement. They are prepared for negotiations only if their terms are accepted by all others. With this decision, the VHP-RSS combine has confirmed that it is not prepared for a reasonable solution either through a negotiated settlement or through a court verdict.

The BJP leadership has indicated that it will abide by the VHP decision on the construction of the temple at the disputed site. This will set the course for a serious confrontation which will have dangerous consequences for national unity and communal harmony.

The Central Government has to take a firm stand, without vacillation, that all the court orders and the Constitution will be fully upheld and illegal construction will not be allowed. The Central Committee calls upon all secular and patriotic forces to unitedly counter the blackmailing stand of the VHP RSS BJP combine. The Centre should immediately convene a meeting of the National Integration Council to take stock of the situation.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, November 8, 1992

This statement was issued by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) while it was in session in New Delhi on October 28-31, 1992

Polit Bureau on Attorney General's Removal from His Post*

Statement Dated November 3, 1992 Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly deplores the uncalled for remarks made by the Attorney General, G. Ramaswamy. In seeking to defend his untenable position arising out of his unethical dealings with a foreign bank, he has made the wild allegation that he is being targetted as part of an anti-South Indian campaign. The issue involved in the banking and securities scandal is corruption and misuse of power. The Attorney General's statement seeking to give it a regional colour and invoking the Prime Minister's name is totally unworthy.

The stand of the Attorney General only confirms his non fitness to hold high office. The Prime Minister should immediately relieve him of the post.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, November 8, 1992
Refer Document No 93 of this Volume.

On Political Developments Since The Last Central Committee Meeting of The CPI(M)*

Adopted by The Central Committee of The CPI(M) in its Meeting Held in New Delhi on October 28-31, 1992

INTERNATIONAL

Recession Continues in Capitalist World

The world capitalist system continues to be plagued by recession which has shown no signs of abating since the last C.C. meeting in July. The crisis which hits the European currencies has important repercussions for the capitalist world. The European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) is in disarray with Britain being forced to opt out of it with a steady decline in the value of the pound. The high interest rates set by the German Central Bank led to currency flights from other countries towards the German mark. The British pound has been effectively devalued by ten per cent. The Italian Lira and the Spanish currency were also badly affected. The currency crisis and the strong position of the German mark has led to deepening the recession in Britain and other countries which were forced to pursue tight money policies.

The currency conflict was accompanied by political recriminations between Germany and Britain underlying which is the conflict between German and Britain finance capital. Efforts for European integration are going on but the Maastricht Treaty is also facing growing resistance. Denmark has already rejected it in a referendum and nearly half the voters in the French referendum saying "No". In Britain, the ruling conservatives are facing growing resistance to the treaty including from within its own ranks.

*Published as a booklet in November 1994. The last Central Committee meeting was held on July 19-22, 1992 in New Delhi (Refer Documents under Item Nos. 76 and 78 of this Volume)

The European currency crisis stood out in the background of what is becoming the worst recessionary spell since the Second World War. In the USA, the worsening economic situation is adversely affecting the chances of President Bush's re-election. The seriousness of the situation was underlined by none other than Alan Greenspan, Chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve Board. On a visit to Japan in the first week of October, he warned that the U.S. and Japan faced an economic downturn of a kind not seen since 1945. He said that if the recession was marked by a steep fall in stock prices, recovery would take long and would be more modest. He warned that there had not been a recession with this characteristic since the Second World War.

The latest OECD forecast in October 1992, estimates only 1.5 per cent output growth in all the industrialised countries in 1992 as against its own earlier forecast of 1.8 per cent. For 1993, it has reduced its estimate of output growth from 3 per cent to 2.1 per cent. That the downturn is now widespread and affecting even the strongest capitalist centres is evident from the drop in industrial production by 7.6 per cent in Japan, compared to the corresponding period last year. Britain faces the largest unemployment figure in the past five years with 9.9 per cent of its working population jobless, i.e. over 2.8 million. Shutdowns of plants and savage cuts in workforce have become the norm.

Another development is the formation of the North American Free Trade Association comprising the USA, Canada and Mexico. This trading bloc is obviously a move to strengthen the USA against the European Union. The GATT negotiations are deadlocked with the differences between the USA and the EEC countries over subsidies to agriculture remaining unresolved.

In Britain, the Conservative government announced the closure of 31 coalmines (more than half of the total number of coalmines) which would have rendered 30,000 coalminers jobless. Faced with a storm of protest including from within the ruling party, the government has been forced to announce reduction in the number of mines to be closed to ten. This measure is also being strongly resisted by the working class movement.

A disturbing feature of the German situation today is the spate of neo-Nazi and right-wing attacks on immigrants and foreigners.

Hundreds of incidents have taken place where immigrant's hostels have been attacked and burnt and some have been killed.

A corollary to the economic difficulties of the West is the evaporation of hopes of massive aid and injection of capital into Eastern Europe and Russia. The capitalistic reforms in these countries are running into serious problems and the living conditions of the people is continuously deteriorating.

Resistance to the free marketeers and liberalisation policies has become manifested in the political sphere also. The recent elections in Romania saw the defeat of the right wing forces. In the background of growing opposition and his failure to postpone the convening of the Congress of Deputies, Yeltsin is resorting to authoritarian measures such as banning the National Salvation Front and dissolving the security force of the Speaker of the Russian Legislature. In Russia, Yeltsin and his supporters have been forced to slow down certain aspects of the capitalist reforms. In Lithuania, the Sajudis nationalist party which led the movement for separation from the Soviet Union has been badly defeated by the Communists.

The economic developments in the advanced capitalist countries portend serious problems for the third world countries including India. The economies of the third world countries continue to be badly hit by the worldwide recession, intensifying the crisis in the lesser developed capitalist countries.

Angolan Elections

In Africa, an important and positive development has been the victory of the MPLA in the recently held elections. The MPLA has secured the majority in the Parliament. For the Presidentship, the MPLA leader Dos Santos gained a lead over the western backed Savimbi. Since Santos polled just a little less than 50 per cent of the vote, there has to be a run off election against Savimbi. The UNITA and Savimbi have claimed that the elections have been rigged and have resumed armed hostilities. The victory of the MPLA is significant as it will prevent the consolidation of reactionary forces in Angola backed by South Africa and help the progressive forces in the region, particularly Namibia, to stave off the imperialist—South African offensive. With the UNITA's

recalcitrant stand, there is every danger of Angola being once again plunged into a civil war. The U.N. which oversaw the elections must act to see that the UNITA abides by the election verdict. Failure to do so would expose the West's double standards.

The other elections held in this period have also been favourable for the forces committed to democracy. Cheddi Jagan has won the presidential elections in Guyana after a long period when the USA manoeuvred to get the democratic forces out of power. In Thailand, the parties opposed to the military dominating the government have won a narrow majority and formed a coalition government.

South Africa

The situation in South Africa worsened after the Boipatung massacre. The ANC broke off talks and launched a mass movement to protest against the disruptive tactics of the regime. The protest drew millions into the streets and paralysed life in the country. Subsequently, talks were held between Nelson Mandela and De Klerk in September which resulted in an agreement for the resumption of constitutional negotiations for building a new democratic, non racist South Africa. The recent events show the complicated conditions under which the liberation movement has to proceed where the ANC has to rely on its mass support to thwart the sabotaging manoeuvres of the De Klerk regime and its ally the Inkatha.

NAM Summit

The Jakarta Summit of NAM has signaled clearly that the non-aligned movement, though weakened and in disarray after the dismantling of the Soviet Union, is now recovering its balance. Underlying this fact, which has belied those who pronounced NAM dead, is the contradiction between imperialism and the Third World countries which cannot be wished away. On the new international economic order, the growing pressures of U.S. imperialism and the IMF World Bank, the question of environment as seen in the Rio Summit—the conflict of interests between the advanced capitalist countries and the Third World countries continue to intensify. These issues were reflected in the summit declarations.

It is true that on questions like the threat of renewed military intervention in Iraq the NAM is not yet able to take forthright positions. The Indian government also seeks to avoid taking a firm stand on such issues. But the regrouping of NAM is a process which has begun.

U.S. Pressure on U.N.

At the United Nations, the USA's hegemonistic behaviour has been strikingly displayed once again with its objection to the UNICEF's agreement with Iraq. The agreement provides the terms for the U.N. relief operations in Iraq which the U.S. wants cancelled as it sees it as conceding too much to Iraq's sovereignty.

Neighbouring Countries

Pakistan: Despite the visit of the Pakistani foreign secretary to India for talks with his counterpart and the meeting of the two Prime Ministers at Jakarta, there is no change in the Pakistani stance on Kashmir. It is bent upon internationalising the issue and instigating the secessionist forces in the valley. This is a compulsion of the regime given the domestic situation where it is faced with growing discontent and ethnic strife. While we should continue to expose the designs of the Pakistani regime in aiding extremist elements in India, we should, at the same time, stress that the interests of both people require that the disputes be resolved through peaceful negotiations.

Indo-Nepal Relations: The visit of the Indian Prime Minister of Nepal has had a positive impact on relations between the two countries with agreements on trade and other matters. Relations between India and Nepal should be further strengthened on the basis of equal relations. Imperialism is interested in hampering close relations between the two countries and this must be guarded against.

India-China Relations: The visit of the Defence Minister, Sharad Pawar to China and discussions held is another step in the process of improving relations between the two countries. The visit has resulted in an understanding to have military exchanges and cooperation which is significant given the past history of hostilities.

NATIONAL

Economic Situation

Contrary to the government's claims of the positive impact of the new economic policies, the Annual Report of the Reserve Bank of India (1991-92) has provided a gloomy picture of the state of the economy. It noted a one per cent fall in agricultural output and stagnation in industrial production for the first time since 1979-80. The GDP growth rate would be less than two per cent for 1991-92 as compared to six per cent in the previous year. The country's external debt, as per the report, stands at Rs. 2.05 lakh crores on March 31, 1992. The economy continues to be haunted by the spectre of diminishing job opportunities, high fiscal deficits and massive government expenditure. There has been persistent inflationary pressure on the economy. The trade deficit in the first five months of this financial year has shot up with imports far-outstripping exports.

Two savage attacks were launched by the government on the people. Firstly, the decision was announced to decontrol certain categories of fertilisers. The withdrawal of the subsidy amounting to Rs. 4,600 crores has resulted in fertiliser prices increasing by two to two and a half times. This will have its resultant effect on foodgrain prices. The procurement price of paddy has increased by 17 per cent to meet this increased cost of inputs and this will be passed on through the issue prices for the public distribution system. It is the urban and rural poor who will be badly hit.

Secondly, the government announced a steep increase in the prices of petroleum products including cooking gas. The impact of this increase is being felt in every sector of the economy leading to an all round increase in prices. The protests against these policies has led to a marginal 10 per cent reduction in the prices of nitrogenous fertilisers by the government. But this does not in any way provide relief to the peasantry.

The Rao Government was congratulating itself for the rate of inflation coming down in July-August but this has proved to be illusory with the wholesale price index shooting up again and hovering near the double digit mark. The consumer price index has

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The BJP leadership has indicated that it will abide by the VHP decision on the construction of the temple at the disputed site. This will set the course for a serious confrontation which will have dangerous consequences for national unity and communal harmony.

The Central Government has to take a firm stand, without vacillation, that all the court orders and the Constitution will be fully upheld and illegal construction will not be allowed. The Central Committee calls upon all secular and patriotic forces to unitedly counter the blackmailing stand of the VHP RSS BJP combine. The Centre should immediately convene a meeting of the National Integration Council to take stock of the situation.

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INTERNATIONAL

Recession Continues in Capitalist World

The world capitalist system continues to be plagued by recession which has shown no signs of abating since the last C.C. meeting in July. The crisis which hits the European currencies has important repercussions for the capitalist world. The European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) is in disarray with Britain being forced to opt out of it with a steady decline in the value of the pound. The high interest rates set by the German Central Bank led to currency flights from other countries towards the German mark. The British pound has been effectively devalued by ten per cent. The Italian Lira and the Spanish currency were also badly affected. The currency crisis and the strong position of the German mark has led to deepening the recession in Britain and other countries which were forced to pursue tight money policies.

The currency conflict was accompanied by political recriminations between Germany and Britain underlying which is the conflict between German and Britain finance capital. Efforts for European integration are going on but the Maastricht Treaty is also facing growing resistance. Denmark has already rejected it in a referendum and nearly half the voters in the French referendum saying "No". In Britain, the ruling conservatives are facing growing resistance to the treaty including from within its own ranks.

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The European currency crisis stood out in the background of what is becoming the worst recessionary spell since the Second World War. In the USA, the worsening economic situation is adversely affecting the chances of President Bush's re-election. The seriousness of the situation was underlined by none other than Alan Greenspan, Chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve Board. On a visit to Japan in the first week of October, he warned that the U.S. and Japan faced an economic downturn of a kind not seen since 1945. He said that if the recession was marked by a steep fall in stock prices, recovery would take long and would be more modest. He warned that there had not been a recession with this characteristic since the Second World War.

The latest OECD forecast in October 1992, estimates only 1.5 per cent output growth in all the industrialised countries in 1992 as against its own earlier forecast of 1.8 per cent. For 1993, it has reduced its estimate of output growth from 3 per cent to 2.1 per cent. That the downturn is now widespread and affecting even the strongest capitalist centres is evident from the drop in industrial production by 7.6 per cent in Japan, compared to the corresponding period last year. Britain faces the largest unemployment figure in the past five years with 9.9 per cent of its working population jobless, i.e. over 2.8 million. Shutdowns of plants and savage cuts in workforce have become the norm.

Another development is the formation of the North American Free Trade Association comprising the USA, Canada and Mexico. This trading bloc is obviously a move to strengthen the USA against the European Union. The GATT negotiations are deadlocked with the differences between the USA and the EEC countries over subsidies to agriculture remaining unresolved.

In Britain, the Conservative government announced the closure of 31 coalmines (more than half of the total number of coalmines) which would have rendered 30,000 coalminers jobless. Faced with a storm of protest including from within the ruling party, the government has been forced to announce reduction in the number of mines to be closed to ten. This measure is also being strongly resisted by the working class movement.

A disturbing feature of the German situation today is the spate of neo-Nazi and right-wing attacks on immigrants and foreigners.

Hundreds of incidents have taken place where immigrant's hostels have been attacked and burnt and some have been killed.

A corollary to the economic difficulties of the West is the evaporation of hopes of massive aid and injection of capital into Eastern Europe and Russia. The capitalistic reforms in these countries are running into serious problems and the living conditions of the people is continuously deteriorating.

Resistance to the free marketeers and liberalisation policies has become manifested in the political sphere also. The recent elections in Romania saw the defeat of the right wing forces. In the background of growing opposition and his failure to postpone the convening of the Congress of Deputies, Yeltsin is resorting to authoritarian measures such as banning the National Salvation Front and dissolving the security force of the Speaker of the Russian Legislature. In Russia, Yeltsin and his supporters have been forced to slow down certain aspects of the capitalist reforms. In Lithuania, the Sajudis nationalist party which led the movement for separation from the Soviet Union has been badly defeated by the Communists.

The economic developments in the advanced capitalist countries portend serious problems for the third world countries including India. The economies of the third world countries continue to be badly hit by the worldwide recession, intensifying the crisis in the lesser developed capitalist countries.

Angolan Elections

In Africa, an important and positive development has been the victory of the MPLA in the recently held elections. The MPLA has secured the majority in the Parliament. For the Presidentship, the MPLA leader Dos Santos gained a lead over the western backed Savimbi. Since Santos polled just a little less than 50 per cent of the vote, there has to be a run off election against Savimbi. The UNITA and Savimbi have claimed that the elections have been rigged and have resumed armed hostilities. The victory of the MPLA is significant as it will prevent the consolidation of reactionary forces in Angola backed by South Africa and help the progressive forces in the region, particularly Namibia, to stave off the imperialist—South African offensive. With the UNITA's

recalcitrant stand, there is every danger of Angola being once again plunged into a civil war. The U.N. which oversaw the elections must act to see that the UNITA abides by the election verdict. Failure to do so would expose the West's double standards.

The other elections held in this period have also been favourable for the forces committed to democracy. Cheddi Jagan has won the presidential elections in Guyana after a long period when the USA manoeuvred to get the democratic forces out of power. In Thailand, the parties opposed to the military dominating the government have won a narrow majority and formed a coalition government.

South Africa

The situation in South Africa worsened after the Boipatung massacre. The ANC broke off talks and launched a mass movement to protest against the disruptive tactics of the regime. The protest drew millions into the streets and paralysed life in the country. Subsequently, talks were held between Nelson Mandela and De Klerk in September which resulted in an agreement for the resumption of constitutional negotiations for building a new democratic, non racist South Africa. The recent events show the complicated conditions under which the liberation movement has to proceed where the ANC has to rely on its mass support to thwart the sabotaging manoeuvres of the De Klerk regime and its ally the Inkatha.

NAM Summit

The Jakarta Summit of NAM has signaled clearly that the non-aligned movement, though weakened and in disarray after the dismantling of the Soviet Union, is now recovering its balance. Underlying this fact, which has belied those who pronounced NAM dead, is the contradiction between imperialism and the Third World countries which cannot be wished away. On the new international economic order, the growing pressures of U.S. imperialism and the IMF World Bank, the question of environment as seen in the Rio Summit—the conflict of interests between the advanced capitalist countries and the Third World countries continue to intensify. These issues were reflected in the summit declarations.

It is true that on questions like the threat of renewed military intervention in Iraq the NAM is not yet able to take forthright positions. The Indian government also seeks to avoid taking a firm stand on such issues. But the regrouping of NAM is a process which has begun.

U.S. Pressure on U.N.

At the United Nations, the USA's hegemonistic behaviour has been strikingly displayed once again with its objection to the UNICEF's agreement with Iraq. The agreement provides the terms for the U.N. relief operations in Iraq which the U.S. wants cancelled as it sees it as conceding too much to Iraq's sovereignty.

Neighbouring Countries

Pakistan: Despite the visit of the Pakistani foreign secretary to India for talks with his counterpart and the meeting of the two Prime Ministers at Jakarta, there is no change in the Pakistani stance on Kashmir. It is bent upon internationalising the issue and instigating the secessionist forces in the valley. This is a compulsion of the regime given the domestic situation where it is faced with growing discontent and ethnic strife. While we should continue to expose the designs of the Pakistani regime in aiding extremist elements in India, we should, at the same time, stress that the interests of both people require that the disputes be resolved through peaceful negotiations.

Indo-Nepal Relations: The visit of the Indian Prime Minister of Nepal has had a positive impact on relations between the two countries with agreements on trade and other matters. Relations between India and Nepal should be further strengthened on the basis of equal relations. Imperialism is interested in hampering close relations between the two countries and this must be guarded against.

India-China Relations: The visit of the Defence Minister, Sharad Pawar to China and discussions held is another step in the process of improving relations between the two countries. The visit has resulted in an understanding to have military exchanges and cooperation which is significant given the past history of hostilities.

NATIONAL

Economic Situation

Contrary to the government's claims of the positive impact of the new economic policies, the Annual Report of the Reserve Bank of India (1991-92) has provided a gloomy picture of the state of the economy. It noted a one per cent fall in agricultural output and stagnation in industrial production for the first time since 1979-80. The GDP growth rate would be less than two per cent for 1991-92 as compared to six per cent in the previous year. The country's external debt, as per the report, stands at Rs. 2.05 lakh crores on March 31, 1992. The economy continues to be haunted by the spectre of diminishing job opportunities, high fiscal deficits and massive government expenditure. There has been persistent inflationary pressure on the economy. The trade deficit in the first five months of this financial year has shot up with imports far-outstripping exports.

Two savage attacks were launched by the government on the people. Firstly, the decision was announced to decontrol certain categories of fertilisers. The withdrawal of the subsidy amounting to Rs. 4,600 crores has resulted in fertiliser prices increasing by two to two and a half times. This will have its resultant effect on foodgrain prices. The procurement price of paddy has increased by 17 per cent to meet this increased cost of inputs and this will be passed on through the issue prices for the public distribution system. It is the urban and rural poor who will be badly hit.

Secondly, the government announced a steep increase in the prices of petroleum products including cooking gas. The impact of this increase is being felt in every sector of the economy leading to an all round increase in prices. The protests against these policies has led to a marginal 10 per cent reduction in the prices of nitrogenous fertilisers by the government. But this does not in any way provide relief to the peasantry.

The Rao Government was congratulating itself for the rate of inflation coming down in July-August but this has proved to be illusory with the wholesale price index shooting up again and hovering near the double digit mark. The consumer price index has

shown a steady increase reflecting the burdens being imposed on the common people. Most pernicious is the continuous rise in the prices of foodgrains which affects the poorest sections of the people. As per the point to point index increase from June 1991 to June 1992 foodgrain prices rose by 25 per cent and pulses by 27 per cent.

The Rao Government is now set upon another round of policy measures to meet the IMF World Bank dictates which includes hundred per cent convertibility of the rupee, further cuts in governmental expenditure on development, further disinvestment of public sector, unit shares and exit policy which will lead to massive retrenchment in industry under the guise of voluntary retirement schemes. Already for the NTC mills, a retrenchment plan for 86,000 workers has been announced. Foreign investment in stocks and shares market has been thrown open with no restrictions. There has been further import liberalisation with the negative list of items being drastically pruned. The Indian Labour Conference held recently reveals the government's determination to go ahead with the massacre of jobs and to bring a new industrial relations bill which will affect trade union rights seriously.

The inevitable march towards a debt trap was highlighted by the Finance Minister Manmohan Singh's visit to Washington for the annual IMF World Bank meet. An application has been put in for a five billion dollar loan from the IMF and a total package of nine billion dollars aid for the next three years. Already there is a outflow out of the country with mounting repayments of principal, loan and interest amounts. The trade deficit has tribled to over two billion dollars in the first four months of the financial year. An IMF team has visited India for negotiations on the new loan which will include loans taken under the Extended Fund Facility and the Extended Structural Adjustment Facility. This will mean more severe conditionalities and an IMF supervised regime for the Indian economy.

The economic policies of the Centre tailored to meet the IMF-World Bank conditionalities have led to direct attacks on the states. The cutting off of resources for the states, the squeeze on development funds, the privatisation drive and starving public sector undertakings of funds, the drastic cuts in public distribution

system, have all put the state governments in serious difficulties. This highlights the necessity for restructuring Centre State relations and for expanding the powers of the states. It will not be possible to implement alternative economic policies in any state without a change in Centre-State relations.

All this underlines the necessity for intensifying the movement against the new economic policies. It requires creating wider awareness among all sections of the people of this new burdens and attacks to on the people's livelihood through the twin attacks of rise in prices and inflation and the loss of jobs and cuts in welfare expenditure which will affect rural employment, public distribution system, education and health.

The resistance to these policies is building up. Against the petroleum products price hike, successful bandhs were observed in West Bengal, Kerala and Orissa. In all other states, many protest actions have taken place against both the fertiliser and petroleum price hikes.

Make November 25 Rally a Success

The convention of trade unions organised by the Sponsoring Committee on September 13 gave a call for a march to Parliament on November 25 against the economic policies. This mass rally of the working class and other toiling sections must see a big mobilisation. The Party and all its units must work in cooperation with the trade unions and other mass organisations to ensure the success of the rally. At the states level, the *jathas* organised by the trade unions must be accorded big receptions by all the mass organisations. A situation has developed wherein the working class action can be supported by the rural masses who are themselves experiencing the harmful effects of the economic policies.

Bank Scam

The ramifications of the biggest scandal since independence involving thousands of crores of rupees is gradually unfolding itself. The setting up of a Joint Parliamentary Committee and the beginning of its work is an important one towards uncovering the nexus between corrupt bankers, brokers, businessmen and top

politicians of the ruling party. A move was made to scuttle the probe as seen by the efforts of the two ministers of state of the finance ministry to thwart the JPC investigations by their unauthorised briefing of certain members of the JPC belonging to the Congress(I)—an act which has been shamelessly defended by the Finance Minister. The arrest and investigations against V. Krishnamurthy, who was a member of the Planning Commission and the fact that he and his family were running 43 companies which were in league with persons like Harshad Mehta show how deep the root has set into the system. Krishnamurthy headed the committee on public sector disinvestment while conniving at the scandalously cheap sale of public sector assets. The evidence being tendered before the JPC shows that a large number of public undertakings have been diverting funds against the regulations to ban for speculation and unauthorised market transactions. The Finance Minister Manmohan Singh has refused to acknowledge the mounting evidence that his ministry and the RBI have allowed the loot of public funds right under their nose.

The exposure of the bank and security scandal must be utilised as an effective weapon to debunk the new economic policy and demand that the architect of these policies, the Finance Minister should own responsibility and quit.

Ayodhya: Danger of Confrontation Continues

By the time the last Central Committee meeting concluded, it was not clear what would be the outcome of the BJP-VHP construction work at the disputed site at Ayodhya. Despite the demand of all the secular forces for immediate intervention by the Centre to take over the disputed area, the Narasimha Rao Government refused to do so. On July 26, Prime Minister, after consultation with the BJP leadership, held a meeting with five of the VHP *sadhus*. As a result of this meeting, the VHP announced that it had suspended the construction work for three months since the Prime Minister assured them of a solution by this period. However, the work was stopped only after the completion of the concrete platform. The Prime Minister also stated that he had asked for four months time to take steps to resolve the problem. From

the outcome of the talks, it became clear that there was no resolution of the problem in any way, only the confrontation has been postponed for another three months. The VHP leadership, including the *sadhus* who held talks made it clear that they would not change the original temple construction plan in which the *Garbhagriha* is inside the mosque and neither would they accept a court verdict which would not be in their favour.

The attitude of the Narasimha Rao in refusing to take firm action in July even when the Congress(I) party also put pressure for action, shows the compromising stand he is adopting.

The two round of talks held under the auspices of the Union Government between the VHP and the AIBMAC have focussed on the question whether there was a temple originally at the disputed site at Ayodhya. The VHP has been submitting so-called archaeological evidence to substantiate its claim. It has now shifted its claim from an original Ram temple to a Vishnu temple having been there at the site. Such an approach is not going to yield any solution. The VHP pursues this argument in line with its stand that a past historical wrong should be avenged and the mosque pulled down to build a temple—a stand which will unleash the forces of disintegration.

The BJP VHP has been utilising the three-month period for mobilising support for their temple plan. The VHP organised Ram Charan Paduka Programme wherein the slippers of Ram are being taken around all blocks of the country between October 3 and 21. In U.P. the BJP held a state level rally on September 25 at Lucknow in which they declared their resolve to build the temple at the disputed site if no solution is found within the three month period. The RSS has hardened its position. In his speech at the Vijayadashmi rally Balasaheb Deoras has categorically stated that "Hindu patience" should not be stretched beyond a limit by the government. On October 30, the religious congregation of the VHP has declared that "*kar seva*" will resume at the disputed site on December 6. The stage has thus been set for another serious confrontation.

The implications of not checking the diabolical plan of the BJP-VHP to encroach upon the structure will be immensely harmful

for the country. The riots which erupted in Sitamarhi town in Bihar and the neighbouring villages are a warning signal. More than 40 people were killed and hundreds injured in the violence. The trouble originated with the now familiar pattern of a Dussehra religious procession going through a sensitive area. In Kerala, the ISS extremist activities have grown in the face of majority communalism. The attack on the ISS leader led to clashes with the police in many towns. The minority community is feeling insecure and the growing alienation will fuel extremism within its ranks. This in turn will help the majority communal forces and will lead to widespread communal disturbances. This will spell the peril for national unity and disrupt the possibilities for advancing the democratic movement.

BJP Stance

While maintaining its aggressive stance on Ayodhya, the BJP national executive meeting in Bhopal did not pass any resolution on the subject, ostensibly to wait till the outcome of the three month deadline given to the Prime Minister. But the U.P. Chief Minister made it clear at the meeting that there is no going back on the construction of the temple. He also talked of bringing a legislation to remove the hurdles in the construction if the negotiations failed.

In the Bhopal meeting, the BJP tried to focus on other issues. On the economic front, it sought to be critical of certain results of the economic policies while taking care to see that the basic policies are not opposed. With talk of Swadeshi and demand for resignation of the Finance Minister on the bank scam, it tried to hide the fact that it was all for liberalisation and privatisation.

The main issue it highlighted is the influx of Bangladeshi nationals into the country. It decided to conduct a *rath yatra* in the north-eastern states to demand deportation of the 'foreigners'. The BJP finds this issue convenient to whip up anti Muslim feelings. The *yatra* will only create more communal and ethnic tensions in the sensitive areas of Assam and north-east a result which BJP hopes will be favourable for its advance.

Our Party must take up the problem of influx of illegal immigrants from Bangladesh. The continuous flow is posing

problems specially in the border states. The Central Government has not been able to initiate effective steps to check this infiltration. The Party has demanded of the Central Government steps to deal with the problem. This requires fencing of the border areas, effective patrolling and issue of identity cards in the border areas vulnerable to illegal infiltration. The problem of Bangladeshi immigrants must be tackled by negotiations with the Bangladesh Government. At the same time, the Party must expose the BJP's game plan to whip up anti Muslim feelings on this issue and to create a communal polarisation in the sensitive area.

One dangerous feature of the BJP governments is the concerted moves to infiltrate the communal ideology in the educational system. Text books have been revised to provide a communal version of Indian history, syllabus is being revised with RSS guidance: topics such as vedic mathematics are being introduced. This is a menacing development which must be exposed and fought against with the cooperation of all secular sections.

The BJP-run state governments are increasingly getting unpopular with the people. In U.P. the police firing on farmers in Ramkola led to the death of three persons who were agitating for recovery of arrears due to them from the sugar mills. There has been widespread protests by all parties against this atrocity. The infighting inside the BJP in these states has tarnished the image of the party necessitating intervention by the central leadership. It is essential that the anti-people policies of the BJP governments be exposed as part of the all India campaign.

The VHP has convened a meeting of the '*Dharam Sansad*' on October 30 31 to decide on the next course of action with the lapsing of the three-month deadline given to the Prime Minister. To meet this situation which will arise due to the confrontationist stand of the BJP VHP-RSS combine, it is necessary to launch an all-India campaign to expose their communal designs. Wider support must be gathered from within the majority community and patriotic forces for democratic and reasonable stand that either both sides come to a negotiated settlement or abide by the court verdict on the dispute.

The efforts made by the Party and the Left to draw in the other secular opposition forces and give joint call at the national level immediately after the last C.C. meeting could not fructify due to the internal crisis in the Janata Dal and also their lack of interest in taking up such a joint campaign. Finally, the Left Parties had to sponsor a state level convention in UP on their own and invite other like minded forces to join. This convention was held successfully in Lucknow on October 22.

Jharkhand

The tribal population comprises 30 per cent in the Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas areas. It is definitely the most exploited sections with their lands being snatched away by money-lenders and contractors and their mass displacement through development projects. Successive Congress governments have refused to restore their lands, not curbed their exploitation but now it is pandering to regional sentiments without dealing with the root cause of the tribal exploitation. The Jharkhand state with 70 per cent non-tribals will not address to this root problem. Only by providing regional autonomy for the tribal areas with guaranteed rights by amending the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution can the problem of protecting the tribal identity and rights be tackled.

The Congress(I) government at the Centre is playing a dangerous game by cynically manoeuvring to utilise section of the Jharkhand movement to try and destabilise the Laloo Prasad Yadav's government in Bihar. After the submission of the Report of the Committee on Jharkhand matters, the Union Home Minister went on record that the solution to the problem can be found by either setting up a Central Union Territory comprising 16 districts of South Bihar or a separate state of Jharkhand. The truncation of Bihar in such a manner will destroy the integrity of the state and deprive it of their rich mineral resources of the Chhotanagpur region.

It will be unprecedented to declare such a huge area of existing state as Central Union Territory. By such a manoeuvre the Congress hoped to win over the Jharkhand elements and isolate the Janata Dal led government in Bihar. Either of the measures favoured by the Home Minister would have major implications for other states where the demand for separate states based on regional

backwardness or ethnic identity will become unstoppable. There is widespread opposition to the Central Government's stand and a big section of the Congress(I) in Bihar also opposed it. In the talks held with the various parties by the Home Minister, our Party has given its alternative proposal for regional autonomy. The adverse reaction to the Congress(I)'s manoeuvre has forced the government to retreat from its earlier position.

Kashmir

Apart from periodical announcement by Centre that elections can be held in the state to revive the political process, the Rao government has been paralysed on the grave problem of secessionism in the Kashmir valley. Ignoring the ground realities the talk of holding elections only highlighted the Congress(I)'s narrow, selfish and disastrous policy of garnering a few more seats to the Lok Sabha from J & K. In the valley, in the recent period, the Hizbe Mujahideen forces getting the upper hand over the JKLF. The Hizbe Mujahideen forces and the Jamat-e Islami are directly aided by Pakistan and are for merging Kashmir with Pakistan. The JKLF which has been advocating independent Kashmir and which is not fundamentalist has been at the receiving end against the better equipped forces of the Hizbe Mujahideen. The people of this valley are gradually becoming disillusioned with the slogan of Azadi and getting fed up with the extremists depredations and extortions.

The central question of the protection of identity of the Kashmiri people has not been addressed by the Centre. After discussions with political leaders of Kashmir including Abdullah, Mufti Mohd. Sayeed, the Shia leader Ifthakar Khan and the CPI(M) and the CPI leadership—a common approach was worked out on how the situation can be tackled in the valley. The immediate steps to be taken are to direct the law and order machinery to deal with the Hizbe Mujahideen and differentiate it from the JKLF. Secondly, the excesses on the civilian population should be avoided at all costs and their co-operation elicited. Thirdly, a mechanism should be evolved whereby the political forces in the state are allowed to have say in the running

of the administration. Finally, the Centre should recognise that the Kashmir problem can be solved only by providing genuine autonomy to the state and concrete measures for this, within the framework of the Indian unity, have to be negotiated. It is with such an approach that the democratic secular forces should campaign for solution of the Kashmir problem and defend national unity. The Prime Minister was conveyed this approach by a National Front Left delegation so that some fresh initiative can be taken. The ruling party at the Centre shows no awareness yet of how to deal with the complex situation. The assessment provided by the CPI(M) MPs who went on the parliamentary delegation to Kashmir has confirmed the necessity for adopting the measures suggested above.

Punjab

The recent period saw an improvement in the law and order situation particularly in the towns with the elimination of some of the top leaders of the Khalistani groups. This improvement in the situation also reflected in the municipal elections held in some of the cities and towns. There was normal election campaign and 70 per cent of the electorate voted. While the Congress(I) has been the major beneficiary at the expense of the BJP, our Party, CPI and the moderate Akalis have also won seats. The CPI(M) and its supporters have won around 50 seats in the various municipal bodies.

There has been some rethinking in the Akali circles after the extremists were put on the defensive. Talwandi came out against the partition of Punjab and S.S. Mann had issued an appeal condemning the killing of innocent people and relatives of policemen. After the hanging of the killers of Gen. Vaidya, the three-day bandh call given by various Akali factions did not meet with any response. The Congress(I) at the Centre and in the state must utilise the present favourable situation to tackle the political questions which are essential for the solution of the Punjab problem. If it does not do so, the situation can again deteriorate and the potential of mobilising the people for restoration of peace and isolation of extremists will be lost.

The CPI(M) in Punjab has launched a movement for meeting the just demands of the Punjabi people. After a widespread campaign, *jathas* went around the state in preparation for a joint satyagraha in the month of November.

Assam

The Centre and the Assam governments have frittered away the opportunity to arrive at a negotiated settlement after a section of the ULFA men surrendered. The policy of deliberate drift has led to the extremist wing reorganising itself and resuming its terrorist operations. A significant shift in the stand of the ULFA has been its announcement that it will not consider Muslim migrants from Bangladesh who have lived for a long period in Assam as foreigners and will enlist them in their movement.

On the Bodo problem, the situation has worsened with terrorist attacks including a bomb explosion in a train which led to the death of many passengers. Herein also the Centre has failed to take any step to conduct negotiations on the basis of the proposals given by the Assam state government. The situation in other North-Eastern states is also disturbing. In Shillong, Meghalaya, large-scale riots have taken place against 'outsiders' leading to killing and destruction of property of a large number of people. It is shocking that the Congress(I) state government refused to promptly intervene to stop the violence and the administration was paralysed.

Tripura

The state is witnessing an unprecedented spectacle of bitter and violent Congress(I) infighting. The Chief Minister Samir Rajan Burman's rule is being challenged by the dissidents and violent clashes are taking place repeatedly. The depredations of the anti-social elements patronised by the Congress(I) has now crossed all limits. Rapes, murders and extortions are a daily feature. The Congress(I)-TUJS government has intensified its repression in the tribal compact areas and in the name of combatting armed groups is resorting to indiscriminate violence. In a recent incident, five unarmed and innocent tribal youths were shot dead by police and

were, later on, claimed to be ATTF militants. The widespread police agitation has highlighted the isolation of the regime from all sections of the people. The mass activities of the Party and other mass organisations in defence of the people's rights and against state repression is finding a big response from the people. The coming assembly elections in Tripura will be a major struggle to throw out the Congress(I) government and to restore democracy and peace in the state.

Anti-Privatisation Struggles in Education

The last two months have seen the development of a big struggle in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh against the privatisation fees. In Tamil Nadu, medical college students all over the state went on continuous strike. All the major opposition parties supported their action demanding that the Ramachandra Medical College be retained in the government sector instead of being handed back to a private trust. On 1st September, thousands of activists of the opposition parties courted arrest. Prior to this, 20 thousand activists were detained by the Jayalalitha government.

In Andhra, the bandh call on August 29 against permission for 20 more private medical colleges was a big success with student organisations unitedly giving the call. The struggle against rampant privatisation got a boost with the significant Supreme Court judgement asserting the right of equal access to education and against capitation fees.

With the big cuts in government expenditure on education, the drive for privatisation in education is being stepped up in a big way with hikes in tuition fees and opening of more private institutions. The struggles in Tamil Nadu and Andhra are significant as they show widespread popular resistance to this move. An all India students strike has been called on November 18 by five students organisations against the new attacks on educational rights.

In Andhra Pradesh, a spontaneous movement by rural women against rampant liquor sales developed into a mass movement for curbing liquor sales.

Cuba Solidarity Campaign

The last three months have seen the biggest international solidarity movement with the decision to send ten thousand tonnes of wheat to Cuba. Since the solidarity campaign in support of the Vietnamese struggle in the sixties, such a big campaign has not been seen.

Cuba today is the symbol of Socialism's fight against imperialist hegemony. It represents the struggle to defend the independence of Third World countries. The principled and courageous stand of Cuba to defend the Socialist system at all costs, defying the illegal economic blockade imposed by the USA, is inspiring all the anti-imperialist forces around the world. Cuba is sought to be starved of foodgrains and fuel.

Our Party's role in this broad based campaign has been major and praiseworthy. We have collected so far nearly Rs. 2.3 crores through the Party and mass organisations. West Bengal has collected Rs. 1.75 crores, Kerala Rs. 40 lakhs, Tamil Nadu Rs. 12 lakhs and Andhra Pradesh Rs. 5 lakhs. Punjab has contributed 2,000 quintals of wheat. The people have responded very well wherever they have been approached. The successful completion of the campaign with the dispatch of the foodgrains through the Cuban ship from Haldia where a mass rally was held has considerably enhanced our Party's internationalist image and is also a powerful manifestation of the Indian people's solidarity with Cuba.

Congress(I) Infighting Sharpens

Despite the Congress(I) and its allies securing a majority in the Lok Sabha with the admittance the six TDP defectors into the Congress, the internal cohesion within the party and the stability of many Congress(I) state governments is fragile. At the Centre, the stand of Arjun Singh, critical of any compromise with the BJP on the temple issue, reflects a growing under current of anxiety within the Congress(I) rank and file in the north at the failure to counter the BJP's communal challenge.

In the states, in Karnataka and Andhra, the anti Chief Minister lobbies were publicly mobilising to topple the existing CMs necessitating Central intervention. In Andhra, Janardhan Reddy was forced to step down after an adverse court verdict. In Kerala,

West Bengal, Haryana and Tamil Nadu, the rival groups continue to jockey and manoeuvre against each other.

Side by side, with this intensified factionalism, are the scandalous methods of purchasing MLAs and bureaucrats with favours which has reached the lowest depths in Karnataka. The infighting inside the Congress(I) in the states is marked by the total absence of any policy differences. All that is fought over is the access to power and pelf. The degeneration in moral and political standards is seen by the fact that in running the government there is not even a pretence of service to the people but is openly seen as a means of personal and group enrichment.

Congress(I) Presides Over a Rotten System

The functioning of the Prime Minister and the Congress(I) at the Centre and the states shows the cynical and a moral level of politics of the ruling party. There is only one standard on which policy is made on important national issues—whether it suits the interests of the Congress(I) to remain in power or not. Whether it be Punjab, Kashmir or Assam, the problems of national unity; the way it has handled the Jharkhand question, the methods utilised to purchase Janata Dal defectors; the exit of Madhavan, the CBI official, from the Bank scam probe; the increasing corruption scandals enveloping the Cabinet Ministers—all this is becoming the hallmark of the new climate of keeping the Congress(I) in power at all costs and free licence for the ruling elite to indulge in all sorts of corrupt and a moral activities. This rot has affected even the judiciary as seen by the Delhi High Court's successive bids to quash the Bofors case FIR.

With such a mercenary outlook, the ruling party's capacity to deal with complex national problems is substantially eroded and opens the way for all sorts of unscrupulous and disruptive forces to make headway, threatening all democratic norms and the institutions of parliamentary democracy.

Janata Dal Disarray

On the basis of our political line of forging an understanding with the secular opposition parties, we had been uniting with N.F.-

Janata Dal on commonly agreed issues. However, the N.F. Janata Dal is in disarray—a process which was noted in the Party Congress and which has been now got intensified.

It is evident that none of these bourgeois secular parties can maintain their unity unless they evolve a coherent set of alternative policies. Without such a programme, these parties get bogged down in personal rivalries and group interests. The Janata Dal suffered a serious setback when 12 more of its MPs in the Lok Sabha joined the 8 earlier expelled to form a defectors group headed by Ajit Singh. The Speaker, in his interim ruling, has in a partisan manner recognised the 20 defecting MPs as a bloc and thwarted the purpose of the anti-defection Act. The Ajit Singh group is now active in UP to rally support for their Party.

The SJP has collapsed with Mulayam Singh breaking away and forming the Samajawadi Party with the main chunk of the Party in U.P.

The Janata Dal leadership has taken up the Mandal issue once again. It organised a *Mandal Yatra* from Bihar, through U.P. to culminate in Delhi. The JD leadership has been reluctant to take up any united struggle which includes Mulayam Singh's party against the communal danger. The party leadership speaks in different voices as seen by Biju Patnaik's retrograde stand on the question of additional DA to be paid to government employees. In Karnataka, Hegde who differs with the central leaders is going ahead for an understanding with Dev Gowda.

Need for Strengthening Left Initiative

In such a situation, the Left parties will have to take the lead in forging mass movements and organising struggles against the economic policies, the communal danger and in defence of national unity. The independent activity of the Party is crucial for strengthening the Left intervention. In the past three months, the Left took the lead in organising bandhs against the hike in petroleum products prices in West Bengal and Kerala; the Left parties have been conducting big land struggles in Bihar; the Party organised *jail bhara* agitations in Uttar Pradesh and Orissa, the struggles against privatisation of education in Andhra and

Tamil Nadu; the kisan protest actions in Andhra and Tamil Nadu and other states against the fertiliser price hike; the numerous mass campaigns conducted in West Bengal and Kerala during this period—all these activities are to be sustained and intensified.

While taking the lead in these struggles, the Left should unite with all those secular opposition parties which can be rallied to join these united platforms. The constant independent activity of the Party and the Left initiative is necessary to overcome the difficulties posed by the disarray in the secular camp.

Problems of Left Unity

The Fourteenth Party Congress stressed the importance of further strengthening and developing Left unity. In the current situation, where opposition bourgeois parties are in disarray due to opportunism and absence of coherent alternative policies, it is all the more incumbent for the Left parties to strengthen their unity so that the people can be mobilised on democratic issues and not sought to be diverted by the BJP and other reactionary forces. We must continue our efforts to rally all the secular opposition parties for a programme in defence of the people's interests and against the communal danger. This will be facilitated only when the Left moves together. However, the CPI has been creating difficulties in this task in many instances.

Immediately after their Party Congress, the CPI has been trying to include the IPF in the all India united Left activities. Our position has been that it is necessary to widen the Left forces provided there is a common understanding in defence of Left interests particularly the attitude of the IPF and such forces to the Left Front in West Bengal.

The CPI has also been taking positions in some states which do not help Left unity. In Orissa, despite a decision that the two parties will conduct united movements against the bus fare hikes they insisted on bringing in the IPF, SUCI and Ajeya Rout groups. We had to object to this and they conducted a joint *dharna* with the Ajeya Rout's splinter group and others. In Andhra Pradesh, there was a decision that the CPI(M), CPI and the Praja Panda group will hold a joint rally after the TDP refused to join the united move. Later on, the TDP agreed to join but made a condition that the

Praja Panda group should be dropped. We objected to this in principle but the CPI was willing to accept the TDP condition. In view of this, the CPI(M) and the Praja Panda group are holding the state level rally on November 2.

On the Jharkhand issue, the CPI supports the formation of a separate state and has joined hands with a section of those leading the movement for a separate state.

The RSP has been taking positions contrary to the process of strengthening unity. It has now resorted to public criticism of the CPI(M) branding it as "Pro-Congress" ostensibly on the basis of our stand on the Presidential elections and the false charge that the CPI(M) is not taking up the fight against the economic policies. The RSP Central Committee has also criticised the economic policy measures of the Left Front government. The strange attitude of the RSP in the presidential election talks are also known. After having agreed to all the Left initiatives at the last moment, it decided not to support S.D. Sharma. The RSP, in its assessment of the national situation, totally ignores the necessity to fight the divisive forces and does not appreciate the need for a principled stand on the matter. As for economic policies, the lead taken by the CPI(M) and the CITU for the November 29 and June 16 general strikes are well known. It is sheer hypocrisy to allege any backsliding on the part of the Party on this matter. In West Bengal, the RSP like the CPI state unit goes on making public attacks on the Left Front government without resolving the different viewpoints in the concerned committees.

These are problems which have to be faced and overcome as the Party must always keep the importance of Left unity in proper perspective. While countering all disruptive moves which harm Left unity, the Party must endeavour as the biggest Left contingent to maintain unity and strengthen it. We should not fail in this task. The rank and file supporters of the Left feel the urgent need for developing unity further. Otherwise the goal of rallying all Left, democratic and secular forces cannot advance.

Conclusion

The period since the last C.C. meeting shows that the two major questions before the Party and the Left and democratic forces

remain the Rao government's continuing drive to impose the new economic policies with its resultant harmful effect on the people and economic sovereignty. Secondly the communal challenge through the VHP BJP combines plan to build the temple at the disputed site. Along with this, we have to continue our struggle against the separatist and divisive forces.

All the issues affecting different sections of the people must be taken up by the Party and the Left for organising struggles against the economic policies of the Rao government. The all round price increase, the hike in fertiliser prices, the dismantling of the public distribution system, exit policy and attacks on the public sector, the growing attacks on scheduled castes/tribes, women and organised labour—all these must be taken up and efforts made to deepen and intensify the mass movements by drawing in other democratic secular forces. That simultaneously, the Left must continue its campaign against and communal danger posed by the BJP VHP, which is bound to embrace the serious in the coming days and play a key role in bringing on whether all secular and patriotic forces to counter their threats. is

Condolence on Comrade N. K. Krishnan*

**Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) Issued Statement
Dated November 3, 1992 to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) mourns the passing away of N. K. Krishnan, veteran leader of the CPI and trade union movement. Joining the Communist Party in 1935, Comrade Krishnan devoted his whole life to the working class movement. He was a prominent leader of the united party and served the important positions in the CPI till his retirement in 1970. He made a significant contribution to developing the trade union movement in Tamil Nadu and the country.

The Polit Bureau conveys its heartfelt condolences to his wife Parvathi Krishnan, his daughter and the National Council of the CPI.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, November 8, 1992

Condolence on Comrade Thakorbhai Shah*

**Central Committee of The CPI(M) Issued
Statement Dated November 3, 1992 to Press**

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) deeply mourns the death of Comrade Thakorbhai Shah, veteran communist leader in Gujarat

Born on November 20, 1915 in a landlord family, Comrade Thakorbhai Shah left his studies after matriculation and plunged into the freedom movement. After having joined the Congress and later the Congress Socialist Party, Comrade Thakorbhai embraced Marxism during the 1942 agitation, in jail. From 1950 onward, he worked ceaselessly as a communist leader. His name is associated with big struggles of the peasants and landless laborers of Gujarat and with the Mahagujarat struggle.

He made a clean break with revisionism and joined the CPI(M) since its formation in 1964. He served as Secretary of the Gujarat State Committee of the CPI(M) till 1991. Though his health had deteriorated, he continued to discharge his responsibilities as President of the Gujarat Kisan Sabha till his death. He was also editor of the CPI(M) weekly Haka!

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) conveys its deep condolences to his wife and other family members

CPI(M) on Supreme Court Judgement on Reservation*

**Statement Dated November 13, 1992 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M)**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) welcomes the judgement given by the Supreme Court which has upheld the 27 per cent reservation of jobs in the central services for the backward classes.

The judgement, while upholding the constitutional validity of reservation for the socially and educationally backward classes, has also called for the exclusion of the socially advanced sections among the backward classes from reservation. This will ensure that the benefits go to those most deserving amongst the backward classes. This is an approach which has been consistently advocated by the CPI(M).

The Central Government must devise a method whereby the poor and needy of the non reservation communities can be provided some relief.

The Polit Bureau wishes to reiterate that the provision of reservation can only provide limited relief to the socially backward sections. Only the vigorous implementation of land reforms and other socio economic measures can solve the basic problems facing the oppressed sections.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, November 22, 1992

On BJP's Stand on Ayodhya*

Statement Dated November 13, 1992

Issued by The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press

The stand taken by BJP leader Shri L.K. Advani in his meeting with the Prime Minister shows that the BJP is determined to foil any reasonable solution to the Ayodhya dispute and go in for a disruptive confrontation on the issue.

The BJP leader has come out against a National Integration Council meeting. Further, he has made the wholly dangerous suggestion that any reference to the Supreme Court regarding the Ayodhya dispute must include the question of the Varanasi and Mathura temples also. Such a demand goes against the Places of Worship Act passed by Parliament. The BJP, in line with the RSS VHP stand, is neither for a court verdict nor for a consensus procedure through the NIC.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) demands that the Central Government reject this untenable position of the BJP, convene the NIC meeting immediately and transfer all cases pending before the Lucknow Bench of the High Court to the Supreme Court for a speedy verdict. The centre should act to see that there is no violation of the law and the constitution.

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly opposes the decision to import three million tonnes of wheat at a price of Rs. 526 per quintal. This step involves a massive drain on the foreign exchange reserves to the tune of Rs. 15,000 crore, and the additional burden will have to be borne by the poorer section whose economic livelihood is already being severely eroded.

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These imports, being undertaken under the plea to control the price line, would have been absolutely unnecessary if the government had not failed in meeting the procurement target of foodgrains. The failure of the procurement mechanism is the basic cause for resorting to such burdensome imports. Proper procurement price alongwith an improved procurement mechanism could have averted such additional burden on the people and at the same time ensured that the issue price of foodgrains does not rise further, imposing newer burdens on the people.

The CPI(M) Polit Bureau demands of the Government that these necessary steps be taken and imports be avoided.

Rao Government Must Go*

**Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) Issued Statement
Dated December 7, 1992 Issued to Press**

The shocking outrage of the destruction of the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya by the BJP VHP RSS combine with the active connivance of the BJP State Government, is a crime which is unpardonable and a blot on the country's image and prestige. It is the bounden duty of all citizens and all those who cherish the values of democracy and secularism, to firmly unite to isolate the dark communal forces which have sought to demolish the country's unity and integrity and destroy its secular foundations.

The Narasimha Rao Government consistently adopted a policy of compromise, appeasement and weak kneed reaction to the brazen challenge mounted by the Sangh parivar and its cohorts. The Prime Minister, Narasimha Rao, has to bear the major share of the blame for persistently refusing to discharge its duty as the chief executive and for arriving at a private understanding with the RSS BJP leadership which has led to disastrous consequences. The Prime Minister, while being answerable for this serious political misdemeanour and deliberate policy of not taking over the disputed area well in advance of December 6, or dismissing the Kalyan Singh ministry before the mischief could be perpetrated, has now no defence or justification for this barbarous event at Ayodhya. *Shri Narasimha Rao has, therefore, no moral right to continue in office.*

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, December 13, 1992 The earlier statement dated December 5, 1992 issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) on various day to day developments on Ayodhya is also given along with it, published in the same issue of "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", dated December 13, 1992.

The Polit Bureau demands that the Central Government immediately act on the following measures which are required to meet the situation:

- (1) The Central Government must immediately initiate legislation to take over the entire disputed area by the centre; it should send the army to Ayodhya to restore law and order and to sternly put down the anti social activities and the attacks on the minorities.
- (2) The Central Government must forthwith take steps to restore the Babri Masjid at the very site where it has been - demolished.
- (3) The organisers and the perpetrators of this crime against the country must be apprehended and criminal proceedings instituted against them. No one can be spared and should be above the laws of this land.
- (4) Already there are disturbing reports of riots and clashes all over the country. The primary duty of the state is to protect the minorities who have suffered a grievous blow. The Central Government must ensure that adequate forces are deployed in all the communally sensitive areas of the country. The army should be sent in wherever the civil authorities require aid and assistance.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon all sections of the people to realise the gravity of the situation which has been created by the Hindutva hordes, and inaction of the V. P. Rao Government, firmly combat all efforts for communal confrontation and demand of the Central Government immediate steps to curb the communal elements.

Earlier Polit Bureau Statement

Issued earlier dated December 5, 1992 on various day to day developments vis a vis the Ayodhya dispute.

The Polit Bureau of The Communist Party of India (M) strongly condemns the arrests of over 2,500 volunteers belonging to ten Left and secular opposition parties. Those arrested included V.P. Singh, Chaturanan Mishra, Prakash Karat, Ram Sumar Yadav, Chitta Basu and other prominent leaders.

The Kalyan Singh Government of Uttar Pradesh, while facilitating the activities of the VHP RSS to defy the Supreme Court order, is resorting to the arrest of secular people who are determined to safeguard communal harmony in our country.

Such an action is all the more reprehensible given the fact that the Maargdarshak Mandal decided today to begin the karseva at noon tomorrow. This belligerent attitude, contrary to the overwhelming public opinion in our country and in clear violation of the Supreme Court directive, can only sow seeds of communal discord much deeper and contribute to increased tension in an already perilous situation.

The CPI(M) Polit Bureau calls upon the Government of India and the Prime Minister, P.V. Narashimha Rao ensure that its open commitment in defence of the Supreme Court directive will be implemented with total disregard to larger interests of the country.

Condemn This Attack on Educationist*

**Statement Dated December 5, 1992 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The physical attack by a large group of persons on Prof. Mushir ul Hasan, pro vice-chancellor of Jamia Millia University, in the Jamia Millia Islamia campus yesterday, once again showed the spread of the vicious cancer of religious fanaticism inside the country.

In the present case the Muslim fundamentalists have roused the passions of the students against an educationist just for the reason that he had expressed certain opinions considered unorthodox by some. There are fanatics in the country who are not ready to tolerate even the slightest difference of opinion.

The Polit Bureau strongly condemns the attack on Prof. Hasan and calls upon the students and others to cooperate with the authorities to restore normalcy in the campus and ensure that such incidents do not recur. The Polit Bureau appeals to saner sections in all communities to come forward to arrest the spread of intolerance and bigotry.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, December 13, 1992

Polit Bureau Condemns Assault on Babri Masjid Structure*

Statement Dated December 6, 1992 Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) denounces the wanton assault on the Babri Masjid structure by the BJP RSS VHP kar sevaks this morning. They have forced their entry into the mosque structure, removed the idols placed there and damaged portions of the structure. This shocking event has come despite the repeated warnings given by all the major political parties except the BJP that the BJP RSS-VHP combine is bent upon violating the Supreme Court order and challenging the rule of law.

The Narasimha Rao Government, despite the unanimous endorsement of the National Integration Council and the substantial evidence that a major conformation is brewing in Ayodhya, refused to act to uphold the law and the constitution. The Prime Minister satisfied himself with private assurances given by the RSS BJP leaders and abdicated this political responsibility.

The only way to meet this brazen challenge to the constitution, the Supreme Court and secularism is for the President to forthwith dismiss the Kalyan Singh ministry which has aided and abetted this shocking vandalism at Ayodhya.

The Polit Bureau calls upon all sections of people and all secular parties to immediately demand such a course of action and mobilise the people to protect peace and communal amity.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, December 13, 1992

CPI(M)'s Concern Over Riots*

**Statement Dated December 7, 1992
Issued by The Polit Bureau to Press**

To register the people's protest against the destruction of the Babri Masjid by the BJP VHP RSS combine and to demand stern action against those responsible, the Left parties and the National Front have given a call for an all India bandh on December 8. The bandh is also to protest the Central Government's failure to act to curb the communal forces.

The Polit Bureau expresses its grave concern at the widespread riots and loss of human lives in various towns and cities in Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Hyderabad, Karnataka and Nowgong. It demands of the centre deployment of adequate forces in all communally sensitive areas and sending in the army to assist the civilian authorities wherever required. The Uttar Pradesh PAC is on a rampage, shooting down members of the minority community in various towns. The PAC should be withdrawn immediately and central paramilitary forces and the army should be sent in to control the situation in the worst affected areas like Kanpur.

It is shocking that in Ayodhya the criminal gangs who perpetrated the outrage are still in control of the disputed area. Both in Ayodhya and Faizabad the minorities are being terrorised. The centre has so far failed to take firm action against them and clear them from the site. Immediate action is called for to firmly take control of the situation in Ayodhya.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, December 13, 1992

Homage to Comrade Kaysone Phomvihane*

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) has mourned the passing away of Comrade Kaysone Phomvihane, President of the Laos People's Democratic Republic and President of the Laos People's Revolutionary Party. Comrade Kaysone who died in Laos on November 21, was one of the country's leading revolutionaries who fought against the French and Americans during the Laotian liberation struggle and was the country's ruler since the communists assumed power and established the republic in 1975.

In a telegram expressing deep condolences to the government and people of Laos, the CPI(M) Central Committee referred to Kaysone's leading role in building the independent Laos Republic from its foundation in 1975 when he became the Prime Minister. "A staunch patriot and revolutionary, his death is a big loss to the people of Laos and the progressive forces in the world," The CPI(M) said.

Comrade Kaysone was the general secretary of the Phak Pasason Lao (Lao People's Party), the major component of the Pathet Lao Movement which fought for the liberation of Laos from the right wing US backed royal rulers. Following the communist victories in Cambodia and Vietnam, the Pathet Lao forces made major advances in May 1975, finally resulting in the formation of the People's Republic. Comrade Kaysone was the country's first premier as well as the party general secretary.

The Fifth Congress of the Laos People's Revolutionary Party held in March last year, unanimously elected Kaysone as president of the party in recognition of "his great virtues and tireless devotion". Later the same year, the Supreme People's Assembly endorsed the country's new constitution and unanimously elected Kaysone Phomvihane as the country's new president.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, December 13, 1992

Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) on Developments Following Destruction of Babri Masjid*

Statement Dated December 8, 1992 Issued to Press

The arrest of top BJP VHP leaders following their organisations of the anti national crime of the destruction of the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya was a necessary step to restore the credibility of the Indian Republic and the rule of law. The CPI(M) and all national political parties had demanded this action so that those responsible are brought to book.

The reaction of the BJP leaders makes it clear that they are unrepentant and bent upon defending the indefensible. Advani had the temerity to state that "the country was heading towards fascism" after doing every thing to destroy the country's unity and secularism by fascistic methods.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) congratulates the people all over the country for joining the all India bandh call to register their protest against the BJP RSS VHP anti-national activities.

The BJP call for a bandh tomorrow to protest the arrest of its leaders is to justify their misdeed and to stoke communal passions. The call must be opposed by all the secular forces unitedly.

The Polit Bureau expresses its deep concern at the continuing violence in different parts of the country. The State Governments must deal with the situation firmly and the centre should provide prompt assistance including deploying the army wherever necessary. It calls on all secular parties and mass organisations to actively mobilise the people to preserve communal amity and peace.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, December 13, 1992.

BJP Governments Must Quit*

Statement Dated December 8, 1992

Issued by The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M)

The BJP run State Governments in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh must quit immediately. These governments are run by a party which has openly challenged the constitution and the rule of law. Further, the chief ministers of these governments and the ministers comprising these ministries are holding key positions in communal organisations such as the VHP and the RSS. Given the BJP-VHP-RSS combine's brazen defence of the destruction of the mosque and their opposition to its rebuilding at Ayodhya, these governments cannot be trusted to observe constitutional norms and the rule of law. They cannot be relied upon to control the communal violence which has erupted with vicious force particularly in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan.

The continuance of these ministers will be in open conflict with the national will to suppress the communal forces. Therefore, the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) demands that these ministries quit office immediately.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, December 13, 1992

Cancel Notification of Kalyan Singh Government Acquiring 2.77 Acres of Land at Ayodhya*

**Statement Dated December 8, 1992 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The Polit Bureau demands of the centre, now running the UP administration, that it forthwith cancel the Kalyan Singh Government's notification acquiring 2.77 acres of land at Ayodhya including some disputed plots. This ploy of the BJP Government, in the name of facilitating tourism was planned to facilitate the construction of the temple by destroying the mosque.

In its place, the centre should take over the 23 plots which are part of original dispute in the Allahabad High Court. Along with the rebuilding of the mosque this step is necessary to prevent any future mischief.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, December 13, 1992

CPI(M) Polit Bureau Communique*

Call for Sustained Campaign Against Communalism

**Released on December 15, 1992 following two days
Polit Bureau Meeting**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has decided to launch immediately a sustained joint mass campaign to isolate the communal forces and expose their divisive role. This will begin with the Left and National Front Parties taking the lead. This was announced by CPI(M) general secretary, Harkishan Singh Surjeet, at a press conference on December 15, 1992 following the two-day P.B. meeting.

About participation of the Congress(I) in the proposed campaign, Surjeet said the Congress(I) and the Rao Government have not till date displayed sincerity. The party has first to make up its mind about fighting communalism before its participation could be considered. This is not to pose a conditionality, Surjeet clarified. Whosoever wishes to join the campaign is welcome and the struggle on other, e.g. economic issues will not be given up, he added.

Demanding Rao's resignation regarding his irresponsible attitude about Ayodhya developments, Surjeet said the demand is meant to underline the Central Government's dereliction of national duty and its political responsibility. He clarified that in the wake of the unprecedented challenge posed by December 6 events, the campaign will primarily focus on the communal forces and the demand for the Prime Minister's resignation would not preclude support to the positive actions taken at the governmental level.

The communique issued by the Polit Bureau follows.

A grave situation has arisen in the country due to the criminal action of the BJP RSS VHP combine of demolishing the mosque at Ayodhya on December 6. The matter is not a mosque-temple

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dispute alone, but the most concerted onslaught on the secular fabric of our society. The BJP RSS VHP combine has resorted to the worst form of deceit and treachery to subvert the Supreme Court decision and the constitution. The Kalyan Singh ministry gave an undertaking to the court, only to facilitate the assembly of thousands of the VHP-RSS sympathisers to demolish the mosque. By this anti national act and the brazen defence being put up now by the BJP, the people are able to fully understand the dark designs of the communal forces against the secular republic.

The communal poison which has been systematically spread during the past few years by the BJP RSS VHP combine, is emerging as a serious threat to the Indian republic. The ruling Congress(I) has never seriously tried to check or counter these forces. Even in the days preceding December 6, when the communal forces openly declared their intent to violate the court order, the constitution or action by the Central Government and the ruling party.

The dangerous consequences of this outrage at Ayodhya on December 6 are now being experienced. Widespread violence and communal riots, the worst since partition, are being sought to be utilised by the communal forces to create a polarisation between the Hindus and the Muslims and to further vitiate the atmosphere. This will have serious repercussions for democracy, for national unity and the unity of the working people. This must be realised by all secular forces and all concerned citizens.

From the time of the announcement on October 30 of the illegal construction to begin on December 6, Prime Minister Narasimha Rao adopted a line of action which was nothing but appeasement of and compromise with the brazen challenge mounted by the *sangh parivar* and its cohorts. Even after the NIC meeting, which gave an unprecedented mandate to the Prime Minister to face the communal challenge, the line of compromise continued. Instead of relying on the unstinted support of all the secular parties, the Prime Minister preferred to come to an understanding with the RSS-BJP leaders. It is due to this disastrous policy that the Left

parties and the National Front demanded the resignation of the Prime Minister. Neither the argument about the Supreme Court intervention, or the justification being made out that a state government should be taken at its word, can cover up the monumental dereliction of duty by the highest political authority. It is amazing that the seriousness of the fallout of the Ayodhya developments has not yet been realised by the Central Government. There was no decisive plan for action to meet the grave situation, and the Prime Minister continues to defend the course of action that he adopted.

The Polit Bureau assessed the situation resulting from the widespread violence and communal clashes. No part of the country was spared and thousands have lost their lives or suffered injuries. It was natural for the minority community to feel outraged at the Ayodhya events. But they must realise that their rights and interests will be protected when they join hands with the Left and democratic forces, and not fall prey to fundamentalist forces. The Polit Bureau condemns those incidents where the police have behaved in a shockingly partisan manner and joined in the atrocities against the minorities. Both the Centre and the State Governments must address themselves urgently to the task of providing relief and succour to the victims of the violence. The Polit Bureau conveyed its sympathy and heartfelt condolences to the thousands of families who have lost their family members.

The Polit Bureau considered the steps taken by the Central Government against the forces responsible for the anti-national crime at Ayodhya. Even after such a naked display of lawlessness, the Congress(I) Government has been taking half hearted and faltering steps. The manner in which the arrests of BJP VHP leaders were undertaken, and the ban imposed on five communal organisations, indicates the lack of a firm will. It was the West Bengal and Bihar State Governments which first took steps to enforce the ban. It was only three days later that some measures were taken hesitantly in the other states. The Polit Bureau considers it the elementary responsibility of the Central Government to move firmly against the BJP RSS VHP combine in order to instil

confidence that the constitution and secular principles will be defended. Decisive action is called for to further isolate these forces.

It is unfortunate that both houses of parliament could not adopt resolutions condemning the outrage at Ayodhya, before they adjourned. When parliament reconvenes on December 16, such a resolution must be taken up for adoption by all the secular parties.

The proposed White Paper to be brought out by the Central Government should cover the entire period from July 1992, when the illegal construction began in violation of the court orders. The Centre should immediately take possession of the entire disputed land at Ayodhya so that no mischief takes place in future. This is all the more essential after the verdict of the Allahabad High Court quashing the illegal acquisition made by the Kalyan Singh ministry.

The State Governments of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh are run by a party which openly defends the anti-national activities at Ayodhya. These governments were openly active in mobilising "*kar sevaks*" to demolish the mosque at Ayodhya. These ministries are manned by persons who belong to the banned organisations. All the secular parties have already demanded that these governments must quit as their continuance is untenable with the maintenance of rule of law and the constitution.

Launch United Mass Campaign

It is not only by law and order measures that the forces of communalism can be contained and isolated. What is required is a sustained and widespread campaign among the people against communalism and all its manifestations in the political, ideological, cultural and administrative spheres. There has to be a united campaign by all the committed secular forces to involve the widest sections of the people in this protracted and arduous struggle. The BJP RSS-VHP leadership has decided to brazen out its anti-national activities by seeking to justify what happened at Ayodhya. This must be met resolutely combated by all who believe that secularism is the very basis for the foundation of national unity and parliamentary democracy.

The Polit Bureau has decided to contact the other Left and secular parties to immediately launch a big mass campaign to isolate the communal forces and expose their disruptive role. The Polit Bureau called upon all its units and all mass organisations to promptly intervene to prevent recurrence of communal riots and to cooperate with all other secular forces to launch an all out struggle against the communal forces, and all their manifestations in different spheres of society.

Tripura Elections

The Polit Bureau also discussed the situation in Tripura and the forthcoming elections to be held in February. It has called for a big mobilisation of resources and support for the Left and democratic forces in Tripura to face the elections. The electoral battle in Tripura is vital for the future of parliamentary democracy in India, and all efforts must be made to ensure free and fair elections and to counter the terror and repression which will be unleashed by the Congress(I)-TUJS combine to subvert the democratic process.

Polit Bureau on High Court Judgement*

Quashing BJP Government's Notification

Statement Dated December 11, 1992 Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) welcomes the judgement by the Special Bench of the Allahabad High Court which has quashed the Notification issued by the BJP State Government of Uttar Pradesh last year acquiring 2.77 acres of land at Ayodhya. This illegal acquisition was done by the Kalyan Singh Ministry to help the Vishwa Hindu Parishad to go ahead with the illegal construction at the disputed site. The deception practised by the BJP Government in claiming that this acquisition was for promoting tourism, has now been fully and legally exposed. It is a big blow for the *Sangh Parivar*.

The Central Government must now act expeditiously to take over the entire disputed area in Ayodhya under its custody.

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Refer Document No 114 of this Volume

CPI(M)'s Greetings to Cuba*

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) conveys its warm fraternal revolutionary greetings to the Cuban people and its leadership, the Cuban Communist Party, on the historic occasion of the 33rd anniversary of the socialist revolution.

For over three decades, the forces of world reaction led by U.S. imperialism have spared no efforts in undermining socialist Cuba, in imperialism's backyard. During the last few years, following the collapse of the socialist system in the USSR and Eastern Europe, these efforts have intensified reaching inhuman proportions. The criminal economic blockade imposed by the USA and its attempts to bully the rest of the world into accepting these, were aimed at stifling socialist Cuba, which was facing severe economic hardships due to the break-down of the traditional supply of essential goods from the former socialist countries. Yet, the heroic people of Cuba, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba, have thwarted all these attempts at asphyxiating socialism, thus showing to the world and to the people struggling for liberation that the spirit of emancipation cannot be snapped out in the face of a determined and heroic resolve to safeguard the fruits of a socialist revolution.

33 years ago, on January 1, 1959, barely 90 kilometres from the shores of the gendarme of world reaction, that is the USA, the Cuban people achieved historic success in liberating themselves from the yoke of exploitation and bondage. All these years, struggling every inch, they have safeguarded and consolidated a system free from exploitation, unknown till date in the Americas. Committed to socialism, the Cuban people, despite the serious

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, December 27, 1992.

reverses to world forces of socialism in recent years, have redoubled their efforts to preserve the socialist order. The immense hardships and sacrifices being imposed upon them by the inhuman imperialist economic blockade has today exposed the true character of imperialism and capitalism. Their firm resolve to uphold human dignity and to safeguard the right of every people to decide their own future and destiny without any interference from external forces, has truly made Cuba today stand out as a beacon of hope for the struggling peoples the world over. The recent decision of the U.N. General Assembly against U.S. imposed economic blockade has once again shown that U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of struggling humanity's vision of liberation and emancipation.

The CPI(M)'s solidarity with Cuba, both moral and material, in this context, is an expression of our admiration for the Cuban people carrying forward the struggle which is the hope of all humanity.

On this historic occasion, while sending warm greetings to the Cuban people, the CPI(M) reiterates its resolve to further strengthen solidarity with socialist Cuba. Such solidarity is today an integral part of the worldwide people's struggle against exploitation and for genuine freedom, dignity and prosperity.

Condolence on Comrade Biren Datta*

**Statement Dated December 18, 1992
Issued by The Polit Bureau**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) today mourned the passing away of Comrade Biren Datta, veteran leader of the Party and the Left movement in Tripura.

Paying its homage, the Polit Bureau said, "Biren Datta was one of the pioneers of the Communist movement in the State in the 1940s. He had to face repression and make many sacrifices for building the working class movement.

"Comrade Datta was a minister in the Left Front Government from 1977 to 1982. He served many terms as a legislator in the State Assembly and was also a Member of Parliament. In recent years, he was immobilised due to ill health. He was a member of the CPI(M) State Committee till his death.

"Comrade Datta was a devoted Communist who served the working class movement and the Party with utmost sincerity. The Polit Bureau conveyed its heartfelt condolences to the members of the bereaved family."

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, December 27, 1992

Message of Solidarity to XIV Congress of Portuguese Communist Party, Delivered by Harkishan Singh Surjeet, General Secretary of CPI(M)*

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), and over 600 thousands of its members, I convey warm fraternal Communist greetings to the delegates assembled here and the membership of the Portuguese Communist Party.

We recall with a sense of pride the glorious role played by the PCP in the struggle against fascism in Portugal. It is a matter of great significance that in spite of being forced to function underground for 48 long years, the PCP not only upheld the revolutionary principles of Marxism Leninism but also maintained close ties with the Portuguese people. The sacrifices and dedication of innumerable Communists not only contributed to the struggle for restoration of democracy in Portugal but also to the movement worldwide by truly upholding the noble ideals of a Communist and the vision for the creation of a new society free from all forms of exploitation.

Comrades, your Congress is meeting in an extremely complex international situation. The dismantling of the socialist system in USSR and Eastern Europe has radically altered the world balance of forces, tilting them in favour of imperialism, albeit temporarily in the historical frame. The consequent imperialist aggressiveness demonstrates its direct and complete opposition to the forces striving for human liberation, peace and democracy. Weathering the consequent ideological offensive, the CPI(M), on the basis of its own experience and analysis, has come to the conclusion that these reverses constitute neither a negation of socialism nor that of the creative science of Marxism Leninism. These reverses are

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, December 27, 1992

mainly due to the deviations from the revolutionary tenets of Marxism Leninism and distortion in the process of socialist construction. Capitalism, a system that is based on human exploitation, can never constitute the end of human social evolution. The yearning for complete liberation and for the establishment of a society free from exploitation will continue to inspire the struggles of humanity for a new society. It is with this firm conviction that the CPI(M) answers the oft-posed question: what is the future of socialism? by stating that the future is socialism!

The commonalty of the understanding between the PCP and CPI(M) regarding the complex and contradictory world developments is of great significance. The joint communique issued by both our parties in June 1992 had stressed the importance of "solidarity between all progressive forces.... and of developing common or converging solidarity initiatives towards workers and peoples who confront imperialism's politics of interference and aggression and who fight for freedom, democracy, national independence, peace and socialism".

The challenges being faced today by Communists and all freedom loving people can be met only by a strong international anti-imperialist solidarity. The CPI(M) highly values the growing relationship with the PCP in this joint endeavour. We are convinced that the deliberations and decisions of this Congress will further strengthen the PCP's links with the Portuguese people and its struggles against the policies of the present right-wing government, international Communist solidarity and contribute to worldwide anti-imperialist struggles.

Dear Comrades, please accept, once again, warm revolutionary greetings.

—Long Live Marxism Leninism!

—Long Live Proletarian Internationalism! !

Central Committee Communique*

**Issued Following Its Meeting Held in New Delhi
On December 23-24, 1992**

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) met in New Delhi on December 23-24, 1992. It has issued the following statement on December 24, 1992:

The Central Committee, taking stock of the events which led to the demolition of the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya and the consequent developments, came to the conclusion that a grave situation has developed in the country. The treacherous and anti national act perpetrated by the BJP-RSS VHP combine poses a grim challenge to the very basis of national unity, the secular and democratic foundations of our society and the Constitution. The Central Committee underlined the importance of uniting all the patriotic, democratic and secular forces to meet this onslaught and to counter the continuing disruptive activities of the BJP RSS VHP combine. There can be no compromise with these forces which are bent upon imposing a theocratic state, a "*Hindu Rashtra*".

The Central Committee strongly condemned the role of the Narasimha Rao Government in failing to take prompt and decisive steps to protect the mosque and to ensure compliance of the Supreme Court order and protect the Constitution. The Prime Minister, by adopting a policy of compromise, emboldened these forces to perpetrate this crime against the country. Even now the Prime Minister seeks to defend the indefensible course that he adopted.

The Central Committee was also sharply critical of the half-hearted manner in which the Centre sought to meet the situation after the demolition of the mosque and called for a firm commitment

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and determination by the Central Government to take all necessary steps to see that the communal offensive is curbed and halted.

The Central Committee endorsed the stand and the steps taken by the Polit Bureau to meet the serious situation.

The Central Committee expressed its deep sorrow and anguish at the thousands of deaths and injuries and loss of property all over the country due to the widespread violence and communal riots because of the BJP RSS-VHP's outrage at Ayodhya. It called upon the Central Government and the State Governments to effectively provide relief and all assistances to the affected people so that they could be helped to resume normal life. The Central Committee condemned the brutal physical attacks on the media and newspaper reporters at Ayodhya by the BJP-RSS VHP combine.

The Central Committee approved the stand taken by the Party in the Lok Sabha in voting to defeat the BJP's no confidence motion against the government. The only issue in the motion before Parliament was opposition to the BJP's stand on Ayodhya and rejection of its defence of the demolition of the mosque.

The Central Committee endorsed the stand taken in Parliament by the Party extending support to the dismissal of the BJP-run State Governments. The Party has been consistently opposed to the use of Article 356 in a partisan manner by the Central Government to dismiss the elected State Governments. However, the action taken against the BJP Governments is in an extraordinary situation. The BJP has been bent upon challenging the entire Constitution and the rule of law. The BJP leaderships of these State Governments were defending the demolition of the mosque and played an active role in mobilising "*kar sevaks*" for this purpose to be sent to Ayodhya. These ministries were manned by persons who belong to the RSS, who have placed themselves outside the pale of the Constitution and the law. The Central Committee strongly opposed the suggestion of the Prime Minister to strengthen the arbitrary powers under Article 356. This is a diversionary tactic to whitewash the Centre's failure to act. The Central Committee reiterated the party's stand of basic opposition to Article 356.

The Central Committee demanded of the Central Government that it take possession of the entire disputed area at Ayodhya in its

possession pending a final settlement of the dispute. This is essential to prevent any future mischief and to secure the place from any further tampering. All the cases regarding the Ayodhya dispute pending before the courts must be transferred to a Special Bench of the Supreme Court for a judicial verdict.

The Central Committee condemned the demand of the BJP RSS-VHP combine for allowing "darshan" at the disputed site in order to legitimise its illegal activities and to bypass the Constitution and the law. The Central Government must take firm steps to ensure that there are no further provocations at Ayodhya.

The Central Committee noted that the economic policies of the government are resulting in sharp attacks on the living conditions of the people and the rights of the working class. It is creating mass discontent which is sought to be utilised by the disruptive forces. The Central Committee reiterated the firm resolve of the CPI(M) to defend the rights of the working people and the living conditions of the masses.

Joint Mass Campaign

The Central Committee endorsed the call given by the convention held on December 19 for a nationwide joint mass campaign in January by the eleven opposition secular parties and various mass organisations. It called upon the entire Party and all mass organisations to make all the necessary preparations and fully involve themselves in this nationwide campaign so that every section of the people in all states is mobilised to counter the BJP-RSS-VHP combine's moves to create further disruption and communal discord.

The Central Committee called upon all sections of the people, all patriotic and secular organisations to realise the gravity of the threat posed by the forces of "*Hindutva*" who are engaged in the heinous crime of capturing political power through misusing and exploiting religious sentiments. Their game must be foiled by the united endeavour of all citizens and organisations who cherish the values of the freedom struggle and who would like to see India's secular republic preserved and strengthened. To fulfil this Central task the CPI(M) and the Left forces will strive to unite all.

Current Crisis and Our Tasks*

**Adopted in The Meeting of The Central Committee
of The CPI(M) Held in New Delhi
on December 23-24, 1992**

The Central Committee met last on October 28 31 at a time when it became clear that a serious confrontation was developing on the Ayodhya issue engineered by the BJP RSS VHP combine. The negotiations after the July events initiated by the Prime Minister had failed. The so called dharam sansad met in Delhi at the very time of the CC meeting and gave a call for resumption of construction of the temple from December 6. The CC note on political developments had warned *"the implications of not checking the diabolical plan of the BJP VHP to encroach upon the structure will be immensely harmful for the country"*. This warning has unfortunately come true with the barbaric destruction of the Babri Masjid on December 6 which has engulfed the country in widespread violence and communal riots on a large scale never seen since the partition days.

NIC Meeting

Immediately after the CC meeting, the PB demanded the holding of the NIC meeting to take stock of the new situation and for working out a unified stand to counter the BJP's tactics. The continuous pressure mounted by the Party, the Left and its allies finally forced the reluctant government to hold the NIC meeting on November 23. Before that the Left parties met and demanded on November 3 that the Centre take over the entire disputed area and secure it to meet the *kar seva* threat. Both for holding the NIC meeting and for central intervention the Party Centre relentlessly pursued these demands. We were in constant touch with the other Left parties and the Janata Dal to coordinate our

*Published as a booklet

moves. A joint delegation of these parties met the Prime Minister also. At the NIC meeting held on November 23, the BJP boycotted the meeting. Because of our firm stand and rallying all others it was possible for a unanimous resolution to be adopted moved by Comrade Surjeet, which authorised the Prime Minister to take necessary action for protecting the Constitution, upholding law and getting the court orders implemented to ensure that no violation takes place. This unprecedented mandate from the NIC should have been used by Narasimha Rao to act decisively. But in the days after the NIC meeting the Central Government refused to act. At no time did Rao come out against the aggressive steps announced by the BJP-VHP. By December 1, kar sevaks began assembling in large numbers but still the Rao Government refused to act.

The Supreme Court in the meantime heard a contempt petition against its earlier orders that no construction should take place in view of the declaration for kar seva on December 6. The Court on November 28 ordered that no construction of any sort can be conducted at the disputed site, neither can construction material be assembled. Only symbolic kar seva in the nature of kirtans and singing of bhajans can be done. This order was given after an undertaking given through an affidavit by the BJP Government of Uttar Pradesh that it will ensure that no construction is allowed. The Supreme Court made it clear at the same time that it was for the Executive to make a proper assessment of the situation on the ground and immediate action under the Constitution.

The BJP RSS-VHP combine saw the Supreme Court order as a set back and decided to heighten the confrontation. On the one hand the RSS stepped up its efforts to send thousands of its diehard supporters to Ayodhya well before December 6. On the other hand the BJP announced the rathayatras of Advani and M.M. Joshi from Varanasi and Mathura respectively to begin on December 1. Advani's press conference on November 30 was a clear indication that they were preparing to violate the court orders. The Party Centre immediately reacted to this serious threat and called a meeting of the Left parties in which we called for immediate central intervention to stop the illegal activities at

Ayodhya. From December 1, kar sevaks were assembled in large numbers at Ayodhya and they began terrorising members of the minority community there.

The Polit Bureau met immediately after the Left parties meeting on December 1, contacted all the major state committees and asked them to organise mass meetings and demonstrations between December 3 and 6 to demand central intervention and to expose the BJP VHP RSS game. The PB also sent out a note explaining the serious situation and the slogans to be raised. Following this call many public meetings and demonstrations were organised in different parts of the country. On December 3 in U.P. district level rallies were held and on December 5 eight opposition parties held a joint march to Ayodhya from Lucknow which was stopped on the way and the marchers arrested.

Narasimha Rao's Culpability

On December 3 a last attempt was made to persuade the Prime Minister by a delegation of the Left and the National Front leaders to intervene to stop the proposed kar seva. The Prime Minister not only refused to do so but argued that the situation would be controlled by the RSS BJP leadership. By December 3 it was clear that Narasimha Rao would not act. Instead of relying on the secular parties which had pledged support he preferred to depend on the RSS BJP assurances; he pursued a line of compromise and appeasement of the BJP RSS leadership. He had politically calculated that an understanding can be reached as the BJP was keen to save its government in U.P. The meetings he held with RSS leader Rajinder Singh for two consecutive nights on December 1 and 2 seems to have confirmed this assesment of his. Despite the fact that sufficient para-military forces had reached Faizabad and Ayodhya they were useless to act without the signal from the Centre.

The destruction of the mosque at Ayodhya on December 6 began at 11.45 a.m. and was completed in five hours time. Trained squads did the job which was obviously meticulously preplanned. Media and newspaper reporters were subjected to brutal physical assaults by the kar sevaks. Even though the first

news of the demolition work had reached Delhi by 12.15 p.m. the Rao Government did nothing except to contact the U.P. Chief Minister and urge him to use the central forces. The cabinet met only at 6.00 p.m. when the entire mosque was demolished and decided to dismiss the Kalyan Singh ministry only after he had already submitted his resignation.

The Party Centre at 2.00 p.m. asked our U.P. secretary to contact all other parties and go in a deputation to the Governor to demand the dismissal of the U.P. Government. V. P. Singh who was in Lucknow also joined them. The U.P. Governor Reddy made the astounding claim that the central forces had taken charge of the structure and the situation was now under control. The Party Centre also contacted all the Left and the Janata Dal leaders and went in a deputation to meet the President at 5.00 p.m. The president expressed his anguish and unhappiness and informed them of the public statement he had just issued which amounted to a virtual rebuke of the Prime Minister.

Despite the dismissal of the Kalyan Singh ministry on the night of December 6, till the early hours of December 8 the central forces did not move into the disputed site at Ayodhya. The spectacle of kar seva being conducted and pooja being performed on the idols inflamed passions further among the minority community.

Widespread Violence

The violence that broke out saw widespread protests by Muslims in different towns and cities and the deaths were mainly from police firing on Muslims. The worst affected states were U.P., M.P., Maharashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan. Soon communal riots and group clashes also broke out in many parts of the country. There are reports of the police having joined in the attacks against the minority community by Hindu rioters in many areas or being passive spectators. Over all the minorities have been the worst sufferers. In some areas fundamentalist elements instigated the Muslims to rampage utilising the anger of the masses.

From December 7 the riots which raged for four days in different parts of the country claimed the lives of at least 2000 persons. The army had to be deployed in many places to bring the situation under control.

The Party Centre taking the example of West Bengal calling a bandh on December 7 in protest against the demolition of the mosque decided that an all India bandh should be called on December 8. Such a call was given jointly by the NF Left parties. In Tripura the bandh call was given on December 9 and in Tamil Nadu on December 10 jointly by all the parties. These actions were the first organised protests against the Babri Masjid demolition by the BJP RSS VHP combine. The BJP called a bandh on December 9 against the arrest of the BJP leaders which met with a response only in Rajasthan, MP and some other places.

In West Bengal the alertness of the state government and the effective intervention of the Party and the Left forces helped contain the trouble to some pockets in Greater Calcutta. All the other districts and the rural areas were completely troublefree including the sensitive border districts. In Kerala, the Party took a principled stand in refusing to conduct a joint campaign with the Muslim League. The LDF is conducting the campaign on its own.

The PB decided to send teams of MPs to the riot hit areas. Saifuddin Chaudhary and M. A. Baby visited Jaipur; Basudev Acharya and Sarala Maheswari went to Kanpur; Sukomal Sen to Varanasi; Saifuddin and Anil Basu to Bombay; Samar Mukherjee and Md. Amin to Bhopal and Zainal Abedin and Malini Bhattacharya to the Gurgaon Meerut area.

International Repercussions

The repercussions of the Ayodhya outrage were felt all over the world. In Pakistan there were vicious attacks against the Hindu minorities and destruction of temples and similar incidents on a lesser scale in Bangladesh. The Islamic countries have also registered their protests. Pakistan has been successful in mobilising all the Islamic countries on the Babri Masjid

demolition. Some of these countries have supported the move to take up the matter in the United Nations. The Gulf States Council has adopted a resolution condemning the incident. The blighting of India's secular image in the Arab countries can have adverse economic implications also. The lakhs of the Indian workers and employees employed there send back vital remittances in foreign exchange. Our economic and trade ties with this part of the world have been jeopardized. It must also be borne in mind that any anti Indian actions in the Islamic countries will have its impact within India helping to strengthen Hindu communalism further.

Stand on Resignation of P.M.

The Polit Bureau demanded that Narasimha Rao quit office on December 7. Before this on December 6 evening itself the Janata Dal had demanded the resignation of the Prime Minister. The Polit Bureau also stated that given the grave situation in the country the Centre has to immediately act and put out a set of demands which included central takeover of the disputed land at Ayodhya, rebuilding the mosque, arrest and prosecution of all those responsible for the crime and taking effective steps to stop the violence spreading in the country including the use of the army. While we demanded the resignation of Narasimha Rao we were clear that the main focus of attack should be on the BJP RSS VHP combine and to rally all sections of the people to defend secularism.

We raised the demand for resignation at the appropriate time to expose the government's culpability and refusal to act. In the grim situation when riots developed all over the country this could not be the main priority. Inside the Congress party there was anger and sharp criticism of Narasimha Rao's role. There is a strong feeling that the Congress will have no future if it compromises with the communal forces. But the main Congress(I) leaders despite their criticisms did not openly take a stand. But within the Congress pressure built up on Narasimha Rao to take firm action against the BJP.

While sharply exposing the disastrous role of the Prime Minister, the PB decided to mount pressure to ensure that the

Centre take some firm measures against the BJP RSS VHP combine. Some steps were taken such as the arrest of some BJP leaders followed by the ban on five communal organisation. But the way both these steps were taken showed the half hearted approach of the Centre and lack of a firm will. Even after the demolition of the mosque the Centre had no contingency plan of action. If they had moved decisively on the same day and taken the above measures it would have isolated these forces. Instead the piece meal and hesitant steps enabled the BJP to mount counter propaganda and rally its forces.

On Dismissal of Three BJP Governments

Our Party was the first to come out with a statement denouncing the role of the three other BJP run State governments and asking them to quit as they had no moral right to continue. We took the position that these governments had actively mobilised and organised "kar sevaks" to go to Ayodhya for demolition; it is reported that a training camp was run in MP for this purpose; these governments were run by Chief Ministers and ministers belonging to the RSS which has been banned; these states would become the centres for rallying and harbouring the communal forces defying the Constitution and the law since all these Chief Ministers refused to condemn the attack at Ayodhya. When these governments were finally dismissed by the Centre, we supported the move stating that they had no right to continue in office.

There is criticism of the use of Article 356 to dismiss the governments on the grounds that it is an attack on federalism and democracy. It is not realised by such critics that the BJP RSS was bent on subverting the entire Constitution and the federal set up. There is an extraordinary situation after the brazen destruction of the mosque—these communal forces threaten the very basis of national unity. It is in such a situation that the step to remove these governments were taken. We must realise that these forces would destroy parliamentary democracy and the Constitution if they succeed.

On the steps to be taken by the Centre, immediately we must continue to press for the Centre to take possession of the entire disputed area at Ayodhya to prevent further mischief. The Allahabad High Court judgement quashing the Kalyan Singh ministry's acquisition of 2.77 acres has further exposed their dark designs. The demand to allow darshan of the idols at the disputed site must be firmly rejected.

All these governmental administrative measures are necessary but it must be clear that the ultimate battle has to be won amongst the people which brings us to the proper estimation of the current situation.

New Situation

It is important to understand the gravity of the situation. The feelings roused on the temple issue are symptomatic of how deep the virus of the communal ideology has penetrated. The systematic propaganda against the Muslim minority by the BJP RSS VHP combine has made an impact even among sections of the intelligentsia and the educated middle classes. We had noted after the last general elections, how the Hindutva appeal has affected new sections and penetrated new areas even parts of the State machinery are not immune. Protecting the mosque and not building the Ram temple in its place at Ayodhya was seen as appeasement of the minority by this distorted viewpoint. Among the Muslim community the feelings of betrayal and helplessness will fuel fundamentalist forces and the rise of extremism which will in turn help the Hindu communalists. Such a situation will help imperialism to further penetrate and destabilise the country. Except the Left no other force has been actively combating this propaganda. The aggressive campaign for the Ram temple has even affected the mass following of the Congress(I) which has led to the Congress being paralysed and unable to counter these forces on the ground.

The spread of the communal ideology has adverse repercussions for working class unity. The large scale communal riots will help further polarisation to ~~weaken the~~ of the communal forces. Even in a state such as West

administration and the democratic forces had to struggle hard this time to stop the rioting and violence in and around Calcutta. There will be a major set back to the Left and democratic forces if the communal forces are not isolated. The struggle to fight back the communal offensive requires the involvement of the masses of all secular parties. In this battle, the masses following the Congress(I) cannot be ignored. Only by drawing them in can the present balance of forces be changed against communalism on the all India plane.

There is still insufficient realisation among the Left and democratic forces about the need to fight back these forces on a priority basis. The fight against the communal danger and all its various manifestations must occupy a central place in national politics at present. The BJP RSS forces are not going to take the actions against them quietly. They are, already justifying and defending what happened at Ayodhya to galvanise their mass following. What happened on December 6 was preplanned and there are reports revealing that even camps were organised for training in demolition. The BJP-RSS leaders speak in different voices deliberately but they are governed by a central aim—of relentlessly pursuing the temple platform to capture power. In order to counter this concerted offensive it is essential to build the broadest unity of all secular forces for which the Left parties and mass organisations have to play a big role with much more expanded efforts. Campaign among the minorities should be organised to make them realise that their interests will be protected by joining hands with the secular and democratic forces and not by falling prey to fundamentalist ideas.

In order to cope with the situation, the Party had to react promptly. Inside Parliament, the Left was unified in taking a stand that the BJP had to be isolated while exposing the compromising role of the Rao Government. The Janata Dal National Front were focussing on the resignation of Narasimha Rao primarily, which led to a situation where there could not be a united movement of all secular parties to pass a resolution condemning the destruction of the mosque by the BJP RSS-VHP. In the wake of the arrests of Advani and company the BJP began

disrupting the proceedings. Instead of unitedly isolating the BJP the focussing on Rao's resignation divided the non BJP forces. In such a situation the Parliament was adjourned for a week.

The PB assessing the situation decided to take up the matter with the Janata Dal leadership as the non adoption of a resolution by Parliament against the destruction of the mosque would be seen as a victory for the communal forces. A meeting was held between the JD and CPI(M)/CPI leaders on December 11 in which we stressed that the passing of the resolution must be given priority and the resignation issue cannot be made the main issue. As a result a joint statement was issued in which the main focus was on condemning the communal combine and calling upon the people to reject them.

BJP—No-Confidence Motion

When Parliament reconvened after a week, the resolution (a draft of which was prepared by our parliamentary leaders) was adopted in both house against the strenuous objection of the BJP. Soon after this the BJP changed its tactics. Instead of obstructing the proceedings they brought a no-confidence motion against the government. This motion was brought to defend their communal politics and to condemn the Rao Government for the arrests and the dismissal of the BJP Governments. The PB decided that we must oppose the no-confidence motion. The Left parties also met and took the same decision. The JD NF announced that they will abstain on the motion. JD leadership also informed us of their difficulty that the TDP and DMK had insisted on abstention and the National Front should take a common stand. However, the Samajwadi Party of Mulayam Singh and the Ajit group decided to oppose the no confidence move by the BJP.

The Polit Bureau in its meeting held on December 13-14 discussed how to launch a big all India joint mass campaign to counter the RSS BJP combine. The question of attitude to the Congress(I) in a joint campaign was also taken up. Given the compromising role of the Rao Government and its abject failure to intervene promptly, there is anger and alienation among the Muslim masses and the secular forces. Their credibility has been

damaged. The Congress(I) has so far been unable to mount any big mass campaign against these forces. While there can be no joint campaign which includes the Congress(I) at present there must be the realisation that the opposition forces alone cannot bring about a turn in the situation against the communal forces.

As for the other secular opposition parties, most of them are guided by a narrow outlook. They think the situation can be utilised to their benefit. The JD leaders think the Muslims will rally around them electorally. While it is true there is deep anger against the Congress's role, ultimately the minorities will go with that party which can provide them security and is able to protect them from the communal forces. Even on the question of the BJP's no confidence motion, the attitude of the Muslim MPs of these parties was different from that of the leadership—they wanted to vote against the motion.

Keeping all factors in mind, the PB decided that the direction to be given for urgently launching a joint campaign must be for a united platform of the left and the opposition secular parties. Such a campaign when set in motion can attract the widest secular elements outside these parties also.

Importance of the Joint Campaign

Immediately after the PB meeting, the Party Centre contacted the Left parties and decided to call a convention on December 19. It was decided that all the secular opposition parties must be called and none excluded because of someone's objection. The Left parties convened the meeting which was attended by eleven parties and 34 mass organisation's representatives apart from leading intellectuals and cultural personalities. The Convention was called completely to work out a joint mass campaign.

The decision taken to launch a month long campaign in January with intensive local mass contact programmes and culminating in big rallies in major centres has to be taken up with utmost seriousness by the entire Party and all the mass organisations.

The bringing together of all forces and leaders such as V. P. Singh, Mulayam Singh, Ajit Singh and Devi Lal is an important

achievement which was possible primarily because of our Party's efforts. This will help the widest mass mobilisation in the North if properly implemented.

Even after the shocking event at Ayodhya some comrades in the Party are not able to see the gravity of the situation and its dire implications for the working class and Left movement if we do not suitably meet the threat. The lessons must be learnt of how religious fundamentalism and the right reactionary offensive based on it disrupts the democratic forces if allowed to grow unchecked. Algeria is a recent example. In our own country's history, the partition and the communal holocaust did great damage to the Communist movement in Northern India. For a Communist Party it is essential to grasp the elements of a new situation and reorient its tactics accordingly.

The situation demands that the entire Party and all the mass organisations take up the joint mass campaign call in January with all seriousness. Along with this the Party and mass organisations must draw up a long term plan to conduct sustained propaganda which can convincingly counter the communal poison among different sections of the people. The struggle must be conducted at all levels political, ideological, in the cultural and social spheres.

There should be no confusion about the Party's basic position. While gearing up for the anti communal struggle, the party line of opposition to the economic policies, to the various anti people policies of the Rao Government remains unchanged. The IMF-World Bank dictated policies of the Rao Government have resulted in rapid price-rise, increasing joblessness and growing attacks on the rights of the working people. The country is caught in the vicious grip of a huge external debt. The mass discontent arising out of these policies is sought to be utilised by the communal forces. It is essential, therefore, to continue to build the widest resistance to these economic policies. Calling for the broadest secular mobilisation against communalism does not mean a realignment of political forces. In the complicated situation the Party will have to pay proper attention to fighting the communal danger while carrying on the fight against the economic policies of the Congress(I) Government.

Condolence on Comrade Dalip Singh Johal*

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep condolences at the passing away of veteran communist Dalip Singh Johal. Born in 1914, Johal joined the Communist Party in 1934 and for nearly six decades relentlessly discharged his responsibilities as a wholetime functionary. Having been arrested five times and spending nearly eight years in underground life, Johal all through his political life unswervingly upheld the cause of the emancipation of the working people.

An established Kisan leader from Punjab, Johal served in various capacities including being a member of the state CPI(M) secretariat at the time of his death. Having dedicated his life for the advance of the Communist movement and in the interests of the Indian people, Johal remained unmarried and till the end continued to live at the state headquarters of the CPI(M) in Punjab. He relentlessly carried on an intensive struggle against all ideological and organisational deviations within the party and unhesitatingly championed the struggle against such deviations to join the CPI(M) at the time of the party's split in 1964. In his death the Punjab Kisan Movement, the Communist movement in Punjab and the country have lost a steadfast and Committed soldier.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) conveys its deep felt condolences to the Punjab state committee and all comrades in Punjab.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, January 3, 1993

U.S. Aggression in Iraq Condemned*

**Statement Dated January 14, 1993 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly denounces the aggressive action of the United States in launching air strikes on Iraqi territory. This action once again confirms the aggressive politics followed by imperialism, particularly the US, in the present period. The fact that the imperialists have scant respect for national sovereignty was made clear when a few months ago Iraqi planes were banned from flying over segments of Iraqi territory. The present action is a follow up of the provocative designs of the US in the Middle East, particularly enhanced after the Gulf War. The pretext of all these actions being under the auspices of the UN can fool nobody. When the UN decisions are being flouted by Israel, by the disruptive actions of the Savimbi clique in Angola and in many other points of conflict, the US has not rushed to uphold the principles of the UN. It is obvious that the US seeks all sorts of pretexts and excuses to maintain its armed domination over the Middle East and to justify the presence of large US forces in this oil rich region.

The CPI(M) expects all peace-loving forces the world over to come forward to denounce the US action.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, January 24, 1993

Ensure Free & Fair Polls In Tripura*

**Statement Issued by Harkishan Singh Surjeet,
General Secretary of CPI(M)**

Tripura is going to the polls on February 15. The election campaign of the CPI(M) and the Left Front which is meeting with a big response is being sought to be obstructed by violent attacks, intimidation by goondas and terrorising voters. There are at least 28 constituencies out of the total of 60 in which large areas are virtually out of bounds for the Left Front campaign. In these areas the CPI(M) and the Left Front are not allowed to set up election offices, put up flags and propaganda material or move freely to approach the voters.

A glaring example is the Bishalgarh Assembly Constituency from where the CPI(M) is contesting against the Chief Minister Samir Ranjan Barman. On February 1, the CPI(M) candidate Bhanulal Saha was attacked at the Bishalgarh market. A group of Congressmen led by Bapi Saha fired at the CPI(M) candidate and his group injuring two persons. Even though police escorted the CPI(M) candidate into the police station, the Congressmen entered the thana and threatened the candidate with a gun.

Such goondaism is rampant in the other constituencies also. Election Offices are being attacked and propaganda material destroyed.

The Congress(I) is making preparations for rigging the polls. It is apprehended that the newly recruited home guards and fresh police constables recruited after the police strike will be deployed in the polling booths in the areas where the CPI(M) is strong, for facilitating rigging. The CPI(M) demands that only the

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, February 7, 1993
This statement was issued after Comrade Surjeet's visit to Tripura

para-military forces be deployed at all polling centres on February 15.

Another area of concern is the efforts that would be made to falsify the elections during the counting process. The Election Commission has to ensure that no malpractices and manipulations are allowed at the counting tables and no unauthorised person allowed to enter the counting centres.

The terror tactics of the Congress(I) is already taking its toll. On January 30, Comrade Pradeep Chakraborty, a branch secretary of the CPI(M) and a youth leader of Belonia, was brutally murdered by Congress workers while returning home after election work.

I had already written to the Prime Minister Shri Narasimha Rao about the disturbing trends in Tripura. The attitude of the Congress(I) in targetting the CPI(M) and the Left in sensitive state like Tripura while the country is facing the communal danger is both shortsighted and will harm the interests of national unity.

On behalf of the CPI(M) and the Left Front, we demand an end to the illegal and anti democratic activities of the Congress(I)-TUJS regime, and adequate steps by the Election Commission and the state administration to ensure a fair poll whereby the people of Tripura are able to exercise their franchise freely. The perversion of democratic norms in Tripura will only further undermine the parliamentary democratic system which is already under severe strain.

On BJP's Diabolical Intentions*

Statement Dated February 7, 1993

Issued by The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M)

The BJP has once again exposed its diabolical intentions to keep alive the flames of communal frenzy. Mr. Advani, at a meeting in Hazaribagh (Bihar), yesterday, publicly stated that the BJP would continue its movement for the destruction of the mosques in Varanasi and Mathura. It was the same Mr. Advani who, at the time of his release from detention on January 12, had openly told the nation that Mathura and Varanasi are not on the BJP's agenda. Such double-speak only exposes the BJP's perfidy. This only shows that it continues to pose a grave challenge to our country's unity and integrity.

At a time when the people of the country are facing innumerable problems and constant deterioration of their economic life, the BJP seeks to divert their attention by spreading communal poison. The CPI(M) is confident that the Indian people will realise that such attempts are only detrimental to their basic interests.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) appeals to all Indian patriots to fight back the BJP's perfidy of throwing the nation into a long spell of communal confrontation with disastrous consequences. The BJP's politics only spells doom for India's future.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, February 14, 1993

On Increase in Sugar Prices*

**Statement Issued by The Polit Bureau
of The CPI(M)**

The Polit Bureau strongly condemns the big increase in the prices of sugar sold through the public distribution system. The hefty increase of Rs. 1.40 per Kg. is a tremendous burden on the common people. The government has also announced five per cent increase in the free sale of sugar for the sugar mills. The current announcement constitutes another drastic attack on the public distribution system. In a period when the people are suffering from all round price increases, instead of strengthening the public distribution system, the Narasimha Rao Government is callously going ahead with the dismantling of the PDS in line with the IMF/World Bank conditionalities.

The Polit Bureau calls upon all its units and mass organisations to organise protest actions against this new attack on the people's livelihood.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, February 21, 1993

On Postponement of Elections in Tripura*

Statement Dated February 12, 1993
Issued by The Polit Bureau
of The CPI(M) to Press

The order of the Election Commission postponing polls to the state legislative Assembly of Tripura to April 3 is a grave indictment of the Congress(I)-TUJS state government. The text of the order has exposed the illegal activities of the Samir Ranjan Barman Government in trying to vitiate the holding of free and fair elections on February 15. The unprecedented charge sheet against the state government provided by the Election Commission substantiates all the charges made by the CPI(M) and the Left Front about plans for manipulating and rigging the elections.

The Congress(I) and the state government had, in the past few weeks, unleashed a terror campaign to prevent the holding of free and fair polls. Under the leadership of the Chief Minister, Samir Ranjan Barman, and the Union Minister Santosh Mohan Deb, the Congress(I) had organised a crude and brazen campaign of intimidation and violent attacks on the CPI(M) and Left Front campaigners. Despite these tactics the people of Tripura were determined to end the hated rule of the Congress(I)-TUJS Government. If elections had been held on February 15, the Left Front would have registered a decisive victory.

Given the unprecedented and strong indictment of the state government, it is essential that the state be placed under President's Rule so that conditions are created for free and fair elections on April 3. There is no justification whatsoever for the Congress(I)-TUJS Ministry to continue with the term of the assembly expiring on February 28 after which only the polls are going to be held. Without the removal of this lawless ministry there can be no guarantee of free and fair polls.

The Polit Bureau calls upon the Left Front to ceaselessly campaign for the defence of democracy in the state and calls upon the people to unitedly assert their right to exercise their franchise.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, February 21, 1993

On Privatisation of Kerosene And LPG Supplies*

**Statement Issued by The Polit Bureau
of The CPI(M)**

The Polit Bureau expresses its strong opposition to the decision by the Government of India to allow private companies, both domestic and foreign, to market kerosene and cooking gas. The private sector will be allowed to market these items at uncontrolled rates at the market prices. The establishment of a parallel marketing network is part of the process of speeding up the privatisation of the petroleum and gas industry. Market prices of these commodities will be an additional burden on the people.

The Polit Bureau sharply criticises the Narasimha Rao Government for making a series of announcements on major economic policies on the eve of the budget session of Parliament and the presentation of the Union budget. This familiar method now adopted by the Congress(I) Government seeks to impose the IMF/World Bank conditionalities on the Indian people without taking Parliament into confidence.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, February 21, 1993

Polit Bureau For Concerted Mobilisation to Isolate The Communal Forces*

Statement Dated February 11, 1993 Issued to Press

Following the December 6, 1992 brazen destruction of the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya, the BJP continues to whip up communal passions and plunge the country into a serious communal confrontation. Far from showing any remorse for the blatant violation of the constitution and law, the BJP's activities have only worsened the communal situation as was seen in the fresh bout of riots that have rocked Bombay, Ahmedabad and many other places. It is clear that the BJP is bent upon deepening the spread of communal poison, thus plunging the country into a far worse communal holocaust.

Banning of the BJP rally is not the only solution to meet such a grave challenge to the Indian Constitution, the rule of law and to maintain unity of our country. All patriotic forces will have to rally together to counter this nefarious game being played by the BJP in pursuit of its partisan political interests. Thousands have already lost their lives and the misery has afflicted many more thousands. Unless a concerted effort of political mobilisation is undertaken by all patriotic and secular forces, the diabolical designs of the communal forces cannot be checked.

The CPI(M) calls upon all Indian patriots who have the interests of the country at heart to determinedly come forward to join this political campaign to isolate the communal forces, safeguard India's unity and integrity and resolve the more pressing problems facing the people.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, February 21, 1993.

Polit Bureau Communiqué*

If the Government at the centre continues with its present policies, which it is sure to do, it must not expect any support from the people, and the CPI(M) will certainly not bail it out in any case. This was stated by the party general secretary, Harkishan Singh Surjeet, at a crowded press conference where he detailed the decisions of the two-day Polit Bureau meeting on February 17 18. Replying to a query, Surjeet stated that the CPI(M) was not in favour of a mid-term poll at this juncture, nor was it working in that direction. But it is fully opposed to the anti-people policies being imposed by the Government. On the major anti-people provisions of the budget, the CPI(M) will adopt methods much harder than walk outs.

Replying to another question, Surjeet clarified there was no question of cancelling or postponing the all-India rally called by the secular forces on March 30 under the banner of the Campaign for National Unity. This mammoth rally will take place in Delhi as scheduled.

At a time when the communal and fundamentalist forces are posing a grave threat to the nation's very unity, Surjeet said, the Rao Government, by its anti people economic policies, is strengthening these very forces. The fight against communal forces and that against the anti-people economic policies are interlinked, and this requires the government to give up these policies.

In reply to another query, Surjeet said the Congress(I) to date had not given any indication of joining the struggle against communalism and hence the question of going with it or otherwise

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does not arise. The government's Ayodhya package including the single-point reference to the Supreme Court under article 143, to decide whether any Hindu structure existed earlier at the Babri site, constitutes an abject surrender to these very obnoxious forces.

Referring to the illegal activities of the congress(I)-TUJS combine in Tripura, the CPI(M) demands immediate imposition of President's Rule in Tripura. On the basis of the illegal meetings of Santosh Mohan Deb with election officials in Tripura, Surjeet demanded that Santosh Mohan Deb must be dropped from the union council of ministers forthwith for his perfidy.

The statement issued by the Polit Bureau follow:

Communal Threat

The Polit Bureau discussed the situation prevailing in the country, especially due to the aggressive activities of the BJP RSS-VHP combine in the period following the demolition of the mosque at Ayodhya. The BJP leadership is now openly campaigning justifying the outrage at Ayodhya. Its leaders like Advani, Joshi and Kalyan Singh are openly advocating "Hindu Rashtra". They are lending legitimacy to the demand of the VHP to demolish the mosques at Varanasi and Mathura. Some of the 'sadhus' associated with the VHP have gone further to demand the scrapping of the "anti-Hindu" Constitution. All this inflammatory propaganda is being conducted in the background of the continuing communal tensions as seen by the recurrence of violence in Ahmedabad and Surat and the carnage in Bombay.

Instead of adhering to earlier declarations of a firm stand, the Prime Minister reverted to the line of compromising with the communal forces as evident in the Ayodhya package announced by the government. The Polit Bureau wanted the withdrawal of the Ayodhya package, particularly the reference under article 143 to the Supreme Court for its opinion whether a Hindu temple or Hindu structure existed at the site before the mosque was built. Instead of this unprincipled concession, the correct step would be to transfer all cases pending before the Allahabad High Court to the Supreme Court for a speedy judicial verdict.

The Polit Bureau also sharply criticised the shameful inaction of the centre and the state government when for ten days Bombay was ravaged by the Shiv Sena hordes. Neither did Shri Narasimha Rao remove the Chief Minister for his abject failure to control the situation, nor was he willing to name the Shiv Sena as the chief culprit during his brief visit to the city.

The Polit Bureau warned the Central Government to take adequate measures to deal with the situation which may arise out of the BJP's decision to defy the ban on its rally on February 25. Full security arrangements and vigilance must be mounted in all states to prevent any communal mischief. The CPI(M) had already stated that the problem of the communal challenge cannot be solved by banning of rallies but requires a concerted political mobilisation to isolate these forces. However, with the compromising line being pursued by the Prime Minister, the Congress(I) as a party has totally failed to launch any effective mass campaign to mobilise the people against the communal forces. The paralysis of the Congress(I) is accompanied by factional quarrels and open fights as seen in Orissa, Kerala and Maharashtra. In such an atmosphere, Congressmen who want firm action against communalism are not able to play an effective role.

Intensify Joint Campaign by Secular Forces

The Polit Bureau reviewed the ongoing mass campaign launched by the **Campaign for National Unity (Rashtriya Ekta Abhiyan)** consisting of all the major secular opposition forces. Already rallies have been held in Patna, Guwahati, Bhopal, Jaipur, Bhubaneswar, Amritsar and Nagpur. Many activities such as human chains, demonstrations and seminars have taken place all over the country, particularly on January 26 and January 30. The most spectacular action was the 10,000 km. long human chain organised in West Bengal by twenty million people.

The Polit Bureau welcomed the call of the **Campaign for National Unity (Rashtriya Ekta Abhiyan)** to hold a big all-India rally on March 30 at New Delhi on which day five crore signatures would be submitted to the President of India. All party units should make full preparations for the success of the rally.

The Polit Bureau condemned the announcement by the Home Minister, Chavan, that no rallies of any party will be allowed in Delhi for the next three months. Such a myopic and anti-democratic stand will hinder the secular mobilisation against communalism.

The Polit Bureau called upon all its units and mass organisations to step up the mass signature drive so that personal contact is made with millions of citizens to draw them into the campaign against communalism. At the same time, the Polit Bureau called for intensifying the campaign against communalism through the joint platform and also independently by the party.

Forthcoming Budget Session

The Polit Bureau noted that despite the critical challenge facing the country from the communal forces the Congress(I) Government is refusing to revise the economic policies which are eroding economic sovereignty and are harmful for the people.

The polit Bureau sharply condemned the series of administrative price hikes announced by the Narasimha Rao Government imposing further burdens on the people to raise resources. In January the issue price of wheat and rice were sharply increased; this was followed by the hefty increase in the price of sugar being sold through the public distribution system to the tune of Rs. 1.40 per kg; the latest hike has been in the price of coal. All these price hikes are the now familiar, deceptive methods of imposing fresh taxes on the people on the eve of the budget avoiding them in the budget provisions.

Equally objectionable are a series of policy measures taken bypassing Parliament. The virtual scrapping of FERA; lowering of customs duties for 35 elite consumer goods; allowing entry of private banks by relaxing the regulations; the privatisation of supply of kerosene and cooking gas and the delicensing of more sectors of industry have all been done in view of the Rao Government's accepting fresh conditionalities for getting the new Extended Fund Facility loan from the IMF. It is clear that the Rao Government has surrendered to further IMF-World Bank pressures in order to procure a further five to six billion dollars loan.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) reiterated the stand of the party that it will not compromise on its opposition to the economic policies being pursued by the Narasimha Rao Government. The economic policy and the Union budget within the framework of the IMF/World Bank conditionalities are unacceptable. The CPI(M) will record its opposition to such policies in the budget session.

Tripura: Impose President's Rule

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) demanded that President's rule be imposed forthwith in Tripura in view of the Election Commission's order for postponing the polls to April 3. The order of the Election Commission explaining the postponement of polls has strongly indicted the state government for its gross failure to ensure conditions for a free and fair poll. The serious charges made by the CPI(M) and the Left Front about the violence unleashed on the opposition, the physical attacks and intimidation of candidates and voters, the illegal activities of Union Minister, Santosh Mohan Deb, and gross misuse of the state machinery have been substantiated. It is amply clear that the continuance of the Samir Ranjan Barman Ministry will not allow the holding of free and fair elections. The Central Government must immediately restore the credibility of the election process in Tripura by instituting President's Rule.

Punjab

The Polit Bureau welcomed the active participation of the people in the elections to the panchayats in Punjab. In spite of instances of malpractices by the ruling party the panchayat elections have strengthened the democratic process. The Polit Bureau noted with satisfaction that the party candidates and supporters have been elected as sarpanches of 443 gram panchayats and 2348 as panchayat members.

If the fight against the terrorists and restoration of peace have to be consolidated, it is essential that the genuine demands of the Punjabi people are conceded and a political solution must be arrived at. All democratic forces must unitedly demand such a settlement so that peace and normalcy is fully restored in the state.

Sri Lanka

The Polit Bureau noted the failure of the Sri Lankan Government to implement those terms of the Indo-Sri Lankan accord which would have ensured autonomy for the Tamil areas within the framework of Sri Lankan unity. Instead of ensuring the merger of northern and eastern provinces and devolving powers, the Sri Lankan Government is still pursuing a military solution. This will only exacerbate the situation and prevent a democratic solution of the ethnic problem.

CPI(M) Denounces Rail Budget*

Statement Issued by The Polit Bureau

The railway budget proposals presented in parliament are an all-round onslaught on the people who are already suffering from continuous price-rise. The budget proposes steep increase in both freight and passenger fares to the tune of Rs. 1848 crore. The freight rates have been increased by 10 to 12 per cent for all commodities. This will further fuel inflationary trends and the burdens will be passed on to the people. Railway passengers have been mercilessly attacked. There will be 10 per cent increase in passenger fares for all types of trains above 100 km. Monthly season tickets have also been steeply increased affecting millions of daily commuters. Even reservation and sleeper charges have been raised for second class passengers. The new sleeper class is just a transparent ruse to hike sleeper fares. Platform tickets too have not been spared.

The budget speech of the Railway Minister makes it clear that railway development is being adversely affected due to the overall approach to reduce public investment in the governmental sector. The Railway Minister has admitted the failure of the Indian Railway Finance Corporation to raise Rs. 1,200 crore by floating bonds. Further, the annual plan outlay of Rs. 6,500 crore for the year 1993-94 in real terms will not be more than the previous year given the inflationary rate. What this portends for the vital railway sector is reduced infrastructural development and worsening facilities for passengers. The Railway Ministry is determined to continue with its privatisation measures and retrenchment in keeping with the new economic policies of the government.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, February 28, 1993

CPI(M) Denounces Rail Budget 555

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) denounces the new burdens imposed on the people through the increased passenger and freight charges. These measures are not acceptable. The Polit Bureau calls upon all its party units to launch vigorous protest actions by mobilising the people to resist these hikes and to call for their withdrawal.

Polit Bureau on Bombay Bomb Blast*

Statement Dated March 12, 1993 Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its shock and outrage at the bomb explosions in Bombay city which have caused the death of many people. According to the first report at least 50 people have been killed in a series of bomb blasts at different places in the city. The worst affected spot is the Stock Exchange building in which ten people have died.

This large-scale terrorist action has to be condemned in the strongest terms by all who wish to see peace and normalcy restored in Bombay after the horrific violence endured by its citizens in January. These bomb blasts seem to be part of a diabolical conspiracy to renew communal tensions and disturb normalcy. Vigorous efforts should be made to track down the culprits responsible for this outrage. The CPI(M) appeals to all the citizens of Bombay to resist fresh provocations designed to disturb peace and communal harmony.

The Polit Bureau calls upon the Maharashtra state government to provide adequate compensation to the families of all those killed and those injured.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, March 21, 1993.

CPI(M) Lambasts New Trade Policy*

**Statement Dated April 1, 1993 Issued by
The Polit Bureau to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly criticises the new trade policy announced by the government. The comprehensive amendments to the export-import policy, ostensibly to boost exports, have removed 144 items from the negative list. These specially cover agricultural products and services.

The past experience has shown us that all steps at Exim liberalisation have only led to a widening of our trade deficit. Such liberalisation has led to a quantum jump in imports while the exports have grown at a snail's pace. The present step by the government, particularly the removal of a large number of items from the negative list of imports, will only strengthen this trend. Further, in an insidious manner, the government has virtually accepted certain key conditions of the Dunkel proposals pertaining to agriculture while the discussions on the Dunkel draft amongst the Indian political parties and the parliament are yet to be concluded. The present policy will only facilitate the advanced industrialised countries, which are facing continued domestic recession, to dump their products on India.

The Polit Bureau cautions the Indian people that such indiscriminate liberalisation being done at the behest of the IMF-World Bank will only further jeopardise our country's economic sovereignty.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, April 11, 1993.

Salute To The People of Tripura*

**Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) Issued Statement Dated
April 6, 1993 Congratulating the People of Tripura
for the Massive Election Victory**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) congratulates the people of Tripura for the resounding victory they have given to the Left and democratic forces led by the CPI(M) in the recent elections. These elections were the culmination of a long struggle by the people of Tripura in defence of democracy and for an improvement in their living conditions. During the last five years, the people of Tripura have been subjected to the most heinous terror unleashed by the Congress(I) goonda raj. Hundreds have been murdered in this struggle and thousands of others had to face severe hardships under such semi-fascist terror. Braving murderous assaults, killings, terror, intimidation, gang-rapes and repression, the people of Tripura had turned out in large numbers during the poll to put an end to such Congress(I) rule. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) salutes these patriots who have upheld the cause of democracy and India's unity.

These election results are a rebuff to the anti-democratic policies pursued by the Congress(I) in Tripura. The Congress(I) should realise that the people of the country will not tolerate such gross abuse of democracy. These results are also a rebuff to the Congress(I)'s economic policies which seek to impose greater burden on the common people.

These results constitute the total rejection by the people of Tripura of the communal and divisive forces. The people of Tripura, who have long traditions of struggles for the country's unity and integrity, have thus once again reaffirmed their commitment by totally rejecting such forces. These results have vindicated the

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political tactical line pursued by the CPI(M) in defence of our country's unity and integrity and economic sovereignty.

The Left Front government in Tripura will surely work for the restoration of peace and democracy in the state, for the improvement in the living conditions of the people and for strengthening the unity of the tribal and non-tribal sections of the population, while at the same time safeguarding the rights of the tribal communities and the minority sections.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) congratulates the CPI(M) workers and sympathisers who ceaselessly worked for the defeat of the Congress(I) led combine and thus re-established democracy and the rule of law in Tripura.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) thanks all those forces, which had risen in solidarity with the people of Tripura in this heroic struggle.

Polit Bureau Communiqué: CPI(M) To Vote Against Union Budget*

The CPI(M) MPs will vote against the anti people provisions of the budget. So declared Harkishan Singh Surjeet, General Secretary of the Party, in a Press conference at Delhi on April 10, 1993, following the two-day CPI(M) Polit Bureau deliberations on April 8 and 9, 1993. In this regard the CPI(M) will also have talks with National Front and other allies, and hopes to bring them all together, Surjeet added.

In reply to a query whether the CPI(M) will thereby not invite mid term polls which it does not want, Surjeet emphasised that not wanting mid term polls does not mean that the Centre should be allowed to heap miseries on the people. Rather, by its anti-people policies, the Centre is only weakening the anti communal struggle. Quoting the government's attempt to impose DA freeze issue and the hoax of the new pension scheme on the recent NDC meeting, Surjeet said the centre is only ignoring the communal challenge and attacking the toilers' life. About the recently announced trade policy, Surjeet said the government is only trying to smuggle the Dunkel proposals in through backdoor. He also detailed the preparations for the April 14 nationwide rally at Delhi and April 15 convention of mass organisations against the economic policies.

Even after the AICC(I) session at Surajkund, the Congress(I) is nowhere to be seen in the anti-communal struggle which is, to say the least, despicable. Surjeet also reiterated the CPI(M) demand that the reference of Ayodhya dispute to the Supreme Court under Article 143 of the Constitution be withdrawn; instead, all the

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, April 18, 1993

pending cases in this regard be clubbed together and referred to the Supreme Court for adjudication. In reply to another question, CPI(M) leader clarified that even though the BJP has suffered an erosion in its morale due to the increasing activity of secular forces and other factors, but yet it would be fatal to underestimate its threat in any way.

The communique issued by the Polit Bureau and released in the said Press conference follows:

Tripura Elections

The Polit Bureau hailed the massive victory registered by the CPI(M) and Left Front in the Tripura assembly elections. It warmly congratulated the people of Tripura who courageously stood up against the terror regime inflicted on them by Congress(I) TUJS, and voted them out of power. The people's verdict in Tripura is also an endorsement of the CPI(M)'s stand in defence of national unity, maintaining ethnic unity and against the harmful economic policies of the Central Government. This decisive victory in Tripura has increased the prestige of the Left and will strengthen Left's intervention in the national political scene.

The Polit Bureau is confident that the Left Front government which will assume office, will take urgent steps to restore the credibility of the administration by ensuring peace and security for all citizens, redress the grievances of all sections who suffered from the misrule and terror of the past five years, provide relief to the starving people in the tribal areas, and preserve and strengthen the unity of Bengali and tribal communities.

Economic Policy: Onslaught Continues

The Polit Bureau noted that after presenting a Union budget which conforms to the IMF-World Bank dictates, the Rao Government is stepping up the onslaughts on the working people. The recommendation to freeze dearness allowance in the National Development Council meeting, is a form of wage freeze which caters to the imperialist financial institutions' conditions. A serious attack on the workers' rights is the new employees pension scheme under which the employer's contribution to the provident fund is

being snatched away by the government from the workers. The Polit Bureau denounces these two steps as anti working class. The trade unions and working class movement will bitterly fight such policies.

The Polit Bureau also criticised the new export import policy announced. The new measures will further worsen the balance of payments position and harm domestic industry. In respect of agricultural commodities which seeks to fall in line with the Dunkel proposals, the Commerce Minister's recent statement that the Dunkel proposals will help Indian farmers, indicates the readiness of the Congress(I) government to surrender on a vital issue which impinges on India's economic sovereignty. The Polit Bureau reiterated its demand that the matter be referred to a joint parliamentary committee.

Opposition to Budget Proposals

The Polit Bureau condemned the manner in which the government manipulated to pass the railway budget without taking up the cut motions or final voting by division. The deceitful method adopted shows utter contempt for parliament which cannot be tolerated especially when it concerns the vital interests of the people who are affected by steep rise in freight and provisions fares.

In this context, the Polit Bureau discussed the stand to be taken by the Party on the union budget proposals in parliament. It was decided that our MPs, along with other Left and secular opposition parties, must oppose the harmful budgetary positions and vote against them.

Communal Threat

Despite a lot of speeches at the Surajkund AICC(I) session, the Congress(I) leadership is not making it clear how it proposes to resolve the dispute at Ayodhya in the wake of the destruction of the Babri Masjid by the BJP-RSS-VHP combine. The repeated claims that the temple will be built at Ayodhya by the government appointed turst, along with the reference to the Supreme Court under Article 143, leads to the suspicion that the Rao government is callously disregarding the interests and rights of the minorities.

The objections to the Ayodhya package raised by the leaders of the Muslim community highlight their apprehensions regarding the government's stand.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) reiterated its stand that the reference under Article 143 be withdrawn. Instead, all the cases which were pending before the Allahabad High Court must be transferred to the Supreme Court for a speedy judicial verdict. The government must rescind the acquisition of the land and only take possession of the disputed land till the decision of the Supreme Court. Any other method to solve the dispute will only further weaken the secular fabric and aggravate communal tensions.

The Polit Bureau expressed its deep concern at the anti-minority feelings being whipped up by the BJP on the issue of Bangladeshi infiltration. Under this pretext, already many genuine Bengali citizens in Delhi have been harassed and steps taken to deprive them of their legitimate rights. The problem of Bangladeshi influx must be met by stepping up measures to check infiltration at the borders and by holding talks with the Bangladesh government to elicit its cooperation.

The Polit Bureau noted that the Bombay blasts which killed hundreds of innocent people are a fall out of the Ayodhya outrage and the communal tensions fomented by the communal forces. Such activities fuel minority fundamentalism and extremism. Such a situation provides fertile grounds for the enemies of the country to utilise the situation. The ISI is actively intervening to stoke trouble. The statement of the Prime Minister that it has nothing to do with the Ayodhya problem and is an attempt to destabilise the economy, shows the continuing attempt to evade facing the grim realities of the communal challenge.

Jharkhand Question

The Polit Bureau welcomed the move to set up a regional autonomous council in the Jharkhand region which would give sufficient powers to the autonomous body even by amending the Constitution. In view of the continuing agitation by the Jharkhand forces, it is incomprehensible why there is delay in concretising the plan for regional autonomy.

Darjeeling: Ghising's Disruptive Stand

Despite all efforts by the West Bengal State government to assist the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council to function as per the accord and to ensure its autonomous functioning, the GNLf leader has unilaterally and arbitrarily announced the dissolution of the council. The specious pretext that no funds are being released for the council has been fully exposed by the West Bengal government. So far no proper accounts have been submitted on the money spent. The GNLf threat to resume agitation for a separate state will once again disturb the peaceful atmosphere of the hill areas and disrupt the lives of the people and their livelihood. The Polit Bureau endorsed the steps taken by the Chief Minister and the Left Front government to persuade the GNLf leader to discuss any problems which have arisen and to function the Council.

April 14 Rally

The Polit Bureau reviewed the work to organise the April 14 rally called by the Campaign for National Unity. The rally will be the first all India mobilisation in the present phase of the campaign launched by the CNU against communalism and in defence of national unity. The PB called upon all sections of the people and its Party units to mobilise and attend the rally in large numbers to make it a big success.

April 15 Convention of Mass Organisations

The Polit Bureau welcomed the holding of the April 15 convention by trade unions and mass organisations of kisans, agricultural labour, youth, women and students. This convention will chalk out the next phase in the struggle against the economic policies of the Rao government. The CPI(M) will extend its full support and cooperation to the call given by the convention for a countrywide movement.

Central Committee Meeting

The Polit Bureau discussed the draft political report and kisan document to be placed before the forthcoming Central Committee meeting to be held at New Delhi from April 16 to 18.

CPI(M) Condemns Chris Hani's Assassination*

**Statement Dated April 11, 1993
Issued by The Polit Bureau to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep shock and indignation at the cowardly assassination of Chris Hani, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, and a prominent leader of the African National Congress (ANC).

Chris Hani played a key role in the leadership of the South African liberation struggle. He was chief of the military wing of the African National Congress in the difficult years of the struggle against the racist regime when the ANC was an illegalised body. As an able organiser and consistent fighter he rose to the highest positions in the ANC and SACP. In recognition of his major contribution to the building of the Communist Party and the liberation movement, he was elected as the general secretary of the South African Communist Party in 1991. At a time when South Africa is crucially poised towards the completion of the liberation struggle through a peaceful process, the killing of Hani by white reactionary elements is a big loss to the fighting people of South Africa. The De Klerk regime cannot escape its responsibility for this foul murder. The killing of Chris Hani is a diabolical conspiracy to disrupt the onward march of the people to achieve a new democratic and multi racial South Africa.

Chris Hani was an outstanding Communist who consistently upheld the cause of socialism and the creative principles of Marxism Leninism. The Polit Bureau salutes the memory of

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, April 18, 1993

Chris Hani and conveys its heart felt condolences to his family and to all members of the South African Communist Party and African National Congress.

[On behalf of the CPI(M) Central Committee, general secretary Harkishan Singh Surjeet also sent a condolence message to the South African Communist Party and African National Congress, deeply mourning the cowardly assassination of Comrade Chris Hani.]

Central Committee Communique*

**Issued Following its Meeting in New Delhi
on April 16-18, 1993**

Meeting at New Delhi on April 16 to 18, 1993, the CPI(M) Central Committee has resolved to intensify the two pronged struggle against communalism and the Union government's economic policies. For this purpose, the Central Committee has put forth the idea of forging ahead the anti communal struggle from the platform of the Campaign for National Unity, and decided to vote, along with its Left and National Front allies, against the Union budget in parliament. Extending its full support to the call of a Bharat bandh and industrial strike on September 9 this year and other actions preceding it, as given by the April 15 convention of mass organisations, the committee called upon all Party units to plunge into the struggle with all their strength.

These decisions of the Central Committee were detailed at a Press conference held at the CPI(M) headquarters in New Delhi on April 19 by Party general secretary, Harkishan Singh Surjeet.

Surjeet also replied to several queries from journalists. For example, what if the CPI(M) votes against the budget and the government falls, making mid term polls inevitable even though the CPI(M) is opposed to its holding in the current situation? Would the CPI(M) go along with the BJP in voting against the budget? And so on. Surjeet emphatically replied that the communal danger facing the country does not mean that the ruling party be allowed to impose its destructive policies arbitrarily upon the people. In fact, Surjeet said, by such policies, the ruling party is only allowing the communal forces

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, April 25, 1993

to exploit the situation and misdirect the popular discontent into divisive channels in order to usurp power. The CPI(M) cannot give up its opposition to these policies for the fear that it would lead to fall of the government. About going along with the BJP, Surjeet said the masses now see through the BJP's opportunism on the issue. For it is the BJP which has been hailing these anti people policies, claiming their authorship, and even today agrees with them.

Describing as "ridiculous" the so called "White Paper" issued by the BJP, Surjeet said the latter is trying to conceal its crime by holding the Centre responsible for the December 6 perfidy at Ayodhya. He also underlined that the BJP national executive's Calcutta session goes to show that the party is not going to relent its communal campaign. Surjeet regretted that many secular parties are still not fully realising the magnitude of the communal threat. As for Congress(I), it stands paralysed. To a question whether it is not the high time the characterisation of the Congress(I) as a secular party hobnobbing with communal forces, be changed, Surjeet replied that even today large sections of secular people are attached to this biggest political party of the country which is why a change in its characterisation is not warranted. Surjeet also drew attention to the issue of kickbacks worth crores of rupees in oil deal with Russia, and wondered whether this would not call for institution of yet another joint parliamentary committee.

The communique issued by the Central Committee after its deliberations follows:

Intensify the Anti-Communal Campaign

The Central Committee greeted the successful holding of the April 14 rally against communalism and in defence of national unity at the Red Fort in New Delhi. The Central Committee expressed the opinion that the next phase of the united campaign against the communal danger must be carried forward under the auspices of the Rashtriya Ekta Abhiyan.

The importance of this united campaign cannot be underestimated in view of the continuing aggressive and disruptive

stance of the BJP. At its recent national executive session at Calcutta, the BJP has decided to go ahead with its communal platform with the Ram temple issue as the central piece. It has highlighted the problem of Bangladeshi influx with a view to whipping up anti minority sentiments.

The stance of the BJP in targeting the Muslim minorities and its open advocacy of Hindu Rashtra will only serve to destabilise the country's unity and harm the interests of the majority community. The Central Committee called upon all secular forces to realise the danger posed by the BJP RSS VHP platform and politically mobilise the people to foil their designs.

The duplicity of the BJP leadership on the question of Article 356 has also been exposed. This is the party which has time and again supported the use of Article 356 undemocratically against elected State Governments. It has no case to plead after the Ayodhya demolition which was an outrageous attack on the Constitution, and the posture adopted by the BJP State Governments which was a grave threat to national unity.

The BJP continues to advocate a policy on Kashmir including the scrapping of Article 370 which can only aggravate the situation in the valley and alienate the people further from the Indian State. The BJP leader Kalyan Singh has gone to the ridiculous extent of demanding the merger of Pakistan and Bangladesh into India in his provocative communal speeches.

The BJP has once again exposed its opportunism by its stance on the economic policies of the Narasimha Rao Government. On the one hand, the BJP has consistently supported the entire drive for liberalisation and privatisation. At no time in parliament or outside has it opposed the basic policies of the Rao Government. It now seeks to hide this and cater to popular feelings by declaring its opposition to the problems created by these policies like price rise, unemployment and the penetration of multinationals. However, the BJP leader Mr. Advani has once again reiterated the support of his party to the liberalisation policies of the government.

The BJP, in its Calcutta session, launched a virulent anti Communist and anti Left Front Government campaign. Such a slander campaign emanates from the BJP's ire at the Left's consistent role in defence of national unity and in maintaining communal harmony in the State of West Bengal. The BJP tried its anti-Left platform in Tripura where the people contemptuously rejected such slander as evident by the dismal performance of the BJP in the recent assembly elections.

The Central Committee noted with concern that Muslim fundamentalism is seeking to utilise the dire plight of the minorities and their alienation to resort to extremist activities. Such a trend will only help the forces of majority communalism. The activities of the Pakistan state agencies will only harm the interests of the minorities. It is imperative that the Left and secular forces work in such a manner as to assure the minorities that their legitimate rights and interests will be protected by joining the common struggle in defence of secularism.

The Congress(I) remains a paralysed force in fighting communalism given the compromising line pursued by the Rao Government. It is unfortunate that, even in the secular opposition, there are certain parties and groups which are still unable to rise to the occasion to unite all forces in the vital struggle to counter the communal threat.

Fight Back Economic Policies

The Narasimha Rao Government, disregarding the disastrous impact of its economic policies, is bent upon pursuing policies which are endangering the economic sovereignty and self reliance of the country. The dismantling of the public sector by the scandalous sale of public sector shares at extremely low prices continues. The government is determined to accept the Dunkel draft proposals which will prove highly detrimental to the interests of the peasants and Indian agriculture; harm the indigenous development of science and technology by surrendering on the patents law and open the flood-gates for the penetration of foreign capital in the services sector.

The lowering of import duties, the generous concessions to foreign capital and the virtual dismantling of FERA is threatening the interests of domestic industry and the small scale sector. The delicensing and deregulation are serving the interests of the big monopoly houses. The dumping of goods into the domestic market and the threat of deindustrialisation looms large.

The Union budget proposals were preceded by an unprecedented hike in administered prices to the tune of Rs. 10,000 crore. This has imposed a crushing burden on the people.

The budget proposals constitute another serious attack on the public distribution system. There is no real increase in the outlay for food subsidy at a time when procurement prices are rising. Already in the states, the public distribution system is being restricted and the issue prices of all essential commodities are being increased. This will affect the poorest and most vulnerable sections of the people.

The Central Committee strongly condemned the new employees pension scheme which robs the workers of the contribution made by the employers to the provident fund. It warned the Rao Government not to pursue the recommendations made in the National Development Council meeting for freezing of dearness allowance for the employees.

The Surajkund AICC(I) session saw the adoption of an economic resolution which has uncritically endorsed all the official government policy ignoring the sufferings of the people.

Vote against Union Budget

The Central Committee is of the firm opinion that the series of economic policy measures and the Union budget proposals of 1993-94 will endanger the economic sovereignty, launch serious attacks on the living conditions of the common people and worsen the balance of payments position, leading India into a debt trap. The Central Committee, therefore, endorsed the Polit Bureau's decision to vote against the Union budget proposals in parliament. The Central Committee expressed its determination to fight back economic policies to defend the people's interests. The CPI(M), along with other Left and opposition secular parties, will adopt a common stand of opposition to the budget proposals in parliament.

Support for Bharat Bandh and Industrial Strike

The Central Committee welcomed the holding of the national convention of mass organisations against the government's economic policies and communalism at New Delhi on April 15. This convention of 5,000 delegates, belonging to various trade unions and mass organisations, has adopted a 19 point charter of demands which calls for reversal of the new economic policies and adoption of alternative policies. The convention has called for a joint action programme beginning in June 1993 and culminating, after a massive court arrest programme on August 19, in a Bharat Bandh and countrywide industrial strike on September 9. The Central Committee attached great importance to the emergence of this united platform of the country's major trade unions, kisan, agricultural labour, youth, student and women's organisations. It called upon all Party units and mass organisations at all levels to take the initiative to make successful this call for a movement by the April 15 convention. The widest possible mobilisation of all sections of the people must be ensured to see that this struggle is conducted successfully so that the anti people policies of the Rao Government can be fought back.

Tripura Victory

The Central Committee warmly congratulated the people of Tripura, the CPI(M) state unit and the Left Front for the magnificent victory in the Tripura state assembly elections. The people of Tripura foiled the plans of the Congress(I) to rig the elections under a "caretaker ministry" headed by Samir Ranjan Barman. The decisive result substantiates the fact that the 1988 assembly elections were falsified by the Congress(I). The Union Minister Santosh Mohan Deb has no right to continue in the Council of Ministers after his shameful role in subverting democracy in the state. This victory is the result of the CPI(M)'s consistent fight for restoration of democracy; preserving and strengthening tribal non-tribal unity; and rejection of the anti people economic policies of the Congress(I) Government and the platform of the communal and divisive forces.

The Central Committee is confident that the Left Front Government will work towards implementing the pledges made to the people, and immediately set about restoring peace and democratic norms in the state.

Jharkhand Problem

The Central Committee welcomed the move to settle the Jharkhand problem by the proposal to set up an autonomous regional council. Such a council, comprising the tribal dominated areas of the 16 districts of South Bihar, will go a long way in fulfilling the aspirations of the tribal people. The Union Government and the Bihar State Government should immediately concretise the formation of the regional autonomous council.

Kashmir

The serious situation in Kashmir requires an immediate initiative from the Central Government for facilitating a political solution. The Kashmiri people must be given maximum autonomy so that their rights which have been eroded since 1953, are restored. The Central Government is still not aware of the need for a political approach which does not rely merely on law and order measures to control the situation and to gradually isolate the secessionist elements.

Assam

The Central Committee condemned the anti-democratic measures being adopted by the Saikia Government. In the recent period, the Congress(I) State Government is resorting to the use of Section 144, prohibitory orders and TADA to suppress normal opposition activities including the right to hold public meetings and conduct processions. The Central Committee demanded the withdrawal of all such repressive measures and restoration of democratic rights for all political parties for their legitimate activities.

Adoption of the Document "Tasks on the Kisan Front"

The Central Committee discussed the present agrarian situation. The new economic policies of the Rao Government

have intensified the sufferings of the Indian peasantry. Despite the claims of a bumper harvest, starvation deaths are reported in certain tribal belts and other drought affected areas of the country. The plight of the agricultural labour, with the cuts in rural poverty alleviation schemes and the dismantling of the public distribution system, has worsened. The new agricultural policy does not address the key issues like the implementation of land reforms and a central legislation for safeguarding the rights of the agricultural workers. The government's policies are designed to serve the interests of the landlords and the rural rich.

The Central Committee reviewed the work done on the kisan front in the past one decade. It formulated the major tasks in organising and developing the struggles of the peasantry and agricultural labour. It also discussed organisational steps to be taken to strengthen the kisan and agricultural labour unions. The document outlining the tasks on the kisan/agricultural labour front was adopted by the Central Committee. It will form the basis for orienting the entire Party in its work in the rural areas.

Review of The Work on Kisan Front and Future Tasks*

Adopted by the Central Committee of The CPI(M) in its Meeting Held in New Delhi on April 16-18, 1993

PART I

Understanding of The Party Programme

Emphasising the importance of the agrarian question and how the entire progress of our country hinges on the correct and urgent solution of the issue, the Party Programme states that: *"The agricultural and peasant problems are of primary importance to the life of our country and stand as the foremost national question."*

It also points out *"It is evident that without dislodging the present big bourgeois leadership which has allied itself with landlordism from the leading positions of state power and in its place establishing the hegemony of the working class over the state, no radical agrarian reforms in the genuine interests of the peasantry can be carried out."*

Coming to the concrete task of building the People's Democratic Front and the role and place of the peasantry in general and its different sections in particular the Party Programme states:

"The core and basis of the People's Democratic Front is the firm alliance of the working class and the peasantry. It is the most important force in defending national independence, accomplishing far reaching democratic transformation and ensuring all round social progress. Further, it should be noted that the extent to which the different sections of the national bourgeoisie participate in carrying out the anti feudal and anti imperialist tasks also depends to no small degree on the strength and stability of the workers and peasants alliance. In short, the success or otherwise of building

*Published as a booklet in May, 1993

the broad People's Democratic Front to lead the revolution to victory hinges upon forging the unshakable worker peasant alliance.

"It is common knowledge that our peasantry is not a homogenous mass, that capitalism has made decisive inroads in it and brought about definite classification among them. The different sections of the peasantry play different roles in the revolution. The agricultural labourers and poor peasants who constitute 70 per cent of the households and are subjected to ruthless exploitation by landlords, by their very class position in present day society, will be basic allies of the working class. The middle peasantry too, are the victims of the depredations of usurious capital, of feudal and capitalist landlords in the countryside and of the capitalist market, and landlord domination in rural life so affects their social position in innumerable ways as to make them reliable allies in the democratic front.

"The rich peasants are another influential section among the peasantry. The Congress agrarian reforms have undoubtedly benefited certain sections of them and to some extent they have gained under the rule of the new post independence regime. They aspire to join the ranks of the capitalist landlords and by virtue of their engaging agricultural labour on hire for work in their farms, they entertain hostility to them. Nonetheless heavy taxation, high prices for industrial goods and inflation constantly harass them so as to make their future uncertain. Subjected to the ravages of the market under the grips of the monopolist traders, both foreign and Indian they come up often against the oppressive policies pursued by the bourgeois landlord government. By and large, they can also, therefore, be brought with the democratic front and retained as allies of the people's democratic revolution."

These are the precise conclusions arrived at in our Party Programme regarding the basic policy on the agrarian front. This understanding has helped our Party to break with the old reformist oriented outlook and work on the peasant front. But it had to be followed up by systematic work, concretising the new understanding and by re-educating and reorganising the work of the entire Party on the correct class approach to the whole agrarian

question and the struggles in keeping with the concrete situation in each area and the correlation of class forces that prevailed. The C.C. document "Tasks on the Kisan Front 1967" tried to discharge these tasks.

Tasks on The Kisan Front—1967

The Central Committee met at Nurmahal in October 1966, discussed many of these issues and adopted a resolution "On Work Among the Peasantry". The C.C. resolution identified many of the deep rooted reformist tendencies prevalent in the Party regarding the role of the kisan movement. It states *"The Right deviation manifested in our work on the agrarian front in a number of ways. It expressed itself in the countryside, in our failure to study the agrarian situation and evolve correct slogans regarding the specific features of feudal exploitation and the forms in which the feudal relations exist in our country, regarding the class differentiation that was taking place in the peasantry, the capitalist relations that were developing and the nature, extent and degree of capitalism that was penetrating our agriculture; it expressed itself in understanding and underplaying the militant role of the rural proletariat and semi proletariat in the anti-feudal struggle and in placing undue reliance on the middle and rich peasant sections; it expressed itself in the reluctance to champion the specific demands of the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants, demands that were conflicting with the upper sections of the peasantry and capitalist farmers; it expressed itself in virtually distorting the correct concept of all in peasant unity in the struggle against feudal landlords and building that unity based upon the middle and rich peasantry instead of building it around the rural labour and the poor; and mainly based upon them; it expressed itself in the right opportunist fear that organising and leading agricultural labour struggles for better wages and service conditions for land and other democratic demands might disrupt the all in peasant unity and weaken the Kisan movement. To put it sharply, the Party had failed in giving a correct class orientation to the work on the peasant front."*

The document also mentioned the duties of the Party committees. *"They should make concrete study of the changes in agrarian relations brought about through the Congress legislations, the extent to which these legislations have given relief to this or that section of the peasantry, the futility of the legislations in giving relief to those who really require relief; the concrete forms of exploitation resorted to by the newly emerging rich peasant and capitalist landlord class, the impact of the community development and other projects on the various strata of the rural poor and so on. Such a study of the concrete problems of the rural areas, as they are being tackled by the bourgeois landlord state—alone would help the formulation of a plan of action for the Party in the rural areas."*

The document also pointed out that every Party member should be asked to work in a mass organisation—the bulk of them in Trade Unions, Kisan Sabhas or the agricultural labour organisations. The Party units in the rural areas should look upon work in the Kisan Sabhas or agricultural labour unions as their main work. Party members not connected with Trade Unions or organisations of middle class employees or artisans or those not given any other specific assignment by the District Committee, should also function in the Kisan Sabha or the agricultural labour union.

The 1967 C.C. document correctly pinpointed many of the major mistakes and shortcomings in our understanding and practice and helped us in building the peasant movement. However, the 1967 document believed in the possibility of making the struggles, to force the unwilling government and landlords to distribute fallow land, struggle to prevent the eviction of tenants from the land they are cultivating and struggles to achieve land for house sites for the rural poor, etc. as the united struggle of the entire peasantry. Though the document stated about necessity of taking up the various issues affecting the peasantry, it failed to give necessary direction to the fact that the peasant unity could be built only by taking up the land issue and the multifarious issues affecting the different sections of the peasantry. It also contained some incorrect understanding that *"Conscious attempts should be made to develop these movement in some compact and contiguous groups of villages or taluks o*

districts in a state, so that these struggles are effectively guided, organised and fought and the growth and success of these struggles may rouse and inspire confidence in the other dormant sections and areas." The issue posed here is not one of emphasising our work on a planned basis and utilising all available cadre and organisational resources in a most effective manner. Such planned work of consolidating our organisation in some areas is always necessary. But the idea of concentration and extension should not be restricted to few areas and states to the exclusion of building broadbased movement.

C.C. Resolution on Certain Agrarian Issues—1973

In concretising the Tasks on the Kisan Front as enjoined in the C.C. Resolution of 1967 certain differences cropped up in the Party which were voiced in the C.C. meeting held at Chandigarh in November 1972 involving the extent of capitalist penetration in agriculture, uneven development and the demands connected with it. These differences were related to the questions of (i) land ceiling; (ii) the rights of tenants at will vis-a vis non cultivating tenants especially small owners; (iii) issues connected with regard to agricultural labour's struggle for land and wages; (iv) the attitude of the Kisan movement towards introduction of tractors and other agricultural machinery; (v) how fair prices for the peasant produce are to be defined; and (vi) the stand to be taken with regard to land legislations and the relation between mass struggles on concrete immediate demands and the propagation of the Party's programmatic agrarian demands. The C.C. meeting at Muzaffarpur from March 8 to 15, 1973 tried to settle these issues and adopted a resolution—Resolution on Certain Agrarian Issues. This document also did not help in making a breakthrough in the Kisan movement. The C.C. resolution instead of settling the controversies further aggravated them by landing in Left deviation.

This document emphasised abolition of landlordism and land distribution as an immediate item on the agenda. It failed to give importance to the multifarious issues affecting peasantry for building the peasant unity around agricultural labours and poor peasants. It opposed to the introduction of tractors and other modern

machinery in agriculture. It also stated that the fight against the introduction of tractors and modern machinery should be linked with the struggles for abolition of landlordism and land distribution. It suggested that the struggles for wages must be linked to the struggles for the land.

These issues again came up in the Calcutta C.C. meeting of November 1973 and certain amendments were made on the Resolution on Certain Agrarian Issues. But no correction was made in the basic approach of the document.

C.C. Document Adopted in 1976

The C.C. document adopted in 1976 corrected many of the wrong perceptions and attitudes which were continuing in the Party. Taking note of the changes in the agrarian sector the C.C. document gave a correct direction to the Kisan movement. It states:

"The old form of land concentration in the hands of zamindars, jagirdars, and big landlords is reduced, even though 35 to 40 per cent of the land is still concentrated in the hands of 5 to 6 per cent of the top landlords.

"Millions of tenants are evicted and thrown into army of the agricultural labourers and tenants at will. A section of them could become owners of certain portion of land on which they are working as tenants, by paying compensation or by purchasing at the rates lower than the market rate. Today's tenants are mostly "tenants-at will", with no legal record of rights. They are, today, neither conscious and organised as to demand the granting of the ownership for the lands they are cultivating or to enforce even the legally fixed rent, i.e., 1/3, 1/4 or 1/5 of the produce as the case may be.

"Today, in the rural households, there exist as nearly as 50 per cent families who own no land at all or own tiny pieces of land which is totally inadequate for them to eke out a livelihood and who earn their livelihood in the main by hiring themselves to others such as rich peasants, landlords, etc. They are in the category of agricultural workers, handicraftsmen and those engaged in village services. In contrast to these 50 per cent rural labour families, there exist five to six per cent of landlords who own 35 to 40 per cent of the land under cultivation.

"There are another 20 per cent who have to be defined as poor peasants possessing one to two acres of wet land or two to five acres of dry land. The income they derive from cultivating their lands is hardly sufficient to maintain their families, and hence they are compelled to earn a part of their living either by hiring themselves to others or engaging themselves in some side professions. They earn incomes which are hardly of subsistence level and become debt ridden.

"Another 15 per cent or so of the present rural families come under the category of middle peasant who own from two to five acres of wet land or ten to twelve acres of dry land. They and their families do manual labour on their land, employ a cowboy for tending cattle and hire some agricultural labourers in sessions when there is pressure of work in agricultural operations.

"Those who own five to ten acres of wet land or ten to twenty acres of dry land constitute some ten per cent of our rural families. They are to be defined as rich peasants. They and their families do manual labour on their farms and also employ considerable number of wage labourers and farm servants. They normally not only have enough for their consumption needs but are also able to secure some surplus which can be converted into capital. This division and class differentiation, of course, varies from state to state and region to region.

"Under these circumstances, it is evident that the middle and rich peasant families which constitute 25 per cent of the rural households are not moved by the slogan of abolition of landlordism and the distribution of their land among the agricultural workers and poor peasants, though the slogan remains the central slogan of the agrarian revolution which is not only in the interests of the agricultural workers and poor peasants but also in the objective interests of the peasants in general and the country as a whole.

The agricultural labourers and poor peasants, who are land-hungry and respond to the slogan of land distribution, wherever they are organised and led, have not yet gained the confidence to go into action of the expropriation of landlords' land and its distribution among the agricultural labourers and poor peasants. They are moved into action, mostly, for the occupation of waste

lands, government's lands and the forest lands. Even the occupation of the so-called surplus lands of the landlords, over and above the ceiling laws, could be undertaken only when the state government of United Democratic Front in West Bengal, under the influence of the CPI(M) has restrained the police from going against the fighting peasants. The experience of Kerala shows that the agricultural labourers and poor peasants who are drawn into the struggle for land are inclined to occupy the government and forest lands, but are not yet prepared to seize even the surplus land of landlords on a big scale.

"The ruling Congress Party, utilising its hold over the state and government during the last three decades, has been able to draw a sizeable section of the peasantry into its political fold and disrupt whatever peasant unity that has been prevailing prior to the winning of political independence. It is true that this peasant unity was there centering round the rich and middle peasants unlike the peasant unity which we seek to forge on the basis of the agricultural labourers and poor peasants. The Congress Party's hold on the village panchayats, block samitis and zilla parishads is being utilised to perpetuate division and disruption among the peasantry. This type of hold on the peasant is not to be ignored and brushed aside as the general ideological hold of the bourgeois-landlord classes on the peasantry, as it disrupts the peasants' unity, and prevents sections of the peasantry from fighting for the realisation of anti-feudal and democratic demands.

"The foregoing material goes to show that the Congress agrarian reforms during the last three decades, though they did not abolish landlordism and give land to the landless, succeeded in disrupting whatever peasant unity that was built in the earlier decades around the central slogan of abolition of landlordism and land to the actual tiller.

"The phenomenal increase in the number of landless which has nearly doubled under the Congress rule, the continued concentration of 35 to 40 per cent of land in the hands of 5 to 6 per cent of landlord farms; the growing big percentage of our people—as big as 70 per cent—into the category that falls below the poverty line. The poverty, hunger and misery of the great

majority of our people and the consequent fall in the purchasing capacity of people, the deepening economic crisis and above all the aggravation of the agrarian crisis additionally emphasise the urgency of agrarian revolution.

"But this task cannot be fulfilled unless the revolutionary working class and its Communist Party undertake sustained and deep going work among the peasant masses. It requires the creation of new awakening and awareness on the part of the peasants in general and toiling and exploiting in particular to build the peasant unity, united organisation and united movement, on the basis of a new heightened class consciousness. It demands hectic efforts on the part of the proletariat and its political party to dislodge the bourgeois landlord political-ideological hold on the peasantry, and win it as its firm and reliable ally in the struggle for People's Democratic Revolution.

"The slogan of the complete abolition of landlordism and distribution of the land gratis among the agricultural labourers and poor peasants, though continues to be the central slogan of agrarian revolution, for the entire stage of our People's Democratic Revolution, taking into account structural changes affected in the agrarian front by the Congress agrarian reforms, and also, taking into serious account the existing state of organisation, the level of consciousness, and the degree of unity among the peasantry, this central slogan still remains a propaganda slogan.

"In the light of all these developments, the Kisan movement led by our Party, while projecting the land seizure of landlords' land and its redistribution slogan as the central propaganda slogan, and while organising struggles for waste lands, forest lands, and the so-called 'surplus' lands under the Ceiling Acts, will have to channelise many other agrarian currents, like the question of wages for the rural workers, the issues of rent reduction, the abolition or scaling down of peasant indebtedness, fair price for agricultural produce, the police zoolum, against corruption, etc. so that all these currents might be harnessed into one big agrarian stream. Otherwise, the maximum peasant unity, isolating the handful of landlords and their hirelings cannot be achieved."

This perspective is valid today. The C.C. document also points out the necessity of the widespread development of movement in the country as a whole not only in the priority areas and the states. Certain other proposals and discussions that came up in the P.B. and C.C. were also corrected in the C.C. Resolution of October 1976. They are about formulating two prices for agricultural commodities, one for the toiling peasants and the other for the landlords and the proposal for organising the poor peasantry in one organisation along with the agricultural labour thus converting the kisan sabha into an organisation of merely middle and rich peasants etc.

Political Resolution of the Tenth Party Congress

The Tenth Party Congress asserted the conclusions of the 1976 C.C. document. The Political Resolution states:

"In the document adopted by the C.C. in 1976 after pointing out how the central slogan of land redistribution still remains a propaganda slogan and has not yet become a slogan of action it is stated that the Kisan movement led by our Party, while projecting the land-seizure and its redistribution slogan as the central propaganda slogan, and while organising struggles for waste land, forest lands and the so-called 'surplus' land under the Ceiling Acts will have to channelise many other agrarian currents like the question of wages for rural workers, the issue of rent reduction, the abolition or scaling down of peasant indebtedness, fair prices for agricultural produce, the reduction of tax burdens and the abolition of landlord and police zoolum, against corruption etc. so that all these currents might be harnessed into one big agrarian stream. Otherwise, the maximum peasant unity isolating the handful of landlords and their hirelings cannot be achieved.

"These corrections should no doubt help the Kisan movement to move forward. However, it is necessary to correct another shortcoming also. The Kisan Sabha has made very little efforts to pursue the line of united action and agitation with other organisations or groups local or statewide and has chosen to remain within its own shell".

Report and Resolution on Organisation—Salkia Plenum, 1978

- (1) The Salkia Plenum held on December 24-31, 1978 discussed about the strength and weakness of the Party and mass organisations and formulated the tasks. The report and resolution on organisation adopted at the Salkia Plenum states.

"Our Kisan Sabha has grown to 23 lakhs. However, it has to be remembered that 55 per cent of this membership comes from West Bengal and the two States of West Bengal and Kerala constitute 75 per cent of the membership. The bulk of the rest is shared among the three States of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Punjab. Despite achievements in a few States the weakness of our Kisan movement is patent and constitutes a grave shortcoming. Neglecting immediate concrete demands and emphasising basic propaganda slogans, failure to understand the importance of unity in action with other Kisan organisations, failure to review our own mass movements and inability hitherto to pick up the multifarious issues facing the peasantry constitute the source of our weakness. Another reason has been our failure to carry on ideological propaganda against the feudal barriers-caste, etc.—to bring about unity among different sections of the peasantry.

"Many of these weaknesses were assessed in 1976 and the effort is being made to overcome them. The Tasks on the Kisan Front, adopted by the C.C. in the year 1967, was aimed at liquidating the legacies of Right revisionism in the Kisan Front and also to make a Marxist Leninist assessment of Congress agrarian reforms. That resolution of the C.C. notes that "as a result of the inroads made by capitalism into agriculture and the agrarian reforms carried out by the bourgeois landlord Government, certain changes are brought about in the class structure of the rural areas". Narrating some of the changes and pointing out how "two kinds of class antagonism exist side by side: firstly, antagonism between the rural workers and employers, and the second between the peasantry as a whole and the landlord class as a whole", and how "the second antagonism has the most vital and urgent practical significance"—the resolution enjoins on us that, "it is on these lines that our Party was called upon to make a concrete study of the class changes brought about in the countryside, assess them properly and work

out its agrarian strategy and tactics". It is further emphasised that "it is imperative that we study the present agrarian conditions more closely and carefully, so that our efforts to tackle the complex and difficult problem of peasant unity should succeed and the unity of the entire peasantry is forged anew on a new and correct class basis."

It further states:

"Lastly, the concept of 'developing movements in some compact and contiguous groups of villages or talukas or districts in the states, so that those struggles are effectively guided, organised and fought', etc. which was first projected in our 'Tasks on the Kisan Front' document of April 1967, is elaborated and developed into a full fledged thesis on Party organisation. This idea of work in the compact areas is further concretised and the new concepts, 'priority areas', 'political bases' and 'all front movements in these areas', are spelt out in the Muzaffarpur Resolution on "Immediate Organisational Tasks", in March 1973. By the middle of the year 1975 the same concept becomes more specific and concretised in one document. Here the problem of uneven development of our Party and revolutionary movement in the country was sought to be overcome by the concentrated work in some select areas, zones, bases and states and was linked with the Statement of Policy of 1951 and its immediate bearing on the building of the Party and mass revolutionary movement.

The issue is not one of emphasising our work on a planned basis and the utilising of the available cadre and organisational resources in a most effective manner, instead of getting drawn into spontaneous and unplanned work. Such a planned work of consolidating our strength in some industries, areas and fronts, etc., according to the given conditions, is always necessary. However, this idea of concentration and extension should neither be restricted to few areas and states where today our Party is relatively strong nor is it to be directly and immediately deduced from the Perspective Tactical Line, laid down in the Statement of Policy."

XXIII Conference of the AIKS at Varanasi in 1979

Three months after the Salkia Plenum the AIKS concretised the understanding arrived at in 1976 C.C. Resolution, 10th Party Congress and Salkia Plenum documents in the General Secretary's report to the 23rd Conference of the AIKS held at Varanasi from March 30 to April 1, 1979.

PART II

Review of the Activities after the Varanasi Conference

There has been considerable improvement after the Varanasi Conference. Apart from the continuing advance in West Bengal and further strengthening of the movement in Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Tripura, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh, some advance was made in other states too.

The year 1980 witnessed unprecedented upsurge among the peasantry for united actions involving all sections of the peasantry throughout the country especially in regard to the question of remunerative prices for agricultural produce. Big movements had been conducted in Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, Karnataka, Bihar, Haryana, U.P., Gujarat and other states. The demand for reduced prices of agricultural inputs, end to the exorbitant increase in taxes and levies, higher wages for agricultural labourers, debt relief, for employment, the supply of essential commodities at reasonable prices through public distribution network etc. were taken up along with the question of remunerative prices for agricultural produce. During that period peasants in hundreds and thousands came into action involving roadblocks, stopping buses, organising marches, gheraos, and mass arrests. Though it started spontaneously in some states, it acquired a countrywide character, forcing various Congress(I) governments to give significant concessions.

The landlords were trying to utilise the situation to set up an all-India platform under their leadership and to be at the head of the movements. A meeting was held in Hyderabad at the invitation of Narayanaswami Naidu which announced the formation of an All India Farmers Organisation. Another meeting was called by

Bhanu Pratap Singh in Delhi for the same purpose. We participated in this convention and were able to influence its decisions. A resolution supporting the peasant movements and on remunerative prices was adopted. A Central Kisan Coordination Committee was set up and a call was given to observe January 17, 1981 as Kisan Solidarity day. The March 26, 1981 rally in New Delhi was the biggest achievement of our attempt to mobilise larger and broader sections against government policies. These movements have helped us to forge links with the peasantry even in those states where our Party is very weak like Karnataka, Maharashtra and Haryana. In Andhra Pradesh there was a revival of the peasant movement after many years.

There was severe drought in 1982 in eleven states and two Union territories. Combined with this drought situation within a few months the country was faced with heavy rains and floods bringing havoc in twelve states. Kisan Sabha took up the demands of the drought and the flood affected population. The year 1984-85 again saw the precipitous fall in the prices of agricultural produce while the prices of inputs and other essential commodities went up considerably. Many other issues have also come up. The All India Kisan Council met at Sultanpur on March 3 and 4, 1984 and took stock of the whole situation and decided to launch wider peasant united action. It formulated the 12-point charter of demands concerning the main demands of the peasantry. In West Bengal there was a state wide bandh on these demands on September 12, 1984. Rallies and demonstrations were held in most of the states in the country. The Patna Golden Jubilee Session of the AIKS called for countrywide united peasant actions on all issues. On the basis of the decisions of the Patna session of the AIKS, the AIKS and the AIAWU conducted two major countrywide struggles during September 1987 and September 1988. The 1988 struggle was conducted jointly with other Left-led organisations. During the week long September 1987 struggle 3.5 lakh volunteers courted arrest and another 1.5 lakhs offered themselves for arrest and more than 4 lakhs took part in various stages of the struggles. In the September 1988 struggle 20 lakhs offered themselves for arrest and in all 4 lakhs took part in various stages of the struggle. Following the

decision of the convention on land in New Delhi on April 18, 1989 land was occupied or identified in West Bengal, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, UP, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Haryana. A total of about one lakh acres of land were occupied and thousands of acres of land were identified. Many other issues were taken up during this period. Among them the demand for remunerative prices, loan waiver and restoration of the subsidy to fertilisers etc. were the important ones.

After the new orientation adopted by the C.C. in 1976 and after the 23rd Conference of the AIKS in Varanasi we have been trying to build the unity of the peasantry centering around agricultural workers and poor peasants. While continuing to organise struggles for land throughout the country to resist evictions, to locate, identify and occupy land ceiling surplus, evacuee, fallow or cultivable waste land etc. AIKS and AIAWU have been taking up issues such as the question of wages of agricultural workers house sites, rent reduction, payment of 75 per cent of the produce to the share croppers against evictions, the abolition or scaling down of rural indebtedness, remunerative prices for agricultural produce, cheap credit, reduction of tax burdens, and heavy levies like water, electricity rates, the social oppression of Harijans and tribals, corruption in administration etc.

This new orientation has helped in strengthening and broadening our movement. The movements we have initiated and united action with other peasant organisations have given a new confidence to the peasantry and have helped us to forge links with the peasantry even in those states where our Party is very weak, like Karnataka, Maharashtra and Haryana, apart from the progress we made in West Bengal and Kerala. In Andhra Pradesh there was revival of peasant movement after many years. We made progress in Tamil Nadu and to some extent in Bihar also.

Statement of Policy

The understanding arrived at the Varanasi Conference of the AIKS was further concretised in the Statement of Policy adopted at the Thane meeting of the C.K C. from September 26 to 28, 1986 after it was discussed in the Golden Jubilee Conference of the AIKS at Patna on May 16 19, 1986. The analysis made and the conclusions arrived at in the Statement of Policy are correct.

All India Agricultural Workers' Union

The Report on Organisation of the Salkia Plenum of December 1978 noted:

"The 1967 Resolution on Tasks on the Kisan Front gave a correct orientation regarding the agricultural workers. Our comrades have been moving to organise the agricultural labourers. However, it cannot be said that we have achieved big successes in this direction. Experience in some states have made the state committees concerned to arrive at the conclusion that while forming part of the General Kisan Movement, separate organisations of agricultural labourers should be formed. The advanced movement in some states demands an all india organisation of agricultural labourers. Recognising the dual nature of agricultural workers' organisations where they are separately organised, must coordinate their activities with the Kisan Sabha. They should also have growingly closer relations with the Trade Union Movement."

The AIKS finally took this decision in December 1980 at its Trichur meeting. However, this could be implemented only formally when the All India Agricultural Workers' Union was set up on October 12-13, 1981, at a meeting of the leaders of the different state agricultural labour organisations in Vijayawada. The Vijayawada Party Congress draft report of January 1982 noted that this failure was primarily on account of *"our organisational weakness, the weakness of the C.C. Centre in the main."*

The AIAWU, however, was unable to hold a separate conference even by the end of that year, and its first conference was held at Midnapore, along with the 24th Session of the AIKS. The Political Organisational Report of the Twelfth Congress at Calcutta noted both *"resistance inside the Party to set up a separate All India Organisation of agricultural workers"* and also *"the clear neglect by the state committees in orienting their work towards building the organisation of agricultural workers."*

To this it added, *"The line adopted through the various Party documents for this front has not become a part of consciousness of the entire Party even today. A vigorous education campaign should be undertaken by the state units in this respect.... It must be realised that no advance towards the agrarian revolution can be thought of without bringing the agricultural workers into our fold."*

The Second All India Conference of the Organisation, could only be held in December 1986, at Palghat. This is a full eight years after the Salkia Plenum decision.

The Fourteenth Party Congress at Madras, while it stated that *"The AIAWU has been active in the struggles for minimum wages, and the question of land and house sites,"* it noted also that *"the priority to be given to this vital front is missing in most of the weaker states"* despite the emphasis put on it by the Party since 1981.

It is to be noted that the emphasis has been lacking in majority of states. The attention that was given has been far short of the needs.

The Third Conference of the AIAWU held at Samastipur has noted the following lessons:

1. The most successful movements affecting agricultural labourers are those taken up jointly with other agricultural workers and peasant organisations.

2. There is still hesitation in taking up independent activity under the banner of the Union. However, where this has been done, as in the state level demonstration at Lucknow in U.P., or that at Bombay in Maharashtra, it has greatly increased the confidence of comrades in their capacity to make breakthrough.

3. However, in order to make this breakthrough, the specific problems of this section must be focussed on, like atrocities against scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, the struggle for house-sites, drinking water, lavatories, and social disabilities of all kinds. So far, except in one or two states, we have failed to take up these issues as broad campaigns.

4. The struggle to implement government programmes too has been treated with more than its fair share of cynicism. Comrades must equip themselves with a thorough knowledge of procedures involved in various development schemes for the poorest sections at the village level, to ensure that the people are made aware of their rights and that the misuse of funds for the betterment of the weakest sections is reduced. Even if we fail to achieve our objective because of landlord pressure and bureaucratic corruption our taking up these issues will expose both of these among the rural masses and help to dispel any illusions they might have.

5. A study of state reports reveals that a large number of struggles are taken up formally and abandoned. Nothing could be more damaging than this as it breeds despair among the masses and cynicism. Every struggle must be conducted in relation to the full capacity of the people concerned to struggle. Proper team work and democratic functioning will help us to conduct struggles more in relation to the people's will than our own preconceptions.

6. While women constituted over 49 per cent of agricultural labourers and have participated actively in our struggles, we have not yet been able to ensure equal wages on a countrywide basis or to deal with their specific problems on a priority basis.

This reflects some sort of an alienation of our cadres from day-to-day contact with agricultural labourers and their problems. There is also a failure to recruit enough Party members from this downtrodden and oppressed section as we can see from the fact that only 3 per cent of the delegates to our Madras Congress were from this section.

In West Bengal agricultural labourers form part of the Kisan Sabha. There is a controversy around the issue why agricultural labourers are not separately organised in West Bengal. Because of the specific historic conditions in West Bengal agricultural labourers form part of the Kisan Sabha and the united movement launched many heroic struggles against landlord exploitation, semi fascist terror and during Left Front Government period led many struggles for distribution of land, for security of tenure, on other issues and achieved great victories. These have strengthened the unity of the agricultural labourers and peasants and had helped in further strengthening and broadening the movement and our unit in West Bengal became the largest mass organisational unit in the country. The West Bengal comrades believe that if the agricultural labourers are separated from Kisan Sabha that would weaken the movement at present. But they should consider the fact that with the development of capitalism, the contradictions between agricultural labourers and the rich peasants would intensify and then it would not be possible to keep agricultural labourers and other sections of the peasantry under a single organisation.

PART III

Future Tasks

1. Take up the Land Question

It was stated earlier that the complete abolition of landlordism and distribution of land grains among agricultural labourers and poor peasants continues to be the central slogan of the agrarian revolution for the entire stage of the people's democratic revolution. Taking into account of the structural changes effected in agrarian front by the Congress agrarian reforms and also taking into serious account of the existing state of organisation, the level of consciousness and the degree of unity among the peasantry we consider that the central slogan still remains a propaganda slogan.

Keeping this in mind we took up the land question but we have not been able to seize ceiling surplus land or benami land in a big way in any of the states except in West Bengal and Kerala. The struggle is confined mainly to identify ceiling surplus land or benami land, occupation of government land, forest land, waste land etc. Without further strengthening and broadening our movement around agricultural labourers and poor peasants and mobilising the support of the other sections of the peasantry and isolating the landlords, it is not possible to seize surplus or benami land and hold it. The consciousness of the peasants has to be raised to a higher level. This is not an ordinary struggle and we have to face the attacks of landlords and state machinery. This is a continuous struggle and cannot be limited to certain campaign period. The campaign period is meant for conducting propaganda mobilising public support and also for isolating the landlords.

We should launch big campaigns for land reforms, for plugging of loopholes in the land ceiling legislations, distribution of surplus land, waste land, bhoodan land, evacuee land, fallow land etc. ban all eviction of tenants, share-croppers; land of adivasis grabbed by money lenders or other landlords be given back to them, all the landless who are in possession of revenue or forest land should be given pattas etc. We should try to build maximum peasant unity around agricultural workers, poor peasants and launch direct actions wherever possible to resist evictions, to locate, identify and occupy

land ceiling surplus, evacuee, fallow, or cultivable waste land. The success of the struggle and its spreading to newer areas depends on our ability to build unity of the peasantry around agricultural labourers and poor peasants. It is land struggle and struggles for wages and other demands of the agricultural labourers and poor peasants that demarcates us from other landlord-led peasant organisations. The AIKS and the AIAWU should become the champions of the land struggles in the country.

2. Take up the Multifarious Issues Affecting the Peasantry: Build Peasant Unity and Isolate Landlords

The 1976 C.C. document enjoined us while projecting the seizure of land of the landlords and its distribution as the central propaganda slogan and while organising struggles for waste lands, forest lands and the ceiling surplus lands, to take up the multifarious issues affecting the peasantry in order to build maximum peasant unity around agricultural labourers and poor peasants and to isolate the landlords. Along with the land question we began to take up the multifarious issues affecting the peasantry such as the question of remunerative prices for agricultural produces, waiver of loans of the peasants, subsidies to inputs, irrigation facilities, power facilities, wages, and better service conditions of agricultural workers, strengthening of public distribution system.

While making corrections on our understanding and approaches we landed ourselves again into reformist approach in building peasant movement. This can be seen when issues like remunerative prices for agricultural produces, waiving of loan of the peasants, restoration of subsidies to the fertilisers come up for discussion a trend of tailing behind the slogans of landlords and rich peasants was prevalent. From the AIKS centre we said that the price ~~was~~ demand should be based on the cost of the product plus some reasonable profit and also parity with industry. We should not claim exorbitant rates in competition with the landlord and rich peasants-led peasant organisations. Some comrades held the view that if we fail to demand higher prices than the landlord-led peasant organisations we could not win the support of peasantry. There has been weakness in our efforts to explain the difference between the demand for remunerative prices and the demand for

removal of all restrictions on movement of grain, on prices and P.D.S. To ensure remunerative prices for the peasantry, while we must take note of the cost of production and margin of profit we must not allow our movement to be derailed by the landlord lobby. We must constantly be guided by the requirements of the poorer sections of the population. We faced the same trend when the question of loan waiver came up. The AIKS centre said that we could only support the waiver of loans of borrowers whose loan amount is below Rs. 10,000. But the V.P. Singh Government chose to waive loan amount up to Rs. 10,000 of all borrowers and that given by the commercial banks to whom only landlords and few rich peasants have access. We insisted that the waiver should also apply to cooperative societies which serve the bulk of the peasantry.

Merely repeating the slogans of landlords and competing with them in raising such slogans do not help in building peasant unity around agricultural labourers and poor peasants and help in isolating the landlords. When we raise the question of abolition of rural indebtedness, remunerative prices for agricultural produce, cheap credit, reduction of tax burdens and heavy levies like water, electricity rates etc. we must be able to demarcate ourselves from the demands of the landlords. If we confine our struggles for these demands only we cannot isolate the landlords. So, we should take up the issues of the wages of agricultural workers, house-sites, rent reduction, payment of 75 per cent of the produce to the share-croppers, against evictions, landlord goonda attacks with the connivance or direct help of the police, the social oppression of Harijans and tribals, corruption in administration, strengthening of public distribution system, drinking water facilities, public health, public education, irrigation, new technology for small and medium farmers, marketing and processing facilities for their produce, employment guarantee schemes, promotion of cooperatives, strengthening of Panchayati Raj institutions, question of ecology, agro-based industries, dairy development, fish farming, etc. along with the land question for building peasant unity around agricultural labourers and poor peasants and isolating landlords. We should give due attention to the demands of share-croppers, poor peasants and agricultural labourers.

3. Study the Agrarian Changes and Formulate Concrete Tasks

The intensity of semi feudal relations and the development of capitalist relations in agriculture varies from state to state and even within the state from region to region. Therefore, while concretising the tasks we should consider the concrete situation existing in each state and region.

The Tasks on the Kisan Front, adopted by the C C. in the year 1967 noted that *"as a result of the inroads made by capitalism into agriculture and the agrarian reforms carried out by the bourgeois-landlord government certain changes are brought about in the class structure of the rural areas."* After narrating some of the changes it pointed out how *"two kinds of class antagonism exist side by side—antagonism between the rural workers and employers, and secondly, between the peasantry as a whole and the landlord class as a whole"* and how *"the second antagonism has the most vital and urgent practical significance."* The Resolution continued that *"it is on these lines that our Party was called upon to make a concrete study of the class changes brought about in the countryside, assess them properly and work out its agrarian strategy and tactics."* It also said that *"it is imperative that we study the present agrarian conditions more closely and carefully, so that our efforts to tackle the complex and difficult problem of peasant unity should succeed and the unity of the entire peasantry is forged anew on a new and correct class basis"*

The changes that have taken place in the agrarian set up in the country during the period have to be assessed. The country can be divided into three categories on the basis of land reforms as well as development of capitalism in agriculture. One category is states of West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura where due to the revolutionary strength of the peasant movement and the formation of the Left-led governments land reforms have been by and large carried out within the constraints of the present Constitution. The land reforms measures have improved productivity and production in agriculture, expanded the internal market, reduced poverty, generated employment and also brought in many progressive social

changes. This does not mean that there is no problem of land remaining in these states. In order to further develop peasant movement in these areas we have to take up other issues that concern the development of agriculture such as introduction of new technology, provision for irrigation facilities, issue of credit facilities, storage facilities, marketing facilities, promotion of cooperative cultivation, strengthening public distribution system, agro based industries, dairy farming, fish farming, etc. We can also take up issues such as strengthening of the system of public health, public education, Panchayati Raj institutions, issues related to culture, sports, etc.

The second category falls in the areas where the semi-feudal relations still dominate. These states are Bihar, East and Central U.P., Orissa, M.P. parts of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, A.P. Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, etc. In these states the contradiction between agricultural labourers and poor peasants on the one hand and landlord on the other continue to be intense. Big landed estates continue to exist under benami cover or in false name, the tenants and share-croppers are deprived of their rights. Even the correction of land records is a big issue here in these states and there is no security of tenure to the rights of the cultivating tenants; the tenants are being evicted by the landlords; the land question remains an important issue and a large population of tribals are worst exploited.

The third category comprises of the areas where irrigation is sufficiently developed and where ryotwari system had been predominant. This area is popularly known as "green revolution belt". Punjab, Haryana, Western U.P., Delta areas of Andhra Pradesh, parts of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Gujarat, etc. come under this category. In these areas due to the various measures taken by the Congress(I) Governments the old type of land monopoly does not exist and also due to splitting of land holdings big holdings are few. It is here capitalist development is taking place rapidly. This development has helped in increasing productivity and production in agriculture. The question of land cannot be the central rallying factor for the peasantry though it still remains as a problem because of the existence of certain big farms as well as chunk of areas which is lying as waste land and

which the landlords are trying to grab. In these areas too, the demands of the peasantry as a whole is quite different. As in the first category they are in search of credit inputs, new technology, more irrigation facilities, power facilities, remunerative prices for the produce, storage facilities, marketing facilities etc. We should also take up the issue of wages and better service conditions for the agricultural labourers.

This is only a broad categorisation for general guidance. The intensity of semi feudal domination, the development of capitalism, etc. varies from place to place due to historical, physical and other factors, even among the areas under these three categories. We should also bear in our mind that the whole situation is changing.

Considering the different situation existing and also the changes happening we should concretise the demands of the peasantry for building broadbased peasant movements and peasant unity around agricultural labourers and poor peasants.

Serious efforts should be made to study the concrete form in which semi-feudal or capitalist exploitation exists and the changes that have occurred in the rural economy by the AIKS, AIAWL centres and by the state committees. This is necessary in formulating the correct demands. The Party Centre should undertake this task.

4. Launch Mass Struggles Against the New Economic Policies of the Present Government

The capitalist path of development pursued by the bourgeois landlord ruling classes and their compromises with feudalism and imperialism have further aggravated the problems facing the peasantry and the common people. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the reverses in Eastern Europe, the imperialists especially the U.S. is exerting more pressure on India to change its policies further to suit their interests. The present government is succumbing to the pressures of imperialism and allowing them more and more avenues for expansion. The Central Government is abdicating its earlier positions on self-reliance, Primacy of the public sector, importance of land reforms measures, importance

of planning etc. The new economic policies pursued by the Central Government has already started adversely affecting the peasantry.

Under the dictates of the IMF and the World Bank the Central Government is systematically scrapping the subsidies on agriculture one by one. They have already withdrawn a part of the fertilizer subsidy. The increase in the price of petroleum products through administrative orders and other measures have already increased the cost of all inputs in agriculture. The Central Government has also directed the State Government to increase electricity and water charges. Multinational corporations have started entering the agro-industries sector. The new economic policy is opening up the Indian agriculture to the depredations of the multinationals. The Central Government is taking steps for the disbandment of the public distribution system. The fallow lands and waste lands are being given not to the agricultural labourers and poor peasants for development and cultivation but to the capitalist landlords and their companies.

The recommendations of the Narasimham Committee is making Gramin Bank institutions to operate on commercial lines solely with the profit motive bringing interests for agriculturists in line with the market rates of interest and discarding preferential rates of interest and limiting priority sector loans to 10 per cent would have serious implications for the supply of credit to agriculture. This will also lead to the closing down of a large number of rural branches of banks.

The proposals of the Dunkel Draft will be disastrous to the interests of Indian agriculture. It asks for the opening up of Indian market to the multinationals. This will have deleterious effect on research and development. Their operations in the Indian agriculture would distort the cropping pattern towards the demands of export market while the task of fulfilment of the basic minimum needs of the population for food at reasonable price would be bypassed.

The much trumpeted agricultural policy and export oriented new measures help only the upper sections among the peasantry. It denies the importance of land reforms for achieving progress and

development in agriculture. It does not speak about the problem of agricultural labourers, their wages, service conditions, the growing pauperisation of the peasantry, widening spatial and sectional disparities, mounting unemployment and increasing poverty. It takes care only of the interests of the upper section among the peasantry and proposes no remedies for the growing crisis in agriculture.

There is an alternate path to the IMF dictated, pro-landlord, pro imperialist, pro-monopoly policies. The Centre and State governments except those led by the Left are not implementing land reforms and distributing ceiling surplus land to the agricultural labourers and poor peasants. Land reforms can unleash the productive forces in the agrarian sector and improve the welfare of the common people substantially. The Centre and the state governments should take immediate steps for implementing land reforms and distributing land to the agricultural labourers and poor peasants. The public sector must continue to be given prominence in strategic industries. The policy of indiscriminate imports of capital goods and technology for luxury goods production must end; main emphasis should be given on developing self-reliance and indigenous R and D. Black money in circulation is estimated at rupees one lakh crore which should be ended; wealth tax should be imposed on the monopoly houses; loopholes in the tax laws should be plugged. The government should reduce unessential governmental expenditure. Implementation of land reforms and rural employment guarantee schemes are important for expanding home market. Measures are to be taken to provide relief to the poor in the period of economic difficulty; the public distribution system covering essential commodities of daily life must be expanded and targetted to the poor; the poverty alleviation and employment generation schemes should be expanded. For implementing these measures there has to be greater decentralisation of powers from the Centre to the states and down below to the panchayat level.

We should build unity of the peasantry, unity of the peasantry and the working class and unity of the peasantry with all freedom loving people who aspire for progress—taking up these issues

We should launch big campaigns in explaining the impact of the new economic policies on agriculture and on the peasantry. The AIKS and the AIAWU should activate its units and members in educating and mobilising the agricultural labour and the peasantry against the new economic policies and the imperialist pressures such as Dunkel Draft etc. The anti imperialist traditions of the peasantry and agricultural labour have to be roused.

5. Overcome the Weakness in Organising Tribals

The Agricultural Workers' Union and Kisan Sabha have influence among tribals only in some parts of the country in Tripura, Worli in Maharashtra, many districts in West Bengal, Shahdol in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar etc. We are paying very scant attention to their problems and not making any major attempt to organise them. Their problems are many and varied. They have been subjected to severe economic exploitation. In several areas extensive mining activities without necessary safeguards have irreversibly affected their natural and social environment. The customary rights of the tribals to the fruits, leaves and other products of the forests for the purpose of their living are being openly flouted; villages inside the forests are not treated as revenue villages and are not even recorded; large-scale evictions are taking place allegedly for the preservation of forests. The tribal population has also been subjected to eviction and displacement every time new irrigation or power projects have been begun. A major issue in the tribal areas is the large-scale transfer of tribal land to money-lenders, non-tribals and also powerful landed groups. The failure of the Central Government and of the various state governments except the Left Front Governments of Kerala, West Bengal and Tripura to protect the tribals from these exploitation and sufferings created opportunities for the divisive and other pro-imperialist forces to divert the discontent of the tribals into divisive and reactionary channels. Our weakness among the tribals and our slack^{er} paying attention to the tribal problems has further^{er} situation as we have been unable to appreciate^{er} identity and to evolve concrete programmes.

The Agricultural Workers Union and the Kisan Sabha should immediately devote their attention and depute efficient cadres for studying tribal problems in detail and organising movements of the tribal people.

6. Activise the Work Among Women

It is a fact that women constitute an important component of the activities in our struggle in the rural areas. But our work among women, in organising them, training them and promoting them to leading positions is very weak in most of the states and particularly in the Kisan Sabha. We should reorient our activities to focus on the issues that confront women in the rural areas.

The introduction of modern agrarian technology has caused large-scale displacement of agricultural labourers particularly women. Those in employment are facing blatant kinds of discrimination in terms of wages, government pattas on land for the landless are invariably given to the males, while the demand for joint pattas advocated by many organisations including the U.N. agencies has been overlooked given the semi-feudal character of our village society. Women are often subjected to extreme abuses. Incidence of rape of tribal and scheduled caste women is high. The problem of subjugation, discrimination and other abuses cannot be eliminated within the existing socio-economic, semi-feudal structure. The ending of landlordism and rapid industrialisation is relevant both for emancipating the peasants from the yoke of the landlord and for emancipating the women from the oppression and exploitation of the semi-feudal society. We have to pursue a persistent ideological struggle, against feudal and oppressive ideas among the people we work in and especially among the comrades. We should champion the cause of the peasant women—for equality of the wages, for better working conditions, for their rights on land and against all kinds of social abuses. The Agricultural Workers Union and the Kisan Sabha should pay special attention to recruit women into the organisation and to promote them.

7. Fight Against Social Oppression and Atrocities on Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes

The attacks and atrocities on scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward classes particularly the landless labour continue to

increase. The Kumher massacre in Rajasthan, the Chundur killings in Andhra, the massacres in Bihar, the widespread attacks on dalits in M.P, U.P. and Maharashtra indicate the upper caste and feudal outlook which dominates vast sections of society. There is a growing awakening and assertiveness among these sections to stand up for their rights and not to accept caste humiliations. We should bear in mind that the protest against social discrimination, caste tyranny, police repression, etc. represent the anti-feudal, anti-landlord, discontent of the agrarian masses. Now the leadership of some scheduled caste organisations and dalit parties like the BSP are trying to divide the peasantry and keep these masses away from the general democratic movement.

The AIKS and AIAWU should take up the issues of social discrimination, caste oppression, atrocities against scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward classes. We should come forward to give physical protection to these sections from the attacks of the upper castes and landlords. The failure to take up these issues has contributed to the slow growth of our movement in many parts of the country and also to the growth of the caste organisations which the bourgeois landlord political combines have diverted into isolationist and divisive channels.

Unitedly with other democratic organisations, the AIKS and the AIAWU should take initiative in bringing forward the social reforms movement. The building of a powerful cultural movement is also necessary to combat communal, obscurantist and casteist ideas.

8. Fight Against Casteist and Communal Forces

While fighting for the rights of the peasantry, the AIAWU and AIKS have been fighting in defence of national unity and against the machinations of the communal and casteist forces. These forces are trying to divide the peasantry on caste and communal lines and weaken their unity to combat the class enemies. It is also a fact that all the bourgeois parties are trying to make use of the caste sentiments to get electoral gains. We have to defeat their attempts to divide the peasantry by intensifying the class struggle. The work we have done in these spheres does not satisfy the requirements. We have to intervene immediately whenever any attempt is made to divide the peasantry on caste or communal lines. We should also try to educate the peasantry against obscurantism and other unscientific ideas and outlook.

9. Expose and Isolate Landlord-Led Peasant Organisations

Landlord-led peasant organisations are making persistent attempts to disrupt the unity of the peasantry and derail the peasant movement to suit their needs. These organisations while claiming to represent the entire peasantry actually take up only problems like enhancement of support prices, supply of inputs at subsidised rates, waiver of institutional loans and other dues of the government or electricity boards. They not only ignore demands of agricultural labour and poor peasants, but actually adopt a hostile attitude to the demands for fair wages, distribution of land and end to social atrocities. They are getting all the publicity in the bourgeois media and government patronage. Where our movement is weak they are able to carry the peasantry with them to attain their aims. In the name of avoiding 'party politics' they are attempting to block off their supporters from the influence of our organisations. We can isolate them only by launching big campaigns on correct mass organisational functioning, realistic slogans and patient organisational and propaganda work. We should always keep in mind that the unity of the peasantry we are building is around the agricultural labourers and poor peasants and our other aim is to isolate the landlord section from the peasantry.

10. Strengthen the United Action of the Kisan Sabha and Agricultural Workers Union

There are some conflicts and contradictions between these two organisations at the state and lower levels on the demands of wages, service conditions, compensation etc. for the agricultural labourers. To settle these issues and to build maximum unity among various sections of the peasantry the Salkia Report and Resolution on Organisation suggested close coordination of the two organisations where agricultural labourers are separately organised. In West Bengal where the Agricultural Workers Union is not separately organised a sub-committee constituted by the Kisan Sabha unit is looking after the issues of the agricultural labourers. In those states where Agricultural Workers Union is separately organised state level Party, state sub-committees and periodical meetings of the office bearers of both organisations are to be called to discuss and settle the conflicts and contradictions and also for planning and

11. Strengthen Countrywise Movement

The lopsided development of our organisation noted at the Salkia Plenum is not only continuing but also increasing. Out of the total membership West Bengal alone accounts for 82 per cent. Taken together, the membership of West Bengal and Kerala come to about 91 per cent. At the time of the Salkia Plenum 55 per cent of the membership came from West Bengal, and the two states of West Bengal and Kerala constituted 75 per cent of the membership. West Bengal made tremendous progress during this period. The membership figures reveal almost a state of stagnation continues in membership growth in all states except West Bengal, at least since 1987-88 and a decline in almost all Hindi-speaking states except Bihar.

What are the weaknesses of the organised Kisan movement in the majority of Indian states? The low level of the development of the Left and democratic forces and the right and Left deviation have their role. But harping on that alone will not help. The strengthening of the Kisan movement will help in strengthening and broadening the general democratic movement which in turn will further strengthen the Kisan movement. Apart from the issues stated earlier the state committee should identify the weaknesses and shortcomings and take immediate remedial measures.

12. Strengthen the Democratic Functioning of the Mass Organisation

The Report and Resolution on Organisation adopted at the Salkia Plenum noted that a major weakness of our Kisan movement was *"Our understanding about the democratic functioning of mass organisations is often defective and suffers from sectarianism. Several committees and comrades handle mass organisations as if they are subsidiaries of the Party and pay scant attention to functioning them democratically. At the same time there is another harmful tendency in evidence. Several Party members leading mass organisations tend to function them independently bypassing the Party."*

This weakness is still persisting despite the C.C. Resolution on Mass Organisation of April 1981. In some of the states there is no

demarcation at all between Party and the Kisan Sabha and AIAWU particularly at the lower levels. This has to be rectified. Conscious effort must be made to function the Kisan Sabha and AIAWU as independent mass organisations of the peasants and agricultural labour. Many of the office bearers of the State Kisan Sabhas or AIAWU are either State Secretariat members or State Committee members of the Party. They continue as leaders of the mass organisations not because they devote more time and attention to the Kisan Sabha work but because they are Party leaders. Most of them cannot pay sufficient attention to the mass organisation work because of their other Party responsibilities. This is a sad state of affairs and a gross violation of our understanding about the mass organisation work. The office bearers and committee members of the AIAWU and the Kisan Sabha should discharge their responsibilities as office bearers and committee members and those who cannot discharge minimum responsibilities have to be excluded.

There are many other shortcomings and weaknesses in the democratic functioning of the Agricultural Workers Union and Kisan Sabha. We had again and again decided to strengthen the democratic participation of the agricultural labour and peasants in decision making, in formulating demands and conducting struggles. But there is no radical improvement in most of the states. Decisions are being taken away from the masses. There is less communication between the leadership and masses. Sometimes decisions have been taken by the Party and they are only reported in the Kisan Sabha or AIAWU committees. This style of functioning creates barriers between the organisation and the masses. These barriers are to be removed for strengthening the Agricultural Workers Union and Kisan Sabha.

13. Activise the Party Members in Mass Organisations

Through the agrarian sub-committee has been in existence for a number of years at the All India level, it has hardly ever met. Most of the states have no such committee at the state level.

The other weakness is that many of the Party members are not working actively in any of the mass organisations. Our Party

Constitution enjoins upon every Party member *"to devotedly serve the masses and consistently strengthen their bonds with them, to learn from the masses and report their opinions and demands to the Party, to work in a mass organisation, unless exempted under the guidance of the Party."*

How do we implement the provisions of the Party Constitution? All Party committees must be asked to review the work of the Party members on this basis. The above mentioned provision of the Party Constitution should be strictly implemented. Every Party member should be asked to work in a mass organisation—the bulk of them in their rural areas should work either in Agricultural Workers Union or Kisan Sabha. As for Party units in rural areas their main work should be work in Agricultural Workers Union and Kisan Sabha. This should be applied not only to the members of the Party branches, but also to all higher committees of the Party in the rural areas; all of them should join and actively work in the Agricultural Workers Union or Kisan Sabha. If any exemptions are to be sanctioned it should be done by the next higher committees. Their work should be assessed on the basis of their work in the mass front. These organisational measures are necessary for improvement of the work among the peasantry.

14. Other Important Organisational Tasks

The major organisational weaknesses persisting in the work of the Agricultural Workers Union and Kisan Sabha to be rectified are:

(i) Our style of work continues to be reformist and too formal. We are not concentrating our activities on the intensification of the class struggle and through that the building of class unity of the peasantry. The pattern of work is continuing without any change for many decades. There is weakness in consolidating gains. We popularise demands, organise struggles but fail to consolidate them. Conscious efforts must be made to consolidate the gains by organising them and keeping regular contact with them. This cannot be done without building units at the village level, activating them and training cadres to serve them. All the militants should be organised in auxiliary groups and raise the competent to Party

membership. Building the Party in the rural areas is the joint work of the Party leaders working in the Kisan movement and the local Party committees. They should unitedly work for building the Party in the rural areas.

(ii) We must overcome our weakness in giving sufficient attention to the spontaneous struggles initiated by the common people against eviction, injustice, social oppression and so on. We should give proper organisational shape to these spontaneous struggles by our intervention and by giving clear cut class slogans. Kisan Sabha and Agricultural Workers Unions should take up all these issues. The tasks of the Party Committees and Party members are to activate the mass organisations to organise the people's movement. The Party Committees should not stop there. It is their duty to recruit the most advanced sections among them in the auxiliary groups and lead them in to the Party. This process must be continued uninterruptedly.

(iii) There are weaknesses in taking up the day-to day issues which affect the interests of the agricultural labourers and the peasantry. Whatever it is—beneficiary selection for IRDP, JRY, IAY, DPAP, TRYSEM, CADP, etc. or the functioning of the relief work for drought and flood etc. our comrades should be alert to intervene in time and to emerge as the champions of the interests of these classes. We should also take active interest in the functioning of the cooperatives and Panchayat Raj institutions to make them more democratic and beneficial to the peasantry. Cooperatives and Panchayat Raj institutions are controlled by landlord sections where our movement is weak. They are being utilised by the landlords for maintaining their domination. Kisan Sabha and Agricultural Workers Union members and sympathisers should come forward and take active part in the functioning of these institutions and make them their instruments of struggle against the landlord sections.

(iv) The slogans we raise often fail to catch the imagination of the peasantry and agricultural labour. Especially in our weaker states we often fail to understand their wishes, feelings and emotions and naturally to formulate correct slogans on class basis. This is because of the lack of living link with the masses and their

ideological backwardness. We should train our cadres to live with the masses, take up their day to-day issues and link them with the major economic, political and social issues. The success of building a strong agricultural labour and Kisan movement mainly depends on our willingness to be with the masses, raise their day-to-day issues, to formulate slogans on a class basis, to build movements on them and on our ability to do propaganda work. We should train and develop the cadres on these lines. The Party should reorient its activities and ensure that every Party member carries out his duty in relation to mass organisations.

(v) We have to strengthen the organisation of the Agricultural Workers Union and Kisan Sabha at all levels. The centres of both these organisations are weak compared to the tasks they have to discharge. More equipped cadres have to be drafted to the work of both the Centres. The work in the Central Offices of both these organisations has to be reorganised and strengthened. Except in the case of West Bengal we cannot say that the state centres are working satisfactorily. Three or four comrades have to be deputed for state centre work. Their Party works have to be assessed on the basis of how much time they devote to the Agricultural Workers Union or Kisan Sabha work. Most of the states are not sending regular reports to the centres. In many states AIAWU and the Kisan Sabhas do not have separate offices and there is no regular routine functioning. The states should discuss these issues and remedial measures must be taken within six months. The strengthening of the district, tehsil or block committees and the village or panchayat units begin on the strengthening of the state centres. Without activating the panchayat or village units we cannot make any advance at all. Party and the leadership of the Agricultural Workers Union and Kisan Sabha should concentrate their efforts to find solutions to these organisational weaknesses.

(vi) There is dearth of equipped cadres at many levels of the organisation. Selection of cadres, deputing them to work among the peasantry, their training, their promotion etc. should be a continuous process. After Salkia we had conducted only one central school for the cadres of the Kisan Sabha and AIAWU. We should prepare a proper syllabus for the central and state schools and

conduct classes regularly. There has been a great demand for state classes recently. The centres should be strengthened to help the states.

(vii) We took the decision to organise the Agricultural Workers Union separately taking into consideration of the development of capitalism in agriculture, the pauperisation of the peasantry, the increasing number of agricultural labourers, the growing contradictions of the agricultural workers with rich peasants, etc. Many of the state committees have not given sufficient attention to organise this most exploited sections among the peasantry. All state committees should pay special attention to the problems of the agricultural labourers, build movements basing on their issues, organise them, select cadres from among them, train them and promote them to leading positions.

Alliance of the Working Class and the Peasantry

The People's Democratic Front can be built only by forging the alliance of the working class and the peasantry as the core and basis for it. Our earlier documents have again and again pointed out the importance of strengthening the worker peasant alliance. The All India Kisan Sabha had organised collection of relief to the striking workers on many occasions. Some trade union state committees and lower level committees are regularly giving financial assistance to the Kisan Sabha and Agricultural Workers Union's work. The country-wide *jathas* and the December 9 rally in 1987 and the anti-communal campaigns had also contributed for strengthening the worker peasant alliance. The Conference of Agricultural Workers Union, All India Kisan Sabha and the CITU have been adopting resolutions in conferences stressing the importance of strengthening the worker-peasant alliance. But these are not sufficient in the complex political situation developing in the country. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry has to be further strengthened. We have to organise more solidarity and united actions. The C.C. and the P.C.s should call joint meetings of the T.U. and agrarian sub-committees to plan solidarity actions and united actions.

Conclusion

The weakness of the agricultural workers movement and the Kisan Sabha, in spite of the favourable conditions constitutes one of the important weaknesses of the democratic movement in the country. This weakness has to be overcome and that alone can create a favourable situation for the growth of the Party in the weaker states. The Party in the weaker states should realise this and they should chalk out concrete plans for the expansion of the agricultural workers and Kisan movement. In stronger states also there are scope for further expansion of the agricultural workers and Kisan movement so that all sections of the peasantry who constitute the People's Democratic Front are brought under our movement.

Condolence on the Demise of Oliver Tambo*

Statement Issued by The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep shock and grief at the death of Mr. Oliver Tambo, leader and one of the founder members of the African National Congress, in Johannesburg. Mr. Oliver Tambo was a veteran leader of the liberation movement in Africa. He led the then banned African National Congress in exile for three decades and became the President of the ANC in 1990. After ANC chose Nelson Mandela as its President, he became the National Chairman of the ANC in 1991.

In his death the African liberation movement and the world democratic forces have suffered an irreparable loss. The Polit Bureau sends its heartfelt condolences to his bereaved family and the ANC.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, May 2, 1993

CPI(M) Rejects Finance Minister's Reply*

**Statement Dated April 27, 1993 Issued by
The Polit Bureau to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) considers the reply by the Finance Minister to the general budget discussion in the Lok Sabha, a reiteration of the Rao Government's determination to pursue economic policies which are disastrous for the country. The Finance Minister is not prepared to revise any of the major budget proposals which are going to heap further burdens on the people; erode the economic sovereignty of the country and continue with the path of dismantling the public sector and self-reliance. The announcement in Parliament of a steep all-round increase in the telecommunication rates to the tune of Rs. 740 crores will only add to the infrastructural costs which will stoke up inflation further.

In view of this callous stand of the Government to the people's interests, the Polit Bureau has directed the parliamentary group of the Party to ensure full presence of its MPs in the Lok Sabha to vote against the budget proposals.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, May 2, 1993.

Dr Manmohan Singh was the Finance Minister of the Union Government of India.

On Communal Violence in Manipur*

**Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) Issued Statement
Dated May 5, 1993 Condemning the Violence**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep concern and strong condemnation of the communal violence which erupted in Imphal Valley in Manipur. It has resulted in at least a hundred people being killed and many injured. The disturbing feature of this widespread violence is its communal character. Such riots had not been witnessed before in Manipur known for its communal amity. For the last one year, religious chauvinist organisations have been active in whipping up hatred against the other community. That Hindu-Muslim riots should break out in this north-eastern state is a dangerous symptom of how the communal poison is spreading all over the country.

The Manipur State Government has proved itself utterly incapable of tackling the situation. The Central Government should take immediate measures to bring the situation under control and to deploy adequate para-military forces to put down recurrence of any trouble. Sufficient medical personnel and supplies should be rushed to the state as there are hundreds injured due to the clashes. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) appeals to all sections of people of Manipur to exercise restraint and isolate the rabid communal forces which are bent upon disturbing peace and communal harmony.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, May 9, 1993

Resist This U.S. Blackmail*

**Statement Dated May 1, 1993 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M)) to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the action of the U.S. Government in putting India in the priority list for punitive action under the Special 301 clause. This hostile step has been taken to make India fall in line with the U.S. pressures on intellectual property rights and dilute the Indian patent laws.

The current renewal of the threat under Special 301 clause follows similar action last year which led to the punitive measures of withdrawing duty-free imports of certain Indian commodities. The USA is continuously pressurising India on a whole range of policy matters designed to open up the Indian economy further to U.S. capital and goods.

The Narasimha Rao Government has taken a weak kneed approach to these brazen pressures given its economic policies which compromise economic sovereignty. It is ironic that, at the very time, the U.S. announced the threat, Dr. Manmohan Singh, the Finance Minister, is in Washington to solicit more funds from the IMF.

The Congress(I) Government is already giving into the pressures on the Dunkel draft proposals for the GATT round of negotiations. These include dilution of our stand on patents and intellectual property rights. The Polit Bureau of CPI(M) warns the Rao Government not to succumb to these pressures. The Indian people will not tolerate any surrender of India's sovereignty on these vital matters.

The Polit Bureau calls upon all the patriotic and democratic forces to resolutely oppose the U.S. threat and force the Government of India to safeguard the vital interests of India.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, May 9, 1993
Refer Document under Item No 49 of this Volume

Condolence on Comrade Madan Bhandari and Jeev Raj Ashrit of The Communist Party of Nepal (UML)*

**Statement Dated May 17, 1993 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its profound shock and grief at the accident involving the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Nepal (UML) Comrade Madan Bhandari and a member of the standing committee Comrade Jeev Raj Ashrit in Nepal. While the dead body of Comrade Jeev Raj Ashrit has been recovered, the search is on, till reports last received, for Comrade Madan Bhandari.

This sudden and shocking accident is a big blow to the Communist Movement in Nepal. This tragic and untimely demise is a severe loss for the consolidation of democracy and the struggle for a better life in Nepal.

The Polit Bureau conveys its heartfelt condolences to the leadership and the comrades of the CPN(UML) and to the family members of Comrade Jeev Raj Ashrit.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, May 23, 1993

CPI(M) Warns U.S. on Kashmir Issue*

**Statement Dated May 20, 1993 Issued by
The Polit Bureau to Press**

The statements made by the visiting U.S. assistant deputy secretary of state, Mr. John Malott, make it amply clear that the U.S. administration would make the issue of "human rights" in Kashmir a vehicle for pressurising India and to infringe on matters which should purely be within the internal jurisdiction of India. While assuring the Indian Government that the USA wishes to see the Kashmir dispute resolved bilaterally between India and Pakistan on the basis of the Simla Accord, enough indication has been given that the USA treats Pakistani help for terrorist activities in the valley and India's "human rights" record there on an equal footing.

It is imperative that the Rao Government makes it clear to the Clinton administration that while it welcomes any constructive approach to resolve the Kashmir problem bilaterally, there can be no infringement of Indian sovereignty on the Kashmir question on the pretext of human rights, given its own dismal record of protecting human rights violations the world over when it suits its interests.

The Rao Government should also realise that the grave situation in Kashmir needs to be tackled without delay. A coherent policy which pays priority to the revival of the political process and granting of maximum autonomy to the Kashmiri people is essential if the issue is not to be internationalised by Pakistan.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, May 10, 1993

Condolence on Comrade P. Venkatapathy*

Comrade P. Venkatapathy, member of the Andhra Pradesh Secretariat of the CPI(M) and Secretary of the Guntur district committee, died of massive heart attack on Sunday morning. He was 63 and has left behind two sons and wife.

Comrade Venkatapathy joined the Communist movement in 1946 and took part in many a struggle. He also participated in the heroic Telangana movement and displayed exemplary courage. He led many struggles in the cause of people, particularly kisans, and held many important responsibilities in the Party. In Guntur district, which suffered heavily from Left deviation in 1969, Comrade Venkatapathy played an important role in reorganising the Party. He had been a member of the state committee and Guntur district secretary since 1964 and was elected to the state secretariat in 1988.

Comrade Venkatapathy was a fine agitator as well as legislator. He was elected President of the Phirangipuram block in 1981 and undertook many activities there. He represented Sattenapalli constituency in the State Assembly during 1985-89. His oratory skills and witticism were acclaimed even by enemies. He cut a niche for him in the district politics.

His sudden death has shocked the Party leaders and ranks. CPI(M) Polit Bureau member L. B. Gangadhar Rao, state committee secretary Koratala Satyanarayana, M. Hanumantha Rao, MP, and important leaders of the Party state committee as well as various districts paid their last tributes to the departed comrade. The state secretariat, in a message, paid glowing

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tributes to him. In a separate message, LBG recalled his service to the Party and the people. The CPI state secretary Dasari Nagabhushana Rao, Congress(I) and TDP leaders and many prominent citizens of the district also paid their farewell.

The TDP President N. T. Rama Rao, in a condolence message, expressed shock over the death and described it as a loss to the state and Guntur district in particular. He had lost a friend, NTR added.

The last journey of Comrade Venkatapathy began at 9 a.m. from the Guntur Party office on May 31, and his body was cremated amidst a tearful homage.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M), in a message, conveyed heartfelt condolences to the state committee and Comrade Venkatapathy's family members. His memory, the Polit Bureau said, would always be cherished by the Party.

On Pakistan's Supreme Court Judgement*

Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) Issued The Statement Dated May 26, 1993 to Press

The Pakistan's Supreme Court has declared as unconstitutional the order by the Pakistani President dissolving the National Assembly and dismissing the Nawaz Sharif Government. This judgement is welcome as it upholds the tenets of parliamentary democracy. The eighth amendment in the Pakistani Constitution used by the President to dismiss an elected government is a draconian clause which subverts the basis of parliamentary democracy.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, June 6, 1993

CPI(M) Hails West Bengal Election Results*

Statement Issued by The Polit Bureau to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) warmly greets the people of West Bengal who have in a decisive manner enabled the CPI(M) and the Left Front to register a massive victory in the three tier Panchayat Elections. With around two-thirds of the results announced so far, it is clear that the Left Front has won an overwhelming mandate of the rural masses for the fourth successive term.

The big victory has been possible because the CPI(M) and the Left Front have fulfilled their commitment to devolve powers to the local bodies, implemented radical land reforms and made the Panchayat system truly representative of the rural poor and their aspirations. The proud record of the Left in West Bengal has important lessons for the decentralisation of powers and the revitalisation of the Panchayati Raj system in the country.

The massive victory has been achieved by the Party and the Left Front in the face of a concerted and opportunistic bid by the Congress(I) and the BJP to collaborate at the local levels to thwart the Left advance. Sections of the Congress(I) unscrupulously joined hands with a communal party to target the Left—a policy which will prove disastrous for it at the national level. The victory of the BJP in the lone municipality of Habra was possible due to the en masse withdrawal of the Congress(I) candidates. The increase in the BJP's tally is also due to this unprincipled combination.

The CPI(M) and the Left Front have defeated this opportunistic manoeuvre as they command the confidence of the

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peasantry and the rural people who have been provided a new life of dignity and avenues for social equality by the work of the Panchayats. The fact that nearly 60 per cent of the newly elected Panchayat members comprise women, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, with women alone occupying one-third of the seats, will inject new dynamism into the Panchayat activities.

The Polit Bureau congratulates the West Bengal unit of the CPI(M) and its thousands of devoted cadre and the Left Front workers for setting this proud record in grass-roots democracy. The Polit Bureau is confident that the newly elected Panchayat bodies will be a trend-setter for the entire country.

Firmly Rebuff This Opportunism: Joint Call Given by Congress(I) and BJP For a Bandh in West Bengal*

**Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) Issued Statement
Dated June 6, 1993**

The AICC spokesman, Mr. V. N. Gadgil, has justified the call for a bandh in West Bengal by its state unit on June 7, 1993. This call has been given by the BJP also. Mr. Gadgil terms this joint call as "just a coincidence", but after the naked collaboration between the two parties in the Panchayat Elections, the bandh call will be seen as a continuing joint move by the Congress(I) BJP against the Left Front.

The AICC is only aggravating the situation further in the state by endorsing the West Bengal Congress(I) propaganda about "CPI(M) sponsored violence and killings" after the Panchayat polls necessitating a protest bandh. The Congress(I) leadership is deliberately overlooking the fact that 26 CPI(M) workers have been killed by Congress(I) supporters and their allies during the Panchayat Elections, of which 12 workers have been murdered after the polls, the latest victim being an 11th standard high school SFI student Amrita Roy in Jalpaiguri. Instead of advising restraint to its partymen to avoid all regrettable incidents of violence, the hue and cry raised by the Congress(I) about CPI(M) terror is nothing but its old discredited tactic of trying to cover up its failure to make any major dent in the rural mass base of the Left.

Mr. Gadgil has also tried to evade the question of the shocking and unprincipled Congress(I)-BJP collaboration in the Panchayat polls by stating that those Congress(I) candidates who withdrew from Habra municipal elections in favour of BJP have been expelled from the party. What about the widespread seat adjustments and issuing of joint sample ballot papers in different districts? The Congress(I) leadership must seriously ponder about the consequences of such a disastrous collusion, including organising a bandh along with the BJP. The people of West Bengal will firmly rebuff such unscrupulous and opportunist manoeuvres.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, June 13, 1993.

Union Government Bungling On RSS Issue*

**Statement Dated June 5, 1993 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The Central Government's failure to present sufficient and effective grounds in its notification for the ban on the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) has led to the Justice Bahri tribunal striking down the ban on the RSS. This highlights the Government's bungling in dealing with the RSS led combine which was responsible for the demolition of Babri Masjid.

The fact that the tribunal upheld the ban on the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) only underlines the role of the RSS in the communally disruptive activities as it is the RSS which controls and directs organisations like VHP and Bajrang Dal. The Rao Government, if it had provided adequate documentation and evidence, could have nailed down the role of the RSS whose important functionaries man the VHP also.

The tribunal decision has once again revealed the Rao Government's lackadaisical and half hearted approach in tackling the communal menace.

The BJP leadership is jubilant at the tribunal decision. This is uncalled for, as it is a partner in the VHP's disruptive activities. It is in no way prepared to relent from its stand of justifying the outrage at Ayodhya.

Cancel Sending Indian Troops To Somalia*

**Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) Issued Statement
Dated June 15, 1993 to Press**

The Government of India must reconsider its decision to send a contingent of Indian troops to Somalia as part of the United Nations force there. This is essential in view of the recent events which are disturbing in Somalia. The US armed forces stationed there, as part of the UN force, have resorted to bombings and assaults in the capital, Mogadishu, against one of the major factions. After the killing of 23 Pakistani soldiers posted there, the Pakistani troops have gunned down and massacred 14 civilians including women, who were staging a peaceful demonstration. People are staging protests against the United Nations peace-keeping force.

In such a situation, the Narasimha Rao Government must cancel its decision to send Indian troops to Somalia. India should not get involved in what is essentially an American plan for intervention in Somalia. Neither can any "humanitarian" mission succeed by waging war on the Somalian people.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, June 20, 1993.

Polit Bureau Communiqué*

**Released in a Press Conference Following
Polit Bureau Meeting Held in New Delhi on
June 9-10, 1993**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has decided to forge maximum possible mobilisation on the two-pronged struggle against communalism and the government's economic policies. The Polit Bureau has endorsed the decisions of the mass organisations' convention on April 15, for a Jail Bharo campaign on August 19 and Bharat bandh on September 9, as well as the CNU call for observing a National Unity Week from August 9 to 15, and called upon all Party members to make these programmes a resounding success. The Polit Bureau has also called upon all secular and democratic forces to join this struggle in order to defend the nation's unity and its sovereignty which are under threat at the moment. This was informed by the CPI(M) General Secretary, Harkishan Singh Surjeet, at a Press conference at New Delhi on June 11 after a two day Polit Bureau meeting held on June 9 and 10, 1993.

Surjeet castigated the Rao Government not only for its ruinous economic policies but also its compromising attitude vis-a-vis the communal forces and its dangerous game of competing with the BJP-RSS-VHP combine on the Hindutva plank. It not only adamantly refused to take any pre-emptive action against demolition of the Babri Masjid, but even after that fateful day it took several measures which smack of an abject surrender to the communal forces; the latest being its covert support to the notorious 'godman' Chandraswamy's Som Yagna which repeated the call of constructing a temple at the Babri site. This way the Rao Government has only given an opportunity to the communal combine to propagate that insofar as temple construction is

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, June 20, 1993.

concerned, all "sadhu-sants" are unanimous over it. This would further alienate the minorities and widen the communal divide, the CPI(M) leader sternly warned.

In reply to the Presspersons' questions, Surjeet queried whether the Congress(I) is at all running an anti-communal campaign, notwithstanding such promises at Surajkund and elsewhere. In reply to another question, Surjeet clarified that it would be wrong to dub the entire Congress party as communal though its leadership is openly compromising its secular pronouncements. A large number of Congressmen are not happy over the leadership's attitude. Ridiculing the Congress(I) spokesman, Gdgil's allegation that the Left had compromised with the communal forces, Surjeet advised Gadgil to first do some introspection about his own party's role.

The CPI(M) General Secretary specifically underlined the importance of coming polls to four state assemblies earlier ruled by the BJP and stressed the need for secular and Left parties to unitedly defeat this danger. Surjeet informed that some two weeks ago he had met the Samajwadi Party leader Mulayam Singh Yadav and from the talks held, he hoped that unity would be achieved in some form before assembly polls. Referring to the proposed bill about separation of religion and politics, Surjeet reminded that even earlier such laws had been passed but were not effectively implemented by the government. Naturally, the proposed bill too does not hold much hope for us. The CPI(M) would favour any such move as would effectively prevent entry of communal platforms in politics, but it is necessary that the draft of the proposed bill be discussed with all major parties at least.

Earlier, Surjeet had underlined the importance of the CPI(M)-Left Front victory in West Bengal panchayat polls, rendered all the more significant by the Congress(I)-BJP alliance which has enabled the BJP to have a foothold in Bengal politics. Moreover, the June 7 bandh call indicates that the Congress and BJP want to continue with this alliance. Even today they are targetting the CPI(M) for its so-called "terror" though it is the CPI(M) that has lost over two and a half dozen valuable cadre during and after these polls.

The CPI(M) leader also urged that Harshad Mehta be provided security so that the political figures behind the scam could be exposed. The ruling party's attitude and the statements of its spokesmen only enhance doubts in this regard, Surjeet added.

The Polit Bureau communique issued at the Press conference follows:

The Polit Bureau reviewed the current national situation. It expressed its deep concern at the serious flood situation obtaining in parts of Assam and Tripura which has caused immense sufferings to the people. It requested the Central Government to provide adequate assistance to these two states for the relief and rehabilitation work.

Significance of West Bengal Panchayat Elections

The Polit Bureau warmly congratulated the people of West Bengal who have in a decisive way voted the Party and the Left Front to a near two-thirds majority in the three-tier panchayats. This is the fourth time that panchayat elections have been held within the regular specified period by the Left Front Government in stark contrast to the record of all other states.

The victory of the CPI(M) and the Left Parties in these elections is all the more significant given the vicious propaganda and anti-Communist tirade launched by the Congress(I) and the BJP during the campaign. This victory has been achieved also in the face of an unscrupulous understanding arrived at by the Congress(I) and the BJP in several places. This collaboration assumed the shape of mutual adjustments in supporting each other's candidates and even issuing joint sample ballot papers. The BJP won its lone municipality in Habra because of the withdrawal of 14 Congress(I) candidates in its favour. The depths to which the Congress(I) can go to target the CPI(M) was seen in this line of collaborating with the BJP at a time when the communal forces are posing a serious threat to national unity. Both these forces have ganged up as they represent the interests of the exploiting classes in the villages.

The rural people of West Bengal have given a resounding mandate to the CPI(M) and the Left Front because of their exemplary record in devolving powers to the local bodies,

revitalising the panchayats and changing its class composition in favour of the rural poor and nurturing self-governing bodies which participate in all aspects of developmental work. All the 16 Zilla Parishads have been won by the CPI(M) and its Left allies. A noteworthy feature of these elections has been the one-third reservation for women which has brought in more than 23,000 women members at different levels of the three tier panchayats.

The Polit Bureau noted that the lack of understanding on allocation of seats between the Left Front partners and the negative role played by some of them have helped the Congress(I) and the BJP in certain areas to make gains. The Left as a whole must learn from this experience and overcome such problems and strengthen Left unity further.

The West Bengal state committee of the CPI(M) is determined to continue the ideological struggle to isolate the communal forces like the BJP in the state. The state committee will be reviewing the panchayat election results in detail so that the rich experience of this mass popular participation in local government can be properly assessed and steps taken to overcome any shortcomings or weaknesses that exist.

The Polit Bureau condemned the joint bandh call by the Congress(I) and the BJP on the 7th of June on the false cry of CPI(M) "atrocities" in the state after the panchayat elections. The Congress(I), by this joint call, has taken another step in continuing with its unscrupulous collaboration with the communal forces to target the Left Front. While all incidents of violence have been condemned by the Party, it is the CPI(M) which has borne the brunt of the violent attacks by the Congress(I). ~~Twenty~~^{Twenty}six CPI(M) workers lost their lives during and after the panchayat polls due to attacks by the Congress(I) and its allies.

Major Issues on National Scene

The Polit Bureau noted that four issues dominate the current political scene. They are: (a) danger of communalism; (b) the anti-people economic policies which threaten economic sovereignty; (c) continuing threat from the separatist and divisive forces; and (d) major corruption scandals.

The Congress(I) Central Government's tackling of these problems or their responsibility for wrong policies on the above issues have led to acute discontent among the people. This was reflected in the recent by elections in which the Congress(I) suffered reverses.

The Polit Bureau noted that the Narasimha Rao Government has failed to take any effective steps to isolate the communal forces. The series of administrative measures taken against the BJP RSS-VHP combine have all proved to be ineffective or counter productive given the bungling by the government and its lack of will, the recent instance being the Bahri Tribunal striking down the ban on the RSS while upholding it in the case of the VHP. This verdict shows that the Central Government had not mustered the adequately available evidence for the ban notification.

Dangerous Course

Such failures have not stemmed from administrative incompetence, rather they reflect on the Rao Government's lack of political will and determination to fight the communal danger. Instead, the Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and the Congress(I) leadership embarked on the dangerous course of competing with the VHP-RSS in mobilising *sadhus* and utilising the religious platform. The "*Som Yagna*" conducted at Ayodhya recently had the backing of the Congress(I) leadership. The farce of the *Yagna* concluded with the call for building the temple at the disputed site at Ayodhya clearly reveals the intentions of the organisers and their political patrons. Since the announcement of the Ayodhya package and the reference to the Supreme Court under Article 143, the Prime Minister is pursuing the dangerous path of trying to appropriate the BJP platform of building the temple at the disputed site through the government sponsored trust. Such tactics have only further strengthened the communal forces and provided legitimacy to their disruptive platform.

The minorities are getting increasingly apprehensive and frustrated by the stance of the Rao Government. The resulting alienation will have adverse repercussions for national unity and help fuel minority fundamentalism.

The Polit Bureau underlined the necessity to continue and sustain the campaign against the communal threat posed by the BJP and its allies, and calls upon all the secular forces to unitedly carry forward this work.

Proposed Legislation on Religion and Politics

The Central Government has announced its intention to bring new legislation to ensure the separation of religion from politics and to check the penetration of communal forces in the political process. Past experience shows that the Congress(I) Government has failed to utilise the existing laws to enforce the separation of religion from politics and the state. Any step which effectively and impartially ensures the prevention of communal platforms in politics will be a welcome step. However, such legislations will have to be carefully gone into to see if they genuinely serve the stated purpose. The Polit Bureau, therefore, demanded that the draft legislation be discussed with all the major political parties in the country before it is given final shape. The CPI(M) will give its final considered opinion after going through the draft proposals.

Tripura

The Polit Bureau appreciated the efforts of the Left Front Government to restore peace and normalcy in the state. It deplored the efforts of a section of the Congress(I)-TUJS in the state to aggravate the situation and create further discord. The Left Front Government is determined to spare no effort whatsoever to provide the citizens a peaceful and normal atmosphere and in tackling extremist activities while maintaining the unity of the tribal and non-tribal people. The Polit Bureau in this connection also welcomed the decision of the Left Front to hold the elections to the panchayats and local bodies as early as possible to revive the panchayat system in the state which was rendered defunct by the Congress(I) for the past five years.

Three-Member Election Commission

The Polit Bureau strongly criticised the capricious and arbitrary behaviour of the Chief Election Commissioner. The decision to

postpone the Ottapalam and Palani Lok Sabha by elections had no justification whatsoever except to serve the interests of the Congress(I) which was found to face certain defeat.

The unnecessary controversy created over the appointment of the Chief Electoral Officer of West Bengal is another glaring instance of the wayward functioning of the CEC. The panels of names of officers to the post sent by the state government have all been rejected and an unreasonable threat is issued of not holding the elections to the seats to be vacant to the Rajya Sabha from the state.

The arbitrary ways and the misuse of the office of the Chief Election Commissioner calls for reforming the structure of the Election Commission. It is necessary to make the Election Commission a multi-member body by appointing a three member commission, provision for which exists in the Constitution. The Polit Bureau appeals to all democratic forces to support this demand for the appointment of a multi member Election Commission.

Shielding Corruption

The Congress(I) as a party was thoroughly exposed as the defender of corrupt practices when it collectively abstained on the impeachment motion against Justice Ramaswami in the Lok Sabha.

In the investigation into the security scandal, the Congress(I) government is exhibiting its well known proclivity for shielding corruption. The CBI has so far failed to pinpoint who has been conniving with Harshad Mehta and other corrupt brokers. The CBI must also come out with the facts about who have been receiving pay offs by Harshad Mehta. The JPC has to get to the bottom of the affair and publish its findings fearlessly, otherwise people's faith and credibility in such investigations will not be restored.

Forthcoming Assembly Polls

The forthcoming Assembly Elections in the four states of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh will

have an important bearing on the future course of national politics. The BJP poses a serious challenge in all these states. The Congress(I) has not shown any capability of tackling the communal platform after the imposition of President's rule in these states.

For the secular and democratic forces the defeat of the BJP in these states, particularly in Uttar Pradesh, is a crucial task. This can be accomplished in a state like UP only if there is the widest understanding of all the secular opposition and Left and democratic forces. In this, the understanding between the Janata Dal and the Samajwadi Party and other secular and Left forces is a key factor. The Polit Bureau hopes that all the parties and leaders concerned will realise the big responsibility in achieving a wider understanding and not allow narrow interests to come in the way.

Forge Wider Resistance to Economic Policy

The Narasimha Rao Government, oblivious to the increasing sufferings of the people, is continuing with the whole gamut of economic policies which are designed to fulfil the IMF conditionalities. Dr. Manmohan Singh has announced that for the next three years India would require annually three billion dollars as foreign financial assistance. The IMF is being approached for the nine billion dollars package to begin next year. This is the surest way of getting India mired in the debt trap and mortgaging the country's future. In line with the stringent conditionalities which are accepted, the Rao Government is launching one onslaught after the other on the working people. Threat of DA freeze, austerity for the poor, large-scale closures and an exit policy which intensifies unemployment, and continuing price rise are the results of such policies.

The Rao Government is set upon accepting the Dunkel draft proposals despite strong public opposition, though it adopts evasive postures in public. The peasantry is suffering from the loss of incomes due to the substantial fall in the price of all commercial crops whether it be tobacco, cotton, pepper, cashew or potatoes. For the rural poor the vicious cycle of droughts, floods and the lack of basic amenities is being aggravated with the collapse of the public distribution system.

The Polit Bureau noted that the Centre's economic policies are now hitting the people through the state governments taking steps to increase water rates, electricity and transport charges and hikes in educational fees. On all these issues the Party and the various mass organisations must come forward to organise the people's protest and resistance. All such struggles will contribute to the nationwide movement being built up against the pernicious economic policies.

Importance of Left's United Intervention

The Polit Bureau stressed the importance of the Party and the mass organisations taking the lead in organising struggles of the people against the new economic policies and the increasing burdens being imposed on the people in different states. Simultaneously the Party must ceaselessly work amongst the people to make them aware of the communal platform of the BJP and its allies which will disrupt people's unity and their common struggle to better their lives. To fulfil both these tasks the Party and the Left must expand their activities in a big way. Left unity and the projection of the Left platform is essential at this juncture so that the widest forces can be rallied in the twin struggle against communalism and the economic policies.

Make Bharat Bandh Successful

The Polit Bureau called upon the entire Party to wholeheartedly work for the success of the September 9 Bharat Bandh and industrial strike call given by the platform of mass organisations. The mass organisations' convention held in New Delhi on April 15 which represents all sections of workers, peasants, agricultural labour, youth, women and students has chalked out a phased programme towards the Bharat Bandh. It involves the holding of conventions, *jathas*, *padayatras*, rallies and demonstrations and a jail *bhara* movement on August 19. All these movements will culminate in the countrywide protest action on September 9. The Polit Bureau has called for a full-scale effort to make this movement a success.

Polit Bureau Communique 635

The Polit Bureau also endorsed the call of the Campaign for National Unity for a one-week campaign from August 9 to 15 in defence of national unity and independence and against the disruptive designs of the communal forces led by the BJP. This campaign to be observed each day separately in the week by different mass fronts should be an action in which the widest sections of the people are approached and drawn towards the defence of national unity and secularism.

The Polit Bureau exhorts all the democratic and secular forces to join in these nationwide campaigns so that the movement to push back the communal and divisive forces and the struggle to reverse the economic policies of the Rao government can take a big step forward.

Prime Minister Must Step Down*

**Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) Issued
Statement Dated June 16, 1993 to Press**

The Rs. 5000 crore securities scandal involving a wide nexus of corrupt brokers, bankers and bureaucrats could not have been possible without the highest political patronage and protection.

The revelation by one of the key culprits in the scam, Harshad Mehta, that he had paid Rs. one crore personally to the Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao is a shocking news regarding this political protection given at the highest quarters. It is imperative that Mr. Rao immediately step down from office. He cannot continue to hold the office of Prime Minister with such a serious charge levelled against him. This is all the more necessary since the extent of the illegal operations and its political connections must be completely unravelled.

The way the CBI has been influenced to be tardy in its investigations underlines the efforts for a cover up.

This does not mean that Harshad Mehta should be spared for his criminal dealings in the scam.

It will be futile for the Congress(I) leadership to try and cover up this damaging revelation on the plea of Harshad Mehta's culpability in the securities scam. Nobody will believe their defence and public credibility in the government cannot be restored unless the Prime Minister owns up moral responsibility.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, June 20, 1993

Denounce This Murder Spree*

**Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) Issued Statement
Dated June 17, 1993 to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the massacre of 12 CITU and CPI(M) workers by INTUC and Congress(I) miscreants at Banarhat near Red Bank Tea Estate in Jalpaiguri district on June 16. Some are missing and feared dead. Thirty other workers were injured including five who are in a critical condition.

These gruesome killings were the result of a premeditated attack on a CITU-sponsored meeting called to protest INTUC attacks on women workers.

These killings are the result of the systematic hate campaign launched by the Congress(I) in collusion with the BJP in connection with the panchayat elections. It may be recalled that both the Congress(I) and the BJP had jointly called for a bandh on June 7 against the so-called CPI(M) atrocities. The fact that more than 30 CPI(M) workers were killed during the panchayat elections and after, is now compounded by these barbaric killings.

The AICC(I) leadership had justified the state unit's activities to aggravate tensions by supporting the bandh call. Now the brutal massacre has exposed who is behind the violence being perpetrated in the state. This also gives the lie to the false campaign being conducted by a section of the media.

The Polit Bureau warns the central Congress(I) leadership to stop the dangerous course adopted by its followers in West Bengal. The people of West Bengal will give a fitting rebuff to such murder politics. The Polit Bureau conveys its heartfelt condolences to the families of all those killed in the incident. It calls upon all democratic forces in the country to denounce these killings.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, June 27, 1993.

U.S. Aggression On Iraq Condemned*

**Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) Issued Statement
Dated June 28, 1993 to Press**

The barbarous missile attack by the U.S. armed forces on Baghdad calls for the strongest condemnation. President Clinton has chosen to resort to this act of brazen aggression to distract attention from his growing domestic unpopularity.

This lethal missile attack cannot be justified by any international norms whatsoever. It has led to the killing of many innocent civilians including a prominent Iraqi woman painter and her husband. The United Nations, which has reduced itself to a virtual rubber-stamp for unilateral American decisions, must come out strongly against this outrage if it has to recover any semblance of international credibility. The Narasimha Rao Government too, which has been afraid, time and again, to stand-up to the U.S. bullying of the Third World, must speak out against this lawless act.

The Polit Bureau calls upon all sections of people to protest against the domineering and lawless activities of the USA.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, July 4, 1993.

Condolence on Comrade Suryawathi*

Statement Issued by The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) deeply mourns the sudden and untimely death of Comrade Manikonda Suryawathi who passed away in Hyderabad on July 4. Comrade Suryawathi, 71, was a member of the CPI(M) Andhra Pradesh State Committee, a veteran Communist who joined the Party in 1942, she was one of the founders of the women's movement in the state.

Steeled through the struggles of the 1940s, the Telangana armed struggle and the subsequent period of ban on the Communist Party, Comrade Suryawathi served the Communist movement and the people in various capacities. She was a sarpanch, block president, member of the State Legislative Council, and was elected the first Andhra Pradesh Secretary of the Mahila Sangham in 1947.

Comrade Suryawathi's life was an exemplary commitment of courage, conviction, sacrifice and discipline. Both she and her late husband, Manikonda Subbarao, one of the most respected of the senior leaders of the Party in the state, hailed from well-to-do families, and donated their entire property to the Party in 1943 and became whol timers.

In her death, the CPI(M) has lost a dedicated Communist and relentless fighter against injustice. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) conveys its heartfelt condolences to her two daughters and the Party in Andhra Pradesh.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, July 11, 1993.

On West Bengal Rajya Sabha Elections*

**Statement Dated July 15, 1993 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly deplores the unjustifiable delay by the Election Commission in issuing the notification for the six vacant seats for the Rajya Sabha from West Bengal. Earlier, the Chief Election Commissioner delayed the appointment of the Chief Electoral Officer of the state till the state government went to the High Court to get the matter resolved. However, despite the appointment of a wholetime CEO, even after two weeks, the Election Commission has not issued the notification.

The reasons given by the Election Commission for delaying the notification are groundless. The state government has already sent the necessary details for the holding of elections. The notification could have been issued before the President's trip abroad.

It is grossly unfair to keep six seats from West Bengal unelected in view of the forthcoming session of Parliament thereby depriving the state of its due representation. The Chief Election Commissioner is transgressing all norms and conventions for his arbitrary whims.

The Polit Bureau calls upon all sections of public opinion to protest this wayward behaviour and demand the immediate announcement of elections to the Rajya Sabha from West Bengal.

On 'No Trust' Motion Against Narasimha Rao Government*

**Statement Dated July 28, 1993 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M)**

The Narasimha Rao Government has scrapped through with a narrow majority in the no confidence motion in the Lok Sabha. It has suffered a political and moral defeat by managing to cling on by resorting to shameless use of money power and horse trading.

The battered Rao Government has lost all credibility. Unless the discredited policies, it is pursuing, are given up, it cannot be expected to last long.

Text of No Confidence Motion

This House expresses its lack of confidence in the Council of Ministers:

"For its pursuance of anti-people economic policies based on total surrender to the IMF and World Bank which are causing growing unemployment, price rise and abandonment of self-reliance, adversely affecting Indian industry and the interest of farmers.

"For its compromising attitude to communal forces resulting in failure to tackle the threat to the secular basis of the Constitution arising out of the Ayodhya dispute and its aftermath, for not bringing to book those responsible for the demolition of the mosque structure at Ayodhya and for its failure to implement social justice.

"For all pervading corruption even at the highest levels of the government which has damaged the image of the country and that the multi-thousand crores of rupees securities scam and the continuing scandal of disinvestment of public units' shares have resulted in loss of people's faith in the administration."

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, August 1, 1993

This 'No Confidence' motion was moved by the CPI(M) M P. Ajoy Mukhopadhyay in the Lok Sabha

On Chief Election Commissioner's Illegal Action*

Statement Dated August 2, 1993

Issued by The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press

The Chief Election Commissioner has taken a preposterous decision to once again postpone the by elections to the Ottapalam and Palani Lok Sabha seats. What makes the decision truly astounding is that the announced Rajya Sabha, State Assembly and other legislative council elections has also been postponed. In the case of the Ottapalam and Palani Lok Sabha seats and Ranipet Assembly seat, the earlier decision to postpone the elections in May was itself unwarranted. The postponement of the much delayed Rajya Sabha elections from West Bengal is unconstitutional and undemocratic.

The Chief Election Commissioner has blamed the non cooperation of the Central Government as the reason for the postponement. This is only a smokescreen to cover up the real objective. The Congress party does not want to face the electorate particularly in Ottapalam and Palani Lok Sabha seats where it would have faced certain defeat. The latest manoeuvre by the Election Commission is meant to help the ruling party at the Centre. The CEC has brought a vital institution like the Election Commission into disrepute by his illegal actions. This latest act by the CEC underlines the necessity for restructuring of the Election Commission and the appointment of a multi-member Election Commission as provided in the Constitution.

The Polit Bureau called upon its Party units and all sections of democratic opinion to launch a vigorous protest against this arbitrary decision.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, August 8, 1993

On Chief Election Commissioner's Latest Move*

Statement Dated August 11, 1993

Issued by The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press

The latest decision by the Chief Election Commissioner modifying his earlier order and announcing the holding of scheduled elections by September 10, once again reveals the connivance between the Congress(I) government and the CEC. The Centre has refused to set up a multi member commission despite the widespread demand and agreement for such a step.

There are no grounds for the arbitrary decision not to hold the elections to the Rajya Sabha seats from West Bengal on August 19 as earlier scheduled. There is no question of time being given for campaigning as in the case of Assembly or Lok Sabha seats and the process of nominations are also over. The double standards of the CEC is evident in that he has allowed the counting for Mr. Sharad Pawar's election to the Legislative Council in Maharashtra while, by his latest decision, West Bengal has been deprived of sending its elected representatives to the Rajya Sabha for the entire monsoon session.

The CEC continues to display an arrogant attitude to the rights of the states under the Constitution. This is underlined by the discriminatory attitude of not including Tamil Nadu by-elections in the latest schedule. Despite referring to the Supreme Court, the issue of jurisdiction of powers between the Election Commission, Central and State Governments, the CEC has declared that elections in Tamil Nadu will depend on his being satisfied that sufficient central police forces are deployed.

The Polit Bureau reiterates its stand that the current crisis can be resolved on a stable basis only by the constitution of a multi-member Election Commission.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, August 15, 1993

Refer Document under Item No 158 of this Volume The Chief Election Commissioner was Shri T N Seshan

Punish Guilty of Nalanda Firing*

Statement Dated August 13, 1993

Issued by The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly condemns the police firing on CPI(M) workers at Hilsa in Nalanda district of Bihar today. The CPI(M) Nalanda district secretary, Comrade Govind Prasad, was killed on the spot in the police firing. Four other workers are critically injured.

The CPI(M) Polit Bureau demands of the Laloo Prasad Yadav government that those guilty for this unprovoked and totally uncalled for police firing be immediately punished. The Polit Bureau expresses its condolences and sympathies to Comrade Govind Prasad's family.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, August 22, 1993

On Sangha Combine's Fascist Vandalism*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)

Issued Statement Dated August 13, 1993

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) condemns the vandalism of the BJP RSS men who damaged a large number of exhibits at the exhibition put up by the **Safdar Hashmi Memorial Trust** at Faizabad. That such an attack could take place in broad daylight with the police watching on, shows the complicity of the district administration.

The **SAHMAT** is organising a cultural programme at Ayodhya on August 14 15, 1993 in connection with independence day. The VHP and the Bajrang Dal have threatened to disrupt this programme. The UP administration has been allowing these elements to hold the town to ransom for too long. The Polit Bureau demands that the district administration take firm measures to see that the cultural festival takes place smoothly.

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Central Committee Communiqué*

**Issued Following its Meeting Held on
August 21-23, 1993**

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) met in Bangalore on August 21-23, 1993. It has issued the following statement on the deliberations of the meeting:

Disastrous Policies of Rao Government

The Prime Minister is brazenly defending the government's economic policies of surrender to imperialist pressures and destruction of India's self-reliant potential. The government is going ahead with the negotiations for another huge IMF loan. It is bent upon disinvesting public sector shares despite the scandal of the PSU shares being sold at shockingly low prices.

The speeches made by the Prime Minister during the no-confidence motion in the Lok Sabha and on independence day show that he is neither prepared to change these policies nor learn any lesson from experience. The Prime Minister continues with the dangerous policy of competing with the BJP/VHP in trying to appropriate the platform of temple construction at the disputed site at Ayodhya. The holding of the Som Yagna and the Shankaracharyas' entry into the fray are all indications that the Rao Government prefers to legitimise the communal platform rather than take a principled stand on the defence of secularism.

The Rao government is indifferent to the people's suffering due to price-rise while it goes on propagating that inflation is falling.

Gigantic Corruption

No government since independence has been mired in such large scale corruption charges as the present regime. The securities

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scandal being investigated by the JPC, the scandal connected with the disinvestment of public sector shares, the continuing at tempted cover up of the Bofors kickbacks—all these have been the background in which charges were directly levelled against the Prime Minister of receiving money. The Central Committee reiterated that the only way an impartial probe can be conducted in this matter is for the Prime Minister to step down and appear before the JPC to clear his name.

Fight Rao Government's Policies

The policies of compromise and competition with the BJP and the communal forces; the ravages of the economic policy leading to large scale closures, unemployment, looting of public funds and the failure of the government to solve the chronic problem of national unity as in Kashmir—all indicate that the Rao Government, despite scraping through the no confidence motion with a few defectors' support, cannot serve the country's interests. With the present policies being continued, this government cannot last for long.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) decided to resolutely fight these policies and rally all Left and secular opposition forces in the struggle.

Make Bharat Bandh A Big Success

The Central Committee warmly greeted the more than one million participants in the August 19 *Jail Bharo* movement called by the platform of mass organisations. It condemned the police action in various centres to repress the struggle.

The *Jail Bharo* movement was a prelude to the call for the September 9 Bharat bandh. The Central Committee decided to mobilise the entire party behind this call given by the mass organisations. All party units must gear up fully to mobilise this nation-wide general strike and make it a total success. This bandh will be an important landmark in the struggle to reverse the economic policies.

The Central Committee denounced the growing American pressures on the Indian Government to prevent India from going

ahead with its independent scientific and technological development and safeguarding its security interests. The nullification of the cryogenic rocket engine sale by Russia was solely due to the pressure mounted by the Clinton administration. It is shameful that Narashimha Rao has not criticised this American pressure even in the mildest terms. The United States has had the temerity to submit a diplomatic note to the Indian Government where it has submitted its demands peremptorily. It has asked India to submit to the nuclear non proliferation regime; stop going ahead with the *Agni* missile testing and stop the fast breeder nuclear fuel production. The Rao Government which has submitted to imperialist pressures on the economy finds itself unable to stand up for India's vital national and security interests.

The Central Committee called upon all patriotic and democratic forces to rouse the people against the imperialist threats and to expose the Rao Government's craven attitude in face of these pressures.

Activity of Communal Forces

The Central Committee noted that the VHP and the RSS are planning to resume their agitation on the temple issue. The VHP has issued a ultimatum to the government to hand over the disputed land at Ayodhya to its trust by October 24 for construction of the temple. A dangerous feature in the recent period has been the decision of "sadhus" organised on the communal platform deciding to directly agitate for the removal of "Bangladesh infiltrators". Both the RSS and the VHP have made it clear that after Ayodhya, Varanasi and Mathura religious places will be their next targets.

The BJP while fully supporting these disruptive activities is also shamelessly supporting the basic economic policies of the government. The BJP leaders have repeatedly declared their support for liberalisation. But to deceive the people they declare their opposition to the results of these policies. The Central Committee of the CPI(M) decided to expose the reactionary class policies of the BJP which are in favour of the big business and the landlords of the country.

Legislation on Religion and Politics

The Central Committee underlined the necessity for constitutional and legislative measures to separate religion and politics. The bills which have been finalised in the select committee have removed most of the arbitrary and ill drafted clauses which were hastily drawn up by the government on the eve of this session. The CPI(M) considers it essential that legislation incorporating the main direction of these bills be adopted to safeguard the secular principles of the state. However, there are some valid apprehensions regarding the question for prior disqualification of candidates before the polling date. These should be resolved through discussions among the secular forces so that there is no scope for any attack on democratic rights. Steps to combat communalism and to enforce separation of religion and politics will be successful only when there is people's mobilisation in defence of secular values and arousing popular consciousness. This cannot be accomplished merely through legislation.

Set Up Multi-Member Election Commission

The Central Committee, reviewing the series of arbitrary actions taken by the Chief Election Commissioner including the recent order postponing all elections, reiterated the party's demand for the setting up of a multi-member election commission. Such a restructuring of the election commission should not be delayed, if the vital institution of the election commission has to be protected and its credibility restored.

Flood Damage

The Central Committee expressed its deep sympathy for the flood affected people of Punjab, Tripura, Assam, West Bengal and Bihar. Given the scale and the enormity of the damage done, the centre has failed to provide adequate funds to the affected states to meet this calamity. Tripura has been singled out for discrimination. It has not received any funds apart from what is already due to it in the calamity funds provisions. The Central Committee pointed out that the problem of recurring floods will have to be

solved by a joint plan which can be drawn up by the centre in cooperation with the state governments to prevent this continuing cycle of diasters.

West Bengal

The Central Committee congratulated the people of West Bengal for giving a big victory to the CPI(M) and the Left Front in the recently held Panchayat Elections. The entry of women in one-third of the seats and the reservations for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes have brought in new sections into the Panchayati Raj system which can help to further strengthen and revitalise the local bodies. The Central Committee strongly condemned the violence unleashed by the Congress(I) and the vested interests during and after the elections. The Central Committee expressed its outrage at the massacre of CITU and CPI(M) supporters by the Congress(I) in the Red Bank Tea Estate in Jalpaiguri district. The disruptive agitation and tactics of the Congress(I) show that it is incapable of fighting the Left Front in terms of policies.

Tripura

The Central Committee noted that the Left Front Government of Tripura is taking immediate steps for the restoration of peace and normalcy in the state after years of encouragement to anti social activities by the previous Congress(I)-TUIJS regime. Not reconciled to its defeat, the Congress(I) in the state is continuing to patronise anti-social activities to create disturbances. The Central Committee appreciated the Left Front Government's appeal to the tribal extremist groups to give up their violent activities and join normal life for which the government has proposed a package of measures.

Bihar

The Central Committee hailed the militant ongoing land struggle led by the Kisan Sabha and the Agricultural Workers Union in Bihar. Over 22,000 acres illegally held by landlords have been taken over in Purnea, Dharbanga, Samastipur and other

centres. The Central Committee condemned the repression by the landlord administration nexus in which ten comrades have been killed during the land struggle. The Central Committee expressed its shock at the heinous killing of Comrade Govind Prasad, secretary on the Nalanda district committee of the CPI(M), in police firing. It demanded stern action against the guilty officials.

Kerala

The Central Committee condemned the UDF Government's repression on the CPI(M) cadres and supporters in Kannur district of Kerala in the past few months. The UDF Government has also let loose repression on the student movement which has been raising demands of the student community.

Forthcoming Assembly Elections

The Central Committee discussed the line to be pursued by the party in the forthcoming assembly elections to the four states of UP, MP, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh. These elections will have a crucial bearing on the national political situation. It is of utmost importance that the BJP, which was ruling in these four states be defeated. The CPI(M) will strive for the unity of all left and secular opposition forces to achieve this aim.

Report on Certain Political Developments*

Adopted by The Central Committee of The CPI(M) in Its Meeting Held in Bangalore on August 21-23, 1993

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The period, since the April 1993 C.C. meeting, has seen the continuation of the recessionary trend in world capitalist economy. The IMF's latest World Economic Outlook has projected a modest real GDP growth for all industrial countries at 1.7 per cent for 1993, from 0.2 per cent in 1991 and 1.5 per cent in 1992. Despite all hopes of reversal of this trend, the G7 Summit at Tokyo noted that the longest spell of recession in recent years continues to affect the world capitalist system. Around the time of the Summit, the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) forecast for the G7 countries painted a rather grim picture for the coming year (1993). It is estimated that Japan's GDP would grow by less than 0.01 per cent this year while that of Germany's will shrink by 1.9 per cent and that of France by 0.7 per cent. The Italian economy is estimated to contract by 0.2 per cent. Britain which is undergoing one of the worst recessionary spells is stated to grow at a rate of 1.8 per cent while the USA emerging from the negative rates in the earlier years is expected to grow at 2.6 per cent. Canada whose economy is heavily dependent on the USA is expected to do slightly better at 3.1 per cent. But the unemployment situation even in these countries showing signs of recovery continues to worsen and no relief appears for the working class. The OECD has estimated that the unemployment in its 24 member countries would rise to 36 million by 1994, a sharp rise of 46 per cent over the previous cyclical low of 24.5 million in 1990. The situation in the European community is far worse. The latest

*Published as a Booklet

survey of the economic trends conducted by the 12 nation EC stated "unemployment would rise to numbers unprecedented in decades and economic output would decline for the first time in almost 30 years". Currently some 17.4 million people or 10.3 per cent of the workforce are out of work. By middle of 1994, it is expected that the unemployment rate would rise to over 12 per cent, the highest since the EC was formed in 1957. For 1994, it is estimated that the economic output would fall by 0.25 per cent. The economic output which grew at 3.4 per cent in 1989 will contract to 0.4 per cent in 1993.

Thus, the fundamental contradictions of the capitalist system continue to sharpen in generating this recessionary spell worsening the conditions of the people.

The growing protest actions noted in the last C.C. Report continue. In all major capitalist countries, protest against growing unemployment cuts in public utilities and reduction in social welfare expenditure have continued. However, as noted earlier, these protests have not been manifesting themselves in the political advance of the Left wing forces. The right-wing neo-fascists continue to strengthen themselves and recently have been emboldened to launch murderous attacks on migrant communities. The brutal and cold-blooded killing of Turkish families in Germany demonstrates this trend. Both Germany and France have tightened their immigration laws recently in the face of growing domestic unemployment.

This period has also seen the further degeneration of political morality in many advanced capitalist countries. Corruption scandals have rocked Italy, U.K. and Japan. In Japan, the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) split on issues of corruption forcing a mid term poll. For the first time since the second world war, LDP lost its government.

Like elsewhere, even in Japan, in the face of the economic recession, the socialists and social democratic forces with their class collaborationist policies failed miserably in the elections. The Socialist Party in Japan was reduced to nearly half of its earlier strength. On the contrary, the Communist Party while reducing its strength in the Parliament, by one, from 16 to 15, managed to,

more or less, retain its hold. Earlier, in France, the Socialists lost the elections while the Communists marginally improved their position. In Spanish elections, the socialists barely managed to scrape through.

Unfolding of the New World Order

This continuing recession in the world capitalist system in the political situation that has emerged following the collapse of the socialist USSR has emboldened US imperialism, as noted on all previous occasions, to launch its offensive contained in its vision of a "new world order". The recent period saw the continued political and military offensive against Iraq including renewed US missile attacks on Baghdad, the political and military intervention in Somalia in the name of "humanitarian aid" where US troops are virtually at war with the Somalian people. While initially having abetted the disintegration of former Yugoslavia, the USA is now urging UN armed intervention in Bosnia. Pressures on Libya continue to be exercised. All these point to the fact that US imperialism, despite the change in its administration, under President Clinton, is continuing to pursue the policies of aggressive imperialist hegemony.

US imperialism's double speak and hypocrisy once again stand exposed by its refusal to take any measures against Israel's renewed military offensive against Lebanon which left hundreds of Palestinians dead and thousands more injured and uprooted. Such Israeli aggressiveness and intransigence concerning the vacation of occupied Arab lands continue to thwart any progress in restoring peace in West Asia. The US backed Israeli administration continues to perpetrate inhuman crimes and denying the Palestinians their right to a homeland.

Cuba continues to remain the focus of US imperialism's attacks. The economic embargo continues despite universal international outcry. The recent US action refusing permission to its own citizens to carry humanitarian aid to Cuba and the consequent hunger strike by the participants on the US Mexican border highlights the extent to which US administration is willing to go in its bid to stifle Cuba's commitment and adherence to socialism.

USA has once again mounted an offensive against the DPRK on the issue of the NPT and inspection of the latter's nuclear installations. US President Clinton in his recent visit to South Korea, assumed an aggressive posture on this issue against the DPRK. 1993 witnessed the restarting of the joint US South Korean military exercises. Thus, the US design to keep Korea divided into hostile camps for its own advantage continues to perpetuate great miseries on the Korean people.

Succumbing to international pressure and the attitude of some of its European allies, the USA has lifted, as on July 2, 1993, the ban on multilateral IMF/World Bank aid to Vietnam after fifteen years. Yet, it continues to impose the embargo on US based companies to have any economic links with Vietnam.

Increasing Pressures on the Third World

The continued recessionary conditions in world capitalist system and the absence of the socialist countervailing power is enabling US imperialism to strengthen its arm-twisting measures against the developing countries. The burden of the economic recession is sought to be transferred on to the shoulders of the third world through a series of discriminatory and exploitative economic and trade policies. The pressure to impose the Dunkel proposals is nothing but an attempt to organise world trade in accordance with US interests. The IMF and World Bank conditionalities and the threats of Super 301 are all attempts to refashion the economies of third world countries to suit imperialism's interests. Thus, the intensification of the contradiction between imperialism and the third world continues to grow. The net transfer of resources from the third world to the advanced countries, analyzed both in the Party Congress as well as in the last C.C. Meeting, continues. The developed countries are refusing to accept the suggestion, over the decades, of earmarking at least 0.7 per cent of their GNPs for development assistance to the third world countries. In 1992, the USA gave a measly 0.2 per cent of its GNP while Japan gave 0.3, Italy 0.31 per cent, Germany 0.39 per cent, Canada 0.46 per cent and France 0.63 per cent.

The efforts of imperialism to transfer the burdens of its recent crisis on to the third world is bound to further aggravate the

conditions of the peoples in these countries. The incidence of poverty, hunger, unemployment and deprivation continue to rise in the third world countries.

Instead of resisting such pressures, the ruling classes and their governments in many third world countries are adopting economic reforms that transfer the burdens of the crisis on to the common people. This, in turn, is bound to aggravate the social contradictions within these countries intensifying the exploitation of the mass of the people.

Obscurantist and religious fundamentalist forces continue to be active in many third world countries. The most outrageous evidence of this was the recent incident in Turkey where secular intellectuals were virtually burnt alive in a hotel. Such attacks are on the rise in Algeria and Egypt as well. The obscurantist and fundamentalist forces seek to divert popular discontent away from democratic struggles to further their interests.

Inter-Imperialist Contradictions

The economic recession in the advanced capitalist countries is also leading to an intensification of the inter imperialist contradictions. Given the uneven nature and spread of recession, the economic conflicts between the three main centres—USA, Germany dominated EC and Japan continue to intensify. This recession comes in the background of the uneven capitalist development in the last two decades of post second world war boom, when the US economy produced 30 million new jobs between 1970 and 1990 Japan created 12 million and the EC, as a whole, produced only 9 million. The recession and continuously rising unemployment is affecting these countries differently. In this background the attempt to get out of the recessionary crisis by these countries is bound to intensify trade wars between the three centres of the capitalist world.

Within the EC itself, the process of ratification of the Maastricht Treaty has not yet been resolved. In the meanwhile, the attempts to arrive at a common currency and the exchange rate mechanism (ERM) have run into rough weather. The ERM, established under the joint Franco German leadership 14 years ago, virtually

collapsed on August 1, 1993 due to an accumulation of problems created by high German interest rates. The *Mark* and the *France* are locked in a serious conflict of interests. Though temporarily resolved, this will cause serious problems for the process of European unification. It should be noted that both Britain and Italy withdrew from the ERM last September unable to withstand the *Mark's* domination and onslaught.

Conflicts between the US and EC on the question of the ratification of the Dunkel proposals and the conclusion of the Uruguay round of GATT negotiations continues to elude an agreement. Despite all efforts, the G7 summit at Tokyo recently could not arrive at any agreement.

Notwithstanding such intensification, however, as noted earlier, USA continues to exercise its political leadership over the imperialist camp despite the worst performer in the economic sphere primarily because of its military superiority.

South Africa

The assassination of the General Secretary of the South African Communist Party, Chris Hani and the continued attacks by the extreme right-wing white minority forces indicates the intensity of the conflict in South Africa's transition to a multi-racial democracy. Reactionary forces and pro-apartheid elements continue to instigate violence both within the blacks and between the white minority and the blacks to sabotage and thwart the gains made so far in the CODESA talks. The extreme right-wing neo-fascist *Afrikaner* forces have openly declared their hostility to the dismantling of the apartheid regime. The neo-Nazi forces are on the rise openly flaunting fascist threats. They have launched the most audacious attacks on the ANC and other democratic forces, following the announcement of elections next year. The people of South Africa, the SACP, COSATU and the ANC are in the midst of a very critical phase of their struggle against the apartheid system.

Cambodia

In Cambodia, finally, the elections under UN supervision were held. Despite all efforts by the US in trying to prevent the

Hun Sen Government from being re elected it could not succeed completely. Finally, the coalition between Hun Sen and the Funcinpec headed by Nordom Ranaridh was the only possible way to restore stability in the country. Khmer Rouge has in the process, been isolated. Though the recent offensive against the Khmer Rouge and its military potential has been successful, it would be a grave underestimation to conclude that their disruptive role is over.

Sao Paulo Forum

The recently held Sao Paulo Forum in Cuba has confirmed the growing popular peoples movement in Latin America. The struggles for a better life, democracy and human rights are gaining momentum in these countries. The forum has expanded to register 120 member organisations from Latin American and Caribbean countries, including Communists, nationalists, anti-imperialist and socialist forces. The forum came out sharply in defence of Cuba, condemning US embargo and blockade. Imperialist efforts to virtually recolonise Latin America economically was highlighted with growing unanimity to strengthen popular struggles against this. They pointed out that during the last 12 years, Latin America alone paid to imperialist agencies like IMF, WB etc. over 700 million dollars. The per capita output of these countries today is what it was 15 years ago. Opposition to such policies can be seen in a resurgence of popular democratic movements.

Neighbouring Countries

In neighbouring **Pakistan** following the reinstallation of the Nawaz Shareif Government by the Supreme Court and the subsequent manoeuvres by President Ishaq Khan created an unstable and untenable situation. The army intervened to see the removal of both and to install an interim Prime Minister with the promise of an early election. In the changed international situation. Pakistan no longer occupies the position of a frontline US surrogate. But US influence continues to strengthen its hold. During this entire period, the opportunism of Bnezir Bhutto was sharply exposed. When relations between Ishaq Khan and Nawaz Sharief were strained, Benazir Joined with Shareif to seek the repeal of the

Eighth amendment. Subsequently, she came to an understanding with Ishaq Khan to oust Shareif Government under this very amendment and her party joined the interim government. However, the Supreme Court verdict upheld democracy and to that extent it is a positive development.

In neighbouring **Nepal**, the popular movement led by the CPN(UML) continues to grow following the death of its former General Secretary, Madan Bhandari and Polit Bureau member, Jeevraj Ashrit. By now, it has become fairly clear that both these comrades did not die in an innocent accident but there appears to have been some sort of a conspiracy. It needs to be unearthed. The demand of the movement starting from the issues of identifying and punishing the forces behind this conspiracy has now moved to the issue of demanding the resignation of G.P. Koirala. The situation was critical with the danger of the king trying to subvert the fragile infant democratic system for his own political benefit. Normalcy was restored in the country, when the G.P. Koirala Government submitting to the popular struggle, came to an agreement with CPN(UML) conceding many major demands.

The assassination of President Premadasa by the LTTE on May-day sharply focussed the continuing instability in Sri Lanka. It must be recalled that earlier, the once Home Minister Lalith Athuladamudali was eliminated by the LTTE. These events have, once again, confirmed the fact that such internecine assaults cannot be ended unless a political solution to the question of autonomy for the Northern and Eastern provinces is ensured within the framework of a united Sri Lanka. Until this is achieved, it is imperialism that continues to benefit from this conflict and it will not allow stability to be established in Sri Lanka.

Former Socialist Countries

The situation in former socialist countries continues to deteriorate. The conditions of the people are worsening day by day and misery growing. In Russia, Yeltsin, in his continuing conflict with the Parliament, is manoeuvring to call for elections. Fully backed and supported by imperialism, Yeltsin and the anarchic Russian economy is being propped up under the plea of

preventing the 'return of communism'! Yeltsin's decision to demonetize the existing currency notes has only confounded the anarchy. The economic status of the people is sharply deteriorating with essential commodity prices continuing to soar. Like elsewhere in the former socialist countries, while, on the one hand, resistance against the present regimes is growing, on the other, efforts are on to suppress democracy paving the way for dictatorial regimes supported to the hilt by the West.

Growing Pressures on India

It is in the background of the intensification of the contradictions at the world level and the attempts by the advanced capitalist countries to pass on the burdens of their economic recession on to the third world countries and the vision of the "*new world order*" must be seen the growing pressures on India. Russia has been forced to cancel its agreement on the cryogenic rocket engines with India by the USA. The Rao Government refuses to target or mention US imperialism while correctly denouncing the Yeltsin Government for going back on the agreement. Such pressures were also seen in India's decision to send a contingent of troops to Somalia when the USA has virtually started a civil war despite widespread opposition and the continued improvement of relations with Israel without adequately condemning its aggressive role in thwarting the West Asia peace process. Concrete evidence of such growing pressures has come in the recent exposure of a diplomatic note or 'demarche' sent by the USA urging India to stop its *Agni* long range and *Prithvi* short-range missile programmes. This, in effect, means that India should stop its space launch programmes altogether and be at the mercy of imperialist agencies in this regard. It is significant to note that similar 'demarches' were received from all other G7 countries and Australia. This imperialist cartel has threatened that further IMF/World Bank loans will not be disbursed unless these conditions are complied with. Apart from the IMF and the World Bank conditionalities connected with the new economic policy, such imperialist pressures on India are bound to intensify in the future and unless resisted may well destroy the vitals of India's non aligned foreign policy position, already under severe strain.

The Narasimha Rao Government, instead of actively opposing such pressures, is virtually succumbing to them. India, as a leader of the Non-Alignment Movement, must take measures to activate this important forum. All patriotic sections must close ranks and rouse the anti imperialist consciousness at Indian people to safeguard our country's independent standing in world politics, its self reliance and self respect.

NATIONAL SITUATION

The PB in its meeting in June concluded that the national situation continues to be dominated by four factors—(1) the danger of communalism; (2) the new economic policies that threaten the economic sovereignty of our country; (3) corruption scandals; and (4) continuing separatist movements.

In the present situation these four factors continue to be as relevant.

Communal Danger

The BJP continues its poisonous efforts at spreading the communal virus deeper for its political advantage. Notwithstanding certain comments to the contrary and its weak attempts to raise other issues the temple issue continues to remain the major strength on which the BJP is seeking political support of the people. Though the situation of communal riots that rocked the country claiming thousands of lives appears to have abated, the BJP continues to stoke communal passions keeping the tensions alive for its political purposes. Following the Bombay bomb blasts, the recent explosion at the RSS headquarters in Madras shows that forces out to destabilise the country are active. This was clearly revealed at its recent Bangalore national executive meet. It tried to raise the issue of corruption in order to change its image to a "democratic opposition" to the Congress. Despite such efforts, the temple issue continues to remain its basic plank. The result of this unbridled communalism has now been documented in the enquiries that have been conducted into the Bombay riots and elsewhere by independent forums. The most naked manner in which the communal issue is sought to be used by the BJP is clearly revealed

in the VHP-sponsored "*Global Vision 2000*" that was held in Chicago commemorating the centenary of Swami Vivekananda's speech there. The VHP leaders, joined in by the BJP leaders, engaged in the most vituperative communal rhetoric and made their intentions clear of India continuing their pisonous propaganda posing grave threats to our country's unity and integrity. Their anti-Muslim, anti-minority stand and the total negation of the secular polity was the mainstay of their talk.

The Congress(I) led by Narasimha Rao instead of frontally combating this communal virus has engaged itself in the most dangerous course of compromise. Following the *som yagna* conducted by Chandraswami at Ayodhya with blatant Congress(I) support, Narasimha Rao mobilised the Shankaracharyas in an attempt to handover the building of a temple to non-political religious heads. The BJP immediately seized upon the matter and said that it would have no objection to such a course if the saints of the VHP would also be accommodated in the process something which the Shankaracharyas could not disagree with. The net outcome of all these manoeuvres was actually to legitimise the VHP-BJP moves to construct the temple at the disputed site.

Coupled with the earlier Ayodhya package which our Party had criticised and demanded its withdrawal and instead asked for the transfer of all pending cases in UP courts to the Supreme Court under Article 138(2) of the Constitution, these moves only justify the assessment that the Rao Government is, in fact, competing with the BJP on the issue of construction of the temple at the disputed site. Such a compromising attitude far from isolating the BJP and putting the communal forces on the defensive has only emboldened them to continue their dangerous activities.

With the four assembly elections now nearing, this attitude of the Narasimha Rao leadership is generating some discontent within the Congress(I) itself. However, this has not assumed proportions that can reach the levels of a change in the leadership with the dissidents not picking up the courage as witnessed during the no-confidence debate.

Bill Separating Religion from Politics

The Rao Government has brought legislation seeking the separation of religion from politics. It did not consult the secular parties in advance and hastily introduced the two bills prompted by the desire to deflect the no confidence debate. Our party had welcomed the move and concretely suggested that the bill should deal only with religion and not the other issues. Our members in the Joint Select Committee have suggested concrete amendments to ensure that the loopholes in the bill are eliminated as also to make sure that the bill cannot be misused against the secular democratic organisations. However, the mere establishing of legislations does not and cannot constitute an effective fight against communalism. Unless this is backed by a political will and determination to safeguard secularism and democracy in the country, no amount of legislation can be of use.

It is in this background that the urgency for mobilising all the secular democratic forces in the struggle against communalism has to be stepped up. The Campaign for National Unity formed under our initiative has undertaken some activities but these fell short of the present requirements. These efforts will have to be redoubled and the unity of all secular forces in this struggle must be strengthened.

Economic Policies

The situation on the economic front continues to worsen. The discontent against these policies amongst the people is growing. Despite this, the Rao Government has announced its intention officially to carry forward the reforms to suit the conditionalities imposed by the IMF from which it is seeking another loan under the Extended Fund Facility (EFF). The EFF, as is known, carries with it more stringent conditionalities. A note prepared by Manmohan Singh and the finance ministry and circulated officially as the government's viewpoint has outlined that India would be ready to accept these conditionalities and would sharply reduce the fiscal deficit to 3% of GDP by 1996-97; to reduce if not eliminate subsidies; to end the public sector control with further budgetary cuts to PSUs and their disinvestment; complete ban on

loan waivers by banks and other financial institutions and drastic reforms in the labour laws. While for the people these conditions mean growing unemployment, increasing burdens and austerity measures, the government has promised the corporate sector further reduction of the taxes thus exposing their class orientation.

It is necessary to underline that the BJP fully endorses and supports the new economic policy. It seeks to hoodwink the people by opposing the impact of these policies. The former BJP President recently informed a US think tank consisting of State Department and Pentagon officials that the BJP is committed to these reforms completely.

The new economic policy measures designed to ostensibly improve the economic situation in the country has resulted only in increasing indebtedness. The external debt crossed 87 billion dollars in September 1992. It was 38.8 per cent of the GDP and 37.1 per cent of the exports in 1991-92. In March 1992, the outstanding total external debt at the current exchange rate was a whopping Rs. 244047 crores while the debt service ratio for 1992 stood at 28.3 per cent or Rs. 5562 crores. The estimates place the debt service ratio for 1993-94 at Rs. 9041 crores. Adding to this, the burden of the forthcoming 9 billion dollar EFF loan will only mean a dramatic increase in our indebtedness with all its negative consequences for the people.

Unemployment has grown during the last two years of the reform. Even the strictly limited and understated official figures show that the number of applicants in the employment exchanges has grown from 340 to 370 lakh in these two years. Number of placements during this period dropped from 266000 to a measly 20000. On top of this comes the promise to reform labor laws which in plain language mean the imposition of the exit policy. Already the textile industry is threatened to place on the streets thousands of workers with the closure of many NTC mills.

On the balance of trade front the trade deficit jumped from Rs. 3987 crore in 1991-92 to Rs. 10068 crore in 1992-93. The government has recently been claiming sharp increase in India's exports projecting them as a reversal of the trend we have seen so far. The exports, notwithstanding the growth, however, have not

outstripped the imports and as such the trade deficit would continue to be negative even if the quantum is reduced.

The government also claims to have brought down the inflation to a single digit level. The index of wholesale price rise which was at 10.3 per cent in 1990-91 was 13.7 in 1991-92 and fell to 9.8 per cent in 1992-93. Though the rate has fallen, the prices continue to rise. For the common man the burden has been doubly imposed with a virtual disintegration of the public distribution system where the costs have gone up and the quantities reduced and across the board imposition of charges for public utilities including hospitals.

The worst impact of these new economic policies is to be seen on the domestic industry. A survey of 1325 companies for the year ending 1993 concluded by stating "a downtrend in industrial activity culminating in a severe recession dealt a crippling blow to the corporate sector".

Unbridled Loot

While this is the reality on all the fronts the new economic policy has unleashed forces who are out to loot the country and its resources.

Following the bank scam of nearly Rs. 5,000 crore, came the exposure by the Comptroller and Auditor General of a Rs. 3442 crores loot in the disinvestment of the public sector shares. This is the loss calculated at the official reserve prices declared by the government. It has now been revealed that these prices themselves were anywhere between 100 to 300 per cent less than the prevailing market price of these shares then. At the market rates the loss can be anywhere in the range of Rs. 12,000 crores.

The government instead of seriously investigating into such a massive fraud of public money has been shamelessly defending the process of disinvestment. The Finance Minister and the Rangarajan Committee set up to enquire into this scam have justified the disinvestment of the public sector. The Finance Minister has gone to the extent of stating that disinvestment of the public sector is necessary to reduce the fiscal deficit. In other words, the government's expenditure is to be made by the sale of public assets.

Corruption Scandals

These scams are the direct offshoot of the policies of liberalisation that the government has introduced in such great haste to meet the IMF conditionalities. While the domestic industry is reeling under recession and condition of the people are worsening wheeler-dealers in direct collusion with bourgeois politicians and the administration is busy looting the country's assets.

The corruption scandals that have rocked the country are a direct consequence of this economic policies. The JPC enquiry into the bank scam has so far revealed a direct nexus between the politicians, administration and the brokers. Followed by the PSU share scam and the Gold Star issue, Harshad Mehta's allegation against the Prime Minister found credibility amongst the people. The Congress(I)'s earlier shameless defense of the corrupt Justice Ramaswami with their MPs abstaining on the impeachment move, only bolstered its image as a party protecting corruption. The latest revelations on the Bofors enquiry have once again confirmed that money passed hands to ruling party politicians in the country and all these scandals have seriously eroded the credibility of the Congress(I) Government.

It is in the background of these developments that the Party had decided initially that Narasimha Rao should step down as the Prime Minister and clear himself of the charges levelled against him by appearing before JPC. The Congress(I) however refused to accept this. The discontent against the Congress(I) as a result of its compromising attitude on the issue of communalism, the economic policy measures and its loss of credibility due to corruption charges is mounting amongst the people. It is in this background that we along with our Left allies and the National Front parties decided to move a no confidence motion against the present government.

No-Confidence Motion

The last C.C. Meeting after reviewing the impact of the new economic policies of the Narasimha Rao Government at the dictates of the IMF and World Bank and noting the growing resistance of the working class and other toiling people against these policies, has decided to vote against the Budget and the economic policy

measures. This decision was taken after a reasoned analysis and discussion including the possibility of the government losing the vote as a result. The political report adopted by the April C.C. Meeting noted: *"The Budget and other recent measures constitute an all-out attack on the common people, their jobs and living conditions. On the other hand, foreign capital, big business and landlords have been given major concessions. The CPI(M) has been consistently opposed to the whole direction of the economic policies taken by the Narasimha Rao Government since it assumed office in June 1991. The policies of the Rao government create a widespread discontent and the communal and divisive forces seek to utilise for their reactionary interests. In the current session of Parliament, the CPI(M) will oppose and vote against the Union Budget proposals. It will defend the people's interests and seek to rally all other Left and secular opposition parties to unitedly fight these policies."*

The situation since then has continuously worsened on all the front. In relation to the communal situation, instead of fighting boldly against the communal forces, the Rao Government is pursuing the dangerous policy of competing with the BJP on building the temple at the disputed site at Ayodhya. The BJP, in the meanwhile, was seeking to utilise the popular discontent by highlighting the corruption issue and trying to emerge as the only alternative to the Congress(I). It is on these counts of opposing the anti people policies of the government, championing the people's interests, opposing the compromising stance towards the communal forces and checkmating the BJP's efforts that we took the initiative along with our allies in moving the no-confidence motion.

The no confidence motion attracted the widest possible support for the precise reason that the ballot came in the name of the CPI(M) MP. The BJP, which was initially threatening to support only a one-line motion, finally had to support the CPI(M)-sponsored motion which gave in detail all the reasons for the no-confidence. Our motion highlighted all the three issues of economic policies, compromising attitude towards communalism and the corruption scandals.

The entire line pursued by the Party in moving the no-confidence motion and emerging as the champion of the people's interests has enhanced our prestige and helped the ongoing movement for the Bharat Bandh. This has also foiled the BJP's efforts to emerge as the only opposition against the Congress(I) and exploit the people's discontent for its communal political purposes.

The Congress(I) managed to survive the vote through shameless manipulations and organising defections from amongst the Ajit Singh's group. Politically, the Congress(I) was isolated but managed to survive only through horse trading. Its image amongst the people has further worsened as a result of these manoeuvres.

The BJP however is seeking to utilise this situation and divert the people's discontent into communal channels for their political advantage. It is imperative in this situation that the Left democratic and secular forces emerge as a powerful anti Congress, anti BJP force to channelise the people's discontent into democratic and secular lines. It is this understanding which we had been pursuing since the 14th Party Congress that has to be strengthened in the coming period.

The issues that formed the basis of the no confidence motion would now have to be taken to the people in the form of popular mass agitations. The call given by the convention of mass organisations for a Bharat Bandh on September 9 will have to be made a complete success. The Party alongwith other secular democratic forces must gear itself up to make this a widespread popular peoples protest.

The fact that the CPI(M) sponsored no-confidence motion attracted widest possible support reveals the extent of the alienation of people from the Congress(I). Under these circumstances, while strengthening the independent activities of the Left and those of our Party, the maximum possible unity of secular forces and patriotic elements must be forged.

The forthcoming elections to the four assemblies of the former BJP-ruled states will be a crucial deciding ground for such a realignment of forces. It is imperative that in these states the unity of all the secular democratic forces must be strengthened to face both the Congress(I) and the BJP. The results of these elections will have far reaching consequences on the future of our country.

The BJP will seek to win these elections at any cost and on this basis demand a mid term election in the country. The defeat of the communal forces in these elections is of crucial significance for the safeguarding of the secular democratic polity in our country. All efforts must be made to ensure fulfilling of this objective.

However, certain difficulties do arise in forging the unity of the democratic and secular forces and amongst the various groups of the erstwhile Janata Dal. In UP, efforts are on to forge such a unity. This requires lot of more efforts. A significant development in this regard has been the merger of factions of Janata Dal in Karnataka. This unity has galvanised the atmosphere and will be an important factor in defeating both the Congress and the BJP in the state.

Left Unity

Crucial for the formation of such a unity is the strengthening of Left unity. Though there have been some problems on this like the divergent assessments regarding the by-elections from the Patna Lok Sabha Constituency between the CPI and us during this period by and large the Left has moved cohesively on major issues. In the by-elections to the Kovur (AP) Assembly Constituencies the CPI supported the CPI(M). The CPI(M) contested this seat as the TDP put up the former Congress MLA's son as its candidate. Though the TDP won the seat by defeating the Congress, we managed to retain our base. The grave situation facing the country and the challenges being posed by the communal forces demand a greater intervention by the Left. Strengthening of the Left unity is of utmost importance both at the level of mass struggles and policy intervention.

The CPI(ML)/IPF have yet again demonstrated their utter sectarian approach by deciding to withdraw from the *Rashtriya Ekhta Abhiyan*. Its continued line of opposing the Left Front Government in West Bengal and its opposition to the unity of Left, democratic and secular forces has been preventing its joining the united activity on common issues. In Bihar, it continues to take a position of opposing the Laloo Yadav Government. It continues to target the CPI(M) as the main obstacle for its growth. Under such circumstances, they are barring themselves from united activity on common political issues.

In this period the joint activity of the left led mass organisations has shown its immense potential. The big response to the August 19 Jail Bharo movement in which over a million of people participated and the preparations for the Bharat Bandh on September 9 underline the cardinal importance of Left unity and expanded activities.

SEPARATIST MOVEMENTS

Kashmir Situation

During this period the situation in Kashmir became more and more complex with the threats of the separatist movement continuing. The government instead of arriving at a political settlement of the problems involved as suggested by the secular parties including the National Conference is relying on gathering assurances from the international community and seeking the USA to declare Pakistan as a terrorist state. The US however has chosen to counter pose the problems of "human rights" in Kashmir to this issue in pursuance of the imperialist aim to keep alive the conflict.

The suggestions made by the secular opposition parties continue to remain unheeded. They are: (1) to appoint an advisory committee that would allow the people to have access to place their grievances and seek remedies; (2) concentrating against the Jamaat-e-Islami that has been advocating accession to Pakistan and a more rational approach towards the JKLF which has been fighting for maintaining the identity of the Kashmir people; (3) more autonomy for the people of Kashmir that would ensure the protection of their identity; and (4) negotiating with the JKLF and bringing them on to the negotiating table. Though the government welcomed the suggestion, its actions were quite contrary. The administrative changes effected have further complicated matters. If efforts are not made to find a solution on the above basis and the drift continues, Pakistan and imperialism will succeed in internationalising the issue and it will have serious repercussions inside the country and our relations with our neighbours.

Punjab

Though the law and order situation has eased, efforts are being

continues to refuse to take initiatives for a political settlement. Unless this is done and the contending issues like the water resources and transfer of Chandigarh are taken up, the present normalcy will not last for long. The CPI(M) has, all along, been urging that only a political solution can bring lasting peace to Punjab.

In the North East too, insurgency continues in many places. Manipur has witnessed the added dimension of the worst communal riots in the recent period. The government, once again, instead of seeking a political solution has been relying mainly on para-military forces.

West Bengal Panchayat Elections

The panchayat elections in West Bengal recorded a significant victory for the Left Front in the state given the circumstances under which they were held. On the one hand, there was a open collusion between the Congress(I) and the BJP, and, on the other, certain serious fissures within the Left Front also surfaced. Despite both these negative trends, the success achieved by the CPI(M) and Left Front candidates is significant. The Congress(I) had unleashed a vicious attack against us in which 35 of our comrades were murdered. The reservation of one-third of the seats for women candidates was a significant democratic advance. Coupled with the reservation for SC/STs nearly 60 per cent of those elected belonged to these three categories. This unprecedented change in the composition is bound to generate new enthusiasm and rejuvenate the panchayats.

Tripura

Tripura has been badly affected by the successive floods. The Left Front Government mobilised all its resources to render relief to the affected people. The Central Government has grossly discriminated against the state by extending no funds except what is due to the state under the calamity fund.

The Congress(I) and the anti-social elements are ganging up to create disturbances. The Left Front Government is making all efforts to improve the law and order situation in the state. The

government has issued an appeal to the extremist groups to return to the democratic fold. This is finding a positive response.

Unprecedented Flood Situation

The recent floods that have ravaged many parts of the country has led to unprecedented loss of life and property. Punjab has had the worst floods in recent memory. Hundreds of crores of rupees worth of property was destroyed. The immense loss of human life and the virtual disruption of communications across the country had rendered even relief assistance initially ineffective. In Punjab alone over a thousand lives were lost. Till date many villages are submerged. Vast tracts of the North East and Bengal and Bihar have also witnessed unprecedented floods. The relief offered by the Central Government is too meagre and inadequate to meet the gravity of the problem. Unprecedented floods have created havoc in Tripura rendering thousands homeless.

In certain parts of the country, drought situation is wreaking havoc. While the government has met the situation most inadequately, we have also not responded with the seriousness demanded of this grave situation.

Election Commission

The CEC. Mr. Seshan had once again threatened to plunge the country into a constitutional crisis by refusing to hold the elections unless the question of the CEC's authority over that of the state and the Central Government is established. The prestige and authority of this high office was thus undermined. All political parties were forced to denounce this step. The Attorney General had to be summoned to place the correct legal position before the Parliament. Though it appeared as a posture of confrontation with the Central Government, in fact, the CEC's position was advantageous for the Congress(I) as it did not want to face the by-elections and the most definite defeat immediately after surviving the no confidence motion through the most unscrupulous methods.

However, the CEC has finally relented under pressure but the problem has not been solved. Our Party has demanded that a three-member Election Commission must be appointed forthwith but

the Congress(I) once again after making assurances on the floor of the House, is backing out from its position. Unless this is implemented, there is always danger of the CEC usurping the constitutional authority of the executive and trampling upon the rights of the state government.

Cauvery Issue

The Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Jayalalitha's hunger strike sharply brought about the lackadaisical manner in which the Central Government has dealt with the Cauvery water dispute over the last year. To resolve this long standing dispute, a tribunal was set up. The tribunal's interim order was not acceptable to Karnataka. While Tamil Nadu had been seeking the implementation of this. The Congress(I) and the Prime Minister Narasimha Rao had personally assured an amicable settlement through negotiations over a year ago on this issue. As on all other counts, the Centre dilly-dallied on this issue as well. This is a potentially explosive issue and unless speedy efforts are made to arrive at a negotiated settlement, on issues connected with the interim award, it can well lead to uncontrollable tensions. Our Party has demanded that the issue be settled through negotiations between all concerned parties and efforts for this must be made by the Central Government.

Serious Issues at Stake

The present situation portends very serious consequences for our people and the country. The future of a modern, united, secular democratic India is at stake. Unless these challenges are squarely met, the Left and democratic movement cannot change the correlation of class forces for its advance.

All these developments are having a profound impact on the ruling Congress(I). There is a common feeling in its rank and file that they cannot face an election under this leadership and the policies it is pursuing. Unless the Congress(I) galvanises itself and changes its policy orientation, its prospects in the forthcoming assembly elections are bleak. The BJP's victory would mean, apart from everything else, growing pressures to hold a mid term poll.

The fact that the CPI(M) sponsored no confidence motion attracted the maximum possible opposition unity, despite obvious differences, is a reflection of the growing alienation of the people from the Congress(I). Our measure of success lies in the fact that we have not allowed the communal forces to reap the benefit they ought to. But the communal forces cannot be allowed to gain the upper hand. This would be detrimental for the future of the country as well as the democratic movement. While opposing both the communal forces and the economic policies, we along with the Left, democratic and secular forces will have to strengthen our activities to mobilise the maximum sections of patriotic forces to meet and defeat these grave challenges.

Forthcoming Assembly Elections

It is in the background of those developments that the elections to the state assemblies of UP, MP, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh states earlier ruled by the BJP, are being held and their outcome will influence the political developments in the country. The BJP, after its complete and total justification of the demolition of Babri Masjid in Ayodhya and dangerously spreading the communal poison for its political benefit, will leave no stone unturned to win these elections. Its politics has already cost the country thousands of innocent lives and continues to threaten the unity and integrity of the people and country. As a result, the insecurity amongst the minorities has only increased and the very conception of secularism has come under severe attack.

Unfortunately, in these states, the Left movement is weak, the secular opposition parties are not sufficiently strong and are divided. In these circumstances, it is imperative to build the unity of the Left and secular opposition parties to effectively intervene and defeat the BJP.

In UP, the unity of all the secular opposition forces and the Janata Dal(B), Janata Dal(A) and Mulayam Singh's Samajwadi Party-BSP alliance along with the Left will be the most effective combination to defeat the BJP. In the other states also, we should have to work out our tactics in strengthening the unity of left, democratic and secular forces depending on the concrete situation

emerging there. We should concentrate in those areas where we are strong and can put up an effective fight unitedly. In other areas, it must be ensured that the BJP does not get the upper hand.

Conclusion

Given the present situation and the complexity of problems facing the country, it is imperative that the struggle launched by us against communalism and the economic policies be intensified and carried forward. While, at the same time, all efforts must be made to strengthen the unity of the Left, democratic and secular forces.

Given the present correlation of forces while consistently opposing the Rao Government's policies of compromise with communalism, the Party and the Left forces must conduct their campaign in such a way as to appeal to the Congress(I), rank and file, who have secular values to be drawn into the common struggle. The weak kneed policies of the leadership must be challenged while seeking to involve the mass following Congress(I) in the fight against the communal danger.

The crisis of the bourgeois-landlord system while imposing growing burdens on the people is also affecting the bourgeois parties. The impact of this on the ruling party has been discussed above. However, the disarray in the secular opposition parties will only help the forces out to destroy the secular democratic foundations of independent India. It is imperative that the Left intervention is strengthened on whose basis it would be possible to rally all the secular and democratic forces to fight communalism, on the one hand, and the economic policies of the Congress(I) Government, on the other. In the coming days, these struggle will have to be taken up and combined together for protest and effective mobilisation. The call for **Bharat Bandh** on September 9 must be taken up in all earnestness.

The Party's independent activity must be stepped up on all major issues—political, economic and ideological. The building up of the Party and its ideological sharpening in the present situation is most essential for the strengthening of Left unity and on that basis strengthening of the Left, democratic and secular forces in our country whose unity alone can meet the challenges being faced by our country and the people.

Homage to Comrade Achintya Bhattacharya*

Statement Dated August 24, 1993

Issued by The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its profound grief at the passing away of Comrade Achintya Bhattacharya, veteran leader of the CPI(M) and member of the Central Committee of the party. He died on August 24, 1993 in a hospital in Calcutta. He was 79 years old.

Achintya Bhattacharya was one of the pioneers and builders of the Communist Party in Assam. Born in Sylhet in undivided Bengal, he joined the freedom struggle while a young student. He was first arrested in 1935. He came in contact with the Communist Party and became a member in 1936. He worked in the Congress Socialist Party and was elected Secretary of the Cachar District Congress Committee.

He was one of the organisers of the tea plantation workers and later he was elected Secretary of the Cachar District Committee of the Communist Party after independence. He was a prominent leader of the Surma valley peasant struggle. He was elected to the National Council of the United Communist Party of India in 1958. Since then he remained in the leading bodies of the united party including the Central Executive Committee till the split.

Achintya Bhattacharya was one of the original groups of the leadership who took up the fight against revisionism. He played a significant role in the struggle to defend Marxism Leninism. He was elected to the Central Committee of the CPI(M) at its seventh congress in 1964 and continued to be in the Central Committee till his death. He was the first Secretary of the Assam State Committee of the party from 1964 to 1980. In that capacity he played a major role in building CPI(M) and the mass movements in the state.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, August 29, 1993

Homage To Comrade Achintya Bhattacharya 677

Achintya Bhattacharya was a communist leader of outstanding qualities. He was a comrade who had a deep understanding of Marxist theory. He had also vast knowledge of the ethnic question in Assam and the north eastern region about which he wrote valuable books and articles. He had a life long association with the peasant movement and he was the President of the Assam state unit of the Kisan Sabha at the time of his death.

Moulded in the anti-imperialist struggle and the period of repression faced by the party, Achintya Bhattacharya was a Marxist-Leninist leader of firm convictions. He was arrested and jailed a number of times in 1950, in 1962 and 1965. He was underground during the emergency. He led a simple life and endeared himself to all comrades by his behaviour.

For the Central Committee and the collective leadership of the CPI(M), the loss of Achintya Bhattacharya at this juncture will be deeply felt. The party will for ever remember his distinguished service and his unflinching commitment to the cause of the working people.

The Polit Bureau pays its respectful homage to this great revolutionary. It conveys its heartfelt condolences and sympathy to his wife, son and daughter.

Polit Bureau on Powerful Protest Action*

**Statements Dated September 9, 1993
Issued to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) congratulates all sections of the people who have participated in the Bharat Bandh and general strike call given by the National Platform of Mass Organisations. Millions of industrial workers, banks and insurance employees, private sector office employees, agricultural workers and peasants, women, youth, students and teachers in educational institutions have joined the strike call and observed the bandh. The public sector workers all over the country have joined the strike in a big way.

The bandh has been a total success in West Bengal, Tripura, Assam, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Bihar. In most other states industrial activity was paralysed and normal life affected by the bandh call. The general strike has met with good response in industrial centres in Maharashtra, Karnataka, Delhi, UP, Punjab, Orissa and some sectors in Gujarat. Railway services were affected in certain regions and airlines services were also severely curtailed. In many states, state government-employees have struck work. In some states postal employees also went on strike.

The Polit Bureau condemns the widespread police repression against those participating in the bandh. Thousands of activists have been arrested all over the country during the bandh. There have been brutal lathi-charges in Malegaon and Kokrajhar in Assam, Godda in Bihar, Hyderabad in Andhra Pradesh and NOIDA near Delhi.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 12, 1993

The success of the bandh and general strike call is a powerful manifestation of the working people's opposition to the economic policies of the Narashimha Rao Government.

CPI(M) Delhi Office Siege by Police

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemns the deployment of the police outside the CPI(M) state committee office at New Delhi from the early hours of the morning today. The police were posted to prevent women leaders of the party, Brinda Karat and Indrani Majumdar, from leaving the office during the bandh. This police action on the party office and its functionaries is a blatant attempt to curb the rights of a national political party. The Polit Bureau demands an explanation from the Delhi administration for this illegal action.

CPI(M) Polit Bureau on BJP's *Yatras**

**Statement Dated September 2, 1993 Issued
by The Polit Bureau to Press**

The BJP's decision to conduct four "*yatras*" in September is nothing but a crude attempt to defend its constant misuse of religion for political purposes. It is the BJP which is responsible for the havoc wrought in the country by the destruction of the mosque at Ayodhya on December 6, 1992 and the communal carnage that followed. The BJP is panicky at the thought of any legal measures which will check its pernicious use of religion for selfish electoral purposes.

The propaganda ploy of the BJP is designed obviously with an eye on the coming four state assembly elections. Seen in the context of the VHP's ultimatum to the Government to hand over the disputed land at Ayodhya to it by October 24, the four "*yatras*" are calculated to raise communal tensions by raising the temple issue. These "*yatras*" are a good illustration of why there have to be effective laws to curb the misuse of religion in politics.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon all secular forces to unitedly expose the devious game of the BJP and to counter its brazen defence of using religion for election purposes.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 12, 1993

Polit Bureau Demands Consultations on Bills*

Statement Dated September 2, 1993 Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon the Government of India to immediately hold consultations with political parties regarding the two bills relating to the prevention of use of religion for electoral purposes and separating religion from the state. Such consultations are essential to arrive at a common agreement so that a special session of Parliament can be convened for adoption of both the bills.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 12, 1993.

CPI(M) Welcomes Agreement Between India And China*

**Statement Dated September 8, 1993 Issued
by The Polit Bureau to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) welcomes and appreciates the agreements signed between the India and Chinese Governments on the occasion of the visit of the Indian Prime Minister to China. They are in keeping with the consistent stand of the CPI(M) for improving relations with China.

A major step forward has been the agreement to strengthen peace and tranquillity on the border by a series of confidence building measures centered around the line of actual control. The decision to respect and observe the line of actual control, reduction of military forces in the area and resolving of any differences on the actual jurisdiction of the line of control by experts from both sides are all positive steps. Both sides have also pledged not to use force against each other. This agreement and the direction given to the joint working group on the border issue to step up its work should pave the way for the eventual settlement of the border dispute.

The other agreement signed on the extension of border trade and cooperation in the fields of environment and media will also be helpful in strengthening mutual relations between the two big Asian countries. It is essential that more initiatives be taken to develop economic cooperation and trade ties.

The heightened awareness of the necessity to remove all irritants in the relations between the two countries expressed by the two sides augurs well for rapid improvement in the developing relations between the two countries. It is in the interests of both countries and the region that all-round cooperation develops in an

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 12, 1993

CPI(M) Welcomes Agreement 683

international situation where the USA is trying to impose its hegemonistic designs on all countries which wish to preserve their independence and sovereignty.

CPI(M) Welcomes Notification on Quota Issue*

**Statement Dated September 9, 1993 Issued by
The Polit Bureau to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) welcomes the notification announcing reservation of 27 per cent jobs in the Central Government services for the other backward classes. This notification, though belated, is in line with the Supreme Court decision upholding the reservation announced by the V. P. Singh Government and incorporating the court's directive to exclude the well-off sections within the backward classes from the benefits of reservation. The identification of the "creamy layer" is in consonance with the Supreme Court decision.

The experience of the implementation of the notification should be reviewed after some time to see whether the quotas reserved are being filled up from these backward communities.

With the implementation of the notification, the long standing demand for reservation for the backward classes at the Central Government level will be realised. The CPI(M) reiterates that this is one limited step in the goal of social justice. The struggle to implement land reforms and bring out basic changes in the socio-economic system to end social and economic exploitation will have to be carried on by uniting all sections of the people.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 12, 1993

Polit Bureau on Bomb Blast in Delhi*

Statement Dated September 11, 1993 Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the bomb blast outside the Youth Congress office at Raisina Road in New Delhi, today. This heinous act has led to the death of ten innocent people and scores have been injured.

It is essential that a proper investigation be conducted to trace the culprits. The Polit Bureau conveys its heartfelt condolences to the families of those killed and injured.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 19, 1993

On LDF Victory in Kerala*

**Statement Dated September 11, 1993 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) warmly greets the people of Ottapalam constituency and the people of Kerala for the magnificent victory of the Left and Democratic Front candidate in the by elections to the Ottapalam Parliament Constituency.

It is clear that this electoral verdict represents a vote against the policy of appeasement of communalism as also the rejection of the anti people economic policies of the Congress(I) Central Government and Congress(I) led UDF State Government. Not only the huge margin in the constituency as a whole but also the fact that the LDF had secured imposing majorities in every assembly segment is of great significance. The Polit Bureau is confident that this victory will enthuse the Left, democratic and secular forces in the country.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 19, 1993

Polit Bureau on Massacre in Somalia*

Statement Dated September 11, 1993 Issued to Press

The most gruesome massacre of around 150 Somalians including a large number of women and children by firing from US helicopters in Mogadishu has shocked all humanity. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) vehemently denounces this murderous attack on the Somalian people by the US armed forces. This incident has once again exposed the nakedly aggressive role of US imperialism in Somalia which is acting in the name of UN forces.

The CPI(M) has already criticised the dispatch of the first contingent of Indian troops by the Rao Government to Somalia. The present tragedy reinforces the demand that India should not undertake any such role in Somalia. The Polit Bureau is sure that widest sections of the Indian people will raise their voice of condemnation at this massacre. It demands the immediate cancellation of sending Indian troops to Somalia.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 19, 1993

On Elections in Four States*

**Statement Dated September 16, 1993 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) welcomes the decision to hold elections to the four state assemblies, thus setting at rest the mounting apprehensions and speculations that elections to these four assemblies would be further postponed.

But it is strange to note that the poll date announced to these four states is spread over a whole month. We fear that this may adversely affect free and fair elections.

We expect that the Central Government and Election Commission, while fixing the exact dates for polling, would rectify and conduct elections within a time span of over two or three days.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 26, 1993

Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) on Yeltsin's Act Declared Illegal By The Constitutional Court of Russia*

Statement Dated September 22, 1993 Issued to Press

The step taken by Russian President Boris Yeltsin in dissolving the Congress of Peoples Deputies and the Supreme Soviet is patently illegal and unconstitutional. The present constitution does not provide any power to the President to dissolve Parliament. Faced with the mounting popular discontent due to the economic hardships and chaos in the economy, Yeltsin has attempted a coup by proclaiming the dissolution of the elected Parliament. The constitutional court has declared this action illegal and stated that it provides grounds for his impeachment.

This attack on the democratic system in Russia has been promptly welcomed by the USA and the western powers, exposing their hypocritical concern for democracy in Russia. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its solidarity with the stand taken by the Russian Parliament in defence of its sovereign right to represent the people.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, September 26, 1993

On a Deplorable Stand*

**Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) Issued Statement
Dated September 23, 1993 to Press**

The stand taken by Shri George Fernandes and four other Members of Parliament opposing China hosting the Olympics game in the year 2000 should be strongly deplored. The reason given is China's "human rights record", which is exactly the basis on which the US administration is brazenly trying to influence the member countries of the Olympics movement to reject China's claim.

Echoing the American stand does not conform to India's own interest and struggle to defend its sovereignty. The USA uses the same weapon of "human rights" to interfere in India's internal affairs. Will those who support the American stand, also take the position that India should not host any international sporting event given the American condemnation of India's "human rights record"?

There is widespread support and recognition for closer ties between India and China among the Indian people. This is all the more so in the prevailing international situation where the USA seeks to dictate terms to all countries. The statement by the five MPs is contrary to the popular sentiments.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, October 3, 1993

Rao's Policy Defeated*

**The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) Issued
Statement Dated September 28, 1993 to Press**

The decision of the American Multinational Cargill Co. to abandon its salt making project at Kandla is a victory for all those who have opposed the entry of multinationals into this indigenous small-scale sector. The struggle launched by all the forces against the indiscriminate entry of multinationals has taken a step forward with the abandoning of this project.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) congratulates all the organisations, including the youth and student jatha, which has been organised against this project. The Narasimha Rao Government must review its policy about the entry of multinationals into sectors which will be harmful to the economic interests of the country.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, October 3, 1993.

Polit Bureau Appeal for Election Funds for Elections in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan*

Elections to the four State Assemblies of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan and to the Union Territory of Delhi have been announced. These elections will be crucial for the future of the democratic and secular polity of the country. The four states had seen the rule of the BJP and its disastrous consequences. The control of the State Government in Uttar Pradesh in the hands of the BJP was directly responsible for the shameful deed at Ayodhya on December 6, 1992 when the Babri Masjid was destroyed in flagrant breach of the promises given to the Supreme Court. The communal forces represented by the BJP/VHP/RSS combine subverted the Constitution and the rule of law by this heinous action. The whole country witnessed horrific communal riots with thousands killed and injured as a consequence.

Now these very forces are making a bid for power in the four State Assemblies and Delhi. They should be defeated in order to preserve India as a secular democratic republic.

The CPI(M) and the Left parties have called for the widest unity to face the communal menace and to foil the designs of the BJP in the forthcoming elections. The CPI(M) has decided along with the Left to effectively fight only in those seats where it can mobilise the people against the communal danger and expose the anti people policies of the Congress(I). It will strive to bring all other secular forces together to accomplish this task. The Left forces are weak in the states which are going to the polls.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, October 3, 1993

Polit Bureau Appeal for Election 693

Nevertheless, Left intervention is of vital importance if the disruptive forces are to be combated.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) therefore appeals to all Party units and supporters of the progressive and secular cause to contribute money for the election campaign so that the CPI(M) can mount an effective campaign. The funds collected will be utilised to project the Party and Left's stand in defence of secularism and the economic and social rights of the people.

CPI(M) Denounces Yeltsin's Moves*

**Statement Dated October 6, 1993 Issued by
The Polit Bureau to Press**

The Polit Bureau denounces the ferocious military attack on the Russian Parliament and the massacre of hundreds by the armed forces under the orders of President Yeltsin. This heralds the open bid for dictatorial power by Yeltsin and his supporters with the backing of the western powers. Yeltsin's trampling on the constitution and the parliamentary institutions resulted in the current crisis.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the ban on the Russian Communist Workers' Party and other opposition parties, the ban on *Pravda* and other newspapers and the draconian suspension of civil rights. It demands an end to the anti-communist witch hunt launched on the orders of Yeltsin.

The western powers headed by the Clinton administration have shamelessly defended this murder of democracy and abetted to the hilt all Yeltsin's illegal acts as they wish to see Russia completely subjugated to international capitalism.

The Polit Bureau expresses its full solidarity with the people who courageously resisted the bloody coup by Yeltsin. It calls upon all democratic sections in India to protest this outrage.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, October 10, 1993.

Condolence on Comrade Nani Bhattacharya*

**Statement Dated October 12, 1993 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M)**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) mourns the death of the RSP leader, Comrade Nani Bhattacharya, MP, and a former minister of the Left Front Government of West Bengal.

Born in 1917, he was attracted to the freedom movement at an early age. He was one of the founder members of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP). He was a member of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly elected in 1962 and continued as such till 1987. From 1967 he served as a minister in the United Front Government and subsequently in the Left Front Government till 1987. In 1989, he was elected to the Lok Sabha and re-elected in 1991.

In his death the Left movement of the country has lost a steady and consistent fighter for the people's cause. The Polit Bureau sends its condolences to the members of the bereaved family and to the RSP.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, October 17, 1993.

CPI(M) Protests CBI Move*

**Statement Dated October 13, 1993 Issued by
The Polit Bureau to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) is surprised to note that the CBI has issued a clean chit to the Prime Minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, in the Rs. one crore Harshad Mehta scandal. It is not convincing that they found some deficiency in the affidavit filed by Harshad Mehta's lawyer, Mahesh Jethmalani and therefore they are unable to proceed further. The CBI has failed even to conduct preliminary enquiry and take evidence from those who were supposed to be present during the so-called transaction of Rs. one crore to the Prime Minister. Therefore, the CBI giving a clean chit to the Prime Minister, even without conducting a detailed enquiry, cannot convince anybody. The public had expected that the highest enquiry agency of the country would act more convincingly. The Prime Minister of the country should be above suspicion.

The CPI(M) strongly expresses its disapproval and protests of the behaviour of the CBI in attempting to hush up this case specially when it involves the Prime Minister.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, October 17, 1993

CPI(M) Central Committee's Appeal to Electorate in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh and Delhi*

The elections in November 1993 to the Assemblies of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh and Delhi will have a major impact on national politics and the future direction of the country. These elections are being held at a time when the country is faced with the severest challenges to national unity due to the communal menace of the BJP. The economic sovereignty of India is threatened by the pro-imperialist policies of the Narasimha Rao Government. The people are suffering from the worst effects of price rise, unemployment and disruption of normal life.

These are not ordinary elections. It is not only a question of who should form the governments in these states; the people are also being called upon to pronounce their verdict on the record of the BJP-run State Governments in the four states and the nature of politics practised by the BJP. The people will also judge the policies of the Congress(I) Central Government and its harmful effects.

Bringing back to power, the BJP, in these states, would mean the biggest disaster for the country. The BJP played a nefarious role in the demolition of the mosque at Ayodhya. When all the national-political parties had agreed that there should be a negotiated settlement or a decision by court verdict, the BJP deliberately went ahead and provoked a confrontation. The Kalyan Singh Government lied before the Supreme Court and the National Integration Council and misused the state machinery to subvert the Constitution. The black deed at Ayodhya led to the

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, October 24, 1993.

killings of hundreds of people in communal riots all over the country and the destruction of the livelihood of thousands. Bhopal, Jaipur, Surat, Bombay and the riot-hit towns of UP became symbols of man's inhumanity to man, due to the communal poison. BJP uses Ram and religion for its base political interests and to sidetrack the people's attention from the real issues affecting their life and social conditions.

Bringing back the BJP means communal hatred, riots, destruction of peace and normal life. It means the disruption of national unity. It means the fanning of both majority and minority communalism. India must be saved from such a fate.

The record of the BJP State Governments in UP, MP, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh have fully exposed their talk of being an alternative to the Congress(I). They were the ardent implementers of the Narasimha Rao Government's economic policies. These governments privatised public sector undertakings, threw thousands of workers out of jobs and gave big concessions to big capitalists. Under these governments, the peasants got a raw deal; the atrocities on scheduled castes, tribes and women grew rapidly; they communalised the text books and educational system. They suppressed Panchayat Raj as in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh.

The BJP Governments unleashed brutal police repression on the working people to suppress their struggle. Remember the 16 workers of Bhilai who were shot down by the police under the Patwa Government; remember the three peasants of Ramkola, shot down by Kalyan Singh's police. Do not forget the Kumer atrocities on the scheduled castes during the Shekhawat Government in Rajasthan. In Himachal, the BJP Government unleashed the black laws, NSA and TADA, to arrest hundreds of state government employees for going on strike.

The BJP has to be defeated by the people in all these states. It must be rejected to preserve national unity, for communal harmony and to defend the interests of the working people.

The communal offensive of the BJP has been facilitated by the Congress(I) policy of compromise and surrender to its pressures. It gave unprincipled concessions, one after another, from the

opening of the lock at Ayodhya in 1986 to the December 6 outrage against the Constitution and the country. The Congress(I) Government and Narasimha Rao betrayed its pledge to the country to defend secularism and to protect the monument at Ayodhya.

The Narasimha Rao Government and the Congress(I) had adopted the dangerous economic policy dictated by foreign agencies like the IMF and World Bank. It is mortgaging the country's future to the imperialists. It is opening the doors to foreign multi nationals which will damage our industry and sovereignty. It is dismantling the public sector; it is accepting the Dunkel Draft which is against the interests of the farmers and self reliance. The Rao Government is responsible for the millions of unemployed, for the lakhs of factories closed and for the sufferings of the rural poor.

The spate of corruption scandals has tainted the image of the Congress(I) Government at the Centre. The securities scandal involves thousands of crores of rupees—the biggest corruption racket since independence. Not even the Prime Minister has escaped the charge of guilt in this matter. The loot of public funds is at the expense of the people.

The Congress has no right, therefore, to the people's support. It is a party with policies which does not firmly defend secularism and harms the people's livelihood.

The CPI(M) has been consistently working to mobilise the people and all forces to fight back the harmful economic policies. The two general strikes in 1991 and 1992 and the September 9 Bharat Bandh this year were the result of the initiative of the Left forces and the mass organisations.

Our Party has been striving to unite all the opposition secular forces to defeat the communal danger. We have not yet fully succeeded in this task, but we shall carry on the struggle. Strengthening the Left forces is vital at this juncture.

Voting for the CPI(M) and the Left candidates means that the people's interests will be voiced in the legislatures consistently. It means sending elected representatives committed to defend secularism, national unity, social justice and women's equality.

It means electing a force committed to defeating the BJP and fighting back the Centre's anti people policies.

The CPI(M) Central Committee, therefore, appeals to the people of the four states and Delhi to vote for Left and secular candidates. We appeal to the people to support and vote for all CPI(M) candidates who are contesting the elections. We appeal to the people to vote for candidates of the CPI and the secular opposition parties in the other seats.

Defeat the BJP!

Isolate the Congress(I)!

Vote for CPI(M) and Left and secular opposition parties!!!

Firmly Rebuff US Pressure on Kashmir*

**Statement Dated October 30, 1993 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

We have been warning the Indian Government about the USA's intentions with regard to Kashmir. The remarks by President Clinton in the UN General Assembly recently were a pointer. Now the briefing by an authoritative US official questioning the accession of Kashmir to India and declaring the valley to be disputed territory, only confirms the dubious stand adopted by the US administration on Kashmir and in the context of Indo-Pakistan relations. It is equally ominous that such remarks have been made at a sensitive juncture with the Hazratbal shrine crisis in Kashmir.

The Clinton administration has abandoned even the stance that the Shimla Agreement can be the basis for bilateral negotiations to solve the problem. It has also criticised India's tackling of the secessionist terrorist activities which is a purely internal matter.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) categorically rejects this arrogant American stand. It has exposed the hypocritical stance of the United States which has no hesitation in trampling upon the rights of the peoples of other countries as seen in the instances of Grenada, Panama, Libya, Iraq and Somalia.

It is not sufficient for the Narasimha Rao Government to just lodge its protest against these remarks on Kashmir. Its craven and disastrous policy of surrendering to American pressures on the economy and on all fronts has proved detrimental to India's vital interests. The Polit Bureau demands that the Government of India take a firm stand to resist all such pressures emanating from the USA.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, November 7, 1993

Hazratbal : Left Stand Vindicated*

**Statement Dated November 16, 1993 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The surrender by the extremists occupying the Hazratbal shrine for the past one month is welcome as it has been achieved without any damage to the shrine or loss of life. The policy of patient but firm handling of the situation without taking any step for storming the shrine advocated by the Left and secular forces has paid off.

It is incumbent upon the Narasimha Rao Government not to relapse into inactivity but take immediate steps to act upon a comprehensive plan to end the alienation of the Kashmiri people by political measures while remaining alert to the designs of the Pakistani-backed secessionist forces.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, November 21, 1993

Fight IISCO Privatisation Move*

**Statement Dated November 27, 1993 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly protests the decision of the cabinet committee on economic affairs to approve the proposal to privatise the Indian Iron and Steel Company (IISCO). Rejecting the demand of all the central trade unions that the SAIL be entrusted with the work of modernising the steel plant, a private company will be allowed to acquire eighty per cent of the IISCO capital according to the scheme approved by the cabinet.

This privatisation measure should not be allowed to pass. The Polit Bureau calls upon all trade unions and democratic forces to unitedly oppose the decision. In Parliament, the Bill to privatise the IISCO must be resolutely fought back.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, December 5, 1993.

Foil This Nefarious Design*

**Statement Dated December 6, 1993
Issued by The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M)
to Press on Bomb Blasts in Trains**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep concern and condemnation of the bomb blasts in the Howrah and Bombay Rajdhani Express trains proceeding to Delhi and the A.P. Express from Hyderabad. One person has been killed in the A.P. Express while fortunately no one has died in the Rajdhani blasts.

These incidents are ominous, particularly as these come on December 6, the first anniversary of the Ayodhya outrage. It shows that the fundamentalists/extremist forces are out to destabilise the situation. As the recent elections have shown, people have rejected such forces and asserted their faith in secularism. The Polit Bureau calls upon all sections of the people to be vigilant to foil the nefarious designs of the extremist forces intent on creating communal discord.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, December 12, 1993

CPI(M) Condemns Repression on Postal Workers*

Statement Issued by The Polit Bureau to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemns the attitude of the Central Government towards the postal employees of the country which forced them to go for an indefinite strike from today (December 7). Almost 97 per cent of the workers, including supervisory and technical personnel, have responded to the strike call issued jointly by all the trade union organisations representing postal employees.

Their demands include the end of the discriminatory policies towards three lakh extra-departmental employees who were being given a sub-human treatment by the government, for the redressal of grievances of regular employees and against the policy of all out mechanisation of the postal services which will make thousands of employees redundant, etc.

These issues would have been settled if proper attitude has been taken by the government. Even today, it is reported that the government is trying to suppress the workers by using repressive measures.

The CPI(M) demands that the government should immediately negotiate with them and settle the issues. The party hails the unity shown by the employees.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, December 12, 1994

Polit Bureau Communique*

**Issued Following Its Meeting Held in
New Delhi on December 2-3, 1993**

The election results in the four erstwhile BJP-ruled states in northern India have given a resounding rebuff to the BJP and reaffirmed the people's commitment to secularism and national unity, the CPI(M) General Secretary, Harkishan Singh Surjeet, told newsmen at New Delhi, December 3, 1993. He was addressing a press conference following the two day Polit Bureau meeting of the Party, held on December 2-3, 1993 whose main agenda was a review of the elections and the political situation arising out of it.

While expressing satisfaction with the BJP's failure to get a majority in all the four states it had previously ruled, Surjeet emphasised that it would be incorrect to conclude that the results were an endorsement of the Congress(I)'s policies. He said the people had voted for the Congress(I) only where there was no alternative to defeat the BJP. The fact that the Congress(I) performed miserably in Uttar Pradesh only proved that wherever there was an alternative, the Congress(I) too had been rejected.

Surjeet also cautioned against underestimating the BJP following its electoral defeat. He said the BJP had maintained its vote percentage and continued to have influence among large sections of the people. Therefore, the anti-communal campaign would have to continue and all efforts would have to be made in defence of secularism and national unity.

Surjeet said though the Left had not been able to increase its representation in this region, it had played a big role in creating an ideological awareness and built an atmosphere which helped defeat the BJP. He said for the first time. The CPI(M) had won a

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seat in Madhya Pradesh and won the prestigious seat of Shimla in Himachal Pradesh

Surjeet also sharply criticised the Janata Dal leader, Ajit Singh, for his wholly unprincipled efforts to join hands with the BJP in order to prevent a SP BSP Government in Uttar Pradesh led by Mulayam Singh Yadav. He said Ajit Singh had thoroughly exposed himself. A few days before, he had been hobnobbing with the Congress(I) and after the elections he was doing the same with the BJP. He said though Ajit Singh was trying to cover up his efforts, it was difficult to keep such things secret any more.

He also criticised the unprincipled alliance between the BJP and the Akali Dal and said the Akali leader, Prakash Singh Badal, openly canvassed for the BJP. The BJP too had no qualms in receiving support from those who advocated a separate Khalistan.

In reply to a question on whether the CPI(M) would continue its alliance with the Janata Dal in view of the election results, Surjeet said, "Let us see what happens to the Janata Dal itself" He said the CPI(M) was among the first to extend support to Mulayam Singh to form the Government in Lucknow. He said the Janata Dal was in the process of analysing its policies and chalking out its future the Left would keenly watch the situation.

Asked if the recent activities of Ajit Singh would create a distance between the Left and the Janata Dal, Surjeet said the Janata Dal leadership itself had called for an explanation from Ajit Singh.

Asked if, in retrospect, the CPI(M) considered it wrong to have gone with the Janata Dal in the elections, Surjeet said, "We do not think it was wrong. We were trying to see how the BJP could be defeated. They agreed to our formula." He said the fact that the various factions of the Janata Dal merged just on the eve of the elections and the failure of Janata leaders to campaign against the BJP right since from December 6 last year had contributed to the Party's poor performance.

Asked why the Left had not fared better in the polls, Surjeet said when polarisation takes place, smaller parties get affected. The force most capable of defeating the BJP was favoured by the people. The Left was not strong enough in these areas to pose as an alternative.

Apart from the election review, the Polit Bureau also discussed at length the disastrous economic policies and the dangers of signing the Dunkel draft and decided to step up opposition to both in a big way. Surjeet also reiterated the Party's demand for the removal of Ramesh Bhandari from the post of Tripura Governor for his nefarious and partisan activities.

The Polit Bureau communique issued on the occasion is reproduced below:

BJP Defeat

The elections to the five state assemblies have resulted in a major defeat for the BJP. It has lost the referendum it called for on its Ayodhya demolition on December 6, 1992. It has failed to get the majority in the assemblies in all the four states where it had Governments till 1992. This defeat has been possible due to the people's consciousness and commitment to secularism and national unity. The unprecedented high polling and participation in these elections testifies to the people's awareness of the vital stakes in these elections.

The central thrust of the CPI(M) and the Left in these elections was to defeat the BJP and prevent its coming back to power in Uttar Pradesh and the other three states. Notwithstanding the BJP's success in Delhi, this goal has, by and large, been achieved. In all the four states which experienced BJP rule, the people have reacted adversely to their Governmental record and communal platform.

For a party which boasted that it will win all the five states and then aim for power at the centre, this electoral defeat should lead to the realisation that utilising religion for politics and fomenting communal polarisation cannot sway the people for long and will be rejected by all patriotic and democratic-minded people.

The verdict in these elections should not be taken as an endorsement for the Congress(I)'s policies. Only the absence of a democratic alternative resulted in the Congress(I)'s success in Himachal Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. This is evident from the fact that where there was an alternative to the Congress(I), as in Uttar Pradesh, the people have categorically rejected the Congress(I) also.

The continuous struggle against the communal danger and the united campaign by all the Left and secular opposition forces have yielded these positive results. But it would be wrong to write off the threat from the communal forces with these election results. Though the BJP has suffered a major set back, it continues to command significant support. Its influence remains due to the injection of the communal ideology. This calls for continuance of the anti communal struggle on the political, ideological and social plane in a sustained manner. Vigilance has to be exercised by all the secular forces to see that the BJP RSS VHP combine does not create situations which can disrupt unity and rouse communal tensions once again. December 6 marks the completion of one year of the black deed of the Ayodhya demolition. It should be an occasion to reiterate the firm resolve of the secular forces to defend secularism and communal amity.

The Polit Bureau reviewed the work of the Party in these elections. It called upon the concerned state committees of the Party to take immediate organisational steps to consolidate the electoral influence gained in these elections and to draw in new activists and militants into the mass organisations and the Party.

Economic Situation

With the completion of the elections to the state assemblies, the Polit Bureau underlined the importance to focus on the serious economic situation in the country. The Narasimha Rao Government has been taking one measure after another in pursuance of its liberalisation policy and fulfilling the dictates of the IMF and the World Bank. According to the status paper on India's external debt released by the finance ministry, the foreign debt has now touched over Rupees two lakh sixtysix thousand crore. Debt servicing of these loans will create a serious crisis in 1994 95, necessitating further IMF loans. Self reliance, indigenous industry and economic sovereignty are being continuously undermined with further concessions to foreign capital and the threat of opening up the financial sector to external agencies.

Reject Dunkel Draft

In this context the immediate threat comes in the form of the Indian Government virtually giving in to all the harmful proposals

in the Dunkel draft text for the GATT negotiations. The GATT negotiations are expected to be completed by mid December. Acceptance of the Dunkel draft framework will badly affect India's self reliance, its drugs and pharmaceuticals industries, agriculture, food security and invasion of the financial and services sector by foreign capital.

The movement to oppose the Dunkel draft text has gained momentum in the recent period. The Polit Bureau called upon all political parties and democratic organisations to step up this opposition. In the discussion on the Dunkel draft in the current Parliament session, the people's interests must be resolutely defended by rejecting this draft which infringes on India's sovereignty.

Intensify on Economic Policies

The recent weeks have seen a sharp increase in the rate of inflation which has further fuelled prices of essential commodities. Even the nominal seasonal drop in prices during this period has not taken place this time. Coupled with the continuing industrial recession, this is a telling exposure of the tall claims of the Rao Government on the beneficial results of the economic policy.

Instead of addressing to the growing problem of price rise and unemployment, the Rao Government is swelling the ranks of the jobless. The Polit Bureau called upon the working class and all other sections of the people to firmly oppose the privatisation drive and the growing joblessness resulting from the free licence to shut down factories and enterprises by the Rao Government.

The Polit Bureau called upon all its state units to chalk out plans to protest the price rise and all other burning issues affecting the people due to the economic policies. The agitation to curb the price rise must be combined with the demand for strengthening the public distribution system which is being severely weakened by the Central Government.

The Polit Bureau decided to fully support the next phase of the countrywide struggle against the economic policy to be chalked out by the National Platform of Mass Organisations carrying forward the wide unity achieved for the September 9 Bharat Bandh.

Kashmir

The Polit Bureau expressed satisfaction at the way the Hazratbal shrine crisis was defused. The line of patient and firm handling of the situation without resorting to any drastic step, such as storming the shrine, has yielded a positive result. The provocative line advocated by the BJP to handle this crisis has badly exposed its intentions to make capital out of any such confrontation which would have led to communal tensions and countrywide repercussions.

The Polit Bureau demanded that the Rao Government should not rest content and must immediately take up a comprehensive package of measures which can lead to the revival of the political process. The central focus in this effort has to be the rendering of maximum autonomy which alone can assure the Kashmiri people of their identity.

Similarly, in Punjab also, there are no signs of the Central Government taking any steps for the political solution of the Punjab problem. Without this, the peace and normalcy restored cannot be sustained for long.

Remove Tripura Governor

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) sharply criticised the conduct of the Governor of Tripura. Ever since his appointment, he has been embroiled in the unsavory affair connected with Harshad Mehta scandal in which a plot was hatched of implicating political personalities with the security scam. Subsequently, Bhandari has been acting in a partisan manner attending meetings sponsored by the Congress(I) TUIS and violating all norms expected from the Governor's office. Despite the demand for his removal by the Left Front in Tripura and democratic public opinion, he continues in the post and functions in the same unconstitutional manner.

The Polit Bureau demands that he immediately resign, failing which he should be removed from office.

Howrah Corporation Elections

The Polit Bureau welcomed the Left Front victory in the Howrah municipal elections. The results show the continuing confidence reposed by the citizens of the urban areas of West Bengal in the CPI(M) and the Left Front.

U.S. Senator, Larry Pressler's Deplorable Statement*

**Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) Issued Statement
Dated December 12, 1993 to Press**

The remarks by the U.S. Senator, Larry Pressler during his visit to India that China will pose a real danger to regional peace and security in south and east Asia in the next two decades, must be strongly deplored. Such statements by responsible U.S. congressional leaders come at a time when India and China are both making serious efforts to improve relations and strengthen cooperation. These remarks are, therefore, ominous as it seems intent on hampering the smooth course of Sino-Indian relations. It is well known that there is a strong lobby in the U.S. ruling circles who, intent upon maintaining U.S. hegemony, do not want the growing cooperation between the two biggest countries in the third world.

It is imperative that the Narasimha Rao Government convey to Senator Pressler that his views are unacceptable and go against India's firm course in forging friendship with China.

Central Committee Communiqué*

**Issued in Calcutta on December, 1993 in a
Press Conference Following Its Meeting
Held on December 17-19, 1993**

The coming days will witness a serious confrontation between the people and the government on economic issues. The abject surrender of the government to GATT proposals coupled with other anti people policies, will be fought in the streets by a much broader platform of working people, peasantry, employees, students, youth and women, the CPI(M) General Secretary, Harkishan Singh Surjeet declared at Calcutta, on December 20, 1993.

Addressing a Press conference on the decisions taken by the CPI(M) Central Committee, he said the CPI(M) will be in the forefront of the resistance and the Central Committee had decided to intensify the countrywide movement which had already taken shape through continuous struggles right from 1991.

Answering questions on the so called 'motions' of the BJP in parliament against the Dunkel draft, Surjeet said, "To me it seemed like a joke that after supporting almost all the policies of the Rao Government on the economic front, the BJP had thought of something like this". It was a mere attempt to cover up the defeat that they had suffered in the elections. The BJP is not at all serious about opposing the economic policies of the government. In fact, it was L. K. Advani who declared in the parliament itself that the Rao Government had usurped their policies. Vajpavee also repeatedly supported the government policies. Even last week, the BJP's sole member who was present in the parliament remained silent when the other opposition

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members were criticising the government on GATT. One cannot show a single example of BJP going to the masses in opposition to economic policies. So, no one will be hood winked by their tactics. The CPI(M) and the Left parties will fight the policies everywhere in the streets or in the parliament.

The Central Committee reviewed the election results which Surjeet summed up saying that the total result was a victory for the cause of the defence of secularism and the defeat for the BJP. Surjeet said the defeat was a setback to the BJP's communal platform. But it never meant a victory for the Congress. The Congress(I) could gain only because there were no alternatives in the two states where they won. This has been aptly proved by their crushing defeat in Uttar Pradesh. .

Surjeet said the CPI(M) had been consistently fighting against the communal danger. Even after the events of December 6, 1992, we have tried to mobilise people through rallies, meetings and other platforms. We counted on the awareness of the people and we have contributed in shaping this awareness.

Surjeet said that while analysing the results it was felt that the results showed an assertion of the backward castes. The CPI(M), while supporting the demands of the social justice, will try to enhance the class unity and class consciousness without which the present polarisation may turn to divisive channels. Answering questions on Kanshi Ram's comments regarding West Bengal, Surjeet said he is most welcome to West Bengal to see with his own eyes what land reforms have meant, and what is the political power of the poor people which is exercised through the panchayats. So far as social justice is concerned, West Bengal has the best record in the whole country.

Surjeet informed that the Central Committee has emphasised the need to further strengthen Left unity which is urgently necessary to intensify the struggle against the pro imperialist economic policies of the Rao Government. Answering questions, he said that the secular opposition forces have not shown a coherent programme which was necessary to mobilise people. So many trends are being manifested within the Janata Dal. In this situation, the expansion of the Left forces and their intervention in

the national politics is all the more important. If Left unity gets stronger, it will be easier to forge other united actions. Surjeet ruled out any so called 'break up' of relations with Janata Dal and said they are now discussing among themselves and that we are not in a hurry to reach decisions.

The Central Committee communique issued on this occasion is being reproduced below:

Assembly Polls: Setback for BJP

The Central Committee reviewed the elections to the five state assemblies and Delhi. The election results constitute a defeat for the BJP in terms of the referendum it called for on its Ayodhya demolition. The election outcome is a victory for the cause of secularism and national unity and the aspirations for social justice.

The fact that the BJP has failed to win a majority in all the four states where it had governments, is a setback for their communal platform. It is also an indictment of their record of governance in these states. Despite their success in Delhi and their managing to form a government in Rajasthan with the help of independents and defectors, the election verdict has been a strong rebuff by the people to a party which boasted of winning all the five states and coming to power at the Centre.

The Congress(I) which made gains at the expense of the BJP in Madhya Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh, did so, as there was no other credible alternative for the people. The results do not imply an endorsement of the policies of the Congress(I). This is clear from the results in Uttar Pradesh, where an alternative existed, and the Congress(I) was routed.

The Central Committee, after analysing the results, concluded that despite the setback suffered by the BJP, the party continues to wield substantial influence both in terms of percentage of votes polled and seats won. The communal ideology has a wide impact particularly in the urban centres of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. The Central Committee, therefore, called for continuing the struggle against the communal ideology and politics. There should be no relaxation of this fight on the political and ideological plane.

Social Justice and Caste Appeal

One of the trends which has prominently emerged in these elections is the assertion of the dalits and backward classes and their aspirations for social justice. The CPI(M) has been supporting this demand for social justice and will actively fight all forms of caste and social oppression. It will take up the fight for the basic issues which are the root cause for the exploitation of these oppressed sections the struggle for land, for better wages for the agricultural labourers along with the social oppression. At the same time, it will counter all narrow platforms which seek to perpetuate casteism for consolidating vote banks and divisive efforts to obstruct the unity of the working people belonging to different communities. The Party will pursue its distinct standpoint which recognises the democratic character of the fight for social justice and combines it with the independent class based struggles. Along with the struggle for social justice, class unity and consciousness has also to be created. Otherwise, the present caste polarisation can be taken to divisive channels.

The Central Committee discussed the steps to be taken by the Party state committees of the states which went to the polls to consolidate the new influence and supporters gained by the Party in these elections.

Intensify Movement against Economic Policies

The Central Committee noted that the discontent among the people due to the economic policies of the Rao Government is steadily growing. The BJP and other communal forces will seek to divert this discontent arising out of the bankrupt policies of the Congress(I) Government by finding fresh avenues to foment communalism.

It is imperative, therefore, for the Party and the Left forces to take the initiative to intensify the countrywide movement against the IMF World Bank dictated policies. This has become urgent as the Rao Government is succumbing to imperialist pressures on a whole range of policies.

Surrender on GATT

The most glaring instance is the Rao Government's lame submission to the Dunkel proposals and its acceptance of the GATT Agreement. Despite all round opposition, the Congress(I) Government ignored parliament and even the advice of the standing committee of parliament attached to the ministry of commerce which examined the Dunkel proposals. The Rao Government did not make even the minimum efforts to renegotiate the package as it had made up its mind two years ago that there is no other alternative but to accept the Dunkel draft text. The result is a shameful capitulation.

The deleterious effects of the GATT terms are wide-ranging. They will hike up the prices of medicines manyfold, force changes in India's patent laws, threaten food security and the public distribution system, harm the interests of farmers on the question of seeds, undermined India's indigenous research and development and continue with restrictions on India's right to export textiles to the advanced countries for another ten years.

The betrayal on the GATT Agreement is part of the Narasimha Rao Government's bartering away of India's economic sovereignty, set in motion from 1991 by the acceptance of the IMF World Bank conditionalities. Now, shamelessly, the government is giving one concession after another to foreign capital, particularly in the consumer goods sector. Such a policy is evoking protests from even sections of Indian big business.

The false claims of Manmohan Singh about the buoyancy of the economy is exploded by the continuing industrial recession and the renewed steep increase in the rate of inflation. The balance of payments continues to be propped up by massive doses of external debt which has now touched the huge figure of Rs. 266 thousand crore.

The "economic reforms" continue to wreak havoc with the economy and the life of the people. The privatisation drive is leading to loss of tens of thousands of jobs. In all the states, the people are being burdened by increase in rates of electricity, transport, educational fees and hospital charges. The curtailment of the public distribution system is affecting the most vulnerable sections of society, particularly the tribal people.

The Central Committee discussed in depth the steps to be taken to broaden and intensify the struggle to reverse the economic policies. After the September 9 Bharat Bandh success, it is necessary to carry forward the movement. The Central Committee congratulated the all India postal employees for their successful nationwide strike and the Haryana state government employees for their strike struggle. Every sector of the working people must organise protest actions.

The Central Committee called upon all Party units and mass organisations to step up their efforts to organise such struggles and thereby strengthen the broader movement for resistance. The Central Committee decided to extend full support to the next phase of the countrywide movement to be chalked out by the National Platform of Mass Organisations soon.

Strengthen Left Unity

To build up the resistance to the pro imperialist economic policies and to further isolate the communal forces, it is essential that the Left forces cement their unity further and jointly intervene in national politics in a big way. The CPI(M) is committed to building Left unity and to overcoming any opportunist and vacillating trends which may emerge to obstruct this process.

The secular opposition parties have shown their inability to put forward a coherent programme and united endeavour in these elections. The Janata Dal, in particular, has to examine its record in this matter. In such a situation, it is the expansion of Left activities and its united efforts which can help rally all the secular and democratic forces to the twin task of fighting back the Congress(I) Government's politics and the communal danger.

Kashmir

The Central Committee appreciated the stand taken by the Polit Bureau during the Hazratbal shrine crisis. The approach of patient handling of the situation led to the resolution of the crisis without damage to the shrine or bloodshed. The Central Committee noted that the Rao Government is yet to come

forward with any concrete steps to utilise the favourable situation after the ending of the Hazratbal crisis. Any more inaction will fritter away the opportunity presented to revive the political process.

The Central Committee appealed to all its Party units to campaign for immediate steps to break the deadlock on Kashmir. Such measures to be taken should focus on providing maximum autonomy to the Kashmir people so as to assure them of protection of their identity. The setting up of an advisory committee, comprising of some prominent personalities, will help people to approach them for redressal of their grievances. Firm steps are necessary to curb the pro Pakistani fundamentalist forces while demarcating them from the JKLF.

Tripura

The Central Committee condemned the refusal of the Tripura Governor, Ramesh Bhandari to step down from office. From the time of his appointment by the Centre without consulting the state government, the Governor has been compromised by his involvement in the conspiracy to implicate certain political leaders in the Harshad Mehta affair. Further, he is violating all norms by displaying partisanship for the Congress(I) TUIS parties.

The Central Committee reiterates that to maintain proper Centre State relations, such a Governor must be removed. The Central Committee called upon all Party units and democratic forces to conduct a campaign for the removal of the Governor of Tripura.

Trade Union Front Review

The Central Committee discussed a draft review document of the trade union front. It examined the current questions before the trade union movement and the immediate tasks for the Party cadres working on this front. The document discusses the need to fight back the current offensive on the working class and the building of the broadest unity of the workers for this task.

The draft report will be circulated to the state committees for wider discussions before being finalised by the next Central Committee meeting.

Circulation Drive for Papers

The Central Committee decided to call for a month long circulation drive to step up sales of the central Party weekly papers in April 1994. All Party units will be involved in this campaign to step up the sales of the Party papers.

The Central Committee decided to hold its next meeting at Hyderabad in April 1994.

Report on the Political Situation*

**Adopted by the Central Committee of
The CPI(M) in its Meeting Held in Calcutta on
December 17-19, 1993**

I

REVIEW OF ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS

BJP Loses Referendum

The elections to the five state assemblies and the national capital territory of Delhi were bound to have a crucial bearing on the future direction of national politics at the present juncture. The BJP sought to make these elections a referendum for its Ayodhya demolition on December 6, 1992 and for its bid for power at the Centre. The results of the elections have resulted in a major defeat for the BJP. It has lost the referendum it sought to legitimise its Ayodhya policy. It has failed to get the majority in the assemblies in all the four states of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh where it had governments till 1992. This defeat has been possible due to the people's consciousness to defend secularism and national unity and the aspirations for social justice. The gains made by the Congress(I) in some of the states can be attributed to the absence of a credible alternative. The unprecedented high polling and the popular participation testifies to the people's awareness of the vital stakes for the country in these elections.

The BJP had set the goal of winning in all the five states and thereby create the momentum to bid for power at the Centre. The central thrust of the CPI(M) and the Left was to defeat the BJP and prevent its coming to power in UP and the other states. Notwith-

*Published as a booklet

standing the BJP's success in Delhi, this goal has by and large been achieved. The people have adversely reacted to the communal platform. In the four states formerly ruled by the BJP, the people have gone against the record of these governments' anti-people policies. However, the voting pattern reveals the necessity for caution and vigilance. The BJP is still a major force in these states and will seek to utilise its mass influence in various ways in the coming days including its communal platform.

The analysis of the overall results show that the BJP has suffered serious reverses in MP and Himachal; it failed to retain its majority in UP, the centre for its communal platform on Ayodhya; it was not able to get a majority in Rajasthan. In Himachal, the BJP came down from 46 seats to a mere 8 and lost 6.7 per cent of the votes it polled in the 1990 elections. The Congress(I) was able to win a three fourths majority. In MP, the BJP was reduced from 219 seats to 114 with the Congress(I) winning an absolute majority. In UP, the BJP lost its majority by losing 44 seats compared to the previous elections and saw the SP BSP combination winning 176 seats. In Rajasthan, the BJP could gain 10 seats over its previous 1990 tally and fell short of a majority. It has been able to form a government only with the help of defectors and some independents. The results show that while in Rajasthan, the BJP's percentage of votes has gone up, in MP it has dropped by only 0.3 per cent. This should be seen in the context of the larger number of seats it contested in these elections. In Rajasthan, it contested 199 seats as compared to 132 in 1990; in Madhya Pradesh, it contested 320 seats as compared to 269 in 1990. In both these states, if seatwise percentage of votes polled is compared for both the elections, then its percentage has dropped. For instance in MP this seatwise percentage has come down by 7.3 per cent. It is only in Delhi that the BJP has been able to get an outright victory winning 49 out of the 70 seats in the assembly polling 42.7 per cent of the votes.

In Uttar Pradesh, the BJP has lost heavily in Eastern UP, losing 34 seats from its previous tally and conceded ground in other regions except in Western UP where it gained 16 seats. The BJP has been able to marginally increase its percentage of votes.

But the swing of votes from the minorities, scheduled castes and backward classes in favour of the SP BSP combine led to unity of the secular votes which checked the BJP advance.

In Himachal, the rout of the BJP can also be attributed to the great unpopularity of the Shanta Kumar regime which unleashed repression on the state government employees and took steps which alienated the apple growers and other farmers.

In MP, which has long been a stronghold of the old Jan Sangh/BJP, out of the 119 scheduled tribe and scheduled caste seats, the BJP has lost in 74. In the scheduled tribe seats the rout has been more with the Congress(I) winning 58 out of the 75 seats. The BJP has lost ground in all the major regions of the state—Chhattisgarh, Madhya Bharat, Mahakoshal and Vindhya. Only in the old Bhopal state comprising 12 seats was it able to retain the majority of seats. The results are a decisive rejection of the strident communal activities of the Patwa Government. The record of the BJP Government with its blatantly pro-capitalist, contractor-trader bias, its favouring of the tendu leaf contractors and patronage of feudal elements turned the downtrodden sections against the BJP.

In Rajasthan, the BJP managed to emerge as the largest single party thanks to the infighting within the Congress(I) and the blatant display of nepotism in distribution of tickets to the family members and relatives of Congress(I) ministers and leaders. Though the Congress(I) did well in the northern region of Rajasthan, some gains in Marwar and gained an overall 5 per cent increase in votes, it could not emerge the winner due to the above factors.

In Delhi, the BJP was able to consolidate its support among the urban middle classes. Given the record of the central Congress(I) administration of Delhi, the discontent of the people was directed against the Congress(I) and the infighting within the party led to its poor performance. An important factor in the BJP getting such a big majority was the votes divided by the Janata Dal, which fought all the seats and took away 12 per cent of the vote. The Sikh voters angry about the inaction on the 1984 riots in which some important Congress(I) leaders were involved also contributed to the BJP victory at the instance of the Akalis.

Uttar Pradesh

The election results in UP show that the SP BSP combination fared much better as it could rally the support base of the JD in most places. This was particularly so in Eastern UP and in the central region also. We had expected the JD to fare better, particularly in Western UP. But this did not take place because here also a substantial section of the minority vote rallied behind the SP-BSP combination and a section of the Hindu voters shifted towards the BJP. Western UP has not been a traditional base of the BJP. It made inroads here for the first time in the 1991 elections in the atmosphere of vicious communal polarisation. It utilised the Imam's '*fatwa*' in a big way to enlist the Hindu votes. The Jat voters, traditionally anti-Congress, also reacted adversely to the Janata Dal's Mandal platform. This helped the BJP. This time also by propagating that the minorities were voting in a consolidated manner, the BJP was able to achieve communal polarisation in many places. In fact due to this division of the secular opposition vote and the communal polarisation which worked in parts of this region, the BJP could improve its position in districts of Meerut division. The Congress(I) fared miserably getting only 28 seats compared to its previous tally of 46 and lost a further 3 per cent of the vote.

The SP-BSP combine had forged ahead mainly due to the mass campaign launched by Mulayam Singh after the December 6 event last year, while the JD was not in the field during the whole period. The inability of V.P. Singh due to illness, the JD leader with maximum mass appeal to campaign in all parts of the state also adversely affected the JD. The coming together of the various groups on the eve of the elections could not make any positive impact or inspire confidence among the people with the way the JD went about selecting candidates with open quarrels and failure to organisationally gear up for the polls. In fact Devi Lal and his son Chautala disassociated from the JD even before the election in UP where held. Given this situation, the SP-BSP emerged as the rallying point for the minorities, scheduled castes and backward classes, resulting in the fight being centralised between the SP BSP combine and the BJP.

BJP Platform Rejected

The results are a serious setback for the BJP on two counts. It had campaigned in the elections, as in the 1991 elections, with the Ram temple as the central issue and allied issues which could buttress its theories of minority appeasement and pseudo-secularism. To this position, they added a new slogan after the December 6 event. They arrogantly coined the slogan "*Jo Kaha So Kiya*" (we did what we promised) i.e. demolishing the mosque. This platform was rejected by the people in the referendum for legitimacy. The verdict shows the limitations of sustained electoral gains based on the politics of communal polarisation and *Hindutva*.

The BJP has suffered an equally serious blow in its attempt to project itself as the future "*party of governance*". Their other key slogan was "*today five states, tomorrow the nation*" projecting their goal of capturing power at the Centre. It is this claim of the real alternative to the Congress(I) that has been severely damaged by the people of the four states, rejecting their record of anti-people policies and misrule. The BJP campaign to win sympathy on their "undemocratic" ouster from the governments in 1992 also failed to win support. The failure of the BJP to go beyond the communal platform has been exposed in these elections. Further the image of the BJP as a disciplined party was damaged with the open squabbling for tickets and faction-fighting.

The Ram temple issue was sought to be projected as a symbol of nationalism. All those who opposed the temple construction at the disputed site were branded unpatriotic. In the course of the campaign, the siege at Hazratbal shrine in Kashmir was going on. This was seized by the BJP as an excellent opportunity to highlight the Congress Government's minority appeasement. They coined the slogan "*Kar sevakon ke liya goliyan, aatankwadiyon ke liye biryani*" (bullets for karsevaks and biryani for terrorists). They also used a provocative slogan widely which stated: "*Swaran mandirko toda kyon, Hazratbal ko choda kyon*" (why was the Golden temple broken when the Hazratbal mosque is being left untouched).

Secondary to the communal platform was the exposure of corruption of the Rao Government including the "suitcase" scandal. The most defensive part of their manifesto was on the record of the four governments in development and rendering service to the people.

On economic policy, the BJP sought to present themselves as advocates of liberalisation but argued that internal liberalisation to help Indian capitalists must come first, only then should "external liberalisation" take place. Multinationals must be allowed in priority sectors. However, economic policy never occupied a serious place in their campaign.

No Endorsement for Congress(I)'s Policies

The verdict in these elections should not be taken as a endorsement for the Congress(I)'s policies. The Left parties are extremely weak in these states though they played a major role in the anti communal campaign. The absence of a democratic alternative resulted in the Congress(I) success in MP and Himachal where the people voted it to power rejecting the BJP. This is evident from the fact that where there was a alternative to the Congress(I), as in UP, the people have categorically rejected the Congress(I).

In the Congress(I)'s manifesto and the election campaign, the main plank was the emphasis on "*vikas*" (development). The Congress(I) tried to convince the people that only the Congress(I) party could ensure all round development. In contrast they tried to project the BJP's coming to power would mean "*vinash*" (destruction). Although they condemned the BJP for its communal politics it deliberately kept the Ayodhya solution ambiguous. In many speeches Narasimha Rao himself declared that the temple would be constructed at Ayodhya but by religious leaders. In Muslim areas he also promised construction of the mosque. Both the temple and the mosque would be constructed, the Congress(I) promised, once the Supreme Court gave its opinion. To buttress its claim about development, the Congress campaigned that the economic policies are yielding good results. It sought to attack the Janata Dal and similar forces with fomenting casteism.

The manifesto was totally silent on the issue of corruption. In the individual states the Congress(I) highlighted the record of misrule of the BJP Governments to try and gather the discontent against the BJP Governments.

Despite all the efforts made by the BJP it could not whip up any wave on the Ram temple/communal issues, though it consolidated its committed base around this platform. The Congress(I) campaign on "*vikas*" did not evoke any response given its dismal record at the Centre. The gains that the Congress(I) could make in states like MP, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan was due to their disapproval of the politics of communal confrontation and divisiveness and due to the discontent of the people against the BJP Government's record.

Threat from BJP Remains

The continuous struggle against the communal danger and the efforts at a united campaign by all the Left and secular opposition forces in the recent period have yielded these positive results which have led to the BJP reverses. But it would be wrong to underestimate the threat from the communal forces despite these results. Though the BJP has suffered a major setback it continues to command significant support. Its influence remains substantial in certain sections due to the injection of the communal ideology. Given the social backwardness of these states where feudal influences are strong, the BJP's communal and conservative ideology still remains entrenched. The Congress(I)'s compromising line concerning communalism has exposed its incapability to wage a consistent fight against such reactionary ideology. The Left forces are extremely weak in this region.

The BJP has been able to maintain its position as the largest single party in terms of seats in these five states by winning 443 out of the 1075 assembly seats. In UP it has been able to maintain its votes at 33 per cent. It has been able to retain its dominant position in the major cities like Lucknow, Kanpur, Banaras, Allahabad, Bareilly, Dehradun etc. Even in MP its showing in the major urban centres has been good with the exception of Gwalior. In the major cities and towns of these four states and

Delhi, the communal polarisation still continues and the scope for the *Hindutva* forces utilising the communal plank to launch new offensives should not be underestimated.

This calls for the continuance of the anti-communal struggle on the political, ideological and social plane in a sustained manner. Vigilance has to be exercised by all the secular forces to see that the BJP-RSS-VHP combine is not able to create a situation which can disrupt unity and arise communal tensions once again. The Party and the Left forces must take the appropriate initiatives for the rallying of all secular forces to defend secularism and communal amity in the coming days.

Party's Line in the Elections

The last CC meeting held in August at Bangalore had finalised the tactical approach to be adopted by the Party in the coming elections which would have a crucial bearing on the political course of events in the country. The C.C. Political Report had stated:

"It is in the background of those developments that the elections to the state assemblies of UP, MP, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh, states earlier ruled by the BJP, are being held and their outcome will influence the political developments in the country. The BJP after its complete and total justification of the demolition of Babri Masjid in Ayodhya and dangerously spreading the communal poison for its political benefit, will leave no stone unturned to win these elections. Its politics has already cost the country thousands of innocent lives and continues to threaten the unity and integrity of the people and country. As a result, the insecurity amongst the minorities has only increased and the very conception of secularism has come under severe attack.

"Unfortunately, in these states the Left movement is weak, the secular opposition parties are not sufficiently strong and are divided. In these circumstances, it is imperative to build the unity of the Left and secular opposition parties to effectively intervene and defeat the BJP (emphasis added).

"In UP, the unity of all the secular opposition forces and the Janata Dal(B), Janata Dal(A) and Mulayam Singh's Samajwadi

Party-BSP alliance along with the left will be the most effective combination to defeat the BJP. In the other states also we should have to work out our tactics in strengthening the unity of Left, democratic and secular forces depending on the concrete situation emerging there. We should concentrate in those areas where we are strong and can put up an effective fight unitedly. In other areas it must be ensured that the BJP does not get the upper hand."

Situation in UP

Following this understanding the Polit Bureau paid primary attention to UP in working out the electoral line of unity of the secular opposition parties alongwith the Left to defeat the BJP. The BJP had made its major gains in the 1991 elections by forming the government in UP and utilising it to heighten the communal confrontation and for demolishing the mosque at Ayodhya which resulted in the widespread riots all over the country. The Congress(I), by its bankrupt policy of compromising with these forces and failing to firmly defend secularism had lost ground badly in the state. Unlike in Rajasthan, MP and Himachal, the opposition secular forces in the form of the SP-BSP alliance and the Janata Dal were in a position to challenge the BJP if they put up a united fight. Another development which took place, though just on the eve of the elections was the merger of the JD(B), JD(A) and the SJP. Unfortunately, this unity could not be projected and was plagued by lack of cohesion and internal rivalries.

Our Party took the initiative to forge unity between the CPI(M) and CPI to unite the other secular forces and to arrive at an understanding between the two parties on the seats to be contested. The line of forging unity, endorsed by the C.C. of the Party was pursued till the very end. The Left parties wanted an understanding between the SP-BSP combine and the JD on the basis of a majority of the seats to be left to the SP BSP combine with a categorical announcement of making Mulayam Singh as the Chief Minister. While the JD responded positively to the proposal by agreeing to Mulayam Singh becoming the Chief Minister and leaving a larger share of the seats to the SP BSP combination, the

latter refused this offer and therefore the wider unity which we wanted could not be forged. The Party, therefore, in pursuance of the line of unity had to go in for seat adjustments with the JD. It was our considered assessment that the major force to fight the BJP in UP is the SP BSP combine in terms of mass support followed by the JD. If the wider unity had been effected through a electoral understanding between the two formations and with the Left parties, the BJP would have suffered a more decisive defeat than the present results indicate. According to preliminary analysis, at least 90 seats were won by the BJP due to the division of the secular opposition vote. This shows the fact, if the secular opposition forces were united as our Party advocated, it could have led to a more stable combination of the secular forces to form the government in UP, unlike the present situation where the SP-BSP Government has to depend on the Congress(I) also to muster a majority in the assembly.

Despite the failure to forge such an understanding, we took special care in these elections to create an atmosphere through our campaign by which a division of votes of the secular parties would not take place to defeat the BJP. Throughout the campaign, we projected the line of minimising the conflict between the two formations, an appeal for the withdrawal of other candidates in favour of the secular opposition candidate who could effectively defeat the BJP.

Janata Dal: Performance

We adopted this course in UP despite the problems in forging unity between the Left parties and with the JD. In the case of the JD, after their unification their exaggerated estimate of becoming a big force led to their refusal to come to a reasonable adjustment of seats with the CPI(M) and the CPI. While the JD has always been keen to ally with the Left to utilise its prestige to strengthen itself it has always taken an unreasonable attitude towards fair seat adjustments in successive elections.

This happened not only in UP but also in Rajasthan. In Delhi and MP, the JD did not even discuss with the Left parties about seat adjustments and fought all the seats.

The JD has suffered the most in these elections. It has been reduced from 92 to 27 seats in these elections in UP, with a drop in the percentage of over 6 per cent. In both Rajasthan and MP, the JD votes have come down drastically with the party winning only six seats in Rajasthan and four in MP. It has failed to get a single seat in HP. Only in Delhi could it improve its position by getting four seats. The unified JD became hamstrung at the outset itself with Devilal and Chautala living the party. Divergent views are being expressed by various leaders for the election results with Hegde saying no future for the party. In the case of Ajit Singh, he has displayed the worst form of opportunism by trying to prevent the formation of the Mulayam Singh ministry and going to the extent of negotiating with the BJP. This move was condemned even by his closest lieutenant, Rasheed Masood and some others who disassociated from the move. Unless the JD is able to reorganise on the basis of a coherent programme which is not just confined to social justice but takes into account all other national and social issues, this defeat will have a disintegrating effect.

Problems of Left Unity

In spite of our best efforts for unity with the CPI in these elections, the CPI did not respond. The process of seat adjustments between the two parties was adversely affected in states like UP and Rajasthan. In UP, the CPI insisted on fighting the Isauli seat conceded to the CPI(M) for our state secretary by the Janata Dal. It refused to withdraw its candidate even after Mulayam Singh declared support for the CPI(M) candidate. It is only in Himachal and Delhi that there was mutual adjustment of seats between the two parties. This led to the unfortunate situation where there was no state level joint campaign to project the Left even though at the local level in many seats the cadres of the two parties worked together.

Struggle for Left Unity

As far as our struggle for Left unity and the relations with the CPI are concerned, in the background of these elections, we should recognise its vital importance. Though we were not able to

come to a full understanding with the CPI, the other major Left party, due to their parliamentary opportunist outlook and lack of political organisational discipline, we must continue our efforts to forge unity with them. While fighting against the wrong tendencies we must put forward consistently the perspective of strengthening Left unity.

Party's Performance

Our Party in line with the CC's understanding contested only those seats in which we could effectively register our presence or where our Party base or movement had to be protected. We did not fight more seats which could lead to a division of votes in favour of the BJP in all the states. We contested 17 seats in UP, 15 in MP, 12 in Rajasthan, 6 in Himachal and 6 in Delhi. We retired two candidates during the campaign in UP. While we adhered to the understanding that we should fight only those seats where we can effectively intervene, the CPI contested a much larger number of seats than warranted. In MP, it fought 65 seats, in UP 37 seats and Himachal 16 seats.

This election saw a good campaign mounted by the Party in all the areas where we contested. The Party's prestige was high due to its role in the struggle for secularism and people's interests. The political message of the Party was taken to many new areas which met with a good response from the people. However, the sharp polarisation among the major bourgeois parties had its impact on the results. We were able to win only one seat in UP, while we came second in three seats and got the third position in three more. Our votes went up by over 80,000 compared to the previous elections. In Rajasthan, despite a good campaign we lost ground in some of our traditional seats and could win only one seat, Dhod, with a good margin. We were also able to increase our vote by 50 per cent in the tribal seat of Falasia. In Himachal, the Party was able to win one seat, the prestigious Shimla constituency. We have succeeded in entering the assembly after a long spell of over two decades. In MP, we have entered the assembly for the first time with the Party winning the Sirmaur seat in Rewa district. In Delhi we could poll a substantial vote in only one of the seats that

we contested. The CPI was able to win three seats in UP, one less than the previous tally; two in MP, one less than its previous strength. It lost its sitting seat in Himachal and could not win any seat in Rajasthan.

Consolidate Mass Influence Through Party Building

A detailed review of the elections held in the states and the pattern of our work will reveal a common feature. In many places we carry on struggles on various issues and conduct general campaigns. But we do not consolidate these activities in the form of developing mass organisations and building the Party. In the absence of this organisational network, at crucial moments we are not able to retain the support among the masses who are swayed by some current influence. Both in Rajasthan and UP, in the areas where the Party has some mass influence and our local leaders have done a lot of work in championing the people's causes and gained high prestige, this is not backed up by the building of mass organisations and developing the Party. The reliance on individual leaders and their personal appeal and influence will not sustain in the face of the concerted offensive of other political forces in the absence of consolidation in the Party and mass organisations. Hence it is necessary that in all the states, the state committees immediately address themselves to the organisational tasks of consolidating the electoral influence gained in these elections and to draw in the new activists into the mass organisations and the Party. Alongwith this a concrete plan should be made for sustaining our work in these areas where the Party has made new contacts and rectifying the weaknesses in not building the mass organisations and the Party in the areas of our traditional mass influence. It is imperative that the Party unleash mass struggles and sharpen the ideological struggle.

Meaning of Caste Appeal

Another significant factor which has to be taken note of is the caste appeal which has been a powerful influence in these elections. One aspect of this phenomenon is the growing consciousness and urge of the dalit and backward classes to shake off

social oppression and to assert their rights in a caste ridden society. The slogan of social justice exercises a strong appeal and has been successful in mobilising large sections of the dalits and downtrodden sections in the rural areas. Whether it is the question of upper caste oppression or the demand for reservation of jobs, these sections are coming forward to challenge the old order. This awakening has a democratic content reflecting the aspirations of the most oppressed sections of society.

At the same time a purely caste appeal which seeks to perpetuate caste divisions for the narrow aim of consolidating vote banks and detaching these downtrodden sections from the common democratic movement is also at work. Many caste leaders seek to utilise the polarisation on caste lines for narrow electoral gains and are hostile to building up the common movement of the oppressed sections of all castes. Counter to this, the BJP and the *Hindutva* forces seek to consolidate the upper castes on a communal platform. This danger should not be underestimated and a proper intervention has to be there by the Party and the Left.

While supporting the cause of social justice we should emerge as champions in the fight against caste oppression by taking up all the issues which are the cause of the basic oppression of these sections the class issues of land for the landless and wages for agricultural labour. We should not accept the concept of social justice being narrowed to just reservation of jobs and mobilisation of vote banks on caste lines. It should be noted that no Party based on the caste appeal talks about land reforms or wages for the agricultural labourers while talking about social justice. The approach of Kanshi Ram, the BSP leader is to benefit from pure caste polarisation. We have to also note the class differentiation taking place within the backward classes and strive for the unity of all sections of the working people, the working class, agricultural labour and poor peasants, drawn from all communities so that a powerful democratic movement emerges along with the struggle for social justice.

A distinct standpoint of the Party which recognises the democratic character of the fight against social oppression and

combines it with the independent class based struggles must be vigorously pursued. The struggle to overcome caste oppression and narrow caste divisions can be taken forward only on these lines. The recent experience in Bihar is illustrative where under the leadership of our Party, the land struggle is going on, people are being killed for fighting for their rights but the state government has refused to take any effective measures to check the landlord attacks. Alongwith the struggle for social justice, class unity and consciousness has also to be created, otherwise, the present caste polarisation can be taken to divisive channels.

Unstable Situation

The election results and the formation of governments show that there is not going to be stability in UP and Rajasthan for long. In Rajasthan, though the BJP has formed a government, it is based on the support of independents and defectors and the conflict between the Congress(I) and the BJP is bound to grow. In UP, the SP BSP government will have to rely on the support of the Congress(I), apart from the JD and the Left and pressures and counter-pressures are going to affect the functioning of the government. Further, Kanshi Ram's slogans and plank will create difficulties. In such a situation, given the immense problems faced by the people and the spectre of communalism, it will not be easy for this government to carry out effective programmes. Moreover with the present economic policies of the Congress(I) Central Government, the state government's policies are bound to come in conflict with the Left parties and even other secular forces. We will have to be conscious about this in our future approach.

These election results also show that the Muslim masses are, for the time being, concerned with the question of their security and protection. They have voted on the basis of this vital question facing them as minority in all the states. The failure of the Left and secular forces to work among them and raise their consciousness consigns them to the level of being only minorities. It is essential that patient work is conducted among the minorities

taking up all democratic issues and rights effecting them including their being drawn into common movements, if the danger of the growth of fundamentalism amongst them is to be checked. In this respect we have to popularise the positive role of the West Bengal government in various fields which have succeeded in strengthening the unity of the toiling people of all communities, the Left's consistent fight for the just rights of the minorities and persistent efforts to be made to draw them into the common mass movements and organisations.

Experience of Election Alliances

An important point that the Party has to consider out of the experience of successive elections is the concept of electoral adjustments with bourgeois parties and forging alliances. An enduring front can be formed only on the basis of a programme around which the masses are mobilised. This can only be the Left and democratic front. Electoral alliances with bourgeois parties can only be temporary. Only by increasing the independent strength of the Party can we force the other non-Left parties to come to a proper adjustment of seats and joint campaigns with us. Unless, by our independent activity we strengthen our mass base, we cannot make a breakthrough to develop Left unity and mobilise wider sections. From electoral adjustments of seats and joint campaign platforms to building mass movements on common issues—all these must be seen as a process of complimenting and supplementing the independent activities of the Party and the Left for mobilising the widest masses which can eventually result in the formation of a Left and democratic front. Such alliances and joint platforms forged from time to time and issue to issue cannot by their very nature be a permanent one and will change in content and character as the political situation develops. In the absence of a proper understanding of these tactics, we would only be tailing behind the bourgeois parties. We have to lay proper emphasis on the independent projection of the Party's policies and the activities of the Left to facilitate wider mobilisation.

II

Economic Situation

With the completion of the election to the state assemblies, it is important for us to focus on the continuing struggle against the economic policies of the Narasimha Rao Government. The BJP will try to divert the discontent arising out of the anti-people policies. Soon after the elections with the BJP leaders being produced before the special court in Lucknow in the Ayodhya demolition case, the BJP sought to capitalise on the issue by its leaders refusing bail and being taken into custody. The BJP also tried to launch protest bandhs in UP, Delhi and some other places which met with a poor response from the people. But the BJP-RSS VHP combine can be expected to seek new avenues for diverting the discontent of the people and they can be countered only by the intensification of the united struggle against the economic policies.

The Narasimha Rao Government has been taking one measure after another in pursuance of its liberalisation policy and fulfilling the dictates of the IMF and the World Bank. According to the status paper on India's external debt released by the Finance ministry, the foreign debt has now touched over Rs. two lakh and sixty-six thousand crores. Debt servicing of these loans will create a serious crisis in 1994-95 necessitating further IMF loans. Self reliance, indigenous industry and economic sovereignty are being continuously undermined with further concessions to foreign capital and the threat of opening up the financial sector to external agencies.

The Rao Government is contemplating increasing the automatic exemption to foreign equity capital to 75 per cent instead of 51 per cent for entry into various sectors of Indian industry. It is allowing the rapid penetration of multinationals into the consumer goods sector and areas of luxury consumption which have no bearing on India's vital economic interests. After *Pepsi Cola*, *Coca Cola* has been allowed into the country, an agreement has been signed for the Kentucky Fried Chicken Co. to open up 30 retail outlets and multinational corporations specialising in agriculture are being allowed to buy land and run research farms all over the country.

The opening up of agriculture to the global market will lead to changes in the cropping pattern and undermine the priority to foodgrains production. This will undermine the elementary food security built up in the country.

The increasing concessions to foreign capital in all spheres of the economy is now creating apprehensions among sections of the big bourgeoisie in India who earlier enthusiastically welcomed liberalisation. Recently, a group of big industrialists met in Bombay and have been popularly called the *Bombay Club* in the media. They have put forward a set of demands demanding a "level playing field" *vis-a-vis* foreign capital. One of their demands is that the foreign companies which have been allowed to raise their equity shares to 51 per cent are able to do so by borrowing on their shares from foreign banks while restrictions are placed on Indian business to borrow on their share holdings. A growing worry has been the across the board reduction in import duties which has badly affected the capital goods industry and other sectors. The spectacle of multinational corporations taking over Indian concerns like Tomco and Godrej and the Parle Company tying up with Coca Cola shows how foreign monopoly capital is making Indian capital subserve its aims. The Bombay Club demands manifest the beginnings of the contradiction between foreign finance capital and sections of the Indian bourgeoisie, a trend which was foreseen in our 14th Party Congress Political Resolution.

Reject Dunkel Draft

It was clear from the stand taken by the government in the Parliament debate on the Dunkel Draft that the Narasimha Rao Government was prepared to accept all the harmful proposals in the draft. The GATT negotiations have been concluded. The proposals by the Rao government and the acceptance of the Dunkel Draft framework will badly affect India's self-reliance. It will lead to big increases in the prices of vital medicines and undermine the indigenous drugs and pharmaceuticals industry and indigenous science and technology. It will affect the interests of the Indian farmer with royalty to be paid on high yielding

seeds, damage the public distribution system and open the doors for invasion of the financial and services sector by foreign capital. The movement to oppose the Dunkel Draft text gained momentum in the recent period. At the call of the National Platform of Mass Organisations, a week long nation-wide campaign to oppose the Dunkel Draft was observed from December 3 to 9. With the Rao Government's tame surrender at the GATT negotiations and ignoring even the standing committee of Parliament's caution in the matter, the issue must be taken to the people and a movement built up to fight back the infringement of India's vital interests.

Though the Narasimha Rao Government has decided not to go in for a EFF loan from the IMF during the period 1993-94 as its foreign exchange reserves are around 8 billion dollars, this situation will not last for long. The bulk of the repayment of the IMF loans and other debt servicing will accelerate in the next financial year and with no great improvement in the trade balance the government will be forced to enter into the vicious spiral of incurring huge loans to meet its debt service obligations.

The recent weeks have seen a sharp increase in the rate of inflation which has further fuelled prices of essential commodities. Even the nominal seasonal drop in prices during this period has not taken place this time. Coupled with the continuing industrial recession, this is a telling exposure of the tall claims of the Rao government on the "*beneficial*" results of the economic policy.

Instead of addressing to the growing problems of price rise and unemployment, the Rao Government is swelling the ranks of the jobless. The privatisation drive course is going ahead relentlessly and the latest proposal is for the privatisation of the IISCO steel plant. Without the formal adoption of an exit policy there is virtually free licence by the government to shut down factories and enterprises. The Party units will have to immediately take up the question of fighting price rise and the demand for strengthening the public distribution system which is being severely weakened by the Central Government. In all the states, imposition of the new economic policies by the Centre is leading to all-round increase in public utilities like transport fares, power rates, health charges in hospitals and educational fees. The mass organisations and the Party units must be quick in intervening to fight such burdens on the people.

In the recent months various strike struggles and movements have been conducted in the states to defend the rights of the working people and to oppose the new burdens. The strike by the transport workers in Kerala and Tamil Nadu, the struggle by the Haryana State Government employees, the strike by the primary teachers in Tamil Nadu are some of the instances of such actions. There have been important all India strike actions of the bank employees, the steel workers and the all India postal workers.

Intensify All-India Movement

It is essential that the fight against the economic policies launched through the united platform be carried forward after the success of the September 9 Bharat Bandh called by the National Platform of mass organisations. Building on the success of this nation-wide protest action, it is necessary now for an intensive campaign in all parts of the country to rally more sections, particularly the rural masses to gear up for the next phase of the struggle. A nation wide programme of *jathas* and a rally in Delhi should set the stage for launching the next phase of the struggle. Here again it is the initiative of our Party, the Left forces and the mass organisations which must be commonly pooled for taking the struggle against the economic policy to new heights.

Kashmir

The situation in the Kashmir valley reached a flash point with the Hazratbal crisis. The surrounding of the Hazratbal shrine by the security forces to prevent the extremists continuing to misuse the religious place came at a sensitive time when the election campaign for the state assemblies was on. A situation in which the shrine would have been stormed to flush out the armed extremists could have led to damage to the shrine and the Prophet's relic stored there. This would have had disastrous consequences as the shrine holds a special place in the sentiment of the Kashmiri people and of the Muslim community in general. Our Party took the initiative to approach the Prime Minister to counsel patient and careful handling so that the situation is defused without armed confrontation. The all parties' meeting held with the Home Minister and the subsequent standing committee meeting of the National Integration Council saw all parties and public personalities

advising restraint except for the BJP. The line of patient but firm handling of the situation yielded positive results and the shrine was vacated without use of force. The provocative line advocated by the BJP to handle this crisis has badly exposed its intentions to make capital out of any such confrontation which would have led to communal tensions and countrywide repercussions.

The resolution of the Hazratbal crisis without giving any handle to the secessionist forces has created a favourable situation in the valley. It is essential that the Central Government without becoming complacent and negative again should immediately initiate a comprehensive package of measures which can help revive the political process. An advisory committee which includes some prominent personalities should be set up for maintaining links with the people. A political solution should focus on providing maximum autonomy which alone can assure the Kashmiri people of their identity. To advance this process it is essential to demarcate the JKLF from the Hizbul and pro-Pakistani secessionist forces.

Punjab

The Rao Government continues with its complacent and self-satisfactory refrain by not taking any steps for working out a political solution to the problems thrown up in Punjab. After the significant curbing of the extremist activities and restoration of peace, neither the Beant Singh Government nor the Centre has felt it necessary to proceed along the lines of the Rajiv-Longowal accord to give a final blow to the extremist forces. The Akali Dal (Badal) in Punjab exposed its rank opportunism and communal outlook by extending support to the BJP in the recent assembly elections. It has fallen upon the CPI(M) and the Left forces to intensify the campaign for a political solution to the Punjab problem and raise the economic demands of the people. Such a campaign is to be chalked out from the month of January 1994.

Tripura

The demand for the recall of the State Governor, Shri Romesh Bhandari has become a mass movement with protests by different sections of the people. Ever since his appointment he has been embroiled in the unsavory affair connected with the Harshad Mehta scandal in which a plot was hatched to implicate political

personalities with the scam. Subsequently, the Governor has been acting in a partisan manner attending meetings of the Congress(I)-TUIJS and violating all norms expected from the Governor's office. At the central level our Party has requested the President of India to remove the Governor for his unconstitutional behaviour.

It is essential that Romesh Bhandari is removed from the office of the Governor in order to ensure that the elementary norms of Centre State relations are observed and the Governor's office is not utilised to act against the popularly elected Left Front Government.

Crucial Role of Party and Left

In the situation obtaining in the country after the five state assembly elections—the ongoing onslaught on the people's livelihood through the economic policies of the Rao Government, the continuing danger emanating from the communal forces, threats to national unity, the disarray in the secular bourgeois opposition parties and the new alignment sought to be drawn on caste lines—it is essential that the Party expands and intensifies its independent activities. The political ideological work of the Party at all levels must seek to project the distinct approach and policies of the Party on all questions coupled with the organisational activity of mobilising the masses on its own platform of demands. Of utmost importance is the work among the basic classes, the agricultural labour, poor peasants and the working class, both at the level of policy demarcating from other bourgeois parties and in the plane of political activity the Party must go all out to expand its work. It is the growing independent strength of the Party that will ensure the effective intervention of the Left. In the struggle for Left unity, once again the CPI(M) has to play a major role by pursuing a line of unity overcoming all opportunist vacillations and obstacles.

In the coming period, the Party and the mass organisations must gear up for taking forward the struggle against the economic policies by the united efforts of the National Platform of Mass Organisations. It must take immediate steps to consolidate the mass influence gained in these assembly elections. It must build up independent class struggles of the rural poor along with championing the cause of social justice, while demarcating from all narrow caste forces to divide the people. It must unremittingly

combat the forces of majority communalism by uniting all the secular forces and at the same time step up our efforts to draw the minorities into the common struggle counteracting the fundamentalist trend. All these tasks can be fulfilled only by the CPI(M) and the Left taking the lead.

Annexure: Assembly Election Results

State	Seats (Elec Hld)	Cong(I)	Per- centage	BJP	Per- centage	JD	Per- centage	SP- BSP	Per- centage	CPI(M)	CPI	Ind & Others
UP	422	28 (46)	14.8 (17.6)	177 (211)	33 (31.6)	27 (92)	12.8 (19.1)	176 (42)	28.8 (21.9)	1 (1)	4 (3)	10 (11)
Rajasthan	199	76 (50)	38.3 (33.4)	95 (85)	38.6 (26.2)	6 (54)	6.9 (20.4)	—	—	1 (1)	—	21 10
M P	316	173 (56)	40.7 (33.5)	114 (219)	38.7 (39)	4 (28)	3.8 (7.7)	12 (2)	7.1 3.5	1	2	7
Himachal	68	52 (9)	49.6 (37.6)	8 (46)	36.2 (42.9)	0 (11)	1 (10.4)	—	—	1	—	7
Delhi	70	14	33.8	49	42.2	4	11.9	—	—	—	—	3

****Note:** Figures in Brackets pertain to previous elections. Percentage of votes polled are only preliminary.

On Electoral Malpractices*

**Statement Dated December 25, 1993 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The Election Commission has initiated proceedings to conduct investigations into the cases of some prominent persons who had got elected to the Rajya Sabha by getting their names entered in the electoral rolls of the State or Union Territory outside the states of their normal residence. The investigation has become necessary as their election to the Rajya Sabha was possible due to illegal registration.

The Polit Bureau of CPI(M) considers that this move, though belated is welcome in as much as it seeks to put to an end to a serious malpractice. The Rajya Sabha was designed to be an Upper House, as the council of states, primarily to give representation to the states. However, over the years the most unhealthy practice of the ruling party and some other political parties using the Rajya Sabha elections to accommodate "favourites" or to provide the necessary parliamentary berths to ministers, etc., has become a regular phenomena. Thus the very purpose of the Rajya Sabha has been to some extent negated.

The Polit Bureau hopes that the present proceeding will help to put an end to such blatant malpractices.

On Resignation of Finance Minister*

**Statement Dated December 25, 1993 Issued by
The Polit Bureau of The CPI(M) to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) considers the resignation tendered by the Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, a right step in view of the findings of the Joint Parliamentary Committee holding him morally responsible for the failure of the Finance Ministry to check the gross irregularities in the securities market. It is incumbent on the Prime Minister to forthwith accept the resignation keeping in view the unanimous decision of the JPC.

The Polit Bureau demands that the two other ministers indicted by the JPC, Shri Shankaranand and Shri Rameshwar Thakur, also resign from the Cabinet without delay. All the officials found culpable by the JPC must be proceeded against.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, January 2, 1994.

Polit Bureau on Facilities for MPs*

Statement Dated December 25, 1993 Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly criticises the decision of the Government of India to implement a scheme allowing all MPs to allocate rupees one crore for development projects in their constituencies. The CPI(M) is opposed to this scheme in principle as it undermines the role of the state governments and the elected Zilla Parishads in deciding on developmental work. The MPs concerned are associated with the elected district bodies and they can suggest proposals to the democratically elected bodies. The concept of district planning and decentralised decision-making will be affected by the MPs' right to arbitrarily decide on development schemes bypassing the institutional mechanism.

The Polit Bureau also disapproves the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on remuneration and facilities for MPs. The enhanced allowance and facilities suggested include enormous increase in free phone calls, rail and travel facilities, water and electricity and more monetary allowances. All these will entail exorbitant expenses particularly when the common people are undergoing severe economic privations.

Except for the provision of secretarial assistance which will help the MPs function better, the recommendations should be rejected by Parliament. Already the leaders of the CPI(M) and CPI represented in the committee have disassociated themselves from the recommendations. The Polit Bureau appeals to parliament to take a reasonable stand on the matter and not burden the country with unjustified expenditure.

Polit Bureau Denounces Bigotry*

Statement Dated December 26, 1993 Issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) condemns the stand taken by an organisation calling itself the Bharatiya Muslim Ekta Manch in Madhya Pradesh which, has demanded that the well known film actress, Shabana Azmi, apologise, failing which it has threatened an agitation in the state. The criticism of Shabana Azmi affectionately greeting Nelson Mandela at a function in South Africa reveals the type of obscurantism and fundamentalism prevalent in some quarters. It displays an unacceptable attitude on how women should behave. The fundamentalist organisation seeks to speak on behalf of the Muslim community and such a reactionary attitude must be condemned by the enlightened sections of the community.

The Polit Bureau calls upon democratic and secular opinion to denounce such threats voiced by bigoted persons.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, January 2, 1994

Surjeet's Letter to Prime Minister on Punjab Situation*

Following is the letter sent by Harkishan Singh Surjeet, General Secretary of the CPI(M), to P.V. Narasimha Rao, the Prime Minister, on January 19, 1992:

I have been impressing upon you constantly that the mishandling of the Punjab situation by the centre has resulted in the loss of credibility of the Central Government in the eyes of the people of the state. The first and foremost task before your government is to establish the credibility which can only be done if the matter is looked from the point of view of meeting the challenge posed by the separatist and terrorist forces, and defence of the unity of the country, rather than keeping the narrow interest of the political parties. Since you are involved in tackling the Punjab problem from 1981 onwards and have a decade-long experience of handling and mishandling the situation, it is not difficult for you to draw proper conclusions from the past experience and take necessary remedial measures. You are aware that the present situation would not have been there had the government in the early 1980s not taken a partisan attitude. The opposition parties had extended their full support in finding a solution and many times solutions were found. But, unfortunately, the Central Government had been changing its mind which resulted in the "Blue Star", assassination of the then Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, and subsequent killings of thousands of Sikhs in the capital and elsewhere. The country had to pay a heavy price.

The initiative passed into the hands of extremists from the moderate Akalis. Subsequently, Rajiv Gandhi came to realise the

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necessity of finding a solution and it was found in the form of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. Despite injured feelings, the people of Punjab responded to the call and the accord was fully supported by the people of Punjab. It was also endorsed by the Parliament.

But it is again unfortunate that because of the narrow political considerations, instead of implementing the accord, the Central Government went back on the assurance, and the people of the state got a sense of betrayal which encouraged the extremists and separatist to expand their activities, and by now more than ten thousand innocent lives have been lost in the state. There is no sense of security of life and property anywhere. They are living under the umbrella of security forces. Today, on the one hand, the people are fed up with the extremists and the terrorists and, on the other hand, the government stand has alienated from them partly due to its policy in relation to Punjab and partly due to the excesses committed by the police and the administration.

I have been constantly emphasising on you, and you agreed with me from the beginning that an immediate solution to the Punjab problem is a must. And that you are giving priority to this question. The President's Rule is no alternative; and it is necessary to restore the democratic process. To do so, I have repeatedly stated that the involvement of the moderate Akalis is very essential to make the elections a real success. If we are not able to involve the people in the election process, it will become meaningless. To achieve this objective, it is necessary that a political package must be announced before the elections. Whenever I had the opportunity of discussing this matter with you, I always came out with the impression that you are taking necessary steps in that direction. Several times concrete proposals were also discussed and I thought that in spite of the intensification of the activities by the separatists and terrorists and in spite of the backing and intervention of the Pakistani rulers, we will be able to appeal to the patriotic feelings of the Punjabi people and inspire confidence in them to defend the unity of the country and to isolate the extremists and separatists.

When I came back from Madras on the 10th, I again discussed this matter with you the next day itself. Certain steps were being taken in this direction too. But I do not know what came in the

way subsequently and what calculations were made by the government to stop the process. The result of this has been that those moderate Akalis who had decided to declare the boycott of election under pressure from the extremists on January 4, were still waiting for the declaration of election to finally come out with their decision. Since the government did not take step even after the release of the election schedule by the Election Commission, these moderate Akalis met on the 17th and they were forced to reiterate their decision of boycott except the Akali Dal led by Barnala, Amrinder Singh, and the former Punjab Assembly Speaker, Minhas. I tried to contact most of them on the 16th but they did not believe that the government is going to do anything. Your statement reported in today's newspapers that there will be no package before elections, has encouraged those people who do not want the people to participate in the elections.

Today is the last day because, after the issue of notification tomorrow, no announcement can be made by the government. I do not know what the bureaucracy is reporting to you. The situation in Punjab is going to further worsen and new scenario is going to emerge which means that the extremists will have an open platform supported by these sections of moderate Akalis, and the situation might reach the same stage as that in Kashmir. The basic difference between Punjab and Kashmir has been that the Punjabi people, by and large, have been opposed to separatism and terrorism. They want peace to be restored. They have been putting up resistance against the extremists in spite of difficulties created by the government and the harassment of the police. That resistance is likely to get paralysed. If the government is thinking that by their boycott it will be able to manage some seats for the Congress(I), it will prove disastrous in the present situation. It will lead to further polarisation and strengthening of the forces of terrorism.

I know that during the last one decade the bureaucracy has had its sway and is not less responsible for creating the present mass. There had been lack of political vision in tackling the problem, although the Left parties have been extending their cooperation and have made tremendous sacrifices of their leaders and cadres in defence of the unity of the country. But I do not know what fate

is facing us now. I urge upon you at this late hour to realise the gravity of the situation and act in the best interests of the nation. We do not want the interest of any state to be sacrificed for Punjab, and we have never supported the parties raising unjustifiable demands. But the injustice done to the state should not be allowed to be continued. It is a question of fulfilling the promises made to the people by the government. I request you to take immediate action today so that the forces fighting against extremism and terrorism are strengthened and the game of those threatening the unity of the country are foiled. If you fail to act today, the consequences are going to be disastrous. Since the decision lies in your hands, it is upon you to act. I still hope that the wider interests of the country will have dominance over any partisan interest in tackling this problem.

Note on Punjab

Earlier Surjeet had submitted the following note to the Government of India, on January 14 so that a conducive atmosphere for meaningful polls could be created in the state:

1. Chandigarh should be transferred to Punjab and Haryana should be fully compensated to build its new capital.
2. Water dispute should be referred to the Supreme Court for decision.
3. All measures should be taken for the completion of the SYL canal.
4. A commission should be appointed to go into the territorial claims which should take a decision on the basis of language, contiguity and village as a unit.
The purview of this commission should include the dispute over certain villages of Fazilka and Abhohar.
5. Prompt action should be taken against those guilty for the 1984 riots.
6. Punjabi language should be given its proper place in the state.
7. The government should state that Article 356 will not be used against the elected government working under the Consitution.

Surjeet's Letter to Arjun Singh for Restoring Peace in Jamia Millia*

Harkishan Singh Surjeet, CPI(M) General Secretary, wrote the following letter to Human Resources Development Minister, Arjun Singh, on May 16, 1992 expressing concern over the Jamia Millia situation:

Some days back I had expressed concern about the developments in the Jamia Millia University and asked you to intervene to bring about a settlement. Many members of Parliament too came out with statements seeking the intervention of the government. You assured me that you are seized of the matter and that you are making necessary efforts.

However, now the situation seems to be going from bad to worse. With every passing day the initiative is passing into the hands of the fundamentalists. It is unfortunate that certain Congress and Janata Dal leaders are contributing to aggravating the situation. There is no valid reason whatsoever for a section continuing with the agitation, after the pro-Vice chancellor has issued a clarification. Instead of helping in restoring normalcy, a wedge has been created amongst the teaching community too and it is being sought to be projected as though the majority of the teachers are demanding the resignation of the pro-Vice Chancellor. Subsequently, however, 130 teachers have come out in support of the pro-Vice Chancellor. Earlier the teachers' union had taken a stand of bringing out a settlement without taking sides.

This prestigious national institution was set up to inculcate the spirit of nationalism among the people. It is this very basis that is sought to be destroyed by the present agitation merely for gaining

political mileage, without considering the serious repercussions that it will have. An agitation of this nature is bound to help the forces of majority communalism headed by the BJP, which can now claim that it is minority communalism that is destroying the basis of national unity. It is bound to have an adverse effect on the minority community too because with fundamentalism gaining the upper hand, protection of their rights becomes difficult.

Your stand on the BJP is very much appreciated. But if concessions are given to Muslim fundamentalists to arouse passions, the struggle against majority communalism gets weakened. Therefore, I urge upon you to take necessary measures to set matters right and ensure that the pressure that is being exerted by the fundamentalists to destroy the institution, should not be allowed to succeed.

I hope you will give priority to this matter and take necessary steps to restore peace in the university and protect the values for which it was founded.

CPI(M) Stand on Presidential Election*

Jyoti Basu

The decision of the CPI(M) to support the candidature of Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma for the post of President of India has evoked wide comment. It ranges from appreciation for the announcement to charges that the CPI(M) has decided to give up its opposition to the Congress(I) Government and its policies. Some commentators in the media have even gone to the extent of stating that a political realignment has begun with this decision, with the Left opting to break its ties with the Janata Dal National Front and adopting a pro Congress(I) stance.

Such a reading of the CPI(M) stand betrays either a very superficial understanding of the Party's political line adopted at its 14th Congress, or, a motivated campaign to defame the Party. All perceptive observers of the CPI(M)'s political tactical line know that while the Party has been unrelenting in its political opposition to successive Congress(I) Governments, it has not hesitated, when the situation warranted, to extend support to certain specific steps or initiatives even when they have emanated from the Congress(I). For instance, the CPI(M) extended support to such policies of successive Congress(I) Governments in the sphere of foreign policy which concerned anti-imperialist issues or support to national liberation struggles. On the vital questions of national unity, the CPI(M) has not been wanting in offering cooperation to the Congress(I) Governments, though it is another matter that these governments have thwarted such cooperation because of its narrow and sectarian outlook in dealing with such problems. The results of such a partisan Congress(I) stand are there for all to see—the

continuous worsening of the problems in Punjab, Kashmir and elsewhere. However limited our influence we cannot act irresponsibly for short term gains.

Context of Elections

What is the background and the context in which the Party's tactics for the Presidential and Vice Presidential elections must be viewed?

Firstly, the Tenth Lok Sabha elections held last year threw up a completely different political situation. A situation never seen in the country before. The Congress(I), for the second successive time, failed to get a majority in the Lok Sabha. Further, the main gainer from these elections has been the BJP which emerged as the biggest opposition party in Parliament. This was accompanied by its winning the UP assembly elections and its running the state governments in four states in North India. This has been a dangerous development.

The Narasimha Rao Government which assumed office a year ago began implementing what are called the new economic policies including the "exit policy". These policies have been imposed by the IMF World Bank which wants India to pursue a course of outright liberalisation and privatisation. A direct result of this policy is the massive loss of workers' jobs and growing unemployment. Along with this onslaught on economic sovereignty comes a whole range of imperialist pressures through the Dunkel Draft, the Indo US military collaboration, and a bid to curb India's space and scientific capabilities. The Rao Government has resiled from many of the non-aligned foreign policy positions in the face of these pressures.

All this makes it incumbent on the Party and the Left to determinedly resist and fight back these policies. There can be no compromise on this line of struggle. The Party Congress has called for building powerful mass movements against the economic policies. The June 16 general strike was an effective demonstration of the growing protest movement against these anti people policies. The CPI(M) and the Left have played an important role in building up this countrywide movement. Now, we must intensify and widen this mass movement further.

Fight against Communal Danger

At the same time, the Party Congress called upon the Party, the Left and its secular allies to firmly fight the communal danger as manifested in the growing aggressiveness of the BJP, VHP and RSS and its increased electoral strength. The BJP supports the basic economic policy of the Rao Government. That is why the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh and the BJP did not join either the November 29, 1991, or the June 16, 1992 general strike actions. In fact, they came out in opposition to the workers' struggle—a telling illustration of its class character.

The Polit Bureau, in its meeting on May 23-24, had to work out its tactics with this background in mind. The posts of President and Vice-President have their own importance in the Constitution. In a period of political instability, when the Constitutional norms and institutions are themselves being subverted and eroded, the Party cannot remain impervious as to who occupies these positions. It had to intervene. Here, the Polit Bureau was guided by a recent experience. In the case of the elections of the Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha, the National Front rejected the Congress(I)'s offer of Deputy Speakership and decided to contest the post of Speaker. The Left went along with this decision. This resulted in the Congress(I) and the BJP reaching an understanding, with the BJP getting the Deputy Speakership. We consider the tactics adopted in this case to be a mistake which helped the BJP. We did not want this mistake to be repeated. A Congress(I) BJP understanding in any sphere is not in the interest of the country. Tactics had to be worked out so that the BJP does not get the opportunity to influence the elections of the President and Vice President.

Moreover, the Polit Bureau wanted that those occupying these two posts should be persons of stature, who have a background of upholding democratic and secular values. The Polit Bureau decided that if the Congress(I) proposed its nominees, we could consider them along with the Left Parties and our allies and decide whether they can be supported. If not, we could explore other options.

But one option was not open to us. That is uniting with the BJP also to put up a common candidate. This would have gone against

our basic line of isolating the communal forces and compromised our firm stand in defence of secularism

The Left Parties, in their meeting on June 2, too, adopted a similar position and it was decided to ask the Congress(I) leadership to propose its names for both the posts together. In the present political situation, the Left decided not to put up its own candidate. Later, given the general feeling that a scheduled caste candidate in one of these positions will be fulfilling the aspirations of the socially most downtrodden sections, the Left Parties decided that they would support a scheduled caste candidate of suitable stature for Vice Presidentship.

That the Prime Minister did not announce his proposals for the two posts together is now well known. Our Party criticised this attitude of the Congress(I) leadership. In this connection, I met the Prime Minister on June 21 and conveyed our stand that he should make a public announcement about the Vice Presidentship before leaving for Tokyo that night. He expressed his inability to do so, while assuring that he was favourably considering our proposal. I reported these talks to the Left Parties on the same day. As for our Party, we decided to keep our options open regarding the Vice Presidential Elections and take an appropriate decision when required.

For the Presidentship, however, it found no political basis to revise its stand of supporting Dr. Sharma. The only other option would have been to back a candidate who is also sponsored by the BJP. The argument to abstain was not even considered as it would have meant losing all political initiative after the line we have pursued, and more so when the question of Vice Presidentship was yet to be decided.

This stand of the CPI(M) was regrettably not acceptable to the National Front, though several rounds of talks were held in some of which I also participated. They decided to go ahead with the candidature of Prof. G.G. Swell, even though the BJP had also sponsored his name. The RSP decided to abstain in the Presidential Election.

The question being posed by some well meaning friends of the Party is: how can the CPI(M) support a Congress(I) nominee for

President when it is engaged in fighting the Congress(I) Government? Is it not diluting the CPI(M)'s role as an opposition party?

Firm Opposition

The CPI(M) does not consider its stand for Presidential Election to be the test for its firm opposition to the Rao Government and its policies. Who should be the President at this juncture when the national situation is volatile and imperialist pressure mounting on India, cannot be based only on our ongoing struggle against the Congress(I) Government. For instance, if the Party's tactics leads to persons becoming the President or Vice President known to be ambiguous on secularism or soft on imperialism—will it help the Left and democratic forces?

Why did the Party adopt such a firm stand in 1987 disavowing Zail Singh, which was favoured initially by the entire non Left opposition at a time when the Party was strongly opposed to the Rajiv Gandhi Government? Only because of the circumstances wherein there was the distinct possibility of the President playing a role outside the limits and bounds of the Constitution as many of his supporters wanted him to.

Some critics point that we have, in the past, sponsored opposition candidates for Presidentship, so why not now? In 1987, we sponsored the candidate of Justice Krishna Iyer against the Congress(I) nominee. It may be recalled that this was done after a determined struggle by the Party and the Left, and the BJP opposed his candidature. Earlier, in the seventies, there was a joint opposition candidate Tridib Choudhury. All these critics forget the crucial difference between the past and the present situation. In 1987, the BJP had only two MPs in the Lok Sabha, today it has 127 MPs. Does this not require new tactics to suit the present situation?

As for those worried about the "pro Congress" tilt of the Party, we may tell them that the people will judge us by the practical actions of the Party and the Left. Who took the initiative for the November 29 and June 16 general strikes? Who is providing firm opposition to the Congress(I)'s economic policies in Parliament?

It is the CPI(M) and the Left, definitely not the BJP. In fact, the BJP voted for all the major bills in Parliament designed to usher in the new economic policies. The BJP welcomes every step towards unrestricted liberalisation and privatisation; it has welcomed the pro US tilt in foreign policy, including the diplomatic recognition of Israel. The CPI(M) has resolutely opposed all these policies. This is the hallmark of a Left opposition.

In the coming days, the CPI(M) and the Left will strive to broaden and intensify the people's struggles and mass movements; to fight back the policies which are harmful for the country and the people. The cooperation between the Left and the secular opposition parties, particularly the Janata Dal and National Front, will continue to be relevant. Those who see a new political alignment due to the divergent stands on Presidential elections, must understand that as two separate parties and formations, the CPI(M) and the Left and the Janata Dal and the National Front, will have divergent stands on some issues, but despite this, there is sufficient common ground which allies them together in the fight against the Congress(I) Government's policies and the BJP's communal platform. It will be the CPI(M)'s constant endeavour to strengthen this understanding and to develop a united mass movement which can throw up a third alternative.

Left Parties' Statement on VHP*

The announcement by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad that construction work at the disputed site at Ayodhya will be resumed on December 6, 1992 has effectively nullified the negotiations initiated by the Prime Minister. It is also in flagrant violation of the court orders that no construction work should be conducted at the disputed site. What the stand of the VHP RSS amounts to is that negotiations are useful only if their demands and terms are accepted by others.

Having failed to convince the VHP about the necessity to pursue a negotiated settlement, the Prime Minister now has no other option but to refer the matter for a judicial verdict. This is a course of action advocated by all parties except the BJP, and indicated by the Prime Minister himself. The Left Parties are of the firm opinion that all the cases pending before the Lucknow Bench of the Allahabad High Court be transferred to the Supreme Court for a speedy verdict. The Centre must immediately take the necessary steps for this. In the meantime, the Central Government must take over the disputed area at Ayodhya to ensure compliance of the existing court orders.

The VHP BJP stand that they will abide by the court verdict only if it is in their favour will not find support from the people. The Left Parties call upon all the secular forces to mobilise the people in support of this stand and make them vigilant of the dangerous consequences of the VHP ultimatum for the unity of the country and communal amity.

Signatories to the statement are Harkishan Singh Surjeet of the CPI(M), Chaturanan Mishra (CPI), Chitta Basu (Forward Bloc) and Tridib Chaudhury (RSP).

**Joint Left-National Front
Statement Issued on December 11, 1992
After Destruction of Babri Masjid on
December 6, 1992***

The joint Left National Front statement was issued on December 11, 1992 with V.P. Singh and I.K. Gujral (Janata Dal), Harkishan Singh Surjeet (CPI M) and Indrajit Gupta (CPI) being the signatories reproduced below:

The dark forces of communalism and hatred that had snatched Mahatma Gandhi from the nation are again on the prowl! Their target this time is even more diabolical. unity of the nation! It is their design to demolish heritage of the freedom struggle and usurp our proud traditions of secular unity. Their revulsive acts on the dark day of December 6, 1992 in Ayodhya was not to revere the Maryada Purushotam Ram, nor was it to express love for the great ethos of Hinduism. On the contrary, they acted as vandals.

Their imprudent disrespect for the Constitution, Supreme Court, the National Integration Council, the Parliament and even their own sworn word could only place them outside the pale of law. For this reason alone, if for nothing else, the ban imposed on their militant organs is justified. No organisation, more specifically a political party, can assume itself to be above law in a civilised democratic society. Their un Indian act has lowered the country's prestige in the comity of nations and exposed our compatriots and religious minorities abroad to immense sufferings and humiliations.

While demanding punishment to the culprits and compensation for the victims, mere banning of these communal organisations will be a ritual if it is not backed by relentless mass struggles and national determination to push them back politically and

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, December 20, 1992

ideologically. Unless this is done, the nation is in danger of getting disintegrated and pushed back to eras of medieval barbarism

We, the parties of the National Front and the Left alliance, view with deep concern and anxiety the orgies of violence and arson let loose by cadre of the RSS and their cohorts on the poor and innocent people. This must stop forthwith. And the government must perform its duty with determination to protect religious places, lives and properties of the citizens.

The great traditions of compassionate Hindu religion have been disgraced by these organisations and their leaders. Their professed commitment to religion and the nation are false and meant to serve their petty political ambitions. They must be exposed and isolated by all patriots irrespective of their religion, caste or creed. To this, we, the parties of the National Front and the Left alliance, assign the highest priority. Secularism is the soul of our nation-state. No one can be allowed to distort or destroy it.

Why This 'No-Confidence' Motion*

The Leaders of The National Front and Left Parties Held a Meeting in New Delhi and Issued the Statement on July 23, 1993

The Left Parties and the National Front decided to move a no-confidence motion against the Narasimha Rao Government in the forthcoming Parliament session. The meeting decided to move the no confidence motion for the following reasons:

1 The economic policies of the Narasimha Rao Government have eroded the economic sovereignty of the country due to its abject surrender to the IMF and World Bank. This has led to all round price rise, growing unemployment and attacks on the working class, farmers and all sections of the people and the abandonment of self reliance.

2 The Central Government has adopted a compromising attitude to the threat posed by the communal forces to the secular basis of our democratic system in the wake of the Ayodhya dispute and its consequences. It has failed to bring to book those responsible for the demolition of the mosque at Ayodhya. The government has also failed to ensure social justice for the downtrodden sections.

3 The government is steeped in corruption scandals which has led to the loss of credibility of the administration with the gigantic securities scam and the scandal connected with the disinvestment of public sector shares.

The National Front and the Left Parties decided to instruct the Parliamentary groups of the concerned parties to take all necessary steps for filing the motion of no confidence.

[Among those who attended the meeting were V.P. Singh, Jyoti Basu, Indrajit Gupta, S.R. Bommai, Ram Vilas Paswan, Sharad Yadav, Jaipal Reddy, Prakash Karat, Sitaram Yechury, Somnath Chatterjee, A. B. Bardhan, Chaturanan Mishra, Souren Bhattacharya, D.D. Shastri and Sushil Bhattacharya.]

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", New Delhi, August 1, 1993. Refer Document under Item No. 157 of this Volume

Report of Discussion Between CPI(M) Delegation and Representatives of the Marxist-Leninist Institute in Moscow in 1987*

Present from the Institute was Machedlov, Deputy Director of the Institute, Professor Minaev, Professor Naumov.

Machedlov

Welcomed us for coming to the Institute and said that recently the Institute had organised a Scientific Conference on "October and the Modern World". Many scholars attended the Conference including a representative from the CPI(M). There were representatives from the Communist Parties, Revolutionary Democracies and Right-wing socialists whose ideological perception were different. It was very interesting to understand how they look at the problems of the modern world. No document was adopted. We are studying the materials.

Our Institute specialises in the study of the history of the CPSU as well as of the Communist International specially on the post-October period and what is our contribution towards present-day political and ideological materials and disseminate. Collection of documents take time and requires to go to the originals. In early days of Soviet power, Lenin had asked to collect original manuscripts of Marx and Engels. Hard currency was used for this purpose which was in very short supply for us. This process goes on today. Several generations of research workers have contributed. Up to 8.5 thousand documents have been collected which has

*This Report was circulated as CPI(M)'s Central Committee Information Document No 7/1/88 dated 28 12 1987 This discussion took place when CPI(M) Delegation visited Moscow This Central Committee Information Document was circulated under the signature of Comrade Harkishan Singh Surjeet The Marxist Leninist Institute of Moscow was under the Central Committee of C P S U.

enabled us to publish second edition of Marx Engels' collected works. We collaborated with social democrats in this. People have got the mistaken idea that perhaps Marx and Engels' documents are available in Germany. They did not live in Germany for long. In fact these documents are available in Holland. We are still receiving more documents which were not earlier available. During the fascist occupation, the documents got dispersed. We have to buy at auctions. We could not buy all. One capitalist from Amsterdam had bought and ultimately he put them up in one library. We have an agreement with that library and have access to those documents. Our objective is to try to understand and give a scientific account and analysis of these documents. To understand them as a method of thinking in revolutionary thinking.

Another area covered by us is the writings of V.I. Lenin. That seems to be easier. He was Russian born and had worked much in the country. Yet he had to live hard life of immigration. Very often he wrote notes under his own name. Hundred students are working on this. Some of the documents have been unsigned. To verify the authority you have to do research. Extensive work in collecting the documents. This enabled us to have 5th edition of Lenin's collected works published. They have been published in all languages of the Soviet Republics and into over hundred languages in the world. According to UNESCO in most widely read publications in the world Lenin's is number one.

Sometimes we were asked by political leaders what Marx wrote about Perestroika. Still in Marx's works there is lot which deals directly with what is going on in today's world. Rejection of what was outdated. Essence is always search for truth. Rejection of stereotyped thinking. This is what Lenin meant when he said that dialectics is the soul of Marxism.

Now we are busy in producing new edition of Lenin. We have to re-read Lenin's answers taking into consideration the present-day realities. Krupskaya in her memoir wrote that whenever Lenin wanted to find an answer to the new problems he would come to the shelf, take a book of Marx, not just quoting, trying to understand. When Lenin had to write on anything like cooperation and collectivisation in agriculture you will see how

profoundly he read what Marx wrote on cooperatisation. Marx wrote much about it. In the 19th century there was a talk of "cooperative socialisation". So Marx's task was to understand as to what was the objective reality behind this. Cooperative production is more effective than individual capitalist production. Noting the progressive character Marx said that this will not give a chance of peaceful transition to socialism. Lenin assimilated these ideas and applied them to our situation. At that time Lenin's plan was interpreted as applicable to agriculture. But it was not. It dealt with the whole system of cooperation, industrial development, trade and agriculture and this will provide connection between the agriculture and industry and will contribute to the development of industrial and agricultural base. To come closer to the question he dealt with other areas that of democracy or self government. It is Marx's thinking that a liberated society cannot recognise any other force above it. Lenin assimilated this idea. We gave much importance to Lenin's last words, the Central ideas in relation to the development of industry, and agriculture. Another, self development, etc. After the revolution, Lenin had to review some ideas. After March 1921, he came to the idea that we cannot know everything. We can know the principles, the experience can help in developing the understanding. This was Lenin's methodology.

If we look at perestroika, you can see the contribution of this institution. Our duty and mission is to help to assimilate the theory—integration of theory and practice, the democratic practices of the people. In developing the methodology the vision of life, when people will not hesitate in rejecting outmoded ideas the battle for the minds of the people not merely political assignments. Kropotkin who was an anarchist, wrote to Lenin that he wanted to meet him. He was anti-Marxist, hero-worshipper and anarchist. But Lenin received him. Kropotkin asked Lenin what is the more difficult task. This was in the Civil war period. Russia is a big country we shall survive in dealing with counter-revolutionary forces. We will overcome hunger because it is a rich country but the main challenge is to change people's mind. This problem has not been solved, can never be solved. New ideas and stereotypes

will continue to conflict. To reproduce entire wealth of Marxism Leninism with any distinction scientific way of looking at the phenomena is necessary.

Another Section in The Institute

We deal with the history of the Party. There are many ways to look at the history of the Party. You can deal with it in a piecemeal way. Many problems of the history of the Party, what date the Congress was held, who voted for what? Current political situation has influenced, the way you look at it. History book printed in Stalin's time, Krushchev's time and Brezhnev's time were written in different ways. You cannot merely blame the historians. My uncle took part in the war. To stop the machine gun he fell on it shouting for motherland and Stalin. But he remained alive. People feel that it was the correct way; socialism, its symbol, its values. The scholar who was working was the product of this. He is fully convinced this is the correct way of thinking. Our effort is to see that things are not influenced by such periods, but are analysed on the basis of documents to enable people to apply human mind with more scientific outlook. We are faced by a big danger in this country. When we are trying to liberate ourselves from earlier outlooks can put people on the job who want to keep the old thing alive. One group of stereotypes is replaced by another. Last week an article appeared in a "literary gazette" on Stalin. While giving some just criticism the article which is a long one distorts certain things makes mistakes himself. For instance the author says, "Stalin was a mediocre, that his style of writing was far from satisfactory". We have to criticise his one-sidedness because it is a fact that Stalin had a very concise and clear way of presenting his views. We should not replace apologetic notions by nihilistic notions. We have a whole section including the group held by comrade sitting here to go into the factual data provided in the documents. They have done a lot. They go on doing this continuously.

Special Commission set up to rehabilitate those who were wrongly punished. It should be done on the basic of documents and theoretical work. Many people illegally prosecuted have been

rehabilitated. It is our job to help the Central Committee to have the objective assessment of the CPSU to provide the Party a clear version of the theoretical and practical stand of the various political leaders of the Party. The results of this study are reflected in Gorbachev's report on the occasion of 70th Anniversary. How flexible and many sided the report is in presenting Bukharin? In fact he gives credit to Bukharin in his fight against Trotskysim yet he criticised Bukharin right wing deviations, tendencies in the later period. Our mission and task is to adopt this approach on the whole history. This concerns Stalin, Krushchev, Breznev and others. If we succeed in giving honest account this would be our contribution.

Third Section Deals with Communist International

In our process of rethinking we are concentrating more on the documents and research to come to the correct conclusion.

Comrade Naumov

We are working on the history of C.I. We intend to produce the objective history of C.I. In 1970 a brief outline of C.I. history was published. It was also published in English and some other languages of India. Comrade Gorbachev noted that it is not sufficient to have a brief history. We have to have a complete and truthful history. Brief history also have some drawbacks. After Lenin's death and mid 20s there was sectarian turn in the policies. In the 4th Congress the Resolutions of the 2nd and 3rd Congresses were reversed. Those who instituted this turn, Chairman of the Executive Committee Zinoviev and General Secretary Stalin initiated this step. What are the conclusions reached about this period? These people were then involved in the struggle against Right-wing reformism and Trotskyism. Zinoviev was against Trotskyism up to a certain point. This is one of the differences between Zinoviev and Stalin. But the kind of balance between the struggle against Right wing tendencies are not found in the country's achievements. It is not the activity of the two people Zinoviev and Stalin. It seems these appeared in all the Parties strong tendencies towards the Left. Too many people expected that the

conditions of revolutions will be created earlier than life has shown. Too many people had over estimated the degree of consciousness of the working class and readiness of revolution. These wishful tendencies were quite widespread. You can see from the documents of C.I., that the tendency to exaggerate was there. Then this tendency was given a theoretical cloak. Agitational work was mixed up with theory and politics. One example, suppose capitalism was facing difficulties this real fact was presented as the capitalism was going to collapse. That capitalist is moving only downwards and we are moving only upwards. So this substitution of task of agitation with the task of theoretical became dominant in the work of C.I. This influenced the work of Communist Parties. In early 30s the cadres in the C.I. generally came to be convinced that revolution is ahead. The Resolution of the 7th Congress brought the turn in overcoming the sectarian tendencies which was a reversal to Lenin's ideas of broad front and people's movement. These aspects should be dealt with in a concrete way in the history. There should not be a total negation but a truthful account. This history will show the C.I. and its historical role. The C.I. showed the true nature of fascism. The possibility of unity of action of various forces. We should also be able to draw lessons both from positive and negative. The cadre who heroically fought should be shown properly. The roots of these mistakes, their origin how this came, Communist University of East was working. At the same time, the damage of personality cult of Stalin was there. Momentum which Lenin gave to the C.I. proved to be stronger than the negative. This enabled the reversal in 1935. It requires the study of whole work. Some specific areas of individual manifestations. We do not have the manuscripts of 4th, 5th and 6th Congresses. We have to go to the history of the fraternal parties. The C.I. could base on the experience of the various parties. To sum up the experience of the long period the Leninist conception of struggle. We also see the 7th Congress as a culmination of the work done earlier. With regard to the activities they were the same people, only change was Comrade Dimitrov was the General Secretary. But again Kuisinin his predecessor was also there. These Comrades were capable of identifying the mistakes and correcting them.

Q. Surjeet

Much is written about Lenin's letter for removal of Stalin from the General Secretaryship. Lenin was forthright. As I understand if he had somebody in mind he would have suggested it. The meaning of the letter only was to emphasise the negative aspects of Stalin so that he was able to overcome them. There was no alternative available at that time.

Answer

It is an important question concerning Stalin's personality, Lenin's assessment. Lenin headed both the Government and the Party. But it was the Secretariat which was conducting the Party work. For two years Nicolai Kistansky did the job, he was a member of the P.B. But he was not elected in the 10th Congress to the C.C. and the P.B., was not successful in discharging his responsibilities. Then Molotov was given this assignment. Six months after his election it was clear that he was not able to manage. Stalin had become de facto Secretary though not elected. Stalin had displayed unusual capacity. He was very exacting and quite successful in taking decisions. His official position was Commissar for Workers, Peasants, inspection, Lenin positively assessed his work. At 11th Congress when question of Secretary was discussed who else could be elected. No other person was there with those qualities of Stalin. Five Members were elected to the P.B., Lenin, Kamenev, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Stalin. Lenin, Trotsky dealt with military matters. Kamenev dealt with economic work and also conducted the meetings of the Soviets. Zinoviev as a P.B. member was the head of the C.I. Stalin was made General Secretary. Kamenev was very active in supporting Stalin. Kamenev was afraid of Trotsky and sided with Stalin. One important conclusion drawn in Gorbachev's report is that ideological struggle was linked up with the leadership. If we neglect this, we would not understand as to how so many things happened. The way I understand Lenin's letter, he did not want to humiliate and denigrate Stalin. He always made very high appreciation of Stalin, who was an outstanding leader, high appraisal of his theoretical contribution. It had a lot of weight for the Party. There were weaknesses of each leader. The way I see

his letter there was no single leader who could be preferred over him. Actually the main idea was the unity of the core. Lenin stressed the positive and negative qualities of Stalin. He thought through cooperation they can work. Sometimes Frunze's name is mentioned who was a Military Commander. He was a commander of Kiev military district. He worked as Trotsky's deputy. Rudzutak is sometimes mentioned little known, was arrested in 1907 and was in exile for 15 years. He spent all the time in prison. Was liberated in 1917 February. Made a very positive contribution in building the trade unions. Lenin could not have suggested any specific name.

About Stalin's Attitude Towards The Middle Peasants

In fact these years were very eventful. The struggle against Trotskyism was very crucial. Resources for industrial development were required. Trotsky suggested whatever could be taken from the peasants should be taken. One of the leaders who took a correct stand was Bukharin. Majority of the C.C. supported Bukharin's position. After the change in policies in late 20s, collectivisation, violation of Leninist norms. There were Party members who actively fought against this and defended Lenin. After Bukharin's faction Sergei Sirson, candidate Member of the P.B., Chairman of the Russian Government actively fought against peasant and cadre policies. Simernov, Secretary of the Central Committee Talmachev and Aisnoev were opposed. They were labelled as counter revolutionary actions. Though they were members of the Central Committee, were not allowed to discuss. They were expelled from the Party in absentia in violation of the Party Rules.

Excesses of Thirties

Cult had developed. It was a complex social phenomena in the life of the Party. Persecution and repression which were applied to leading cadre to middle level cadre. No climate in the Party for discussions on the issues. I met Bosigen in 1956 who studied Staohnovite Movement. In 1937 he met Naleve and Staohnovite. There was abuse of power by the Manager. Manager was arrested.

It could be the result of information given by the workers. Workers of the plant discussed. "We gave information and the devil was arrested". In 1956 the same worker came to the Party Congress he said he was shocked. This phenomena was not a simple. There was one person dictatorship.

Estimate about Number of People Executed

Robert Conquest has given figures. They are not correct. He arrived at these figures with the simple formula. Comparing the population growth and the results of the population since 1939. Took the census of 1929 and 1939 and gave the figure of one million prosecuted. Four million annual growth multiplied into 10 years, he made it so simple. Many factors have affected the population growth. One such factor I mentioned that during the Socialist construction first five year plan was taken up in 1928. In 1929 in compliance with Stalin's direction this Plan was revised. Targets were increased, based on the personal wish of Stalin. Number of construction projects was increased. This increase had demanded the concentration of all resources. In 1931 there was acute problem of lacking funds for the projects. More money was spent on construction. Only way was to sell bread. In 1931-32 bread sale led to consequences for the whole population. This was not only due to the objective factors but also subjective factors.

Last Question

The way I see it Gorbachev gave a truthful assessment of pre-war period. Stalin's role is controversial.

Research in the history of war is on. How the General Staff was acting, detailed study of everyday activities, maps and documents are being studied. This research will produce new facts. Will show more light on Stalin's role in anti Hitler victory. I do not think that Stalin's role can be disputed. We have ample evidence. Stalin's signatures are there on the documents.

To conclude I would say that we should not limit to the activity of one person. Power of Lenin's idea was strong than direction of the leadership.

Discussions in the Institute of Social Sciences Under the Central Committee of C.P.S.U.

Alexander Galkin, Deputy Director of the Institute was present. He welcomed us to this Institution and informed that this Institution is working since 25 years whose functioning is two-fold—teaching and research. This Institute is getting great significance because life changes rapidly and we have to seek solutions to new problems otherwise we cannot teach the students about the application of Marxism-Leninism to the developing situation. So far students are concerned in this Institution, they are mostly from developing countries and students from capitalist countries also. They have been sent by the various revolutionary parties, and Communist Parties. Generally, they are middle level activists. It is not an ordinary type of institution. It concentrates in teaching on ideological and political subjects. We have long courses meant for 2 or 3 years. Special attention is paid to training of cadre for the new revolutionary parties, like Ethiopia, Angola etc. They have no experience of Party work and the Governmental work. We train specialists also. Most of the students come for a year, for six months and for three months. Some classes are conducted even for a week. It is decided by the Party which sends the students. We also invite lecturers to deliver lectures on the practical work and the experience like 'perestroika'. Sometimes we organise meetings to exchange experience. We organise seminars also to exchange views on this or that problem. Most of the students study for a year or for a half year where basic understanding of Marxism-Leninism is given. We have several departments or chairs such as International Communist Movement/Department of International Communist Movement, Marxist philosophy, political economy, policy and politics, global problems, social psychology, research, education, etc. There are various auxiliary sections like translators. Sometime we have to deliver lectures in 14 different languages. There are facilities for zerox; textbooks are provided. We have to write and publish our own textbooks. We have to take into consideration the peculiarities of the country from where students come, in teaching the subject. Seven hundred students are at a time taken

for training. We also have a very short course. We have our own hotel, canteen, hospital. Central Committee is quite attentive to our requests. We are a Party Institute working under the Budget of the Party. Towards the end of this year, we are going to have a new building, new hotel with 300 rooms. We are writing new textbooks to cover new developments, new ideas. We have got 100 interpreters who understand 14 languages.

Q. E.M.S.

What about the Research ? And the Developments taking place in the developed and the developing countries?

Answer

We are actually involved in this. We organise seminars and do lot of research. We take up the basic pattern of development of modern capitalism. What are the trends in imperialism? How capitalism will develop in the next decade? This is necessary because this determines the strategy of the world Communist movement. How the situation in different regions will develop? The rate of scientific and technological revolution in various regions of the world effects our social life, character of labour pattern—effect on the psychology of workers.

Another set of problems—the problem of development of Communist Parties in different areas and regions. The relationship between the Communist Parties and other parties which base their support on the working class. Study of the regional problems, such as in Latin America.

Economic and social development in Africa and Asia. Specific problems, imperialist policy in these areas, level of economic development etc.

We are far from satisfaction. But assessment is made on the basis of our studies. We take up the present-day demands. Each chair has its main line of research. The Chair of International Communist movement covers the strategy and tactics of the Communist movement. Chair of political economy covers state monopoly capitalism, they hold conferences on prospects of capitalist development, how will it affect the rates of development,

cyclic crisis etc. The Chair of social psychology takes up the problems of religious fundamentalism as a reaction of social groups in many regions of the world.

Q. Surjeet

Have you done any study on India in this respect?

Answer

We do not have distinguished scholars on India to study these aspects. This requires further research. We have some research.

Development of capitalism in the conditions of technological revolution. Technological revolution has created difficult situation for capitalism, at the same time new possibilities.

Situation is as follows: Restructuring of capitalist economy poses some acute social problems. It is realised how urgent is the development of scientific and technological revolution. In the conditions of capitalism, it has to face many obstructions whether they can be broken, whether they take another form, difficulties will be aggravated with acuteness of the financial crisis.

What kind of problems? Main problem of further marginalisation of problems. For India this is a very old problem. For developed countries it is completely new problem. Developed countries noted recently pushing of certain social groups takes place. More and more people appeared who are pushed away. They are not hungry. They are outside the society. They are outcastes. Not welcomed. India—it is a minority but goes on increasing. Question arises what are the limits of growth of this marginalised groups. There is certain limit up to which political crisis develops. Nobody can predict whether 10 per cent or 12 per cent. This limit does exist. Use of Western pattern in a society two thirds remain active, one third of the population is pushed out of society. Can the state function when one third is not involved in the activity? It has its social effects.

Another side is ecological. Accumulation of additional work, additional ability whether it can exist without arms race? If capitalism manages to develop economically with the arms race that will provide new morrow. But the question is whether it is

possible. In these conditions it is possible. Japan and Germany are examples. They developed new favourable conditions. This is a kind of paradox. Capitalism can exist, whether the circumstances will exist? If not find, there is a question mark?

Q. Surjeet

How do you relate this understanding to the fundamental laws of development of capitalism, its highest stage and contradictions? How can capitalism exist, without exploitative nature and imperialism without neo colonial exploitation?

Answer

Your question is valid. I agree with you that the nature of imperialism does not change. How imperialism is able to carry its policy of expansionism? Imperialism always remains imperialism even with the technological development. The real problem is that in which way the imperialism will redirect its policy. How imperialism will conduct its policy in new conditions. Its success depends on the degree of resistance. This should not be expressed in the way of building nuclear forces. There will be another form of resolution. When annihilation of mankind is seen, these forces which are opposed to it become more active. Problem does exist. They are afraid of provocation and aggravation of the situation.

International relations and status quo in social relations—maintaining the status quo in international relations. There is another aspect of social relations. Status quo is impossible. Social changes will develop even faster. Challenge is how do you achieve a situation where changes in social relations take place, which will not undermine the relations between the states. Maintaining that inter state relations should not bar the development in social changes.

Conservatism Utopian Point of View

There is another way of looking at the things. To ignore the international changes. This may provoke inter state conflict on the one hand but will not help in solving the social problems.

Q. Surjeet

Does it mean that class struggle in each country should be made subservient to the struggle for world peace?

Answer

It is one of the key problems which a Marxist should tackle. We should approach it from two angles, one from the point of view of state angle, another from international Communist movement.

State Angle

What we need is the elaboration of code of behaviour for the internal social changes. It should be made into international law with regard to the countries where social changes take place. This implies no interference from outside to solve its problems. They should be made into international law. It already exists. It tends to deter imperialist betrayal. If we are able to do it, this will localise the internal development. It will block the influence of other countries. This needs to be elaborated in specific manner by Governments.

Strategy and tactics of the international Communist movement. There are different forms of social changes. Experiences have shown there are violent forms of social changes; there are social changes which tend to provide outside interference. If there is a choice, we do not have. Preference should be given to non-violent, so that they do not provoke. Given the present situation, we understand social changes are bound to lead to social revolution which will have its own course. Non-violent forms, because of international relations. India is a big country. If you take Latin America big developments are taking place. We are all thinking on these problems. It is a get-together. This should be clear. No readymade solutions can be provided to the problems. Everybody has to work on the basis of his own experience.

Q. Surjeet

Can you give me a single example where the social revolution has taken place in a non-violent way? Lenin has stated very

clearly in this respect that ruling classes never hand over power peacefully. Since there has been debate on this issue since the Twentieth Congress, we are giving the example of our country where the ruling classes try to intervene even into the State Governments which have a very limited power.

Answer

There is disagreement on that. We are only trying to explain from theoretical angle to working out a practical policy. International dimensions become even more because of correlation of political and social forces, degree of maturity of the masses, specific forces living in society and position and power of the ruling classes. All these factors have to be taken in consideration.

Q. E. M. S.

What about the role of the class struggle?

Answer

Basic thing is the class struggle and the social revolution becomes successful as a result of the culmination of the class struggle. Take the example of Latin America, what changes are taking place there?

Q. Surjeet

But the party must have a clear vision to lead the masses.

Answer

Yes. But there may be different approaches to the problems, keeping in mind the concrete situation. Situation has changed in the world. New problems have come up which are facing the Communist movement today. New answers are required to these problems. To sum up we must admit that we don't know the answers yet. In search of answers we are here. Exchange of opinion and polling them. All cannot have the same experience. What we think correct is the result of long analysis, argued for long and made conclusions. Comrade Gorbachev elaborated a

new position on various problems. Nobody can be true by hundred per cent. Our discussions help to see the weak points of some of the questions. External factor should be treated not only a danger but in determining attitude to your own Government. Other side, I give one example. Problems be treated from different angles. This is the way of acquiring the truth. The position differs in discussing. It concerns different world problems. We need it. The evaluation of the situation does not mean that we claim the truth of Marxism. Analysis of problems is made after experience. It is referred again. This is the way we analyse the situation. Gorbachev posed questions but did not answer.

Q. Surjeet

He has not only posed questions but has indicated answers also, which, if implemented, can lead to a very wrong direction. It gives the impression through peaceful competition, peaceful transition can take place.

Answer

Marx said revolution develops in assimilating experience. Not all statements could be proved by that time. Our task is to look back. What stood the test of life and analyse on the basis of experience. We are opposed to import of revolution. Just we are opposed to export of counter-revolution. This we take as a principle. No interference in the affairs of other countries. Life showed that efforts were made to export counter-revolution. We must analyse the concrete situation in each place. We also try to understand the new reality, new situation, new advances. We don't refer to other documents and make our own conclusions. We study the documents of your Party. I get acquainted with those documents. We try to learn from that experience too.

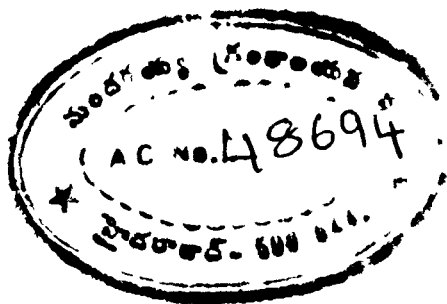
Q. Surjeet

Is there any rethinking that your intervention in Afghanistan and Czechoslovakia was not correct?

Answer

Generally, our position is, there should be no interference. Thirteen times we were asked but we refused to take our forces to Afghanistan. Then we could not resist the situation. Otherwise civil war will begin, fight will take place. Until today, we are discussing as to how to take a decision. When the house of a neighbour is on fire you cannot be an onlooker. One million civilians have been killed there. It is not a simple problem. But in reality, we are dealing with a very complicated situation when you have to take a decision. Gorbachev has stated, we are prepared to withdraw within one year or even less, provided American stops supporting the Mujahedeen. It is America which is blocking the situation. On Czechoslovakia this problem needs sufficient study. We have a clear point of view, if there was a danger of foreign intervention, counter-revolution our action was justified.

We thanked each other and meeting was over.



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