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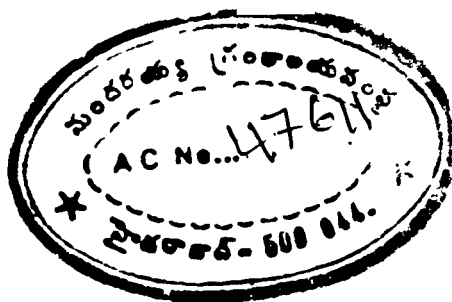
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List of Abbreviations Used

CI	—The Communist International
ECCI	—The Executive Committee of the Communist International
CPI	—Communist Party of India
CPI(M)	—Communist Party of India (Marxist)
LM	—The Labour Monthly, Published from London
CPGB	—Communist Party of Great Britain
CPSU	—Communist Party of Soviet Union
CPC	—Communist Party of China
INPRECOR	—International Press Correspondence of the Communist International
BCI	—Bulletin of the Communist International
CC	—Central Committee
PB	—Political Bureau
Polit Bureau	—Political Bureau
INC	—Indian National Congress
Congress (R)	—Ruling Congress
AITUC	—All India Trade Union Congress
INTUC	—Indian National Trade Union Congress
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	—Student Federation of India
DYFI	—Democratic Youth Federation of India
UF	—United Front

Introductory Note

The year 1969 was a very significant period in the contemporary political history of India and this Volume (i.e. Volume No. XIII) contains documents of the Communist Movement in India of this significant year.

During 1969 the Indian National Congress was miserably defeated in the mid term Assembly Election of West Bengal and the CPI(M) became the biggest Party in the United Front securing 83 seats and the United Front again formed the Government in West Bengal backed by the massive support of the people of the State. The readers will find from the documents of the previous Volume (i.e. Volume No. XI) that the Congress Government at the Centre in their bid to subvert Parliamentary Democracy in India toppled the first United Front Government in West Bengal in 1967 and installed a puppet Government in its place and the Indian National Congress thought that they could destroy the consolidation of Left Forces in West Bengal by this move. But all their machinations and evil intentions were countered by the massive support received by the United Front from the people of West Bengal. In the course of this struggle CPI(M) came out as the champion of United Actions and firmly spread its roots as the leader of the Left Consolidation.

But this splendid victory of the United Front in West Bengal could not deter the Right Communist Party in Kerala to join hands with the Indian National Congress and carry on a despicable conspiracy against the United Front Government in Kerala headed by the CPI(M). The leaders of the CPI(M) carried on a prolonged negotiation with the Right Communist Party to maintain unity and save the United Front Government of Kerala. Due to the most hostile attitude of the Right Communist Party, the United Front Government in Kerala came to its premature end in 1969 and the Right Communist Party with the direct support of the Indian National Congress formed a new Government in Kerala pursuing all anti people policies as desired by the Indian National Congress. This development in Kerala had its direct ramification in West Bengal and the Right Communists used Ajoy Mukherjee, the Chief Minister of United Front Government of West Bengal as a lever to disturb the Second United Front Government of West Bengal which also came to an abrupt end the following year.

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The Right Communist Party as a matter of policy disrupted the consolidation of the Left Forces and this helped to subserve the interests of the Indian National Congress.

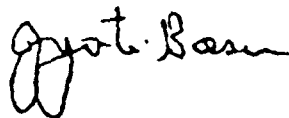
The historic split in the Indian National Congress on the issue of election of the President of India was a major political event of 1969. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, opposed the official candidate of the Indian National Congress by supporting the independent candidate, V. V. Giri and he was elected as President of India defeating the official candidate of the Indian National Congress. The Indian National Congress was thus split into two organisations—Indira Congress and Syndicate Congress and its consequence deeply influenced the subsequent course of political developments in India. How the CPI(M) assessed the implications of the split in the Indian National Congress—are given in the documents included in this Volume.

Another major event of 1969 was the 'Fratricidal strife in Andhra Pradesh' leading to worst type of regional frenzy for creation of a separate 'Telangana' State purported to divide the Telugu speaking people. The Indian National Congress and its reactionary agents were at the root of this strife and this was politically a most retrograde step. The CPI(M) leadership, particularly Comrade P. Sundarayya, the then General Secretary of CPI(M) and Comrade M. Basavapunnaiah, member of the Polit Bureau of CPI(M), correctly and ably handled this issue and it goes to the credit of our Party for helping to resolve the crisis and retain and preserve the national unity of the Telugu people.

This Volume also includes a number of documents which would reveal that class struggle became most intensive in India during 1969 and all these struggles were directed against the anti-people policies of the Congress Government at the Centre as well as in the States. Even after the split in the Indian National Congress neither segment took pro-people policies nor changed their class outlook. This aspect is to be noted very seriously.

We have given two documents in the Appendix of this Volume on the disruptive role and activities of the Right Communist Party in Kerala and these documents will substantiate our views that class collaborationist policy always serves the interests of the oppressor class.

We hope, the readers will find the documents of this Volume most useful to understand and assess the political developments of 1969 in India and to arrive at their own views.



January 8, 1998

(JYOTI BASU)
Chief Editor

Foreword

What deserves special attention of the developments occurred in the global plane during the year 1969 was the “International Meeting of Communist and Workers’ Parties” in Moscow. As is well-known, the bitter differences that plaguing the International Communist Movement with the two major socialist powers, Soviet Union and China, distancing themselves to the two opposite poles were causing the people around the world deep concern. The differences between the two big Communist Parties involved a great deal of problems of principle concerning Marxist-Leninist theory and its application.

Just before the ink of the 1960 document of the International Communist Movement dried up, the divergences of opinion over the understanding and interpretation of the fundamental thesis of the declaration and the statement sparked off to a sharp point. The American rulers, of being quite clear about the weakening of the anti imperialist fight and limitations of the mighty weight of the International Communist Movement, had been intensifying its aggressive designs and the capitalist world, at the same time, was stepping up its onslaught on the working class and democratic movement in the respective countries. The grave error fraught with serious consequences was not being realised by the parties who were flagrantly violating even the basic communist norms. Likewise widely shared, disquieting was the reality that the differences on ideological questions were gradually being transferred into the inter-State relations, thus manifesting themselves in the shape of disrupting the unity of the people of the socialist community. Being under serious aggression and pressure of US machinations the Workers’ Party of Vietnam, apart from

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Communist Parties of Indonesia and some other countries put forward the proposal of stopping public polemics which had already grown to a serious proportion, to both of them which had an impact, however scant, to sit them across the table. But all this failed to get any positive breakthrough. It was at the time that we were in the thick of fight against revisionist CPI and under severe repression from the Nehru Government. Even after the withdrawal of forces from the area of confrontation. As we are consistently advocating peaceful settlement of the dispute we were sent behind the bar. We took the same position while Indo-Pak War broke out and faced the same action of the Congress Government. We, however, like the Communists of all countries want Unity of Action to be given the first place to the fundamental issues without which their struggle against the respective class enemies and the number one sworn enemy of the peoples of the entire world, the US imperialism, would be many times harder.

Ironically, the two parties were aware of the consequences. The Chinese Party said, "The Chinese Communist Party has always regarded the safeguarding and cementing of the unity of the International Communist Movement as its sacred duty". On the other hand, the Soviet Party said, "We have no right to forget the behest of V.I. Lenin, who worried that dissension among Communists serve to benefit the imperialists". But the fact remained that the difference had sharpened to a point of no return. Efforts for convening a meeting of all fraternal parties of the International Communist Movement in the pattern of 1960 meeting were made since 1963. But it did not materialise. The meeting with the Chinese Communist Party opting out, was convened in this background. We demarcated ourselves making our points of differences clear, as elaborated in the documents enlisted in this Volume. Resolute against imperialism and struggle against the revisionism and dogmatism are closely intervened as could be seen in our document. "The common anti-imperialist struggle will help the process of liquidating the revisionist and dogmatic distortions in the International Communist Movement".

On the national scene, the crushing defeat of the Congress reducing it to a minority of about one-fifth of the total 280 Assembly seats in West Bengal marked the beginning of a new

phase for the democratic movement of the Indian people. The people of West Bengal has reposed their confidence on the United Front led by our Party.

Mid-term elections also took place in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Punjab wherein the Congress had been unable to gain back while the high claims of the communal Jan Sangh had also been shattered. Despite serious propaganda unleashed by the press, CPI(M) emerged as the biggest force in West Bengal winning 83 seats out of 214 seats won by the United Front. The victory evoked great enthusiasm that was reflected in massive rallies around. The disruptive role of the Right Communists caused immense harm to the democratic advance of the people all over the country, West Bengal and Kerala were no exception, rather more than anywhere else.

The United Front's achievements in West Bengal and Kerala in the various spheres of social activity are well known. There is much that could be said, of course, including some that we have been proud all the time, about the wide dimensions of the land reforms, containing the repressive machinery not to go against the just movement of workers and peasants which are of overriding importance for the rest part of the country. Powerful peasant movement involving the entire peasantry of the State under the leadership of Kisan Sabha, which had few parallel, made the Government action highly successful and frustrated all design of the vested interests. But, for one thing, the vested interest and their political representatives aided and abetted by the Congress Government at the Centre got panicky and became desperate to hatch conspiracies after conspiracies from within and without. It was the massive mobilisation of the people that they were foiled to the ground. Led by CPI, a mini front was formed in Kerala with the backing of the Congress which unseated the E.M.S. Namboodiripad Ministry in Kerala. They formed a Government headed by a CPI leader directed against the CPI(M) and within a few months it surpassed all previous records of brutal suppression of political agitation and economic struggles by the opposition parties.

Another political development in this period was the split in the Congress party which deepened with the deepening of their class

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rule following the disasters in the elections. Both groups, in the utter hypocrisy accusing each other for not implementing the policies of the Congress resembles, in actual practice, nothing, but the serving the bourgeois-landlord interests in a far better way. Explaining our evaluation the Report adopted by the Central Committee of our Party in its meeting held in Calcutta from February 29, 1970 stated, "In implementing this line, there is every danger of slipping into stand of equating both the Congress wings, or even getting provoked into the position of treating the Indira Gandhi Congress and its Government as the more direct and immediate enemy than the Syndicate alliance which appears only as a potential main enemy. Such an error on our part disorients the Party from its political line worked out on the basis of a concrete analysis of concrete political conditions in the country. It will reduce the Party, in practice, to adopting the unprincipled and opportunist tactics that the SSP leadership has adopted at its recent Sonapur session, a tactic that plays straight into the hands of reaction and its political game. The second danger, considered from the existing state of affairs in the Party and taking into account other realities, though not looming as serious as the one pointed out above, is that of tailing behind the Indira Gandhi Government, reducing the Party to the position of a docile camp-follower of the Central Government.

These dangers are confined to the field of our activities in the Central Parliament and the State legislatures, but also may arise in the agitation and propaganda of our Party, where the aspect of concentration of fire on the Syndicate might recede into the background, taking its exposure among the people for granted, and objectively, landing us in the position of concentrating the main fire on the Indira Gandhi Congress and its Government on the ground that they need to be thoroughly exposed before the people to disillusion them.

Our Party will have to guard itself against these possible errors if its tactical line is to be correctly implemented and the desired results are to be achieved.

It should be clearly understood and always be remembered that our line of irreconcilable opposition to the Syndicate and the conditional support to the Indira Gandhi Government is neither

based on the revisionist thesis of the Congress split between monopolists and anti monopolists nor is it of an electric and pragmatic nature that "we support all good steps and oppose all bad steps" of the Indira Gandhi Government. The aggressive anti-people offensive launched by the Syndicate alliance is not accidental but is born out of the conditions of a sharpening economic-political crisis, and it is directed in the main against the Communist and democratic forces which have set the pace for the alternative process of political development in the form of non-Congress democratic state Governments, particularly the Left oriented UF Governments of West Bengal and Kerala. It is to counter this process and counter it as early as possible, and preferably a long before the ensuing fifth general elections and the Syndicate and its other reactionary allies embarked on the drastic course of setting up its own nominee in the Presidential contest, and if it won, to begin implementing its political line utilising the Presidential office. It is at this point that the internal Congress crisis erupted, leading to the split, and power at the Centre and in some states passing to the rival wing headed by Indira Gandhi".

During this period some alarming events took place posing grave dangers for the future unity and integrity of the country such as: border dispute between Maharashtra and Mysore, movement for separate Telangana State in Andhra, communal riots in Ahmedabad and several other places. It was the ruling Congress Party which was to be blamed at the first instance.

The twenty two years uninterrupted rule of the Congress had left a number of sensitive problems unsettled and brought on some more as an evil legacy to serve only as an apple of discord between people and to be exploited at ease, by vested interests, communal and divisive forces and to whip up hatred among the people speaking different languages, holding different religious ideas and having different ethnicity and culture. The uneven development out of the bourgeois landlord class rule cast insufferable burden on masses and procreated generic disparities—that have frequently being used by these forces. The weakness of the democratic movement, the ruptures in the Left

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and democratic force helped them sprout in all corners. Our Party, with no other interest to serve than the interests of the toiling people, is committed to defend and protect the democratic unity as the weapon to fight the ruling classes. Our Party took a principled stand on all the issues confronting the country and was in the forefront of the mass movement.

An innumerable number of peasants' and workers' struggle were launched during this period in many parts of the country braving oppression of the Congress rulers.

In conducting these mass struggles and forming the United Fronts, we always keep in mind the basic tasks of forging ahead the class struggle in our society where various obscured and undiscerning ideologies dominate the working masses to a large extent that find expression in the activities of the various parties and organisations. In order to change the present correlation of class forces, it is imperative for any Marxist-Leninist Party at the present juncture to win over the masses through various forms of struggle. We are guided, in this respect, by the teachings of the founders of Marxism that embodied in the Communist Manifesto: "The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement. . . . The Communist fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement".

This is where lies our basic understanding of forming the United Front and running United Front Government.

Harkishan Singh Surjeet

January 21, 1998

(Harkishan Singh Surjeet)
General Secretary
Communist Party of India
(Marxist)

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Memorandum to Finance Commission

**Submitted by Kerala State Committee
of C.P.I.(M) on January 10, 1969**

[Text of Memorandum submitted on behalf of the Kerala State Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) to the Fifth Finance Commission in Trivandrum on January 10, 1969]

1. Introduction

The modern trend is to use taxation as an instrument of social policy, especially to skim off the surplus from higher income groups and funnel it to society as a whole and lower income groups. This principle is also applicable to efforts to redress regional imbalances. Certain States are going ahead not by their social gifts and efforts alone. Due to historical and other accidents these forward States happen to occupy certain vantage points in our economy from where they could draw to themselves the resources of the entire country. Federalism should not be an excuse to stratify this position and perpetuate the imbalance as a divine dispensation. Our submission is that the Federal taxation policy and the distribution of finances should be made a conscious tool for flattening out the hills and valleys of our economic structure. Government of India has accepted at least in words the need for curbing the growth of monopolies. The menacing growth of regional disparities in development is but another expression of the phenomenal growth of monopolies. Most of our suggestions here are intended to rectify this distorted growth which is threatening the unity of India.

We are disturbed to note that recent trend has been to distribute resources not on a statutory and principled basis. More and more

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the allocation of resources to States are decided on arbitrarily, and occasionally on a political basis, by bodies and authorities which are essentially political. Therefore, more often than not the Central assistance to States take the form of doles by the mighty for the benefit of the lowly. This has to stop and the division of taxes and assistance should be put on a statutory basis.

There is also the question of a permanent Finance Commission. We firmly recommend for acceptance the view of the Kerala Chief Minister that instead of a Finance Commission in five years, a permanent Finance Commission must be established. In a fast-changing situation as we are in now, a five yearly settlement of the needs and division of revenue is very inadequate. Problems crop up in between and the pattern envisaged in the report and the solutions suggested are upset from year to year.

2. Constitutional Changes

We are of the opinion that drastic changes in the Constitution are essential for healthy Centre-State financial relations and this is more so with the formation of non Congress Governments in several States. An alarming feature of the Indian Federation is the heavy financial dependence of the States on the Centre. This is a violation of the basic principles of federation and financially unsound. The fundamental idea behind the provision relating to distribution of taxes and duties through the Finance Commission is that the States should get additional finance either by statutory provision or Presidential order based on the recommendation of an impartial body which would not be subject to political pulls. This has become meaningless because the loans and grants issued on the recommendation of the Planning Commission now dominate the field.

In view of the sound federal principle we strongly urge the need for widening the tax base for the States by including corporation tax, surcharge on income tax etc., in the devolution scheme.

In the matter of divisible pool we hold the view that neither collection nor contribution should be a factor in the fixing the relative share of the States. In addition, the Finance Commission should make the necessary recommendation to amend the

Constitution so that corporation tax may be included in the devolution scheme. With industrial growth, the yield from corporation tax has been showing significant rise and States have a legitimate claim to share the benefits from this tax. Moreover we feel that the practice of keeping out advance collections in the calculation of "net proceeds" of income tax as unconstitutional. On the contrary "net proceeds" of any sharable tax or duty should be calculated on the basis of gross collections minus collection charges.

The Fifth Finance Commission should take the budgetary deficit as a criterion for distribution among the States the divisible taxes and duties. The Fourth Finance Commission failed to consider the budgetary deficit as the starting point giving the reason that the Constitution does not prescribe that the income tax revenue should be distributed on the basis of budgetary need. The argument advanced by the Fourth Finance Commission is not convincing. We take this opportunity to urge the Commission that budgetary needs should form the basis for distribution of taxes and duties. Grants in aid should be exclusively used for special assistance for backwardness and other special financial needs.

3. Capital And Revenue Needs

The existing system of distribution of the net proceeds of estate duty on property other than agricultural land on the basis of collection/location is not equitable. If yield from the States is distributed on the basis of collection, it will only further aggravate regional imbalances. We are of the opinion that estate duty should be taken together with other taxes and duties to be transferred from the Centre to the States and their distribution inter se should be based on "fiscal need" as assessed by the revenue gap.

The present system of taking a comprehensive view of the fiscal system without taking into consideration the interdependence of revenue and capital expenditure should be put to an end. The present system is erroneous and this will place States like Kerala in a disadvantageous position. If a State where Panchayati Raj institutions are functioning (not in Kerala), large

amounts are transferred to Panchayat Raj in the revenue account intended for expenditure of a 'capital' nature. Therefore, the Finance Commission while assessing the needs of the States for grant-in-aid under Article 275 of the Constitution should take into consideration this and similar expenditure now classified as capital which are unproductive (eg., anti-sea erosion expenditure) and yield no return.

The debt position and the heavy dependence of the States on the Centre is becoming an alarming feature especially after the formation of non-Congress Governments in several States. Therefore we urge that suitable steps be taken for rescheduling the debts and reducing this unwarranted heavy dependence on the Centre.

Another important matter which need the attention of the Finance Commission is the chronic food deficit of Kerala. Over 54 per cent of foodgrains has to be got from outside the State. This brings to the forefront the need for a national food policy for equitable distribution of the available quantity of foodgrains among all the States. Till we attain a national food policy, the Fifth Finance Commission should make adequate provision for the extra expenditure on the part of the State in the form of food subsidies.

The Finance Commission should also take into consideration the heavy expenditure on the part of the State in maintaining the present social service facilities, particularly for maintenance of schools, hospitals, roads, etc.

Even since the formation of Kerala, the State Government has been facing serious financial stringency and this has led to ways and means difficulties. The very fact that with the best efforts on the part of the State to raise additional resources, the financial position of the State continued to deteriorate is proof that certain factors were beyond the control of the State Government which caused the financial difficulties. This in turn forced the State Government to resort to unauthorized overdrafts from the Reserve Bank of India. In addition to other measures, the existing ways and means advance and overdraft accommodation with the Reserve Bank of India has to be enhanced.

4. Plan Finance

Though the Finance Commission's terms of reference exclude Plan Finance, we would like to point out certain facts which have a bearing on the over all financial viability of the State.

The failure of planning in this country is manifested in the backwardness of States like Kerala. Kerala continues to be one of the backward States of the Indian Union despite its high natural and human resources. Even after 18 years of planning the per capita income of Kerala remains far below the all India average.

The economy of Kerala is endowed with many special characteristics. The density of population in the State—435 per sq. km. is the highest among States. This high pressure of population gives rise to a number of economic and social problems like low land man ratio, high degree of unemployment and under employment, acute food shortage and heavy expenditure on social overheads.

Kerala with hardly 1.27 per cent of the country's agricultural land is contributing more than 20 per cent of the total agricultural exports and 11 per cent of the total exports of India.

The per capita daily earnings of a factory worker in Kerala in 1965 was Rs. 3.54 as against Rs. 6.13 for all India.

The capital investment per worker in the State is only Rs. 2,737 compared to Rs. 4,830 for the nation as a whole.

Kerala covering just 1.27 per cent of the area have to support 3.85 per cent of the population.

The Central investment on industrial projects in different States during the last seventeen years will show that few States shared the bulk of Central investments on industrial projects. The States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and West Bengal, which account for 30 per cent of the population obtained 67 per cent of the total investment.

5. Plan And Industry

In the matter of industrial development, Kerala stands backward compared to most of the States in India. During the period between 1951-64 the State produced only 2.08 per cent of the total industrial output in the country.

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A review of the performance of the first three Five-Year Plans in Kerala clearly indicates the fact that Kerala did not get a due share of the economic benefits that accrued to the nation.

During the First Plan Period, Kerala received no share at all of the Central investment in industrial ventures. During the Second Plan out of the total Rs. 663 crores of Central investments, Kerala received only a paltry sum of Rs. 79 lakhs, that too for a DDT factory.

During the Third Plan the amount of Central investments allotted to Kerala was Rs. 71 crores out of a total of Rs. 1,261 crores to be distributed among the following projects:

	Crores
1. Second ship building yard (Cochin)	20
2. Oil Refinery (Cochin)	17
3. H.M.T. Unit (Alwaye)	8
4. Precision Instruments factory	8
5. Expansion of F.A.C.T.	8
6. Phyto-Chemical factory	10
	<hr/> 71

The actual turn of events, however, only confirmed the worst fears of many people in Kerala. In view of the unsympathetic dispensation of the Central Government, even the projects allotted to Kerala did not materialize in full. The Phyto-Chemical factory project was abandoned and the Precision Instruments factory was later transferred to another State, after having acquired the site. Thus, during the Third Plan, Central investments in industrial projects amounted to only Rs. 26.4 crores as against the original allotment of Rs. 71 crores.

6. Conclusion

Unless the Finance Commission gives a better deal to Kerala in respect of non Plan finance of Revenue Account and enable the State to have some revenue surpluses, the injustice done to Kerala in respect of Plan finance and Central sector investments will not be mitigated.

Memorandum to Finance Commission 7

In conclusion, we again request the Fifth Finance Commission not to confine themselves to narrow interpretation of the terms of reference. We hope the Commission will keep in mind the larger interests of India as a whole and the policy issues aimed at redressing the grievances of States like Kerala which are depressed to backwardness, mainly as a result of the wrong policies pursued on an all India level.

The memorandum was signed on behalf of the Kerala State Committee of the CPI(M) by Comrades A. K. Gopalan, O. J. Joseph and P. Govinda Pillai.

Root Out The Congress Ensure U.F. Victory in West Bengal

**Editorial of "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY",
February 2, 1969**

Polling in the mid term elections in the four States of West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab begins from February 5, 1969. We call on the electorate in all these States to give a crushing defeat to the Congress.

The Congress Party has to be defeated to save Indian democracy. The verdict of the people in many of the States in the Fourth General Elections rejecting the Congress was flouted by it through the most undemocratic, unconstitutional and illegal methods. Simultaneously, the Congress rulers at the Centre have taken a series of steps to amass more and more authoritarian powers in their hands. The powers of the States have been reduced to a farce and the Congress Centre seeks to impose its dictates on them. The drive is on to establish a Police State in India. A defeat of the Congress in these mid term elections will be a blow to these plans to subvert democracy.

The Congress has to be defeated to strengthen the popular movements and popular struggles against the policies of the Congress which heap misery upon misery on them.

Ruling on behalf of a handful of the vested interests, intent only on protecting their order of exploitation, the Congress Government has made life impossible for the people.

Growing unemployment, vicious attacks on jobs, mounting tax burden, spiralling prices of necessities, direct attacks on wages and dearness allowance are all grinding down the people. The Congress rulers through their policies are robbing the millions to swell the coffers of the few monopolists and other vested interests.

The people have been resisting these policies of the Congress rulers in defence of their living—in defence of their jobs, wages, food, their children's education. Brutal repression has been the answer of the ruling classes to the people. Their economic policies have taken them to such a pass that any further concessions to the people have become almost impossible and to maintain the profits of the monopolists, the resistance of the people—workers, peasants, agricultural labourers, middle class employees, teachers, students, every section of the toiling people—has to be crushed. Hence the ferocity that is seen in suppressing strikes and struggles, as on September 19 in the case of the one-day strike of the Central Government employees, hence the frenzied drive to take away the trade union and democratic rights of people, to establish a Police State. It is only natural that under such conditions the landlords dare to perpetrate such fiendish atrocities as the mass burning to death of agricultural workers and their women and children as in Kilavenmani in Tanjore district in Tamil Nadu.

Another blow to the Congress in the mid term elections will become a powerful factor in strengthening the popular resistance to the anti people policies of the Congress.

The consequence of Congress policies has not only been that the people are consigned to unbearable misery, the freedom of our land itself is being imperilled—the Congress rulers have made our country so abjectly dependent on the foreign imperialists—primarily the U.S. imperialists—in pursuit of their bankrupt path of capitalist development. The menacing extent of this dependence can be seen when with any uncertainty of "aid" from these imperialists, the ruling classes have to put their planning on the shelf—as has happened with the Fourth Plan and when in order to somehow keep this "aid" flowing in, they make concessions after concessions at the bidding of the foreign monopolists, taking the country deeper and deeper into the abyss. The U.S. imperialists exert pressure not only on the economic front, they exert pressure and get further concessions in the Government's foreign policy which already with its anti China posture was taking an anti national direction, in its trade and other relations

with the socialist countries, in all aspects of its internal policy and these imperialists through their own agencies like the CIA and the numerous foundations are penetrating into our political, social and cultural life. The economy of the country has already been mortgaged, its political independence is in danger.

Unless these policies of the Congress Government are defeated, neither can our economy be saved nor our political independence defended. A defeat for the Congress will galvanize the forces which are already in the field and rally more millions to face the Congress and fight its policies.

It is because non-Congress Governments of Left and democratic forces become the centre of such struggles against the Congress policies that a mad offensive was let loose against such Governments and is still continuing against the Government of Kerala. In West Bengal, in the mid-term election, such a United Front of Left and democratic forces, with the Communist Party of India (Marxist) as its major constituent, is challenging the Congress. The victory of this front in West Bengal will further weaken the Congress and take forward the struggle of the people.

In the other States, no such united front has emerged to confront the Congress, mainly due to the opportunism of the SSP and the Right Communists and the anti-communism of the PSP. In Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, parties as reactionary as the Congress, parties representing the same vested interests as the Congress does, parties like the Jan Sangh, Bharatiya Kranti Dal, Swatantra, etc., are in the field to take advantage of the anti Congress sentiments of the people and get into office. Though the defeat of the Congress in these States will not mean the immediate victory of the democratic forces, such a defeat will immensely help the democratic movement.

Even more has it to be remembered that the electoral battle of the next week is only one stage in the people's struggles. The defeat of the Congress and other reactionary parties is essential to advance these struggles. But electoral victory by itself will not mean anything, it will be significant only to the extent it is utilised to consolidate the mass movement and move forward, to build

that united front and united action powerful enough to challenge the exploiting regime.

In the name of defence of our people and their living, in the name of defending democracy and our independence, in the name of advancing the Indian people's struggle to end the rule of the exploiting bourgeois landlord classes, we appeal to the people to—

- Rout the Congress in the mid term elections!
- Defeat all the parties of reaction!
- Ensure the success of the United Front in West Bengal!
- Vote for CPI(M) candidates wherever they are contesting!
- Vote for all candidates of the Left and democratic parties in other places!

Congress Responsible for Telangana Situation*

Resolution Adopted on Telangana Situation by the Andhra Pradesh State Committee of CPI(M)

The Andhra Pradesh Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), which met at Vijayawada from January 20 to 24, 1969 adopted the following resolution regarding Telangana safeguards:

The Andhra Pradesh Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its concern at the recent developments in the State over the question of Telangana safeguards agreed upon in the past. Students from Telangana colleges started an agitation criticising the lapses in the implementation of the safeguards provided in the previous agreement and demanding their immediate implementation. Some students went on hunger strike on this question. In many places, trains and buses were stopped and stoned; some were burnt. In a number of places the police lathi charged and teargassed the agitators, and in some places, opened fire on them, resulting in injuries to several. The Committee expresses its sympathy to those injured in these lathi charges and firings.

The Committee expresses its grave concern at the demand of a section of the students for the formation of a separate Telangana and strongly condemns it as undemocratic and disruptive. The Committee also deplores the slogan for shifting of the capital from Hyderabad, voiced by a section of the students of the Andhra and Sri Venkateswara Universities, and appeals to them to realise the grave consequences of such slogans and desist from pursuing them.

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The agreement reached among the representatives of the various political parties in the legislature is aimed at meeting the demands of the agitators. According to the terms of the agreement, the non mulkies coming from the coastal districts and Rayalaseema and employed now in Telangana in posts reserved for Telangana cadre will be transferred to the coastal districts and Rayalaseema, and the posts falling vacant will be filled by eligible candidates from Telangana or kept vacant if eligible candidates are not available. The agreement further enjoins upon the Government to ascertain the Telangana surpluses in the Second and Third Plan periods and spend them in the next five years in Telangana. The Committee is of opinion that after the agreement has been reached, there is no cause for continuing the agitation and that all efforts should be made to implement the agreement faithfully.

Congress Policies Create Discontent

But the Committee deems it necessary to place before the people of the entire State certain basic facts regarding these problems. When Andhra Pradesh was formed, certain safeguards were provided for the development of Telangana. But the Congress, which is ruling the State since its formation, grossly failed to implement these safeguards and thus gave cause for discontent, leading to the present agitation. It is the Congress and the Congress led Government that are entirely responsible for it and none else.

The Committee is of opinion that it will be naive to think that the problem is solved by signing the agreement. Even after the agreement is implemented, the basic problems will remain and continue to operate. The bourgeois class that was growing even during the British time came to power after the country became independent. It is this class, in alliance with the landlord class, that is ruling the country ever since. All these years, these ruling classes have been making efforts to develop the country on capitalist lines, but these policies, instead of removing the unequal development of the States or removing the regional disparities, are, in reality, accentuating and aggravating them.

Under the class rule of these exploiting classes, Big Business houses like the Tatas and Birlas, have amassed vast riches and grown stronger, while crores and crores of the toiling people and middle classes are being daily thrown into greater misery, wretchedness and unemployment. Today, more than ten lakh matriculates and graduates and more than 80 thousand engineers are unemployed and are roaming the country in search of employment. Big Business, which is at the helm of the State, develops only certain selected areas, while the development of several States and regions is neglected, thus increasing the disparities and imbalances. It is thus evident that the disparities and imbalances in the growth of States and regions are the inevitable concomitant of capitalist development. The Committee is of opinion that unless these policies of following the capitalist path of development are defeated and the Government that is following these policies is removed from power and replaced by a People's Democratic Government which will pave the way for building socialism in India, these disparities will not disappear.

The Committee wishes to draw the attention of the people to the truth that it is the bourgeois-landlord combine that is fomenting religious, communal and regional feelings and rivalries in order to divert the attention of the masses from pressing problems and from the exploitation and oppression that it is carrying on. The activities of the Shiva Sena in Bombay, of the Lachit Sena in Assam, the attacks on Muslim minorities in Ranchi, Rourkela and Jamshedpur by the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, and other Hindu communal forces are glaring examples of these disruptive and dangerous policies followed by the ruling classes.

Game of the Ruling Classes

The Committee draws the attention of the people to what happened in our own State a few years ago. A section of the Congress ruling class opposed the formation of Andhra State, pitting Rayalaseema against it. In 1952-53, a 'Mulki' agitation was kicked up by a section of the Telangana Congress leaders, and in 1956, at the time of the formation of Vishalaandhra, again, a

powerful section of the Telangana Congress demanded the formation of a separate Telangana State. Today again, it is this powerful section of the Congress from Telangana that stands behind the slogan of separate Telangana State. Thus, it is Congressmen—now one section and another time another section—who are raising these disruptive and dangerous slogans and misleading the people, particularly the younger generation, in order to settle their inner squabbles and contradictions.

The Committee declares that the main reason for the continued backwardness of Telangana, for the non implementation of the safeguards, for the growth of unemployment and for lack of adequate educational facilities is the continued rule of the Congress, representing the interests of the landlord and capitalist classes, and policies pursued by it, and not the poor and middle-classes who migrate from the coastal districts and Rayalaseema to Telangana in search of food, employment and living, not the clerks and teachers, not the younger generation that come to the capital city for education, not finding enough educational facilities in their own districts. The root cause for this migration in search of food and employment is the rule of the bourgeois-landlord classes and the reactionary policies pursued by them.

The Committee feels that even the faithful implementation of the agreement will not solve the problem of unemployment, etc. During the course of the last few decades, tens of thousands of families from both the Andhra and Telangana regions have gone to Bombay, Calcutta, Bangalore, Bhubai and such other cities and industrial centres in search of food and employment. Such migration is still continuing. If the 'Mulkies' of those States begin agitation for the driving away of these Telugu people, what a calamity it would be?

Warning Against Disruptive Forces

The Committee appeals to all the democratic forces in the State—in Telangana and in Andhra—particularly to the students and toiling people, not to fall a prey to these disruptive and dangerous moves but to unite and carry on a ceaseless and consistent struggle against the landlord bourgeois policies

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pursued by the Congress Government policies which are aggravating the problems of unemployment, inadequate educational facilities, etc. If, instead of discharging this primary task, the people of both the regions begins to quarrel among themselves, the real culprits the bourgeois landlord Government—will escape the wrath of the people and the popular forces will get weakened and disrupted. Hence, the Committee appeals to all the progressive and democratic forces in both the regions to mutually assist the struggles of each other and champion the cause of unity and progress of the common people of both the regions.

The Committee appeals to the popular forces in the State not to dissipate their energies on disruptive movements but concentrate on building the unity of the people in both the regions and cementing it. Otherwise, the bourgeois landlord forces and their political representatives will create dissensions among the people and disrupt their unity in order to perpetuate their rule and their exploitation. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) pledges that it will make all efforts to fight these disruptive forces and forge unity among the people and seeks the co operation and help of all the progressive and democratic forces and individuals who cherish the same ideals.

Polit Bureau of CPI(M) Greet the People of West Bengal for Electoral Victory of United Front in 1969 Election*

Statement Issued by the Polit Bureau of CPI(M) on February 13, 1969

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), meeting in Calcutta on February 13, 1969, has issued the following statement:

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) greets the people of West Bengal and the democratic parties who, forging the United Front, have given a resounding defeat to the Congress in the mid term election reducing it to a minority of about one fifth of the total Assembly seats of 280. The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is proud of our Party ranks who played a worthy and leading role in developing a powerful mass movement in forging the United Front and in achieving this great people's victory. By this victory, the people and the democratic parties of West Bengal have taken forward the democratic struggle of Indian people to a new turning point.

The results of the mid term election are once again a rejection by the people as in the Fourth General Elections of the anti people policies of the Congress policies of inflicting misery and starvation on the people, of suppressing their democratic rights and liberties, of endangering the political independence of the country. The results are also a rejection of the equally reactionary policies of the Jan Sangh which was hoping to replace the Congress in office in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh at least.

In West Bengal, the people have decisively given their verdict also on the Central Congress Government's mischievous conspiracies of toppling the elected democratic Governments; of

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", Calcutta, February 16, 1969

setting up stooge ministries and of enthroning the nominated Governors and the bureaucrats to run the State administration in the name of President's Rule.

They have voted their confidence in United Front Ministry of democratic forces that it would give them an administration that will start undoing some of the disastrous consequences of 20 years of landlord bourgeois rule of the Congress; help them to achieve as much relief as possible; and lead their democratic movements further forward on the road to winning their demands.

The victory of the democratic United Front in West Bengal in contrast to the mid-term election results in Punjab, U.P. and Bihar gives valuable experience to the democratic forces in India and shows us the way to follow and the pitfalls which we have to avoid.

In Punjab, in Uttar Pradesh and in Bihar, the democratic movement and mass organisations of the working people are at a low level. On top of it, some of the democratic parties like the SSP, PSP and the Right Communists entered into non-Congress coalition ministries with reactionary landlord bourgeois parties, Jan Sangh and Swatantra. These reactionary parties were able to sabotage implementation of many progressive steps that had been promised. The image of these non-Congress ministries in U.P. and Bihar fell among the people and when the Congress was able to topple them, the masses could not be mobilised into widespread mass action, as was the case in West Bengal.

The result has been that neither democratic united fronts could be forged nor the Congress, the Jan Sangh and Swatantra the parties of the landlords and of the big bourgeoisie—could be defeated.

In Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Punjab, the Congress has not been able to improve its position and the claims of the Jan Sangh have also been rebuffed by the people. In Punjab, the Akali Party has improved its position but its alliance with the Jan Sangh poses a clear danger to the gains of the democratic movement and to its future advance. If in these States, the socialists and communists have also been weakened, it is due largely to the opportunist policies pursued by parties like the SSP, PSP and Right

Communists. Additionally, in Punjab, the Right Communists knowingly pursued a policy of helping the Congress—refusing to make adjustments with the non Congress forces and setting up candidates indiscriminately in many places where they knew they had no chances of winning or even polling a sizable vote, thus making a gift of a number of seats to the Congress.

It is evident that the general mass of the people did not have confidence in these democratic parties and did not surge forward in support of them as is the case in West Bengal.

It is also evident that the Muslim minority seeing the Socialist and Right Communist parties as partners with the Jan Sangh in the ministries, who did not and could not prevent communal riots unleashed by the communal forces, got alienated from these parties.

It is also evident that the socially and economically backward communities, especially the harijans are the worst sufferers from the landlord bourgeois policies of the Congress rule and the caste tendencies that were encouraged during the last 20 years. They are the worst victims of not only economic oppression but of all the social and caste discrimination. The failure of parties like the SSP, PSP and Right Communists while in Government to take up and champion their demands and defend them from attacks from the exploiters, enable the vested interests i.e., the Congress and other reactionary landlords to intimidate and keep away a large percentage of them from the polling booths.

In contrast to U.P. and Bihar, it is in West Bengal, that the Muslim minority has solidly voted with the U.F. with the full confidence that the U.F. Ministry alone would defend them from communal orgies and take necessary steps to improve their lot and enable them to live as equal Indian citizens.

The Polit Bureau appeals to all the democratic parties and forces to realise the dangerous consequences of the growing reactionary communal forces and the dire consequences of the Congress misrule being allowed to continue. It appeals to them to come forward to determinedly fight the Jan Sangh, Swatantra and Congress reactionary policies, and to forge sanctions against them, by developing mass movement and to build a united

democratic front where neither the Jan Sangh and Swatantra nor other equally reactionary landlord big bourgeois parties or groups will have any place.

The Polit Bureau appeals to all democratic parties and forces, especially in West Bengal, not to become complacent. The Congress Government at the Centre will not take this defeat inflicted upon them lying down. They would start once again their conspiracies, to hamstring the functioning of the United Front Ministry through their bureaucracy, to rouse the masses against the United Front Ministry by refusing them necessary food and financial resources as they are doing in Kerala even now. It is the development of the united mass movement throughout the country by the democratic forces that could defeat these conspiracies.

The Congress rulers have all along concentrated their fury on the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the Governments in which the CPI(M) is a major partner. Their hope was that they would be able to isolate the CPI(M) and smash it which if it had succeeded would have certainly endangered the democratic movement as a whole. The Left and democratic parties in West Bengal to their credit have seen through this Congress machination and preserved the United Front.

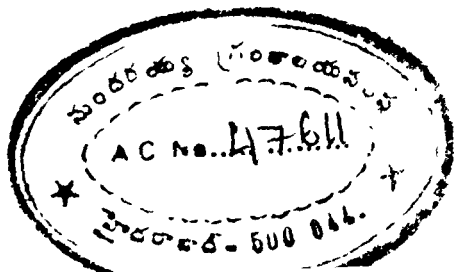
The election results have once again demonstrated that a strong communist movement, adhering strictly to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and correctly applying them to the concrete situation, and by developing mass movements and organisations alone can guarantee the successful formation and continuation of a broad democratic united front; it was so in Kerala, and is so now in West Bengal where the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has been able to become a leading partner of the United Front.

Our Party pledges to discharge the heavy responsibility which has been placed on the United Front by the people of West Bengal. It will strive hard to further strengthen the unity of the United Front. It will take into confidence the people on the issues that crop up in carrying out the administration, on the role of the Central Congress Government, the path and the measures which every constituent of the United Front would be advocating to

solve these issues. It is ultimately the mass public opinion and their support to a particular solution that would be the deciding factor for United Front functioning

Our Party calls on the people of West Bengal to be extremely vigilant in the coming period against the conspiracies of the Congress and the vested interests which will become even more intense.

Our Party pledges once again that it will not shirk any struggle or sacrifice that would be necessary in carrying on the people's struggle for real freedom, democracy and for building a new life and society for our people!



Reaction Strikes in Bombay*

Editorial of "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY",
February 16, 1969

The ghastly happenings in Bombay following the Shiva Sena hooliganism constitute a forewarning of things to come, a warning of the stealthy march of fascism in India. They reveal how the forces of extreme reaction in India helped by CIA finances and financial support from India's Big Business are coming to the forefront to disrupt the class movement of the working class and later on drown it in blood.

The police terror unleashed against those arrested, the merciless beatings of innocent people, the killing of more than fifty people in police firing, with the wounded exceeding two hundred, are bound to draw vigorous protest from all democrats, from all who espouse the cause of the working class. This bloodshed could have been easily avoided, the blood bath could have been dispensed with, had the Maharashtra Government and the Bombay police not pampered the Shiva Sena and its leaders and allowed their campaign of open violence and murder to go unchallenged, had they not encouraged this campaign by giving an alibi to the Shiva Sena. In recent months Bombay City has seen murderous attacks on the workers from Kerala and Tamil Nadu; it has seen the shops and hotels owned by Kannadigas going up in flames—with the Bombay police refusing to intervene and the Maharashtra Government refusing to do anything to protect the non Maharashtrian workers and citizens from these attacks. Neither Sri Chavan nor Sri Naik has ever given an explanation of this indirect complicity of the Maharashtra Government and the Bombay police in the activities of the Shiva Sena.

*This relates to Shiva Sena hooliganism in Bombay (now Mumbai)

Posing to champion the cause of Maharashtrians for jobs and services in Maharashtra, the Shiva Sena leaders attempted to divert the discontent arising from growing unemployment against the workers from Kerala and the hoteliers from Karnataka; they thus serve the big capitalists and screened the evils of capitalism following from Congress policies. They directly serve the interests of Bombay's Big Business and the Congress Government who are in dire need of sidetracking the discontent of Bombay's working class.

This rousing of Marathi chauvinism was a preparation for a frontal attack on the Communist Party, the communist movement, for purposes of black legging and strike breaking. In a few months the Shiva Sena chief incited his followers to attack the communists and the office of the Girmī Kamgar Union was attacked and its furniture was burnt in the presence of Bombay's police force. Bal Thackeray openly declared himself to be a follower of Hitler and an avowed enemy of communism. His followers made an open attempt to disrupt Comrade EMS Namboodiripad's meeting and the Shiva Sena leader openly preached assault on the communist leaders. He threatened violence and murder to the communists, openly accepted his responsibility for the attack on the Girmī Kamgar Union, all with the encouragement of the Bombay police and Maharashtra Government who looked upon the Sena as a good handiwork to fight the communist movement.

It is known that the Shiva Sena is amply supported with funds. It is not accidental that a large section of the Bombay Press—including the Marathi edition of the *Times of India* the *Maharashtra Times* supports the Shiva Sena and gives sympathetic and glowing descriptions of its activities. And in the last few months the organisation has often supplied strike breakers to break working class strikes and has started disrupting the existing trade unions on provincial lines.

This is the background to last week's happenings in which nearly fifty people have been killed and nearly two hundred have been wounded. A large number of those killed are young people from Bombay's working class families—the new youth alien to

class pride and class outlook because of the corrupt reformist leadership in the trade union movement. A number of Left parties in the City of Bombay have developed a purely opportunistic outlook on political questions. They seek to bypass class issues and try to rouse the working class on non-class or chauvinistic issues. The tradition of bypassing class politics and identifying the working class in a completely bourgeois fashion with linguistic and other immediate democratic issues, started with the Samyukta Maharashtra movement. The new generation of workers has not gone through the gruelling class battles nor has it been enlightened about its class origin and its antagonism with the existing social order. Its boiling discontent against the Congress regime is thus easily exploited by reactionary appeals. The Shiva Sena is exploiting the chauvinism, the non class outlook created by the reformists in the Samyukta Maharashtra movement and the anti-China campaigns of the 'Right' and 'Left' parties. That is why today young workers who should be leading the battle for the emancipation of their class from the present regime are often found in the Sena campaigns. And when they are shot dead, when they are mercilessly beaten in police custody, when they are wounded in scores, one is bound to denounce the police, the reactionary leaders who mislead them and the Congress Government which encourages their deception and entraps them into the wrong movement.

The present trouble started with Thackeray's decision to prevent the entry of Central Ministers in the City of Bombay as long as the border question between Maharashtra and Karnataka remained unsettled and the Marathi-speaking areas remained in Karnataka. An obliging police and Government struck a bargain with the organisation extracting a promise from the leaders for a peaceful demonstration and allowed them to post their members along the route. When Chavan visited Bombay the demonstration organised with the cooperation of the police took a violent turn. Again the organisation with the full concurrence of the Bombay police staged another demonstration when Morarji visited Bombay. This time it went completely out of control with the obliging police compelled to firings leading to widespread attack

on buses, railway stations, hotels and even on commercial establishments and banks. The Bombay Government was forced to detain Thackeray and other leaders which incensed the ranks still further. Under the pretext of controlling demonstrations the police had already prohibited meetings under section 144, thereby stopping all trade union and political campaigns in the City. New vast areas of the City were placed under curfew and the army was alerted to stand by to help the police.

Here we see the utter duplicity and the treachery of the ruling classes. Were they not aware that encouragement they were giving to the Sena leaders, the pact that they had entered into, would lead to an explosion of anti-social violence in which the hotels and other establishments of the minorities would be the first casualty? The hypocritical officials now pretend that they were completely taken by surprise. There are officials who openly state that the Sena had nothing to do with the hooliganism. But even a child could see the logical results of this pampering, the pacts and understanding all of which were meant only to bolster the prestige of the Sena leaders. And when the followers of these leaders went beyond the limits of safety, when they really clashed with the forces of 'law and order', they were attacked and suppressed. In the eyes of the ruling classes the appointed role of the Sena volunteers was to terrorise the minority, rouse chauvinism and divide the working class but not to clash with the forces of law and order. The instrument that was forged to suppress the masses had to be controlled, hence the firings, the savage beatings, the shootings.

The working class elements who have been drawn into the net of the Shiva Sena must realise that they are being utilised to attack their own brethren and not to fight the Congress for any genuine grievance; that unemployment is created by the Congress regime and the Sena leaders' politics only serves the Congress and the big capitalists.

What about the demand for a settlement of the Maharashtra Karnataka dispute? Once again it is the responsibility of the Congress regime which dares not solve any problem on the basis of accepted principles. There is a Congress

Government at the Centre; there are Congress Governments in Maharashtra and Karnataka, yet these Governments belonging to the same party cannot solve this border issue amicably when the Central Government preaches to the whole world peaceful solution of international disputes. The reason is that the unsolved issue serves as a weapon in the hands of both the State Governments to rouse their people on a chauvinist basis, to divert their attention from the democratic struggle and keep their position safe in their States. They who talk of national integration are not ashamed to rouse national animosities between the people of Maharashtra and Karnataka to serve the selfish game.

The border issue has become a game in power politics is clear from recent developments.

In the first place, there is no clear acceptance by the Central Government of the principle of demarcation on the basis of village as a unit a democratic principle which should be accepted by all. The vested interests in Karnataka are openly opposing the principle. And the Mahajan Commission appointed by the Centre excelled all previous opportunism by rejecting every known principle when it made its recommendations. Its recommendations were clearly intended to serve the game of power politics inside the Congress organisation.

Under these circumstances the problem cannot be solved by just rousing the chauvinism of one section of the people, by holding as hostages the minorities hailing from the other States. This is exactly what the Sena leaders are doing. They are not conducting a genuine movement for democratic rights but just disrupting the all India democratic movement by appealing to separation and parochialism. The real answer to the poverty and unemployment of the Indian people lies in the liquidation of the capitalist landlord rule of the Congress, and the establishment of socialism all over India. This can be achieved only through solidarity and unity of the working class and toilers of India a unity which the Sena leaders are deliberately breaking in the name of solution of the border problem and protection of Marathi interests.

Some Left parties like the PSP, the SSP, and the revisionists are allowing themselves to be beguiled by the Sena's slogan for

solution of the border dispute and are announcing their intention to support that organisation. This is nothing but playing into the hands of reaction. The ideology and platform of the Sena is a reactionary chauvinist platform, of fratricidal war and no democratic party can associate itself with it.

Besides, such issues as borders, regional development, etc., are being used nowadays to bypass the working class and democratic issues and rally sections of the masses behind this or that exploiting class. All such issues when not presented in the context of the main democratic struggle for People's Democracy, develop a reactionary angle and instead of advancing the general democratic cause just disrupt the common movement and sidetrack it. The Shiva Sena's championing of the border issue is no genuine democratic movement. It is just a reactionary attempt to rouse chauvinism and set one section of toilers against another.

One has only to look to the attitude of the ruling classes towards the Sena movement to understand the deep game played by the vested interests. If the burnings of the buses, the attacks on railway stations, the looting of hotels belonging to non Maharashtrians had taken place during the course of a genuine class or democratic movement, what a howl the vested interests would have raised? If in addition, banks had been attacked would they not have raised the outcry that this was nothing but communist expropriation? Would they not have seen the hand of China in all this and demanded the total suppression of the Communist Party? Would any police official have gone out of his way to certify that these acts had nothing to do with the sponsors of the movement as they did in this case? And would the ruling circles and the vested interests have provided an alibi to the organisation leading the movement?

And yet this is precisely what is happening in the present case. Can you imagine the august and profiteering representatives of "trade and industry" those who demand shooting down of workers for daring to demand an increase of a rupee in their wages,—calmly offering an alibi to the Shiva Sena? And this is what they have done in Bombay because they regard the Sena as

their army. Listen to the following from the *Statesman*: "In a statement issued after the meeting which was attended by prominent industrialists and businessmen they [the representatives of trade and industry] said that this great metropolitan city had been a victim of senseless orgy, violence, loot and arson. The statement blamed indecision by the Union Government in solving inter State disputes such as boundary questions and others as the root cause of such agitations taking place at frequent intervals and it was quite imperative that these disputes should be effectively settled without delay. It was also stated that the police force was not adequate and the State Government should have obtained the assistance of the military to handle the situation firmly."

But to deal firmly with whom? With the Shiva Sena? Oh, no! According to the *Statesman* report, "representatives of trade and industry have today expressed the view that the agitation launched by the Shiva Sena had been 'gravely exploited and taken undue advantage of by the communists and other anti social elements' ". Here you have the diabolical anti working class plot in the open. The Shiva Sena is exonerated of all violence; the entire blame is thrown on the communists, the class enemy of the big vested interests. Whence this solicitude for the Sena, whence this intense desire to provide an alibi to it? These bankers and industrial magnates are mighty afraid of peaceful gheraos and regard even ordinary processions of workers as disturbances of law and order, and demand their suppression. Why do they now justify the Shiva Sena? For the simple reason that the violence in Bombay, they know, would not in the least affect their class rule, nor undermine the stability of their regime. They know it only destroys class unity and solidarity and for that the price of a few buses burnt is worth paying. That is why they justify the Sena and slander the communists so that the game of suppressing the workers can be continued.

The Maharashtra Government also does not lag behind in playing this game of communist baiting. It has permitted Thackeray, the Shiva Sena leader, to issue a statement from prison in which Thackeray appeals to his *sainiks* to restore peace

and see that "at any cost our struggle should not be allowed to be exploited by the communists". The Maharashtra Government seems to have lost all sense of shame in permitting Thackerey to slander the communists in this way and escape his own guilt. But then Naik's Government has always been behind the Shiva Sena giving every kind of encouragement for fanning anti communism

After this orgy of violence, the big capitalists, the Shiva Sena leader, and the Maharashtra Government all join with each in screening the real culprits and spreading anti communist slander. The democratic opposition in Parliament will be justified in raising a demand for enquiry into the doings of the Maharashtra Government vis-a vis the Shiva Sena.

The game of provocation does not end here. The ruling classes, the vested interests, the big bourgeois Press and the Maharashtra Government all are conspiring to boost Thackerey and his organisation so that after his short detention he should have full popularity to sway the people for anti-working class purposes. The Press and the vested interests have been giving glowing accounts of Shiva Sena activities and are urging the Central Government to move on the border question so that Thackerey's stock rises high. The Maharashtra Government is pressing for the same so that it can share credit with its partner. And opportunist leaders of some of the Left parties are prepared to support this fake border struggle as if it is a genuine anti Congress democratic struggle. It is by such manoeuvres and tactics that a weakening ruling class builds its own fascist army and it has been invariably supported by all types of shady reformists

It is in this background that one must protest against the shootings and beatings. Those who were shot dead were actually lured to their death by the provocations of the ruling classes and Sena leaders. They were the victims of a double conspiracy. Instead of dying in the battle for the liberation of their class they fell victims to the conspiracy of the ruling classes. But the shootings and misdeeds of the police do not alter the fact that the Sena movement is a reactionary anti-working class movement and the working class must be completely emancipated from it.

The ruling classes of India are using every weapon to corrode the consciousness of the working class; they are training its storm troopers to suppress the working class. This is the truth that emerges from the Bombay happenings and the communist baiting that is officially sponsored subsequent to them.

Fratricidal Strife In Andhra— Whom Does It Help?*

**Press Statement Issued by M. Basavapunnaiah
Member, Polit Bureau, CPI(M) on February 5, 1969**

Press statement on the disturbed situation in Andhra Pradesh by Comrade M. Basavapunnaiah, Member, Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) on February 5, 1969:

The tragic developments leading to a sort of fratricidal war between two sections of the Telugu people living in the two regions of Andhra Pradesh, are extremely distressing and highly disturbing. The manner in which the basest and meanest passions are roused, the devastating forms of agitation and struggle chosen for the redressal of the so called grievances on either side and the diabolical exploitation of the young student community and its impulsive emotional behaviour by the bourgeois landlord classes for their selfish ends are simply shocking and disgusting. They are reminiscent of mediaeval barbarism and are unheard of in the annals of civilised nations and peoples. Every decent man and woman in Andhra Pradesh, no matter to which political party or region he or she belongs, cannot but feel doubly ashamed of these developments.

Such a fratricidal strife and violence to flare up after full twenty two years of national independence under Congress rule, and after twelve years of the formation of Andhra Pradesh speaks volumes against the Congress party and its bankrupt policies. It is a veritable indictment on the pattern of socio economic order the Congress rulers are perpetuating and the reactionary lines on which the ideological, cultural and educational activities are guided and conducted under this misrule. The present agitation of one people of a region in Telugu land versus the people of another region has at its root the dangerous seed of murdering the

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right of citizenship of one Telugu man by another Telugu man. Is it not fantastic that such slogans are raised in an epoch when a worldwide democratic agitation is on, including in our own country, against the anti-immigration laws enacted by the British Government in England? Are not the power mad Congress leaders of both Telangana and Andhra regions to account for this sad and disgraceful state of affairs? Is it not a more disruptive slogan than the one raised by the Shiva Sena fanatics of Maharashtra that "all non Maharashtra people should quit Bombay"?

Let alone the apparent causes and reasons adduced for the present fratricidal flare-up among the Telugu speaking people of the two regions of Telangana and Andhra, it is strange and monstrous that they are beguiled into believing in the absurd story that their interests are hostile to each other and that they are exploited by each other. Thus the naked and brutal truth of exploitation of the landlords and the capitalists, the usurers and the profiteers, the corrupt and the careerists is clean shielded. The growing mass discontent and class antagonisms are deliberately sought to be channelised into regional animosities, disrupting the national unity of the Telugu speaking people. It is no secret that this highly retrograde and dangerously disruptive agitation and struggle is engineered, initially by the self-seeking Congress landlords of the Telangana region and subsequently taken up as a retaliatory measure by some Congress and pro Congress elements in the Andhra region.

In fact, this is not the first time that different groups and individual Congress leaders in Andhra Pradesh have been resorting to the cynical exploitation of regionalism and casteism whenever they found themselves frustrated in their careeristic ambitions of climbing the ladder in the power politics of the State. Who does not know the sad controversies of Circar districts versus Rayalaseema, and Kamma versus Reddy, Kapu versus Kshatriya and like caste versus caste passions are worked up frequently to exploit them for their self-seeking interests? Mulki versus non Mulki or Telangana versus Andhra is sought to be made such a pawn here in the game of power politics.

It is not to deny that on certain transitional occasions some safeguards would be necessary to overcome the feelings of backwardness and the complex of regional disparities and to create a congenial atmosphere of real merger and oneness.

Here again it is the Congress Government, which had solemnly pledged to implement some safeguards for Telangana, that is the real culprit in sabotaging them. And yet the irony of the situation is that the same Congress rulers make use of their own failure as capital investment for fratricidal incitement while all the political parties had to rush to reiterate that the safeguards provided in the gentleman's agreement should be respected and implemented to save the situation.

It is not surprising, considering the treacherous class character of the landed gentry, that they are up to such violations. Is it not patently evident that several promises and pledges given to the workers, peasants, middle classes and the people are constantly betrayed by the Congress party in power? What happened to the promise of land to the tiller, ceiling on landlords' land, minimum wages to agricultural labour, trade union rights for the industrial workers and middle class employees and to the building up of a welfare state? There has been nothing but outright betrayal of every syllable of these promises. Such is the record of landlord-bourgeois Congress rulers of the State. Then why pick out one particular alleged betrayal and depict it as betrayal of the people of one region by the people of another region and organise a fratricidal strife and incite violence against each other? We hold no brief for the betraying Congress leaders coming from either region, we are for doing justice to the really aggrieved and genuinely deserving. But may we ask the pretenders of championing the Telangana people and their interests as to why they are scrupulously silent about a thousand crore rupees worth of plundered property by the Nizam dynasty and do not demand its outright expropriation and confiscation by the State, while making undue fuss over the disbursement of thirty and odd crores of rupees of the Telangana reserves? Why do they not utter a word when State owned industries such as Sirpur Paper Mills, Alwyn Metal Works, Rajahmundry Paper Mill, etc., are sold for a song to

Big Business magnates like Birla? Why do they not raise a word of protest against the inhuman exploitation of the Telangana peasants and workers by the landlords and capitalists—no matter whether these exploiters are Telangana-born or non Telangana born? It is not accidental that they do not do it. There is a cruel class interest behind it, the class interest of the exploiting landlords and the capitalists. Instead they present a totally false picture, the picture that the people of one region are exploiting the people of another region and thus thrive on the regional conflicts and passions among the peoples, which they themselves had engineered and roused.

Is it not atrocious to incite a student, who by accident of birth belongs to one region against his counterpart from the other region, telling him that his or her seat in a school or college is insecure and his or her prospective job is in danger because of his counterpart? The fact that under the present socio-economic set up and the rule of the bourgeois-landlord classes, neither the security of seats in schools and colleges for all students nor the assurance of jobs for all those who seek them are realisable, is clean covered up. The discontent is directed into disruptive agitations and struggles which breed nothing but dangerous civil strife and violence to the merriment of the exploiting ruling classes who are out to exploit the situation to bolster up their tottering hold.

It is a great pity that this cruel game of the bourgeois-landlord politicians is not clearly understood by the people, and even some of the democratic parties and groups often play into the hands of reaction by opportunist pampering of these so-called regional movements under the false apprehension of losing the people to the influence of Congress and other reactionary forces. Experience during the last two decades clearly demonstrates that when the Communist Party was strong and the democratic movement was in its ascendancy in Andhra Pradesh, the disruptive game of the landlords to incite regional and communal passions was successfully fought out and defeated on a number of occasions. It is the weakness of the democratic movement thanks to the Right revisionist and Left adventurist deviations in

the communist movement and the consequent disruption caused in the communist movement in Andhra, which alone had grown as the only genuine and really powerful democratic opposition party in Andhra Pradesh that has enabled the reactionary forces to gain the upper hand, though momentarily, on the political scene of the present Andhra Pradesh.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist), together with all the other democratic parties, groups and individuals in the State, while fighting against all tendencies of regional aggrandisement fanned by this or that bourgeois landlord group in the State, will have to systematically expose the reactionary forces fanning the flames of fratricidal war among the people of Andhra Pradesh and liberate the students and other sections of the people from the evil influence of regional and caste reaction.

The entire responsibility for the present estrangement of relations between the people of the two regions must be squarely placed on the shoulders of the Congress party and its State Government which has unbroken monopoly of power during the last twelve years after the formation of Visalaandhra. In this the landlord gentry who donned Congress robes in both the regions are equally guilty, and the apportioning of blame to one or the other group of Congress leaders is a trick usually resorted to by both as is the case when thieves fall out.

The democratic forces should demand that the State Government, instead of relying on repressive measures against the student community in either region, should book the real culprits who, from behind the scenes, organise, finance and incite the bestial regional agitations, violence and vandalism. The failure on the part of the State Government to promptly put down the present divisive and disruptive forces and ensure the safety of the people and their peaceful occupations cannot but lead to the complete undermining of people's confidence in the Government's ability to maintain law and order in the State. The Congress leaders who raise the bogey of the "break up of law and order" in States under non Congress Governments like Kerala should be ashamed of the deplorable conditions prevailing in Andhra Pradesh.

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We appeal to the students and youth of Andhra Pradesh, and to all the sections and individuals who are swayed into this misguided movement of regional hatred and violence to coolly think over the grave consequences of the present sad developments and choose the right path to redress the grievances, if any. We also appeal to them to realise that a consistently democratic and united movement of the workers, peasants, students, youth and the middle classes, comprising both the regions of Andhra Pradesh, alone is the surest guarantee for the realisation of their just demands and for the redressal of their legitimate grievances. Lastly, we wish to warn the entire people of Andhra Pradesh, that these divisive regional movements would destroy the organised democratic movements and play into the hands of reaction and counter-revolution if they are not nipped in the bud, and healthy and progressive forces do not assert themselves to fight back this menace.

On Shiv Sena Violence in Bombay

Resolution Adopted by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemns the orgy of violence unleashed by the Shiv Sena leaders last week in Bombay during the course of their so called "border" agitation. The police, which had pampered the Shiv Sena openly and unscrupulously, shot and killed more than fifty persons and injured hundreds. The P.B. protests against this duplicity and is of the opinion that this shedding of blood could have been avoided had the police officials not directly encouraged the Shiv Sena violence which has been going on for months in the city of Bombay.

The P.B wishes to draw the attention of the democratic movement to the sinister meaning of the emergence of organizations like the Shiv Sena on the Indian scene. The Shiv Sena was formed with the open encouragement of a Congress Home Minister of the Maharashtra Government who still continues to be a Minister in the Naik Government. Its avowed aim was anti communism and it tried to gain sympathy of sections of the people by raising Maharashtrian chauvinism against the workers from Kerala, Tamilnadu and Karnataka, holding them responsible for the growing unemployment in Maharashtra. Soon attacks on minorities, their shops and establishments, their hotels and hutments became a common occurrence in Bombay with the police and the Maharashtra Government doing nothing to check this violence. On the other hand, official spokesmen and the police always exonerated the Shiv Sena from all responsibility, thus building its prestige. Soon

the Sena leaders came out in their true colours and started attacking trade unions and the communists. Thackeray, its leader, declared publicly to be a follower of Hitler and preached murder and violence towards communist leaders. Of late, he supplied strike breakers to a number of employers.

During all these months Chavan, the Home Minister, who at one time openly patronized the Shiv Sena paper, kept quiet and no protest was lodged by the Central Government with the Maharashtra Government against the gangsterism of the Sena.

The Maharashtra Congress Committee sympathized with the Sena and it is known that it secretly supported the Sena in the recent Corporation elections. The Bombay Congress Committee used it in the last elections to terrorize the voters of Krishna Menon. The big capitalists and the Swatantra Party openly supported it as a counter weight against the working class movement.

Thus, the Shiv Sena was being forged as a weapon of anti communism, of fascism and was supported by all reactionaries.

The complicity of the Maharashtra Government in encouraging its violence is easily seen from its failure to do anything against its activities. Naik and his Ministers have done everything to minimize and screen the recent acts of violence and done their best to exonerate the Shiv Sena. Sri Naik's Government has permitted the Sena leader Thackeray to issue a statement which shamelessly attacks the communists for the violence and bloodshed last week. This itself is enough to show the interest of the Maharashtra Government in exonerating the Sena and in slandering the communist movement.

Equally revealing is the attitude of some of the big capitalists of Bombay who have also exonerated the Sena and with matchless unscrupulousness alleged that the Shiv Sena agitation was "exploited" by the communists. Thus the whole game of provocation is clear beyond doubt.

In this background it is nauseating to find some of the left parties like the PSP, SSP and the revisionists coming with the calls of bandhs in collaboration with the Sena or supporting its

fake agitation on the border issue. It is thus that fascism is aided and screened.

The Shiv Sena is being financed by reactionaries, supported by them and patronized by the Maharashtra Government. It is an instrument of attacking the working class and its solidarity and its ideology has to be unmasked. It has made the minority, its special target to get a base for its anti communism

The P.B. warns all democratic parties against this organization and calls upon them put up a united struggle to checkmate its advance. The P.B. appeals to the workers, middle class employees and other sections of the toiling people to forge their unbreakable unity to face and defeat this menace. It specially appeals to the Maharashtrian workers and employees not to be misled into internecine conflicts with non-Maharashtrian toilers but to build the unity of all toiling people against Congress policies which really cause unemployment. It sends its condolence to the families of those killed and expresses its sympathy to those who have suffered from the violence of this organization and demands that the Maharashtra Government give them full compensation. It also demands an enquiry into the responsibility of the Maharashtra Government and the Bombay police in encouraging the activities of the Shiv Sena.

Why Deadlock in West Bengal?

**Statement of West Bengal State Committee
of C.P.I.(M); issued on February 19, 1969
to Newspapers**

The West Bengal State Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has issued the following statement to the Press on February 19, 1969:

The West Bengal State Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is extremely sorry to a week long bilateral talks and discussions in the United Front meetings have not yet succeeded in resolving the question connected with the formation of the new United Front Ministry in the State. Considering the legitimate anxiety and concern of the people of West Bengal over this deadlock, the State Committee feels it its duty to place the relevant facts before them so that the issues involved in the deadlock might be clearly and correctly understood by one and all.

First of all, the State Committee is constrained to observe that some of the major constituents of the United Front who were extremely sober, objective and realistic while assessing the popular strength of the respective parties and allocating the seats for contest, are, on the morrow of the resounding victory of the United Front, allowing themselves to be swayed into unreasonable and aggressive claims, the claims of leadership over the legislative front and the post of Chief Ministership for a party, commanding only thirty three member strength, disregarding the party which exceeds eighty in number in the new legislature.

Motives apart, such a demand and claim on the part of the Bangla Congress leaders, that Sri Ajoy Mukherjee should be

accepted as the leader of the Front and as Chief Minister, objectively, amounts to the flagrant denial of its due place and role to the CPI(M), viewed from its numerical strength in the new legislature as well as the massive popular backing it secured at the polls. No political party with a future and responsible to the people can afford to stomach that unjust denial of its due share of responsibility in the United Front Government without serious protest and dissent.

It is equally amazing and even intriguing to find the Right Communist Party, another big contingent in the United Front and the new legislature, not only does fail to react sharply to such an unjust denial to the CPI(M) and the aggressive claim of the Bangla Congress leadership but also abets and encourages the latter, as amply demonstrated during the week long parleys over the issue. The people of West Bengal and the democratic forces throughout the country owe an explanation from this party for this strange behaviour.

The CPI(M), moved by intense desire to carry forward the unity of the Front and guided by the sense of urgency to resolve the unhappy deadlock over the issue, was prepared to accept the compromise proposal put forth by the RSP, SSP and certain other constituents of the Front, the proposal to concede the post of leadership of the legislature front and Chief Ministership to the nominee of the Bangla Congress while allotting the Home portfolio including General Administration, to the nominee of the CPI(M) and some other important portfolios that would enable it to effectively discharge the role assigned by the electorate.

We regret that this accommodative and responsible gesture of our Party is not being responded to by the leaders of the Bangla Congress, while continuing to insist their unjust demand of not only Chief Ministership for Sri Ajoy Mukherjee but also for General Administration, full or partial, to be separated from the Home and allotted to them. Such a demand and insistence on their part, shorn of all niceties, in our opinion, is nothing but arbitrarily relegating the CPI(M), the major and preponderant constituent of the U.F. to a subordinate position. This neither tallies with the

realities nor is in consonance with the heavy responsibility thrust on the shoulders of the CPI(M) by the electorate of West Bengal.

The public is fully aware of the fact that the CPI(M) was not eager to join in State Ministries, where it was a minor force in the people and the legislatures, even when ministerial posts were offered. This political stand of our Party is guided by no other important consideration than the capacity and ability of our Party to play its due role in State's Government, as expected of by the people. If for reasons inexplicable and understandable, our Party is denied the opportunities to shoulder the due responsibility in running the U.F. Government, it would be a serious error on its part to enter into such a Cabinet, from which it cannot discharge its minimum duties to the workers, peasants and other middle classes who have secured it the leading and preponderant position in the new legislature.

Our Party considers that with the electoral victory only the first stage of the fight against the Congress is over. The pledges given to the people have to be fulfilled and that will have to be done in the teeth of opposition from the Congress Central Government and the local vested interests. The division of ministerial portfolios is therefore not division of spoils but of responsibility to carry on the struggle. That is why our Party is keen on a proper distribution of ministerial portfolios.

We appeal to all the constituents of the U.F., in particular to the leaders of the Bangla Congress, to appreciate our gesture of giving up our legitimate claim to the Chief Ministership in favour of Sri Ajoy Mukherjee, and abandon the attitude of unjustly claiming the leadership of the new Government at the expense of the CPI(M). We request other parties to persuade the Bangla Congress to accept our proposal. We assure the people that our Party is taking steps to resolve the deadlock and form United Front Government to replace President's rule within the next few days

Popular Mobilisation is Warning to Congress

*Editorial of "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY",
March 2, 1969*

The unprecedented popular enthusiasm seen at the U.F. victory rally on the Brigade Parade Ground on February 23 and at the swearing in of the U.F. Ministry on February 25 expresses the people's sense of triumph and victory, their sense of elation at having thrown the Congress again out of office in the State after it had crept back through the back door of President's rule.

In 1967 itself, in the Fourth General Elections, the people of West Bengal had rejected the anti people, anti national policies of the Congress. In the mid term election in 1969, they have not only decisively reiterated this rejection of Congress policies, they have also dealt a powerful blow to the Congress Centre which flouted their verdict and toppled the U.F. Government. In this hour of their great victory, when the people triumphantly took their leaders back to Writers' Buildings, they were serving a warning on the Congress leaders and foreign and Indian reaction of their determination to defend their electoral verdict and carry it forward against all conspiracies from whichever side they may come.

The leaders of the U.F. Government have already told the people that they will do their all to honour the great trust placed in them. To fulfil this responsibility, the U.F. Government has to proceed immediately to root out corruption in the administration, curb the bureaucracy, restore democratic rights and civil liberties and not only give the working people whatever relief is possible but also educate them on the limitations of the power of a State

This Editorial of "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY" is on the significance of Electoral victory of the United Front in 1969 mid term election in West Bengal

Government in the present set up and rally them in the political struggle against the Congress Centre for more powers for the States.

Despite all the talk of the Congress and their hand made Press that the Indian economy has turned the corner and is on the way to recovery, the reality is that the basic factors which created the crisis continue to operate and the economy remains crisis ridden. The bourgeois landlord classes who wield the State power in the country will continue their vicious attacks on the living and rights of the working people and the U.F. Government, to protect them and defend them from this offensive, will have to rely on continuous mass mobilizations and struggles. Installing the U.F. Government is not the end of the task but only the beginning and the people have to be called to be ever vigilant and to carry on their mobilizations and struggles with renewed vigour to win their demands and to strengthen the hands of the U.F. Government.

It is a heavy responsibility the people of West Bengal have placed on the United Front and all its constituent parties. And it is on the question of how best these responsibilities can be fulfilled that certain differences did arise initially among the parties of the United Front. Happily these differences have been resolved but it is necessary to remember them because they have valuable lessons for the future.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist), basing itself on a realistic estimate of the electoral verdict, with the experience of the functioning of the United Front Government last time and the awareness that the defeated Congress and the vested interests will not keep quite but be more active in hatching one conspiracy after another against the U.F. Government and that the bureaucracy would be one of the main weapons in their hands, legitimately claimed that it should have the Chief Ministership and certain of the important portfolios if the Party and the United Front as a whole were to discharge the responsibility the people had placed on them.

Clearly, the Congress Centre, the vested interests and the bureaucracy did not want the CPI(M) to have this effective

position. Even *capital*, organ of Big Business, in one of its columns, revealed this truth: "The argument over Home in West Bengal was apparently among contending political parties. Was it? Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has written how Sardar Patel and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan fought over Home and Finance in 1946. In 1969, in West Bengal, the fight seems not so much between different parties. There is another hand behind it which would rather keep the CPI(M) outside Home and Police so that certain old and obnoxious practices may continue, with no respect to the change of regime in Writers' Buildings" (*A Ditchers' Diary, Capital*, February 20). "The other hand behind it" is none other than the hand of the Congress, the vested interests and the bureaucracy.

Instead of recognizing this reality at the beginning itself and conceding the CPI(M)'s legitimate claim, some parties of the United Front began trotting out all and sundry arguments to deny the CPI(M) its rightful place. The argument was trotted out that the electoral victory was that of the United Front as a whole and not of any particular constituent party of the Front and as such no party can claim any special place. Further, it was argued that if the CPI(M) won so many seats and emerged as the single biggest party in the Assembly, it was because the U.F. had allowed it to contest a larger number of seats. These arguments forget the fact that if the CPI(M) fought a larger number of seats than the other parties of the U.F., it was not because of the kindness or generosity of any other party, but because in the Fourth General Elections, the Party had established that it was the strongest of the U.F. parties among the people and it contested only those seats in which it had already proved its superior strength. The CPI(M)'s strength in the U.F. and in the Assembly is not an accident, it is a reflection of the popular support it has. The people have seen the Party as the most consistent fighter against Congress policies and hence the position they have accorded to it. It is for the same reason that the Congress Centre and the vested interests wanted to keep the CPI(M) out of what was its legitimate due.

Those parties of the United Front, first and foremost among them the Right Communists, who took up the stand of opposing

the CPI(M)'s claim preferring a bourgeois democratic party to a working class party in the leadership of the Front, were unfortunately helping this very game. Later, they had to reckon with political realities—and Press reports indicate that the Central Secretariat of the Right Communist Party had to intervene to get its West Bengal unit to change its earlier stand and the division of portfolios went through without much difficulty.

Even now to the regret of all the parties in the United Front and the people, the SSP has not joined the Ministry because its demand for two full Cabinet members and an important portfolio has not been fully met. The SSP, it is still hoped, will change this stand and join the Cabinet.

It is true that the Cabinet has become too large. Considering the needs of streamlining the administration, effecting economy in the administration, ensure efficient functioning, etc., a more compact team would have been better but the people in their hour of rejoicing have reconciled themselves to the larger Cabinet.

It is necessary to remember all this because of the conspiracies that will be hatched against the U.F. Ministry in the coming period. With the massive victory of the United Front, the game of buying a few traitors and toppling the Government will not work this time. So the Congress leaders and reaction are searching in other directions. Indications are there in plenty of the direction of their search.

Union Home Minister Chavan has already said enough in Parliament. He asked the other parties of the U.F. why they were rejoicing when the victory in West Bengal was of the CPI(M) alone. The game is clear—drive a wedge between the CPI(M) and other parties of the U.F. and thus try to disrupt the U.F. itself. This game should not be allowed to succeed and will not succeed. The great victory in West Bengal is a victory of every constituent party of the United Front. Every party in the U.F. is aware of this and aware of the mandate of the people to strengthen the United Front and its popular base and implement in all sincerity the agreed 32-point programme of the Front. And it is this awareness that will foil the game of Chavan and others.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has been assuring of the Centre's co-operation with the new State Government. Even Big Business in Calcutta is taking up the pose that it is reconciled to the U.F. victory and recognizes political realities.

There is enough experience of these assurances of co-operation. Comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad has already related his experience as Chief Minister of the Kerala U.F. Government. Every assurance of co operation by the Congress Centre has been accompanied by more impediments in the way of the U.F. Government. The Centre has used food as a political weapon against the U.F. Government, there is discrimination in all spheres, it has created difficulties in the way of the U.F. Government introducing land reforms even within the provisions of the Constitution. And while the Prime Minister talks of co operation, her Law Minister has made Kerala more or less his headquarters to incite the people into violence against the U.F. Government in the name of "collective self defence". Simultaneously, the Congress party in the State, which has been reduced to a microscopic minority of nine members in the Assembly, has been given blessing to organize a "Day of Betrayal"—shades of the "liberation struggle"—on the occasion of the anniversary of the U.F. Government on March 6. Co-operation indeed!

West Bengal also, during the nine months of the last U.F. Government, had experience of this "co operation". Food was used here also as a political weapon and a false cry of law and order in danger in the State was raised by the Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister and the Home Minister themselves. And the culmination of this "co operation" was the illegal dismissal of the West Bengal U.F. Government. Thus all talk of co operation by Congress leaders at the Centre is meant only to hide the ugly face of the vile machinations against the U.F. Government.

The U.F. cannot for a moment ignore these conspiracies, it has to keep the people in vigilant readiness all the time to fight them back.

48 *Popular Mobilisation is Warning to Congress*

There is no room for complacency because of the magnificent electoral victory. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) has to be always among the people to counteract Congress propaganda and enlighten the people on all happenings to keep them in readiness to fight back all attacks on the U.F. and its Government; it has to undertake even more vigorously the work of building mass organizations and strengthening them. There can be no respite from organizing the masses if we look upon Parliament and Ministries as instruments of bringing greater enlightenment to the people and not of creating illusions about an easy painless way to a new social order.

On Developments in Pakistan

**Statement of the Polit Bureau of CPI(M) Issued
on February 23, 1969**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has issued the following statement on February 23, 1969 on developments in Pakistan:

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) greets the people of Pakistan who have risen in revolt against the oppressive and dictatorial regime of Ayub Khan and his military junta. The dramatic developments and rapidly unfolding events in that country during the last few weeks make it abundantly clear that the days of Ayub's regime are numbered, and the stage is set for ushering in a new era that ensures democratic rights and progress for the people of Pakistan. The announcement of Ayub Khan that he will not contest the next presidential election constituted a big victory for the popular forces.

The landlord bourgeois regime of Ayub Khan, as was amply demonstrated during the last few years and more, is a regime that not only denied every democratic right and civil liberty to the toiling workers, peasants and middle classes but a prison house for the different nationalities and language groups, such as the Bengalis, Baluchis, Sindhis, Pathans and others, denying them, outright, equal status and rights in matters of language, administration, economic development and cultural well being. It also opened the country to exploitation by American capital.

The ever growing popular discontent was sought to be channelized into national jingoism and unbridled chauvinism. Discarding every trace of democracy and secularism and preaching the hide-bound doctrine of Pan Islamism, the dominant ruling clique of Pakistan was systematically fanning the flames of

hostility with the neighbouring Indian Union—a hostility that comes very handy only for the exploiting imperialists and the reactionary chauvinists in India who also raised anti-Pakistan hatred to gain their class ends. Such a hostility and enmity between the two peoples of India and Pakistan has immensely harmed both and benefited none except the imperialists abroad and big bourgeois-landlord reaction at home.

The CPI(M) appeals to the workers, peasants and all progressives of Pakistan to continue their popular struggle unrelentingly until real and lasting democratic rights are wrung from the unwilling hands of the ruling class. Further, it hopes that the popular forces would be doubly vigilant against the conspiracies of the careerist bourgeois-landlord politicians who attempt to cash in on the popular discontent while cheating the people.

We are of the opinion that the present predicament of the military dictatorship in Pakistan has something to teach the democratic forces in India and serves as a grave warning to the reactionaries who hob nob frequently with the ideas of military rule and dictatorship whenever they face the people's challenge. We earnestly hope that the struggle of the Pakistani people for democracy would triumph and eagerly look forward to the day of warm friendship and fraternity between our two peoples in this great Indian sub continent.

CPI(M) Nails Down Congress Responsibility for Bombay Violence

Statement Jointly issued by Maharashtra State Committee and Bombay City Committee of CPI(M) on Shiv Sena Violence Against Non-Maharastrians, particularly South Indians

Statement by the Maharashtra and Bombay Committees of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) on the events in Bombay:

A Joint meeting of the Secretariats of the Maharashtra State and Bombay City Committees of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) was held on February 16, 1969 to discuss the disturbances in Bombay during the previous week.

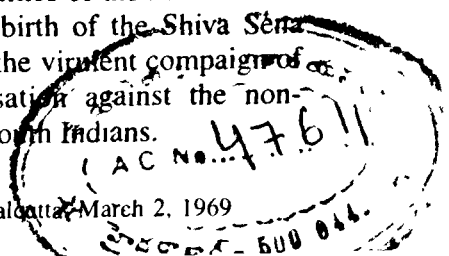
At the outset, the meeting expressed profound grief over the loss of several innocent lives as a result of indiscriminate firing and stoning and paid homage to them.

The meeting extended its full sympathies to the hundreds of small shopkeepers and hotel owners whose property has been destroyed and looted during the disturbances. It demanded that the State Government pay adequate compensation to the families of the dead, to the injured and those who had suffered loss of property during the disturbances.

It drew attention to the fact that many innocent persons had also been arrested along with the miscreants and demanded that such persons be released forth with.

Maharashtra Government Responsible

The meeting held the Congress Government of Maharashtra responsible for the disturbances in the first place. Several Congress Ministers and leading personalities of the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress have since the very birth of the Shiva Sena given protection and encouragement to the virulent campaign of hate and violence run by the organisation against the non-Maharashtrian people, particularly the South Indians.



When the Sena announced its plans to agitate over the Mysore-Maharashtra border issue, its chief had given a public threat that the situation would go beyond the control of the police. The meaning of the threat was quite clear in view of the past of the Shiva Sena. But the State Government, which is very quick in resorting to repression against legitimate working class struggles, sat quiet and went on appeasing the Shiva Sena bosses.

A pretext was given to them for starting the disturbances, no preventive measures were taken when they broke out and when the situation went beyond control, indiscriminate firing was ordered. The Maharashtra Government cannot absolve itself of its responsibility for the great loss of life and property this policy has entailed.

A False & Mischievous Allegation

In order to divert the attention from its own role and that of the Shiva Sena in causing the riots, the Maharashtra Government, making a departure from its declared policy towards persons in detention, allowed Sri Bal Thakar to issue a public Statement from jail and gave him an opportunity to pose as a peace maker and to make mendacious aspersions against the Communist party.

Immediately following this provocative act of the Government, Sri Pratap Bhogilal, Naval of Tata and other spokesmen of Big Business, which has all along partonized and financed the Shiva Sena, came out with their statement raising the communist bogey as usual to shield the role of Shiva Sena. The people of Bombay know very well how false these mischievous allegations are and whose hand was behind the riots.

The Border Issue

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M), while rejecting the Mahajan Report, had unambiguously taken the principled stand that the border issue should be solved on the basis of common language, territorial contiguity and with village as the unit. The CPI(M) is the only party to take such a principled and unifying position.

The Congress High Command is, however, adopting a policy of delay and drift over this issue and aggravating it as a result of the pulls and pressures from the vested interests in its own party in both the States. In fact, the rulers in both States are trying to

strengthen their respective position in the bargaining at Delhi by rousing passions of the people and provoking violent disturbances, big and small, in their own States. The democratic movement has to defeat this divisive game, guard the unity of the democratic people and on that basis, settle this issue.

When, in this situation, the leaders of the Shiva Sena, whose main job since its inception has been to foment hatred against minorities in Bombay City, called for a struggle on the border issue, the democratic and left parties in Maharashtra should have seen the danger inherent in it. Instead the leaders of the peasants' and Workers' Party and the Samyukta Socialist Party extended a hand of cooperation to the Sena, and the Right Communists and SSP gave a call for strike at the height of the disturbances when the edge of the violent outbursts was directed against the linguistic minorities in the City. These policies were wrong and harmful to the cause of the democratic movement.

It is a dangerous illusion to think that the border issue can be settled by allying and cooperating with the Shiva Sena which has a programme of unashamed praise of big capitalists, virulent opposition to the militant labour movement, strike-breaking and hatred of working people speaking a different language. Such a policy will only lead to setbacks for the democratic and socialist forces.

Uphold Democratic Unity

The growing crisis in the country, the acute problems facing the people have led to the feeling of frustration and unrest, particularly among the student and youth sections. If the progressive forces fail to give them a proper direction, the reactionary forces will divert their current into the harmful channels of linguistic, communal or regional animosity. This is the lesson of the happenings in Telangana, Andhra, Bombay and other places. Let not the left and democratic forces in Maharashtra ignore this lesson.

Our Party pays its tribute to the working class of the City which refused to be carried away by the extremely provocative situation in the City and kept the mills and factories working even ignoring the ill advised call of some of its leaders.

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It is the firm belief of our Party that all issues facing the people must be dealt with within the frame work of the unity of the democratic struggle of the toiling masses of India. A real solution to the border problem can be found only in this fashion. The Marathi people are faced with many other burning problems today.

Our party appeals to all democratic parties, groups and individuals on this occasion, not to fall prey to the disruptive game of the pro-capitalist reactionary forces, but to forge ahead on the road of unity and struggle in the fight against the unjust and antipeople policies of the ruling classes.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) demands an impartial enquiry into the events that took place in Bombay during last week.

Tripura State Committee of CPI(M) Calls for United Action Against Government Policies

The Tripura State Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) met on February 25 and 26, 1969, at Harjov Choudhuripara, Sadar, and reviewed the present economic and political situation in Tripura and chalked out an immediate programme of action. Important leaders of the Committee were detained by the Congress Government for a year and were released only recently.

The Committee noted that the Congress Government in Tripura had completely failed to tackle every single problem of Tripura. During recent years, even their own spokesmen have confessed that the food deficit has increased, the number of educated unemployed has exceeded 18,000. As 75 per cent of the family budget goes to purchase food, people can hardly manage to purchase other essential commodities. As a result of this, traders and other sections of the community are in the grip of a deepening crisis.

While the cost of living is on the increase, there is no corresponding rise in the wages of the workers and employees. Annual visitations of flood and drought and absence of adequate financial resources have brought the agriculturists on the verge of ruin, as evidenced in the fall of production. The cottage and small industries have mostly closed down, particularly those started by Government run co operative societies in refugee colonies.

It is in this economic background that new refugees continue to enter Tripura. According to a statement made on the floor of the Tripura Assembly, during 1964-68, 30,700 refugees entered

Tripura every year. But this figure is a gross underestimation. The Chief Minister himself admitted that the Government did not keep any record of those refugees who enter Tripura through unscheduled routes and refused to register their names as displaced persons.

This continued influx of refugees is intensifying the crisis in Tripura more and more every day. Not only the food crisis becomes acuter and the army of the unemployed is increasing, it offers the Government an opportunity to use the new DPs against the local people, to use the vested interests against the weaker sections of the population, particularly against the tribals.

The State Committee is worried to note that the Central Government is not taking the responsibility of solving the problems created by this continued influx of DPs. With East Pakistan almost on all sides, with no easy communication facilities, Tripura has no industries worth the name to provide jobs to the DPs. The land in Tripura is mostly *tilla*, 60 per cent included in Reserve Forests. The landless tribals, jumias and the old DPs, numbering about six lakhs, remain to be rehabilitated. To expect that the problems of land and job can be solved at the cost of the weaker sections of the community, is to divert the attention of the democratic masses and to shirk official responsibility.

The failure of the Central Government can be seen in not meeting the food deficit of the State and supplying essential commodities at subsidized rates in not taking up construction of railways at least up to Agartala, in not building up medium sized industries, in not adopting adequate flood protection measures and irrigation schemes, in not granting doles to the DPs and the unemployed, in not rehabilitating the landless and the jumias, and in not safeguarding the legitimate and constitutional rights of the tribal minorities.

The role of the Congress Government in Tripura has been found most shameful. Instead of asking the Central Government for more food at subsidized rate, they have started seizing foodgrains from the poorer sections of the agriculturists. They have raised the price of ration to a blackmarket price level.

Instead of giving doles to DPs or sending them outside Tripura for rehabilitation, they are using these poor people against the tribal minorities. Instead of giving relief to the distressed, they are issuing certificate to collect arrear revenues, accumulated at an enhanced rate. Instead of rehabilitating of the landless, eviction of agriculturists is being encouraged. Instead of asking for a full-fledged Legislative Assembly, they are depending on the corrupt bureaucracy. Instead of using the Preventive Detention Act against hoarders, blackmarketeers, anti social elements, they are keeping the leaders of the democratic movement in jail without trial. They have reduced Tripura into a police state, killing students, jumia mothers and agriculturists, the latest victim being a poor agriculturist of Sonaimukhi, who refused to part with foodgrains.

The State Committee is of the firm opinion that only if the democratic parties, mass organizations and individuals unite, the Central Government can be forced to take up its responsibilities in solving Tripura's vital problems and the Tripura Government's anti people policies could be foiled and defeated.

It is with this aim that the State Committee has called upon all democratic parties, mass organizations and individuals and the students and youth in particular, to unite on a common platform and rally the masses on the demands which should include.

- (a) Central Government must take up full responsibility to meet the food deficit of Tripura and supply full ration and essential commodities at a subsidized rate. There must be no procurement from agriculturists with less than one *drone* of *nal* land.
- (b) Construction of railways (at least up to Agartala) and starting of medium-sized industries must be included in the 1969-70 Budget of the Central Government.
- (c) Adequate irrigation and flood protection measures must be adopted and more financial assistance must be given to agriculturists.
- (d) All DPs must be registered. Pending their rehabilitation outside Tripura, they must be given doles.
- (e) All unemployed must be given either jobs or doles.

- (f) All landless agriculturists and jumias must be rehabilitated and all types of evictions stopped.
- (g) Wages of workers and employees must be increased; it must be brought at least at par with West Bengal wherever it is less.
- (h) There must be more educational facilities to students, in matter of admission, boarding, book grant, tuition fees, etc.
- (i) All arrear revenues must be cancelled, and collection of Government agricultural loans, *dadans*, etc., suspended.
- (j) The rights of the tribal minorities, including their constitutional rights, must be safeguarded.
- (k) The legislature must have full powers as in other States.
- (l) All political detenus must be released. There must be a judicial enquiry into the firing at Sonaimukhi.

The State Committee insists that so long as this minimum programme is not fully implemented, the Central Government must feed Tripura at subsidized rates, supply essential commodities at subsidized rates and give doles to DPs, unemployed and to the distressed starving people.

In a separate resolution, the State Committee extended its heartiest greetings to the democratic masses of West Bengal for routing the Congress in the mid-term election and crowning the United Front with victory with the Communist Party of India (Marxist) as its leading partner. While wishing them new victories every day in their struggles against all machinations of reactionaries, particularly at the Centre, the Committee pledged its fighting solidarity with them.

The State Committee adopted certain organizational steps to strengthen the Party and mass organizations. These steps included renewal of Party membership, reorganization of Party units in the southern sub-divisions, collection of Rs. 15,000 for the Special Party Fund, etc. The Committee elected a Secretariat with Comrade Nripen Chakrabarti as Secretary.

The State Committee condemned the vindictive attitude of the Tripura Government which still keeps in detention in the Presidency Jail, Calcutta, Comrades Binoy Deb Barma,

Tripura State Committee of CPI(M) Calls for 59

Bijoy Deb Barma and Naresh Ghosh, and at Agartala Central Jail Comrade Ratajee Deb Barma and denied to them even such human treatment as family allowance, etc. The Committee demanded their immediate release.

The meeting of the State Committee was attended by Comrade Promod Das Gupta, member of the Polit Bureau of the CPI (Marxist).

Communique of West Bengal State Committee of CPI(M) on Formation of Ministry of United Front

The West Bengal State Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) after its meeting on February 16, 1969, has issued the following communique:

The West Bengal State Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) congratulates the people of our State for the crushing defeat that they have inflicted on the Congress and for ensuring massive victory for the United Front in the mid term election.

The State Committee is fully conscious of the heavier and greater responsibility that the people have placed on our Party by voting it to be the first Party in the Assembly.

The victory in the election is a victory of the fighting people against the foul machinations of the Congress and the Central Government. The massive success of the United Front and the far stronger position of our Party in the United Front vindicate the policies pursued by our Party in forging and strengthening the fighting unity of the United Front. The State Committee pledges to the people that our Party will spare no efforts to honour the trust placed on it by the people.

Dharam Vira Must Go*

The role played by the Governor and the Central Congress Government has been squarely condemned by the people. In such

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*Shri Dharma Veera was Governor of West Bengal when the First United Front Government of West Bengal was toppled in 1967 and a puppet minority Government was installed in its place as a part of Congress conspiracy engineered by Shri Dharma Veera.

a situation the least that is required is that the Governor should be immediately removed from the State. No normal relation can be established between the present Governor and the new U.F. Ministry.

The State Committee takes strong exception to the reported remarks of the Prime Minister about the patriotic bona fides of the United Front. It is too much for the leader of a party which is mortgaging our country to the U.S. imperialists to teach the U.F. about patriotic duties.

The State Committee warns the people that the vested interests, reactionary forces and the Central Government will not accept the people's verdict lying down. They will hatch one conspiracy after another against the proper functioning of the U.F. Government. The State Committee calls upon the people to strengthen their unity and carry forward their struggle in the new situation.

The immediate task before the constituents of the U.F. is the formation of the Ministry. The State Committee heard reports about the views of different parties regarding the leadership and composition of the Ministry. The Committee is confident that the differences in this respect will soon be resolved keeping in view the nature of people's verdict.

Legitimate Claim

The Committee fully agrees with the statement of the Polit Bureau about the legitimate claim of our Party to head the U.F. Government. The claim emanates from the verdict of the people. The election results show that the people have not only ensured massive victory for the U.F., but they have also changed the correlation of forces within the U.F. The people have placed far greater responsibility on our Party and our Party must be in a position to discharge this responsibility. Hence, there can be no talk of any status quo.

To talk of maintaining status quo means refusal to honour the people's verdict and as such is not helpful to the strengthening of the U.F. To carry on the responsibility given by the people it is natural that the major party should head the Government as well as several important departments.

The U.F. is not a party but a combination of parties for common work. No question of personal prestige should be raised to deny leading position in the Government to the party whom the people have placed in such position. The State Committee cannot appreciate the attitude expressed by the Bangla Congress that their leader Sri Ajoy Kumar Mukherjee cannot be a member in a Cabinet headed by the leader of the CPI(M). Such an attitude is not conducive to the unity of the U.F.

Our Party has placed our proposal to the constituents of the U.F. The State Committee, however, takes note that no alternate proposal has come to us whereby our Party can effectively discharge the responsibility that have been placed by the people on us.

Issues Concern The People

Questions are being raised about the propriety of taking the issues under discussion to the people. Our State Committee is of the opinion that the issues do concern the people and they cannot be kept in the dark. The history of the last two years shows that it is the people who by the timely intervention have solved many problems that came before the U.F. and forged the unity of all its constituents.

The State Committee is confident that the U.F. will be able to overcome the difficulties very soon and will carry forward the people's mandate.

On The Fratricidal Strife in Andhra Pradesh

Resolution of the Polit Bureau of CPI(M)

It is by now more than a month since the State of Andhra Pradesh has been involved in fratricidal strife and violence between the people inhabiting the two regions of Telangana and Andhra—thanks to the gangster politics of the decadent bourgeois landlord classes and the leadership provided by them to this dangerous game of dividing the Telugu-speaking people on a regional basis and disrupting the democratic unity of the people.

Schools and Colleges in the entire State remain closed for a fortnight and one does not know when normalcy will return and the educational institutions begin to actually function. The panic-stricken State Government, on finding that the police lathi-charges, teargas shelling and shooting had not succeeded in controlling the situation, summoned the military to man the vital centres of the State. In a word, the law and order which the Congress leaders pretend to uphold at all costs has virtually broken in a wide area throughout the State, and yet no real ring leaders and actual inciters of this violence are booked while hundreds of students and so called anti social elements are arrested. Around ten lives, mostly of students, were lost due to police firing, besides the ghastly death of the deputy surveyor, who succumbed to burns after hooligans poured petrol over him and set fire to him in Nalgonda town.

Some of the top disgruntled Congress leaders coming from Telangana, seizing upon certain lapses and shortcomings in the implementation of the safeguards assured by the so-called

Gentleman's Agreement arrived at between the Congress leaders of the Andhra and Telangana regions, have ignited the present fratricidal conflict through their inciting statements, speeches and utterances. A dangerous anti Andhra movement is unleashed under the demagogic slogans of 'defence of Telangana safeguards' and "separate Telangana State" which culminated in the organizing of a series of pogroms against the people of Andhra origin residing in Telangana towns and villages. Looting of shops and business establishments, assault on individuals and families, threatening of students and middle class employees, etc., has assumed serious dimensions. Road and rail communications were virtually paralysed for two weeks between the two regions. Thousands of students, Government employees, agriculturists and businessmen of Andhra origin had to literally flee Telangana in face of this violence and threats of violence. Retaliatory agitations and protest actions in the Andhra region followed, which again were seized upon by some local Congress leaders to whip up anti Telangana feelings and even indulging in the intimidation of certain individuals and groups of Telangana origin in several places, and raising the slogan of separate Andhra State.

It is highly distressing and extremely disturbing to witness that the State of Andhra Pradesh which was carved out after prolonged and bitter struggle by the democratic forces in the teeth of opposition by several of the present Congress leaders of the State as well as the Central Congress leaders, after twelve years of unbroken rule of the Congress, is plunged into the present sad and deplorable plight, of worst regionalism and disruption. The entire responsibility for this disruption squarely rests on the State Congress leaders and their reactionary pro. landlord and pro Big Business policies.

One is at a loss to know as to why the State Congress leaders who were a party to the solemn Gentlemen's Agreement of 1956, had permitted the lapses and shortcomings in its implementation during the last 12 years, and as to why the Congress leaders of the Telangana region were sleeping over these lapses while a regional committee, comprising of the Telangana MLAs was constituted

and functioned for this specific purpose. They owe an explanation to the public.

It becomes evident that the bourgeois landlord leaders of both the regions were, all the while, content and greatly concerned with the division of spoils of the State Governmental power and distribution of Cabinet portfolios, and were least bothered about either the welfare of the common people of the entire Andhra Pradesh or about the honest implementation of the 'safeguards' assured to the Telangana people. Both these leaders are mainly engaged in the disruption and suppression of the strong democratic movement in Andhra Pradesh, and in undoing the gains of the peasantry achieved in the cause of the heroic Telangana struggle against feudalism and for the formation of Visalaandhra. Having succeeded in this reactionary attempt in some measure, a section of the big landlord leaders who nourish the grievance of denying them their share of ministerial portfolios have embarked upon fanning the flames of regionalism and separatism, in a deliberate attempt to divert the growing mass discontent against the Congress policies into fratricidal strife among the people of the two regions. Suffering students due to totally inadequate educational facilities in schools and colleges, the increasing number of educated unemployed who see no prospect of their gainful employment, and the discontented middle classes whose lot is daily deteriorating all are incited with the mischievous propaganda that it was all due to the so called 'Andhra' domination and denial of due share to the people of Telangana region. Thus the real and basic causes for the sad and deplorable conditions, causes which are to be directly traced to the reactionary class policies of the Congress Government, are sought to be screened and shielded.

The criminal manner in which the decadent bourgeois-landlord Congress leaders are indulging in these and similar heinous activities of rousing bestial passions of casteism, regionalism, parochialism, and national chauvinism in several States all over the country, is a grave menace and a serious warning to every democratic and progressive-minded man and woman in India. The dastardly attacks on the non Maharashtrian residents of

Bombay, particularly on South Indians by the fascist-like Shiv Sena leaders, the riots and lootings organized against the Rajasthanis and hate campaign worked against the Bengalis by the Assam chauvinists through the 'Lachhit Sena', the anti-Andhra hysteria worked up in and around Berhampore in Orissa, and anti-Andhra hate campaign and riots organized in the Telangana region—all belong to the same category. In all this there is a direct hand of one section of the Congress leaders or the other, and established complicity of the Congress Governments at the States as well as the Centre. Several of these dangerously disruptive movements, it seems, are not only financed by certain big landlords and big business circles but also foreign agencies like the American CIA. Thus the crisis-ridden bourgeois-landlord classes are resorting to the whipping up of diverse divisive and reactionary agitations and movements. If they are allowed to grow at the rate they are developing at the present, they pose a very grave threat to the democratic movements and the very unity of the Indian Union and the different peoples who constitute it and open the gates for the rise of dark reaction at home and to imperialists from abroad.

The Polit Bureau while appreciating the anxiety of the signatories of the all-political parties meet, convened by the Chief Minister, to assure the people of the Telangana region of truthfully implementing the 'safeguards' and thus to restore peace and unity among the people in Andhra Pradesh, cannot subscribe to the totally erroneous idea of transferring the employees of Andhra origin to the Andhra region. Such a step, instead of providing Government employment to the 'deserved' as per the stipulations of the Telangana safeguards, introduces a vicious principle of denying employment rights to the people of one region in another region of the same State. It erects walls of hatred between the two sections of the people living in two regions and hinders the growth of unity and integration of the Telugu speaking people. It only provides grist to the mill of certain misguided 'Andhra' enthusiasts to rouse anti-Telangana feelings among the people of the Andhra region. In fact, the experience during the last three weeks, after the all-party statement is signed,

clearly demonstrates that this idea of transferring the four thousand and odd employees to the Andhra region was ill-conceived, and only invited new troubles instead of ensuring the employment of the required numbers of Telangana origin as assured by the all-parties statement.

The Polit Bureau demands that the State Congress Government of Andhra Pradesh take immediately all the necessary measures to rectify the lapses and mistakes that had occurred in the implementation of Telangana safeguards. It also demands that the Chief Minister place before the public all facts about the real organizers, leaders and brains behind this fratricidal strife and violence and punish them for the crimes, instead of his vague and dubious references, repeatedly made, about these forces. It demands that the Government should compensate the losses incurred by the people during these violent disturbances. Since it is the Government that is responsible for creating fertile ground for these regional animosities and the failure to offer prompt and timely protection to the needy. Finally, the State Government should ensure the safety of the people and their peaceful occupations—no matter in which part of the State such scare, born out of regional passions prevails, hindering the normal life of workers, peasants, students, businessmen and employees.

The Polit Bureau conveys its deep felt condolences to all those families whose innocent youngsters have fallen victims to the police and military firings, and demand the release of all students arrested and withdraw the cases launched against them. It appeals to the student and youth of both the regions to realize that their just grievances of inadequate educational facilities and employment opportunities cannot be redressed by fratricidal strife and violence between the Telugu people of the two regions, and it would be a grave folly to fall into the trap of self-seeking bourgeois-landlord politicians who are out to exploit the student and youth discontent for their nefarious ends of careerism and class aggrandisement. It is completely convinced that the acute discontent prevailing and the serious problems the different oppressed sections of people of Andhra Pradesh are plagued with

today, cannot be resolved except by inflicting a total defeat on the Congress Government and its pro landlord and pro Big Business policies through the united, powerful and democratic movement of workers, peasants, youth and middle classes. The toiling people of Andhra Pradesh should always remember that such fratricidal strifes are directed to break their unity for struggle against the anti people policies of the Congress. We appeal to all democratic parties, groups and individuals in Andhra Pradesh to rise to the occasion and rescue the people from the clutches of bourgeois-landlord Congress politicians and their pernicious game of fanning fratricidal strife and violence among the proud people of Andhra Pradesh.

Dange Misrepresents Facts

E.M.S. Namboodiripad issued the statement to Press in Calcutta on March 15, 1969

Comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad has issued the following statement to the Press in Calcutta on March 15, 1969:

My attention has been drawn to a new item in *The Statesman* (March 11) which says that Sri S. A. Dange in the course of some talks "referred to the Kerala Chief Minister not being able to 'discipline his Labour Minister' who submitted a memorandum to the National Commission of Labour against the majority opinion in the Cabinet."

This is a total misrepresentation of the actual situation. The fact is that the Labour Minister of Kerala had already written to the Chairman of the Commission stating that the memorandum submitted earlier by the State's Labour Department should not be taken as the view of the State Government and that the State Government was preparing a Labour Policy Statement which would be forwarded to the Commission as soon as it was ready.

The Labour Minister has already received a reply from the Chairman of the National Commission on Labour requesting him to send the State Government's Policy Statement quickly.

When this is the actual situation, it is difficult to understand why Sri Dange goes on saying things that have nothing to do with the reality and truth.

Polit Bureau Reviews Political Situation

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), after its three day session from March 13 to 15, 1969, has issued the following Press Communique:

The Polit Bureau condemns the action of the West Bengal Governor, Mr. Dharma Vira, who deliberately flouted his constitutional duties by refusing to read certain passages from the text of speech prepared by the Council of Ministers. This action of the Governor not only conflicts with the democratic conventions and the established practice, so far set-up under the present Indian Constitution, but constitutes a flagrant attempt on the part of the Central Congress Government to openly subvert the authority of the elected legislatures and assert the supremacy of the nominated Governors' institution.

Rally to Struggle Against Centre

It is obvious that such an audacious step on the part of the appointed Governor is inconceivable except with the approval of the Central Congress authorities at Delhi. The refusal to immediately transfer the discredited Governor following the electoral verdict of the people of West Bengal, and his unashamed defence put up in Parliament by the Home Minister, Mr. Chavan, go to establish complicity of the Central Congress Government in this sordid game.

Further, this entire episode and the manner in which the Central Home Ministry is dealing with it make it abundantly clear that the

repeated offers of the Central Congress leaders for working for amicable Centre-State relations are only intended to put the democratic forces off their guard and deceive the gullible. The Polit Bureau is confident that the struggle the people of West Bengal have launched against the Central Congress Government in defence of the democratic rights of the people and elected legislatures would be pursued with vigour and tenacity, and the democratic forces of the entire country would join with them to defeat the sordid game of the Central Government.

The Polit Bureau demands the immediate recall of the Governor of West Bengal who has violated the Constitution on several occasions to further the gains of the Congress Party.

Foil Reaction's Game

The Polit Bureau takes serious note of the recent riots in certain places in West Bengal which followed immediately after the U.F. Ministry assumed charge of the administration. Once again the reactionary vested interests and Congress circles are busy with their nefarious game to discredit the U.F. Ministry. In their unscrupulous politics they do not shrink from shedding innocent blood and sowing distrust and hatred among different sections of the people.

The Polit Bureau congratulates the people on their vigilance and the parties of the United Front on their initiative in countering the menace by exposing and isolating the reactionaries.

Extremists' Gangsterism

The Polit Bureau strongly condemns the gangster methods adopted by certain adventurist elements described as Naxalites. These elements, exploiting their connections with certain sections of students are deliberately creating a violent situation. They are fully aided by the organization of Congress students as was seen in the recent happenings in the Calcutta University campus. These adventurist elements more and more reveal themselves as outright reactionaries, acting as agents of the Congress against the democratic forces; devoid of progressive politics the leaders have degenerated into anarchist goonda gangs. Their main object

of attack is the democratic movement and specially our Party. It is for the student community to isolate and expose them.

The Economic Crisis

The Polit Bureau is of the considered opinion that the economic crisis imposed on the country by the anti-people class policies of the Congress Government, shows no signs of any amelioration or easing as the Central Government's leaders proclaim, but it is further deepening. The economic upheavals and the monetary crisis that have gripped the major capitalist Powers belie the fond hopes of the big bourgeois rulers that foreign imperialist aid would come to their rescue to overcome the country's economic crisis.

The Central Budget presented to Parliament, the budgets of the State Governments, the Economic Survey released by the Central Finance Ministry and the discussions that are going on in Parliament reveal the utter hollowness of the claims of the Congress leaders. They cannot shield the mounting attacks that the Congress Government is stepping up on the livelihood of the common people, inviting increasing resistance and bitter struggles from them. Deficit financing, inflation, rocketting rise of prices and oppressive tax imposts on the common people continue unabated, and the plundering profits of Big Business and their foreign collaborators are ensured.

These bankrupt, anti people policies that had led to the economic crisis, in turn ushered in a political crisis in the country, as noted by our Party as early as the first quarter of the year 1967

Political Crisis Accentuated

The perpetuation of the same policies by the Central Congress Government during the last two years and the heavy defeats the ruling Congress Party suffered in the recent mid term elections have further accentuated the political crisis. The convulsions experienced by the Congress Party constitute a further manifestation of this deepening crisis. The growing cry in the country for the curbing of the monopolies and their high profits and the manner in which the Birlas' dirty deals are sought to be

hushed up by the Deputy Prime Minister, Morarji Desai, the unashamed attempts at silencing the dissenting voices in the Congress Party with the threats of disciplinary actions, the opportunist deal entered into by the Congress Party in Bihar with the Janata Party of the notorious Raja of Ramgarh, the open advocacy by some top Congress leaders and Big Business-controlled Press of a Congress Swatantra Jana Sangh line-up to stabilize the rule of reaction in the country, and the disintegration and decomposition that have set in the ruling Congress Party at all levels—all these go to underline the same.

The Polit Bureau hopes that all democratic parties and forces in the country would discard complacency and awaken to the urgency of the situation and be prepared to accept the challenge that is frontally confronting them. It assures that the CPI(M) would strive to discharge its due share of responsibility in this struggle and not shirk any sacrifices demanded of it.

Growing Menace To Democracy

In this connection, the Polit Bureau notes with grave concern the developments in Andhra Pradesh, Bombay and several other places where the growing mass discontent is sought to be cynically exploited by the different vested interests for the disruption of the class organisations and mass democratic movements, and how the weakness of the democratic forces and their disunity are preventing them from giving a crushing defeat to these forces of dark reaction and counter revolution. These distressing developments, once again, demonstrate the utter bankruptcy of the Congress Party and its decay. Drawing on the rich experiences of the united democratic movements of Kerala and West Bengal and relying on their strength and inspiration the CPI(M) would exert its utmost to overcome this weakness and to fight back the growing menace of reaction and counter-revolution.

Lessons of Pakistan

The events in Pakistan have blown up the myth of military rule and its invincibility; they have blown up the crazy dreams of

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setting up a unitary Centre in the name of Islamic unity in utter disregard of its multi national character; and they are demonstrating that the chauvinist anti-Indian frenzy cannot, for long, be relied upon by the reactionary classes to prevent their destined doom. They also utter a warning to certain reactionary circles in India who dream of dissolving the federal structure and establishing a unitary state with a military dictatorship at the Centre. The Pakistan developments reveal that neither military dictatorship nor raising of national frenzy against a neighbouring nation will save reaction when the people are on the march.

Review of Post-Election Situation in West Bengal: 1969*

**West Bengal State Committee of CPI(M)
Reviews the Situation**

The West Bengal State Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) met from March 10 to 12, 1969, under the chairmanship of Comrade Kamal Sarkar.

At the very outset the Committee adopted a resolution expressing solidarity with the people of Pakistan, who are waging a glorious struggle against the dictatorial regime of Ayub Khan. The Committee sent its fraternal greetings to the fighting workers, kisans, students and other toiling people of Pakistan who are winning one victory after another against the autocratic rulers of Pakistan and expressed full confidence that the people of Pakistan will succeed in establishing democracy there.

Review of Election Campaign

The State Committee heard the preliminary review reports of the election campaign of the districts from the members and authorized the Secretariat of the State Committee to draft an election review on the basis of the various significant features of the mid-term election in West Bengal, as revealed from the district reports. The reports revealed one common feature—that the agricultural labour and poor peasants, non-Bengali workers, and Muslim masses have in a big way swung towards the U.F., specially to the CPI(M).

After Comrade Jyoti Basu reported on the formation of the Ministry and on the working of the United Front, Comrade Promod Dasgupta, secretary of the Committee, explained the

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political significance of the United Front victory and the immense responsibilities that devolved on the units, members and sympathizers of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in West Bengal as a key force that ensured this U.F. victory.

He moved a resolution on the struggles of workers, employees, kisans and other sections of the people on certain burning issues, on the urgent need of launching a Statewide political campaign on certain issues and on the tasks in the organizational front.

After a thorough discussion the "Ten-point Political Organizational Task Resolution" was adopted and Party units have been directed to implement these tasks forthwith.

Call For Vigilance

The resolution stated that the State Committee was fully aware of the nefarious tactics of the defeated Congress to discredit the United Front Government and to attack the United Front and specially the Communist Party of India (Marxist). The Congress, the vested interests and other reactionary forces foment communalism and provincialism and create disturbances with a view to weakening the struggling unity of the working people. The resolution called upon the democratic people to remain ever vigilant and unite and fight against this conspiracy of the exploiting classes to incite riots and disturbances.

The resolution called upon the people of West Bengal to unite and fight against the Centre which refuses to meet the food and the financial requirements of the State. The State Committee decided to organize the people of the State for united struggle against the Centre's attitude as well as for wresting more powers for the State Government.

The Committee resolved to isolate the disruptive forces of Congress, communal reactionaries and the "ultras", who, too, are creating disturbances in some places to discredit the U.F. Government, by launching a vigorous Statewide political campaign against them.

While continuing the struggle against these enemies of the people, the Committee directed its District Committees and all Party units to simultaneously launch struggles of the workers and

middle class employees against the attacks of the employers, against retrenchment and for wage-increase, to conduct immediately the struggles of the kisans against eviction, on the issues of land, etc., and the fight against the hoarders, profiteers and mahajans. The class struggles of the landless and poor peasants, agricultural workers, and the workers have to be organized in rural and industrial areas, with a view to helping the U.F. Government to implement its 32 point programme.

The Statewide political campaign has to be conducted so that some important legislations for land reform, security of service, supply of essential commodities to the poorer sections of the people at cheaper prices, etc., are immediately taken up by the United Front Government.

The Committee in its resolution noted with grave concern that certain forces inside the United Front, such as the revisionists, SUC and the like had already begun campaigning against the Communist Party of India (Marxist). As the class struggles become sharper and sharper, the anti communist forces of all shades will try to attack the Communist Party of India (Marxist) more and more. Hence, the resolution stated, our Party should place the points of difference that may crop up before the people to make the people alert. The Committee was of firm opinion that the conflicts within the Front would be resolved and the unity of the Front would be further strengthened.

Organizational Tasks

Besides these three point tasks of the political campaigns and mass struggles, the resolution put forth seven point organizational tasks before the Party units.

The organizational programme for the coming six months includes the following targets:

- (1) One lakh members have to be organized in Auxiliary Groups from among the lakhs of people who worked during the election campaign;
- (2) Fifty thousand volunteers have to be organized;

(3) Eight thousand new candidate Party members have to be recruited;

(4) Circulation of Party organs and sale of Party literature have to be doubled;

(5) Rupees one lakh and fifty thousand have to be raised, of which fifty thousand rupees will be paid to the Central Committee. The District Committees will raise funds according to quota to be fixed by the DCs, to meet the increased expenditure for raising more whol timers, for campaigns and struggles;

(6) A programme for imparting Party education to the Party members in general and Branch Secretaries in particular has been planned;

(7) Targets for enrolling new members of the various mass organizations have been fixed as follows One lakh new members to be enrolled in trade unions, one lakh new members in each of the student and youth organizations, four and half lakh members of the Kisan Sabha and one lakh members from the toiling women to be enrolled on functional basis, i.e., landless kisans, tribals, workers, teachers, etc., laying stress on building working women's organizations in villages, industrial belts and bustees, on class basis.

Lastly, the Committee framed certain rules for MLAs and Ministers. It formed an Editorial Board of the Party. The Committee decided some principles for coordinating the parliamentary and extra parliamentary activities, for functioning the Secretariat and for constituting some sub committees for trade union, kisan and other frontal work.

The West Bengal State Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in another resolution directed its Ministers and legislators to see that a resolution for the dissolution of the State Legislative Council was passed during this session of the legislature without further delay.

West Bengal UF Government's Land Reforms Programme*

**Policy Statement Issued by Land and Land
Revenue Minister, Hare Krishna Konar**

Land and Land Revenue Minister of the United Front Government of West Bengal Hare Krishna Konar has issued a Policy Statement on the work of his department stating what the Government proposes to do in regard to land reforms. The statement says:

The declared objective of the land legislations was to break the concentration of land in a few hands by putting a ceiling on land holdings, to distribute as much surplus land as possible to the landless and land poor peasants free of cost, to provide security to *bargadars* against eviction, etc.

But this objective was largely defeated because of many defects in the legislations themselves and particularly because of the serious weaknesses in the administrative machinery in implementing the legislations. Land reform measures can be effective only if they are implemented quickly with determination and with co operation of the toiling peasants. But this is what was lacking for so many years.

The Government machinery worked with a pronounced pro jotdar bias. The big landlords and the big jotdars took full advantage of this situation and were successful to a great extent in keeping huge areas of land under their possession through various devices. They even misused the law courts by submitting false one sided information. The defence of the Government point of view in law courts was often allowed to go by default.

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Illegal and forcible eviction of *bargadars* took place every year on a wide scale. Practically nothing was done to stop it. The legal provisions practically remained on paper. Even when the organized peasantry came forward to help the Government to frustrate the machinations of the landlords and jotdars the Government machinery often, instead of welcoming the peasants' initiative, helped the landlords by resorting to repressive measures against the peasants in the name of law and order. Consequently, social relations in the countryside became very strained and the grip of the landlords and jotdars over rural life was being strengthened. On the other hand, restlessness was growing among the toiling peasantry.

The last United Front Ministry within its short span of life took urgent measures to retrieve the position to the extent possible. Pending consideration of comprehensive amendments to the existing legislations the administrative machinery was being geared up to some extent in order to implement the positive provisions of the land legislations. Steps were taken to associate the organized peasantry in this task. The unfounded fears of the small owners which complicated the problem of checking evictions was sought to be dispelled by persistent efforts. All these resulted in some notable advances. About 232,000 acres of surplus land were settled with about 238,000 poor tillers. Forcible eviction could be stopped to a great extent with active co-operation of the peasants' associations. Special stress was laid to detect *benami* transfers and for that purpose concrete administrative measures were taken.

Several thousand acres of surplus tea-garden lands were also taken possession of.

With the illegal dismissal of the United Front Ministry this process was halted—rather there was a setback. There was practically no progress in the matter of land distribution. Illegal evictions were allowed to take place on a wide scale. The department of the Director of Land Records and Surveys, however, continued its efforts in detecting *benami* lands which were started during the last United Front Ministry period; as a

result, about 150,000 acres of *benami* land have been declared to be vested in the State up till now.

But in this case also there was little effort to take over possession of these newly found lands. There is no readymade figure in the State headquarters, but it can safely be said that the percentage of land of which possession has been taken over will not exceed 25 per cent. This time-lag in taking over possession has given ample time and opportunity to the landlords to misuse the law courts in order to frustrate Government attempts. It should also be noted that in most cases, the cases in law courts were not properly defended from the Government side. There were many cases where the police without any consultation with the Land and Land Revenue Department about the actual position of the lands concerned had shamelessly come forward to help the big jotdars and had resorted to brutal repressive measures against *bona fide* cultivators and licencees of Government lands. Taking over possession of tea-garden surplus lands was stopped; in some cases a portion of the land possession of which was decided to be taken over by the last U.F. Government was released in favour of the tea-garden owners. As a result of all these activities, the agrarian relations in the country side are in a very deplorable condition.

Stressing the urgency for land reforms, the policy statement continues with what the United Front Ministry is proposing to do.

The present United Front Government is seriously considering the steps for comprehensive amendments to the existing land legislations in the line of the policy declared by the United Front. As the problem is very complicated, some time is necessary to arrive at definite conclusions regarding concrete measures. The Government hopes to come before the Assembly with its concrete proposals within a year. The main purpose will be to frustrate and defeat the machinations of the big jotdars and to get much more surplus land in the hand of the Government.

In this connection the Government wants to make it clear that the contemplated measures will in no way affect the small land-owning interest. The Government appeals to the middle-class and small owners to be on guard against any mischievous and false

propaganda by big jotdars. The U.F. Government is pledge-bound to make holdings up to three acres of land owned by a family rent-free. Necessary provisions will be made to implement it within a year. The Government is calculating the probable loss to the State Exchequer by this measure and is considering other measures necessary to make up this loss.

Pending such comprehensive legislations the Government has decided to streamline the administrative machinery for proper and timely implementation of the existing provisions in the legislations in the interest of the toiling peasantry. The Government has also decided to associate organized peasantry in this effort. The Government will welcome suggestions of various parties and mass organizations in this task.

The results achieved so far in detecting *mala fide* transfers conclusively prove that *benami* transactions had taken place on a wide scale and much can be done to detect them even with the help of the existing provisions if proper steps are taken. Hence the Government has already taken steps to intensify the measures so far adopted in detecting *mala fide* transfers. Measures are also being taken to take over timely possession of vested lands, to defend Government cases in law courts in proper spirit and to settle the vested lands with landless and land-poor peasants without much delay. The Government has also decided to see that proper co-ordination takes place between the officers of the Land & Land Revenue Department and the Home Department at every level. It is the policy of the Government to see that the police helps these attempts and is not used to frustrate them as in the past.

With the approach of the new cultivating season the danger of forcible eviction of *bargadars* will come to the fore. The Government has decided to take all steps necessary to prevent such evictions. Necessary instructions have already been sent to officers who have been alerted of the danger and have been instructed to intervene in time and stop such forcible eviction by persuasion wherever possible and by taking help of necessary provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code wherever necessary.

According to the law, forcible eviction is a cognizable offence and the Government will see to it that this is strictly enforced. The Government will be guided by the principle that in disputes between jotdars and *bargadars*, the *bargadars* are the weaker side and the weaker side needs help most. The Government appeals to the *bargadars*, to the peasants and to the democratic people in general to help the Government in preventing such evictions and thus help maintain peaceful condition in the rural areas.

In the matter of distribution of surplus land, the Government have dissolved the Block-level Land Advisory Committees formed after the overthrow of the last U.F. Ministry, because the composition of these committees was such that they were mostly oriented towards the vested interests. Pending constitution of democratic land advisory committees, the Government has instructed the officers concerned to distribute lands in consultation with the *adhyakshas* and members of the Gram Panchayats and with representatives of mass organizations of peasants and agricultural labourers working in the area and also local MLAs.

The Government has also instructed the officers to give due consideration to the suggestions placed by representatives of the political parties. The Government calls upon the landless and land-poor peasants as well as the democratic people in general to come forward to help the Government so that the lands are settled with eligible persons.

The Government is aware of the fact that large areas of the State are seriously affected by floods, water logging and other natural calamities. The Government has already issued instructions to suspend collection of rents, water rates, loans, etc., in all those areas where the production was 60 per cent or less than the normal. The Government will consider in due time the proposal to remit rents in these areas. In other areas, the collection drive will continue. Considering the weak financial position of the State Exchequer, the Government hopes the peasants in these areas will help the Government in collection. Of course, in all these areas also the cases of the distressed peasants will be given due consideration by officers. But it has come to the notice of the

Government that many big landowners with some ulterior motive are withholding payment of rents, loans and other dues. The Government wants to make it clear that these persons cannot expect any consideration either from the Government or from the peasants in general.

During the last U.F. Ministry period, the Government enacted a legislation (Ordinance) conferring permanent rights up to five kottahs of homestead land to poor rural people who have no homestead lands of their own and who have built huts on lands owned by others. But the then Government could not get President's assent to the Ordinance within three months' time and when the assent came there was no longer the U.F. Government. It is unfortunate that the subsequent illegally-installed minority Ministry dropped this urgently-needed enactment. The U.F. Ministry has decided to bring forward that legislation with a view to giving minimum necessary relief to a large section of our toiling peasants.

Pending comprehensive amendments to the Thika Tenancy Act, the last United Front Ministry passed an Ordinance staying all proceedings for ejectment of tenants. But the Government could not get time to bring forward any comprehensive legislation. During President's Rule, the life of the Ordinance was extended and it will expire by the end of this month. The Government feels the urgent necessity of comprehensive amending legislation in this matter whereby the poor *thika* tenants can be given necessary security while at the same time they can be made to fulfil certain obligations towards the poor tenants under then. The problem is very complicated and it will take some time to bring forward such a legislation. Various interests will also have to be consulted. Pending such legislation the Government thought it absolutely necessary to extend the life of the enactment staying proceedings. For this purpose a bill was brought before this session of the Assembly and passed.

The Government is also aware of the difficulties faced by poor intermediaries in getting their compensation money. It is well known that the financial position of the Government is not good. But still the Government has decided to expedite payment of

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compensation particularly to small intermediaries and necessary steps have been taken for this purpose.

The Government is convinced that land reform measures cannot be implemented relying on the Government machinery alone, however efficient and effective that may be; it demands active intervention and co-operation on the part of the toiling peasantry. The machinations of the big jotdars cannot be defeated without such co-operation. The Government pledges to encourage and welcome such co-operation.

CPI(M) Opposes Demand For Separate Telangana State*

The Polit Bureau of CPI(M) Issued Statement Opposing the Slogan of Reactionary Vested Interests

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has issued the following statement to the Press in Calcutta on April 6, 1969:

The disturbing developments taking place in Andhra Pradesh during the last two months and more cannot but cause serious concern to all the democratic forces in the country, and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is extremely disturbed over them. They are a clear pointer and offer us a striking example as to how the rabid reactionary forces would seek to utilise the deepening economic-political crisis and the consequent discontent and frustration among the people to further their disruptive and selfish ends by unashamed advocacy of regionalism, national separation and disintegration.

Dangerous Dimensions

The agitation initiated on the issue of the gentleman's agreement arrived at between the Congress leaders of the Andhra and Telangana regions. Its implementation and the lapses in it, is no more within those confines. It has assumed the dangerous dimension of demanding dismemberment of the linguistic State of Andhra Pradesh, achieved as the culmination of a prolonged democratic people's urge and struggle full twelve years ago. The big-landlord-dominated Telangana Congress wing is making a determined bid to carve out a separate Telangana State for its exclusive domination and exploitation, while a powerful section of the landlords in the Circar districts of Andhra are equally eager

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to get rid of the Telangana region from the present Andhra State, so that their narrow sectional hegemony is ensured in the residuary State. If the former demand is openly raised and pressed by the big landlord politicians of Telangana, the latter demand is subtly advocated by the big landlords and ex-zamindars of the Circar districts.

But cynically enough, both these Congress sections noisily voice their disruptive demands in the name of the common people and their genuine interests, even though not a single voice is heard, in the dust and din raised around this agitation, against the exploitation of the common people by the landlords, profiteers and the monopolists in the entire State of Andhra irrespective of regions. It is a pity that sections of the middle classes and students are taken in by this deceptive propaganda and the dangerous slogans, and are still unable to see the menacing results of this agitation led by the reactionary politicians on both the sides.

Some of the political parties, who were signatories to the all-parties statement of January 19, 1969, under pressure of the mounting offensive of the Telangana separatists and other vested interests, are succumbing to the separatist demand. The Swatantra Party, despite its stand on the floor of the Lok Sabha against the dismemberment of the State, is virtually supporting the demand for the formation of a separate Telangana State through a number of conflicting and dubious statements by its leaders, and a powerful section of its landlord base in the Circar districts of Andhra and its Telangana wing are openly supporting the demand for a separate Telangana State.

The State SSP leader, Sri Badri Vishal Pitti, as well as its all-India leader, Sri Madhu Limaye, have come out with the slogan of "regional autonomy" for Telangana and if regional autonomy is not granted within two months, their State unit has decided to support the separate State demand.

Role of Right Communists

The Right Communists, typical of their opportunist politics, are, on the one hand, vociferously demanding and upholding the unity and integrity of the State of Andhra Pradesh, while, on the other hand, are doing everything that goes only to strengthen the

hands of the separatists. The undue and exclusive emphasis they are placing on the so-called Telangana safeguards as a miracle-weapon to overcome Telangana's backwardness, the proposals their spokesmen have been advancing for a separate Telangana budget, their demand for constitutional amendments which amount to laying the foundation for a mini-State within a linguistic State, their reducing the entire issue of separatist agitation to the simple issue of Chief Ministership and finding its solution in making one Telangana Congress nominee as the Chief Minister, etc., are objectively strengthening the hands of the separatists and undermining the real democratic struggle for the preservation of united Andhra. Three months of experience during the course of this entire agitation confirms the correctness of this assessment.

Reports also reveal that certain non-Telangana Big Business and profiteering circles are financing and propping up the separate Telangana agitation hoping that such a divided and weakened State would offer them greater opportunities for unhindered exploitation. A section of the top Telangana Congress leadership, in open rebellion against the State Congress, has set up a separate Telangana Congress Committee, silencing or neutralizing the rest by intimidation and political backmail, while organizing systematic attacks on transport services and boycott of schools and colleges, dislocating the normal life and administration of the State.

Congress Government's Encouragement

In this face of this rapidly deteriorating situation the role of the Congress leadership, as well as the State Congress Government, is dubious and double-faced. The Chief Minister dares not place before the public the names of the notables behind the disruptive agitation and struggle for dismemberment of the State, since all these are from his Congress party and kith and kin of his landlord class. The Central Congress leadership, which is busy discussing for weeks the question of disciplining Sri Chandra Sekhar for his stand on the Biralal deals and Congress complicity in them, was in virtual political paralysis for the first two months of this agitation and was mortally afraid of disciplining the disruptive Congress dissidents in Telangana as well as the Andhra region who are

working for the disruption of the Telugu-speaking people and the united Visalandhra State, won through arduous struggles and sacrifices after centuries of separation and suppression of its language, culture and personality.

Not only is the big landlord and profiteer clique behind this national disruption and disintegration, appeased, encouraged and shielded by the Congress Chief Minister of the State, his Government continues to cruelly suppress and repress the peasantry and workers and all their genuine struggles for land and wages. Scores of peasant and worker leaders were murdered by the landlord goonda gangs and, on thousands of ordinary people cases are foisted under different sections in order to harass them and beat down their resistance. It was only a few months ago that the Chief Minister was undertaking a 'padayatra' in Nalgonda district, delivering speeches encouraging landlord goondagiri and threatening the resisting peasants and workers with dire consequences. Regular police camps have been established in several areas of Telangana to subserve the landlord interests and suppress the democratic movement. In short, it was the well-planned, systematic and non-stop suppression and disruption of the democratic movement of workers peasants in Andhra Pradesh, jointly carried out by the State Congress leaders of both the Andhra and Telangana regions since the formation of the State in 1956, while fattening the rural rich and landlord classes making them powerful economically and politically, that has brought about the present dangerous situation of shameful fratricidal strife and threat to the very integration of the Telugu-speaking people. It is unthinkable that the Congress party with its present reactionary class alliance and policies is any more competent to safeguard either the unity of different States in the Indian Union or the genuine integration of these States in the federal structure of the Indian Union. The aggressive demand for the dismemberment of Andhra Pradesh and for the setting up of a separate Telangana State is only a first grave warning of the shape of things to come under Congress misrule.

Against Separatist Agitation

Our Party determinedly opposed to this separatist agitation from either region of Andhra Pradesh, Telangana or the Circar

districts of Andhra, and warns the workers, peasants and other democratic forces in Andhra Pradesh, as well as those in the entire country, of the grave dangers inherent in those extremely reactionary moves of the counter-revolutionary landlord politicians and their political lobbies. It earnestly appeals to all democratic forces to rise in time and beat back this offensive on the unity of the democratic, revolutionary movement in the country and, in the final analysis, the very unity of the country.

The gentleman's agreement of 1956, as is well known, was arrived at by the Congress Party leaders of both the regions, and the leader of the Swatantra Party in the present legislature was also a signatory to it, as he was then a member of the united Legislature Congress Party. No other political party was consulted, nor did any question of affixing their signatures arise. But the Communist Party took this agreement in good faith, hoping that it would allay the misgivings of the then Congress leaders of Telangana and pave the way for increased unity and cohesion among the Telugu-speaking people, as one proud contingent of the Indian Union. Our Party's representative who happened to be the Leader of the Opposition in the Andhra Pradesh Legislature from 1956 to 1967, was always and consistently demanding the honest implementation of the essential spirit of the agreement, even though it fell on the deaf ears of both the Telangana and Andhra Congress leaders, who were, together, arrogantly addressing themselves only to the division of the spoils of office and the perpetuation of their one-party monopoly rule over the State. It was in the same good faith and hope that our Party's representatives affixed their signature to the January 19 all-parties statement to set right the lapses that had occurred in implementing the agreement and to remove the causes for genuine grievances on that count.

Misleading Slogans

But the manner in which the letter and spirit of the gentleman's agreement is now sought to be interpreted by the separatists, the several formulas that are being thrown across by different political parties and personages such as granting regional autonomy or its substance, the agitation for appropriate constitutional amendments to ensure the implementation

of regional rights, and the palpably absurd idea that backwardness of the Telangana region can be liquidated by carving out a separate State, are causing serious alarm and anxiety, as they are misleading and harmful however well-intentioned they might be.

For the liquidation of the backwardness of regions, States or even countries, the only sure way left in our times is to liquidate the decaying, moribund and reactionary social order, the order of landlord, capitalist and foreign monopolist exploitation and loot. If the serious lapses in implementing the gentleman's agreement are sought to be pictured as the exclusive source of the entire problems of seats for students in educational institutions, of employment to the educated as well as the uneducated, and of the poverty and misery of the masses in Telangana, how can the protagonists of such a thesis explain similar explosive problems making their appearance in the comparatively industrialized and advanced States of Maharashtra and West Bengal? Are not similar problems being exploited by the Shiva Sena leaders of Bombay, and are they not looked upon as fertile soil by the reactionary forces in West Bengal? The Communist Party of India (Marxist) neither lends itself to the foolish belief that the implementation of the said agreement by itself will do the miraculous job of liquidating the backwardness of Telangana, nor is it prepared to put such naive faith in the miracles of this agreement as the panacea for all the ills.

However, the CPI(M), as is made abundantly clear in the foregoing part of this statement, is keenly interested in the genuine implementation of the agreement and its spirit of unity and calls upon all the signatories of the January 19 all-parties statement to truthfully adhere to its basic contents, such as guarantee of Telangana personnel in the Government services and spending the unspent Telangana surpluses immediately for the development of the Telangana areas. All parties must devise ways and means to carry it out, in good faith, without either trying to back out of it under the plea of certain legal and technical difficulties or moving in the direction of demanding such constitutional amendments that go to undermine the very

basic tenets of statehood on the plea that such guarantees are a must for implementing the agreement.

How to Tackle Backwardness

There are comparatively backward regions and territories in every State in this economically backward country of ours, which certainly deserve additional care and attention to assist them in overcoming that backwardness. But regional autonomy for every comparatively backward region in a linguistic State such as Andhra Pradesh is no solution, as it is not based on any sound principle and only lays the groundwork for increasing disintegration of linguistic States paving the way for a further throw-back of those areas, economically, politically and culturally. The biggest and surest guarantee for the implementation of such agreements is the political awareness of the people and the steady growth of the democratic movement which can bridle the powers-that-be in charge of implementing them. In the absence of that, all the statutory powers with the present Telangana Regional Committee, the powers of the Governor to see to its faithful implementation, and the duty and authority of the Central Government to see that its spirit is adhered to, have miserably failed and proved futile. This has a lesson for the future, but should not become an alibi for raising the demand for the dismemberment of the State.

The CPI(M) notes the widespread indignation against the present Congress Government and its Chief Minister of the State, and appreciates the urge behind the demand for their resignation. While holding no brief for this discredited State Congress leadership, its State Government and the Chief Minister who alone are solely responsible for plunging the State of Andhra Pradesh into the present mess, it cannot subscribe to the Right Communist tactics of reducing the entire question to the post of Chief Minister—whether it is held by a Congress leader from Telangana or another from Andhra and their proposed struggle from April 8 to get their demand implemented. It only sidetracks the real issue and diverts the main attention from organizing a really powerful democratic movement against the Congress

landlord rule which alone is responsible for the perpetuation of backwardness and is offering fertile soil for such separatist agitations and disruptive movements as the present one in Andhra Pradesh.

Build Mighty Campaign

Hence the CPI(M) is of the opinion that the democratic parties, groups, and all progressive individuals and especially the workers, peasants and agricultural labourers in Andhra Pradesh should unitedly launch a big campaign to win over the students, the low-paid employees and all the people who are being misled by the landlord-Big Business reactionary forces into joining this separatist movement and to rouse the people of both the regions of the State of Andhra Pradesh to safeguard the democratic unity of Andhra Pradesh on the basis of the following minimum programme.

They must effectively campaign, intervene and prevent any incitement or attack, verbal or actual, on Andhra personnel in Telangana area or on Telangana personnel in Andhra area, while demanding that the Andhra Government reveal the reactionary forces and persons who are behind this movement, the landlords, the Big Business stooges, the bureaucratic officials who are behind these separatist riots and activities and take stern action against those persons concerned.

1. Immediate employment of Telangana personnel in Government posts, in both Telangana and Andhra areas so as to bring the proportion to the level agreed to in the 1956 agreement, (i.e., 1 : 2); and guarantee of educational facilities and full employment for all educated youth in both the areas and a minimum employment stipend pending employment.
2. Immediate spending of the unspent Telangana surpluses and additional amounts necessary to complete the irrigation and industrial projects in the Telangana area, getting the amounts as grants and loans from the Central Government and by resorting to taxation or mopping up the surplus

riches of the narrow upper stratum of the rich, the big landlords and Big Business in both the areas.

3. Immediately stop all evictions and distribute all wasteland and fallow lands to the landless and to the poor peasants and confer *patta* rights on the cultivators of these lands in Telangana even while campaigning for comprehensive, radical agrarian reforms.
4. Immediately prohibit retrenchment, lay-offs, guarantee existing emoluments and fair dearness allowance compensating the increased cost of living, institute unemployment relief and provide for speediest industrialization.
5. Stop the landlord-police terror that has been going on for the last five years in the Telangana region, withdraw all the repressive measures, warrants and cases that have been launched against the peasants and working class leaders and other democratic elements.

CPI(M) Condemns Firing and Killing of Workers in the Cossipore Gun and Shell Factory*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has issued the following statement to the Press in Calcutta on April 8, 1969:

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its strong condemnation of the firing and killing of workers in the Cossipore Gun and Shell Factory by the security personnel of the Central Government. From the details that have come out, the Polit Bureau has no doubt that it was cold-blooded murder that took place inside the factory in the morning of April 8.

The firing was totally unprovoked, there is not even the usual plea of workers resorting to stone throwing, etc. The firing was at point-blank range. The gates had been closed, the workers were locked in and then bullets were showered on them. Those who committed this ghastly crime are all personnel of the Central Government.

The United Front Government of West Bengal has already asked its police to make investigations and start a case.

The Polit Bureau demands:

—The guilty officials and personnel should be suspended immediately and punished for their crimes;

—The Central Government should immediately hand over the army personnel responsible for the firing to the State's police to be dealt with according to law;

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", Calcutta, April 13, 1969

—Compensation to the families of the workers killed and injured.

This is the second incident in the last few days when the Central Government's personnel have opened fire on workers in West Bengal without the knowledge of the State Government and the State's police. These two incidents—at Durgapur and Cossipore—coming in the background of the Central Government's hostile attitude to the United Front Government have naturally roused justified misgivings of something deeper at work. The Polit Bureau, hence, demands an impartial enquiry to find out what are the forces that have worked behind the Cossipore firing and killings.

The Polit Bureau sends its condolences to the families of the victims of the firing.

It appeals to all trade unions and democratic parties to protest against this ghastly atrocity.

Crisis of the Congress

*Editorial of "People's Democracy",
April 13, 1969*

The convulsions that are shaking the Congress seem to have begun to alarm the leaders of that party—not so much in terms of the future of the party itself, let alone that of the country, but in terms of their own future in positions of power which they have enjoyed for more than two decades and would not let go.

The defeat in eight States in the Fourth General Elections, the devastating blow dealt to it in the mid-term election in West Bengal and defeats in Bihar and Punjab seem to be opening the eyes of even those who did not want to see what was becoming clear to all—that the discontent of the people against Congress rule was growing and the democratic movement against the ruling party gathering sweep and tempo.

But still they do not want to see that the discontent of the people and the growing strength of the democratic movement are because of the anti people policies the Congress as the ruling party has been pursuing all along.

The bankrupt path of building capitalism in the country in alliance with the feudal elements and in collaboration with foreign imperialists has had the consequence of throwing enormous burdens on the people and endangering the very independence of the country because of the almost-total dependence on imperialist loans and "aid".

Growing unemployment, retrenchment and cuts in emoluments, ever-increasing indirect and direct taxes, rising prices of all necessities, lack of educational facilities and no jobs for the educated, evictions from land, pauperization of the peasantry and depressing of the standards of agricultural labourers—have been the gift of Congress policies to the people of India.

And all this when as a result of these same policies a few monopolist families have been fattening themselves and a small percentage of the upper stratum in the rural areas have become enormously wealthy and the foreign U.S. monopolists entrenched in strategic positions are twisting the arms of the country to their dictates and mortgage nation's interests.

The economic crisis that has been steadily growing was inevitable in this situation and it was equally inevitable that with the deepening of the conflicts between large masses of people and the bourgeois-landlord Government and strains appearing in the ruling classes, the economic crisis would grow in a political crisis and envelop the ruling party itself.

It is only a total reversal of these policies that would save the ruling party from the disintegration it is facing but that is impossible because the Congress is wedded to the vested interests and pledged to protect them. Hence, the current efforts at tinkering with a few radical slogans without making even the slightest change in the basic framework of policies. Under the pressure of the growing democratic movement and sensing the mood of the masses they are forced to talk of some radical measures without any intention of implementing them. This is evident from the note that has been submitted by the Political, Social and Economic Committee of the AICC headed by Sri C. Subramanyam with the flamboyant title of "A Programme of Socialist Action".

The note suggests the Government take-over of the six biggest banks and general insurance companies immediately. This is not a new demand. The democratic movement has been demanding for long the nationalization of the banking industry and general insurance and inside the Congress itself some have been fighting for this demand. But the Congress leadership and its Finance Minister have stubbornly refused to accept it. The sop which Moraji Desai threw to them was the so-called social control over banks a measure which was entirely to the liking of the monopolist bankers and harmed only the employees whose trade union and democratic rights were taken away. With this as the actual record of the Government, all talk of the Congress Government's take-over of the biggest banks, etc., will remain just clap-trap.

The note suggests the need to control the excessive growth of monopoly and for this strengthening of the Monopolies Bill. After laying down this high-sounding objective, all that the note suggests as measures are taxation reform and transfer of industries to professional managers. Its idea of "reorganization of the tax system" is to "syphon off profits resulting from non-productive causes like market fluctuations and hoarding" and "to permit rebates when increased profit is traced to productive causes". What this will mean need no imagination, experience makes it clear that this will only result in rebates enabling the industrialists to keep more of their growing profits to themselves. Leave alone the fact that the note has no effective measure to suggest to curb the monopolists, the present spectacle in the Congress Party where the leadership is out for the blood of Sri Chandrasekhar because he dared to raise his voice against one monopolist group—the Birla House—and exposed how Congress policies helped the Birlas to grow, should show what will be the fate of any anti-monopoly measure in the hands of the Congress Government and its Finance Minister, Sri Morarji Desai.

There is a lot of talk about increasing productivity and incentive wages which ultimately will boil down to increased exploitation of the workers and more profits for the employers.

Sri Subramanyam's panel has some suggestions for the agricultural sector also. But there is not one word about the urgent need for land reforms to give land to the tiller. Credit facilities, integrated marketing, transport and storage, etc.—the measures suggested, though passing references are made to the poor farmer and the improvement of the living standards of the agricultural labourers, are really meant to service the rich upper stratum in the rural areas. Without land reforms and giving land to the tiller, to talk about service co-operatives and co-operative farming, as the note does, is to hand over all the facilities offered by the Government to the same upper stratum. The Congress Party in the past had at least talked about land reforms, though its land reform measures all resulted in more and more evictions. To suggest increasing production through improved technology, etc.,

without even mentioning land reforms, will only lead to the further accelerated pauperization of the peasantry.

There is not even a tinge of socialism in any of the measures suggested by "Programme of Socialist Action" and even the few measures suggested within the framework of the capitalist path will remain on paper under the dispensation of the Congress party.

Immediately after the Congress debacle in the Fourth General Elections, the Congress leaders talked a lot about the ten-point programme in an attempt to retrieve the Congress image in the eyes of the people. Two years after, today, most of the Congress leaders do not even remember what the ten points are and now they talk about "A Programme of Socialist Action". The Indian people are not gullible to be taken in by these manoeuvres and place their faith once more in the Congress.

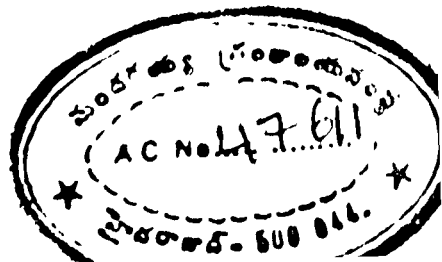
That there will not be any change was evident when the note of another panel, the S. K. Patil Committee on Congress Reorganization was released. One of its proposals was that business and industrial concerns should be enrolled as institutional members of the Congress. The Congress leaders must have realized immediately that this proposal and talk of a "Programme of Socialist Action" cannot go together and, so, it was denied saying that the Committee had made no such proposal, but it was a suggestion made by someone who appeared before the Committee.

Even apart from this there is not one proposal in the whole reorganization plan to gear the party to implement "A Programme of Socialist Action". Obviously the programme is not meant to be implemented.

All the proposals relate to tightening up the Congress machinery so that there is no inconvenient challenges to the leadership. Indirect elections in the place of direct elections, Congress sessions once in two years instead of one year, restricting requisitioned sessions to only one are all framed with this one objective. Changing of the basic unit from the Block to the Assembly Constituency is with the eye on the 1972 elections.

Thus the proposals are for further bureaucratizing the Congress machine.

This is the usual practice which the Congress leaders have followed whenever they faced with a crisis—talk about socialism along with strengthening their own positions inside the organization through further bureaucratization. But nothing can stop the certain disintegration of the ruling Congress party before the onward march of the people and the democratic movement.



Central Committee of CPI(M) on Recent Political Developments*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), meeting in Calcutta from April 12 to 16, 1969, adopted the following Statement on recent political developments:

The heavy defeats suffered by the Congress Party in the mid-term elections, the rebuff they gave to the aggressive claim of parties such as Jan Sangh, the resounding victory scored by the U.F. in West Bengal, routing the Congress and all other reactionary parties and groups, and the cumulative impact of all these developments have sharply aggravated the political crisis in the country, further intensifying the contradictions between the reactionary ruling classes on the one hand and the democratic classes and masses on the other.

The results of the mid-term elections have also revealed that the opportunist anti-Congress alliances and fronts forged by some democratic parties like the PSP, SSP, and the Right Communists during the course of the 1967 General Elections and following it, have ended in serious setbacks to the democratic movement, as evidenced in the States of U.P., Bihar and Punjab, where the anti-Congress mass discontent was allowed to be freely exploited by several casteist, communalist and obscurantist parties and groups for their selfish ends. The bankruptcy of the opportunist political line, based on the worst parliamentary illusions and cheap electoral stratagems, and divorced from leading the class and mass struggles of the people, is thoroughly exposed, and the urgency of the need for boldly organizing and leading united class

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", Calcutta, April 20, 1969

and mass economic-political struggles of the people is sharply emphasized.

As noted in the Political Resolution of the Eighth Party Congress the pressure of imperialism, especially American imperialism, on our economy continues to grow. The Fourth Plan stands virtually scuttled, exhibiting the dependence of Congress planning on U.S. finance. New concessions for foreign capital are being demanded and granted. Foreign monopoly capital has been demanding greater and greater freedom for private sector and this is being conceded. Notwithstanding valuable trade agreements with the USSR and other socialist countries, the pressure of Western monopolists on our economy continues. The Government is preparing to have a trade agreement with Cuba and is opening a trade office in the German Democratic Republic. But the GDR is not yet recognized by the Government despite strong public demand. The Central Committee once again wishes to point out to our people and the democratic parties the danger of American penetration and influence and the danger of American intervention through its stooges in our country's political life in the midst of the growing political crisis. The Political Resolution of the Eighth Party Congress correctly pointed out: "The U.S. imperialists are taking full advantage of the situation with intensification of the activities of their agents like CIA to buy over sections of the Press and politicians and influence our economic, social and cultural life. All this poses a big threat to our future."

The present political crisis, as the CPI(M) has correctly characterized earlier, is nothing but a clear manifestation of the crisis of the internal and external policies of the ruling Congress party, a crisis for the class rule of the bourgeois-landlord classes headed by the big bourgeoisie and the bankrupt capitalist path of development they have embarked upon relying on collaboration with foreign monopoly capital. The corroding conflicts and convulsions that the Congress party is experiencing since the 1967 General Elections once again have acquired a new big momentum after the Congress defeat in the mid-term elections, threatening the Congress party with increasing disintegration and

disarray. The open and unashamed split in the Andhra Pradesh Congress on the separate Telangana agitation, the open revolt in the Bengal Congress Party against the Atulya Ghosh leadership, the serious political quarrels we are witnessing in the dilapidated Congress party in Bihar and its reflections in the Central Congress leadership, the acrimonious debates in the Central Congress Parliamentary Party and the Congress Working Committee regarding the Birla issue and Chandrashekhar's revolt against Morarji Desai, and the advocacy of rival platforms by rival Congress factions for forging new alliances for the protection and perpetuation of the present reactionary class rule are some of the crude expressions of the Congress disintegration and disarray.

Coming as they are in the wake of the deepening economic political crisis and the growing mass discontent and struggle against Congress policies, the different factions and groups in the Congress are feverishly attempting to give a policy-colouring to their inner-party conflicts, while in reality none of them squarely stand for the reversal of the pro-landlord, pro-big-bourgeois and pro-foreign-monopoly policies of the Congress party and for the adoption of alternative democratic policies. The new alliances and coalitions that are being advocated—either the right reactionary alliance of Congress, Swatantra, Jana Sangh and the like or the so-called democratic alliance of the Congress, PSP, SSP and the Right Communist—are conceived of only to defend the tottering Congress monopoly rule and to confront the challenge posed by the West Bengal and Kerala U.F.'s, their State Governments and the genuine alternative democratic policies they pledge to fight for, and against the revolutionary role played by the CPI(M) in these two States. No amount of demagoguery can hide this ugly truth, such is the class essence of these alternatives that are being bandied about by Congress factions to cheat the gullible.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) calls upon all democratic parties to fight against the Congress conspiracies to forge an alliance with Jana Sangh, Swatantra and the like, an alliance aimed at suppression of the democratic forces in the

country and the perpetuation of the decadent class rule of the bourgeoisie and landlords. It warns all the democratic parties and groups against the danger of walking into the trap of the so-called alternative alliance with the Congress party, which aims at harnessing certain democratic parties, for the purpose of bolstering bourgeois-landlord rule. This results in immense damage to the democratic movement in the country, and in turn would destroy the very democratic image of these parties, even threaten their very existence.

The acid test of every genuine democratic party, group and individual in the present context of political developments in the country is their attitude to the two democratic united fronts of West Bengal and Kerala, the two U.F. State Governments, and the democratic programmes they pursue against the Congress-dominated Centre and its reactionary class policies. Any talk of defence of democratic gains of our people divorced from forthright opposition to the reactionary attacks of the Congress and other reactionary parties against the two U.F. Governments of West Bengal and Kerala is devoid of content, and is an empty phrase.

The Central Committee notes that the defeats suffered by the Congress in the mid-term elections and the victorious emergence of the U.F. Government in West Bengal have once again brought the issue of Centre-State relations to the forefront. The attitude of the Centre to the Governor Dharma Vira after the popular verdict of the people against him, the shooting down of workers in Durgapur and the ghastly murder at Cossipore by the Central armed personnel, the dispute that has arisen over the stationing of the CRP and its use in States, the deliberate attempt by the Central Congress leaders to make the one-day peaceful hartal in West Bengal an issue for debate in Parliament to work up political animosity against the U.F. Government of West Bengal and the extremely provocative statements emanating from the reactionary leaders of the Swatantra and Jana Sangh parties are symptomatic of the nefarious conspiracy that the Central Congress leaders are hatching. It is the same Central Congress leaders, who whitewash the weeklong rampage and plunder in

Bombay by the Shiva Sena and the three-month-old anarchy, violence and dislocation of life in Andhra Pradesh, both in Congress-led States and inspired by Congress factions, pretend to be shocked over the one-day peaceful strike and hartal in West Bengal and start shouting about law and order in danger. It is not law and order that is in danger either in West Bengal or in Kerala, but the very existence of these outposts of powerful democratic movements and the U.F. State Governments backed by these movements that are posing a serious danger to the discredited class rule of the Congress and its future.

This problem has acquired a new dimension bringing on the immediate agenda the question of Governors and their powers, issue of amendments to the Constitution with a view to ensuring more autonomy to the States and the very class policies that are at the root of the present Centre-State tussle. The existence of the two strong non-Congress U.F. Governments of West Bengal and Kerala with a pronouncedly democratic and progressive character has a far-reaching impact on this entire question.

However, a new aspect of Centre-State relations which, of course, was latent in the situation and is coming into the forefront, deserves our Party's urgent attention and correct analysis.

The deepening crisis of the path of capitalist development is not only rapidly intensifying the contradictions between the bourgeois-landlord combine led by the big bourgeoisie on the one hand and the people as a whole on the other, it is also accentuating the inherent conflicts and contradictions within this combine, i.e., the big bourgeoisie, the non-big bourgeoisie and the landlords. The attempts of the big bourgeoisie to levy taxation on the landed interests in the countryside are meeting with mounting resistance. In the anti-Centre democratic struggle that is gaining momentum, a patently anti-democratic landlord current is getting mixed up.

If our Party and the other democratic forces in the country are not clearly aware and keenly conscious of this element and the potential dangers it carries, there is every danger of the anti-working class, anti-democratic disruptive and separatist forces gaining an upper hand in this struggle and disrupt, pervert and damage the very objectives of such a struggle. Therefore, we will

have to demarcate our stand from the anti-Centre stances of the feudal and landed interests on questions of the economic, political and constitutional demands raised from time to time, during the course of the struggle against the big bourgeois-led Centre and its desire to set up a unitary Centre, emasculating States' autonomy and curtailing the democratic rights of the nationalities.

Our Party is not surprised by the frenzy that is being exhibited by the reactionary forces over the Bengal Bandh. On the morrow of the victory of the U.F. in West Bengal, as early as February 13, the Polit Bureau had warned thus: "The Polit Bureau appeals to all democratic parties and forces, especially in Bengal, not to become complacent. The Congress Government at the Centre will not take this defeat inflicted upon them lying down. They would start once again their conspiracies, to hamstring the functioning of the United Front Ministry..... It is the development of the united mass movement throughout the country by the democratic forces that could defeat these conspiracies." In the course of hardly two months every syllable of our warning has come true, and this danger today squarely faces the democratic forces, not only in West Bengal but of the entire country.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) earnestly appeals to all the democratic parties and every democratic-minded person, no matter in whichever political party he is at present, to fully appreciate the import of this contemplated attack on the U.F. Government of West Bengal and come out boldly against these conspiracies of the Congress in alliance with other reactionary parties. While appealing to all the democratic parties, groups and individuals to rise to the occasion and act unitedly to scotch these foul attempts and to defend States' autonomy and guard the unity of the Indian Union and its people, it cannot but express its anxiety and concern over the developments in some of these democratic parties, following the mid-term election results.

As already stated, the erroneous political lines and opportunist alliances pursued by the leaders of the PSP, SSP and Right Communists in U.P., Bihar and Punjab, had resulted in serious setbacks and reverses to the democratic movement. It is quite natural that these reverses should seriously disturb them, and

goad their ranks to a re-assessment of their political-tactical lines and fresh rethinking. Several pronouncements and decisions of these parties and their leaders over the current developments do not inspire the confidence in us that they have yet succeeded either in correctly analysing the reasons for the reverses in the States where these parties are relatively strong, or evolving policies that facilitate the unity of the democratic forces and the united action of classes and masses on their burning economic-political demands of the day. We hope that the leaders of these parties would overcome their anti-communist prejudices, objectively analyse the causes for the reverses and extricate their respective parties from the crisis that is threatening to envelop them in different degrees. We deem it our fraternal duty to sharply point out these mistakes, while striving our utmost to unite with all the democratic parties for leading the rising wave of class and mass struggles in the country and thus foil the attempts of the reactionary forces to exploit the mass discontent to further their selfish ends and disrupt democratic unity.

In this connection, our Party cannot but offer its comment on the Right Communist Party and its activities during the mid-term elections, the role that it is playing in the Kerala and West Bengal Governments, and some of the policies it is attempting to project in the recent, post-mid-term election period. In U.P. and Bihar the belated electoral understanding arrived at between the CPI(M) and the Right Communist Party, after prolonged right-opportunist policy and practice of the latter in these two States and without relying on mass struggles and radicalization, could neither repair the damage done to democratic unity nor assist in securing victories in the elections. In Punjab, the Right Communists knowingly pursued a policy of helping the Congress and defeating the candidates of the CPI(M). In Kerala the role of the Right Communists, both in the U.F. Government and among the people outside, has been one of factional and opportunist opposition to the CPI(M) which objectively helps the Congress. Its consistent opposition, on one pretext or another, to the carrying out of united struggle against the reactionary policies of the Central Congress Government, etc., is well-known and need no elaboration.

In West Bengal, the Right Communists not only took the shameless stand of opposing the legitimate claim of the CPI(M) for the post of Chief Minister but were also hostile to the allocation to the CPI(M) of the Home Portfolio in full. They like their Kerala counterparts, are not missing one single opportunity to range against the CPI(M) in alliance with one or the other political force in the State, and they openly slander in their Press that the CPI(M) and its policies are class collaborationist, against the workers and peasants of West Bengal. Theirs are the loudest calls for unity of action, while in practice highly disruptive in every move and action of theirs. After the mid-term election reverses in U.F., Bihar and Punjab, under pressure of their rank and file as well as mass following and in face of the fiasco of their policies, they are projecting slogans of 'left unity', 'communist unity', 'Left and democratic front', etc., much more vociferously.

The CPI(M), while steadfastly continuing its political line of united front and united action with the Right Communist Party considering it as one of the democratic parties, cannot be misled by the glib talk of communist unity, since what divides the two parties is the division over the very principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and there exists a series of fundamental disagreements on a number of vital ideological-political-organizational issues—in short, the division is between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. The basic reasons and causes that led to the split in the once-united Communist Party remain valid and operative and no talk of unprincipled communist unity should arise.

The idea that unity of the Left parties is the basis of democratic unity is an erroneous idea as instead of uniting the democratic parties and forces it serves to divide them. Today the forces that embrace a broad democratic alliance extend far beyond the so-called Left parties. The outstanding examples are the United Fronts of Kerala and West Bengal.

The Central Committee once again reiterates its considered stand on this issue, as clearly enunciated in the political Resolution of the Eighth Party Congress:

"The struggle for building the democratic front against Congress misrule bears fruit only when it is conducted on a principled basis, discarding all opportunist alliances; the successes scored both in West Bengal and Kerala go to corroborate it. In contrast, the opportunist alliances that the revisionists and some other democratic parties have entered into in several States, and the manner in which they have been collapsing in face of the Congress offensive also prove the same.

"There are serious weakness on the trade union and Kisan Fronts, and serious shortcomings in the Party organizational front. It is evident that a major turn in the situation is inconceivable until the weaknesses on these fronts are overcome.

"At the present stage of development of the democratic movement and the alignment of class forces in the country, utmost stress is to be laid on independently and boldly giving leadership to the growing mass struggles while making every effort to preserve, strengthen and expand the democratic fronts in which the Party holds a responsible position.

"However, both in the matter of independently leading the mass struggles and striving to build the united democratic front, the correct slogan of unity in action and its concrete implementation will have to be sharply emphasized, since that alone paves the way for really effective united mass action as well as the realization of the united democratic front."

In pursuance of the line indicated above, our Party realizes the urgency of united action to defeat the Congress conspiracies and beat back its attacks against the U.F. Governments of West Bengal and Kerala—attacks which are a prelude to bigger attacks on States' autonomy, the democratic movement and the very lives and liberties of our common people. It considers that the slogan of the extreme reactionaries to forge a front of the Congress, Jana Sangh and Swatantra parties for setting up a so-called national coalition Government is nothing short of an open call for counter-revolution to mobilize, attack and crush the democratic revolutionary movement in the country, first and foremost.

singling out the two strongest contingents of West Bengal and Kerala to begin with.

The Central Committee appeals to all the constituents of the U.F.'s in West Bengal and Kerala to awaken to this growing danger and act unitedly to meet it and ward it off.

It calls upon the two State units of the CPI(M) in West Bengal and Kerala to mobilize the workers, peasants and other oppressed classes for widespread and intense struggles, economic and political, against the anti-people policies and conspiracies of the reactionary ruling classes. It urges upon these two State units to take the initiative in alerting and uniting the constituents of the respective U.F.'s against this growing menace, and to take all the necessary and immediate steps to streamline the work of the two U.F. Governments to enable them to face the challenge and ward off the attacks against them.

The two United Front Governments by their consistent and fearless championing of the interests of the people, by their determination to advance the gains of the democratic movement, must become a rallying point for the fighting masses all over India. They should undertake to expand the democratic rights of the people, undertake legislation for recognition of trade unions, settle outstanding wage disputes in industries, take measures to provide employment or unemployment relief to the workers and educated youth, pass immediate radical agrarian legislation for land distribution and stopping of eviction and granting homestead land, fair wages, gratuitous relief during lean seasons to the agricultural labourers.

The two Governments must take up with the Central Government that a radical and immediate change in Centre State relation should be effected pending changes in the Constitution to enable them to discharge their pledges to the people to improve their conditions by adopting radical alternative policies.

—All Concurrent List subjects should be transferred to the States' List. All the Bills passed by the States in favour of the people in the present State and Concurrent Lists should be given assent by the President.

—States should have more constitutional power to augment their resources pending which 75 per cent of Central revenues are to be transferred to the States.

—All the Centrally-managed agricultural, industrial and educational, social and welfare departments and enterprises, with all the financial resources for them are to be handed over to the States to be managed.

—Industrial Security Forces, CRP, Border Security Forces are all to be handed over to the States, and it is for the States to keep law and order in the whole of the State and in all sectors and enterprises in the State.

—The present IAS, ICS and other all-India services are to be handed over to the States and be under effective control of the States. Their recruitment, service conditions and disciplinary proceedings should all be under the State jurisdiction.

These two Governments must by their policy measures, and the democratic movements in these two States by developing mass movements behind these policies must rouse all the toilers and democratic forces throughout India for defending their rights, for building a front of democratic forces to curb the threat from the reactionary.

The Central Committee draws the attention of all the fighting masses to the new conspiracies and warns them that the ruling classes in their desperation may strike a blow at their rights and liberties any time and take them unawares. Utmost vigilance and action on the part of the democratic parties and masses are urgently required to frustrate the attempts of the reactionaries.

The Central Committee once again reminds all its constituent State units that it is weakness of the organized democratic movement of the workers, peasants and other oppressed middle classes that prevents it from fully utilizing the situation and resolving the developing political crisis in its favour, while the reactionary forces are seeking to utilize the growing mass discontent to disrupt and disorganize the democratic revolutionary forces. It is of paramount need to boldly unleash mass economic and political struggles and give leadership to them, and to forge unity with other democratic parties and groups, in order to bring about unity in action on the widest possible scale. It is in this process of utilizing the immense opportunities opened before the democratic movement that we will be able to liquidate the weakness in as short a time as possible, and play our worthy part in the democratic battles ahead.

CPI(M)'s Call For Rupees One Lakh Fund*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), meeting in Calcutta from April 12 to 16, 1969, discussed recent political developments in the country and adopted a statement (published in *People's Democracy* of April 20).

The Committee, after discussion, endorsed the Polit Bureau statement on Telangana (published in *People's Democracy* of April 13).

The Central Committee gave the call for a Rs. One Lakh Fund which is required for the functioning of the Party Centre in addition to the Rs. 75,000 or so which will accrue to the C.C. as Party membership fee. Quotas have been allotted to the State Committees and are to be fulfilled in quarterly instalments by the end of this year.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", Calcutta, April 27, 1969

CPI(M)'s Solidarity With People of Pakistan*

Resolution of the Central Committee of CPI(M)

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its warmest greetings to the people of Pakistan who rose in revolt against the oppressive dictatorship of Ayub Khan and are today continuing their struggle against the military junta of Yahya Khan.

Ayub Khan's landlord-bourgeois regime was one that not only denied all democratic rights and civil liberties to the toiling people—working class, peasants, and middle classes, it was also a prison-house for the different nationalities and tribal peoples—the Bengalis, Baluchis, Sindhis, Pathans and others, who were denied equal status and rights in matters of language, administration, economic development and cultural advancement. The same regime betrayed national interests and opened the country to exploitation by U.S. capital.

The ever-growing popular discontent against this state of affairs was sought to be channelized by the ruling classes into jingoism, preaching Pan-Islamism and hostility to neighbouring India. This served only the exploiting imperialists and the reactionaries in India who also raised anti-Pakistan hatred to gain their class ends. The imperialists and the vested interests in both the countries alone derived any benefit from such a state of affairs.

And it was against this state of affairs that the people of Pakistan fought their glorious battle braving untold repression. The peasants of East Pakistan revived the fighting traditions

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of the organized peasantry of Bengal in their struggle against the dictatorial regime. The working people of all of Pakistan revived the unforgettable memories of the struggle against British imperialism and fought a relentless battle for democratic rights and civil liberties.

The Ayub regime was paralysed. The leader of some of the parties in opposition to the Ayub regime, themselves coming from the ruling classes, got frightened at the rising tempo and sweep of the popular struggle which was already beginning to inscribe on its banner the slogans of socialism and opposition to U.S. imperialism. The U.S. imperialists, too, saw that the situation was getting dangerous for them.

The ruling classes, hence, resorted to a new manoeuvre and handed over power to another military dictatorship led by Yahya Khan.

The few weeks of the Yahya Khan dictatorship have already demonstrated that the popular struggle is being ruthlessly suppressed at the bidding of the local reactionaries and the foreign imperialists.

But the people of Pakistan who fought so gloriously during the last few months cannot be suppressed. Due to the weakness of the working class and the absence of leadership by its party, the Communist Party, the struggle could not develop beyond the framework of demands for bourgeois reforms and for the same reason, at the point of victory, it could be betrayed by those who assumed its leadership. The people will draw all the lessons from their experience and the coming days will see them again in the battlefield to end the regime of military dictatorship once for all.

These events in Pakistan have a big lesson for India. They have blown up the myth of the stability and invincibility of military dictatorships. There are reactionaries in our country who very often toy with the idea of establishing a military dictatorship to suppress the rising movement of the working people. The events in Pakistan are a warning to our people of what it will mean if these reactionaries succeed. They teach that only replacement

of the bourgeois-landlord regime by a People's Democratic Government can solve the burning problems of the people and take them forward to socialism, all other methods are manoeuvres resorted to by the ruling classes.

The C.C. is sure that the strength of the people of Pakistan will triumph and looks forward to the day when warm friendship and fraternity between the two peoples of the sub-continent will be re-established for their common good and advance.

The Separate Telangana State Movement and The Right Communists*

P. Sundarayya

Sri Ch. Rajeshwar Rao, the General Secretary of the C.P. (Right), has written an article in their paper, New Age (April 20), criticizing the Polit Bureau's Statement, endorsed by the Central Committee of the CPI(M), on this issue. He criticizes that "on the basis of the repudiation of Telangana safeguards and the general five-point programme advocated by CPI(M) Polit Bureau, the state cannot remain united. It is as good as saying that a separate Telangana state be formed". He goes on to conclude: "In the present critical situation the stand of Andhra Pradesh State Council of our Party for support to Telangana safeguards, their statutory and administrative guarantees as explained earlier and the removal of discredited State Ministry is the only practical solution which will safeguard the interests of the people of Telangana region and keep the unity of Andhra Pradesh."

It is necessary to examine this stand of the Right Communists to understand how their stand is objectively helping the separatist forces in Telangana and in the whole of India, and how harmful it is for the development of democratic movement and especially to the unity of the working class and the toilers of Andhra Pradesh, and the whole of India, as their stand is totally bereft of any working class approach.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) does not consider as the Right Communist do, that the present agitation for separate

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Telangana State, has arisen basically because the safeguards promised in the 1956 Gentlemen's Agreement entered into by the Congress leaders of the Andhra and Telangana regions, were not implemented. We do hold that the enormous increase of unemployment especially of educated youth and the growing misery and discontent of the middle classes, let alone the masses of the people in general, the result of the 22 years of landlord-big bourgeois rule of the Congress, is the real soil which the rabid reactionary forces, the big landlord politicians of Telangana, and the big landlords and ex-zamindars of Andhra area, backed and financed by certain Big Business interests have been able to exploit and initiate this separatist agitation. This, we consider, is the beginning of the offensive by the counter-revolutionary landlord politicians on the unity of the democratic revolutionary movement in the country, and in the final analysis, the very unity and integrity of the country.

Sri Rajeshwar Rao and his party hold that a grave "injustice was done to the people of Telangana region in the matter of reservation and promotion in Government services". Their party demands that "The Constitution be amended to guarantee reservation for Telangana people in the matter of State Government services in view of the recent Supreme Court judgment, declaring such reservation ultra vires....These statutory safeguards for Telangana should continue until the Telangana regional committee (consisting of MLAs elected from Telangana region) otherwise decides."

Our Party, CPI(M), holds that this kind of reservation of *all* the posts for subordinate services or other services, only to the *mulkis* of one particular area, is in principle wrong, as it only perpetuates the separatism and undermines the unity of the employees and the working people and damages their united struggle against their real exploiters, the landlord-big bourgeois rulers. Yet during all these years, the Communist Party took this agreement in good faith hoping that it would really allay the misgivings of the then Congress leaders of Telangana and pave the way for increased unity and cohesion among the Telugu-speaking people, as the proud contingent of the Indian Union.

Unfortunately our hopes that the democratic movement would forge ahead and overcome these separatist tendencies, are belied. The very concession which, at a particular stage, was conceded with the best of intentions, is now being sought to be made a just, democratic and principled demand to be guaranteed constitutionally, thus virtually perpetuating the regional divisions.

Even Dr. Chenna Reddy, the Telangana Congress leader who had been always a champion of separate Telangana State, had to accept the following employment figures as given by Telangana Minister. Out of 107,000 subordinate service people employed in Telangana region, only 5,200 non-Telanganites are employed of whom 1,600 are B.Ed. teachers recruited by Telangana Zilla Parishad presidents, 1,800 nurses mostly from Kerala and 400 stenographers; all these, let it be stated, took place for lack of qualified Telangana personnel during that period. If the employment of some five per cent so-called outsiders is sought to be made a ground for a hue and cry about "injustice done to Telangana people" and demand "for constitutional statutory guarantee in perpetuity", and for a "separate Telangana State", how could a united struggle of all State employees' for full employment or for unemployment benefits could be launched or conducted? Even the advocates of separate Telangana State like Dr. Chenna Reddy have to agree that there are 60,000 Telangana residents registered in employment exchanges and their employment cannot be solved by sending away some 5,000 non-Telangana employees.

Even the 1956 Agreement between the Congress leaders says: "Retrenchment of services should be proportionate from both regions if it becomes inevitable due to integration." (No guarantee of existing service people either of Telangana or of Andhra area but the Congress leaders of both regions had agreed to retrench proportionately. What great champions of Telangana employees!) "5. Future requirement (recruitment) to services will be on the basis of population from both the regions". After stating this general principle, the agreement goes on to say: "B. Domicile Rules: A temporary provision will be made to ensure that for a period of five years, Telangana is regarded as a unit as far as

recruitment to subordinate services in the area is concerned; posts borne on the cadre of these services may be reserved for being filled by persons who satisfy the domicile conditions as prescribed under the existing Hyderabad rules, (i.e., 15 years residence)."

Now the temporary reservation of five years has already been extended to 13 years and the all-party agreement of January 19, 1969, sought to extend it till 1974.

The January 19 all-party agreement seeks to extend this wrong principle of cent per cent reservation to Electricity Boards and to all statutory or other corporations financed by the Government. It has also gone to the extreme extent of agreeing to send back all the present non-Telangana personnel to Andhra area. And now the Right Communists, strangely enough, want this reservation to be constitutionally guaranteed till the Telangana Regional Committee decides otherwise. A fine way of building the unity of employees and developing the democratic unity and struggle and unifying the people of Visalandhra!

That is why our Party, CPI(M), has to come out with a just, correct and democratic solution for guaranteeing full employment to Telangana personnel:

"1. Immediate employment of Telangana personnel in Government posts in both Telangana and Andhra areas, so as to bring the proportion to the level agreed to in the 1956 Agreement (i.e., 1:2 proportionate to the population) and guarantee of educational facilities and full employment for all educated youth in both areas and a minimum unemployment stipend pending employment." We do not want the wrong separatist principle of cent per cent reservation for those from a particular region in a State, to be extended or a constitutionally guaranteed, as it would further harm the democratic unity and struggle of the employees and of the toiling masses.

Telangana Surpluses

Another point, which is being made much of by the separatists as well as by the Right Communists, is the provision in the 1956 Agreement that the expenditure of the new State on Central and

general administration should be borne proportionately by the two regions and the balance of income from Telangana should be reserved for expenditure on the development of Telangana area, was not implemented and grave injustice is done to Telangana people.

Our Party, CPI(M), holds that to develop the backward regions and areas in a State not only the income from those areas but extra amounts from comparatively developed areas are also to be diverted for this purpose. But at the same time our Party strongly holds that the development of backward areas must mean bringing up the economic, social and cultural level of the ordinary masses of the people to the level of the people in the relatively advanced areas. But it is an accepted fact that under the Congress landlord-big bourgeois rule, the ordinary masses of the people constituting more than 90 per cent have become poorer, while the rich have become richer! This is so both in Telangana and Andhra areas. It is only the united struggle of the toiling masses against the handful of landlords and the big bourgeois vested interests in both the regions and the elimination of Congress rule that would pave the way to rapidly overcome the economic and social backwardness of our people including of those from backward tracts. Instead of pinpointing the real culprits, the class enemy i.e., the landlords and the big bourgeois vested interests, the Right Communists have fallen victims to the propaganda of the reactionary separatist forces and echo their slander that Telangana is backward because the Telangana surpluses are spent in Andhra area!

Statement of the Polit Bureau of The Communist Party of India (Marxist) on the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China*

The Communist Party of China held its Ninth Congress from April 1 to 14, 1969, full twelve and a half years after its Eighth Party Congress. During the last few years we had been reading a number of criticisms and denunciatory statements on the ideological-political positions of the Communist Party of China. Most of this criticism and denunciation emanated from hostile critics, from a right-opportunist and revisionist angle and not from a correct Marxist-Leninist point of view. We thought it would be totally wrong for us to associate ourselves in any way with this revisionist refrain, a refrain which virtually repudiates the socialist victories of the Chinese people and is totally divorced from the complicated class struggle that the Chinese society is going through at the present stage of development. We have been anxiously awaiting an authentic and authoritative exposition of the ideological-political line by the Communist Party of China, and hence, so far restrained ourselves from expressing our views except in refuting some of the Left-sectarian theories of the Communist Party of China in so far as they concerned the revolutionary movement in our country and our Party.

Now the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China has concluded and two of its authoritative documents, i.e., "Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China" and "The Constitution of the Communist Party of China", have been made available by the Information Office of the Chinese

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Embassy, New Delhi, though another document which the Communique of the first day of the Congress announced as "an extremely important speech" made to the Congress by Mao Tse-tung is not yet made public and available.

These two documents of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China cannot but interest every Marxist-Leninist in the world and it is all the more so with our Party which had openly announced its broad agreement with the basic critique made by the Communist Party of China against the modern theories of revisionism, in its June 14, 1963 Letter, what it called its General Line. We still hold that this critique is essentially correct.

Both the documents of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China make it abundantly clear that there is nothing common between the class analysis of the contemporary world, made in the June 14 Letter as its General Line and the one expounded in these two documents. It is not, in our opinion, a mere question of a shift over this or that proposition, nor a question of some greater or lesser emphasis on this or that aspect, but an outright repudiation of the earlier class analysis presented in the General Line of 1963. To put it sharply, it is a question of serious rupture with the Marxist Leninist analysis of the contemporary world and its developments.

These two documents are totally disappointing from another point of view also since, coming as they do after twelve and a half years of the Eighth Party Congress, they contain literally nothing to enlighten the reader about the struggle for socialist construction in China during this long period, its achievements and failure, and their impact on the economic, political, and cultural life of the people and about the concrete tasks that flow from such an analysis and assessment. The Report speaks of the dangerous rise of so-called 'capitalist-roaders and neo-revisionists' in the leadership of the Communist Party of China at different levels of the Party and state apparatus, but does not mention a word as to how this came about in a party like the Communist Party of China which has been claiming to have successfully fought against both the Right and Left deviations under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung, and what socio-economic-

ideological factors were there, operating as the fertile soil for such a deviation and degeneration as described by it to have taken place. Equally intriguing it is that no self-critical assessment of the struggle against revisionism in the world communist movement, which the Communist Party of China was conducting since 1960, finds any place in the Report, while it attempts to present a facile picture of everything going well except for the nuisance of a 'handful of capitalist-roaders' at home and some tiny groups of 'renegades' abroad in most of the Communist Parties of the world.

Leaving the entire question of the present political-ideological line of the Communist Party of China for further study and fuller evaluation, the P. B. will confine itself in the present statement to briefly focus attention on some of the issues, on which there are glaring and fundamental departures in the present line of the Communist Party of China from the one put forth in its June 14 Letter.

The first point the P. B. wants to deal with is the class analysis and assessment of the contemporary world. Relevant passages from the June 14, 1963 Letter state the following:

"In defining the general line of the international communist movement, the starting point is the concrete class analysis of the world politics and economics as a whole and actual world conditions, that is to say, of the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world.

"What are the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world? Marxist-Leninists consistently hold that they are:

—the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp

—the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries

—the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism, and

—the contradiction among the imperialist countries and among monopolist groups.

"These contradictions and the struggles to which they give rise are inter-related and influence each other. Nobody can obliterate any of these fundamental contradictions or subjectively substitute one for all the rest". (*Polemics on the General Line*, pages 6-7)

What does the Report of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China, submitted by Lin Piao, state on the subject now? Discussing the topic of two possibilities of world war and revolution, he goes on to observe:

"This is because there are four major contradictions in the world today: the contradiction between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and social imperialism on the other; the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries; the contradiction between imperialist and social imperialist countries and among imperialist countries; and the contradiction between socialist countries on the one hand and imperialism on the other. The existence and development of these contradictions are bound to give rise to revolution." (Report to Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China, cycloed copy, page 23, para 1)

Nobody who reads both the above quoted formulations regarding the world contradictions can miss noting the glaring and fundamental departure made in the Ninth Congress from that made in the June 14 Letter, no matter whether one agrees with either or disagrees with both. This is the first thing to which the P. B. wants to draw serious attention.

The second point to be sharply pointed out here is the completely novel and absurd class divisions made of the countries into what is described as "imperialist and social imperialist countries" and reducing the contradiction between the Soviet Union and the imperialist countries to one of inter-imperialist contradictions.

The third innovation is the term "revisionist countries" which obviously refers to socialist states where the ruling Communist Party leadership is bogged in right reformism and revisionism. So far the Marxist-Leninist analysis made and terminology used to define the class character of the social order of the countries has been one of describing them as capitalist, imperialist, fascist, colonial, semi-colonial, dependent and socialist and communist, notwithstanding the different degrees of differences between any two of the same category, and notwithstanding the correct or incorrect class policies one or the other Government of a state

might pursue. The essential criterion has been that of the production relations, i.e., whether the main means of production are socially owned and controlled or owned by capitalists, landlords and imperialists. But now curiously enough the social order of States and countries is sought to be defined in terms of and on the basis of ideological errors and deviations of the leadership of the state and its ruling party, divorced from the concrete class relations there. Thereby another conclusion drawn from it is that most of the existing socialist countries including the Soviet Union where their leaders happen to follow revisionist policies have ceased to be socialist states and have become "revisionist states and countries", and the contradictions between these 'revisionist countries' and imperialist countries have assumed the character of inter-imperialist contradictions.

The fourth point which cannot be overlooked in the new formulation of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China is the order and manner of presenting the contradictions, an order and presentation totally different from the one made in the June 14 Letter, which by no means, can be taken as accidental when looked at in the background of the entire Report. The point the P.B. would like to make regarding this new definition of world contradictions by the Ninth Congress Report is that all the ideological-political differences in the world communist movement are arbitrarily elevated into and bracketed with social contradictions. No doubt revisionism or Right opportunism is a bourgeois trend of thought, and as such alien to Marxism-Leninism, and in that sense they are contradictory to each other. But it is highly incorrect to equate it with and transform it into one of the antagonistic and fundamental world social contradictions, since once they are characterised as fundamental, antagonistic social contradictions the advocacy of revolutionary methods and forms of struggle to resolve such contradictions invariably follow from it. If Right-opportunist or Left-adventurist deviations arising in the states of the socialist camp are to be treated as antagonistic social contradictions which can only be resolved by revolutionary means and methods, then nothing remains of what

is known as the world socialist camp as described and defined in the international documents of 1957 and 1960.

Without going into a detailed examination of each of these departures and their theoretical, ideological and political implications, the one thing that can be safely asserted here is that the Ninth Congress analysis and presentation of the world contradictions has nothing in common with the one made in the June 14 Letter; and it has also nothing in common with the accepted Marxist Leninist analysis of the world contradictions as made in the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960 which was accepted by all the Communist Parties of the world that were then existing including the Communist Party of China.

In its General Line presented by the Communist Party of China in this June 14 Letter, it specifically takes its stand on the analysis made in the two international communist documents—the 1957 Declaration and the Statement of 1960 and the revolutionary principles incorporated in them. It speaks of them as documents prepared "after a full exchange of reaching unanimity through consultations", as documents which "point out the characteristics of our epoch and the common laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and lay down the common line of all the Communist and Workers' Parties", describes these documents as "the common programme of the international communist movement", and categorically concludes that "it has become the urgent and vital task of the international communist movement to resolutely defend the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement". In fact, out of the twentyfive points made in the June 14 Letter, all the above-quoted sentences occur in the very first point with which it begins. But the Ninth Congress documents of the Communist Party of China, conspicuously enough and perhaps deliberately, do not even make a mention of these two international documents, and put forth an entirely new thesis, negating every principle that these two documents contain.

In its June 14 Letter, the Communist Party of China states that "the world now has not just one socialist country but a number of socialist countries forming the mighty socialist camp, and that the people who have taken the socialist road now numbers not two hundred million but a thousand million, or a third of the world population", and it stipulates that "if anybody does not pursue the correct Marxist-Leninist line and policies, does not defend the unity of the socialist camp but on the contrary creates tension and split within it or even follows policies of the Yugoslav revisionists, tries to liquidate the socialist camp or helps capitalist countries to attack fraternal socialist countries, then he is betraying the interests of the entire international proletariat and the people of the world".

But the Ninth Congress Report of the Communist Party of China scrupulously avoids any mention of the world *socialist camp* and speaks about "*socialist countries*", mention only two such countries, i.e., China and Albania. Even while elaborating "On China's relations with foreign countries", the Report states that "we firmly support the Albanian people in their struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism; we firmly support the Vietnamese people in carrying their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end", etc., but does not mention by name socialist Cuba, North Korea, GDR or any other socialist country. To cap it all, in the list of causes to which the Communist Party of China's Report pledges its support, it has included, "we firmly support the people of Czechoslovakia and other countries in their just struggle against Soviet revisionist social-imperialism".

The Report asserts that "we have always held that the internal affairs of each country should be settled by its own people. The relations between all countries and between all parties, big or small, must be built on the principles of equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs". But the practice is quite the opposite, and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is having a taste of it during the last two years of smear propaganda by radio and press, describing the Party's leaders as "scabs, imperialist stooges, servitors of Indian monopolists", etc.

Also the Communist Party of China unilaterally decides to liquidate all the 81 Communist Parties along with which it signed the Statement of 1960, except Albania, denouncing all of them as revisionist parties while certifying every splinter group in every country as a "genuine Marxist-Leninist party" since these groups declare their faith in the "Thought of Mao Tse-tung". Is this the model of non-interference?

The New Constitution of the CPC

The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China has adopted a new Constitution for the Party. Every Communist Party is at complete liberty to adopt, amend and elaborate its Constitution, though everyone of them, as a Marxist-Leninist party, has an obligation to adhere to the fundamental tested and tried principles, principles laid down by the Communist International. But judging from that point of view it is amazing to find in the new Constitution of the Communist Party of China some clauses and precepts which do not square with Marxist-Leninist science. To mention only three, one reads, "the Communist Party of China takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought as the theoretical basis guiding its thinking. Mao Tse-tung Thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory".

It is elementary that no individual, or for that matter no Communist Party and its leading committee, can be considered as infallible. The revolutionary science was named after Marx, since he happened to be the first to expound scientific socialism in all its essentials. Its further development and concretisation, the application of this science to the era of imperialism and world proletarian revolution, fell to the task of Lenin, and he discharged it admirably, and after Lenin's death, the term Marxism-Leninism has come to be used to convey the complete meaning of this science, as it has been developed and perfected. Notwithstanding the great contribution made by Mao Tse-tung in guiding the "New Democratic Revolution" to its victory in China, the P.B. neither sees the justification to add the world 'Mao Tse-tung Thought' to

Marxism-Leninism, a concept which adequately defines the science, nor does it deem correct that all that is being thought by Mao Tse-tung shall necessarily be infallible Marxism-Leninism. Besides, if all that the Political Report of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China contains is the "Thought of Mao Tse-tung", and every Marxist-Leninist has to accept it as Marxism-Leninism, the P.B. has to sharply differ from it, and cannot be a party to it. Whatever be the views of a Communist Party regarding one or the other of its leaders, it is obviously wrong to incorporate in its Constitution that all his "Thoughts" are Marxism-Leninism, binding on all members of that Party, and to impose on the universally accepted world concept of Marxism-Leninism another concept of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. But this is what exactly is sought to be done by the new Constitution of the Communist Party of China.

The second clause that invites our observation is: "Comrade Lin Piao has consistently held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought and has most loyally and resolutely carried out and defended Comrade Mao Tse-tung's proletarian revolutionary line. *Comrade Lin Piao is Comrade Mao Tse-tung's close comrade-in-arms and successor*". (Emphasis added)

It is none of the P.B.'s job here to assess different individual leaders of the Communist Party of China and their loyalty or otherwise to Mao Tse-tung and his political-ideological line. But one thing is highly objectionable, and that is to name Mao Tse-tung as the sole life-long leader of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese People's Republic, no matter whether he follows correct Marxist-Leninist policies or not, and also name another leader, Lin Piao, as his "successor", and to incorporate all this in a Communist Party's Constitution. Such a course may befit organisations and parties that are to be built on 'faith', but is forbidden for a Communist Party based on the science of Marxism and built on the principle of democratic centralism. Then the democratic principle of election of leaders will be replaced by the principle of succession. This is really strange and monstrous.

The third point that needs serious attention in the new Constitution of the Communist Party of China is the formulation about "building socialism independently and with initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance", etc. The scientific concept of world proletarian revolution and socialism is derived on the basis of a definite degree of development of the productive forces on a world plane, on the development of capitalism into imperialism, drawing the entire world into its orbit, on the basis of the analysis of the social contradictions that the era of imperialism carries with it, etc.

Lenin answered the question of how this world socialist revolution breaks out, first in one or several countries, in countries not necessarily capitalistically developed, but where the imperialist chain is weak and how it is consummated finally.

Lenin also answered the question regarding the possibility of building socialism in Russia, sharply pointing out the limitations, difficulties and hurdles that such a course entailed, while never abandoning the concept of world socialist revolution nor conceding the concept of "national socialism" or "independent socialism" in one country.

Lenin and the Second Congress of the Communist International also discussed the question of 'non-capitalist and socialist path of development' in the case of countries where capitalism is least developed and capitalist relations are in their rudimentary form and answered the question of how these countries can skip the stage of capitalist development, provided the victorious popular revolution firmly allies with the USSR and relies on the material, technical, and all-sided assistance from it.

In the light of all this concept of building socialism in an underdeveloped country like China, 'independently', 'through self-reliance', etc., carries the danger of cutting itself loose from the Marxist-Leninist scientific concept of building world socialism and communism. Rather it smacks of a theory of building socialism in each separate country, no matter what the stage of its productive forces and their development is and whether the class that is destined to build socialism and communism exists in the required strength or not.

In the Political Report as well as in the new Party Constitution, adopted by the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China, there is no explanation anywhere as to why and on what grounds the till-now-existing Party Constitution is being discarded, a Constitution that proved good enough to build a mighty Communist Party which could lead the New Democratic Revolution to a successful conclusion and which has been building socialism during the last two decades.

The Political Report makes certain other bold assertions about some new theoretical discoveries of Mao Tse-tung, which according to the P.B., are neither new nor to be attributed to Mao Tse-tung. For example, it is stated: "Thus for the first time in the theory and practice of the international communist movement, it was pointed out explicitly that classes and class struggle still exist after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has been in the main completed, and that the proletariat must continue the revolution."

At another place, it is said that Mao Tse-tung "has put forward the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat".

Let us quote certain pertinent observations of Lenin on the subject.

"Socialism means abolition of classes. the dictatorship of the proletariat has done all it could do to abolish classes. But classes can't be abolished at one stroke."

"All classes still *remain* and *will remain* in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"The class struggle does not disappear under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it merely assumes different forms."

• "The class struggle waged by the overthrown exploiters against the victorious vanguard of the exploited, i.e., the proletariat has become incomparably more bitter. And it can't be otherwise in the case of revolution, unless this concept is replaced by reformist illusions." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, pages 114, 115, 117).

"The abolition of classes requires a long, difficult and stubborn *class struggle*, which *after* the overthrow of the power of capital *after* the destruction of the bourgeois state, *after* the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, does not disappear (as the vulgar representatives of the old socialism and

old Social-Democracy imagine) but merely changes its forms and in many respects becomes more fierce." (Quoted by Stalin in *Problems of Leninism*, page 315).

"Dictatorship of the proletariat is the *continuation* of the class struggle of the proletariat in new forms." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, page 95).

"Dictatorship is a state of intense war." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, page 495).

Any number of such passages from the writings of Lenin and Stalin can be cited which emphasise the aspect of classes and class struggle in a society after the capture of power by the proletariat, how the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes absolutely necessary to beat down this resistance, etc. As a matter of fact, one of the erroneous criticisms mounted against Stalin by Khrushchov was that Stalin overemphasised this truth of the continued class struggle and class resistance pointed out by Lenin under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and consequently injured the cause of 'democracy' under socialism! The P.B. is unable to understand as to why such unfounded assertions are being made in the Report, while the P.B. fully appreciates the struggle the Communist Party of China is waging to uphold this Leninist concept of continued class struggle and even its intensification at certain periods in the process of building a socialist and communist society after the capture of power by the proletariat, when this concept is being furiously attacked by the revisionists.

The brief observations that P.B. is making here on the Political Report and Party Constitution of the Ninth Congress are not intended to express any opinion of the internal affairs of the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China, but, in the main, concern the ideological political issues of Marxism Leninism and their application to the current world situation.

With due regard and respect to the Communist Party of China and its great achievements, the P.B. cannot but state that the political-ideological line that has been worked out at the Ninth Congress suffers from dangerous Left-opportunist and sectarian errors, making serious departures from the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and world analysis, made by the 1957 Declaration,

the Statement of 1960 and the General Line expounded in the June 14 Letter of the Communist Party of China.

The P.B. is conscious that the communists and the people of China have to their great credit historic revolutionary victories and they are today in the midst of a fierce class struggle Conformed with the task of building socialism in a huge and underdeveloped country and faced with the most vicious blockade organised by the world imperialists on the one hand and the extremely strained and embittered relations with the Soviet Union under its present revisionist leaders on the other, they, today, find themselves in the midst of grim class battles at home and abroad. It is in the course of this life-and-death struggle that these grave mistakes are taking place. The P.B. hopes that they realise the enormity of this mistaken political-ideological line, correct it and play their worthy part in the world communist movement and the cause of world socialism and communism.

Appendix I

REPORT TO THE NINTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

(Delivered on April 1 and adopted on April 14, 1969)

LIN PIAO

Comrades

The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China will be a Congress with a far-reaching influence in the history of our Party.

Our present Congress is convened at a time when great victory has been won in the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao. This great revolutionary storm has shattered the bourgeois headquarters headed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi, exposed the handful of renegades, enemy agents and absolutely unrepentant persons in power taking the capitalist road within the Party, with

Liu Shao-chi as their arch-representative, and smashed their plot to restore capitalism; it has tremendously strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, tremendously strengthened our Party and has prepared ample conditions for this Congress politically, ideologically and organisationally.

1. On the Preparation for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

The great proletarian cultural revolution of our country is a genuine proletarian revolution on an immense scale. Chairman Mao has explained the necessity of the current great revolution in concise terms.

"The current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism."

In order to comprehend this scientific thesis of Chairman Mao's fully, we should have a deep understanding of his theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In 1957, shortly after the conclusion of the Party's Eighth National Congress, Chairman Mao published his great work "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People", in which, following his "Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China", he comprehensively set forth the existence of contradictions, classes and class struggle under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, set forth the thesis of the existence of two different types of contradictions in socialist society, those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people, and set forth the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Like a radiant beacon, this great work illuminates the course of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction and has laid the theoretical foundation for the current great proletarian cultural revolution.

In order to have a deeper understanding of Chairman Mao's great historic contribution, it is necessary to review briefly the historical experience of the international communist movement.

In 1852 Marx said:

"Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society." (Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Chinese Ed., p. 63)

Marx's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat clearly distinguished scientific socialism from utopian socialism and sham socialism of every kind. Marx and Engels fought all their lives for this theory and for its realisation.

After the death of Marx and Engels, almost all the parties of the Second International betrayed Marxism, with the exception of the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin. Lenin inherited, defended and developed Marxism in the struggle against the revisionism of the Second International. The struggle focused on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In denouncing the old revisionists, Lenin time and again stated:

"Those who recognise only the class struggle are not yet Marxists.... Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese Ed., Vol. 25, p. 399)

Lenin led the proletariat of Russia in winning the victory of the great October Socialist Revolution and founding the first socialist state. Through his great revolutionary practice in leading the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin perceived the danger of the restoration of capitalism and the protracted nature of class struggle:

"The transition from capitalism to communism represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese Ed., Vol. 28, p. 235)

Lenin stated:

"....The bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power is not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the force of habit, in the strength of small production. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese Ed., Vol. 31, p. 6)

Lenin's conclusion was: "For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential". (*Ibid*)

Lenin also stated that "The new bourgeoisie" was "arising from among our Soviet Government employees". (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese Ed., Vol. 29, p. 162)

He pointed out that the danger of restoration also came from capitalist encirclement: The imperialist countries "will never miss an opportunity for military intervention, as they put it, i.e., to strangle Soviet power." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese Ed., Vol. 29, p. 423)

The Soviet revisionist-renegade clique has completely betrayed these brilliant teachings of Lenin's. From Khrushchov to Brezhnev and company they are all persons in power taking the capitalist road, who have long concealed themselves in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. As soon as they came to power, they turned the bourgeoisie's "hope of restoration" into "attempts at restoration", usurped the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin and, through "peaceful evolution", turned the world's first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dark, fascist state of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao has waged a tit for-tat struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist-renegade clique as its centre, and has inherited, defended and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has comprehensively summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat both in the positive and negative aspects and, in order to prevent the restoration of capitalism, has put forward the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As early as March 1949, on the eve of the transition of the Chinese revolution from the new-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out in his Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party: After the countrywide seizure of power by the proletariat, the principal internal contradiction is "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie". The heart of the struggle is still the question of state power. Chairman Mao especially reminded us:

"After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly. If we do not now raise and understand the problem in this way, we shall commit the gravest mistakes."

Having foreseen the protracted and complex nature of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao set the whole Party the militant task of fighting imperialism, the Kuomintang and the bourgeoisie in the political, ideological, economic, cultural and diplomatic spheres.

Our Party waged intense battles in accordance with the resolution of the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee and the Party's general line for the transition period formulated by Chairman Mao. In 1956, the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce was in the main completed. That was the crucial moment of whether the socialist revolution could continue to advance. In view of the rampancy of revisionism in the international communist movement and the new trends of class struggle in our country, Chairman Mao, in his great work "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People", called the attention of the whole Party to the following fact:

"In China, although in the main socialist transformation has been completed with respect to the system of ownership..... there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and

comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty-bourgeoisie has only just started."

Countering the fallacy put forward by Liu Shao-chi in 1956 that "in China, the question of which wins out, socialism or capitalism, is already solved", Chairman Mao specifically pointed out:

"The question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled."

"The class struggle between the proletariat and the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute."

Thus, for the first time in the theory and practice of the international communist movement, it was pointed out explicitly that classes and class struggle still exist after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has been in the main completed, and that the proletariat must continue the revolution.

The proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao led the broad masses in carrying on the great struggle in the direction he indicated. From the struggle against the bourgeois Rightists in 1957 to the struggle to uncover Peng Teh-huai's anti-Party clique at the Lushan Meeting in 1959, from the great debate on the general line of the Party in building socialism to the struggle between the two lines in the socialist education movement—the focus of the struggle was the question of whether to take the socialist road or to take the capitalist road, whether to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat or to restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Every single victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, every victory in every major campaign launched by the Party against the bourgeoisie, was gained only after smashing the revisionist line represented by Liu Shao-chi, which either was Right or was "Left" in form but Right in essence.

Now it has been proved through investigation that as far back as the First Revolutionary Civil War period Liu Shao-chi betrayed

the Party, capitulated to the enemy and became a hidden traitor and scab, that he was a crime-soaked lackey of the imperialists, modern revisionists and Kuomintang reactionaries and that he was the arch-representative of the persons in power taking the capitalist road. He had a political line by which he vainly attempted to restore capitalism in China and turn her into an imperialist and revisionist colony. In addition, he had an organisational line to serve his counter-revolutionary political line. For many years, recruiting deserters and turncoats, Liu Shao-chi collected a gang of renegades, enemy agents, and capitalist-roaders in power. They covered up their counter-revolutionary political records, shielded each other, colluded in doing evil, usurped important Party and Government posts and controlled the leadership in many central and local units, thus forming an underground bourgeois headquarters in opposition to the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. They collaborated with the imperialists, modern revisionists and Kuomintang reactionaries and played the kind of disruptive role that the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and the reactionaries of various countries were not in a position to do.

In 1939, when the War of Resistance Against Japan and for National Liberation led by Chairman Mao was vigorously surging forward, Liu Shao-chi dished up his sinister book "Self-cultivation". The core of that book was the betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It did not touch at all upon the questions of defeating Japanese imperialism and of waging the struggle against the Kuomintang reactionaries, nor did it touch upon the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle of seizing state power by armed force; on the contrary, it urged Communist Party members to depart from the great revolutionary practice and indulge in idealistic "Self-cultivation", which actually meant that communists should "cultivate" themselves into willing slaves going down on their knees before the counter-revolutionary dictatorship of the imperialists and the Kuomintang reactionaries.

After the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, when the U.S. imperialists were arming Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary troops in preparation for launching an all-out

offensive against the liberated areas, Liu Shao-chi, catering to the needs of the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries, dished up the capitulationist line, alleging that "China has entered the new stage of peace and democracy". This was designed to oppose Chairman Mao's general line of "Go all out to mobilise the masses, expand the people's forces and, under the leadership of our Party, defeat the aggressor and build a new China", and to oppose Chairman Mao's policy of "Give tit for tat and fight for every inch of land", which was adopted to counter the offensive of the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries. Liu Shao-chi preached that "at present the main form of the struggle of the Chinese revolution has changed from armed struggle to non-armed and mass parliamentary struggle". He tried to abolish the Party's leadership over the people's armed forces and to "unify" the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army, predecessors of the People's Liberation Army, into Chiang Kai-shek's "national army" and to demobilise large numbers of worker and peasant soldiers led by the Party in a vain attempt to eradicate the people's armed forces, strangle the Chinese revolution and hand over to the Kuomintang the fruits of victory which the Chinese people had won in blood.

In April 1949, on the eve of the countrywide victory of China's new-democratic revolution when the Chinese People's Liberation Army was preparing to cross the Yangtze River, Liu Shao-chi hurried to Tientsin and threw himself into the arms of the capitalists. He wildly opposed the policy of utilising, restricting and transforming the private capitalist industry, a policy decided upon by the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party which had just concluded. He clamoured that "capitalism in China today is still in its youth", that it needed an unlimited "big expansion" and that "capitalist exploitation today is no crime, it is a merit". He shamelessly praised the capitalist class, saying that "the more they exploit, the greater their merit", and feverishly advertised the revisionist theory of productive forces. He did all this in his futile attempt to lead China into the capitalist road.

In short, at the many important historical junctures of the new-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, Liu Shao-chi

and his gang always want only opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and engaged in counter-revolutionary conspiratorial and disruptive activities. However, since they were counter-revolutionaries, their plots were bound to come to light. When Khrushchov came to power, and especially when the Soviet revisionists ganged up with the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries of India and other countries in whipping up a large-scale anti-China campaign, Liu Shao-chi and his gang became all the more rabid.

Chairman Mao was the first to perceive the danger of the counter-revolutionary plots of Liu Shao-chi and his gang. At the working conference of the Central Committee in January 1962, Chairman Mao pointed out the necessity of guarding against the emergence of revisionism. At the working conference of the Central Committee at Peitaiho in August 1962 and at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in September of the same year, Chairman Mao put forward more comprehensively the basic line of our Party for the whole historical period of socialism. Chairman Mao pointed out:

"Socialist society covers a fairly long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognise the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist Leninist line".

This Marxist-Leninist line advanced by Chairman Mao is the lifeline of our Party.

Following this, in May 1963, under the direction of Chairman Mao, the "Draft Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Certain Problems in Our Present Rural Work" (i. e., the "10-Point Decision") was worked out, which laid down the line, principles and policies of the Party for the socialist education movement. Chairman Mao again warned the whole Party: If classes and class struggle were forgotten and if the dictatorship of the proletariat were forgotten,

"Then it would not be long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale would inevitably occur, the Marxist-Leninist Party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour. Comrades, please think it over. What a dangerous situation this would be!"

Thus Chairman Mao still more sharply showed the whole Party and the whole nation the danger of the restoration of capitalism.

All these warnings and struggles did not and could not in the least change the reactionary class nature of Liu Shao-chi and his gang. In 1964, in the great socialist education movement, Liu Shao chi came out to repress the masses, shield the capitalist-roaders in power and openly attack the Marxist scientific method of investigating and studying social conditions initiated by Chairman Mao, branding it as "out-dated". He raved that whoever refused to carry out his line was "not qualified to hold a leading post". He and his gang were working against time to restore capitalism. At the end of 1964, Chairman Mao convened a working conference of the Central Committee and, under his direction, the document "Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas" (i. e., the "23-Point Document") was drawn up. He denounced Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois reactionary line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence and repudiated Liu Shao-chi's absurdities, such as "the intertwining of the contradictions inside and outside the Party" and "the contradiction between the 'four cleans and the 'four uncleans' ". And for the first time Chairman Mao specifically indicated: "The main target of the present movement is those

Party persons in power taking the capitalist road". This new conclusion drawn by Chairman Mao after summing up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, domestic and international, set right the course of the socialist education movement and clearly showed the orientation for the approaching great proletarian cultural revolution.

Reviewing the history of this period, we can see that the current great proletarian cultural revolution with the participation of the hundreds of millions of revolutionary people has by no means occurred accidentally. It is the inevitable result of the protracted and sharp struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in socialist society. The great proletarian cultural revolution is

"a great political revolution carried out by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; it is a continuation of the prolonged struggle waged by the Chinese Communist Party and the masses of revolutionary people under its leadership against the Kuomintang reactionaries, a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie".

The heroic Chinese proletariat, poor and lower-middle peasants, People's Liberation Army, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, who were all determined to follow the great leader Chairman Mao closely in taking the socialist road, could no longer tolerate the restoration activities of Liu Shao-chi and his gang, and so a great class battle was unavoidable.

Just as Chairman Mao pointed out in his talk in February 1967:

"In the past we waged struggles in rural areas, in factories in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below."

Now we have found this form—it is the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is only by arousing the masses in their hundreds of millions to air their views freely, write big-character posters and hold great debates that the renegades, enemy agents, and

capitalist-roaders in power, who have wormed their way into the Party, can be exposed and their plots to restore capitalism smashed. It is precisely with the participation of the broad masses in the examination of Liu Shao-chi's case that his true features as an old-line counter-revolutionary, renegade, hidden traitor and scab were brought to light. The Enlarged Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party decided to dismiss Liu Shao-chi from all posts both inside and outside the Party and to expel him from the Party once and for all. This was a great victory for the hundreds of millions of the people. On the basis of the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, our great teacher Chairman Mao has personally initiated and led the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is indeed "absolutely necessary and most timely" and it is a new and great contribution to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

2. On the Course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great political revolution personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao under the condition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a great revolution in the realm of the superstructure. Our aim is to smash revisionism, seize back that portion of power usurped by the bourgeoisie, exercise all-round dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure including all spheres of culture and strengthen and consolidate the economic base of socialism so as to ensure that our country continues to advance in giant strides along the road of socialism.

Back in 1962, at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao pointed out:

"To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class."

This statement of Chairman Mao's hit the Liu Shao-chi counter-revolutionary revisionist clique right on the head. It was solely

for the purpose of treating public opinion to prepare for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat that they spared no effort to seize upon the field of ideology and the superstructure, violently exercised counter-revolutionary dictatorship over the proletariat in the various departments they controlled and wildly spread poisonous weeds. To overthrow them politically, we must likewise first vanquish their counter-revolutionary public opinion by revolutionary public opinion.

Chairman Mao has always attached major importance to the struggle in ideology. After the liberation of our country, he initiated on different occasions the criticism of the film "The Life of Wu Hsun", the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique, "Studies of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber' ", etc., and this time it was Chairman Mao again who led the whole Party in launching the offensive on the bourgeois positions occupied by Liu Shao-chi and his gang. Chairman Mao wrote the celebrated essay "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" and other documents, in which he criticised Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois idealism and metaphysics, criticised the departments of literature and art under Liu Shao-chi's control as being "still dominated by 'the dead'", "criticised the Ministry of Culture by saying that "If it refuses to change, it should be renamed the ministry of emperors, kings, generals and prime ministers, the ministry of scholars and beauties or the ministry of dead foreigners" and said that the Ministry of Health should likewise be renamed the "ministry of Health for Urban overlords". At the call of Chairman Mao, the proletariat first launched a revolution in the spheres of Peking Opera, the ballet and symphonic music, spheres that had been regarded as sacred and inviolable by the landlord and capitalist classes. It was a fight at close quarters. Despite every possible kind of resistance and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi and his gang, the proletariat finally scored important successes after arduous struggles. A number of splendid model revolutionary theatrical works came into being and the heroic images of the workers, peasants and soldiers finally rose aloft on the stage. After that, Chairman Mao initiated the criticism of "Hai Jui Dismissed From Office" and other poisonous weeds, directing the spearhead right at the den of the

revisionist clique—that impenetrable and watertight "independent kingdom" under Liu Shao-chi's control, namely, the old Peking Municipal Party Committee.

The "Circular" of May 16, 1966 worked out under Chairman Mao's personal guidance laid down the theory, line, principles and policies for the great proletarian cultural revolution and constituted the great programme for the whole movement. The "Circular" thoroughly criticised the "February Outline" turned out by Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters for the purpose of suppressing this great revolution. It called upon the whole Party and the whole nation to direct the spearhead of struggle against the representatives of the bourgeoisie who had sneaked into the Party and to pay special attention to unmasking "persons like Khrushchov..... who are still nestling beside us". This was a great call mobilising the people of the whole country to unfold a great political revolution. The Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee, which was set up by decision of the "Circular", has firmly carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the broad revolutionary masses plunged into the fight. In Peking University a big-character poster was written in response to the call of the Central Committee. And soon big-character posters criticising reactionary bourgeois ideas mushroomed all over the country. Then Red Guards rose and came forward in large numbers and revolutionary young people became courageous and daring pathbreakers. Thrown into a panic, the Liu Shao-chi clique hastily hurled forth the bourgeois reactionary line, cruelly suppressing the revolutionary movement of the student youth. However, this did not win them much time in their death-bed struggle. Chairman Mao called and presided over the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party. The plenary session adopted the programmatic document "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (i.e., the "16-Point Decision"). Chairman Mao put up his big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters", thus taking the lid off Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters. In his letter to

the Red Guards, Chairman Mao said that the revolutionary actions of the Red Guards

"express your wrath against and your denunciation of the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, the imperialists, the revisionists and their running dogs, all of whom exploit and oppress the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary parties and groups. They show that it is right to rebel against reactionaries. I warmly support you."

Afterwards, Chairman Mao received 13 million Red Guards and other revolutionary masses from all parts of the country on eight occasions at Tien An Men in the capital, which heightened the revolutionary fighting will of the people of the whole country. The revolutionary movements of the workers, peasants and revolutionary functionaries developed rapidly. Increasing numbers of big-character posters spread like raging prairie fire and roared like guns; the slogan "It is right to rebel against reactionaries" resounded throughout the land. And the battle of the hundreds of millions of the people to bombard Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters developed vigorously.

No reactionary class will ever step down from the stage of history of its own accord. When the revolution touched that portion of power usurped by the bourgeoisie, the class struggle became all the more acute. After Liu Shao-chi's downfall, his revisionist clique and his agents in various places changed their tactics time and again, putting forward slogans which were "Left" in form but Right in essence such as "suspecting all" and "overthrowing all", in a futile attempt to go on hitting hard at the many and protecting their own handful. Moreover, they created splits among the revolutionary masses and manipulated and hood-winked a section of the masses so as to protect themselves. When these schemes were shattered by the proletarian revolutionaries, they launched another frenzied counter-attack, and that is the adverse current lasting from the winter of 1966 to the spring of 1967.

This adverse current was directed against the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. Its general programme boiled down to this: To overthrow the decisions adopted by the

Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, reversing the verdict on the overthrown bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-chi, reversing the verdict on the bourgeois reactionary line, which had already been thoroughly repudiated and discredited by the broad masses, and repressing and retaliating on the revolutionary mass movement. However, this adverse current was seriously criticised by Chairman Mao and resisted by the broad revolutionary masses; it could not prevent the main current of the revolutionary mass movement from surging forward.

The twists and reversals in the revolutionary movement further brought home to the broad masses the importance of political power: The main reason why Liu Shao-chi and his gang could do evil was that they had usurped the power of the proletariat in many units and localities and the main reason why the revolutionary masses were repressed was that power was not in the hands of the proletariat in those places. In some units, the socialist system of ownership existed only in form, but in reality the leadership had been usurped by a handful of renegades, enemy agents, and capitalist-roaders in power, or it remained in the hands of former capitalists. Especially when the capitalist-roaders in power whipped up the evil counter-revolutionary wind of economism after failing in their scheme to suppress the revolution on the pretext of "grasping production", the broad masses came to understand still better that only by recapturing the lost power was it possible for them to defeat the capitalist-roaders in power completely. Under the leadership and with the support of Chairman Mao and the proletarian headquarters headed by him, the working class in Shanghai with a revolutionary tradition came forward courageously and, uniting with the broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres, seized power from below in January 1967 from the capitalist-roaders in power in the former Municipal Party Committee and Municipal People's Council.

Chairman Mao summed up in good time the experience of the January storm of revolution in Shanghai and issued his call to the whole nation: "Proletarian revolutionaries, unite and seize power

from the handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road!" Following that Chairman Mao gave the instruction: "The People's Liberation Army should support the broad masses of the Left." He went on to sum up the experience of Heilungkiang Province and some other provinces and municipalities and laid down the principles and policies for the establishment of the revolutionary committee which embraces representatives of the revolutionary cadres, representatives of the people's Liberation Army and representatives of the revolutionary masses, constituting a revolutionary three-in-one combination, thus pushing forward the nationwide struggle for the seizure of power.

The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for the seizure and counter-seizure of power was a life-and-death struggle. During the one year and nine months from Shanghai's January storm of revolution in 1967 to the establishment of the Revolutionary Committees of Tibet and Sinkiang in September 1968, repeated trials of political strength took place between the two classes and the two lines, fierce struggles went on between proletarian and non-proletarian ideas and an extremely complicated situation emerged. Just as Chairman Mao has said:

"In the past, we fought north and south; it was easy to fight such wars. For the enemy was obvious. The present great proletarian cultural revolution is much more difficult than that kind of war."

"The problem is that those who commit ideological errors are mixed up with those whose contradiction with us is one between ourselves and the enemy, and for a time it is hard to sort them out."

Nevertheless, relying on the wise leadership of Chairman Mao, we finally overcame this difficulty. In the summer of 1967, Chairman Mao made an inspection tour north and south of the Yangtze River and issued extremely important instructions, guiding the broad revolutionary masses to distinguish gradually the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and to further bring about the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary three-in-one combination and guiding people with petty-bourgeois ideas onto the path of the

proletarian revolution. Consequently, it was only the enemy who was thrown into disorder while the broad masses were steeled in the course of the struggle.

The handful of renegades, enemy agents, unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, active counter-revolutionaries, bourgeois careerists and double-dealers who had hidden themselves among the masses would not reveal their colours until the climate suited them. In the summer of 1967 and the spring of 1968, they again fanned up a reactionary evil wind to reverse correct verdicts both from the Right and the extreme "Left". They directed their spearhead against the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, against the People's Liberation Army and against the new-born revolutionary committees. In the meantime, they incited the masses to struggle against each other and organised counter-revolutionary conspiratorial cliques in a vain attempt to stage a counter-seizure of power from the proletariat. However, like their chieftain Liu Shao-chi, this handful of bad people was finally exposed. This was an important victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

3. On Carrying out the Tasks of Struggle-Criticism-Transformation Conscientiously

As in all other revolutions, the fundamental question in the current great revolution in the realm of the superstructure is the question of political power, a question of which class holds leadership. The establishment of revolutionary committees in all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout the country (with the exception of Taiwan Province) marks the great, decisive victory achieved by this revolution. However, the revolution is not yet over. The proletariat must continue to advance, "carry out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously" and carry the socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure through to the end.

Chairman Mao says:

"Struggle-criticism-transformation in a factory, on the whole, goes through the following stages: Establishing a three-

in-one revolutionary committee; carrying out mass criticism and repudiation; purifying the class ranks; consolidating the Party organisation; and simplifying the administrative structure, changing irrational rules and regulations and sending office workers to the workshops."

We must act on Chairman Mao's instruction and fulfil these tasks in every single factory, every single school, every single commune and every single unit in a deep-going, meticulous, down-to-earth and appropriate way.

Confronted with a thousand and one tasks, a revolutionary committee must grasp the fundamental: It must put the living study and application of Mao Tse-tung Thought above all work and place Mao Tse-tung Thought in command of everything. For decades, Mao Tse-tung Thought has been showing the orientation of the revolution to the whole Party and the whole nation. However, as Liu Shao-chi and his gang of counter-revolutionary revisionists blocked Chairman Mao's instructions, the broad revolutionary masses could hardly hear Chairman Mao's voice directly. The storm of the present great revolution has destroyed the "palaces of hell-rulers", big and small, and has made it possible for Mao Tse-tung Thought to reach the broad revolutionary masses directly. This a great victory. This wide dissemination of Mao Tse-tung Thought in a big country with a population of 700 million is the most significant achievement of the great proletarian cultural revolution. In this revolution, hundreds of millions of people always carry with them "Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung", which they study and apply conscientiously. As soon as a new instruction of Chairman Mao's is issued, they propagate it and go into action. This most valuable practice must be maintained and persevered in. We should carry on a deep-going way the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tse-tung Thought, continue to run well the Mao Tse-tung Thought study classes of all types and, in the light of Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive" of 1966, turn the whole country truly into a great school of Mao Tse-tung Thought.

All revolutionary comrades must be clearly aware that class struggle will by no means cease in the ideological and political spheres. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie by no means dies out with our seizure of power. We must continue to hold high the banner of revolutionary mass criticism and use Mao Tse-tung Thought to criticize the bourgeoisie, to criticise revisionism and all kinds of Right or extreme "Left" erroneous ideas which run counter to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and to criticise bourgeois individualism and the theory of "many centres", that is, the theory of "no centre". We must continue to criticise thoroughly and discredit completely the stuff of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi such as the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace, and must firmly establish among the cadres and the masses of the people Chairman Mao's concept of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts", so as to ensure that our cause will continue to advance in the direction indicated by Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao points out:

"The revolutionary committee should exercise unified leadership, eliminate duplication in the administrative structure, follow the policy of 'Better troops and simpler administration' and organise itself into a revolutionised leading group which maintains close ties with the masses."

This is a basic principle which enables the superstructure to serve its socialist economic base still better. A duplicate administrative structure divorced from the masses, a scholasticism which suppresses and binds their revolutionary initiative, and a landlord and bourgeois style of formality and ostentations—all these are destructive to the socialist economic base, advantageous to capitalism and disadvantageous to socialism. In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, organs of state power at all levels and other organisations must keep close ties with the masses, first of all with the basic masses—the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants. Cadres, old and new, must constantly sweep away the dust of bureaucracy and must not catch the bad

habit of "acting as bureaucrats and overlords." They must keep on practising frugality in carrying out revolution, run all socialist undertakings industriously and thriftily, oppose extravagance and waste and guard against the bourgeois attacks with sugar-coated bullets. They must maintain the system of cadre participation in collective productive labour. They must be concerned with the well-being of the masses. They must themselves make investigation and study in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, dissect one or several "sparrows" and constantly sum up experiences. They must make criticism and self-criticism regularly and, in line with the five requirements for the successors to the revolution as set forth by Chairman Mao, "fight self, criticise revisionism" and conscientiously remould their world outlook.

The People's Liberation Army is the mighty pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has pointed out many times: From the Marxist point of view the main component of the state is the army. The Chinese People's Liberation Army personally founded and led by Chairman Mao is an army of the workers and peasants, an army of the proletariat. It has performed great historic feats in the struggle for overthrowing the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, and in the struggles for defending the motherland, for resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea and for smashing aggression by imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, large numbers of commanders and fighters have taken part in the work of "three supports and two militaries" (i.e., support industry, support agriculture, support the broad masses of the Left, military control, political and military training) and representatives of the army have taken part in the three-in-one combination; they have tempered themselves in the class struggle, strengthened their ties with the masses, promoted the ideological revolutionisation of the army, and made new contributions to the people. And this is also the best preparation against war. We must carry forward the glorious tradition of "supporting the Government and cherishing the people", "supporting the army and cherishing the people", strengthen the

unity between the army and the people, strengthen the building of the militia and of national defence and do a still better job in all our work. For the past three years, it is precisely because the people have supported the army and the army has protected the people that renegades, enemy agents, absolutely unrepentant persons in power taking the capitalist road and counter-revolutionaries have failed in their attempts to undermine this great people's army of ours.

Departments of culture, art, education, the press, health, etc., occupy an extremely important position in the realm of the superstructure. The line "We must whole-heartedly rely on the working class" was decided upon at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee. And now, at Chairman Mao's call that "The working class must exercise leadership in everything", the working class, which is the main force in the proletarian revolution, and its staunch ally the poor and lower-middle peasants have mounted the political stage of struggle-criticism-transformation of the superstructure. From July 27, 1968, mighty contingents of the working class marched to places long dominated by the persons in power taking the capitalist road and to all places where intellectuals were predominant in number. It was a great revolutionary action. Whether the proletariat is able to take firm root in the positions of culture and education and transform them with Mao Tse tung Thought is the key question in carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. Chairman Mao has attached profound importance to our work in this connection and personally grasped typicals, thus setting us a brilliant example. We must overcome the wrong tendency among some comrades who make light of the ideological, cultural and educational front; we must closely follow Chairman Mao and consistently do arduous and meticulous work. "On its part, the working class should always raise its political consciousness in the course of struggle", sum up the experience in leading the struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure and win the battle on this front.

4. On the Policies of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

In order to continue the revolution in the realm of the superstructure, it is imperative to carry out conscientiously all Chairman Mao's proletarian policies.

Policies for the great proletarian cultural revolution were explicitly stipulated early in the "Circular" of May 16, 1966 and the "16-Point Decision" of August 1966. The series of Chairman Mao's latest instructions including "Serious attention must be paid to policy in the stage of struggle criticism-transformation in the great proletarian cultural revolution" have further specified the various policies.

The main question at present is to carry them out to the letter.

The Party's policies, including those towards the intellectuals, the cadres, "the sons and daughters that can be educated" (the sons and daughters of those who have committed crimes or mistakes—Translator), the mass organisations, the struggle against the enemy and the economic policy—all these policies come under the general subject of the correct handling of the two different types of contradictions, those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people.

The majority or the vast majority of the intellectuals trained in the old type of schools and colleges are able or willing to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. They should be "re-educated" by the workers, peasants and soldiers under the guidance of Chairman Mao's correct line, and encouragement should be given to those who have done well in the integration and to the Red Guards and educated young people who are active in going to the countryside or mountainous areas.

Chairman Mao has taught us many times: "Help more people by educating them and narrow the target of attack" and "Carry out Marx's teaching that only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation". With regard to people who have made mistakes, stress must be laid on giving them education and re-education, doing patient and careful ideological and political work and truly acting "on the principle of

'learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones' and 'curing the sickness to save the patient', in order to achieve the two-fold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades." With regard to good people who committed the error characteristic of the capitalist-roader in power but have now raised their political consciousness and gained the understanding of the masses, they should be promptly "liberated", assigned to suitable work and encouraged to go among the masses of the workers and peasants to remould their world outlook. As for those who have made a little progress and become to some extent awakened, we should continue to help them, proceeding from the viewpoint of unity. Chairman Mao has recently pointed out:

"The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of mankind. It is the most powerful revolutionary class ideologically, politically and in strength. It can and must unite the overwhelming majority of people around itself so as to isolate the handful of the enemies to the maximum and attack them."

In the struggle against the enemy, we must carry out the policy "Make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few and crush our enemies one by one" which Chairman Mao has always advocated. "Stress should be laid on the weight of evidence and on investigation and study and it is strictly forbidden to obtain confessions by compulsion and to give them credence." We must implement Chairman Mao's policies of "leniency towards those who confess their crimes and severe punishment of those who refuse to do so" and of "giving a way out". We rely mainly on the broad masses of the people in exercising dictatorship over the enemy. As for bad people or suspects ferreted out through investigation in the movement for purifying the class ranks, the policy of "killing none and not arresting most" should be applied to all except the active counter-revolutionaries against whom there is conclusive evidence of crimes such as murder, arson or poisoning, and who should be dealt with in accordance with the law.

As for the bourgeois reactionary academic authorities, we should either criticise them and see, or criticise them and give

them work to do, or criticise them and provide them with a proper livelihood. In short, we should criticise their ideology and at the same time give them a way out. To handle this part of the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy in the manner of handling contradictions among the people is beneficial to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the disintegration of the enemy ranks.

In carrying out the policies of the Party, it is necessary to study the specific conditions of the unit concerned. In places where the revolutionary great alliance has not yet been sufficiently consolidated, it is necessary to help the revolutionary masses bring about, in accordance with revolutionary principles, the revolutionary great alliance on the basis of different fields of work, trades and school classes so that they will become united against the enemy. In units where the work of purifying the class ranks has not yet started or has only just started, it is imperative to grasp the work firmly and do it well in accordance with the Party's policies. In units where the purification of the class ranks is by and large completed, it is necessary to take firm hold of other tasks in keeping with Chairman Mao's instructions concerning the various stages of struggle criticism-transformation. At the same time, it is necessary to pay close attention to new trends in the class struggle. What if the bad people go wild again? Chairman Mao has a well-known saying: "Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless". If the class enemies stir up trouble again, just arouse the masses and strike them down again.

As the "16-Point Decision" indicates, "The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country." Our country has seen good harvests in agricultural production for years running and there is also a thriving situation in industrial production and science and technology. The enthusiasm of the broad masses of the working people both in revolution and production has soared to unprecedented heights. Many factories, mines and other enterprises have time and again topped their production records, creating all-time highs in production. The technical revolution is making constant progress.

The market is flourishing and prices are stable. By the end of 1968 we had redeemed all the national bonds. Our country is now a socialist country with neither internal nor external debts.

"Grasp revolution, promote production"—this principle is absolutely correct. It correctly explains the relationship between revolution and production, between consciousness and matter, between the superstructure and the economic base and between the relations of production and the productive forces. Chairman Mao always teaches us: "Political work is the life-blood of all economic work." Lenin denounced the opportunists who were opposed to approaching problems politically: "Politics cannot but have precedence over economics. To argue differently means forgetting the A B C of Marxism." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese Ed., Vol. 32, p 72.) Lenin again stated: To put politics on a par with economics also means "forgetting the A B C of Marxism" (*ibid*). Politics is the concentrated expression of economics. If we fail to make revolution in the superstructure, fail to arouse the broad masses of the workers and peasants, fail to criticise the revisionist line, fail to expose the handful of renegades, enemy agents, capitalist-roaders in power and counter revolutionaries and fail to consolidate the leadership of the proletariat, how can we further consolidate the socialist economic base and further develop the socialist productive forces? This is not to replace production by revolution but to use revolution to command production, promote it and lead it forward. We must make investigation and study, and actively and properly solve the many problems of policy in struggle-criticism-transformation on the economic front in accordance with Chairman Mao's general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism" and in accordance with his great strategic concept "Be prepared, against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people" and with the series of principles such as "Take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor". We must bring the revolutionary initiative and creativeness of the people of all nationalities into

full play, firmly grasp revolution and energetically promote production and fulfil and overfulfil our plans for developing the national economy. It is certain that the great victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution will continue to bring about new leaps forward on the economic front and in our cause of socialist construction as a whole.

5. On the Final Victory of the Revolution in our Country

The victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution of our country is very great indeed. But we must in no way think that we may sit back and relax. Chairman Mao pointed out in his talk in October 1968:

"We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance. According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also depends on the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man on the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated. Therefore, it is wrong to speak lightly of the final victory of the revolution in our country; it runs counter to Leninism and does not conform to facts."

There will be reversals in the class struggle. We must never forget class struggle and never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the course of carrying out our policies at present, there still exists the struggle between the two lines and there is interference from the "Left" or the Right. It still calls for much effort to accomplish the tasks for all the stages of struggle-criticism-transformation. We must closely follow Chairman Mao and steadfastly rely on the broad revolutionary masses to surmount the difficulties and twists and turns on our way forward and seize still greater victories in the cause of socialism.

6. On the Consolidation and Building of the Party

The victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution has provided us with valuable experience on how we should build the Party under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As Chairman Mao has indicated to the whole Party,

"The Party organisation should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organisation capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy." Chairman Mao's instruction has determined our political orientation for consolidating and building the Party.

The Communist Party of China has been nurtured and built up by our great leader Chairman Mao. Since its birth in 1921, our Party has gone through long years of struggle for the seizure of state power and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat by armed force. Led by Chairman Mao, our Party has always stood in the forefront of revolutionary wars and struggles. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's correct line, our Party has, in the face of extremely strong domestic and foreign enemies and in the most complex circumstances, led the proletariat and the broad masses of the people of China in adhering to the principle of maintaining independence and keeping initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts, in upholding proletarian internationalism and in waging heroic struggle with one stepping into the breach as another fell, and it is only thus that our Party has grown from communist groups with only a few dozen members at the outset into the great, glorious and correct Party leading the powerful People's Republic of China today. We deeply understand that without the armed struggle of the people there would not be the Communist Party of China today and there would not be the People's Republic of China today. We must forever bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: "Comrades throughout the Party must never forget this experience for which we have paid in blood."

The Communist Party of China owes all its achievements to the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and these achievements constitute victories for Mao Tse-tung Thought. For half a century

now, in leading the great struggle of the people of all the nationalities of China for accomplishing the new-democratic revolution, in leading China's great struggle for socialist revolution and socialist construction and in the great struggle of the contemporary international communist movement against imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries of various countries, Chairman Mao has integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution, has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the political, military, economic, cultural and philosophical spheres, and has brought Marxism-Leninism to a higher and completely new stage. Mao Tse-tung Thought is Marxism Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. The entire history of our Party has borne out this truth: Departing from the leadership of Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung Thought, our Party will suffer setbacks and defeats; following Chairman Mao closely and acting on Mao Tse-tung Thought, our Party will advance and triumph. We must forever remember this lesson. Whoever opposes Chairman Mao, whoever opposes Mao Tse-tung Thought, at any time or under any circumstances, shall be condemned and punished by the whole Party and the whole nation.

Discussing the consolidation and building of the Party, Chairman Mao has said:

"A human being has arteries and veins through which the heart makes the blood circulate and he breathes with his lungs, exhaling carbon di-oxide and inhaling fresh oxygen, that is, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh. A proletarian party must also get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, for only thus can it be full of vitality. Without eliminating waste matter and absorbing fresh blood the Party has no vigour."

With this vivid analogy, Chairman Mao has expounded the dialectics of inner-Party contradiction. "The law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the basic law of materialist dialectics". Opposition and struggle between the two lines within the Party are a reflection inside the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old

in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no struggle to resolve them, and if the Party did not get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, the Party's life would come to an end. Chairman Mao's theory on inner Party contradiction is and will be the fundamental guiding thinking for the consolidation and building of the Party.

The history of the Communist Party of China is one in which Chairman Mao's Marxist Leninist line combats the Right and "Left" opportunist lines in the Party. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, our Party defeated Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunist line, defeated the "Left" opportunist lines of Chu Chiu-pai and Li Li-san, defeated Wang Ming's "Left" and then Right opportunist lines, defeated Chang Kuo tao's line of splitting the Red Army, defeated the Right opportunist anti Party bloc of Peng Teh-huai, Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih and others and after long years of struggle, has shattered Liu Shao-chi's counter revolutionary-revisionist line. Our Party has consolidated itself, developed and grown in strength precisely in the struggle between the two lines, especially in the struggles to defeat the three renegade cliques of Chen Tu hsiu, Wang Ming and Liu Shao-chi, which did the gravest harm to the Party

In the new historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletariat enforces its dictatorship and exercises its leadership in every field of work through its vanguard the Communist Party. Departing from the dictatorship of the proletariat and from continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is impossible to solve correctly the question of Party building, the question of building what kind of Party and how to build it.

Liu Shao chi's revisionist line on Party building betrayed the very essence of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the Marxist-Leninist theory on Party building. At the crucial moment when China's socialist revolution was deepening and the class struggle was extra ordinarily acute, Liu Shao-chi had his sinister book "Self cultivation" republished and his aim was precisely to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country and restore the dictatorship of the

bourgeoisie. When he copied the passage from Lenin on the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which we quoted earlier in his report, Liu Shao-chi once again deliberately omitted the most important conclusion that "The dictatorship of the proletariat is essential", thereby clearly revealing his own counter-revolutionary features as a renegade to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Moreover, Liu Shao-chi went on spreading such reactionary fallacies as the theory of "the dying out of class struggle", the theory of "docile tools", the theory that "the masses are backward", the theory of "joining the Party in order to climb up", the theory of "inner-Party peace" and the theory of "merging private and public interests" (i.e., "losing a little to gain much"), in a vain attempt to corrupt and disintegrate our Party, so that the more the Party members "cultivated" themselves, the more revisionist they would become and so that the Marxist Leninist Party would "evolve peacefully" into a revisionist party and the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. We should carry on revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and thoroughly eliminate the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-chi's reactionary fallacies.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is the most broad and deep-going movement for Party consolidation in the history of our Party. The Party organisations at various levels and the broad masses of Communists have experienced the acute struggle between the two lines, gone through the test in the large-scale class struggle and undergone examination by the revolutionary masses both inside and outside the Party. In this way, the Party members and cadres have faced the world and braved the storm and have raised their class consciousness and their consciousness of the struggle between the two lines. This great revolution tells us: Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must educate the masses of Party members on classes, on class struggle, on the struggle between the two lines and on continuing the revolution. We must fight revisionism both inside and outside the Party, clear the Party of renegades, enemy agents and other elements representing the interests of the exploiting classes, and admit into

the Party the genuine advanced elements of the proletariat who have been tested in the great storm. We must strive to ensure that the leadership of the Party organisations at all levels is truly in the hands of Marxists. We must see to it that the Party members really integrate theory with practice, maintain close ties with the masses and are bold in making criticism and self-criticism. We must see to it that the Party members will always keep to the style of being modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness and to the style of arduous struggle and plain living. Only thus will the Party be able to lead the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in carrying the socialist revolution through to the end.

Chairman Mao teaches us:

"Historical experience merits attention. A line or a view point must be explained constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to explain them only to a few people; they must be made known to the broad revolutionary masses."

The study and spread of the basic experience of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the study and spread of the history of the struggle between the two lines and the study and spread of Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat must be conducted not just once but should be repeated every year, every month, every day. Only thus will it be possible for the masses of Party members and the people to criticise and resist erroneous lines and tendencies the moment they emerge, and will it be possible to guarantee that our Party will always forge ahead victoriously along the correct course charted by Chairman Mao.

The revision of the Party Constitution is an important item on the agenda of the Ninth National Congress of the Party. The Central Committee has submitted the Draft Party Constitution to the Congress for discussion. This draft was worked out jointly by the whole Party and the revolutionary masses throughout the country. Since November 1967, when Chairman Mao proposed that basic Party organisations take part in the revision of the Party Constitution, the Central Committee has received several thousand drafts. On this basis the Enlarged Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party drew up the

Draft Party Constitution, upon which the whole Party, the whole army and the revolutionary masses throughout the country once again held enthusiastic and earnest discussions. It may be said that the draft of the new Party Constitution is the product of the integration of the great leader Chairman Mao's wise leadership with the broad masses; it reflects the will of the whole Party, the whole army and the revolutionary masses throughout the country and gives a vivid demonstration of the democratic centralism and the mass line to which the Party has always adhered. Especially important is the fact that the Draft Party Constitution has clearly reaffirmed that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought is the theoretical basis guiding the Party's thinking. This is a great victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution in smashing Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line on Party building, a great victory for Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. The Central Committee is convinced that, after the discussion and adoption of the new Party Constitution by the Congress, our Party will, in accordance with its provisions, surely be built into a still greater, still more glorious and still more correct Party.

7. On China's Relations with Foreign Countries

Now we shall go on to discuss specifically China's relations with foreign countries.

The revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the world always support each other. The Albanian Party of Labour and all other genuine fraternal Marxist Leninist Parties and organisations, the broad masses of the proletariat and revolutionary people throughout the world as well as many friendly countries, organisations and personages have all warmly acclaimed and supported the great proletarian cultural revolution of our country. On behalf of the great leader Chairman Mao and the Ninth National Congress of the Party, I hereby express our heartfelt thanks to them. We firmly pledge that we the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people are determined to fulfil our proletarian internationalist duty and, together with them, carry through to the end the great struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

The general trend of the world today is still as Chairman Mao described it: "The enemy rots with every passing day, while for us things are getting better daily." On the one hand, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat of the world and the people of various countries is vigorously surging forward. The armed struggles of the people of southern Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, India, Palestine and other countries and regions in Asia, Africa and Latin America are steadily growing in strength. The truth that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" is being grasped by ever broader masses of the oppressed people and nations. An unprecedentedly gigantic revolutionary mass movement has broken out in Japan, Western Europe and North America, the "heart" areas of capitalism. More and more people are awakening. The genuine fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties and organisations are growing steadily in the course of integrating Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution in their own countries. On the other hand, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism are bogged down in political and economic crises, beset with difficulties both at home and abroad and find themselves in an impasse. They collude and at the same time contend with each other in a vain attempt to re divide the world. They act in co-ordination and work hand in glove in opposing China, opposing communism and opposing the people, in suppressing the national liberation movement and in launching wars of aggression. They scheme against each other and get locked in strife for raw materials, markets, dependencies, important strategic points and spheres of influence. They are both stepping up arm expansion and war preparations, each trying to realise its own ambitions.

Lenin pointed out: Imperialism means war. ". . . Imperialist wars are absolutely inevitable under such an economic system, as long as private property in the means of production exists" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese Ed., Vol. 22, p. 182). Lenin further pointed out: "Imperialist war is the eve of socialist revolution" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese Ed., Vol. 25, p. 349). These scientific theses of Lenin's are by no means out of date.

Chairman Mao has recently pointed out, "With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: One is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war". This is because there are four major contradictions in the world today: The contradiction between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and social imperialism on the other; the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries; the contradiction between imperialist and social-imperialist countries and among the imperialist countries; and the contradiction between socialist countries on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other. The existence and development of these contradictions are bound to give rise to revolution. According to the historical experience of World War-I and World War-II, it can be said with certainty that if the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries should impose a third world war on the people of the world, it would only greatly accelerate the development of these contradictions and help-arouse the people of the world to rise in revolution and send the whole pack of imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries to their graves.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "All reactionaries are paper tigers." "Strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously." This great truth enunciated by Chairman Mao heightens the revolutionary militancy of the people of the whole world and guides us from victory to victory in the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all reaction.

The nature of U.S. imperialism as a paper tiger has long since been laid bare by the people throughout the world. The U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious enemy of the people of the whole world, is going downhill more and more. Since he took office, Nixon has been confronted with a hopeless mess and an insoluble economic crisis, with the strong resistance of the masses of the people at home and throughout the world and with the predicament in which the imperialist countries are disintegrating and the baton of U.S. imperialism is getting less and less effective. Unable to produce any solution to these problems,

Nixon, like his predecessors, cannot but continue to play the counter-revolutionary dual tactics, ostensibly assuming a "peace-loving" appearance while in fact engaging in arms expansion and war preparations on a still larger scale. The military expenditure of the United States have been increasing year by year. To date the U.S. imperialists still occupy our territory Taiwan. They have dispatched aggressor troops to many countries and have also set up hundreds upon hundreds of military bases and military installations in different parts of the world. They have made so many airplanes and guns, so many nuclear bombs and guided missiles. What is all this for? To frighten, suppress and slaughter the people and dominate the world. By doing so they make themselves the enemy of the people everywhere and find themselves besieged and battered by the broad masses of the proletariat and the people all over the world, and this will definitely lead to revolutions throughout the world on a still larger scale.

The Soviet revisionist-renegade clique is a paper tiger, too. It has revealed its social-imperialist features more and more clearly. When Khrushchov revisionism was just beginning to emerge, our great leader Chairman Mao foresaw what serious harm modern revisionism would do to the cause of world revolution. Chairman Mao led the whole Party in waging resolute struggles in the ideological, theoretical and political spheres, together with the Albanian Party of Labour headed by the great Marxist Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha and with the genuine Marxist Leninists of the world, against modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its centre. This has enabled the people all over the world to learn gradually in struggle how to distinguish genuine Marxism-Leninism from sham Marxism-Leninism and genuine socialism from sham socialism and brought about the bankruptcy of Khrushchov revisionism. At the same time, Chairman Mao led our Party in resolutely criticising Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line of capitulation to imperialism, revisionism and reaction and of suppression of revolutionary movements in various countries and in destroying Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist clique. All this was done in the fulfilment of our Party's proletarian internationalist duty.

Since Brezhnev came to power, with its baton becoming less and less effective and its difficulties at home and abroad growing more and more serious, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has been practising social-imperialism and social-fascism more frantically than ever. Internally, it has intensified its suppression of the Soviet people and speeded up the all-round restoration of capitalism. Externally, it has stepped up its collusion with U.S. imperialism and its suppression of the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries, intensified its control over and its exploitation of various East European countries and the People's Republic of Mongolia, intensified its contention with U.S. imperialism over the Middle East and other regions and intensified its threat of aggression against China. Its dispatch of hundreds of thousands of troops to occupy Czechoslovakia and its armed provocations against China on our territory Chenpao Island are two foul performances staged recently by Soviet revisionism. In order to justify its aggression and plunder, the Soviet revisionist-renegade clique trumpets the so-called theory of "limited sovereignty", the theory of "international dictatorship" and the theory of "socialist community". What does all this stuff mean? It means that your sovereignty is "limited", while his is unlimited. You won't obey him? He will exercise "international dictatorship" over you—dictatorship over the people of other countries, in order to form the "socialist community" ruled by the new Tsars, that is, colonies of social imperialism, just like the "new order of Europe" of Hitler, the "greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere" of Japanese militarism and the "free world community" of the United States. Lenin denounced the renegades of the Second International: "Socialism in words, imperialism in deeds, the growth of opportunism into imperialism" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese Ed., Vol. 29 p. 458). This applies perfectly well to the Soviet revisionist renegade clique of today which is composed of a handful of capitalist-roaders in power. We firmly believe that the proletariat and the broad masses of the people in the Soviet Union, who have a glorious revolutionary tradition, will certainly rise and overthrow this clique consisting of a handful of renegades. Just as

Chairman Mao points out:

"The Soviet Union was the first socialist state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was created by Lenin. Although the leadership of the Soviet Party and state has now been usurped by revisionists, I would advise comrade to remain firm in the conviction that the masses of the Soviet people and of Party members and cadres are good, that they desire revolution and that revisionist rule will not last long."

Now that the Soviet Government created the incident of armed encroachment upon Chinese territory Chenpao Island, the Sino-Soviet boundary question has caught the attention of the whole world. Like boundary questions between China and some of her other neighbouring countries, the Sino Soviet boundary question is also one left over by history. As regards these questions, our Party and Government have consistently stood for negotiations through diplomatic channels to reach a fair and reasonable settlement. Pending a settlement, the status quo of the boundary should be maintained in order to avoid conflicts. Proceeding from this stand, China has satisfactorily and successively settled the boundary questions with her neighbouring countries such as Burma, Nepal, Pakistan, the People's Republic of Mongolia and Afghanistan. Only the boundary questions between the Soviet Union and China and between India and China remain unsettled to this day.

The Chinese Government held repeated negotiations with the Indian Government on the Sino Indian boundary question. As the reactionary Indian Government had taken over the British imperialist policy of aggression, it insisted that we recognise the illegal "McMahon line" which even the reactionary Governments of different periods in old China had not recognised, and moreover, it vainly attempted to further occupy the Aksai Chin area, which has always been under Chinese jurisdiction, thereby disrupting the Sino-Indian boundary negotiations. This is known to all.

The Sino-Soviet boundary question is the product of the Tsarist Russian imperialist aggression against China. In the latter half of the 19th century when power was not in the hands of the Chinese

and Russian people, the Tsarist Government took imperialist acts of aggression to carve up China, imposed on her a series of unequal treaties, annexed large tracts of her territory and moreover, crossed in many places the boundary line as stipulated by the unequal treaties and made further encroachment upon Chinese territory. Such gangster behaviour was indignantly condemned by Marx, Engels and Lenin. On September 27, 1920, the Soviet Government led by the great Lenin solemnly proclaimed: It "declares null and void all the treaties concluded with China by the former Governments of Russia, renounces all seizure of Chinese territory and all Russian concessions in China and restores to China, without any compensation and for ever, all that had been predatorily seized from her by the Tsar's Government and the Russian bourgeoisie." (see "Declaration of the Government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic to the Chinese Government".) Owing to the historical conditions of the time, this proletarian policy of Lenin's was not realised.

As early as August 22 and September 21, 1960, the Chinese Government, proceeding from its consistent stand on boundary questions, twice took the initiative in proposing to the Soviet Government that negotiations be held to settle the Sino-Soviet boundary question. In 1964, negotiations between the two sides started in Peking. The treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary are unequal treaties imposed on the Chinese people by the Tsars, but out of the desire to safeguard the revolutionary friendship between the Chinese and Soviet people, we still maintained that these treaties be taken as the basis for the settlement of the boundary question. However, betraying Lenin's proletarian policy and clinging to its new-Tsarist social imperialist stand, the Soviet revisionist-renegade clique refused to recognise these treaties as unequal and, moreover, it insisted that China recognise as belonging to the Soviet Union all the Chinese territory which they had occupied or attempted to occupy in violation of the treaties. This great-power chauvinist and social-imperialist stand of the Soviet Government led to the disruption of the negotiations.

Since Brezhnev came to power, the Soviet revisionist-renegade clique has frenziedly stepped up its disruption of the status quo of the boundary and repeatedly provoked border incidents, shooting and killing our unarmed fishermen and peasants and encroaching upon China's sovereignty. Recently it has gone further and made successive armed intrusions into our territory Chenpao Island. Driven beyond the limits of their forbearance, our frontier guards have fought back in self-defence, dealing the aggressors well-deserved blows and triumphantly safeguarding our sacred territory. In an effort to extricate them from their predicament, Kosygin asked on March 21 to communicate with our leaders by telephone. Immediately, on March 22, our Government replied with a memorandum, in which it was made clear that, "In view of the present relations between China and the Soviet Union, it is unsuitable to communicate by telephone. If the Soviet Government has anything to say, it is asked to put it forward officially to the Chinese Government through diplomatic channels." On March 29, the Soviet Government issued a statement, still clinging to its obstinate aggressor stand, while expressing willingness to resume "consultations". Our Government is considering its reply to this.

The foreign policy of our Party and Government is consistent. It is: To develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation with socialist countries on the principles of proletarian internationalism, to support and assist the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed people and nations, to work for peaceful co-existence with countries of different social system on the basis of the Five Principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence, and to oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war. Our proletarian foreign policy is not based on expediency; it is a policy in which we have long persisted. This is what we did in the past and we will persist in doing the same in the future.

We have always held that the internal affairs of each country should be settled by its own people. The relations between all

countries and between all Parties, big or small, must be built on the principles of equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. To safeguard these Marxist-Leninist principles, the Communist Party of China has waged a long struggle against the sinister great-power chauvinism of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. This is a fact known to all. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique glibly talks of "fraternal Parties" and "fraternal countries", but in fact it regards itself as the patriarchal Party, and as the new Tsar, who is free to invade and occupy the territory of other countries. They conduct sabotage and subversion against the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labour and other genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties. Moreover, when any Party or any country in their so-called "socialist community" holds a slightly different view, they act ferociously and stop at nothing in suppressing, sabotaging and subverting and even sending troops to invade and occupy their so-called "fraternal countries" and kidnapping members of their so-called "fraternal Parties". These fascist piratical acts of theirs have sealed their doom.

The U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are always trying to "isolate" China; this is China's honour. Their rabid opposition to China cannot do us the slightest harm, on the contrary, it serves to further arouse our people's determination to maintain independence and keep initiative in our own hands, rely on our own efforts and work hard to make our country prosperous and powerful; it serves to prove to the whole world that China has drawn a clear line between herself on the one hand and U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism on the other. Today, it is not imperialism, revisionism and reaction but the proletariat and the revolutionary people of all countries that determine the destiny of the world. The genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organisations of various countries, which are composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat, are a new rising force that has infinitely broad prospects. The Communist Party of China is determined to unite and fight together with them. We firmly support the Albanian people in their struggle against imperialism and revisionism; we firmly support the Vietnamese people in carrying their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for

national salvation through to the end; we firmly support the revolutionary struggles of the people of Laos, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, India, Palestine and other countries and regions in Asia, Africa and Latin America; we firmly support the proletariat, the students and youth and the masses of the black people of the United States in their just struggle against the U.S. ruling clique; we firmly support the proletariat and the labouring people of the Soviet Union in their just struggle to overthrow the Soviet revisionist renegade clique; we firmly support the people of Czechoslovakia and other countries in their just struggle against Soviet revisionist social imperialism; we firmly support the revolutionary struggles of the people of Japan and the West European and Oceanian countries; we firmly support the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries; and we firmly support all the just struggles of resistance against aggression and oppression by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. All countries and people subjected to aggression, control, intervention or bullying by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, unite and form the broadest possible united front and overthrow our common enemies.

We must on no account relax our revolutionary vigilance because of victory and on no account ignore the danger of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism launching a large-scale war of aggression. We must make full preparations, preparations against their launching a big war and against their launching a war at an early date, preparations against their launching a conventional war and against their launching a large scale nuclear war. *In short, we must be prepared.* Chairman Mao said long ago: We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter attack. If they insist on fighting, we will keep them company and fight to the finish. The Chinese revolution won out on the battle field. Armed with Mao Tse-tung Thought, tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution, and with full confidence in victory, the Chinese people in their hundreds of millions, and the Chinese People's Liberation Army are determined to liberate their sacred territory Taiwan and *resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely wipe out* all aggressors who dare to come!

Our great leader Chairman Mao points out:

"Working hand in glove, Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism have done so many foul and evil things that the revolutionary people the world over will not let them go unpunished. The people of all countries are rising. A new historical period of opposing U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun."

Whether the war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents the war, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism will not last long! Workers of all countries, unite! The proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the world, unite! Bury U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their lackeys!

8. The Whole Party, the Whole Nation Unite to Win Still Greater Victories

The Ninth National Congress of the Party is being held at an important moment in the historical development of our Party, at an important moment in the consolidation and development of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country and at an important moment in the development of the international communist movement and world revolution. Among the delegates to the Congress are proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and also a large number of the fresh blood. In the previous Congress of our Party there have never been such great numbers of delegates of Party members from among the industrial workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, and women delegates. Among the delegates from the Party members in the People's Liberation Army, there are veteran Red Army fighters as well as new fighters. The delegates of Party members from among Red Guards are attending a National Congress of the Party for the first time. The fact that so many delegates have come to Peking from all corners of the country and gathered around the great leader Chairman Mao to discuss and decide on the affairs of the Party and state signifies that our Congress is a Congress full of vitality, a Congress of unity and a Congress of victory.

Chairman Mao teaches us:

"The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities—these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause."

Through the great proletarian cultural revolution our motherland has become unprecedentedly unified and our people have achieved a great revolutionary unity on an extremely broad scale under the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought. This great unity is under the leadership of the proletariat and is based on the worker-peasant alliance; it embraces all the fraternal nationalities, the patriotic democrats who for a long time have done useful work for the cause of the revolution and construction of our motherland, the vast numbers of patriotic overseas Chinese and our patriotic compatriots in Hongkong and Macao, our patriotic compatriots in Taiwan who are under the oppression and exploitation by the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries, and all those who support socialism and love our socialist motherland. We are convinced that after the present National Congress of our Party, the people of all the nationalities of our country will certainly unite still more closely under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao and win still greater victories in the struggle against our common enemy and in the cause of building our powerful socialist motherland.

Chairman Mao said in 1962:

"The next 50 to 100 years, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past."

This magnificent prospect far-sightedly envisioned by Chairman Mao illuminates our path of advance in the days to come and inspires all genuine Marxist-Leninists to fight valiantly for the realisation of the grand ideal of communism.

Let the whole Party unite, let the whole nation unite, hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung Thought, be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!

Long live the great victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Love live the Ninth National Congress of the Party!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

Long live great Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought!

Love live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long live life to Chairman Mao!

Appendix II

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

(Adopted by the Ninth National Congress of the
Communist Party of China on April 14, 1969)

CHAPTER I

General Programme

The Communist Party of China is the political party of the proletariat.

The basic programme of the Communist Party of China is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism. The ultimate aim of the party is the realisation of communism.

The Communist Party of China is composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it is a vigorous vanguard organisation leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy.

The Communist Party of China takes Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse tung Thought as the theoretical basis guiding its thinking. Mao Tse-tung Thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory.

For half a century now, in leading China's great struggle for accomplishing the new democratic revolution, in leading her great struggle for socialist revolution and socialist construction and in the great struggle of the contemporary international communist movement against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of various countries, Comrade Mao Tse tung has integrated the universal truth of Marxism Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution, inherited, defended and developed Marxism Leninism and has brought it to a higher and completely new stage.

Comrade Lin Piao has consistently held high the great red banner of Mao Tse tung Thought and has most loyally and resolutely carried out and defended Comrade Mao Tse tung's proletarian revolutionary line. Comrade Lin Piao is Comrade Mao Tse tung's close comrade-in-arms and successor.

The Communist Party of China with Comrade Mao Tse tung as its leader is a great, glorious and correct Party and is the core of leadership of the Chinese people. The Party has been tempered through long years of class struggle for the seizure and consolidation of state power by armed force, it has strengthened itself and grown in the course of the struggle against both Right and "Left" opportunist lines, and it is valiantly advancing with supreme confidence along the road of socialist revolution and socialist construction

Socialist society covers a fairly long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and modern revisionism. These contradictions can be resolved only by depending on the Marxist theory of continued revolution and on practice under its guidance. Such is China's great proletarian cultural revolution, a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes

The whole Party must hold high the great red banner of Marxism Leninism Mao Tse tung Thought and lead the hundreds of millions of the people of all the nationalities of our country in carrying on the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, in strengthening and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and in building socialism independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self reliance and hard struggle and by going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results.

The Communist Party of China upholds proletarian internationalism; it firmly unites with the genuine Marxist Leninist Parties and groups the world over, unites with the proletariat, the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and fights together with them to overthrow imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre and the reactionaries of all countries, and to abolish the system of exploitation of man by man on the globe, so that all mankind will be emancipated.

Members of the Communist Party of China, who dedicate their lives to the struggle for communism must be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!

CHAPTER II

Membership

Article 1. Any Chinese worker, poor peasant, lower middle peasant, revolutionary armyman or any other revolutionary element who has reached the age of 18 and who accepts the Constitution of the Party, joins a Party organisation and works actively in it, carries out the Party's decisions, observes Party discipline and pays membership dues may become a member of the Communist Party of China.

Article 2 Applicants for Party membership must go through the procedure for admission individually. An applicant must be recommended by two Party members, fill out an application form for Party membership and be examined by a Party branch, which

must seek the opinions of the broad masses inside and outside the Party. Application is subject to acceptance by the general membership meeting of the Party branch and approval by the next higher Party committee.

Article 3. Members of the Communist Party of China must:

(1) Study and apply Marxism Leninism Mao Tse tung Thought in a living way,

(2) Work for the interests of the vast majority of the people of China and the world:

(3) Be able at uniting with the great majority, including those who have wrongly opposed them but are sincerely correcting their mistakes; however, special vigilance must be maintained against careerists, conspirators and double dealers so as to prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level and guarantee that the leadership of the Party and the state always remains in the hands of Marxist revolutionaries;

(4) Consult with the masses when matters arise;

(5) Be bold in making criticism and self criticism.

Article 4. When Party members violate Party discipline, the Party organisations at the levels concerned shall, within their functions and powers and on the merits of each case, take appropriate disciplinary measures warning, serious warning, removal from posts in the Party, placing on probation within the Party, or expulsion from the Party.

The period for which a Party member is placed on probation shall not exceed two years. During this period, he has no right to vote or elect or be elected.

A Party member who becomes politically apathetic and makes no change despite education should be persuaded to withdraw from the Party

When a Party member asks to withdraw from the Party, the Party branch concerned shall, with the approval of its general membership meeting, remove his name from the Party rolls and report the matter to the next higher Party committee for the record. When necessary, this should be made public to the masses outside the Party.

Proven renegades, enemy agents, absolutely unrepentant persons in power taking the capitalist road, degeneraytes and alien class elements must be cleared out of the Party and not be readmitted.

CHAPTER III

Organisational Principle of the Party

Article 5. The organisational principle of the Party is democratic centralism.

The leading bodies of the Party at all levels are elected through democratic consultation.

The whole Party must observe unified discipline: The individual is subordinate to the organisation, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and the entire Party is subordinate to the Central Committee.

Leading bodies of the Party at all levels shall regularly report on their work to congresses or general membership meetings, constantly listen to the opinions of the masses both inside and outside the Party and accept their supervision. Party members have the right to criticise Party organisations and leading members at all levels and make proposals to them. If a Party member holds different views with regard to the decisions or directives of the Party organisations, he is allowed to reserve his views and has the right to bypass the immediate leadership and report directly to higher levels, up to and including the Central committee and the Chairman of the Central Committee. It is essential to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness.

The organs of state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the People's Liberation Army, and the Communist Youth League and other revolutionary mass organisations, such as those of the workers, the poor and lower middle peasants and the Red Guards, must all accept the leadership of the Party.

Article 6. The highest leading body of the Party is the National Party Congress and, when it is not in session, the Central Committee elected by it. The leading bodies of Party organisations in the localities, in army units and in various departments are the Party congresses or general membership meetings at their respective levels and the Party committees elected by them. Party congresses at all levels are converted by Party committees at their respective levels.

The convening of Party congresses in the localities and army units and their elected Party committee members are subject to approval by the higher Party organisations.

Article 7. Party committees at all levels shall set up their working bodies or dispatch their representative organs in accordance with the principles of unified leadership, close ties with the masses and simple and efficient structure.

CHAPTER IV

Central Organisations of the Party

Article 8 The National Party Congress shall be convened every five years. Under special circumstances, it may be convened before its due date or postponed.

Article 9 The Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Party elects the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Central Committee.

The Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Party is convened by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee

When the Central Committee is not in Plenary Session, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and its Standing Committee exercise the functions and powers of the Central Committee.

Under the leadership of the Chairman, the Vice Chairman and the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, a number of necessary organs, which are compact and efficient, shall be set up to attend to the day to day work of the Party, the Government and the army in a centralised way.

CHAPTER V

Party Organisations in the Localities and the Army Units

Article 10. Local Party congresses at the country level and upwards and Party congresses in the People's Liberation Army at the regimental level and upwards shall be convened every three years. Under special circumstances, they may be convened before their due date or postponed.

Party committees at all levels in the localities and the army units elect their standing committees, secretaries and deputy secretaries.

CHAPTER VI

Primary Organisations of the Party

Article 11. In general, Party branches are formed in factories, mines and other enterprises, people's communes, offices, schools, shops, neighbourhoods, companies of the People's Liberation Army and other primary units; general Party branches or primary Party committees may also be set up where there is a relatively large membership or where the revolutionary struggle requires.

Primary Party organisations shall hold elections once a year. Under special circumstances, the election may take place before its due date or be postponed.

Article 12. Primary Party organisations must hold high the great red banner of Marxism Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, give prominence to proletarian politics and develop the style of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses of the people and practising criticism and self-criticism. Their main tasks are:

- (1) To lead the Party members and the broad revolutionary masses in studying and applying Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse tung Thought in a living way;

- (2) To give constant education to the Party members and the broad revolutionary masses concerning class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and lead them in fighting resolutely against the class enemy;

(3) To propagate and carry out the policies of the Party, implement its decisions and fulfil every task assigned by the Party and the state;

(4) To maintain close ties with the masses, constantly listen to their opinions and demands and wage an active ideological struggle within the Party so as to keep Party life vigorous;

(5) To take in new Party members, enforce Party discipline, constantly consolidate the Party organisations and get rid of the stale and take in the fresh so as to maintain the purity of the Party ranks.

Right Communists On Path of Disruption in Kerala*

Statement of the Polit Bureau of CPI(M) Released to Press

Text of the Statement of the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) adopted at its meeting in Calcutta from May 20 to 22, 1969:

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses grave concern at the disruptive activities of the Right Communists in Kerala and the leaders of what is now known as the Indian Socialist Party who together have brought the United Front and its Government to the brink of a break up.

A spate of statements has been appearing in the Press from these quarters, deliberately calculated to slander and malign our Party and Ministers. These cannot but cause serious concern to all democrats, who cherish the desire that the U.F. Government of Kerala should serve as a big weapon to fight the Congress and other reactionary parties.

Ever since the formation of the U.F. Ministry in March 1967, these two parties have been functioning as opposition parties in fact, although a part of the Government in form. On every serious issue which faces the Government of Kerala, such as food, the State's legitimate share in the plan, the democratic rights of the entire Indian people for which a non Congress Government like that of Kerala should fight against the Central Congress Government and so on, they have either opposed the political line of struggle against the Central Congress Government, or, in some cases, even aided and abetted the Congress opposition within the State and the Central Government in their malicious attacks on the Government of Kerala.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY" Calcutta June 1, 1969

In the latter category are their lying and slanderous campaign that it was the indifference and inefficiency of the State Government that led to the difficulties of food distribution. Beginning with this and other lies and slanders against the State Government, they made the so called "correction of these defects" in the administration of the State the pre-condition for any struggle against the Centre. They also joined the vested interests, within the State and outside, in their campaign against the administration of the police department by the Chief Minister.

They went to the extent of joining the anti CPI(M) chorus of "CPI(M) responsibility for the 'ultras' attack on the police stations in Tellicherry and Pulpally".

The Right Communists on the one hand, declared that those who launched the attacks on police stations only practised what the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has been preaching, on the other hand, they attempted to organize a so called "Defence Committee" to defend the cases launched against those who were arrested in connection with the two cases. It is thus obvious that the Right Communists had no other consideration than blind opposition to the Communist Party of India (Marxist), which is the major constituent of the U F. Government.

This approach of being an opposition functioning within the Government—enjoying all the benefits of being ruling parties while weakening and undermining the Government as a whole, and particularly the major constituent of the Government has been of enormous service to the Congress Kerala Congress opposition within the State and to the Central Government who, it is well known, is plotting to attack the U.F. Government.

This is nothing new to the Right Communists. It may be recalled that it was they that supplied ammunition to the slanderous and notorious White Paper of Nanda in 1965. The pronouncements of the spokesmen of these parties inside as well as outside the legislature have been almost the only weapon in the hands of the Congress Kerala Congress opposition in Kerala. On every occasion, when the Government was under attack by the opposition, the attackers were aided and abetted by the Right Communists and ISP partners in the Government. The two attacks

on the Government—that by the opposition from outside and that by the partners from within—either converged into a concerted attack or were complementary to each other.

This had come to a head in recent weeks. These vicious attacks have been intensified to such an extent as to threaten the break up of the U.F. Government. This is evidenced by their declaration that they would not permit an enquiry into the corruption charges against the former Finance Minister, Mr. P. K. Kunhu, and that they would go out of the U.F. Government unless the preposterous claims made by them are accepted and implemented. The conditions laid down by them are such that no self respecting party can accept them nor is the Communist Party of India (Marxist) prepared to accept them. It becomes obvious therefore that the intention is to blackmail the CPI (Marxist) into surrendering to them.

They want the people to believe that the bone of contention between them and the CPI (Marxist) is the probe into corruption charges against the Ministers which is allegedly opposed by us while it is supported by them. How false is this picture can be seen from the following facts:

Firstly, it was against the former Finance Minister, Mr. P. K. Kunhu, that on February 13, 1969, serious charges of corruption were made on the floor of the legislature for the first time. Two MLAs belonging to the opposition and one from a constituent of the United Front alleged that Mr. Kunhu had discharged debts to the extent of a couple of lakhs of rupees after he became Minister. Certain photostat copies were also laid on the table showing that the management of the lottery department (which was under Mr. Kunhu) was such that there was possibility of corruption.

Secondly, the Co ordination Committee of the U.F. considered the situation arising out of these charges. It came to the conclusion that the member belonging to the U.F. had gone against the code of conduct for the partners of the U.F. by having raised that question on the floor of the House instead of in the Co ordination Committee which was the appropriate body for tackling such questions. The member concerned and his party

were therefore censured by the Co-ordination Committee. But considering the seriousness of the allegations and the materials produced, the Committee authorized the Chief Minister to make a statement in the Assembly that he would examine all the materials placed before the House and, if on such examination he finds a *prima facie* case, appropriate action would be taken. This statement was made in the Assembly on February 19, 1969, and the Co ordination Committee endorsed it on the same day.

Thirdly, on the strength of this decision of the Co ordination Committee and on the basis of the general convention according to which the Chief Minister is to make a preliminary examination of the material on all corruption charges, the Chief Minister subsequently made the statement that the procedure he announced in relation to Mr. Kunhu would be applied in the case of every other Minister. It was significant that no one from the constituents of the U.F. took objection to the statement. What was proper and regular in the case of the Finance Minister was obviously regular and correct in the case of the other Ministers as well.

Fourthly, it took more than a month for the Chief Minister to start the work of examining the material placed before the Assembly. The reason for this was that Mr. Kunhu had all this while been abroad and came back only in the latter half of March. After he came back, the Chief Minister started examining the material, asking for explanations from the concerned Ministers, and so on. During this whole time, no objection was raised to the Chief Minister examining the material. Neither the Right Communists nor the ISP, who are today vociferous in their denunciation of the Chief Minister's right to examine the material placed before the Assembly, raised any objection to this procedure for a full month and a half after the original statement of the Chief Minister was made in the Assembly. The demand that it should not be the Chief Minister but a Judge, who makes even a preliminary examination of the material and gives a finding as to whether there is a *prima facie* case, was not made all this time. But the moment the Chief Minister started examining the material and it appeared that he might come to the conclusion that there was a *prima facie* case against Mr. Kunhu, the Right

Communists and ISP leaders adopted an attitude of hostility to the Chief Minister and the procedure he was adopting. It was from this time onwards that they launched the new series of attacks on the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and its Chief Minister.

Fifthly, the leaders of the Indian Socialist Party initially took the line that it was neither for the Chief Minister nor for the United Front as a whole to examine the material and find out whether there was a *prima facie* case; it was for the party to which a particular Minister belonged to do this. They also said that, as the party to which Mr. Kunhu belongs, they had examined the material and come to the conclusion that there was no *prima facie* case.

Sixthly, this was such a preposterous stand that even the Right Communists could not get reconciled to it. Realizing that this position would not be accepted either by the other constituents of the U.F. or by the people in general, they jointly worked out the line of demanding that even the question of *prima facie* case should be examined and decided on by a Judge, not by the Chief Minister. In making this proposal, they were obviously going back on the decision already taken by the Co-ordination Committee with regard to Mr. Kunhu. They therefore flatly denied that such a decision had been taken by the Co-ordination Committee. At the subsequent meeting of the Co-ordination Committee, however, every other party (except these two) contradicted their claim and said that, such a decision was taken by the Committee. Furthermore, the records of the Committee were consulted and it was found that the decision carried the signature of the Right Communist Minister, Mr. M. N. Govindan Nair, who had presided over that meeting. When confronted with all this, Mr. S. Kumaran, the Secretary of the State Committee of the Right Communists, made the incredible plea that the Chief Minister had been authorized only to make a statement in the Assembly and not to implement it. This whole incident speaks volumes for their honesty and integrity.

It is significant in this connection that the Right Communists and the leaders of the ISP decided to demand a judicial enquiry

into the charges of corruption against all Ministers only when they found that a judicial enquiry will have to be ordered against Mr. Kunhu. Their demand in relation to other Ministers is thus an expression of their anger against the Chief Minister who did not yield to their earlier threats that they would not allow Mr. Kunhu's case to be examined by the Chief Minister. Their claim to be fighting for a clean administration is thus a travesty of truth. They have been consistently trying to prevent an examination in one particular case and only when that failed did they think of examination of all cases. By thus resisting a probe in one case and, when they failed, demanding a widespread probe on the basis of alleged "talk among the people", they are helping the Congress-Kerala Congress campaign of all-round corruption in the Ministry, particularly among the CPI(M) Ministers.

It may be mentioned that in contrast to the case of Mr. Kunhu, only wild allegations on the basis of "talk among the people" were made against Krishnan and Wellington, and no materials placed on them. Nonetheless, the Chief Minister went into those and found no such material as to warrant the conclusion of a *prima facie* case.

The Polit Bureau wants to make it clear that Party will go all-out in support of any genuine proposal to unearth any act of corruption indulged in by any Minister, including Ministers belonging to our Party. If that were the only question the Polit Bureau is confident that a formula acceptable to all can be evolved.

The P.B., however, is of the view that the Right Communist leaders of Kerala have other motives. The sole aim is to isolate the Communist Party of India (Marxist) through an uninterrupted continuous campaign of lies and slanders—a campaign in which they get enormous support from the bourgeois Press and from the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition.

The Polit Bureau is of the opinion that continuing in the U.F. and Ministry on the one hand and on the other, making allegations and carrying on a slander campaign against other constituent parties and Ministers by any party and its Ministers are incompatible and cannot be tolerated.

It is significant, in this connection, that the Kerala State Secretary of the Right Communist Party, S. Kumaran, in his signed statement issued on May 14, at a press conference, called for the mobilization of "genuine democrats" against the high-handed actions of the Communist Party (Marxist)—a call which is reminiscent of similar calls made by his party in the worst days of hysteria worked up against our Party in which his party joined even the Jana Sangh in denouncing us as Chinese and Pakistani agents. It is obvious that a party which stood that kind of "democratic mobilization" against it during all the last seven years and fought successfully the slanders unleashed against it, will not be cowed down by similar threats uttered by them now. The P.B. wants to make it clear both to the Right Communists and the ISP that our Party will not surrender to these blackmailing tactics.

The P.B. notes that many of the points included in the so-called 13 point ultimatum issued by the Right Communists against us concern questions of policy on which their party and ourselves have basic differences.

One of the points, for instance, is that the Government of Kerala should encourage large-scale mechanization of agriculture, since such mechanization would increase agricultural production. Our Party is of the view that, under the present conditions of India, this would be highly detrimental to the mass of rural poor among whom there is already large-scale unemployment and underemployment; uncontrolled mechanization will accelerate this process and intensify the problem of unemployment and underemployment.

Again, they join the chorus of the vested interests, that the growing activities and struggles of the agricultural labourers in the rural areas against landlord exploitation are hampering production; they accuse us of instigating agricultural labourers against cultivators. Our Party resolutely rejects this and makes it clear that we will not be deterred by the joint campaign of the vested interests and the Right Communists; we will, on the other hand, continue our work of organizing agricultural labourers and helping their struggles, while, of course, striving our utmost

to unite the agricultural labourers and poor and middle peasants in their common interests of joint struggle against their common enemies.

Thirdly, they demand that in the name of industrialization of Kerala, we should accept the proposal of Mr. T. V. Thomas to invite Messrs Mitsubishi of Japan as the main agency for industrializing Kerala, and thus hand over the wealth of manpower of Kerala to be permanently exploited by this giant monopolist concern. It is significant that the Right Communist Party proclaims its total opposition to penetration of the Indian economy by foreign monopolists, but its Ministers and Kerala State unit fight for it. Our Party refuses to oblige them in this nefarious game. At the same time, the Chief Minister has been exploring the possibilities of securing help on better terms from the socialist countries for industrialization and it is known that Rumania has already signified its willingness to help the Kerala Government in setting up ferro-industries based on the iron ore available in Kerala. The Kerala Government will also do its utmost in assisting the starting of small-scale and medium industries in the State.

It is obvious that these being questions of policy, we cannot accept their demands, not to speak of implementing them within three months, as is demanded by them in their ultimatum. As regards several other items included in their ultimatum, the Polit Bureau understands that most of them are factually incorrect.

There is, for instance, the demand in relation to action to be taken against a suspended officer of the agricultural department. It is obvious that the officer being one belonging to the agricultural department, the initiative for that action should be taken by Mr. M. N. Govindan Nair. He, however, has not done so, for reasons best known to him. The Chief Minister, however, even without any initiative from the Agriculture Minister, directed that action be taken against that officer. The whole basis of this demand thus is an incorrect fact.

The Polit Bureau, however, notes that instead of trying to settle them at the inter-ministerial level, through mutual talks, the two Right Communist Ministers have released to the Press their

letters to the Chief Minister containing a string of falsehoods. This, therefore, is the method through which their party seems to "mobilize all democratic elements" against the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

The Polit Bureau is confident that given a spirit of co-operation and strengthening the unity, every issue that genuinely concerns any constituent of the U.F. can be settled to the maximum satisfaction of all of them. It is, however, this spirit of co-operation and strengthening of unity that is lacking on the part of the Right Communists who appear to be determined to concentrate their fire neither against the vested interests in Kerala nor against their patron, the Central Congress Government but against the CPI(M) and its Ministers. The Polit Bureau appeals to the people of Kerala and to democrats in the country to realize the immense harm that these leaders are causing to their creation—the U.F. and the U.F. Government, in their struggle against the Congress party and vested interests. Already these activities of theirs have led to the postponement of the Assembly session, in which the Land Reforms Bill, which is in the Select Committee stage, was to be passed. The landlords and the vested interests will certainly feel gladdened over this situation. The Polit Bureau appeals to them to see the danger arising out of this and to make the Right Communist leaders of Kerala retreat from their disruptive line, and not allow them to blow up the victory they have achieved.

Joint Communiqué of CPI(M) and CPI on United Front Governments in Kerala and West Bengal*

The following is the text of the joint communiqué issued at the conclusion of the talks held in Calcutta from May 24 to 26 between delegations of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the Communist Party of India:

The delegations of the two parties, namely, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the Communist Party of India had held four sittings, lasting twelve hours in all, from May 24 to 26 to exchange opinion on the current political developments in the country and in particular on the complicated problems and difficulties that have arisen in the functioning of the United Fronts and the Front Governments in Kerala and West Bengal.

“Each side has frankly stated its appraisal of the developments in Kerala and West Bengal and has put forward its own proposals for the solution of the problems confronting these Front Governments. Though differences exist on these and on several other important issues, both sides agreed that efforts must be continued for improving the relations between the two parties and their relations with other parties constituting the United Front in Kerala and West Bengal. Both sides agree that the United Front in these two States should be consolidated and strengthened and that necessary steps for this purpose should be taken.

*Published in “PEOPLE’S DEMOCRACY”, Calcutta, June 1, 1969. Serious efforts were made by the leaders of CPI(M) to bring to an end the disruptive role of the Right Communists in regard to the United Fronts and the Front Governments in Kerala and West Bengal and this document bears testimony to it. The Right Communists did not change their lines and ultimately United Front Governments in Kerala and in West Bengal were disrupted. The Right Communists themselves allied with Congress and formed a separate Government in Kerala with Congress support. In West Bengal the United Front Government came to an abrupt end due to manoeuvre of Congress actively supported by Bangla Congress and the Right Communists. Refer Documents under Item Nos. 36, 38, 40 and Appendix (i) and Appendix (ii) of this Volume.

“In this connection, both sides attach great importance to the prevention of clashes as well as to the elimination of the atmosphere that gives rise to them and the avoidance of unfounded accusations. The two participant delegations have decided to take up the matter with and consult the respective State Committees of the parties before any decision is taken on the issues under dispute.”

“The two delegations also agreed to meet again and continue discussions on problems of united action and united mass movements as and when such meetings are decided upon by the mutual consent of parties in question.”

The Joint Communiqué was signed by P. Sundarayya, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and C. Rajeswara Rao, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India.

CPI(M) Leaders Tell Right Communists: Abandon Path of Destroying Kerala U.F.*

**Press Statement Jointly Issued by P. Sundarayya and
A. K. Gopalan at Trivandrum on June 7, 1969**

Text of Press statement of Comrades P. Sundarayya and A. K. Gopalan at Trivandrum on June 7, 1969:

We are taken aback to read in the *Hindu*, Sri T. V. Thomas's statement "welcoming the compromising tone of the letter from CPI(Marxist) General Secretary Mr. P. Sundarayya to the CPI and the suggestions made by Mr. A. K. Gopalan for the effective functioning of the United Front". "But will they act up to it?" He said if the two Marxist leaders followed it up with bilateral talks "80 to 90 per cent of our differences could be resolved". But at the same time Sri Thomas went on attacking Chief Minister E. M. S. Namboodiripad that he "resorts to a slander campaign against me to divert people's attention from crucial issues" and that "if the Marxists desire that Kerala should have a corruption-free administration they will have to take bold decisions" and that in a grave matter like this (referring to the allegation that Thomas had conspired to topple the Marxists from the Ministry). "It will not be becoming on the part of the Chief Minister or any one else to play a dubious game" and so on.

During the last two years, even till a few days ago, Sri Thomas and his party were holding us both as persons who were forcing Comrade E.M.S. to act against his better judgment in such a way as to break up the U.F. Ministry and that E.M.S. is a prisoner of his party, that he was being dictated to by P. Sundarayya and A. K. Gopalan, etc. So we are rather taken aback to read that we have now become in the eyes of Sri Thomas the well-wishers of

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", Calcutta, June 15, 1969 Comrade P Sundarayya was General Secretary and Comrade A. K Gopalan was Polit Bureau Member of CPI(M)

the U.F. Ministry and that Comrade E.M.S. has become the arch villain out to disrupt the U.F. Ministry!

Whatever the past doings of Sri Thomas and his party colleagues may be, if they really want even now to preserve the United Front Ministry, *BEFORE WE REACH A POINT OF NO RETURN*, we earnestly appeal to him and to his party colleagues to put an end to this maligning Press and public campaign against our Party Ministers and our Party leaders and against the Chief Minister of the Kerala, U.F. Government. It was to prevent such a situation that Comrade P. Sundarayya, General Secretary of our Party, took the initiative to meet the State Secretary of the Right Communist Party, Sri S. Kumaran and held prolonged talks and it was on the basis of these talks, that he had written the letter to their State Secretary.

But we will be failing in our duty if we do not inform the people of Kerala and all the democratic parties and forces in the country that our efforts and suggestions for evolving methods to improve the relations between the constituent units of the U.F. and for the effective functioning of the U.F., so as to carry out the agreed policies and pledges given to the people, have been spurned by the leaders of the CP (Right).

Instead of having further bilateral talks to iron out the persisting differences, they have taken recourse to the Press, to continue their maligning campaign.

The leaders and the Ministers of the Right Communist Party are even going against the decisions of the Co-ordination Committee. For instance, the Co-ordination Committee decided that a constituent party of the U.F. should not bring charges of corruption and allegations against another constituent party or its Ministers, in public, without first discussing it bilaterally or at Co-ordination Committee level. It is for violation of this rule that Sri Wilson of the SSP was censored by the Co-ordination Committee.

Again in the Co ordination Committee meetings of May 11-13, it was agreed that as far Sri Kunhu's case was concerned Comrade E.M.S.'s findings were final as he acted as per decision of the Co-ordination Committee. Comrade E.M.S., according to his

announcement in the Assembly, adopted the same procedure with regard to Sri Willingdon and Comrade M. K. Krishnan to which no constituent raised any objection till the eve of the Co-ordination Committee meeting and Comrade E.M.S. gave his findings that on the basis of the charges and material placed before him there was no prima facie case with regard to these two. If any new charges or new material are brought, they can be examined as per the procedure that may be agreed to by the U.F. Co-ordination Committee, as in the case of all Ministers in future. Yet, meanwhile, instead of striving to arrive at an agreed procedure the Right Communist leaders' are continuously carrying on a slander campaign in public that all our Ministers are corrupt and the "Marxist Party" is shielding their Ministers' corruption. This is a clear violation of the Co-ordination Committee decision that no constituent unit should publicly charge another constituent unit of corruption or bring grave allegations without first discussing them bilaterally and at Co-ordination Committee level.

It is again the Right Communist leaders starting with their National Secretariat member Sri N. K. Krishnan down to their State leaders that raked up the question of conspiracy on the part of Sri Thomas, last year, to exclude the Marxists from the Ministry and now they demand that we prove it by publishing all the information we laid before the Co ordination Committee or Comrade E.M.S. should apologise. They did not raise this question in their 13-point 'ultimatum', nor in the course of the heated discussions in the Co-ordination Committee meetings of May 11 or 18. Why is it that they have now raked up this issue again?

They know that our Party had placed all the information which we had before the Co-ordination Committee and each party had expressed itself on that and on their own position on that issue. We wanted that the whole proceedings be published and the public allowed to judge whether there was basis for our charge or whether our Comrades E.M.S. and Gopalan indulged in irresponsible baseless slander. They know that it is at the request of all other constituents of the U.F. to drop the matter at that stage, as publishing that material and proceedings would seriously harm the existence of the U.F., that we agreed. Yet now their raking up

that issue and issuing challenges to our Party even without raising it in the Co-ordination Committee only goes to increase our apprehensions that the Right Communists, for reason and purposes best known to them, have embarked on a course of destroying the U.F.

We feel very much apprehensive about the possibility of preserving the U.F. Ministry when other constituents of the U.F. are keeping silent over this behaviour and activities of the Right Communists, most probably thinking that it is a quarrel between the two Communist Parties. So far we have been exercising great patience and restraint and have been answering the Right Communist slander campaign to the absolute minimum extent necessary just to defend our honour and integrity against their onslaught. Whatever complaints we have against their Ministers, we are trying to take it up at bilateral and multilateral level and not in the public nor in the Press.

But if this maligning Press and public campaign against our Party, our Ministers and the Chief Minister continues, we will be forced to take steps to vindicate our position.

We appeal to the Right Communist leaders and their Ministers to put an end to this Press campaign and see that their Party journals also stop editorials and headlines and write-ups attacking our Party, and we on our part undertake to observe the same steps which we desire them to adopt. And let us discuss bilaterally and in the Co-ordination Committee all points to arrive at agreed conclusions. But the pre-requisite for any such talks being useful and successful must be stopping the Press and public campaign.

We appeal to all the democratic forces and people and especially the constituents of the U.F. in Kerala to use all their influence and prevail on the Right Communists to stop the Press and public campaign against us so that all issues can be discussed bilaterally and at Co-ordination Committee level to arrive at agreed conclusions to preserve the U.F. and further strengthen the people's struggles, to improve the functioning of the U.F. Ministry and be in a position to face the mounting offensive of reactionary forces in Kerala and throughout the country against the people and against the democratic movement.

Kerala State Committee of CPI(M) On Role of Right Communists*

**Resolution Adopted by Kerala State Committee
of CPI(M) at its session in Trivandrum on
June 21-22, 1969**

Text of the resolution adopted by the Kerala State Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) at its session in Trivandrum on June 21 and 22, 1969, Comrade O. J. Joseph presiding:

The joint statement issued by Comrades P. Sundarayya and A. K. Gopalan two weeks ago and following it the resolution adopted by the State Committee had pointed out the gravity of the danger facing the United Front and Government in Kerala.

Right Communist Disruption

The Right Communists have been pursuing a disruptive policy of violating the decisions of the U.F. Co-ordination Committee, conducting a venomous slander propaganda against the CPI(M) and the Party's Ministers including the Chief Minister, issuing open calls for isolating the CPI(M), and continuing hostile activities suited to an opposition party while remaining in the United Front and Ministry. A crowning example of this is the way the "T. V. Thomas Conspiracy" issue which was discussed and settled by the Co-ordination Committee a year ago has again been raised by Right Communist Party Secretariat member N. K. Krishnan and others against the Chief Minister and the CPI(M). The present grave situation has been caused also by the attitude of some of the constituent parties of not seriously viewing and opposing these splitting activities of the Right Communist Party.

We had made it absolutely clear in the last meeting of the Co-ordination Committee, that without correcting the anti-United

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Front attitude adopted by the Right Communist Party, without the other constituent parties playing their role towards this, the continued existence of the United Front and the Government was impossible. We had stated that unless the continued existence of the United Front and Government was ensured by discussing and settling the question of the relation between constituent parties and Ministers, the persistent violations of the Co-ordination Committee's decisions in this regard by the Right Communists, the attitude of some other parties of remaining blind to these violations, etc., there was no point in discussing other issues.

Attitude of Other Parties

We are amazed at the public statements made by some of the constituent parties after the meeting of the Co-ordination Committee which brush aside this basic question and take the position that the corruption enquiry problem was the main obstacle and it was differences on this issue that had created the crisis in the United Front. To sidetrack the most important issue of creating a common understanding on basic issues which is so necessary for the continued existence of the United Front and allow the splitters of the United Front to persist in their disruptive activities will help only to break the United Front. This is what the Congress and enemies of the U.F. want.

Anyone with common sense can understand that in the present disturbed situation, the question of whether the constituent parties are prepared to stay together and whether the Ministers are prepared to abide by the norms of behaviour obligatory on members of the same Cabinet has to be settled before any other issue can be taken up for discussion. It is because of this that we submitted in writing our views on the attitude the Co-ordination Committee should take to what we thought were the main issues of dispute.

It was the responsibility of the other constituent parties to express their own opinion on each of the proposals that we had placed and themselves place before the Committee or any other proposals which they had and which we had not raised.

Since the issue of deciding on the procedure for corruption enquiry is one to be taken up only after discussing and settling the important questions needed for the continuance of the United Front and Government, the attempt made by some parties to make out that the corruption enquiry issue is the only issue is to put the cart before the horse.

The "T. V. Thomas Conspiracy"

We have on many previous occasions made clear that there is nothing we have to hide on the matter of the "T. V. Thomas Conspiracy". When the facts about it were exposed in the Co-ordination Committee a year ago, many who had participated in that abortive conspiracy had admitted to the part they had played. The topmost leader of one party told the Committee that he had participated in such a discussion because one of his co-workers had informed him that other parties had the complaint that when such a conspiracy was going on, his party was not taking sufficient interest in it and this had to be remedied. The leader of another party admitted that in one of these discussions the question of who should be the Chief Minister of the new Cabinet to be formed excluding the CPI(M) had come up and he had put forward his claim to the post on the ground that none from his community had ever been Chief Minister of the State before.

Because it was realized by all the parties that if all this material was made public it would affect the stability of the United Front, the Co-ordination Committee then decided that the whole thing should be considered as a closed chapter. If the Right Communists wanted to reopen the question they should have done it in the Co-ordination Committee. Instead, their Central Secretariat members and journal *New Age* are throwing challenges at our Party and the Chief Minister. The Co-ordination Committee has to pronounce that the step they have taken is wrong.

No party can play a positive role in the United Front if it refuses to criticize and maintains silence on the open attacks the Right Communists are making against our Party and Ministers,

the charges which T. V. Thomas is making against his colleagues in the Cabinet generally and the Chief Minister specially and on again raising the matter of the conspiracy.

Helping the Congress

No one can refute the fact that we are in the forefront in the matter of taking stringent action against Ministers who indulge in corrupt practices. But we also want to draw the attention of other constituents to a political reality of which they are not aware. And that political reality is that baseless corruption charges are the main weapon of the Congress and other reactionary forces against the United Front administration which was brought into existence by long struggles. No constituent party of the United Front can or should take any step which will overtly or covertly sharpen the edge of this weapon in the hands of the reactionaries.

Right from the first Assembly session after the United Front Government assumed office in March 1967, the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition had begun levelling "corruption charges" against the United Front Government in general and specially against our Party. Their stand was that the appointment of the personal staff of Ministers, the abolition of police verification, giving justice to those who had been dismissed or otherwise victimized on political considerations etc., were all "corrupt" practices. When one allegation is exposed as baseless, level another equally baseless allegation, thus continue all the time the refrain of "corruption charges"—this is the tactic of the Congress Kerala Congress opposition and the monopolist Press. They calculate they can disrupt the entire United Front by "isolating" us from other constituent parties and among us "isolating" some of our Ministers.

The problem before the United Front is how to effectively conduct the struggle against corruption without falling into this trap of the Congress and without helping it. It is because of this that the Co-ordination Committee adopted the principle that none of the U.F. constituents should raise in public any corruption charge they have against Ministers of another party, that such a charge should be raised publicly only if a solution cannot be

found through bilateral discussions with the party concerned or through discussions in the Co-ordination Committee. The SSP was censured by the Co-ordination Committee for violating this decision. One of the main causes for the present crisis in the U.F. is that this same approach has not been taken to the Right Communists and ISP.

First Move in Disruption

Unfortunately, before the censuring of the SSP and since also, the Right Communists have been, on a growing scale, pursuing a policy in this matter which not only covertly but overtly helps the opposition. Within one month after the Ministry assumed office, they inaugurated their offensive against the then Food Minister. At a time when the Food Minister was handling a very difficult food situation, through speeches and the Press, they spread the slander that the Food Minister "was favouring the Murikkans of Kuttanad, the big landlords of Palghat and the rice-mill owners all over the State". Even today they do not hesitate to repeat this same slander in one form or another though it was proved totally baseless by the discussions in the Co-ordination Committee, by the enquiry made by a sub committee appointed for the purpose, etc. This slander campaign has always been of help to the Congress Kerala Congress opposition.

We want to make it clear that as in the past today also we are ready to firmly face this Right Communist attack launched with full-throated praise from the monopolist Press and the help of reactionary bourgeois political parties like the Congress and the Jana Sangh—the Right Communist attempt to "isolate us from the democratic forces" with the new slander of "corrupt persons" in the place of the old slanders of "Chinese agents" and "China-Pakistan agents."

We are ready to prove before the people that today as in the period before we became Ministers, our comrades have not considered political work as a money-making device and that our practice is to take severe action against any comrade who contravenes this. We can boldly declare that whichever party may have people who have made money using their positions as

Ministers our Party does not have a single such person. If the Right Communists fondly hope that by raising a smoke-screen of corruption they can suffocate us, they are living in a fool's paradise.

Attitude to Enquiry

But it seems that our attitude to corruption charges and the methods of enquiry into them has not been clearly understood by many friends even though, unlike the Right Communists they have not taken up the job of "isolating" us. Hence we would like to clarify certain points regarding this.

The moment steps were taken for the enquiry into the corruption charges against Sri P. K. Kunhu the stand which the Right Communists took was that the Chief Minister had not been authorized to take any steps but only to make a statement in the Assembly. As for the ISP, its leaders took the position that only their party had the right to enquire into the charges against its Ministers. Though with different arguments, both these parties were thus in effect opposing the steps for enquiry.

When this stand met with total debacle, they raised the demand that the charges raised against two other Ministers, M. K. Krishnan and Wellington, should be sent for judicial enquiry even for finding out whether there was a *prima facie* case in the charges. Not only that, when the Chief Minister announced his decision that there was a *prima facie* case in the charges against P. K. Kunhu, they shamelessly said that the Chief Minister had not been authorized to take any such decision (though such a decision had been taken by the Co-ordination Committee). Behind the Right Communist leaders' campaign of slander that including the Chief Minister we are a set of corrupt persons is their desire for revenge because of the bold steps taken to fight corruption.

In this situation, we have placed our proposals including those on the procedure for preliminary enquiry to find out whether there is a *prima facie* case in charges of corruption. Some of the other constituent parties have also put forward their proposals. All these proposals can be examined and the Publicmen Enquiries Bill can be enacted. When the Bill can be enacted in the shortest

possible time if the constituent parties co-operate, the whole demand for an interim machinery is out of place. What the Rightists and those who agree with them are doing is to create obstacles instead of co-operating to enact the Bill quickly. It is because they will not be able to level utterly baseless charges as they like to take revenge once the Publicmen Enquiries Bill is enacted that they demand an interim machinery and not the quick enactment of the Bill. What they aim at is to go on postponing the Bill in the name of interim machinery and continue to raise baseless charges meanwhile.

Amendments to the Bill

As for the Bill, the amendments we have proposed are meant to facilitate effective steps against Ministers who are likely to indulge in corrupt practices and simultaneously against the Congress which is trying to wield corruption charges as a weapon to disrupt the United Front Government.

There are those who argue that since the Bill was drafted by a Select Committee which included our Chief Minister, we have no right to propose any amendments to it. The Chief Minister, though he has introduced the Bill, has not only the right but the responsibility in the light of discussion that the Bill should be amended. As for us who belong to his party, like any other party we do not require someone else's permission to express our views on the amendments to be made to the Bill which is under discussion. In the lifetime of the present Assembly itself amendments have been made not only to draft Bills but even to Bills which had come out of the Select Committee (for instance, the University Bill).

The amendments which we are proposing to the Bill will not allow any corrupt Minister or other publicmen who are placed in executive positions to escape. Our proposal is that MPs, MLAs, elected members of local bodies, etc., who are not in any executive positions and who have now been included in the purview of the Bill should be excluded. For those in executive positions our proposal is that an enquiry official elected by the legislature should find out whether there is a *prima facie* case and

if there is one, the case should be sent for judicial enquiry. Any one with ordinary intelligence can see that if this proposal is accepted and enacted, no corrupt Minister can escape.

Our proposal regarding the definition of corruption is more or less similar to the one in the Lokpal Bill now before the Central Parliament. The Lokpal Bill does not put irregularities and mistakes which should become matter of criticism inside and outside the Legislature and corruption on the same plane but sees them as two distinct things. Not one amendment to this definition in the Lokpal Bill was suggested by any opposition party including the Right Communist Party at the time of the discussion of the Bill in the Select Committee. When we suggest that this definition which has been unanimously accepted by the Parliament Select Committee should be included in the Bill in the State, it is painted as "watering down the anti-corruption bill".

As indicated earlier, we will welcome any effort to prepare a Bill which will be most acceptable to the largest number of people after considering our proposals as well as the proposals of other parties regarding amendments to be made to the Bill. Just as we expect others to have a give-and-take attitude in this effort, we will also be ready to adopt such an attitude. If the constituent parties of the United Front including the Right Communists accept this approach, there will be no difficulty in solving the corruption enquiry question which is brought up as the main issue of dispute.

Relations Inside U.F.

But, as pointed out earlier, finding a solution to this question alone will not ward off the danger facing the United Front, because the corruption issue is only one aspect of the general issue of mutual relations inside the United Front. And to solve this general issue, the Right Communists have to give up their anti-CPI(M) attitude of the last two years and adopt the approach of maintaining and safeguarding the United Front. Are they willing to do this, are the other parties prepared to make them accept this—this is the issue.

On this basis, we wish to place before the other constituent parties and the people some proposals to save the United front from the present crisis:

- (1) Publicly reprimand the Right Communists for violating the decision of the Co-ordination Committee that the discussion on the abortive conspiracy hatched by some parties in April May, 1968, to form a new Ministry excluding our party, should not be continued.
- (2) Condemn the Right Communists for their campaign that we are corrupt to the core "taking bribe at every street corner", that "the Chief Minister's hands are not clean," etc.
- (3) Condemn the two Right Communist Ministers for publicity defying the code of joint Cabinet responsibility and revealing Cabinet secrets and correspondence and contents of Government files which are to be kept confidential (often in a distorted form) and censure the Right Communist Industries Minister for not only declaring that he had no confidence in the Chief Minister but also ridiculing the Chief Minister in the most objectionable language.
- (4) End the habit of the Industries Minister of interfering with the steps taken by Vigilance officials and the Home Department, both under the control of the Chief Minister, against corrupt officials and thus sabotaging the investigations.
- (5) Conduct discussions within a week for making amendments to the Publicmen Enquiries Bill and on that basis enact the Bill by the first week of August.

Appeal to all Democrats

We have been prompted to put forward these proposals because of our concern over the gravity of the crisis facing the United Front.

We appeal to all other constituent parties to realize that if the Right Communists are allowed to go the way they are now going it will spell disaster to the United Front itself and take urgent steps.

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The United Front has grown fighting and defeating the splitting and opportunist activities of the Right Communists. The United Front is the centre of all hopes of the people who were being suffocated under Congress rule. All constituent parties and the people following them have the responsibility to see that the United Front overcome its present crisis.

We are confident that the constituent parties and masses who have rallied behind the United Front will actively take up this responsibility and in the same way they have defeated the enemies of the United Front in the past, today also they will defeat the forces who are overtly and covertly trying to disrupt the United Front. We appeal to all progressive democratic forces to take up this task.

Document Adopted By The International Meeting of Communist And Workers' Parties

Moscow, June 17, 1969

The Meeting of representatives of communist and workers' parties took place in Moscow at a very important juncture in world development. Powerful revolutionary processes are gathering momentum throughout the world. Three mighty forces of our time—the world socialist system, the international working class and the national-liberation movement—are coming together in the struggle against imperialism. The present phase is characterised by growing possibilities for a further advance of the revolutionary and progressive forces. At the same time, the dangers brought about by imperialism, by its policy of aggression, are growing. Imperialism, whose general crisis is deepening, continues to oppress many peoples and remains a constant threat to peace and social progress.

The existing situation demands united action of communists and all other anti imperialist forces so that maximum use may be made of the mounting possibilities for a broader offensive against imperialism, against the forces of reaction and war.

The meeting discussed urgent tasks of the struggle against imperialism and problems of united action by communists and all other anti-imperialist forces. As a result of the discussion, held in a spirit of democracy, equality and internationalism, the participants in the meeting reached common conclusions concerning the present world situation and the tasks arising from it.

This International Meeting was not attended by the representatives of Communist Party of China, Communist Party of Vietnam, the Party of Labour of Albania, Korean Party of Labour. From India only the Right Communist Party was invited to attend it and they took part in it. The Communist Party of Cuba participated in it as an 'Observer' and they placed their own standpoint clearly. The views of the Central Committee of CPI(M) on this document are given in a statement covered under Item No. 43 of this Volume.

I

Mankind has entered the last third of our century in a situation marked by a sharpening of the historic struggle between the forces of progress and reaction, between socialism and imperialism. This clash is worldwide and embraces all the basic spheres of social life: economy, politics, ideology and culture.

The world revolutionary movement continues its offensive despite the difficulties and setbacks of some of its contingents. Notwithstanding the counter-offensives launched by it, imperialism has failed to change the general relationship of forces in its favour. It has been possible to prevent the outbreak of a world war thanks to the growing economic, political and military might, and the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist states; to the actions of the international proletariat and of all fighters against imperialism; to the struggle for national liberation; and also to the massive peace movement. Socialism, which has triumphed on one-third of the globe, has scored new successes in the worldwide struggle for the hearts and minds of the people. The events of the past decade bear out that the Marxist-Leninist assessment of the character, content and chief trends of the present epoch is correct. Ours is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

At present there are real possibilities for resolving key problems of our time in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism, to deal imperialism new blows. However, while the world system of imperialism has not grown stronger, it remains a serious and dangerous foe. The United States of America, the chief imperialist power, has grown more aggressive.

The core of the aggressive policy of imperialism is the drive to use all means to weaken the positions of socialism, suppress the national liberation movement, hamstringing the struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries and halt the irreversible decline of capitalism.

Global in scale, the basic contradiction between imperialism and socialism is growing deeper. Under conditions where the struggle between the two world systems is becoming sharper, the

capitalist powers seek, despite the growing contradictions dividing them, to unite their efforts to uphold and strengthen the system of exploitation and oppression and regain the positions they have lost. US imperialism strives to retain its influence over other capitalist countries and pursue a common policy with them in the main spheres of the class struggle.

The spearhead of the aggressive strategy of imperialism continues to be aimed first and foremost against the socialist countries. Imperialism does not forego open armed struggle against socialism. It ceaselessly intensifies the arms race and tries to activate the military blocs organised for aggression against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It steps up its ideological fight against them and tries to hamper the economic development of the socialist countries.

In its actions against the working class movement imperialism violates democratic rights and freedoms and uses naked violence, brutal methods of police persecution and antilabour legislation. Moreover, it has recourse to demagogy, bourgeois reformism and opportunist ideology and policy, and is constantly in quest of new methods to undermine the working class movement from within and "integrate" it into the capitalist system.

In its struggle against the national liberation movement, imperialism stubbornly defends the remnants of the colonial system, on the one hand, and, on the other, uses methods of neocolonialism in an effort to prevent the economic and social advance of developing states, of countries which have won national sovereignty. To this end it supports reactionary circles, retards the abolition of the most backward social structures and tries to obstruct progress along the road to socialism or along the road of progressive non-capitalist development, which can open the way to socialism. The imperialists impose on these countries economic agreements and military-political pacts which infringe on their sovereignty; they exploit them through the export of capital, unequal terms of trade; the manipulation of prices, exchange rates, loans and various forms of so-called aid; and pressure by international financial organisations.

The gulf between the highly developed capitalist states and the majority of the other countries of the capitalist world is growing wider; hunger is an acute problem in a number of the latter. Imperialism provokes friction in developing countries and sows division between them by encouraging reactionary nationalism. Through anti-communism it tries to split the ranks of the revolutionaries in these countries and isolate them from their best friends—the socialist states and the revolutionary working class movement in the capitalist countries.

Through military-political blocs, military bases in foreign countries, economic pressure and trade blockades imperialism maintains tension in some areas of the world. It provides reactionary organisations with financial and political support and intensifies political oppression. It resorts to armed intervention, savage repression—especially in countries where the struggle acquires the most acute forms and where the revolutionary forces fight arms in hand—counter revolutionary conspiracies, reactionary and fascist coups, provocations and blackmail.

In face of the strengthening of the international positions of socialism, imperialism tries to weaken the unity of the world socialist system. It uses the differences in the international revolutionary movement in an effort to split its ranks. It places its ideological apparatus, including mass media, in the service of anti-communism and its struggle against socialism, against all progressive forces.

In these past years, imperialism has time and again provoked sharp international crises which have pushed humanity to the brink of a thermo-nuclear conflict. However, US imperialism has to take into account the relationship of forces in the world, the nuclear potential of the Soviet Union and the possible consequences of a missile-nuclear war, and it is becoming more and more difficult and dangerous for it to gamble on another world war. Therefore the ruling circles of the United States, without abandoning preparations for such a war, lay emphasis on local wars.

However, the contradiction between the imperialist "policy of strength" and the real possibilities of imperialism is becoming

ever more evident. *Imperialism can neither regain its lost historical initiative nor reverse world development. The main direction of mankind's development is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, all revolutionary forces.*

The war in *Vietnam* is the most convincing proof of the contradiction between imperialism's aggressive plans and its ability to put these plans into effect. In Vietnam US imperialism, the most powerful of the imperialist partners, is suffering defeat, and this is of historic significance. The armed intervention in Vietnam holds a special place in the military and political designs of US imperialism. The aggressor planned to destroy an outpost of socialism in Asia, block the way for the peoples of Southeast Asia to freedom and progress, strike a blow at the national-liberation movement, and test the strength of the proletarian solidarity of the socialist countries and the working people of the whole world.

Despite the huge quantity of armaments which it has brought into play, US imperialism has been compelled to cease the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam unconditionally and to send its representatives to sit at the negotiating table with representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

This has been brought about by the unexampled heroism of the Vietnamese people, the farsighted policy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the many forms of assistance rendered to the Vietnamese people by the socialist countries, by the Soviet Union in particular, and the militant and ever growing international solidarity throughout the world, including the United States itself. The criminal intervention in Vietnam has resulted in considerable moral and political isolation of the United States. It has turned ever broader masses of people, new social strata and political forces against imperialism and speeded up the involvement of millions of young people in many countries in the anti-imperialist struggle. It has aggravated existing contradictions between the imperialist powers and created new ones. The successes of the

heroic Vietnamese people are convincing proof that in our day it is becoming increasingly possible for peoples resolutely using all means to defend their independence, sovereignty and freedom and enjoying broad international support, to defeat imperialist aggression.

In the *Middle East* a grave international crisis has been precipitated by the Israeli aggression against the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan. Through this aggression, imperialism, that of the US above all, tried to crush the progressive regimes in the Arab countries, undermine the Arab liberation movement, and preserve or regain its positions in the Middle East. This it has failed to do. Nevertheless, supported by world reaction, including zionist circles, the ruling forces of Israel continue to ignore the demands of the Arab states and of the peace-loving peoples, and the UN decisions on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories, persist in their policy of expansion and annexation, and ceaselessly commit fresh armed provocations. This policy is opposed by the Communist Party and other progressive forces of Israel. The Arab peoples resolutely continue the struggle to uphold their freedom, independence and national progress, and to recover the occupied territories, for recognition of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

The resistance movement against the occupation is growing, assuming diverse forms and is enjoying ever greater support. On the side of these peoples are the USSR and other socialist states, the international communist movement, the solidarity of the forces of national liberation, and ever wider public circles in the capitalist countries.

US imperialism has not abandoned its plans to strangle revolutionary *Cuba*. It continues to threaten the independence of the Republic of Cuba and in flagrant contravention of international law tries to blockade it economically and carries on provocative and subversive activity against it. But the courageous people of Cuba, led by their Communist Party and supported by the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, progressive forces of Latin- America and the entire revolutionary movement, staunchly defend their sovereignty and freedom and thereby the outpost of socialism in the American continent.

In *Europe* the North Atlantic bloc, the chief instrument of imperialist aggression and adventurism, continues to be active. The axis of this bloc is the alliance between Washington and Bonn. Contrary to the will of the peoples of Europe, the ruling circles of the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and Britain are doing their utmost to prolong the existence of this bloc, strengthen its organisation and maintain the military presence of the United States in Europe.

West-German militarism, the main source of the war danger in the heart of Europe, was revived and grew strong mainly with NATO assistance. The imperialist ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany, where neonazism and militarism are gaining strength, persist in their revanchist programme of revising the results of the second world war and of changing the frontiers of a number of European countries. This policy, aimed primarily against the German Democratic Republic, the first socialist workers' and peasants' state in German history, threatens the security of all European peoples and the peace of the world.

The *Mediterranean* countries occupy an important place in the plans of imperialism. US imperialism, which has important military bases in Spain, continues to support the Franco regime, thereby helping it to survive in opposition to the struggle of the fighting Spanish people. The US 6th Fleet and the system of military bases, which are a threat to the peoples and to peace in this area, serve as a permanent instrument of political and military pressure in the Mediterranean. The repeated exacerbation of the situation in Cyprus and the fascist coup in Greece are likewise the handiwork of the imperialists, who support the colonels' junta.

Southeast Asia and the Far East are one of the main areas of imperialist aggression and military gambles. In addition to SEATO, ANZUS and the so-called security treaty between the United States and Japan, there is the virtual occupation of the South-western Pacific and the Indian Ocean by US armed forces. This entire system is spearheaded primarily against the socialist countries of Asia, against the national-liberation movement, as well as against

the neutral and non aligned states in this area. The US imperialists continue to occupy Taiwan, which is an integral part of the People's Republic of China, and obstruct the restoration of China's lawful rights in the United Nations. The US imperialists continue armed provocations against the Korean Democratic People's Republic and the military occupation of South Korea and exercise arbitrary rule, suppressing progressive forces striving for freedom and the unification of the country. They commit acts of aggression against Laos and provocations against Cambodia. They have set up and are enlarging strong military bases in Thailand. They persist in their attempt to pressure India into abandoning her path of non-alignment and independent economic development. The imperialists supported the anti-popular coup in Indonesia, accomplished by reactionary circles, who have physically destroyed hundreds of thousand of communists and other democrats and continue to commit bloody outrages; all this leads to the destruction of all the gains of the Indonesian revolution and threatens to deprive the country of her independence.

Imperialism has become more active in a number of *African* countries. It tries to halt the growth of the liberation struggle and preserve and strengthen its positions in that continent. The British and French imperialists, and the imperialists of the USA, West Germany and Japan are making extensive use of neocolonialist methods of economic, political and ideological infiltration and subjugation. The armed intervention in the Congo (Kinshasa), the reactionary coups in Ghana and some other countries, imperialist moves designed to dismember Nigeria, the political and military support given to reactionary and anti-national cliques, to the fascist and racist regimes in the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, the fomenting of interstate conflicts and inter tribal strife, economic pressure and monopoly expansion—all serve to further imperialist plans. The Portuguese colonialists, backed by NATO, try to keep their possessions by force of arms.

US imperialism continues to step up its economic penetration, as well as its political, ideological and cultural intervention in the *Latin-American* countries. In alliance with the local reactionary

forces it has been pursuing a policy designed to prevent the peoples from following the example of Cuba. It suppresses any step leading to economic and genuine political independence.

To promote this policy the US imperialists put forward the alliance for progress programme and resort to new, camouflaged forms of domination. They use the Organisation of American States and the inter American military alliance, exert efforts to set up the so-called "Inter American Peace Forces" and have arrogated the right to military intervention against any Latin-American country as they have done against the Dominican Republic and against Panama. The US imperialists maintain or install reactionary dictatorships, often by way of military coups, intensify splitting activities in the trade union movement, extend their influence over the armed and police forces and inspire repressions against the popular movement. They have taken a direct part in military operations against the guerilla movement in some Latin-American countries. However, the policy of US imperialism is encountering great difficulties. It fails to stabilise reactionary regimes or secure the agreement of all the governments to the setting up of the "Inter-American Peace Forces". The alliance for progress programme has failed.

Other imperialist powers, particularly West Germany and Japan, likewise seek to entrench themselves in that continent.

This policy of imperialist aggression which threatens world peace and the security and independence of nations is facing growing resistance in the capitalist countries from the working class, peasantry, young people, students, from the broadest masses irrespective of their political views and ideology. The mighty protest movement against US aggression in Vietnam strengthens the militant actions of the democratic forces against US imperialist policy as a whole and the policies of the governments supporting it.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people has stimulated in Japan and other Asian countries the movement for closing the US military bases and the renunciation of treaties which bind these countries to the policy of the Pentagon. In the USA itself which is the main source of aggression—a militant mass movement against war and militarism has developed.

In Western Europe the movement against the aggressive NATO bloc, for the normalisation of relations and the development of co-operation between states and for safeguarding European security, encompasses ever wider strata of the population. Forces actively opposed to revanchism and militarism are growing in West Germany, too. In countries where the USA maintains military bases, demands for eliminating these strong points of aggression are becoming more articulate.

The Latin-American peoples are fighting against oppression and brazen interference of US imperialism in their internal affairs. The strike movement of the workers, the actions of peasants, students and other strata show that broad masses throughout the continent are intensifying resistance to the dictates of the USA and its military designs. In some countries the revolutionary forces are resorting to the armed struggle against the domination of the oligarchy and imperialism. The national feelings of the peoples and economic difficulties might compel even some governments to take important measures against imperialism; this determines the tendency to establish or extend relations with socialist countries, including Cuba. The communist and workers' parties are heading the democratic and anti-imperialist struggle, and despite persecution by reactionary camarillas they are fighting with dedication and courage for the demands of the masses and for revolutionary changes.

The upsurge of the national-liberation movement of the Afro-Asian peoples has been a telling blow at the positions of imperialism on these continents. Despite serious difficulties, these peoples are continuing to struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism and contribute to the general offensive against imperialism.

The events of the past decade have laid bare more forcefully than ever the nature of US imperialism as a world exploiter and gendarme, as the sworn enemy of liberation movements. The US monopolies have penetrated the economy of dozens of countries, where they are increasing their capital investments and seeking to gain control of key positions in the economy.

West-German imperialism is increasing its economic strength building up its war machine, reaching out for nuclear weapons and intensifying its drive for domination over Western Europe. It opposes all steps leading to disarmament and the easing of international tension, and pursues a policy of neocolonialism and expansion in relation to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin-America.

Despite the weakening of British imperialism, Britain remains one of the major imperialist powers and strives to maintain its positions in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and the Middle East by neocolonialist methods and sometimes by direct military intervention. One the principal issues of world politics Britain acts as one of the most active partners of the United States. It is a leading aggressive force in NATO and seeks a closer alliance with West Germany.

Japanese imperialism is gaining in strength, intensifying its expansion, especially in Asia. Militarism is again rearing its head in Japan. Linked by many ties with US imperialism, the ruling circles of Japan have virtually turned the country into a US arsenal in the war against the Vietnamese people, and take part in conspiracies against the Korean people.

French imperialism tries to maintain and consolidate its positions in world economy and politics. It persistently continues to build up a nuclear strike force and refuses to join in measures that would promote disarmament. It retains its colonial domination over the peoples of Guadeloupe, Martinique, Reunion and some countries of Africa and Oceania, and refuses to recognise their right to self-determination and to govern their own affairs. It uses the influence, it still has in its former colonies and, employing new methods of colonialist policy, is particularly active in Africa.

Italian monopoly capital is likewise stepping up its expansion.

Economic development is becoming more uneven among the various imperialist powers and in the capitalist world as a whole. Life demonstrates the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theory of struggle between the imperialist powers and between the capitalist monopolies for spheres of influence. Industrial and

commercial competition is growing sharper, and the financial and currency war is spreading. Competition is growing in Western Europe, including within the Common Market, and also between the capitalist countries of Europe and the USA. Japanese imperialism is energetically joining this struggle for markets and maximum profits.

The interimperialist contradictions are manifest not only in the economic sphere. NATO is undergoing a serious crisis. The aggressive blocs established in Asia—CENTO and SEATO—are beginning to crack up. Western Europe is becoming an arena of discord among the capitalist countries. This weakens the world system of imperialism and upsets US imperialism's plans for hegemony.

Contradictions are also growing deeper within the ruling circles of the imperialist countries, between the most belligerent groups who gamble on extreme measures, on war, and those who, reckoning with the new relationship of class forces in the world, the growing might of the socialist countries, tend to take a more realistic approach to international problems and to solve them in the spirit of peaceful coexistence between states with different systems. The ruling circles of some countries realise the need to reckon with the real situation which has taken shape in Europe as a result of the war and of postwar development and are beginning to see that the German Democratic Republic must be recognised. A number of countries have recognised the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of China despite US pressure.

The communist and workers' parties, the working class and the anti-imperialist forces take into account all the contradictions in the enemy camp and strive to deepen and utilise them in the interest of peace and progress.

Each imperialist power pursues its own aims. At the same time, together they form the chain of the world system of imperialism.

Present-day imperialism, which is trying to adapt itself to the conditions of the struggle between the two systems and to the demands of the scientific and technological revolution, has some

new features. Its state-monopoly character is becoming more pronounced. It resorts ever more extensively to such instruments as state-stimulated monopolistic concentration of production and capital, redistribution by the state of an increasing proportion of the national income, allocation of war contracts to the monopolies, government financing of industrial development and research programmes, the drawing up of economic development programmes on a countrywide scale, the policy of imperialist integration and new forms of capital export.

However, state monopoly regulation, exercised in forms and on a scale which meet the interests of monopoly capital and are aimed at preserving its rule, is unable to control the spontaneous forces of the capitalist market. Practically no capitalist state has been able to avoid considerable cyclical fluctuations and slumps in its economy; in some countries, periods of rapid industrial growth alternate with periods in which there is a slowdown and often a drop in production. The capitalist system is in the grip of an acute monetary and financial crisis.

The scientific and technological revolution offers mankind unprecedented possibilities to remake nature, to produce immense material wealth and to multiply man's creative capabilities. These possibilities should serve the general welfare, but capitalism is using the scientific and technological revolution to increase its profits and intensify the exploitation of the working people.

The scientific and technological revolution accelerates the socialisation of the economy; under monopoly domination this leads to the reproduction of social antagonisms on a growing scale and in a sharper form. Not only have the long standing contradictions of capitalism been aggravated, but new ones have arisen as well. This applies, in particular, to the contradiction between the unlimited possibilities opened up by the scientific and technological revolution and the roadblocks raised by capitalism to their utilisation for the benefit of society as a whole. Capitalism squanders national wealth, allocating for war purposes a great proportion of scientific discoveries and immense material resources. This is the contradiction between the social character of present-day production and the state-monopoly nature of its regulation. This is not only the growth of the contradiction

between capital and labour, but also the deepening of the antagonism between the interests of the overwhelming majority of the nation and those of the financial oligarchy.

Even in the most developed capitalist countries, millions of people suffer the torments of unemployment, want and insecurity. Contrary to assertions about the "revolution in incomes" and "social partnership", capitalist exploitation is in fact increasing. The rise in wages lags far behind the growth rates of labour productivity and the intensification of labour, behind the social needs and even more so behind the growth of monopoly profits. The position of the small farmers continues to deteriorate and the living conditions of a considerable part of the middle strata are becoming more difficult.

The instability of the capitalist system has increased. Socio-political crises are breaking out in many countries, in the course of which the working masses are becoming aware of the necessity of deep going and decisive changes.

This became primarily evident from the events in France in May and June 1968, from the powerful strike movement there, in which the communists played an important role and the working people made considerable gains. A serious clash took place in that country between the working class and a considerable section of the intellectuals and students, on the one hand, and the Gaullist regime and monopoly rule, on the other. This clash opened up new possibilities for the struggle for democracy and socialism.

In Italy, the steady growth of the strike movement on a national scale, the big political battles and the electoral successes of the leftwing forces strongly shook the policy of the centre-left, which the ruling classes reckoned on using to stabilise capitalism.

In Spain, the struggle of the masses continues to undermine the fascist dictatorship of Franco, which was compelled to introduce emergency measures; despite these repressions, the struggle is expanding, and new social strata and broad social circles are joining the anti-Franco opposition.

In Great Britain, major class battles are unfolding, including political strikes in defence of the trade unions and of the right to strike, which are under attack by the labour government.

Class battles, strikes and other actions by the working people, students and other social segments have been stepped up in Japan, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, the Federal Republic of Germany, Uruguay, Belgium, Portugal, Chile, India, Pakistan, Turkey and other countries and also in West Berlin. The growth of the democratic movement has also been reflected in the election achievements of the communists and other progressive forces in a number of countries, including Japan. Democratic front governments with the participation of communists have been formed in some states of India. In Finland, the communists take part in the government.

Moreover, the depth of the crisis in the capitalist world is also strikingly revealed by the advance of the mass struggle in the United States itself, that main pillar of world imperialism. A wave of rebellions against racial discrimination, poverty, starvation and police brutality has swept the Negro ghettos. Scores of American cities and towns have been the scene of fierce clashes with troops and police, which took a great toll of lives and led to the arrest of thousands of Negroes.

In the USA militant strikes for economic demands take place often in defiance of government pressure and threats and contrary to the will of reactionary trade union officials. In the unions the rank and file and progressive forces are becoming more active. Large sections of the working people oppose the Vietnam war:

Intellectual, professional and religious circles in the USA are becoming more and more active in the movement of social protest and for peace. Young people, students in particular, black and white, are in revolt in different ways against the Vietnam war, military conscription, racism and monopoly control of universities. Reaction replies to this with the assassination of public figures, mounting repression and massive violence. The notorious "American way of life" is being discredited in the eyes of the world.

Everywhere the monopoly bourgeoisie tries to create the illusion that everything the working people aspire to can be achieved without a revolutionary transformation of the existing system. To conceal its exploiting and aggressive nature,

capitalism resorts to theoretical whitewash ("people's capitalism", the "welfare state", the "affluent society", etc.). The revolutionary working class movement exposes these concepts and wages a determined struggle against them. It thus deepens the crisis of imperialist ideology; increasing numbers of people are turning away from this ideology.

The conscience and intellect of mankind cannot be reconciled with the crimes of imperialism. Imperialism bears the guilt for two world wars which snuffed out the lives of tens of millions of people. It has created a gigantic military machine which devours tremendous human and material resources. Intensifying the armaments race, it plans the production of new weapons for decades ahead. It is fraught with the threat of a thermo-nuclear world war which would annihilate hundreds of millions of people and turn entire countries into deserts.

Imperialism gave birth to fascism—the system of political terror and death camps. Wherever it can, imperialism wages an offensive against democratic rights and liberties; it tramples underfoot human dignity and cultivates racialism.

Imperialism is responsible for the hardship and suffering of hundreds of millions of people. It is chiefly to blame for the fact that vast masses of people in Asian, African and Latin-American countries are compelled to live in conditions of poverty, disease and illiteracy and under archaic social relations, and that entire nationalities are doomed to extinction.

The course of social development shows that imperialism comes into conflict with the vital interests of workers by hand and by brain, of different social strata, peoples and nations. As a result, growing masses of working people, social movements and entire peoples are rising against imperialism.

The working class, the democratic and revolutionary forces, the peoples must unite and act jointly in order to put an end to imperialism's criminal actions which can bring still graver suffering to mankind. To curb the aggressors and liberate mankind from imperialism is the mission of the working class, of all the anti-imperialist forces fighting for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

II

The world socialist system is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle. Each liberation struggle receives indispensable aid from the world socialist system, above all from the Soviet Union.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, the victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism in the second world war, the triumph of the revolution in China and in several other countries in Europe and Asia—the emergence of the first socialist state in America, the Republic of Cuba, the rise and development of the world socialist system, comprising fourteen states, and the inspiring influence of socialism on the entire world have created the prerequisites for accelerating historical progress and opened new prospects for the advance and triumph of socialism throughout the world.

Socialism has shown mankind the prospect of deliverance from imperialism. The new social system based on public ownership of the means of production and on the power of the working people is capable of ensuring the planned, crisis-free development of the economy in the interest of the people, guaranteeing the social and political rights of the working people, creating conditions for genuine democracy, for real participation by the broad masses of people in the administration of society, for all-round development of the individual and for the equality and friendship of nations. It has been proved in fact that only socialism is capable of solving the fundamental problems facing mankind.

The contribution of the world socialist system to the common cause of the anti-imperialist forces is determined primarily by its growing economic potential. The swift economic development of the countries belonging to the socialist system at rates outpacing the economic growth of the capitalist countries, the advance of socialism to leading positions in a number of fields of scientific and technological progress, and the blazing of a trail into outer space by the Soviet Union—all these tangible results, produced

by the creative endeavours of the peoples of the socialist countries, decisively contribute to the preponderance of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism over imperialism.

The socialist world has now entered a stage of its development when the possibility arises of utilising on a scale far greater than ever before the tremendous potentialities inherent in the new system. This is furthered by evolving and applying better economic and political forms corresponding to the requirements of mature socialist society, which already rests on the new social structure. The building of socialism and its further development rests on the support, participation and initiative of the broadest masses inspired and led by the working class. The Communist Party is the vanguard of socialist society as a whole. The forces of socialism are strengthened and unity of will and action of the people is promoted by the steadily increasing political activity of the working people, by the greater activity of their social organisations, extension of the rights of the individual, irreconcilable struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy and by the all-round development of socialist democracy. The improvement of socialist democracy, the growth of the productive forces, the political and cultural progress, the superiority of human and moral values enhance the influence of socialism on the working people of the world and reinforce its positions in the struggle against imperialism, a struggle of worldwide significance.

Practice has shown that socialist transformations and the building of the new society are a long and complex process, and that the utilisation of the tremendous possibilities opened up by the new system depends on the communist parties in the leadership of the state, on their ability to resolve the problems of socialist development the Marxist-Leninist way.

The application of science in various social and economic fields and the full utilisation of the potentialities opened up by the scientific and technological revolution for speeding up economic development and for satisfying the needs of all members of society are made possible by socialist ownership, the planned organisation of production, and the active participation of

workers by hand and by brain in guiding and managing the economy. An important requisite for the development of socialist society is to give full scope to the scientific and technological revolution, which has become one of the main sectors of the historic competition between capitalism and socialism.

The formation of the socialist world constitutes an integral part of the class struggle being waged in the international arena. The enemies of socialism are keeping up their attempts to undermine the foundations of the socialist state power, thwart the socialist transformation of society and restore their own rule. To give a firm rebuff of these attempts is an essential function of the socialist state, which relies on the broad masses led by the working class and its communist vanguard.

The defence of socialism is an internationalist duty of communists.

The development and strengthening of each socialist country is a vital condition of the progress of the world socialist system as a whole. Successful development of the national economy, improvement of social relations and the all-round progress of each socialist country conform both to the interests of each people separately and the common cause of socialism.

One of the most important tasks before the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries is to develop all-embracing cooperation between their countries and ensure fresh successes in the decisive areas of the economic competition between the two systems, in the advance of science and technology. As the struggle between the two world systems grows sharper, this competition demands that on the basis of the socialist countries' fundamental interests and aims and of the Marxist-Leninist principles underlying their policy, the socialist system should place greater reliance on the international socialist division of labour and voluntary cooperation between them, which rules out any infringement of national interests, and ensures the advance of each country and consolidates the might of the world socialist system as a whole.

Relying on its steadily growing economic and defence potential, the world socialist system fetters imperialism, reduces

its possibilities of exporting counter-revolution, and, in fulfilment of its internationalist duty, furnishes increasing aid to the peoples fighting for freedom and independence, and promotes peace and international security. So long as the aggressive NATO bloc exists, the Warsaw Treaty Organisation has an important role to play in safeguarding the security of the socialist countries against armed attack by the imperialist powers and in ensuring peace.

The success of socialism, its impact on the course of world events and the effectiveness of its struggle against imperialist aggression largely depend on the cohesion of the socialist countries. Unity of action of the socialist countries is an important factor in bringing together all anti-imperialist forces.

The establishment of international relations of a new type and the development of the fraternal alliance of the socialist countries is a complex historical process. Following the victory of the socialist revolution in many countries, the building of socialism on the basis of general laws is proceeding in various forms, which take into account concrete historical conditions and national distinctions. Successful development of this process implies strict adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism, mutual assistance and support, equality, sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Socialism is not afflicted with the contradictions inherent in capitalism. When divergences between socialist countries do arise owing to differences in the level of economic development, in social structure or international position or because of national distinctions, they can and must be successfully settled on the basis of proletarian internationalism, through comradely discussion and voluntary fraternal cooperation. They need not disrupt the united front of socialist countries against imperialism.

Communists are aware of the difficulties in the development of the world socialist system. But this system is based on the identity of the socio-economic structure of its member-countries and on the identity of their fundamental interests and objectives. This identity is an earnest that the existing difficulties will be overcome and that the unity of the socialist system will be further strengthened on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In the citadels of capitalism the working class, as recent events have shown, is the principal driving force of the revolutionary struggle, of the entire anti-imperialist, democratic movement. The present period is characterised by a sharpening of the struggle of the working class and of the broad masses of working people not only for an improvement of their economic conditions but also for political demands. While defending their vital interests, the working people fight for social rights and democratic freedoms. These demands are increasingly directed against the system of domination by monopoly capital, against its political power. The desire of the working masses to effect a radical change in the economic and social system based on the exploitation of man is growing ever stronger. The big battles of the working class in a number of capitalist countries are undermining the power of the monopolies, intensifying the instability and contradictions of capitalist society. These struggles foreshadow new class battles which could lead to fundamental social change, socialist revolution and the establishment of the power of the working class in alliance with other segments of the working people.

Recent class battles have struck a blow at the illusions spread by partisans of neocapitalism and reformism, and have given fresh proof of the basic propositions of Marxism-Leninism. In contrast to the right and "left" opportunists, the communist and workers' parties do not counterpose the fight for deep-going economic and social demands, and for advanced democracy to the struggle for socialism, but regard it as a part of the struggle for socialism. The radical democratic changes which will be achieved in the struggle against the monopolies and their economic domination and political power will promote among the broad masses awareness of the need for socialism.

In the new situation, the need for working class unity has become even more urgent. Facts and the experience gained by the working class in the course of their struggles, and the sharp criticism of opportunist views by the communist parties—which remains a constant task—deepen the crisis of reformist concepts. A differentiation is taking place in the ranks of social-democracy,

and this is also reflected in the leadership. Some of the leaders come out in defence of monopoly capital and imperialism. Others are more inclined to reckon with the demands of the working masses in the economic and social fields, and in the questions of the struggle for peace and progress.

Communists, who attribute decisive importance to working class unity, are in favour of cooperation with the socialists and social-democrats to establish an advanced democratic regime today and to build a socialist society in the future. They will do everything they can to carry out this cooperation. Communists are likewise in favour of cooperation with other democratic parties and organisations interested in the renewal of society. To advance on this path, it is, of course, necessary for the socialist parties and other political organisations favouring socialism resolutely to break with the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and to pursue a policy of effective struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

The trade unions, the largest organisations of the working people, play an important role in the struggle against the monopolies. But for the division in the trade union movement in the capitalist world they might be playing an even larger role. Some leaders create artificial obstacles to unity of action by trade unions of different orientation, on a national and international scale, but the desire for such unity has, nonetheless, been growing in the trade union movement in recent years. Communists are consistent champions of trade union unity within the framework of each country and in the international arena.

The communist policy of united action by all the parties of the working class and the trade unions drawn growing support. This policy of unity affords the working class movement greater opportunities in the anti-imperialist struggle and makes it possible to bring into the struggle that section of the proletariat which is still unorganised or still follows bourgeois parties. Communists will improve their political and ideological work with an eye to securing working class unity.

Domination by finance capital and the realisation of "agrarian programmes" by the monopolist states lead to the ruin of ever

larger section of the small and middle farmers. Lately, the farmers have been putting up growing resistance to these measures, conducting mass actions supported by urban working people. The strengthening of the alliance of workers and farmers is one of the basic prerequisites of the success of the struggle against the monopolies and their power.

Big capital tramples on the vital interests of the majority of the urban middle strata. Therefore, despite their lack of unity and special susceptibility to bourgeois ideology, large masses of the middle strata are coming forward in defence of their interests, joining the struggle for general democratic demands, and becoming increasingly conscious of the vital importance of united action with the working class.

In this age, when science is becoming a direct productive force, growing numbers of intellectuals are swelling the ranks of wage and salary workers. Their social interests intertwine with those of the working class; their creative aspirations clash with the interests of the monopoly employers, who place profit above all else. Despite the great diversity in their positions, different groups of intellectuals are coming more and more into conflict with the monopolies and the imperialist policy of governments. The crisis of bourgeois ideology and the attraction of socialism help to bring intellectuals into the anti-imperialist struggle. The alliance of workers by hand and by brain is becoming an increasingly important force in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, for the democratic control of production, of cultural institutions and information media and for the development of public education in the interest of the people.

The convergence of interests of the working class, farmers, urban middle strata and intellectuals as well as their growing cooperation reduce the social foundations of monopoly power, sharpen its internal contradictions and promote the mobilisation of broad masses of people for the struggle against monopolies and imperialism.

The numerical growth and mounting political activity of young people have become an important factor in social affairs in Western Europe, America, Japan, Turkey and other countries.

Action by young people reflects the deep-going crisis of contemporary bourgeois society. Working youth, primarily young industrial workers, who are subjected to super exploitation and see no prospect for themselves under capitalism, are entering the class struggle to an ever greater extent, joining the trade unions and communist and other democratic organisations. Broad masses of students take a stand not only against the defects of the obsolete system of education and for the right to organise and share actively in the affairs of educational centres but also against the policy of the ruling classes. Inspired by the struggle of the Vietnamese people and by other examples of heroic struggle against imperialism, growing numbers of young people actively participate in major mass actions against imperialism, for democracy, peace and socialism.

Communists think highly of the upsurge of the youth movement and actively participate in it. They propagate in its ranks the ideas of scientific socialism, explaining the danger of various pseudo-revolutionary ideas, which could influence young people, and seeking to help young people find the right path in the struggle against imperialism and for defence of their interests. Only close unity with the working class movement and its communist vanguard can open for them truly revolutionary prospects.

An important feature of our epoch is the large scale participation of women in the class struggle, the anti-imperialist movement and, in particular, the struggle for peace. This is strikingly demonstrated in the massive protest campaigns against the US aggression in Vietnam. The number of women engaged in production and other sphere is increasing. Their political consciousness is growing and their struggle for economic and social rights is becoming more active. Working women demand an end to discrimination in the remuneration for their work, full equality in civil rights, a maternity protection programme and so on. They are participating more and more actively in the battles of the workers and democratic forces, and are joining the trade unions in increasing numbers. The communist and workers' parties, in whose activity women members participate on the

basis of complete equality, emphatically support their demands and regard the emancipation of women as an important element of the general democratic movement. The example of the socialist countries, where women are guaranteed full equality, is a great attraction to women engaged in struggle in the capitalist world.

Owing to the considerable aggravation of social contradictions, conditions have arisen in many capitalist countries for an anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist alliance of the revolutionary working class movement and broad masses of religious people. The catholic church and some other religious organisations are experiencing an ideological crisis, which is shattering their age-long concepts and existing structures. Positive cooperation and joint action between communists and broad democratic masses of catholics and followers of other religions are developing in some countries. The dialogue between them on issues such as war and peace, capitalism and socialism, and neocolonialism and the problem of the developing countries, has become highly topical; their united action against imperialism, for democracy and socialism, is extremely timely. Communists are convinced that in this way—through broad contacts and joint action—the mass of religious people can become an active force in the anti-imperialist struggle and in carrying out far-reaching social changes.

In the course of anti-monopolist and anti-imperialist united action, favourable conditions are created for uniting all democratic trends into a political alliance capable of decisively limiting the role played by the monopolies in the economics of the countries concerned, of putting an end to the power of big capital and of bringing about such radical political and economic changes as would ensure the most favourable conditions for continuing the struggle for socialism. The main force in this democratic alliance is the working class. These objectives can be achieved, above all, by diverse forms of powerful mass action by the working class and the broadest sections of the population. While making use of all possibilities of parliamentary activity,

communists emphasise that the mass movement of the working class and of all working people is the decisive factor in the struggle for democracy and socialism.

The collapse of the colonial system has considerably weakened the position of imperialism. *In the past decade the role of the anti-imperialist movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin-America in the world revolutionary process has continued to grow.* In some countries, this movement is acquiring an anti-capitalist content.

In many *Asian and African* countries the national-liberation movement has entered a new phase. A large number of national states has emerged in this area, substantially altering the world political structure and changing the balance of power to the detriment of imperialism. The old colonial empires have been almost completely abolished.

Of great importance for the future of Africa and the cause of peace is the liberation of southern Africa, one of the last areas of colonial domination. The armed struggle which is being waged in this area by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa is inflicting heavy blows on the coalition of fascist and racist regimes, which are supported by the imperialists, and is opening up prospects for fresh big victories of the African revolution.

The Arab liberation movement is playing an outstanding role in the battle waged against world imperialism. It is exerting a positive influence on the entire movement against imperialism and neocolonialism in the Middle East and Africa. The struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism and the Israeli aggression is a part of the general struggle between the forces of freedom and socialism throughout the world, on the one hand, and world imperialism, on the other.

The growth of the movement for national liberation, and the social progress of the peoples in this strategically important and oil-rich area, evokes the violent hatred of the imperialists and the oil monopolies, which are weaving a web of intrigues and plots against this movement, and resorting to wars and aggressive action.

To repel these actions, defeat these plots, and safeguard all gains, the deepening of the social and economic changes, the progressive national fronts, and the democratic freedoms for the masses and for the activity of the progressive national forces are, among other things, of great significance.

Social differentiation is developing in the newly-independent countries. There is a sharpening conflict between the working class, the peasantry and other democratic forces, including patriotic-minded sections of the petty bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and, on the other, imperialism and the forces of domestic reaction, the elements of the national bourgeoisie which are increasingly accepting a deal with imperialism. In a number of young states of social role and political activity of the working class have increased. The importance of international ties between the young proletariat of the countries of Asia and Africa and the working class of the socialist countries and the capitalist states is growing.

The toiling peasantry has great revolutionary potential. It is taking an active part in the struggle against imperialism, for the national liberation of peoples, and for consolidating the independence of the young states. Communists are intensifying their activity among the peasant masses and are carrying proletarian ideology into their midst.

In most of the independent Asian and African states, along with the task of consolidating and safeguarding political independence and sovereignty, the central problems of social progress are to overcome economic backwardness, set up an independent national economy, including their own industry, and raise the people's standard of living. The solution of these problems involves far-reaching socio-economic changes, the implementation of democratic agrarian reforms in the interests of the working peasantry and with its participation, the abolition of outdated feudal and prefeudal relations, liquidation of oppression by foreign monopolies, radical democratisation of social and political life and the state apparatus, regeneration of national culture and the development of its progressive traditions, the strengthening of revolutionary parties and the founding of such

parties where they do not yet exist. The pressing problems of social development of these states are the object not only of sharp struggle between the peoples of these countries and the neocolonialists, but also of internal social conflicts. The establishment of relations of friendship and effective cooperation with socialist countries is of great importance for independent Asian and African countries.

Under the impact of the revolutionary conditions of our time, distinctive forms of progressive social development of the newly-free countries have appeared, and the role of revolutionary and democratic forces has been enhanced. Some young states have taken the non-capitalist path, a path which opens up the possibility of overcoming the backwardness inherited from the colonial past and creates conditions for transition to socialist development. In these countries the socialist orientation is making headway, overcoming great difficulties and trials. These states are waging a determined struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism.

Countries which have taken the capitalist road have been unable to solve any of the basic problems facing them. Confronted with rising popular discontent, the internal reactionary forces in these countries are intensifying with imperialist support their assault on democratic freedoms. In a number of cases they are brutally suppressing the mass democratic and patriotic movements. They are kindling conflicts between national, ethnic, religious, tribal and linguistic groups, thereby jeopardising the independence won by these countries.

The imperialists show special hostility towards states with progressive regimes. To turn these countries away from their chosen path the imperialists seek to subvert their political parties, subject educational and cultural institutions and mass media to their influence, organise counter-revolutionary activities through their agents and back reactionary elements in the state apparatus and the armed forces. They try to utilise anti-communist prejudices to spread discord among patriots.

The way to carry out the tasks of national development and social progress and effectively rebuff neocolonialist intrigues is to raise the activity of the people, enhance the role of the proletariat

and the peasants, rally working youth, students, intellectuals, urban middle strata and democratic army circles—all patriotic and progressive forces. It is this kind of unity the communist and workers' parties are calling for.

Communists fight for the freedom, national independence and socialist future of their peoples. They are bearers of the ideas of scientific socialism and fight in the vanguard of the national-liberation movement. This movement, the social progress of the peoples in the newly-liberated countries demand close cooperation between the communist and workers' parties and the other patriotic and progressive forces. A hostile attitude to communism and persecution of communists harm the struggle for national and social emancipation.

Most of the *Latin-American* countries won state independence early in the last century. They have, by and large, travelled a long way along the road of capitalist development; a large proletariat has emerged, is growing and becoming steeled in struggle both in town and country, and there are Communist Parties in practically all these countries. The Latin-American peoples are struggling against a common oppressor and exploiter, US imperialism, which has placed the entire continent in a position of dependence, regarding it as its strategic hinterland. Some of them are still fighting colonial domination. The struggle for genuine national sovereignty and economic independence is intertwined with an acute class struggle against capitalist exploitation and, above all, against the foreign or local monopolies and the latifundists. Feudal survivals have remained in many countries where there is a great mass of landless peasants. Struggles are being waged for democratic demands and against tyrannical dictatorships, which constitute a very negative factor in the historical development on the continent.

The Cuban revolution has broken the chain of imperialist oppression in Latin America and has led to the establishment of the first socialist state on the American continent, marking a historic turning point and opening in this region a new phase of the revolutionary movement. In this part of the world militant democratic, anti-imperialist movements and revolutionary processes are developing which will pave the way to socialism.

The proletariat and the communist and workers' parties play an increasingly important role in the anti-imperialist movement in Latin America. The existence and activity of the working class is an historic advantage and a guarantee of its further development. The struggle of the broad masses for their economic and political demands, and for their revolutionary aims, assumes diverse forms. The popular movement in Latin America is gaining momentum in a grim struggle against aggressive imperialism and internal reaction. In some countries it takes the road of armed struggle. In the course of this struggle, the fighting spirit of the working class grows, the political consciousness of the peasantry is awakened, and the rural masses are aroused. The foundations of a workers' and peasants' alliance are thus being laid.

Wide sections of people, students, progressive intellectuals and the urban middle strata are forming an alliance with the proletariat. Joint action and anti-imperialist unity against reactionary regimes are gaining in strength. The mounting struggle against exploitation and the poverty of the masses, against imperialist oppression makes forward-looking religious circles sympathise with progressive aspirations. Patriotic and democratic trends are gaining ground in the armed forces of some countries.

It is of paramount importance for the prospects of the anti-imperialist struggle to strengthen the alliance between the socialist system, the forces of the working class movement and national liberation.

III

The social and political situation in the world today makes it possible to raise the anti-imperialist struggle to a new level. Decisive superiority over imperialism and the defeat of its policy of aggression and war can be secured by intensifying the offensive against it. This insistent demands concrete practical steps and actions on all continents in order to give a clear perspective to the democratic and progressive forces, to all the forces desiring a positive solution of the major problems worrying mankind today, the problems of the peace and the security of nations.

The Communist and Workers' Parties represented at the meeting, aware of their historic responsibility, propose united action to all communists of the world, to all opponents of imperialism, to all who are prepared to fight for peace, freedom and progress.

1. A primary objective of united action is to give *all-round support to the heroic Vietnamese people*. The meeting calls on all who cherish peace and national independence to intensify the struggle in order to compel US imperialism to withdraw its interventionist troops from Vietnam, cease interfering in the internal affairs of that country and respect the right of the Vietnamese people to solve their problems by themselves. The final victory of the Vietnamese patriots is of fundamental importance for strengthening the positions of the peoples in the struggle against imperialist diktat and arbitrary rule. Coordinated measures by all the countries of the socialist system and joint efforts by all Communist and Workers' Parties' all progressive parties and mass democratic organisations and by all other freedom and peace-loving forces are needed to hasten this victory. The meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties welcomes the formation of the revolutionary provisional Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and sees it as an important stage in the heroic liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people. The meeting calls for activity to assure a successful outcome of the Paris talks, which is perfectly realisable on the basis of the 10 points proposed by the national-liberation front of South Vietnam.

2. *The main link of united action of the anti-imperialist forces remains the struggle against war for world peace, against the menace of a thermo-nuclear world war and mass extermination which continues to hang over mankind.* A new world war can be averted by the combined effort of the socialist countries, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, all peace-loving countries, public organisations and mass movements.

3. *The defence of peace is inseparably linked up with the struggle to compel the imperialists to accept peaceful coexistence*

of states with different social systems, which demands observance of the principles of sovereignty, equality, territorial inviolability of every state, big and small, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, respect for the rights of every people freely to decide their social, economic and political system, and the settlement of outstanding international issues by political means through negotiation.

The policy of peaceful coexistence facilitates the positive solution of economic and social problems of the developing countries.

The policy of peaceful coexistence does not contradict the right of any oppressed people to fight for its liberation by any means it considers necessary—armed or peaceful. This policy in no way signifies support for reactionary regimes.

It is equally indisputable that every people has the inalienable right to take up arms in defence against encroachments by imperialist aggressors and to avail itself of the help of other peoples in its just cause. This is an integral part of the general anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples.

The attempts of imperialism to overcome its internal contradictions by building up international tension and creating hot-beds of war are hampered by the policy of peaceful coexistence. This policy does not imply either the preservation of the socio-political status quo or a weakening of the ideological struggle. It helps to promote the class struggle against imperialism on a national and worldwide scale. Determined class struggle for the abolition of the monopolies and their rule, for the institution of a genuinely democratic system, and for the establishment of socialist power, whatever may be the road leading to this goal, is an inalienable right and duty of the working people and their Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. Communists of the world are in solidarity with this just battle.

Mass action against imperialism is a condition for implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence. Directed as it is against the warmongers, reactionaries and monopoly arms manufacturers, this policy meets the general interests of the

revolutionary struggle against every form of oppression and exploitation, and promotes friendship between all peoples and the development of fruitful economic, scientific, technological and other spheres of cooperation between countries with different social systems in the interests of social progress.

Communists regard it as their duty to combat the imperialist policy of whipping up international tension and any attempt aimed by them at bringing back the cold war, and to work for a relaxation of tension, which is one of the most insistent and urgent demands of the peoples.

4. *To preserve peace the most urgent task is to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons* and to enforce the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. In urging the ratification of the treaty, the Communist Parties see this as a link in the chain of measures designed to lead to nuclear disarmament and the destruction of nuclear weapon stockpiles. At the same time, it is necessary to secure a ban on nuclear weapons, the cessation of their production and testing.

The setting up of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world would be of great practical importance in improving the international atmosphere and strengthening trust between states. *The main effort should be directed towards the prohibition of nuclear weapons. Nuclear energy should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.*

It is necessary to step up the struggle for an effective ban on bacteriological and chemical weapons, which have been extensively used by the US forces in Vietnam.

The basic interests of the peoples demand the intensification of the struggle against militarism in all its forms, particularly against the military-industrial complex of the USA and other imperialist states. We call on all peace-loving forces to mount a struggle for a radical cutback in military budgets, for general and complete disarmament under effective international control so as to switch resources now absorbed by the arms race to improving the working people's life, promoting the health services and education and rendering assistance to the developing countries.

Alongside its universal tasks, the struggle for peace has very important tasks of a more specific or more regional nature whose aim is to assure security in some continents or geographic zones. The attainment of these objectives which are interlinked corresponds to the interests and aspirations of all communists, all anti-imperialist forces, all the peoples of the world.

The interests of world peace call for the disbandment of military blocs. As before, the Communist and Workers' Parties consider that the existence of imperialist-imposed military blocs and military bases on the territory of other states is an obstacle to co-operation between countries. A genuine guarantee of the security and one of the conditions for the progress of each European country must be the establishment in Europe of an effective system of security founded on relations of equality and mutual respect among all the states in the continent, on the combined efforts of all the European peoples. In this light the socialist countries have already declared for the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. The meeting emphatically condemns the provocative attempts of the imperialist powers, particularly the USA, the Federal Republic of Germany and Britain, to step up the activity of NATO. The disbandment of NATO would be a decisive step towards the dissolution of all blocs, the dismantling of all military bases on foreign soil and the establishment of a reliable system of collective security. In conformity with the interests of peace, the peoples demand that imperialist states put an end to flights of bombers carrying nuclear weapons over foreign territories, that surface ships and submarines with nuclear weapons on board be barred from foreign ports, and demand the renunciation of any forcible actions and of the threat of force.

Attainment of lasting security in this continent is a problem which holds a paramount place in the minds and aspirations of the European peoples. The conferences of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries in Bucharest in 1966 and in Budapest in 1969, and also the Karlovy Vary Conference in 1967, charted a concrete programme of action and measures to create a system of European security.

It is imperative to secure the inviolability of the existing frontiers in Europe, in particular the frontiers along the Oder-Neisse and the frontier between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, and the work for the international legal recognition of the German Democratic Republic, for preventing West Germany from securing atomic weapons in any form, for the renunciation by the Federal Republic of Germany of her claim to represent the whole of Germany, the recognition of West Berlin as a separate political entity, the recognition that the Munich diktat was invalid from the very outset, and the banning of all neo-nazi organisations. Peace and security in Europe demand the curbing of the revanchist forces in West Germany, guaranteeing the European peoples their sovereign right to be masters of their continent without interference from the USA, mutually beneficial economic, scientific and technological cooperation among the European countries and the establishment of relations between them founded on a genuine relaxation of tension and mutual trust.

The principle of the inviolability of neutral states must be respected unconditionally. These states can make a major contribution to the policy of peaceful coexistence if they take advantage of every opportunity to act in a spirit of detente and peace. To achieve these aims energetic steps have to be taken in this direction and the problem of European security approached with initiative, with a will to achieve concrete practical measures.

The organisation of a broad congress of European peoples, which would prepare for, and facilitate the holding of, a conference of states, is the most important of all these peace initiatives.

5. The meeting calls on world public opinion to display unflagging and active solidarity with the peoples and countries which are constant objects of aggressive encroachments by imperialism—the German Democratic Republic, the Korean Democratic People's Republic and the entire Korean people. The meeting calls for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the return of Taiwan at present under United States military occupation. It

remains the duty of communists and all other revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces in Latin America and throughout the world to defend the Republic of Cuba.

We communists call for united action against all imperialist acts of aggression, against recourse to local wars and other forms of intervention by imperialism in any area of the world. In face of the aggressive policy pursued by the imperialists and the ruling circles of Israel, we pledge solidarity with the Arab peoples who demand the return of the territories occupied by the Israeli invaders, this being an urgent demand and an indispensable condition for establishing peace and achieving a political settlement in the Middle East on the basis of a complete implementation of the November 1967 resolution of the United Nations Security Council.

6. *Communists reiterate their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America* for independence and national sovereignty, for liberation from every kind of economic and political hegemony of the imperialist circles and monopolies, for withdrawal from the system of military alliances and blocs imposed on them by the imperialist powers and against imperialist tendencies to step up the arms race on these continents and to preserve and 'create new hotbeds of tension, for dismantling foreign military bases and for establishing relations conducive to the free development of every people.

The demand of our epoch is to rid our planet completely of the curse of colonialism, destroy its last centres and prevent its revival in new, camouflaged forms. We call on all men of goodwill, on all supporters of democracy, to work together to do away with the vestiges of colonialism and to struggle against neocolonialism. We urge effective international measures in support of the patriots of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, in support of all oppressed peoples.

One of the big problems of our time to which the Communist and Workers' Parties are drawing public attention and which they are energetically striving to solve is the elimination of the backwardness of many countries and entire continents

engendered by prolonged colonial and imperialist rule. The main task facing these countries today is to promote economic, social and political development, which can be achieved only within the framework of genuine independence from imperialism and as a result of far-reaching democratic and revolutionary changes. To solve this problem it is necessary to mobilise and unite all the progressive forces of each country and develop mutually advantageous ties between them and with the socialist countries.

7. We consider it imperative to step up the fight against the fascist menace and relentlessly to rebuff profascist sorties. Fascism is intensifying its activity at a time when the crisis of imperialism is growing sharper, when reaction is increasingly inclined to use brutal methods to crush the democratic and revolutionary forces. In Greece neo-fascism has seized power. In Spain the ultras are trying to return to fascist methods of repression and are making futile efforts to halt a powerful mass movement. In Portugal, fascism, gripped by a crisis under the onslaught of the growing popular movement, is resorting to demagogy about liberalisation in an effort to cover up the actual continuation of its terroristic policy. In West Germany the neo-nazis have laid open claim to power. Neo-fascist forces are also becoming more active in other countries. Neo-fascist activity links up with that of imperialist intelligence agencies, which engineer reactionary coups.

All these manifestations of fascism are coming up against growing resistance from the people, and this demands united action by all the antifascist forces, and also greater international support from the Communist and Workers' Parties, from all democratic and progressive movements in every country.

The struggle against the fascist regimes is an essential part of action against imperialism, for democratic freedom. It is the common task of all democrats, of all champions of freedom, irrespective of their political views, world outlook or religious beliefs, to redouble real support for the national progressive forces fighting centres of reaction and fascism, such as the Governments of Spain and Portugal, the reactionary colonels' junta in Greece, the oligarchic military cliques in Latin America, and all other tyrannical regimes in the service of US imperialism.

8. We communists again call on all honest men in the world to unite their efforts in the struggle against the *man-hating ideology and practices of racialism*. We call for the broadest possible protest movement against the most ignominious phenomenon of our time, the barbarous persecution of the 25 million Negroes in the USA, the racist terror in South Africa and Rhodesia, the persecution of the Arab population in occupied territory and in Israel, against racial and national discrimination, against zionism, and anti-Semitism, all of which are fanned by reactionary capitalist forces and which they use to mislead the masses politically.

Imperialism makes use of racialism to divide the peoples and maintain its rule. Wide sections of the people reject racialism and can be drawn into active struggle against it. In such action they will come to realise that eradication of racialism is closely connected with the struggle against imperialism and its ideological foundations.

9. The interests of the struggle against imperialism, which attempts to stifle basic human freedom, demand a tireless fight to defend and win freedom of speech, the press, assembly, demonstration and association, for the equality of all citizens, *to democratise every aspect of social life*. A firm rebuff must be administered to any attempt and any legislation by reaction designed to nullify the democratic rights and freedom won in the course of hard class battles. There must be systematic work both within these countries and in the international arena to save the patriots and democrats who face death, to stop arbitrary court rulings against communists and other patriots, and to defend the right to political asylum; there must be a fight for the release of the patriots and democrats lying in jail. We communists oppose all forms of oppression of nations and national minorities. We want to see every nation or national group develop its own culture and language, and we firmly defend the right of all nations to self-determination

We communists are convinced that it is impossible to put an end to the policy of imperialist aggression, abolish colonialism and neocolonialism once and for all and uproot fascism and racial oppression without resolute struggle against the power of

monopoly capital, for democratic demands which, once won, would weaken the positions of imperialism as a whole and strike at the very foundations of its rule. Such a struggle would create favourable conditions for achieving the ultimate goals of the working class movement.

The present situation demands greater militant solidarity of the peoples of the socialist countries, of all contingents of the international working class movement and national liberation in the struggle against imperialism.

Communists regard it as an urgent task today to expose the criminal policy of imperialism with greater vigour and to make public opinion more alive to the aggressive intentions and plans of imperialism.

The participants in the meeting call on all organisations representing workers, peasants, office employees, youth, students, intellectuals, women, on various groups and social strata with different political, philosophic and religious convictions and views, on realistically-minded political leaders of the capitalist countries, on all democratic parties, national and international progressive public organisations to pool their efforts with those of the Communist Parties for concerted action in the anti-imperialist struggle for a relaxation of tensions and in defence of peace. We invite them all to join in a broad and constructive exchange of opinion on the widest possible range of issues bearing on the anti-imperialist struggle.

Communists favour the most democratic methods of preparing for and carrying out united action with all progressive patriotic and peace-loving forces on a national, regional and international scale. They will do all they can to bring about greater mutual understanding between the numerous and diverse anti-imperialist trends and movements, taking into consideration their specific features and showing respect for their independence. Forms of cooperation, chosen freely and by common consent, will make it possible to raise the anti-imperialist struggle to a new level to meet the requirements of the present situation.

IV

The participants in the meeting consider that the most important prerequisite for increasing the Communist and

Workers' Parties' contribution to the solution of the problems facing the peoples is to raise the unity of the communist movement to a higher level in conformity with present-day requirements. This demands determined and persistent effort by all the parties. *The cohesion of the Communist and Workers' Parties is the most important factor in rallying together all the anti-imperialist forces.*

The participants in the meeting reaffirm their common view that relations between the fraternal parties are based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, solidarity and mutual support, respect for independence and equality, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Strict adherence to these principles is an indispensable condition for developing comradely cooperation between the fraternal parties and strengthening the unity of the communist movement. Bilateral consultations, regional meetings and international conferences are natural forms of such cooperation and are conducted on the basis of the principles accepted in the communist movement. These principles and these forms give the Communist and Workers' Parties every possibility to unite their efforts in the struggle for their common aims, under conditions of the growing diversity of the world revolutionary process. All parties have equal rights. As there is no leading centre of the international communist movement, voluntary coordination of the actions of parties in order effectively to carry out the tasks before them acquires increased importance.

United action by Communist and Workers' Parties will promote cohesion of the communist movement on Marxist-Leninist principles. Joint actions aimed at solving vital practical problems of the revolutionary and general democratic movements of our time promote a necessary exchange of experience between the various contingents of the communist movement. They help to enrich and creatively develop Marxist-Leninist theory, to strengthen internationalist revolutionary positions on urgent political problems.

The participants in the meeting proclaim their parties' firm resolve to do their utmost for the working people and for social

progress, with a view to advancing towards complete victory over international capital. They regard joint action against imperialism and for general democratic demands as a component and a stage of the struggle for socialist revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man.

The participants in the meeting are convinced that the effectiveness of each Communist Party's policy depends on its successes in its own country, on the successes of other fraternal parties and on the extent of their cooperation. Each Communist Party is responsible for its activity to its own working class and people and, at the same time, to the international working class. The national and international responsibilities of each Communist and Workers' Parties are indivisible. Marxist-Leninist are both patriots and internationalists; they reject both national narrow-mindedness and the negation or underestimation of national interests, and the striving for hegemony. At the same time, the Communist Parties—the parties of the working class and all working people—are the standard-bearers of genuine national interests unlike the reactionary classes, which betray these interests. The winning of power by the working class and its allies is the greatest contribution which a Communist Party fighting under capitalist conditions can make to the cause of socialism and proletarian internationalism.

The Communist and Workers' Parties are conducting their activity in diverse, specific conditions, requiring an appropriate approach to the solution of concrete problems. Each party, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in keeping with concrete national conditions, fully independently elaborates its own policy, determines the directions, forms and methods of struggle, and, depending on the circumstances, chooses, the peaceful or non-peaceful way of transition to socialism, and also the forms and methods of building socialism in its own country. At the same time, the diverse conditions in which the Communist Parties operate, the different approaches to practical tasks and even differences on certain questions must not hinder concerted international action by fraternal parties, particularly on the basic problems of the anti-imperialist struggle. The greater the strength

and the unity of each Communist Party, the better can it fulfil its role both inside the country and in the international communist movement.

Communists are aware that our movement, while scoring great historical victories in the course of its development, has recently encountered serious difficulties. Communists are convinced, however, that these difficulties will be overcome. The belief is based on the fact that the international working class has common long-term objectives and interests, on the striving of each party to find a solution to existing problems which would meet both national and international interests and the communists' revolutionary mission; it is based on the will of communists for cohesion on an international scale.

The Communist and Workers' Parties, regardless of some difference of opinion, reaffirm their determination to present a united front in the struggle against imperialism.

Some of the divergences which have arisen are eliminated through an exchange of opinion or disappear as the development of events clarifies the essence of the outstanding issues. Other divergences may last long. The meeting is confident that the outstanding issues can and must be resolved correctly by strengthening all forms of cooperation among the Communist Parties, by extending interparty ties, mutual exchange of experience, comradely discussion and consultation and unity of action in the international arena. It is an internationalist duty of each party to do everything it can to help improve relations and promote trust between all parties and to undertake further efforts to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement. This unity is strengthened by a collective analysis of concrete reality.

The policy of joint anti-imperialist action demands that the ideological and political role of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the world revolutionary process should be enhanced. Marching in the front ranks of the revolutionary, liberation and democratic movements, communists will continue to fight uncompromisingly against bourgeois ideology and to explain to the working people the real meaning of their struggle and the conditions for victory.

To wage a successful struggle against imperialism and to ensure the victory of their cause, communists will propagate the ideas of scientific socialism in the working class movement and among the broad masses, including young people; they will consistently uphold their principles and work for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and, in accordance with the concrete situation, fight against right and left-opportunist distortions of theory and policy, against revisionism, dogmatism and left-sectarian adventurism. These deviations tend generally to underestimate the importance of the real forces which can and must be drawn into the struggle.

Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian internationalism, and dedicated and devoted service in the interests of their peoples and the common cause of socialism are a requisite for the efficacy and correct orientation of united action by the Communist and Workers' Parties, a guarantee that they will achieve their historic goals.

The communist movement is an integral part of modern society and is its most active force. Hence, the banning of Communist Parties is an attack on the democratic rights and vital interests of the peoples. The participants in the meeting support all the Communist Parties of the world, without exception, which fight for their right of legal participation in the political life of their countries. We emphatically condemn the brutal repressions and terror which have claimed the lives of thousands upon thousands of communists and other democrats and revolutionaries in Indonesia, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela, Panama, Paraguay, Guatemala, South Africa, Thailand, Haiti, Malaysia, Iran, the Philippines and some other countries. We proclaim our solidarity with our fellow fighters in the common struggle who are lying in the jails of fascist and dictatorial regimes, in prisons in the capitalist countries, and we work for their release.

The participants regard this meeting as an important stage in the cohesion of the world communist movement. They consider that the absence of certain Communist Parties should not hinder fraternal ties and cooperation between all Communist Parties

without exception. They declare their resolve to achieve joint action in the struggle against imperialism, for the common objectives of the international working class movement, as well as with the Communist and Workers' Parties not represented at the present meeting.

The struggle against imperialism is a long, hard and strenuous fight. Tense class battles lie ahead and they cannot be avoided. Let us step up the offensive against imperialism and internal reaction. The revolutionary and progressive forces are certain to triumph.

Peoples of the socialist countries, workers, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, newly-liberated peoples and those who are oppressed unite in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism!

Statement of The Central Committee of CPI(M) on Moscow Conference of 1969*

**Adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist
Party of India (Marxist) at its Session in Calcutta,
July 15-20, 1969**

Nearly a decade ago, Communist and Workers' Parties of the world met to analyse the world situation seeking to resolve the differences in the communist movement and produced a document which declared: "It is the principal characteristic of our times that the socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society. Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society. Whatever efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history. The complete triumph of socialism is inevitable."

Within a few months of the signing of this document, serious differences again arose in the international communist movement. Revisionist distortions dominated the outlook and practice of the CPSU and a number of other parties. The Communist Party of China which initiated the fight against revisionism itself got subsequently derailed into dogmatism and sectarianism.

The years that followed shattered the unity of the world communist movement, making the socialist camp and the world communist movement incapable of united action, of mobilising the full strength of the revolutionary forces against imperialism. The years increasingly saw the military assault of the USA on North Vietnam—a socialist country; it saw the aggression against the people of South Vietnam; it saw reverses in a number of African states; it witnessed one of the biggest setbacks to the

*The Statement of the Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of 1969 is given under Item No. 42 of this Volume.

world communist movement in Indonesia ending in the massacre of hundreds of thousands of communists; and finally, it saw the assault of counter-revolution, and imperialist machinations, in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

It was in this background that a conference of Communist and Workers' Parties was held in Moscow to give a call for united action against imperialism. It was obvious that the bed-rock of any serious anti-imperialist action, of attempts to realise the possibilities of the new epoch, was the unshakable unity of the world communist movement based on Marxism-Leninism. Did the conference raise any hope for rebuilding the unity of the world communist movement? Did it make any genuine attempt to understand the past which led to this monstrous division in the revolutionary ranks? On the contrary, it adopted a self-justificatory attitude towards the past and treated the question of communist unity in the most cavalier fashion.

On some occasions the sponsors of the conference asserted that it was to be a conference for joint anti-imperialist action making it possible for all the Communist Parties to participate in it, despite the sharp ideological differences between them. It was suggested that all controversial issues would be set aside and only common action against imperialism discussed. It is obvious from the proceedings of the conference and its document that the conference did not confine itself to this aim, that it raised many controversial issues; many participants seized the occasion to attack People's China and the Communist Party of China as if they neither belonged to the socialist camp nor to the fraternity of the world communist movement. Besides, revisionism had weakened the anti-imperialist consciousness so much that the main document of the conference totally ignored the biggest conspiracy of imperialism and counter-revolution against a country of the socialist camp—Czechoslovakia. While not saying a word about this danger, many participants attacked the initiative of the Soviet Union and other socialist states to counter the imperialist plot.

The very composition of the conference showed that it was essentially a gathering of akin-minded parties in the world

communist movement which were supporting the right-revisionist positions adopted by the CPSU on a number of vital issues, with the exception of the Communist Party of Cuba which attended as an observer and made its standpoint clear. Of the two big parties—the CPSU and the CPC, understanding among whom is absolutely essential if communist unity is to have any meaning—the Communist Party of China was absent having declared that it had nothing in common with the CPSU to discuss. The Party of Labour of Albania also declined to attend taking a similar position.

The Communist Party of Vietnam, which is today foremost in the direct fight against American imperialism and under whose leadership the mightiest rebuff has been addressed to American might declined to participate in the meeting. The Korean Party of Labour directly confronted with American imperialism also did not participate.

Many other parties from Asia engaged in direct and grim struggles against imperialism did not attend.

From India only the revisionist leaders of the Right C.P. whom our Party does not recognise as a Marxist-Leninist Party attended the conference.

The responsibility of those attending the conference was therefore heavy. The call for common anti-imperialist action could have flesh and blood only if there were genuine attempts to examine the factors that brought about disunity in the ranks of the world communist movement and reassert the basic fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism.

Unfortunately, the document passed by the conference repeats the errors and deviations that have plagued the world communist movement for the last ten years and adds a few more. It makes fresh concessions to revisionism, keeps silent on some of the outstanding issues affecting the world communist movement as a price of formal unity among those who attended the meeting, does not show proper concern for the split existing in the socialist camp and the world communist movement. In fact, it registers no progress towards a correct and common understanding of the Communist Parties. The call, for common action against

imperialism, for utilising the immense opportunities of the present period, rests on this rickety foundation.

The document in its analysis of the present world situation notes many correct things. It emphasises that the strength of the socialist world, of the world revolutionary forces, is on the increase. "The world revolutionary movement continues its offensive despite the difficulties and setbacks of some of its contingents. Notwithstanding the counter-offensives launched by it, imperialism has failed to change the general relationship of forces in its favour. Ours is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. . . While the world system of imperialism has not grown stronger, it remains a serious and dangerous foe. The United States of America, the chief imperialist power, has grown more aggressive. The core of the aggressive policy of imperialism is the drive to use all means to weaken the positions of socialism, suppress the national liberation movement, hamstring the struggle of the working people in capitalist countries and halt the inevitable decline of capitalism. The events of the past decade have laid bare more forcefully than ever the nature of U.S. imperialism as a world exploiter and gendarme, as the sworn enemy of liberation movements."

The document tries to place the importance of the recent working class struggles in capitalist countries. "In the citadels of capitalism, the working class, as recent events have shown, is the principal driving and mobilising force of the revolutionary struggle of the entire anti-imperialist democratic movement." "While making use of all possibilities of parliamentary activities, communists emphasise that the mass movement of the working class and of all working people is the decisive factor in the struggle for democracy and socialism." It also tries to analyse the recent developments in the newly-liberated countries.

Despite a number of correct statements on the balance of world forces, strength of imperialism, etc., the document stands rooted in the old revisionist understanding which sharply divided the world communist movement. The revisionist distortion of the concept of peaceful coexistence, peaceful economic competition and peaceful transition which split the world communist

movement, continues in the present document, though there are attempts to modify some of the earlier crude formulations. Notwithstanding the vital importance of the struggle for world peace, it leads once more to the erroneous and lop-sided emphasis on the peace struggle, while underplaying the importance of all-sided, direct struggle against imperialism—economic, political, ideological, military—minimising in particular the significant role of the worldwide national liberation struggles, at the present stage. It nourishes illusions about imperialists accepting peaceful coexistence and solving problems in the spirit of peaceful coexistence.

To quote the document: "The main link of united action of the anti-imperialist forces remains the struggle against the war danger. . . and the fight for world peace." The struggle for peace thus becomes the main task in the anti-imperialist struggle relegating to the second place the national liberation struggles. The illusion is further created that the imperialists can be compelled to accept peaceful coexistence. "The defence of peace is inseparably linked with the struggle to compel the imperialists to accept peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems." This opportunism is further strengthened when it is openly suggested that there are certain sections in the ruling circles of imperialist countries which tend "to take a more realistic approach to international problems and *to solve them in the spirit of peaceful coexistence between states with different systems.*" Though imperialism is no longer presented as a button on the coat, these formulations tend to sustain the old illusions and replace the main struggle against imperialism by the struggle for peace, placing reliance on certain imperialist circles. To this is added the following: "To preserve peace the most urgent task is to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and to enforce the nuclear non-proliferation treaty." The most urgent anti-imperialist task is the struggle for peace; and the most urgent task of the struggle for peace is nuclear non-proliferation treaty. This is how the anti-imperialist movement is being derailed.

The same revisionist outlook is shown towards the role of economic competition between the socialist and imperialist

systems. Once more the direct and all-sided aid of the socialist camp to the people carrying on the militant fight against imperialism, is replaced by the success of the socialist countries in economic competition—an opportunist conception which only dulls the consciousness of socialist countries about their duty towards the international revolutionary movement and virtually reduces proletarian internationalism to fight for a higher standard of life in socialist countries. It once more spreads illusions about peaceful retreat of imperialism from the world stage. To quote the document: "The contribution of the world socialist system to the common cause of the anti-imperialist forces is determined primarily by its growing economic potential. The swift economic development of the countries belonging to the socialist system at rates outpacing the economic growth of the capitalist countries, the advance of socialism to leading positions in a number of fields of scientific and technological progress, and the blazing of a trail into outer space by the Soviet Union—all these tangible results, produced by the creative endeavour of the peoples' of the socialist countries, *decisively contribute to the preponderance* of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism over imperialism."

In discussing imperialist policies, the document makes formulations which underestimate the great role of national liberation struggles. The contradiction between imperialism and national liberation struggles which has come to the forefront in the continents of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is underplayed.

Again, there is the same reiteration of revisionist outlook on the question of peaceful transition to socialism from capitalism. The revisionists discarded the law of revolution as proposed by Marx and Lenin and peddled the theory that in the new conditions the exploiting classes would respect the democratic verdict of the people and permit the peaceful transfer of political power into the hands of the working people. Now once again, they reiterate the same opportunist line and leave to individual parties the freedom to choose the peaceful or non-peaceful way to socialism. "Each party guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism. . . chooses the peaceful or non-peaceful way of transition to socialism. . ." This statement is not as innocent as it

apparently looks, since it is deliberately meant for the free and unfettered propaganda by certain Communist Parties of the right-opportunist thesis of so-called 'peaceful transition', under the signboard of Marxism-Leninism. Such an erroneous thesis and open concession to it in the background of the monstrous militarisation of capitalist states are to fly in the face of facts and realities, to abandon the Marxist-Leninist standpoint on the state as organised violence in the hands of the class in power.

As a further concession to this revisionist outlook, the warning clause of the 1960 document which declared: "Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily," has been deleted.

In discussing the situation of the newly-liberated countries a bland statement is made that a number of these countries have already taken the non-capitalist path to socialism. The countries are not named, nor is it explained which class or progressive classes control the state. The Leninist concept of non-capitalist path is distorted and vulgarised to meet the needs of class collaboration. Many of these countries seem to have taken the socialist orientation without the working class, its ideology or its party.

The document sustains the illusion that far-reaching social changes can take place in newly-liberated countries, and these countries can even develop a socialist orientation, without an organised party of the working class based on Marxism-Leninism and without the leading role of the working class. In effect, it means that the democratic anti-feudal, anti-imperialist revolution can be completed without the leadership of the working class and its party.

The document deals with the problems of Asian and African states. It correctly states that the solution of these problems involves far-reaching socio-economic changes including democratic agrarian reforms, etc. To achieve this purpose it only demands strengthening of "revolutionary parties" or founding of such parties where they do not exist. Nowhere is the class party of the working class mentioned. There is no mention of the leading role of the working class or its party even in connection

with countries where "socialist orientation" is making headway, countries which have taken the non-capitalist path.

In practice this line leads to stifling the independent activity and role of the proletariat, imperilling the advance of the revolution.

In this background and analysis, all that emerges is a general support of anti-imperialist struggle. The background and analysis create illusions and lead to tactics which harms the revolutionary struggle against imperialism

The lack of common understanding on the struggle against imperialism was revealed in the most striking manner on the vital question of last year's events in Czechoslovakia. Here was the attack of counter-revolutionaries and imperialists on the gains of socialism, leading to the intervention of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The policies and outlook that contributed to the near success of the counter-revolutionaries demanded the closest examination, and repudiation. These were totally bypassed for lack of unity, because of the refusal to understand the enormity of the damage caused by right-revisionist errors and bureaucratic distortions, for failure to realise that imperialism and counter-revolution had mounted a concerted attack on the revolutionary gains of the people of Czechoslovakia.

While giving a general call for anti-imperialist unity and action, the conference ignored the vital and important task of healing the rift in the socialist camp and the world communist movement, particularly between the two biggest Communist Parties—the CPSU and the CPC. Our Party last month criticised the dogmatic and erroneous line pursued by the CPC in the name of fighting revisionism, and is of the opinion that this line also leads to disruption of world communist unity. It was however incumbent on the participants to examine their own line and find out in the light of the experience of the last decade, how far it has disrupted the movement by its revisionist positions on a number of vital issues. But, instead, most of the participants generally endorsed the wrong positions, supported the CPSU stand and many of them one-sidedly attacked the CPC thus widening the gulf.

Our criticism of the Communist Party of China has nothing in common with the denunciation made in the conference, denunciations which were only a screen to justify the revisionist policies of the attacking parties.

It must be mentioned here in this connection that the position taken by some of the parties showed that there was a greater urge now for unity. They protested against this attack, against this polemics in a conference which was supposed to bring about united action among the Communist Parties. It was under their pressure that the main document passed by the conference did not contain denunciation of any party. Nor did it contain threats of expulsion against any party. It was again under their pressure that the conference declared for fraternal relations among all parties.

The conference, while discussing joint struggle against imperialism, has virtually ignored the mighty anti-imperialist force which People's China represents. In the document itself, while there is no attack on China, there is hardly any mention of this socialist state and the continuous American conspiracies against it. While on every occasion, special mention is made of the Soviet Union, the resolution on Vietnam as well as the document adopted by the conference does not refer to the great help rendered all along by People's China to Vietnam. On the other hand, the Soviet Union finds a special mention in the resolution and document. The conference chose to forget that there was a time when Soviet help to Vietnam was not commensurate with the needs of the liberation struggle and when pessimistic counsels were given to the liberation fighters to sue for a compromise. Also in connection with the American conspiracies in South-East Asia, once again their main object, China, is not mentioned. There is a systematic attempt to keep People's China out of the picture, ignore its contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle while claiming to act for anti-imperialist unity. This stand accompanied by intemperate attacks on the CPC in the speeches of some of the participants contradicted claims to build anti-imperialist unity.

However, the claim to advance the cause of anti-imperialist unity cannot be taken seriously unless serious and genuine efforts

are set afoot to repair the disunity in the ranks of the communist movement. The actual performance of the conference stands in sharp contrast to the correct statement: "The cohesion of the Communist and Workers' Parties is the most important factor in rallying together all the anti-imperialist forces." It is precisely here that the conference cannot boast of success. It cannot claim that it has contributed towards bridging the gulf between the CPSU and the CPC or that it has secured the principled cohesion among those who attended the meeting.

It is true that an overwhelming majority of the participants signed the document. But to achieve this concessions to revisionism on principles, at the cost of Marxist-Leninist theory, had to be made. Also attack on revisionism previously accepted had to be dropped.

The conference now includes Yugoslavia in the socialist camp and drops all attack on Yugoslav revisionism which was denounced in the 1960 Conference. This is what the 1960 Document stated:

"The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist 'theories' in concentrated form. After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957; they set the LCY against the international communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called 'aid' from U.S. and other imperialists, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle."

Now in the new document all this is dropped. The compromise with Yugoslav revisionism was one of the factors that sharply divided the world communist movement.

Consistent with this opportunist outlook there are further concessions in principles. In the name of freedom and equality of every Communist Party, all parties have been given complete freedom to interpret and apply Marxism-Leninism as they deem fit to the conditions of their own country.

It is true that several parties in recent years experienced the domination of one or the other big ruling Communist Parties and this has often led to disastrous consequences. It has led to the idea that the big ruling party or parties constitute the fountain-source of Marxism-Leninism and others must obey them. The idea that one party is the world centre led to several disastrous mistakes in the world movement. It is, therefore, absolutely essential to lay down that each party must be free from the pressures and domination and interference of the other parties. At the same time, it is necessary to trace the roots of this domination which lie in a kind of great-nation chauvinism. It is this latter that has to be fought ideologically to ensure equality of all parties.

But the freedom and equality of all parties should not mean freedom from the common laws of social revolution, from the basic laws of Marxism-Leninism. And yet in the name of equality this is what is written in the document: "Each party, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in keeping with concrete national conditions, fully independently elaborates its own policy, determines the directions, forms and methods of struggle, and, depending on circumstances, choose the peaceful or non-peaceful way of transition to socialism, and also the forms and methods of building socialism in its own country."

This is in sharp contrast with the two earlier documents which clearly stated the general laws of socialist revolution applicable to all countries and showed that the concrete form in which they were implemented may differ according to the concrete situation. "The Marxist-Leninist parties lead the struggle of the working class, the masses of working people, for the accomplishment of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another." (1960 Statement.) "These laws are: Guidance of the working masses by the working class, the core of which is the Marxist-Leninist party in effecting a proletarian revolution in one form or another and establishing one form or another of the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . ."

It is known that under the impact of Czechoslovakian developments forced by the realities of the situation, the Soviet leaders and organs were pointing out the importance of the

dictatorship of the proletariat and the leading role of the Leninist party. But in the document there is hardly any mention of this hardcore of Marxist-Leninist teaching. This reveals the depth of opportunist compromise at the conference.

Such is the havoc created by surrender before further revisionist pressure.

In face of the concerted attack of revisionism on the basic Marxist-Leninist principles and laws, in face of the overt or covert repudiation of the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the Leninist party, it was essential that these principles should have been re-asserted, making it clear that only the form may change due to national peculiarities but not the content. In the name of asserting the equality of all parties, the document is only laying the foundation of national communism. In this background, the conscience-saving appeal for proletarian internationalism sounds hollow.

The ideological and theoretical foundations of the document stand opposed to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. They are rooted in revisionism and they do not show the world movement the way to return to the path of Leninism. Besides, the tactical line following from these premises will lead to opportunist practices.

Apart from this, the document contains some estimates and statements on which our Party has its reservations.

The revisionist leaders of the Right C.P. who were given an honoured place at the conference utilised the opportunity to toe faithfully the opportunist revisionist line. They utilised the forum of the conference to slander and attack People's China exposing their hypocritical claims to support joint anti-imperialist action. Above all, they slandered our Party, told base lies and covered their splitting activities in the mass organisations and the United Front Ministries. We strongly protest against this.

Nonetheless, it is imperative under present conditions that every joint action against imperialism should be supported and encouraged. The differences in the world communist movement have now reached a stage at which they cannot be ironed out only through discussions. The common anti-imperialist struggles will

help the process of liquidating the revisionist and dogmatic distortions in the international communist movement. Despite all differences, without joint action by the Communist Parties against imperialism, the way to realise the present opportunities cannot be opened. The document correctly states: "The Communist and Workers' Parties. . .reaffirm their determination to present a united front in the struggle against imperialism." The Central Committee is in agreement with the document when it states, "A primary objective of united action is to give all-round support to the heroic Vietnamese people. The meeting calls upon all who cherish peace and national independence to intensify the struggle in order to compel U.S. imperialism to withdraw its interventionist troops from Vietnam, cease interfering in the internal affairs of that country and respect the right of the Vietnamese people to solve their problems by themselves. The final victory of the Vietnamese patriots is of fundamental importance for strengthening the positions of the peoples in the struggle against imperialist diktat and arbitrary rule. Coordinated measures by all the countries of the socialist system and joint efforts by all Communist and Workers' Parties, all progressive parties and mass democratic organisations and by all other freedom- and peace-loving forces are needed to hasten this victory."

A year and a half ago, our Party at the Central Committee's Plenum at Burdwan had demanded such unity of action for Vietnam. "But the freedom-lovers and proletarian revolutionaries of the whole world are extremely concerned and agitated over the brutal fascist war on the Vietnamese people and desire united action by the socialist states, particularly the Soviet Union and China, so that the aggressors might be speedily driven out and peace restored in Vietnam. Our Party cannot but share the legitimate urge of the people, all over the world." It, at the same time, warned, "A series of initial steps are required to prepare the ground for such unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. Without the preliminary necessary steps and preparations for unity in action, the slogan of united action, as advanced by the Soviet leaders as a slogan of immediate

action, loses its meaning and significance and reduces itself to one of scoring points and deceiving the gullible." Our Party, at the same time, expressed itself against the stand of the CPC, which rejected unity of action as wrong in principle.

Today more than ever Vietnam has become the acid test of proletarian internationalism and the joint action for it a test of sincerity of every party.

Notwithstanding the sharp cleavages in the international communist movement, our Party stands for joint action of all Communist Parties against imperialism, against the aggressive policies of the American imperialists, for the liberation of people fighting for their freedom, for the final destruction of imperialism, for the defence of the socialist camp, for peace, democracy and socialism. The Political Resolution of the Eighth Congress of our Party clearly stated, "It becomes imperative that all socialist states, despite the existing serious ideological-political differences, devise ways and means of achieving unity in action against imperialist aggressors, which plays a vital part in facilitating the process of ideological-political unity of the camp."

While expressing our firm support to all efforts for joint action against imperialism, the Central Committee is of the opinion that consistent struggle against imperialism is not possible unless the Communist Parties overcome revisionist and dogmatic deviations.

P. Sundarayya's Statement on Crisis in Congress

Comrade P. Sundarayya, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), issued the following statement in Calcutta on July 16, 1969:

The squabbles among Congress leaders which burst out on the choice of the Presidential candidate and the virtual dismissal of Sri Morarji Desai, Deputy Prime Minister, are acute expressions of the grave political crisis in the Congress.

Our Party has been forecasting such a crisis in the ruling Congress party ever since the Fourth General Election. It may lead to serious developments affecting the democratic interests of the people. It is necessary that all democratic parties hold consultations so that the reactionary vested interests are not able to exploit it to their advantage.

CPI(M) Central Committee's Statement on Immediate Political Situation

**Statement adopted by the Central Committee
of CPI(M) at its Calcutta Session on
July 15-20, 1969**

*Text of Statement on Immediate Political Situation adopted by the
Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) at
its session in Calcutta from July 15 to 20, 1969:*

Important developments have taken place since the Bangalore session of the AICC. The quarrel over the selection of the Presidential nominee and the sharp division that took place in the Congress Central Parliamentary board, has now erupted into a serious inner-party crisis in the ruling Congress party. The quick developments in succession such as divesting Mr. Morarji Desai of the Finance Portfolio, his protest and resignation from the Central Cabinet and the dramatic announcement of nationalization of scheduled banks through an Ordinance by the Prime Minister reveal how the inner party struggle has overflowed its limits and may lead to far-reaching political consequences.

The people and the democratic movement cannot be indifferent to the question of the election of the President, or the change in the Central Cabinet coming as they do in the wake of an unabashed struggle of outspoken advocates of the monopolists, to take exclusive control of the Government through their hold over the Congress. The democratic parties must intervene to see that their own interests and the future of the democratic movement is not jeopardized by the inner squabbles of the Congress.

Our Party has consistently attacked the policies of the Indira Gandhi Government as anti-people, as directed in the interests of Big Business, monopolists and landlords, as jeopardizing the

country's economic independence by its reliance on loans from the USA.

It is these policies that have nurtured the growth of the big monopoly houses, the big banks, and collaborators with foreign capital and they are now bold enough to demand exclusive control over the administration.

The toiling masses of our country, the workers, peasants and middle classes, who have intensely suffered under the Congress regime all these years and who have heroically fought to stem the attacks of the monopolists, big capitalists and landlords, are now being faced with another challenge. Through their great struggles for land, for wages, for food and employment they succeeded in many places to secure partial gains. They inflicted electoral defeats on the Congress in several States and in the two States of Kerala and West Bengal succeeded in forming U.F. Ministries. In the recent mid-term elections the people of several States, especially of West Bengal, gave a further rebuff to the Congress party and expressed their anger over their plight following from the pro-landlord, pro-monopoly policies of the Congress.

In recent months the mass struggles in the country have reached new heights. Large sections of peasants are launching movements for securing land and are engaged in a grim battle with the landlords and the police, leading to violent clashes; in West Bengal the peasant masses have entered a new period of organization and action setting in motion thousands of landless and agricultural labourers; the strike battles of the working class all over India have become protracted leading to clashes with the authorities. The students and the other sections of the middle classes are entering upon another grim stage of a determined conflict with the authorities.

Notwithstanding constant attempts at diversion of the mass movement through communal, caste and chauvinistic appeals, the struggle of the people continues to rise, a menace to the bourgeois-landlord regime.

The rising tide of popular indignation, and the growing isolation of the Congress party, the main pillar of the capital and

landlords, were leading to proposals for drastic counter-measures against the people, for further curbs on the democratic liberties, and above all, for a frontal assault on the United Front ministries in Kerala and West Bengal and an attack on our Party.

This in fact is the direct programme of the Syndicate clique, the aggressive advocates of monopolists in the Congress leadership. In the past few months, they have left nothing unsaid. Nijalingappa in his address to the AICC openly demanded action against our Party, he was supported by S. K. Patil and other; Morarji Desai threatened action against the West Bengal United Front Ministry; the Congress President long ago gave the slogan of bringing down democratic Ministries especially the U.F. Ministries of Kerala and West Bengal. The opposition of this section to any control over private sector has been openly voiced; their blatant support to free entry of private foreign capital is equally well known. Besides they are strong advocates of a drastic pro-American shift in our foreign policy. They are thus the outspoken representatives of the monopolists for whom growing attacks on the liberties of the people is a direct and immediate necessity. These people are advocates of a unitary state, curtailment of the rights of States, suppression of democratic opposition parties. That is why the people cannot remain indifferent to the attempts of this group to get exclusive hold of the administrative machinery.

It is interesting to note that in this confrontation between the two contending Congress factions, the section led by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has come to the conclusion that it cannot fight its battle with its opponents except on some definite economic platform as indicated in her well known Note to the AICC. It is equally interesting that the opposing faction which consists of leaders like Morarji Desai, S. K. Patil and others, whose strong opposition to many of the proposals contained in the Note of the Prime Minister is well known, readily accepted the Note in toto and made it into a unanimous resolution of the AICC. These manoeuvres and counter-manoevres clearly bring out the truth that both the contending groups realize that they have to address to the democratic forces in the country so that they might

mobilize the public opinion behind their respective groupings, the public opinion that is growing in the background of the deepening economic crisis which is seriously affecting different classes of the people except the big monopolists and landlords.

However, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) does not think that the present sharp division and threatening split in the central Congress leadership is anything like a clear class division between the pro-monopolist and non-monopolist bourgeoisie of our country, a division that is bound to take place ultimately. But it also does not and cannot afford to dismiss the entire inner-party crisis of the ruling Congress party as simply a factional quarrel between the two equally determined champions of the monopoly bourgeois interests since the bulk of the leaders representing the Syndicate have earned notoriety for their extreme-right reactionary views on a number of vital questions affecting the life of our people. Neither entertaining any undue illusions about the group led by Indira Gandhi nor placing any reliance on it, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is vitally interested in inflicting a defeat on the Syndicate which represents the aggressive, outspoken and organized wing of the extreme reaction in the ruling party, which is also deriving wholehearted support from the avowedly counter-revolutionary forces represented by the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh.

It is in the interest of the democratic forces that they combine at every stage to foil the attempts of extreme reaction to secure strategic positions. It is necessary in this background that the official Congress nominee for Presidentship be defeated so that the clique is weakened. It is of advantage to the masses and the further progress of people's movement that the offensive of the extreme big monopoly is opposed at each stage so that the nefarious game of launching attacks on the U.F. Ministries, and on the people, by taking charge of the Central Government, is foiled.

The extreme reactionary forces cannot be fought however by simply dismissing Morarji Desai. What is required is a sustained fight against the very policies of the Congress Government which

nurture the monopolists and landlords and appease the imperialists. This fight can be carried on only by the democratic parties and the people fighting for the enforcement of certain immediate measures.

To foil the attempts of the reactionaries the following demands should be raised:

(1) While welcoming the nationalization of the big banks as a step in the correct direction, democratic forces must demand nationalization of foreign banks. They must also warn the people that under the capitalist-landlord state and bureaucratic control nationalization may become formal and farcical as in the case of LIC and demand effective democratic control, with the participation of the representatives of the employees and other democratic elements over the banks so that the smaller sections, whose credit needs are urgent, really benefit from the measure and the big capitalists are deprived of their monopoly of financial resources. At the same time, the Central Committee warns against the deceptive propaganda that the present measure is a socialist measure. There is not an iota of socialism in it.

(2) The democratic parties must demand further curbs against big monopoly industrial houses.

(3) Effective steps against foreign monopoly capital.

(4) There must be effective guarantees for the non-Congress democratic Ministries in States to function. At present the Central Congress Government uses its powers to violate the rights of these Governments and aids and abets conspiracies to bring them down.

(5) They must demand implementation of a policy which will drastically reduce the burden of prices and taxation on the common man.

(6) Immediate relief to the toilers on the question of land, wages and employment. The backbone of the monopolist-landlord combine cannot be broken without breaking the land monopoly of the landlords and distributing land to the landless.

(7) Withdrawal of all anti-strike and repressive legislations and of all victimization measures against Central employees. Expansion of the democratic rights of the people.

The Central Committee again warns that behind the screen of group rivalries in the Congress, united forces of reaction are attempting to steal a march over the Indian people and attempt to place themselves in a strategic position to attack the people and democracy. Their aim is to lay the foundation of a police state outlawing all democratic activities. Congress policies have reared this danger and unless the people fight back and defeat the game, the inner-party squabbles in the Congress might end in a big defeat for popular forces, strengthening the forces of reaction and foreign monopolists who are waiting in the wings to take advantage of the situation.

CPI(M) Central Committee's Resolution on Kerala*

Text of the resolution on Kerala adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) at its session in Calcutta from July 15 to 20, 1969:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is extremely distressed over the disturbing developments in the functioning of the United Front and its State Government in Kerala, developments that are threatening the break-up of the Front and its Government, thus causing great concern and anxiety to all the democratic and progressive forces in the country.

The Central Committee, after a careful study of all the reports from its Kerala State Committee and examining other voluminous material concerning these developments, is convinced that the Right Communist Party, with its bankrupt political line and disruptive organisational conduct, has engineered this crisis as a diversionary move. In face of deepening economic and political crisis and sharpening of class struggle in the country and just when the struggles of the toiling masses of Kerala, for land and food, for employment and fair wages have been gathering momentum, and greater cohesion and united action on the part of all constituents of the U.F. and its Government is needed, just at such a time, the Right Communist Party, true to its class collaborationist policies, seems to be bent upon diverting the mass attention from these struggles against the landlords and capitalists and against the Central Congress Government to an anti-CPI(M) struggle, and to disrupt the United Front.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", Calcutta, July 27, 1969

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the present crisis in the Kerala U.F. has been master-minded by the Right Communists at a stage when the defeat suffered by the Congress in the mid-term elections and the resounding victory scored particularly by the United Front in West Bengal, have sharply intensified the political crisis for the ruling Congress party and the Centre. The two U.F. Governments of West Bengal and Kerala have come to be looked upon by the anti-Congress democratic forces with high hopes and expectations, while the central Congress leaders and other reactionary forces have begun mounting a propaganda offensive on these two Left-oriented State Governments, singling out the CPI(M), which happens to be a predominant force in these two United Fronts, as their special target for venomous attacks and base slanders. It is nothing surprising that the Right Communists outdo the Congress in this regard and assist the foul game of the reaction as it is only a continuation of their own old policies and practice.

The Right Communists' attitude towards people's struggles and as to how the U.F. Government has to function is crudely expressed by Sri M. N. Govindan Nair's slogan, "agitation and administration cannot go together" as against our approach of unleashing mass agitation and struggles against the Central Government while carrying on the administration to give relief to the people to the extent possible.

It is from this attitude of theirs that within a month of forming the Ministry, the Right Communists started a scurrilous attack against the CPI(M) Food Minister for the difficult food situation in Kerala, instead of attacking the Centre and placing the responsibility for it on the Centre's deliberate policy of cutting down food supplies by half and of withdrawing food subsidies. In fact, they condemned the agitation and struggle which the CPI(M) had launched against the Centre.

The Right Communists and their Agriculture Minister, Sri M. N. Govindan Nair, faithfully following the Congress policy of trying to solve the food problem by going all out to help the landlords and the rich peasants with tractors, etc., have been violently opposing the agricultural labourers who are fighting

against the landlords for their employment and fair wages. They went to the extent of justifying the police who opened fire on the agricultural labourers at Viyapuram in Kuttanad.

The Right Communist Industries Minister, Sri T. V. Thomas, came out with an industrial policy pledging all facilities to exploit the raw materials and resources to the monopolists, Indian and foreign, and guaranteeing industrial peace through anti-working class legislation. They were forced to withdraw this policy but Sri Thomas tries to pursue it and when the CPI(M) fights it the Right Communist Central Executive accuses our Party of "opposing establishing public sector undertakings on sound footing"

The statement that the Central Executive of the Right Communists has released from Trivandrum on the present situation in Kerala, to put it mildly, speaks volumes of their utter callousness to the fate of the U.F. Government and its future and of their total disregard and unconcern for the democratic movement of our people. Initially starting with pretentious statements that they "viewed with grave concern the critical situation" in Kerala and that they "have been primarily guided by the thought of finding solutions to the problems and not by any desire to aggravate the controversies and disputes", the statement ends up with nothing except a string of lies, base accusations and monstrous slanders directed against the CPI(M), its Ministerial representatives and above all, the Chief Minister, Comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad.

The stinking statement of the Right Communist Executive accuses the CPI(M) with the "policy of narrow aggrandisement as well as sectarianism", of "systematically using strength and position to browbeat, weaken, if not eliminate, other partners in the Front", of "big party bossism, disdain and contempt for its allies" of CPI(M)'s "control over the Police, Revenue Department and General Administration . . . and using this authority and power to subserve their partisan ends palpably to the detriment of public interest", of paying "no adequate attention to mass issues or the tasks connected with the implementation of the U.F. Programme", of "violating the occasion of the Coordination

Committee", of sabotaging the "taking over of wholesale trade in foodgrains, the legislative enactment on T.U. Recognition, Land Reforms and Panchayat Raj", of adopting a "soft attitude towards the vested interests and even to show them favours", of unconcern while "corruption is growing in certain quarters", and finally charging the Chief Minister that he had not "discharged his responsibilities in a proper, impartial way", and instead of acting as the head of the Council of Ministers he "preferred to function as the captain of the CPM Ministerial team", etc.

Such is the compilation of malicious charges against the CPI(M) and the statement of the Right Communist Executive contains nothing but these slanders against the CPI(M). The Congress party and other anti-communist reactionaries, who are the avowed enemies of the U.F. and the CPI(M) in particular, are left with no single accusation to add to the list. At the same Executive meeting, the Right Communist leaders have also added to the list the charge of wrecking the country's Constitution, thus joining the chorus of rabid anti-communist tirades of some Congress leaders at their Bangalore AICC meeting. The present Constitution, according to them, is not a bourgeois-landlord class-oriented one but a non-class, supra-class national Constitution, with no right to the people to radically alter it and even completely change (the Malayalam words used by Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad and A. K. Gopalan are *alakum pidivum mattuka*) it. After levelling all these wild charges, it is blatantly hypocritical on their part to state in the same breath that they are eager for "finding solutions" to the crisis in the Kerala U.F. and are viewing the Kerala developments with "grave concern". This lengthy and foul charge-sheet against the CPI(M) also reveal the truth that the Right Communists have been nursing deep-going enmity and hatred to the CPI(M) on every count and were only awaiting an opportunity to exploit the issue of corruption charge against Sri Kunhu to explode their time-bomb to blow up the CPI(M) and its position in the U.F. No one in his senses thinks that one is working for the strengthening and consolidation of the U.F.s in Kerala and West Bengal while levelling scores of such wild and filthy accusations against the

CPI(M) which, on the basis of its popular support, happens to be a predominant force in these two United Fronts. And yet such is the cunning and clever concern the Right Communists show for the U.F. and its progress.

The C.C. of the CPI(M) is of the considered opinion that all this mud-slinging campaign of the Right Communists is a cold-blooded and calculated diversionary move, a device to derail the work of the U.F. Government, to disrupt the U.F. to isolate the CPI(M) and to impose their bankrupt line of class collaboration and alliance with one or the other faction of the ruling Congress party. The C.C. does not intend to waste its time in once again covering point by point all the slanders let loose since every one of them has been refuted by the C.C. and the Kerala State Committee of the Party, from time to time. Besides, our Kerala unit has issued a lengthy reply to the Right Communists' ultimatum of April 30, demanding compliance with their 13 points within three months, wherein most of the points are covered. Further, it deems it politically harmful in this statement to join issues with the Right Communists on lies, slanders and accusations, as it would be tantamount to playing into their provocative trap and fall a victim to its disruptive and diversionary tactics.

Conscious of the heavy responsibilities our Party has undertaken, keenly aware of the solemn commitments made to the people and anxious to safeguard the unity of the different democratic parties and groups achieved in the process of prolonged struggle against Congress misrule, the C.C. is determined to carry on its struggle to defend the United Front and its State Government and to defeat every undermining assault on them, no matter whether it is from the Right Communists or from any victim of their disruptive tactics. Confident of the correctness of our Party's political line, and with full faith in the people who, in the final analysis, are the supreme judges as to the correctness or otherwise of our policies, the C.C. once again calls upon the Right Communist Party to retrace its dangerous steps and desist from its disruptive moves, and contribute constructive proposals for the resolution of the present impasse that they have brought about in the work of the U.F. and its Government. The C.C. also appeals to

all other constituents of the Kerala U.F. to rise to the occasion, to fully grasp the political significance of the undermining activities of the Right Communists, activities principally aimed at building an anti-Marxist front, and to work for the fulfilling of pledges given and promises made to the Kerala electorate by the U.F.

The C.C. before reiterating its views for the solution of the present crisis, wishes to make its standpoint unequivocally clear on two or three issues which the Right Communists are repeatedly harping upon with a pose of injured innocence.

One of these issues is the open criticism levelled by Comrades E. M. S. Namboodiripad and A. K. Gopalan against the Right Communist leaders, during the month of May 1968, that there were conspiratorial attempts on their part to form a non-Congress as well as non-Marxist U.F. Government in Kerala. It should be remembered that the background of this sordid episode was a concerted counter-offensive by the Central Congress Government when it was toppling one non-Congress Government after another and was directing its attack on Kerala, the only remaining Left-oriented non-Congress Government, after the dissolution of the West Bengal, U.P., Bihar and Punjab State Legislatures. It is no secret that the Congress leaders were singling out the CPI(M) for their attack so that they could thus undermine the U.F. in which the CPI(M) happens to be the predominant partner. Our Party was striving its utmost to expose this Congress conspiracy and mobilise the people against the Central Congress Government. It was exactly at this crucial hour that the Right Communists only refused to join the anti-Centre struggles on one pretext or another, but also begun sounding some other parties in the United Front about the possibility and feasibility of forming a U.F. Government, excluding the CPI(M), which was supposed to be endangering the U.F. Government with its anti-Centre posture. The issue, no doubt, was serious, and it came up before the Coordination Committee for debate and decision.

In the Coordination Committee, when the matter was discussed and when our Party's representatives placed all the information they had, each party had expressed itself on the issue. Our Party even then demanded that all the information and statements made

by different parties be published to allow the public to judge what had happened. Some of those parties of the U.F. who were initially involved into these talks of forming a non-Marxist U.F. Government, but later realised the dangers inherent in it and dissociated themselves, held that if the material was published it would damage the United Front and hence the whole thing should be considered as a closed chapter. Our Party agreed to this appeal and decision.

But the leaders of the Right Communist Party has now, after nearly a year, reopened it again in a big way, synchronising it with the Kunhu affair.

Our State Committee after making repeated efforts to make the Right Communists not to persist in raking this up, has now been forced to join issue and has already released some facts to vindicate its position. The C.C. endorses the line of action being pursued by our State unit. The C.C. hopes that other constituents of U.F. will exert their good influence on the Right Communists and make them desist from disrupting the U.F.

The second issue is regarding corruption, the corruption charges against one of several Ministers of the U.F. and the anti-corruption bill that is proposed and is now before a Select Committee. The Right Communists seem to be afflicted with a malignant malady, the malady of choosing the "corruption versus anti-corruption" slogan as the only weapon left to fight the CPI(M), slanderously depicting it as a party interested in corruption, shielding corruption and standing against possible effective legal measures against corruption. The C.C. wishes to make it clear that such a malady is the outcome of utter political bankruptcy and such a filthy abusive slander propaganda on the part of the Right Communists against the CPI(M) and its ministerial representatives can neither destroy our Party's popular image nor create the image of an angel for the Right Communist Party, but only blacken the image of the U.F. Government as a whole, while gladdening the hearts of Congress leaders. This exactly is the great mission undertaken by the Right Communists and they are being duly rewarded by the entire big-bourgeois Press with a good pat on their back.

The CPI(M), while it is keenly interested in fighting corruption and enacting appropriate legislation, is not going to be hustled into such pieces of legislation which provide loopholes for the corrupt Congress and other reactionary forces to exploit to fight the U.F. parties and the U.F. Government, rather than serve as an effective weapon to fight real corruption. The amendments proposed and the changes suggested by our Kerala State Committee are now being endorsed by the C.C. as they are in the correct direction and orientation. In fact, the preliminary discussions on this bill in the Legislative Assembly, before it was referred to the Select Committee, clearly reveal the serious doubts and questioning of what some of its clauses would lead to. Here, again, the Right Communists thought that any stick was good enough to beat the CPI(M) and unleashed a smear campaign.

Our Party is prepared for a patient and serious discussion on the matter but can never agree to reopening Comrade Namboodiripad's findings on the three Ministers through the so-called interim machinery nor abandon its principled stand on this anti-corruption bill.

Our State Committee has already made certain suggestions for improving the machinery and functioning of the Coordination Committee, as well as for a Code of Conduct for the U.F. constituents and for the functioning of the U.F. Ministry. The C.C. agrees that they are correct in principle, and hopes it will be possible to work out an agreed solution.

The C.C., while endorsing the political line pursued by the Kerala State Committee and appreciating the sustained and patient struggle it is carrying on to defend and strengthen the U.F. and its Government by warding off incessant attacks on the U.F. and its Government from Right Communist quarters in particular, directs the State Committee and its Ministerial representatives to earnestly strive to implement the following proposals through the U.F. Government and mobilise all the U.F. constituents as well as the mass of the people for their effective and speedy implementation.

The Agrarian Relations (Amendment) Bill that has been delayed too long and is now in the Select Committee stage

should be expedited and enacted in the ensuing Assembly session without any further delay.

The enactment of the T.U. Recognition Bill, Workers' Gratuity Bill and other allied bills regarding working class rights should find priority in the ensuing session.

The C.C. also wants to stress to the Party ranks and all democratic forces that along with the enactment of these legislations, it is only the unleashing of mass initiative and action and struggle that will enable them to get these measures implemented and get the benefits and rights that are sought to be conferred by these legislations.

While continuing to resolutely rebuff the slander campaign of the Right Communists, make every effort to prevail upon them to reverse their anti-CPI(M) course and to function in the U.F. and in the Government in conformity to the pledges given to the electorate by the U.F.

Initiate bilateral and multilateral talks with different constituents of the U.F., patiently and perseveringly explain our Party's viewpoint on the issues facing the U.F. in Kerala, and persuade them to prevail upon the Right Communists to return to the path of unity and struggle against the common foe, the Congress party and its Central regime, abandoning the path of anti-CPI(M) mobilisation and intrigue.

The C.C. hopes that the different parties and groups in the Kerala United Front will shed all complacency, rise to the occasion, restore the unity that is seriously undermined and continue to inspire the democratic forces outside Kerala as they were so long doing. The C.C. assures our people and all the democratic parties and groups in the country that it will do its utmost to defend the Kerala U.F. and its Government, while of course not minimising the threat that has developed to the U.F. in Kerala by the reckless path embarked upon by the Right Communist Party.

Resolution On Kerala*

Adopted by the Polit Bureau of CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) considered the telephonic messages received from Trivandrum that the Right Communists in league with Muslim League, ISP and certain others had joined hands with the Congress and Kerala Congress to bring a resolution before the Assembly demanding immediate setting up of a machinery to probe into corruption allegations against certain U.F. Ministers.

Our Party has been offering that till the Public Men's Enquiry Bill is passed a sub-committee of the Co-ordination Committee should probe into the allegations and find out whether a *prima facie* case is there. In spite of our offer their determination to back up the Congress resolution is nothing but a pre-planned conspiracy to break up the U.F. and form a Ministry excluding the Communist Party of India (Marxist), with the open or tacit support of the Congress. They have chosen their time for their nefarious conspiracy when Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad, the Chief Minister, is away from India, undergoing treatment for serious illness in the German Democratic Republic.

It is reliably learnt that these constituents of the U.F. want to form a Ministry of their own under the leadership of a Muslim League leader, Mr. C. H. Mohammed Koya. It is a conspiracy which they have been planning for more than a year, which we have exposed earlier and defeated but which now they want to carry out once again. The time they have chosen to carry out their coup is when the Agrarian Bill has been taken up in the Assembly. The Muslim League and the other vested interests are desperately anxious to prevent this Agrarian Bill being enacted

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and implemented. They have also chosen a time when at the all-India level, the outspoken reactionary representatives of the monopoly and vested interests, the Syndicate, has received a serious defeat in the Presidential election. At this time, the move on the part of the Right Communists to break up the U.F. Ministry and form a Ministry excluding our Party, is nothing but deliberate disruption of the democratic movement in the whole of India.

The Polit Bureau warns these constituent parties of the U.F. in Kerala, who are lured into this conspiracy by the Right Communists, that they should realise the disastrous consequences of this course and appeals to them to desist even, at the late hour, from the course they have been pursuing.

We appeal to all the democratic forces and parties to condemn this anti-people act which is being spearheaded by the Right Communists. We appeal to all our Party units, especially our Party units in Kerala, to mobilise the people immediately on a huge scale against this conspiracy of the U.F. constituents in Kerala, and demand the day-to-day consideration of the Agrarian Bill and immediately enact it into law. It is through the mobilisation of the masses and all democratic elements in all parties against the treachery of the leaders of these parties in Kerala on a large continuous scale that it would be possible to defeat this disruption and defend democracy in Kerala.

The Presidential Election and Giri's Victory*

Statement Issued by the Polit Bureau of CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) hails the victory of Sri V. V. Giri in the Presidential contest and views it as a political victory for the popular and democratic forces against the forces of extreme reaction in the country.

The Presidential contest, coming as it did in the wake of the deepening economic and political crisis and the consequent inner-party crisis inside the ruling Congress party, assumed added political importance as it involved important issues like nationalisation of banks, Congress alliance with reactionary parties, etc. It is now a proved fact that the dominant Congress wing headed by the Syndicate had unashamedly allied with the extreme reactionary non-Congress parties such as the Swatantra and Jan Sangh while the opposite wing led by Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi had to rely on the non-Congress democratic parties and groups to beat back the offensive of the Syndicate. It is no longer a secret that if the group led by Smt. Gandhi sponsored the measure for nationalisation of all big banks in the country, the latter stood out as the staunch opponents of all such measures, vigorously advocating a further shift to the right, in the matter of both domestic and foreign policies of the Government. It is in this specific context the political import of the triumph of Sri V. V. Giri and the defeat of Sri Sanjiva Reddy will have to be viewed and judged.

The Polit Bureau congratulates all the non-Congress democratic forces which have contributed to this victory. It welcomes the courageous stand of hundreds of Congress

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legislators and members of Parliament who stood by Sri V. V. Giri and inflicted a defeat on the Syndicate and its Swatantra-Jan Sangh allies.

However, the Polit Bureau wishes to emphasise the fact that it would be disastrous for the democratic forces and their future advance if they were to rest content with this initial victory and are lulled into any complacent thinking that the extreme reaction would take the defeat lying down. The dominant wing of the Congress leadership, as demonstrated during the last two-and-half-a-years, is sure to regroup its forces and mount another offensive against the advancing democratic forces. It was neither able to put up with the electoral verdict of the Fourth General Elections nor with the electoral defeats it had suffered at the mid-term poll, and the present move of lining up with the Swatantra and Jan Sangh for the victory of the Syndicate's nominee was only a continuation of the same conspiratorial game.

On seeing the pattern of voting in defferent State Legislatures and Parliament and the formidable forces mustered for the support of the Syndicate, it would be dangerous to underestimate the strength of extreme reaction and its enormous capacity for mischief. Extreme vigilance and continued offensive of all those who stand for democracy constitute the only guarantee against the attempts of the reactionary combine to upset the popular victory in the Presidential election.

In this connection, it is incumbent on every democratic party and group to fully grasp and realise the political import of the current developments. The Polit Bureau is of the considered opinion that the present inner-party crisis in the ruling Congress is nothing but a clear manifestation of the deepening economic-political crisis in the country which has been gaining momentum since the Fourth General Elections of 1967.

The Congress Party, which had held its monopoly sway over the destinies of the country for two full decades, did suffer devastating electoral defeats and lost its monopoly of power over several States. The high-handed and highly undemocratic methods employed by the Central Congress leadership to topple

the non-Congress Governments, one after another, with a view to regaining its lost monopoly had ended in fiasco, as revealed in the results of the mid-term poll. This bankrupt, anti-people political-tactical line, instead of resolving the crisis in favour of the Congress Party, only re-coiled on it, throwing it into a much deeper crisis. The rapid developments inside the ruling Congress Party since the Bangalore Session of the AICC are only a reflection of this reality.

The dominant section of the Congress leadership, having realised that its one-party monopoly rule has virtually ended and faced with the economic and political impasse it is caught in has come to the definite conclusion that its political survival and power domination is ensured only if it forges alliance with the Swatantra and Jan Sangh and unleash an offensive against the people and the rising mass struggles. This section has come to be popularly known as the Syndicate, the most aggressive representatives of the monopolies and the extreme political reaction.

The other section led by the Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, is sharply opposed to this line of alliance with the reactionary parties advocated by the Syndicate, since, according to it, such a course would result in the alienation of the sympathy and support of the Muslim minorities and other oppressed sections like the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, besides tarnishing the image of the Congress before the people and leading to further loss of popular support. It sponsors certain forward measures like nationalisation of banks to meet the situation and regain the lost image of the Congress Party among the people. Notwithstanding the factional squabbles and group struggles among the Congress leaders, it is these two lines of alliance that are leading to a kind of polarisation inside the Congress.

Both the Congress groups, while adopting the two conflicting tactical lines, have not only in view the present situation facing the Congress rule at the Centre and in several States but also the strategy for the fifth general elections which are in the offing after the next two years. Both are quite aware that they are at the crossroads. But it would be extremely hazardous, at this stage,

to characterise these two rival groups as representing monopolists and anti-monopolists, as such a characterisation disarms the anti-Congress democratic forces, sows unwarranted illusions among the people and reduces the anti-Congress democratic forces to the position of the camp-followers of one section.

One or two measures such as bank nationalisation and the opposition to ally with the Swatantra-Jan Sangh alone would not transform the political physiognomy of the present Congress Government led by Smt. Indira Gandhi from being a bourgeois-landlord Government led by the big bourgeoisie into one of a democratic Government led by the non-big bourgeoisie. Nothing can be more politically naive and opportunist than to exaggerate the initial differences that have just cropped up among the Central Congress leaders and characterising them as a decisive division between the pro-monopolists and progressive non-monopolists.

A totally different correlation of class forces in the country is necessary if such a decisive division and split are to take place. The present degree of political awakening in the working class, the weakness of the workers' and peasants' alliance and of political and programmatic unity among the democratic parties and groups in the country do not warrant such a hasty conclusion.

It is in this background and under the specific correlation of classes that the inner-party struggles in the ruling party has to be viewed and the democratic parties and groups in the country adopt their attitude to them. The democratic parties and groups while declaring their total, unequivocal and unconcealed opposition to the Syndicate and its reactionary political alliance with the Swatantra and Jan Sangh, are duty bound to effectively intervene in the developing inner-party crisis of the Congress since the party in question is a ruling party at the Centre and in the majority of States and the differences and splits in it have a direct and immediate bearing on the destinies of the people, and lend critical support to every single progressive measures aimed at weakening the Syndicate and the vested interests it openly champions.

The extremely delicate and complex political situation that is confronting the democratic forces does neither permit them to be indifferent to the inner-party struggle in the Congress nor to adopt an attitude of equidistance to both the groups since they represent the same Congress Party. The complexity of the problem, no doubt, is all the more emphasised because of the fact that the section that is opposed to the Syndicate is in the leading positions of the Central Government with whose policies and administrative actions the vast masses of our people are coming into direct conflict daily and hourly, in defence of their day-to-day interests. There can be no escape from the situation and the democratic parties will have to rise to the occasion and prove their mettle.

The Polit Bureau, in this connection, cannot but draw the attention of our people and all the democratic parties to the glib talk of restoring unity among the contending Congress sections, a talk specially indulged in by both after the Presidential contest is over and the Syndicate is defeated. There can be nothing more dishonest, unprincipled and dangerous than such opportunist moves of unity. The entire monopolist-controlled Press which shouted hoarse and dubbed Smt. Indira Gandhi and her group as crypto-communists, strangely enough, have started the unity chorus in a big way on the morrow of the defeat of the Syndicate's candidate.

The plain and simple meaning of such a unity is nothing else than to sue for peace and co-existence between the avowed representatives of the monopolists and reaction on the one hand and the section that is making profuse promises and pledges to the people to give them a new deal. The plain and simple meaning of such a unity talk is nothing else than unashamed reconciliation between those who allied with the Swatantra and Jan Sangh and those who decried such alliance as betrayal of the Congress ideals and ideology and a treachery to the country. The plain and simple meaning of such a unity talk is nothing but to shamelessly declare before the people and the democratic parties that we both the sections have utilized you for our factional and power politics and that all that we promised and pledged to the people is pure election demagoguery.

The Polit Bureau warns all the democratic-minded Congressmen who had boldly stood against the Syndicate during the Presidential election to awaken to this conspiratorial moves of unity by their leaders and do everything in their power to scotch them. It also appeals to the entire people including those who follow the Congress Party to be alert and watchful regarding the unity machinations that are hatched behind their backs. It calls on the Central Government headed by Smt. Gandhi to seriously ponder over the political meaning of such opportunist moves and their dangerous consequences.

The Polit Bureau is of the considered view that bank nationalisation and the victory in the Presidential election against the Syndicate's nominee though important, by themselves, are neither going to extricate the country from the economic mess it is in nor resolve any one of the basic problems that our suffering people are faced with. Until and unless some far-reaching and radical measures are urgently introduced neither are these initial victories safe nor can our people's livelihood be rescued from the clutches of the growing economic crisis. Nationalisation of foreign banks, utilising the economic strength of nationalised banks to secure control over monopolistic concerns and extend the public sector, curbs on the profits of the monopolists and on their aggrandisement, the adequate allotment of bank credits to the non-big industrialists and credit-starving peasantry from the centralised resources, a reorientated Fourth Five-Year Plan for speedy expansion of industries and improvement of agriculture with a specific view to absorbing the millions of educated and un-educated unemployed, the state taking over all the import and export trade, ban on repatriation of profits by foreign concerns for a stipulated period, the introduction of genuine land reforms, the imposition of graduated income-tax on agricultural incomes of the landlords, the ensuring of the democratic and trade-union rights to the working class and all working people including the Government employees, end of the Policy of victimisation and terrorisation of Central employees, withdrawal of all anti-working class legislations, steps to secure and guarantee the autonomy of States and an equitable and just distribution of

Central resources to the States are some of the pressing and urgent tasks to be tackled immediately.

Steps are further called to end India's dependence on foreign loans which are jeopardising the country's independence. It is equally necessary to secure a progressive shift in foreign policy which should lend support to all anti-imperialist struggles and decisively line up against imperialism and develop enduring ties with all countries of the socialist camp. It is urgent that the Government recognises the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the German Democratic Republic which has rendered valuable aid to India. Either these measures are pursued and advance registered or procrastination and failure in this will lead to succumbing before the onslaught of the reactionary vested interests. There is no third alternative in the situation the country is confronted with.

The Polit Bureau is quite conscious and fully aware that such a programme, left to the present Congress Government headed by Smt. Indira Gandhi as it is composed now and with the bureaucracy that is running the administration, cannot be carried. A countrywide mass movement alone can ensure such a course.

It is only this popular movement that has brought about the present favourable political situation enabling the democratic forces to address a rebuff to the forces of extreme reaction. The victories scored by the United Fronts in West Bengal and Kerala and its majority in the legislatures of the two States, the strength of the democratic parties in Parliament and the State Legislatures have played an important role in defeating the candidate of the extreme reaction. The strength of the non-Congress democratic parties, their capacity for firm action, play a vital role in the present situation. Every effort is required to advance and strengthen the joint strength of these forces so that extreme reaction can be put on the run.

In this connection, it is pertinent to observe that the disunity among the democratic parties on a number of questions

connected with the people is acting as a big hindrance in fully utilising the opportunities present before them for a rapid advance. The Polit Bureau appeals to one and all the democratic parties and groups for their wholehearted co-operation in overcoming these grave shortcomings and weaknesses and consolidating the United Fronts that are in existence, and also come forward to plan and lead nationwide mass actions on the economic and political questions that our people are vitally interested in.

Kerala : No Action Till The C.M. Returns*

**Statement of the Polit Bureau of CPI(M) Released
in Calcutta on October 4, 1969**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has in a statement issued to the Press in Calcutta on October 4, 1969 characterized the behaviour of the Speaker of the Kerala Legislative Assembly on October 3 as "absurd and derogatory". The statement also charged him with "partisan" action.

Newspapers, it may be recalled, reported that the Speaker told Pressmen that a non-official—Right-Communist-sponsored—resolution was passed by voice votes by the Assembly when he is charged with not having put in to vote.

The statement reads :

The Speaker who is keen on maintaining his office which he can do only by the grace of the Right Communist, has acted in a highly objectionable and partisan manner in declaring the resolution passed without either accepting the amendments or the division of voting. Can anything be more absurd and derogatory than such a clumsy behaviour on the part of a Speaker of the Legislative Assembly?

Our Party neither considers this resolution proper and legal nor can fail to see the mischief behind the whole game.

Irrespective of the legal merits and demerits of the thing, no action would be taken till the Chief Minister returns from abroad, and after his arrival he will not only decide on whom to order enquiry for corruption and by what procedure, but also will be able to decide on steps to mend or end the mess the Right Communists and their accomplices have created.

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The Polit Bureau directs its State Unit in Kerala and its representatives in the Legislature and the Government to proceed with the Agrarian Bill and see which party of the Front stands where. Let the people follow the events and understand the real political face of every party in action.

Fall of Kerala United Front Government and Threat to West Bengal United Front and The Democratic Movement in India*

**Resolution of the Central Committee of CPI(M) Adopted
in Its Calcutta Meeting, October 26-29, 1969**

A section of the Kerala United Front legislators, headed by the Right Communist Party, by openly allying with the Congress and Kerala Congress parties, has voted down the United Front Ministry headed by Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad, leading to the resignation of the United Front Ministry in Kerala. The Central Secretariat of the Right Communists, having succeeded in toppling the United Front Ministry and while making every attempt to form a Ministry excluding the CPI(M), is issuing hypocritical calls to the CPI(M), appealing for the withdrawal of the resignation by Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad and accusing the CPI(M) of being responsible for President's rule and mid-term elections in the State.

The conspiracy and political hypocrisy of the Right Communists are all the more revealing when their Central Secretariat's resolution seeks to assure the public that what has fallen to the fate of the United Front in Kerala will not repeat itself in the case of the West Bengal United Front Ministry while it is actually pursuing the same treacherous political line in West Bengal and doing everything in its power to undermine and topple the United Front Government in West Bengal.

The toppling of the Kerala United Front Government, and the nefarious attempts at felling the United Front Government in West Bengal are being openly acclaimed and heartily welcomed by all the avowed reactionary forces in the country from the Syndicate wing of the Congress to the Jana Sangh and Swatantra Party. The entire big bourgeois-controlled Press is jubilant and is

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actively engaged in patting the Right Communist Party on its back for ably performing the task which the extreme reaction had so far failed to carry out successfully.

All the class-conscious workers and progressive and democratic forces in the country, who have come to look upon these two United Fronts and their State Governments with hope, as the advance outposts in the struggle against the bourgeois-landlord regime of the Congress Party, are shocked at these developments, are expressing grave concern and anxiety about the future of the democratic movement and its advance to its cherished goal of replacing the bourgeois-landlord Government led by the big bourgeoisie by a Government of the popular democratic forces.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist), which has been fighting for years for the forging of anti-Congress democratic fronts in States wherever such possibilities exist, is quite conscious that this political line was coming up not only against the furious opposition of the Congress Party and its allied reaction, but also was facing a determined resistance by the Right Communist Party headed by S. A. Dange and is also fully aware that, despite all the reactionary opposition and heavy odds that come in the way of realising such a front, objective class and political realities leave no other genuine alternative political line than the one it advocates, since, in the final analysis there cannot be any other class line, as a way out, except the bourgeois class line pursued by the Congress or the proletarian class line put forward by the CPI(M). It is this class reality and confidence in the correctness of its class line that had been able to defeat all opposition and overcome all resistance and succeed in forging the United Fronts, such as in Kerala and West Bengal, and demonstrate how these United Front State Governments can serve as instruments in the people's struggle for democratic advance.

However, it would be naive on the part of any class-conscious worker to think that the bourgeois-landlord classes would take this defeat lying down and that they would not resort to the use of every weapon at their disposal, including that of the services of their servitors such as the Revisionists, to forestall the advance

of the democratic and revolutionary movement in the country, by undermining and disrupting the United Fronts. In fact, this is what they have been pursuing, more assiduously and vigorously since the mid-term poll of 1969, concentrating fire on the CPI(M) which happens to be the predominant component of the United Fronts while cajoling other constituents with flattery and praise. The unleashing of great mass struggles of workers, peasants and other oppressed middle classes in West Bengal and their rapid radicalisation are alarming not only the monopolists and landlords but also some of the United Front constituents who have not yet shed their anti-Communist prejudices and anti-working class proclivities. The revisionists who have particularly become panicky at the prospect of their complete isolation from the working people as a result of following their class-collaborationist political line, join the anti-CPI(M) chorus of the extreme reaction in fighting for a so-called line of united front excluding the CPI(M). It is this that is at the back of their shameless alliance with the Congress and Kerala Congress to topple the United Front Ministry in Kerala, and behind their hectic attempts to repeat it in West Bengal.

These treacherous attempts, no matter what their momentary successes, are bound to end in a fiasco, and if any one single lesson is there from the history of the last four to five years, it is that of the ignoble end of such political parties and lines which strove to work against the fructification of the anti-Congress united democratic fronts and their advance.

People in Kerala have seen how the U.F. Government has been serving them within the limits set by the bourgeois-landlord Constitution and the Central Congress regime. The Government has been acting as the tribune of the common people voicing their demands on the Central Government and as their champion and protector as against the vested interests within the State. It was with this objective that the police administration was given a new orientation, the orientation of non-interference in the struggles of the working people for their legitimate demands. While thus invited the wrath of the vested interests as well as the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition on the U.F. Government, it inspired

the working people to organise themselves and struggle against their oppressors. The high water mark of this policy was reached when Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad refused to take action against the Central Government employees under the Central Ordinance. It was against this background that all sections of the working people including Government employees—above all and most important, the industrial, plantation and agricultural workers—launched struggles in order to secure their immediate demands. Combined as this was with a democratic labour policy and agrarian policy, it helped the working people to secure some of the immediate demands—25 per cent average increase in all wages; Rs. 4 to Rs. 6 as minimum wage for agricultural labourers; Rs. 18.5 crores of additional annual benefits to Government employees and teachers. The Agrarian Bill reducing the land ceiling for a family to a maximum of 12 standard acres (20 ordinary acres), conferring the right to the homesteads on the poor peasants and agricultural labourers, conferring property rights to small tenants and reducing rent to one-fourth of the produce, has been passed and the peasants are on the move to enforce it. While there were undoubtedly weaknesses in the implementation of the policies and while the gains secured through these struggles were relatively modest, the very fact that such a policy was enunciated and to a very large extent implemented gave hope to the working people that much more could be achieved if the democratic unity of the working people was further strengthened and the bourgeois-landlord regime at the Centre replaced by a democratic regime.

The four parties which subsequently constituted the mini-front felt unhappy at these developments. For, such a strengthening of the unity of the toiling classes would cut at the very root of their pro-landlord and pro-capitalist policies. The hue and cry raised by them on the so-called “menace of gheraos”, the private sector and foreign monopoly oriented industrial policy of the Right Communist Industries Minister, the pro-rich peasant and pro-landlord policy of the Agriculture Minister, whose notorious support to tractorisation roused discontent among the agricultural workers and so on, proved futile in the wake of widespread mass

activity unleashed at the initiative of the CPI(M). They, therefore, felt panicky and decided to combat the growth of the CPI(M) at all costs. They, therefore, joined the Congress-Kerala Congress Opposition even in the initial months of the U.F. Government in attacking the food policy, attacking the police policy and so on as well as in levelling completely baseless charges of corruption against Ministers belonging to the CPI(M). Unable to fight the CPI(M) on issues of policy, they resorted to supporting the corruption charges brought by the Congress and Kerala Congress against the U.F. Ministers.

When the Chief Minister, on the decision of the Coordination Committee, enquired into the allegations against P. K. Kunhu and finding a *prima facie* case ordered judicial enquiry, the Right Communists made the charge of political motivation against the Chief Minister and demanded a judicial probe against Wellington and CPI(M) Ministers. Our Party has been insisting that any charges against any U.F. Minister, Wellington or anyone else, should first be probed into if not by the Chief Minister, at least by the U.F. Sub-Committee and only on the basis of *prima facie* case being found, it should be referred to open judicial probe. Any allegations being directly referred to a tribunal under the Commission of Enquiries Act would lead to the destruction of the U.F. Ministry, as the development of events has made it now abundantly patent. We also raised in the Coordination Committee that we had serious charges against P. R. Kurup and the Right Communist Ministers and demanded that they be probed by the Coordination Committee. They refused. It was only after August 22, when they supported in the Assembly the Congress and Kerala Congress resolution for a probe against Wellington, our Party was forced to make our charges against their three Ministers public by submitting a memorandum to the Home Minister and raising them on the floor of the Assembly. In spite of repeated warnings that if they sought to pass the resolution with Congress-Kerala Congress support, it would be the end of the U.F. and its Ministry, they persisted and pressed their own resolution against Wellington on October 3 and finally on October 24, passed a resolution against four Ministers of the CPI(M) and

K.S.P. This they did in spite of the fact that Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad declared on October 17 and 22 that any such resolution would be deemed as a no-confidence motion and thus they destroyed the U.F. Ministry.

The mini-front parties are trying to put the blame for the fall of the Ministry on our Party. They hope the disappointment and anger against their betrayal can be turned against the CPI(M).

This is particularly true of the Central Secretariat of the Right Communist Party which blames the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and its Chief Minister for "having broken up the front" by submitting the resignation of the Ministry on October 24. The RSP leaders have also joined in this accusation.

This is nothing but a shameless attempt at covering up their own crimes of steadily undermining and finally smashing up the common outlook on which the non-Congress United Front was built up. They demolished the foundation stone of the non-Congress united front when they decided to settle the internal issues of the U.F. "in the forum of the Assembly", as is admitted by the Right Communist Chairman, S. A. Dange, in his press conference in Delhi on October 28. Having thus demolished the foundation stone of the non-Congress United Front, they hypocritically propose "the revival and convening of the Coordination Committee of the U.F. to sort out all aspects".

Refusing to adopt the only basis on which the non-Congress united front can be revived—open admission and rectification of the mistake of trying to settle the internal issues of the U.F. with the support of the Congress and Kerala Congress and agreeing to rescind the October 24 Assembly resolution—they ask us to discuss "reconstitution of the U.F. Government, withdrawal of the resignation of the Ministry, and the revival of the U.F. on a new basis". They want the people to forget that the U.F. cannot be revived unless they come forward to undo the damage done by the anti-United Front and pro-Congress stand they took when they secured the support of the Congress and Kerala Congress to overthrow the Ministry.

Their apparent horror at the imposition of President's rule would deceive nobody. For, imposition of President's rule was put

on the agenda when the partners of the mini-front jointly told the Chief Minister that they would withdraw their support to the Ministry headed by him unless he bowed to their dictates. The Chief Minister made in plain to them that he would rather abandon his post than surrender to their unreasonable demands. He also told them that they would be responsible if his resignation led to the imposition of President's rule.

Despite all this plain speaking by the Chief Minister, the mini-front parties used the occasion of the three-day debate in the legislature to echo the slanders spread by the Congress-Kerala Congress Opposition and to demand the resignation of the Chief Minister and his colleagues. After voting down the Ministry, Dange hailed it along with Nijalingappa of the Syndicate, Vajpayee of the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party. Yet the very same Dange and the people who in the Assembly debate demanded his resignation now call his resignation "a betrayal of the trust" reposed in him!

The people will not be deceived by their claim that they are trying to form an alternative Ministry without Congress support. Simple arithmetic would show that the so-called "non-Congress Ministry", to be formed by them cannot remain in office except with the support of the Congress.

Nor will the people be deceived by the comparison between the Kerala Congress and the Bangla Congress. For, unlike the Bangla Congress, the Kerala Congress has always ideologically aligned itself with the Right opposition rather than democratic opposition to the Congress. The Right Communists themselves had characterised it as "worse than the Congress" and in 1965 worked out an election policy of defeating the Kerala Congress-Muslim League alliance even if it led to a Congress victory. Since the formation of the U.F. Government in 1967 the Kerala Congress went to the extent of supporting the demand for the dismissal of the Government on such critical occasions as the State-Centre confrontation on the Central Government employees' strike. As late as on October 17, this year, when the Land Reforms Bill was being finally passed in the Assembly, the Kerala Congress raised its lone voice in a bitter attack on the Bill. It is with the

participation of such a party that the Right Communists propose to form a non-Congress Government and implement the minimum programme of the U.F.

As for the two Karnataka Samity Independents who, too, are supposed to support the "non-Congress" Ministry, they, also, like the Kerala Congress, have taken the political stand of Right opposition to the Congress. The only distinction that can be made between the Kerala Congress and the two Independents is that the former is ideologically aligned to the Swatantra Party while the latter are nearer the Jana Sangh.

The fall of the U.F. Government including the CPI(M) headed by its Chief Minister and the formation of an anti-Marxist Ministry, therefore, was the one objective towards which the Kerala Congress has always been moving. And yet, neither the Right Communists nor the Revolutionary Socialists have any hesitation to try to form a Government with the support of such a party and then to call on the CPI(M) to give its support to such a Ministry.

Their claim of "having nothing to do with the Congress directly or indirectly" is, therefore, nothing but an attempt to fool the people. Their actions in practice mean that the mini-front has committed itself to transforming the originally anti-Congress United Front into a new anti-Marxist united front.

It is not surprising that the four parties which constitute the United Front are trying to bring about such a transformation in the character of the United Front. For, though under certain historical circumstances, they were forced to come into a united front with the CPI(M), the leaders of these four parties have never been happy to remain in such a united front.

They have never been able to reconcile themselves to the revolutionary political line and the militant mass actions symbolised by the CPI(M). On a number of basic political issues such as the need for struggle against the Central Congress Government, the importance of combining mass struggles outside the legislature with the administrative and legislative activity of the Government, the necessity of educating the people on the class character of the State, as symbolised by the bourgeois

Constitution and various organs of power including the “sacred” judiciary and so on, they could not see eye to eye with the CPI(M). Nor could they tolerate the growing strength and influence of the CPI(M) whose leaders including Ministers utilised the limited powers secured by them in order to help the masses of the working people in their struggles.

They have, therefore, been “informally discussing” among themselves on how to combat the “pernicious” activities and growing influence of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). They hatched the T. V. Thomas conspiracy in 1968 which was defeated by the timely exposure by our Party. However, they were not bold enough to come out in the open and formally constitute themselves into an “anti-Marxist mini-front” and to act in concert with the Congress-Kerala Congress Opposition, till the political crisis overtaking the ruling Congress party at the all-India level opened before them a new perspective. It is at a time when, unable to get out of the deepening economic and maturing political crisis, the ruling Congress party is itself getting divided and the masses are demanding radical measures and decisive actions to advance their interests, and when there are opportunities of developing the mass movement unitedly to force such a course upon the Government, just at this moment, instead of joining with the CPI(M) for this purpose, they disrupted the United Front and overthrew its Ministry in Kerala. What the Congress could not achieve from outside, the Right Communists, these crypto-Congressmen, have achieved from within the U.F.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) had, in its April (1969) resolution, warned the democratic parties and groups “against the danger of walking into the trap of the so-called alternative alliance with the Congress party which aims at harnessing certain democratic parties for the purpose of bolstering bourgeois-landlord rule”. It was precisely this warning that was ignored when a section of the democratic movement, ideologically led by the Right Communist Party, advocated the line of alliance with the “progressive Indira Gandhi group”, rather than independently mobilising the masses against the outspokenly reactionary Syndicate group without weakening the struggle against the

Congress regime as a whole. The Right Communists had no hesitation in joining the chorus of Indira Gandhi being the new "saviour" around whom all the progressive forces should rally.

This was naturally taken up by all those constituents of the U.F. who were unhappy at the militant mass actions organised and the clear-cut class political line pursued by the CPI(M). They, therefore, joined the Right Communists in the anti-Marxist mini-front and collaborated with the Congress and Kerala Congress in launching a new wave of vicious attacks on the CPI(M).

On Bengal

The same policies and the same vested interests and some of the same constituent parties that brought about the destruction of the U.F. Government in Kerala, are active in West Bengal also. Unless the democratic forces and the ranks of the constituent parties of the U.F. in West Bengal realise this and compel the leaders of their parties to desist from their present course and policies of trying to slander and isolate the CPI(M), it will not be long before calamity will overtake the West Bengal U.F. Ministry also, dealing another blow to the hopes of democratic people throughout India.

After the great mid-term victory in West Bengal, in the formation of the U.F. Ministry, the Right Communists took the lead and tried their best to prevent the CPI(M) having its due share in the administration, to discharge its responsibilities in fulfilling the minimum programme of the U.F. pledged to the people. It was only the patient and determined stand of the CPI(M), and its readiness to concede the Chief Ministership to the Bangla Congress for the sake of unity, and the pressure of the democratic forces that frustrated the game of the Right Communists and the crisis was overcome. Now the Right Communists have come out in support of the Bangla Congress Secretariat resolution—a slanderous attack against the U.F. Ministry itself—with the slogan that law and order had broken down in West Bengal for which the CPI(M) Ministers who hold some of the important portfolios are held as solely or mainly responsible.

During the last few months, with the active backing of the U.F. Ministry in West Bengal, the working class, the peasants and middle classes of the State scored victories after victories and are on the move to struggle for greater achievements.

The jute, tea, textile and engineering workers and other sections, more than a million in number, have forced the employers to grant them wage-increases of Rs. 20 to 50 per month and D.A. far higher, in many cases twice and more, than last year. Long drawn out strike struggles in hundreds are settled in favour of the workers. The working class in tea plantations and collieries who were under the terror of the owners, have started leaving en masse from the company unions and organising themselves in their own militant trade union organisations. The Trade Union Recognition Bill, Working Class Subsistence Act, etc., were passed.

Government employees, primary teachers and other sections of employees got salary increases and other benefits to the extent of more than nine crores of rupees.

Among the peasants and especially the agricultural labour and the poor peasantry, there is a mass upsurge. During the last eight months, they have occupied nearly two and a half lakh acres of Government vested land and benami land from the jotdars. Their right to homesteads is guaranteed by an enactment. In face of the new upsurge, the rich peasants and the landlords gave these poor peasants paddy and other loans to get their lands cultivated. For the first time, the prices of paddy did not rise in the lean months of June-August. The peasants are preparing themselves to safeguard the harvest in the fields against jotdars' plans of mounting attacks to seize them in the coming harvest season.

When the masses are thus on the move, the jotdars and coal-mine-owners and the other reactionary vested interests, the erstwhile Congress supporters and organised anti-social elements are desperately infiltrating into the U.F. constituents and act under the protective umbrella of these parties. Many of these so-called inter-party clashes are due to the attacks of these vested interests in the garb of U.F. constituents against the peasants and the workers.

Instead of dealing with this problem unitedly, appealing to the people, as decided by the 14-party U.F. agreed plan, the Bangla Congress Secretariat has come out with a slanderous resolution against the U.F. Ministry itself even without discussing the allegations contained in it either in the U.F. Committee or even with the Ministers concerned and directed its fire against the CPI(M), though in these so-called inter-party clashes out of 52 killed, 26 victims are members of the CPI(M).

The Bangla Congress resolution says that law and order has broken down in West Bengal. It holds the U.F. Ministry and especially the CPI(M) Ministers as responsible for the millions of mandays lost by gheraos, lockouts and strikes; for lands being seized and police not intervening against the peasants and working class struggles. It accuses the Home Minister for withdrawing 1600 cases against the participants in earlier kisan and working class and other democratic struggles though these cases included hundreds of those in the Naxalbari movement. And this was done as a result of a decision of the U.F. and of the Cabinet! It says hundreds have been murdered and even honour of women is not safe in West Bengal.

This slanderous resolution was passed under the chairmanship of the Chief Minister, Ajoy Mukherjee, himself. The Right Communist leaders are now actively espousing many of the accusations contained in their resolution. It is nothing surprising because the Bangla Congress resolution is a direct result of the persistent slander campaign and vile lies spread in *Kalantar* of the Right Communists and in the bourgeois Press for the last eight months. It is only a further step in the Right Communists' persistent policy of trying to isolate the CPI(M).

The Central Committee notes that instead of considering the serious consequences of the Bangla Congress resolution, in spite of our Party's Polit Bureau's appeal, some of the U.F. constituents have not only not openly repudiated the slanders in the Bangla Congress resolution, but on the other hand, hold that there is considerable truth in the accusation in that resolution about the law and order situation. The C.C. also notes that a number of these constituents of the U.F. were not shocked either with the contents

of the Bangla Congress resolution nor the method the Bangla Congress, backed by the Right Communists and certain other constituents, adopted, the method of publicly levelling false and slanderous allegations against U.F. Ministers and especially against the CPI(M). Some of these parties even give substance and credence to the charges constantly being levelled against the CPI(M) by the Right Communists of 'bossism', and of using the police and administrative measures to squeeze out other parties. Though some did speak against the contents and methods, there was no resolution disapproving it.

In Kerala, also, it was this method of the Right Communists of levelling false charges against the CPI(M) in public, and other constituents' refusal in the U.F. in spite of our Party's insistence to discuss them and record a decision on that, that ultimately forced our Party after months of patient arguing, to bring its point of view before the public and its charges against the Kerala mini-front leaders. It is this method of the mini-front leaders led by the Right Communists that broke the U.F. and its Ministry in Kerala. The Central Committee appeals to the democratic forces in the whole country and especially in Bengal, and particularly the ranks of these constituents of the U.F. in Bengal, to beware of the dangerous course which their leaders are pursuing. It appeals to them to see that their leaders desist from this course.

The rising tempo of the mass struggles of the workers, peasants and other middle classes, the support and assistance these struggles are deriving from the U.F. Government, and the leading role played by our Party in unleashing and leading these struggles have sharpened the class struggles in the State, and this in the background of the deepening economic-political crisis in the country. The class enemies, alarmed at the rapid development of the mass movement, and some of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties in the front, scared at the growth and increasing popularity of the CPI(M), have been concertedly moving to halt this process, by disrupting the U.F. Government by singling out the CPI(M) for attack, and attempting at forging a non-Marxist front and setting up a non-Marxist Government. The inner-party crisis in the ruling Congress party and the threatening split in it is

coming as an encouragement to some of these parties in the Front, to rely upon one or the other Congress wing to fight their anti-Communist battles against the CPI(M), and halt the process of rapid mass radicalisation.

The Right Communists in pursuance of their class collaborationist policy, with their theories of "alliance with progressive Congress" and "national democracy under the joint leadership of all consistent anti-imperialist classes" have readily jumped into a plan of anti-Marxist front, and destroyed the U.F. Ministry and U.F. in Kerala. We have to warn them and other constituents who are falling victims to their nefarious plans of isolating the CPI(M), that they are objectively helping the Syndicate game of destroying the democratic movement.

It is not the parliamentary and other alliances of these parties, excluding the CPI(M), that would enable them to fight the Syndicate onslaught. It is not running away from the growing mass struggles or slandering the CPI(M) with adventurism and bossism or by slandering that it is using administrative and police measures to squeeze out other parties that is going to help them or the democratic movement, but more decisive steps in support of the toiling masses and against the landlords and the big bourgeoisie, preserving the U.F. with the CPI(M), that will help to strengthen them, as well as the democratic movement.

The Central Committee warns all party members that with the break of the U.F. and its Ministry in Kerala, with the same danger rapidly threatening the U.F. and democratic movement in Bengal, we cannot afford to be complacent. The reactionary forces have already launched murderous attacks on our Party workers and the militants of working class and peasants and middle class employees. They are threatening the lives of the leaders of the CPI(M). With the destruction of the U.F. and its Ministry in West Bengal its path of attack and annihilation against the democratic forces and especially against CPI(M) cadres will be quite open. Be prepared for every twist and turn in the coming weeks.

We can and must fight back this offensive of the reactionaries. Plunge into patient explanation of the issues involved, in

thousands of group meetings, in villages, factories and shops to all people, to all democratic forces and especially to the ranks of U.F. constituents. It is only by winning these ranks and making them compel their leaders to desist from this disruptive course, we can defeat the conspiracy of the big bourgeois-landlord classes, and their avowed champions in the Syndicate. Expose the betrayal of all the pledges given to the people, the fatal stab in the back of the U.F. by the Right Communists and some other leaders of some other constituents, by patient and persistent campaign to win their ranks, to unleash joint mass struggles and rebuild the U.F. on much stronger and deeper foundations.

The Central Committee wants to emphasise to all the democratic forces in the country that only the building and strengthening of such a united front basing on united mass activity and struggles, will enable them to face the furious offensive of reaction in the present serious situation in the country, defend their democratic rights and advance. The C. C. seeks their whole-hearted cooperation and firm support in this all-important task and is fully confident of their response.

The Threatening Split in The Congress and its Political Import*

Statement of the Polit Bureau of CPI(M) Released to the Press in Calcutta on November 4, 1969

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has issued the following statement to the Press in Calcutta on November 4, 1969:

The inner-party conflict of the ruling Congress party, with the formation of two rival centres of the Congress Working Committee and with parallel programmes for the convening of the AICC meeting, has reached a new high. Both the contending wings have virtually reached the point of no return. The contemplated censure motion against the Government of Indira Gandhi by the Jan Sangh and Swatantra, in connivance with the Syndicate group of the Congress MPs, adds a new serious dimension to the Congress in-fight for power and is a part of the Syndicate's general offensive against its rival wing led by Smt. Indira Gandhi. It is in this context that the merit of the censure motion on the issue of Rabat Conference and the rumours of the dissolution of Lok Sabha, etc. will have to be viewed and judged. In a word, things will have to be judged in the context of the political crisis which has gripped the ruling classes, maturing to the point of a burst-up with all the logical and inevitable consequences that follow.

It is no secret that the present flare-up in the conflict is the outcome of the new counter-offensive launched by the Syndicate and its avowed reactionary allies in their bid for exclusive control of the Central Government and its administration and frustrate the moves of the anti-Syndicate wing to consolidate its position. It is, of course, also a desperate move on the part of the Syndicate to

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arrest the process of mass radicalisation and the new mass polarisation that have been set in motion, following the bank nationalisation, and the winning of the Presidential contest against the Syndicate's nominee. This development has dealt another big blow to the nice and neat plans of a hotch-potch patch-up cooked up in the resolution of the Congress Working Committee in its Delhi meeting of August 1969.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) in its Polit Bureau resolution, as early as August 22, 1969, had warned about this danger and stated, "The Polit Bureau wishes to emphasise the fact that it would be disastrous for the democratic forces and their future advance if they were lulled into any complacent thinking that the extreme reaction would take the defeat lying down. The dominant wing of the Congress leadership, as demonstrated during the last two and half years, is sure to regroup its forces and mount another offensive against the advancing democratic forces." . . . "Extreme vigilance and continued offensive of all those who stand for democracy constitute the only guarantee against the attempts of the reactionary combine to upset the popular victory in the Presidential election."

In utter disregard of this warning of ours and with complete callousness to our appeal for united and continued offensive against the extreme reaction, represented by the Syndicate and its allies, leaders of political parties such as the PSP have begun to propagate the most disruptive slogans such as the simultaneous fight against the Congress party as well as the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the formation of a so called democratic front and Government opposing the Syndicate, Jan Sangh and Swatantra on the one hand, and the CPI(M) on the other. The leaders of the SSP with their ultra-Left postures and recurrent tirades against the CPI(M), have been issuing barren slogans equating both the Syndicate and the anti-Syndicate wings, on the specious plea that both represent the same Congress party. In reality, their obsession is more with communism than the concern for the fight against the Syndicate reactionaries. Still some other democratic and petty-bourgeois parties and groups are tempted to rally round Smt. Indira Gandhi's wing to achieve their limited

partisan objectives, and if necessary to achieve it, to break away from their anti-Congress alliance and United Front with the CPI(M). On top of it all comes the treacherous role of the Right Communist Party.

The Right Communists, renouncing all their loud and monotonous talk of fighting the extreme reaction, have opened a second front, a front against the U.F., and directed against the CPI(M), with the alleged objective of fighting against corruption in the unholy company of such arch-reactionary forces as the Kerala Congress and others. They have toppled the U.F. Government in alliance with Congress and Kerala Congress, both well-known for their affiliations with extreme reaction and hardened anti-communism. They have also again shamelessly formed an anti-CPI(M) Government, again in direct alliance with the Kerala Congress and tacit understanding with the Congress in Kerala—both known for their hostility to the Land Reforms Bill.

All these disruptive moves and shabby manoeuvres during the last three months and more since the Presidential poll, have so encouraged extreme reaction, led by the Syndicate, as to enable it to mount the present round of counter-offensive. Such is the ignoble service rendered by the revisionist party and other akin-minded political parties and groups who had walked into its trap.

Further, another pernicious effect of these opportunist political moves and manoeuvres is that the anti-Syndicate wing of Smt. Indira Gandhi is led into the dangerous illusion that it can single-handedly fight its battles with the Syndicate and its allies on the one hand and the United Front of democratic forces led by the CPI(M) on the other simultaneously; it also led them into the stupid belief that they could consolidate their political power as well as the Congress party with a few measures such as bank nationalisation and without going in for either a new radical programme of action or a radical reorganisation of the Congress party and Government, and it gave them the courage to woo and cajole the monopolists that they need not fear the policies the Indira Gandhi Government intends to pursue. To put it briefly, the disunity and disruption among the non-Congress democratic

forces have only helped the two contending wings in the ruling Congress to virtually reduce it to a quarrel between the two bourgeois-landlord wings, and within the framework of the bourgeois-landlord programme and policy, both wings hypocritically accusing each other for not implementing the so-called progressive policies of the Congress.

It was exactly anticipating this danger that the August 1969 Statement of the Polit Bureau observed, "that the disunity among the democratic parties on a number of questions connected with the people, is acting as a big hindrance in fully utilising the opportunities present before them for rapid advance" and "appeals to one and all democratic parties and groups for their wholehearted co-operation in overcoming these shortcomings and weaknesses and consolidating the United Fronts that are in existence, and also come forward to plan and lead nationwide mass actions on the economic and political questions that our people are vitally interested in". Thanks to the betrayal of the revisionists and the opportunist vacillations of certain others, what has happened during the recent months is the reverse, giving new inspiration and great encouragement to the Syndicate and the extreme reaction allied with it.

Drawing the proper lessons, the democratic forces should rise to the occasion and shed their complacency. They should fight against this pernicious concept of struggle against the extreme reaction and communism simultaneously by forming a front in opposition to both. Such moves will have disastrous effects on the entire course of the struggle against the Syndicate and extreme reaction and will only pave the way for the triumph of reaction and counter-revolution. They should fight for a really democratic alternative as a real way out of the economic-political crisis, instead of leaving it to the two bourgeois-landlord wings of the Congress party to divert the entire mass attention to their family quarrels over power. It is high time that the Congress wing led by Smt. Indira Gandhi gave up the fatuous idea that the democratic forces can afford to continue support to it even in the absence of a clear-cut democratic programme and political line to face the Syndicate and its avowedly reactionary political line.

While giving no quarter to the Syndicate and fighting against it every inch, the democratic forces should force the anti-Syndicate wing to come out with its clear political and programmatic alternative to the Syndicate wing, instead of allowing bourgeois manoeuvres and counter-manoevres as at present.

The Congress Split*

The split in the Congress is now a fact. The Syndicate group in the Working Committee has removed Smt. Indira Gandhi from primary membership of the Congress and asked the Congress party in Parliament to elect a new leader. Whatever the Syndicate does now, it is the loser, it has no backing in the country, it has only a minority to support it in the Congress organization.

Smt. Indira Gandhi has been able to mobilize on her side ten out of the thirteen Congress Chief Ministers, a majority of the Pradesh Congress Committees and the vast bulk of Congressmen. Nobody will shed any tears at the fate that has befallen the Syndicate which has become the most outspoken champion of reaction, internal and external.

This discomfiture of the Syndicate is a political victory for the popular and democratic forces of the country. It was the mass upheaval which preceded the Fourth General Elections, the defeat of the Congress in a number of States in that election, the debacle of "operation topple" of popular Ministries as became evident in the 1969 mid-term elections and, above all, the two U.F. Governments of Kerala and West Bengal, which led to the crisis in the Congress, the sharp differentiation between the two tactical lines in the ruling Congress party and the present setback to the Syndicate.

It will be dangerous to think that the Syndicate will fold up its tent and retire. It is already known that its first effort will be to overthrow the Indira Gandhi Government by allying with all the reactionary forces in Parliament—the Jana Sangh, Swatantra,

*Editorial of "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", November 16, 1969

et al, on some issue or other. The democratic forces have decided that this move of the Syndicate has to be defeated. The Communist Party of India (Marxist), despite its sharp differences with the policies of the Government of Indira Gandhi, has made it clear that it will join forces with all other democratic parties and groups to defeat any onslaught by the Syndicate in alliance with other reactionary forces. The Syndicate may resort to other desperate intrigues.

With the Syndicate's pronounced leanings to the Jana Sangh, Swatantra and other reactionary forces, the danger posed to the people, especially of the minority community, and to all progressive forces, becomes all the more serious. This conspiracy of reaction has to be defeated.

But to defeat it, the masses of our people have to be mobilized. It is precisely here that Indira Gandhi and the group led by her have failed. It is becoming more and more clear with every passing day that while Smt. Gandhi has her differences with the Syndicate on the question of the tactics to be followed to get out of the present economic and political crisis, she and her group are as much interested as the Syndicate in preserving the exploiting bourgeois-landlord regime.

It is futile to think that one measure like bank nationalization will guarantee mass support to Smt. Gandhi for all time to come. This measure has been followed up only by words, not a single deed.

This is nothing accidental. Only the independent mobilization of the masses for genuine democratic measures can force the Government to translate its words into action.

Only the mobilization of the people for a democratic programme—the three essentials of which are action against the monopolies, both foreign and Indian, radical land reforms and full autonomy to the States in the Indian Union, can save the situation today. In the absence of such a mobilization, Smt. Gandhi is left with the initiative to play with the aspiration of the people and create further illusions by wordy promises. And when these illusions are burst, as they will in the absence of any action to implement promises, only reactions will reap the advantage.

The CPI(M) has been advocating democratic unity and independent action by democratic forces on such a programme ever since it envisaged such a split in the ruling Congress party, long before the split actually came.

But the Right Communists have taken precisely this occasion to divide the democratic forces and uncritically rally behind Smt. Gandhi's Government—handing over the people to the ruling classes at a time when they can and should be mobilized to march forward for the implementation of a democratic programme. Unfortunately, some other parties claiming to be democratic have fallen for this game of the Right Communists because of their blind anti-communism.

This is the urgent hour of decision for the people and the democratic movement. If the present defeat of the Syndicate is not taken forward by independent mobilization of the democratic forces, it is reaction which will gain ultimately. The CPI(M) appeals to all the democratic parties, groups and individuals to see the peril in the situation and rally as one for a democratic programme which will take the country forward to that bright future for which the genuine communist and democratic forces have worked for decades.

People Face Tough and Grim Situation*

Polit Bureau of CPI(M) Assesses Recent Political Developments

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), which met in Calcutta from November 25 to 28, 1969, has issued the following statement:

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) having assessed recent political developments has come to the conclusion that the Indian people are face to face with a tough and grim situation challenging their rapid democratic advance. The gains expected out of the open rift in the Congress, the biggest party of the capitalists and landlords, are being frittered away by indecision, vacillations and above all by servility before the vested interests. The weakening of the ruling party which opened new opportunities for the democratic forces to forge ahead and put their own stamp of the developments, is accompanied by serious rifts in the front of the democratic parties, threatening loss of initiative and chances of a quick advance. The treacherous elements in the united front of democratic parties have now launched a full-scale offensive against the united front concentrating their fire on our Party, with the same venom shown by the Syndicate and preparing the way for an effective alliance with the Indira Congress against the people, against our Party—all in the name of fighting the Syndicate. These are alarming developments and unless the popular forces fight them with the determination that is required, there is every chance of betrayal.

The AICC session requisitioned by the majority revealed the utter bankruptcy of a leadership which is not prepared to

*The Polit Bureau of CPI(M) issued this statement and published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", Calcutta, December 7, 1969.

implement even its own declarations. It showed that the session was dominated by considerations of getting control over the organization while earlier commitments were put in cold storage. Recent developments clearly show how isolated the Syndicate group was, how hopelessly it had miscalculated its own strength and how it had reckoned without the strength of the public opinion which compelled many to desert its banner.

The Syndicate group was routed in the Congress Parliamentary Party. It has been routed in the majority of the State Congress Committees. The majority of the Congress Ministries have gone against it. And, finally, the requisitioned meeting of the AICC completed its rout in the organization. This defeat and debacle of the discredited Syndicate wing no doubt corresponds to the wishes of the mass of Congressmen and the people. There was now no bar to the announcement of a consistent democratic programme to curb the monopolists, fight the landlords, stop the growing dependence on foreign aid and resist American pressure on foreign policy. In fact, people expected a full-fledged programme of advance would be announced.

However, beyond promises for the future and establishment of time-killing panels, nothing was achieved at the AICC session. On the other hand, men like T. T. Krishnamachari who openly identify capitalism with socialism, whose profession is to flavour the ills of the capitalist society with inadequate liberal phrases, were dished out of the past and presented as the new philosophers of Indira's socialism. The Working Committee was packed with Chief Ministers and old leaders whose partisanship for the landlords has been notorious; and for the first time in Congress history a feudal prince was admitted to the inner sanctuary of the Congress leadership. And, finally, as if all this was not enough, anti-communism—a distinguishing mark of the Syndicate, raised its head in the dissatisfaction manifested over nomination of some younger members to the Working Committee.

The expectations raised by the dismissal of Morarji Desai, nationalization of banks, victory of V. V. Giri and the rout of the Syndicate in the Congress organization have been belied and the results conform more to the exigencies of a group fight than to the urgent needs of striking ahead against the monopolists and others.

Naturally, the younger sections in the Congress protested on the floor of the AICC itself. They had high hopes that the session would mark a new beginning for the Congress now that the impediment of the Syndicate was no longer there. They expected the AICC to surge forward and establish a genuine liaison with the aspirations of the people. The speeches of some of the leaders, however, startled them. They protested against these, against T. T. Krishnamachari's socialism and opposed his advocacy of the private sector. However, relying on the goodness of this or that leader, lionizing Indira Gandhi, the younger elements were caught napping unable to resist the onslaught of the conservative elements who also formed a part of Indira Gandhi's majority in the AICC.

The session, however, has clarified the issues, laid bare the postures of different leaders and stressed the necessity of carrying the fight further in the Indira group itself; it has clearly revealed that mere separation from the Syndicate does not mean a determination to fight its policies. Some members are, therefore, demanding a change in the basic right to hold property—a demand which goes to the foot of the problem but which will be resisted tooth and nail inside the Indira wing.

Thus after weeks of expectations, the conservative forces in the AICC continue to hold a veto over further progress in the fight against the Syndicate and threaten to wreck the whole struggle on side issues. The people have not secured even a definite promise of immediate abolition of privy purses. The Government has not even agreed to withdraw the victimization orders against the Central Government employees involved in the 1968 strike nor have they changed in any manner their attitudes to the economic struggles of the masses. They have knuckled under US pressure and beaten a retreat on the question of raising the level of diplomatic relations with Hanoi.

An important gain to the people is the inability of the Indira Gandhi Government to pursue the announced extension of the Preventive Detention Act. A divided ruling party is unable to force the Act in the teeth of the democratic opposition.

It is clear that without a clear understanding of the immediate and urgent steps to be taken, the fight against the Syndicate cannot be pushed ahead and the compromisers cannot be defeated. The P.B. puts before all democratic parties to espouse the following programme of immediate advance:

1. Nationalize foreign banks and foreign trade. Ban on repatriation of profits by foreign concerns for a stipulated period. Steps to end Indian dependence on foreign loans which are jeopardizing the country's independence.
2. Extend the public sector by securing control over monopolists' concerns, both foreign and Indian, utilizing the economic strength of nationalized banks; cut the profits and aggrandisement of monopolies.
3. An entirely reoriented Fourth Plan for the speedy expansion of industries and improvement of agriculture with a specific view to absorbing the millions of educated and uneducated unemployed. Adequate allotment of bank credits to the non-big industrialists and credit-starving peasantry from the centralized resources.
4. Abolition of princely privy purses and privileges.
5. Drastic reduction in defence expenditure and heavy tax burdens of the people.
6. Introduction of genuine land reforms reducing ceilings and plugging all loopholes to ensure land to agricultural labourers and poor peasants and necessary facilities to them for cultivating the same. Distribution of all cultivable wastelands, cultivable forest lands and land in illegal possession of landlords by benami and mala fide transfers. Adequate wages to agricultural labourers and debt-relief to them and toiling peasantry.
7. Graded land tax and agricultural income tax on the landlords. Ceilings on urban properties and on corporate profits and on personal incomes.
8. End the policy of victimization and terrorization of Central Government employees; withdrawal of all repressive and anti-democratic and anti-strike laws, and ensure democratic and trade union rights to the working class and

all working people including Government employees. Full guarantee of democratic rights of the national and religious minorities, harijans and tribal people. Full employment and need-based wages, and unemployment relief.

9. Steps to secure and guarantee full autonomy to States giving them financial, legislative and executive powers and, meanwhile, delegating necessary powers to the State Governments to carry out the above programme.
10. Steps to secure a progressive shift in foreign policy which will lend support to all anti-imperialist struggles and decisively line up against imperialism and develop enduring ties with all Governments of the socialist camp. Establish friendly relations with socialist China and Pakistan, recognition of the GDR and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and full ambassadorial recognition of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Either these measures are pursued and advance registered or procrastination and failure in this will lead to succumbing before the onslaught of the reactionary vested interests. There is no third alternative in the situation the country is confronted with.

The situation is perilous because the equivocal attitude and the procrastination of the struggle against the Syndicate gives the opportunity to the latter to rally its forces and exploit people's disillusionment. It gives a fresh lease to the danger arising from the Jana Sangh-Swatantra-Syndicate combination and dislocating the struggle of our people.

It was precisely to prevent this development that our Party has been calling for a firm intervention of the democratic forces in the struggle. It was clear from the beginning that Smt. Gandhi representing the same ruling classes will be unable to carry on a fight against the monopolists unless the democratic forces and parties seize the initiative and concentrate their fire on the Syndicate and carry the popular movements on the basis of a broadbased democratic programme. The drive of the Syndicate against the people can be defeated by the united strength of the independent democratic movement.

The conservative elements in the Indira Gandhi camp were also interested in preventing this development and were working desperately to keep the initiative in their hands so that they can use popular pressure without taking recourse to radical steps against the monopolists. They also were not above appealing to the anti-communism of the vested interests to secure their support and were prepared to welcome the dispersal of the United Front Ministries which represented the independent strength of the democratic movement and isolate our Party so that the rest could be converted into their appendage. It is known that after the victory of Sri Giri in the Presidential election, some supporters of the opposite camp have joined the Indira Gandhi group strengthening the conservative elements.

In this nefarious game of undermining the independent strength of the democratic forces—forces that had inflicted electoral defeats on the united Congress in two States—they are being helped by the fifth columnist activity of the revisionists who have been torpedoing the United Fronts in Kerala and West Bengal.

Just at the time when the people more than ever required their united strength to defeat the Syndicate and overcome the vacillations of the Congress majority and forge ahead for an anti-monopolist, anti-landlord and anti-imperialist programme, the Right Communists in collaboration with some other parties in Kerala stabbed the people in the back and joining with the Congress, toppled the United Front Ministry.

The Ministry was toppled precisely when it was coming to grips with the vested interests and was overcoming one resistance after another and advancing the cause of the people. The enactment of minimum wages for agricultural labourers, the agrarian law, wage increases for industrial workers and Government employees, protection granted to the mass movement for land occupation by the landless—this rising tempo of class struggle, with the United Front Ministry giving strict instruction to the police not to interfere with popular struggle—instruction given under our leadership—all these unnerved the vested interests, and the landlords in Kerala, and the parties whose leaderships have close ties with them. That is why

the Kerala Ministry was toppled in shameless combination with the Kerala Congress, the most outspoken representatives of the Kerala landlords and active organizers of goonda gangs against the agricultural labourers. That there was a secret understanding and conspiracy with the Pradesh Congress was made open by the Congress leader, K. Karunakaran, when he publicly admitted of such a deal and announced that the Achutha Menon Ministry could not last for a minute without Congress support in Kerala.

The revisionists in their treachery have trampled underfoot all democratic norms. Afraid of announcing their complete dependence on the Congress vote and controlling only a minority in the legislature, they prorogued the Assembly only to gain time to organize defections of opportunist elements, and they are now busy seeking the support of votes controlled by the vested interests. They have betrayed the United Front of democratic forces to fight the Congress and have formed a united front with landlords and the Congress to fight the people of Kerala.

It was clear that the mini-front parties formed only a minority in the Assembly. It was, therefore, the duty of the Governor to test their claim of majority support by directing them to face the Assembly. The Governor, however, perhaps under instructions from New Delhi, chose to act as if their majority was beyond dispute.

True to this class character, the new Ministry has opened its offensive against the agricultural workers by ordering their mass eviction from lands occupied by them. With the tone in brutality and vandalism set by the landlord leaders of the Kerala Congress, the Special Armed Police have been let loose on the agricultural workers killing a few, brutally assaulting scores, raiding the quarters of agricultural workers and molesting their women and children. They are helped by the landlords' goondas organized by the Kerala Congress who hitherto dared not attack the agricultural workers. The United Front led by us protected the poor peasants and agricultural workers against the landlords and their goondas. The new United Front protects the landlords and goondas and represses the agricultural workers.

The Achutha Menon Ministry and the four parties are thus acting as a screen for landlord terror against the Kerala masses. The vested interests required a popular screen and the four parties have supplied it. This has been done at a time when all-India developments required a further strengthening of the U.F.—the only alternative which people see to get out of the clutches of the Congress.

The revisionists chime phrases about fighting the Syndicate, but in reality they are bent on fighting the United Front and our Party to render service to Indira Gandhi and win eligibility for themselves in her Cabinet in the name of a National Democratic Government. They are acting in the footsteps of Europe's Right-wing social-democrats who with democracy on their lips paved the way for fascism in the 1930s.

It is, therefore, not at all surprising that having buried the United Front in Kerala, they have directed their attention to West Bengal, determined to finish this last outpost of popular resistance to help the vested interests. Once more with the help of the rabid bourgeois papers, fire is concentrated neither against the Congress nor against the Syndicate nor against the vested interests, but against our Party, against the unity of the United Front. Every slander is invented to undermine the people's confidence in the United Front, all the while professing loyalty to the United Front. The revisionists and Bangla Congress are guilty of hypocrisy unlimited when they assure the people that they are not out for breaking the United Front. A nefarious deal has been struck by these parties to blow up the front as soon as sufficient confusion and demoralization have been spread among the people. Counting of heads in the Assembly has already started, as in Kerala, preliminary arrangements for forming a Ministry without the CPI(M) are already made. The only barrier is the people of West Bengal. They had to be confused and demoralized, their unity broken before the Dange revisionists can own their treacherous cause.

Behind the thinly veiled excuse of law and order, and the charge of partisan use of police, stand the same vested interests, the class forces that wrecked the Kerala Ministry. As a matter of

fact, for the first time since independence, a beginning has been made to use the law and order machinery in defence of the interests of the people. The great gains of the working class, of the peasantry occupying land and harvesting paddy, stand as witness to the fact that the people are being protected. The clashes that take place in many places are often a part of the class conflicts and not inter-party clashes.

Just when the popular forces are advancing and scoring new triumphs, the popular movement is showing an irresistible advance, the Dange revisionists, Bangla Congress and a number of other parties are raising the question of law and order to malign the United Front and obstruct further victories. The Bangla Congress in their resolution had openly expressed its opposition to strikes, hartals and gheraos, withdrawal of cases arising out of popular and democratic movements. In fact, what it demands is a change in the police policy—it demands that the police be used to suppress the people. And the Right Communists support the Bangla Congress instead of denouncing this anti-working class outlook.

Today, violating every code of United Front conduct, the Chief Minister and his party are starting a protest hunger-strike against the U.F. and its Home Ministry. And some of the other parties in the U.F., instead of denouncing this conduct of the Bangla Congress, are supporting it by their silence or acquiescence. They are working hand in glove with the Bangla Congress, to split the U.F. and as in Kerala, form a new Ministry with the aid of the Indira Congress. Once more an attempt is being made to break the United Front of the people against the vested interests and replace it by a united front with vested interests against the people and against our Party. The revisionists are towing the line laid down by Nijalingappa—the line of breaking the U.F., isolating our Party so that the aims of the vested interests are secured.

There should be no surprise about it. The Right Communists by their programme, outlook and ideology are servitors of the Congress and the capitalist class and on every crucial occasion, they side with the Congress against the common man. In the elections also, they are the traditional opponents of the common

front against the Congress. In 1965, in the Kerala elections, they broke the common front to help the Congress and got themselves routed. It was only after this debacle that they had to join the front in 1967 to undermine it from within and they disrupted it at the first opportunity.

In West Bengal also, in 1967, the Right Communists wrecked the common front and helped the Congress to secure a large number of seats. It was from their opportunist front that a large number of defectors including the treacherous P. C. Ghosh deserted the U.F. Ministry. Nearly half the number of Bangla Congress MLAs were bought over by the Congress leaders. The story of the 1967 October events is well known. And now the same Bangla Congress leaders under the inspiration of the Right Communists are at the old game of wrecking the unity of the popular forces to serve the Congress.

The P.B. warns the people of West Bengal against this imminent danger. The footsteps of the conspirators are covered by a poisonous, villainous propaganda against our Party, against the unity of the U.F. Their collaborators and sponsors are the bourgeois papers financed by the Tatas, Birlas, and others. The unanimous backing of this big business Press to these people is proof enough as to whose game these parties are playing.

Lies are invented to undermine people's faith in the U.F. and our Party. Goonda attacks against the miners, attacks of landlords' agents against the peasants, ordinary conflicts between citizens are all being reported as the machinations of our Party. While our Party members are being assaulted by these goondas, our Party is presented as the aggressor.

It is to the credit of some parties in the United Front that they have refused to join this chorus of hatred against our Party and to participate in any steps which weaken the foundations of the U.F. By their stand they express their desire to remain loyal to the people and the pledges given to them. The people will no doubt appreciate this courageous behaviour on their part when every blackmailing pressure is being exercised against the UF partners to inveigle them into the enemy camp.

The P.B. urges the people of West Bengal to realize that grave danger is threatening the existence of the United Front Ministry. What is being assailed now is not simply our Party or the Home Ministry, but the gains of the working class, the agricultural workers, the poor peasants and the State employees' democratic movement. It is these that are assailed and these that are at stake. But not daring to say it openly, the parties are hypocritically assailing our Party and the Home Ministry.

Once the present Ministry is toppled these parties will be free, as they are now in Kerala, to attack the workers and peasants. They do not want the peasant to reap the harvest from the occupied land; they want to evict the agricultural workers, as the Achutha Menon Ministry is doing in Kerala, from land occupied by them; they want to rob the workers of their wage gains and use the police against them.

This is the challenge that the new conspirators deliver to the people. They want to take over the Government with the help of the Congress and instal a mini-Congress Government in West Bengal. Not one of them, however, dares think of going to the people and demand their votes against our policy. They know they will be routed. Hence the conspiracy.

The P.B. earnestly appeals to the people of West Bengal, to the fighting working class, the peasant masses, the employees and students, to the members and ranks of all political parties in the United Front to realize the grave danger, activize themselves and join hands to stem the offensive. The United Front and its Ministry were forged through the sufferings and struggles of the people, of the followers of the parties. The endless suffering of the people, facing police terror, privations and jails, bullets and lathis, at last smashed the monopoly hold of the Congress and ushered in the U.F. rule in 1967. The Congress in collaboration with the fifth columnists in the U.F. brought disruption but the people again triumphed in 1969. Once again the challenge is being delivered. It is not an attack only against our Party but against the people of West Bengal. The P.B. appeals to the followers of all parties to stand together and defeat this onslaught. It appeals to the followers of the guilty parties to pressurize their

leaders to desist from their anti-people course. The West Bengal Ministry and the U.F. are the most important outpost of popular unity against the Congress and it should not be allowed to be scuttled.

If the people of West Bengal move in time they can save the U.F. and also save the all-India movement and struggle for democratic advance, which depends to a large extent on the maintenance of this outpost of resistance, this independent strength of the people. Let the challenge go—whoever tries to repeat the Kerala sabotage in West Bengal will stand repudiated and condemned.

Right Communist Betrayal of Kerala U.F. and Government

A Collection of Documents with a Foreword by
P. Sundarayya, General Secretary of CPI(M)

PREFACE

We are bringing out this pamphlet, on Kerala, so that the people will know how the betrayal and overthrow of the U.F. Government in Kerala was organised by the Right Communist step by step, during the last 2 years, especially after Comrade E. M. S. found that there was a *prima facie* case in the allegations brought against Shri Kunhu by his erstwhile colleague Shri Wilson and ordered a judicial enquiry into it. We have confined ourselves to re-publishing the statements of our Party leaders, and to the resolutions of the Central and State Committees of our Party to show how again and again we tried to find a way out but the Right Communists and their mini-front colleagues deliberately ignored them and relentlessly pursued their path of betrayal.

The Right Communists are trying their best and the whole big business Press has helped them to create an impression that our Party was trying to shield Shri Wellington's corruption, since he is loyal to our Party, but our Party politically motivated had decided to move against I.S.P. ministers Shri Kunhu and Kurup and Right Communist ministers Shri Thomas and Govindan Nair while shielding our ministers' corruption. If our intention had ever been to shield the corruption of our ministers, then the simple course which we could have adopted was to find *prima facie* case against Wellington—his party has only one MLA—and exonerate Shri Kunhu, the leader of the 13 man I.S.P. On the

basis of material placed before E. M. S., he gave his findings against Shri Kunhu, and the Right Communists who have been in league with the I.S.P., started the campaign against E. M. S. We have offered again and again that all future charges against Wellington or any other minister, be preliminarily probed by a Sub-Committee of the U.F. or a person qualified to be a High Court Judge, but elected by the Assembly by 2/3 majority or even a person with similar qualifications but acceptable to constituents of the U.F. But they rejected all these offers. What they wanted was probe against Wellington alone by a sitting or retired High Court Judge, so that they could carry on their dirty propaganda that E. M. S. being partial and politically motivated, had to submit to them in the end.

Further the Right Communists and some of the mini-front leaders were demanding that the Public Men Enquiry Bill be passed, as introduced in the Assembly by the Sub-Committee headed by E. M. S. That bill with its wide definition of corruption to cover acts of mal-administration of all Ministers, MLAs and Panchayat and Municipal members, would have enabled any person after depositing Rs. 500, to bring any allegations and automatically the minister or person concerned would be subjected to the public enquiry. We refused to accept this demand, as it would play into the hands of Congress and Kerala Congress to bring any frivolous charge and the U.F. ministry would be jeopardised. That is why we insisted that there must be a preliminary probe by a U.F. Sub-Committee, before there is a judicial public enquiry. If there had been such an Act, the U.F. ministry would have fallen in the first few weeks of its formation because the Congress and Kerala Congress had been bringing these allegations even against E. M. S.

Another slander with which the Right Communists and mini-front leaders have been trying to confuse the public is that we did not convene the Coordination Committee of the U.F. from June 1969 and as such they had no other go except raising the corruption probe on the floor of Assembly and get it passed even with the help of the Congress and Kerala Congress. The related documents clearly show that repeatedly we demanded that the

U.F. Committee must express its disapproval of the continuous slandering of our Party in the Press and public by the Right Communists and some other leaders of the mini-front going against the very decision of the U.F. Committee. Otherwise no useful purpose would be served by the U.F. Committee meetings or decisions. They were not prepared to discuss this real issue that no U.F. constituent should go to the public without first discussing the differences in the U.F. Committee and meanwhile they were having joint mini-front consultations and having talks even with the Congress and Kerala Congress.

So, we had no alternative except putting our case directly before the public, while all the while trying to have bilateral talks. The whole of July this public campaign was raging. E. M. S. was ill during July and left in the second week of August to G.D.R. The Right Communists and the mini-front decided to support the Congress and Kerala Congress resolution on probe into U.F. ministers on August 22nd. The subsequent events are well known to the people. Where then does the question of Co-ordination Committee come, if Right Communists and mini-front leaders were at liberty to carry on their public campaign and when they were holding talks with Congress and Kerala Congress and had decided to seek the help of the Congress and Kerala Congress?

Now the Right Communists and the mini-front leaders after destroying the U.F. Government with the help of Congress and Kerala Congress, are singing a new tune that the CPI(M) had been against implementing the minimum programme and had been giving concessions after concessions to the vested interests, to toddy contractors, the landlords and the blackmarketeers. In this pamphlet we do not propose to go into these details but very soon we will be bringing out a detailed booklet enumerating the links of the Right Communists and some of the mini-front leaders with the vested interests and how they have been constantly obstructing many of the measures which we proposed or took to implement the minimum programme. We will give enough material on how these parties tried to serve the exploiting classes against the toiling masses and as such were getting isolated from the masses and took the course of destroying the U.F. with the help of Congress and Kerala Congress.

We have a special chapter on the evolution of the U.F. in Kerala, and our concept of development of U.F. In 1959-60, in the anti-Communists liberation struggle, the present-day ISP (part of the old SSP), Muslim League, R.S.P. and K.S.P. and Kerala Congress (then it was in the Congress) and the anti-Communist Front catholic group headed by Father Vadakkan and Wellington were all participants. By 1965, due to the growth of the peasant movement led by Comrade A. K. Gopalan, a section of Catholic poor led by Shri Wellington and Father Vadakkan had joined hands with the CPI(M). The Muslim League and S.S.P. had also joined hands with CPI(M). The Right Communists and R.S.P. went on fighting the CPI(M). But by 1967, against the Congress and Kerala Congress, all the others together fought the election battle. But now by 1969, the new combination of anti CPI(M) front was formed with Congress and Kerala Congress by the Right Communists by joining them; only a section of the old Catholic group (the present-day Wellington-Vadakkan KTP group; a section of the old S.S.P. (excluding the present ISP) and KSP stand with the CPI(M); the Right Communists following their class collaborationist policy have joined hands with the Congress, to reforge the anti-Communist front, of a decade back.

In course of people's struggles against existing exploiting regime, different classes and their parties, will come together on issue to issue, or even on the basis of certain minimum programme. But in course of struggles to implement the same, differences will arise as different class interests and different class approaches conflict with each other. It is only by patiently discussing them, and taking these differences to the people and mobilising them and sometimes the masses learning by their bitter experience that will compel the recalcitrant classes and parties again to come back to the correct path of U.F., on a much more broader and deeper foundation. We do hold that the existing bourgeois-landlord regime headed by the big bourgeoisie can be replaced and the democratic revolutionary tasks be completed only by a broad People's Democratic Front, based on the working class and peasantry but including the middle classes and even rich peasants and non-big business interests. But such a front can be

ultimately built and successfully carry its task only when it is led by the working class party imbued with Marxism-Leninism. Before such a final strategic P.D.F. could be formed, different classes and parties that join from time to time, in various forms of U.F., sometimes may depart from the correct path but will be forced to come back to the U.F., as that is the only way to replace this exploiting regime by a regime of People's Democracy led by the working class.

With this confidence, our Kerala comrades have gone to the people and are mobilising them. For us, it is not an electoral manoeuvre for mid-term elections, but essentially a task of mobilising and organising the people especially, workers and peasants for a more bitter struggle against the exploiting classes.

P. SUNDARAYYA

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THE REAL DIFFERENCES

STATEMENT OF THE POLIT BUREAU OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MARXIST)

DATED 24th OCTOBER, 1969

The Right Communists have at last succeeded in their conspiracy to topple the U.F. Ministry in Kerala under the Chief Ministership of Com. E. M. S. Namboodiripad. This is a stab in the back of the democratic movement against the pro-landlord, pro-monopolist rule of the Congress party. It has struck a heavy blow to the hopes and aspirations of the people of Kerala, who inflicted a resounding defeat on the Congress party at the last general elections. Thereby they have played the game of extreme reaction who have been demanding the isolation of our party and the toppling of ministries in which we play a leading role.

Inspired by these electoral victories and the formation of the U.F. Government in which the CPI(M) was the leading partner, the mass of working class, peasantry, agricultural labourers and middle class employees moved forward in great struggles and won many victories over their exploiters. The Agrarian Relations Bill that was proposed by the Marxist Revenue Minister and passed by the Kerala Assembly at the initiative of the CPI(M) was the high watermark of this movement of the masses.

It is this growing mass movement and the sharpening of the class struggle that unnerved the mini-front leaders. This is evident from Mr. M. N. Govindan Nair's fulminations against the struggles of agricultural labourers and workers, and his declaration that "administration and struggle cannot go together", Mr. Achutha Menon's denunciation of the slogan of agricultural labourers and poor peasants occupying surplus land as rowdyism and the Right Communists' attack against the statement of E.M.S. and A. K. Gopalan, demanding the thorough overhaul of the Indian Constitution. This is further evident from the declaration of the Muslim League leader on behalf of the mini-front parties that they are opposed to struggle against the Central Government, that they would oppose all land struggles, and that to them the Indian Constitution and the courts constituted under it are sacrosanct.

The mini-front parties comprising of 21 Right Communists, 14 Muslim Leaguers, 11 I.S.P. and 6 R.S.P. members together have a strength of only 52 members in the Assembly as against the 50 CPI(M), 6 S.S.P., 2 K.T.P. and one K.S.P. who together with two independent supporters have a strength of 60. Even with the help of two defectors and the two Karnataka Ekeekaran Samiti members, they could not defeat the Ministry. They had no compunction or sense of shame in seeking the support of the 9 Congress and 5 Kerala Congress members in their nefarious game of toppling the U.F. Ministry.

The CPI(M) has been warning that the Right Communists are crypto-Congressmen and that they are conspiring to wipe out the verdict of the people with the help of the Congress. Our warnings have come true.

The mini-front headed by the Right Communists rejected our Party's repeated insistence for the last six months that preliminary probe must be done by U.F. Sub-Committee into allegations against Wellington and other ministers as referring any allegations direct to Commission of Inquiry would make it impossible for any U.F. ministry to exist and that it will fall a victim to Congress and other vested interests. But when they forced our hands by an Assembly resolution to order an enquiry, they wanted their ministers to be exempted from this Commission.

It is thus clear that the issue was not one of corruption but it was only a cover behind which they were conspiring and playing their nefarious political game. The Right Communists prefer a U.F. with the landlords and industrialists against the CPI(M), to a U.F. with us, with the working peasantry and agricultural labourers and working class.

The Muslim League leadership in its anxiety to defend the interests of the landlords and big traders, joined the mini-front, destroyed the U.F. ministry and thereby betrayed the interests of the Muslim masses as well. It is significant that the ministry was toppled precisely at a time when after the passage of the Agrarian Relations Bill, its implementation has come on the agenda and assumed tremendous importance.

The R.S.P despite its declarations that it will not be a party to toppling the ministry, ultimately united with these parties bent upon toppling the ministry and thereby played the game of the Congress and other reactionaries.

The P.B. warns that reactionary forces emboldened by their success in Kerala, are hatching the same conspiracies in West Bengal. The stand taken by the Right C.P., Bangla Congress, and forward Bloc brings grist to the mill of reaction. Eternal vigilance and mobilisation of the people can alone defeat these conspiracies.

The P.B. appeals to all party members and democrats throughout the country and especially in Kerala to organise mass protests against the betrayal of the democratic movement by the mini-front leaders and their collaboration with the Congress and Kerala Congress. It appeals to all party members to forge still greater unity with the working peasants, working class and other toiling people, develop there mass movement and struggles on the basis of their class and other democratic issues.

The P.B. is confident that this set-back to the U.F. and democratic movement is a temporary one and that out of these class struggles a new United Front on far deeper and more secure foundations would emerge.

**FOLLOWING ARE THE QUESTIONS *PEOPLE'S*
DEMOCRACY ASKED AND THE ANSWERS BY
COMRADE E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD ON THE
DEVELOPMENTS IN KERALA**

Question: What are the main factors which led to this situation?

Answer: Instead of adhering to the basic principles of the U.F. such as equality of every constituent, efforts at finding agreed solutions for the differences that crop up within the U.F., firm determination to combat all manoeuvres of the Congress-Kerala Congress Opposition, struggle against the bourgeois-landlord regime at the Centre for securing the legitimate demands of

Kerala and so on, the parties that now make up the mini-front adopted the line of:

- (a) hostility to our Party, under the plea of fighting its 'big-party domination';
- (b) an attitude of contempt towards smaller parties like the KSP, KTP and the SSP;
- (c) thus leading to the amazing demand that our Party and the three smaller parties should accept whatever the four parties (called by the National Council of the Right Communist Party, the "major constituents" of the U.F.) dictate;
- (d) using their own Press as well as the Congress-Kerala Congress Press to slander our Party, its Ministers and its all-India leaders in a determined bid to "isolate" our Party;
- (e) adopting an attitude of mutual cooperation between the mini-front and the Congress-Kerala Congress Opposition in the Legislature culminating in the events of October 3 and October 24, when they succeeded in defeating us on the floor of the Legislature only with the support of the Congress-Kerala Congress Opposition.

All this amounted to the renunciation of the principle of solving the internal differences of the U.F. through mutual discussions and accommodation among the constituents of the U.F. and adoption of the pernicious principle of solving differences within the U.F. with the help and support of the Congress-Kerala Congress Opposition.

Question: What is this corruption they are talking about?

Answer: Ever since the formation of the Ministry the Congress-Kerala Congress Opposition had been levelling charges of corruption against our Ministers. During the very first session of the Legislature in March 1967, they said that appointment of persons from outside the services into the personal staff of Ministers (a common practice with all Ministries) was an "act of corruption". Subsequently, they alleged that ending the practice of police verification was intended to "flood the services" with Marxists and thus is an act of corruption. Allegations as silly as, if

not more than, this have always been levelled against us by the Opposition.

Instead of fighting this tactic of the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition, the Right Communists themselves resorted to this practice in the first few weeks of the formation of the Ministry. Their organ, JANAYUGOM, published a large number of "reports" that the then Food and Revenue Minister, Comrade Gowri was favouring this and that landlord. Our Party's opposition to the removal of check-posts was also criticized by them as a measure intended to help the landlords.

These allegations made by the Right Communists against us, together with a few against other Ministers added for an apparent show of impartiality, were collected together by the RSP in what came to be known as "Srikantan Nair's charge-sheet". The RSP demanded an enquiry into it and the U.F. Co-ordination Committee appointed a sub-committee to enquire into it. It was, however, revealing that, during the course of the enquiry itself, allegations against other Ministers including those against the Right Communist Ministers, were not pressed. What were pressed were only allegations against our Ministers. These were thoroughly gone into and found to be completely baseless.

But, instead of admitting that they were baseless and apologizing to our Ministers, the Right Communist leader Achutha Menon resigned from the sub-committee of the Coordination Committee under the amazing plea that the enquiry was not effective. Srikantan Nair himself at this stage non-cooperated with the sub-committee's work. It was thus evident that neither the Right Communists nor the Revolutionary Socialists were interested in finding out the truth, but in just maligning our Party and its Ministers.

Even after this experience, however, the Right Communists carried on their campaign of slander against our Ministers. Every portfolio held by our Ministers like Police and General Administration, Food, Revenue and Land Administration, Forests and so on came under attack. Political discrimination against non-Marxists, partiality towards Marxists, party-political favouritism and so on were alleged against us. In all these

allegations, of course, they were powerfully supported by the Congress-Kerala Congress Opposition. On almost every issue and every occasion, the Right Communist attacks against our Party and its Ministers ran parallel to the attacks of the Congress and Kerala Congress.

If the other constituents of the U.F. were sincere in their desire that the U.F. and its Government should work smoothly and carry out the various items of the minimum programme, they should have asked the Right Communists to cry a halt to this slander campaign against us. The three parties that subsequently joined the Right Communists to form the mini-front, however, did not do this. Initially, they kept an apparently neutral attitude saying that "mutual mud-slinging" was unfortunate. This itself was a denial of the truth because mud-slinging was not mutual, but one-sided. Our Party, in fact, repeatedly demanded in the Co-ordination Committee that all the material that was available with us and with the Right Communists should be jointly examined by the Co-ordination Committee. If this is done, we said, we can see who is wrong and who is right. But instead of adopting this straight course, the three parties remained apparently "neutral". Behind this mask of neutrality, however, they were having "informal discussions" among these four parties on how to combat what they called the "big-party domination" of our Party.

Question: What are the real issues which are behind the present crisis?

Answer: The reason for this ganging up among the four parties against us is basically political. On a series of questions of policy they are opposed to our approach and agreed among themselves.

They are, for instance, opposed to our basic position that for even short-term and immediate solutions for the most burning problems of Kerala such as food and employment, the Government and people of Kerala should fight the anti-people policies of the Centre, fight against the discrimination shown against Kerala.

Again, they are opposed to our basic position that the U.F. Government in Kerala today is an instrument of struggle in the hands of the people. As against this they stand by the notorious

formula of the Right Communist leader, M. N. Govidan Nair that "administration and struggle cannot go together: either give up the administration and continue the struggle, or give up the struggle and carry on the administration."

As a concrete manifestation of this opposition to mass struggle is their hostility to our police policy, their demand that gheraos should be "firmly" dealt with, and so on.

They are also opposed to our activity among the industrial and agricultural workers leading to a large number of militant struggles such as the agricultural labourers' strikes of Kuttanad and Palghat and so on, as well as the complete statewide strike of the plantation workers which lasted for three weeks, and so on.

They are also opposed to our basic opposition to the bourgeois parliamentary Constitution of the country which, according to our Party, should be "changed lock, stock and barrel."

These differences in policies naturally reflected themselves in the practice of administration. While our Party and its Ministers tried to the utmost possible extent to give relief to and help the struggles of the toiling people as well as the smaller industrialists, traders and so on, the Ministers belonging to these parties used their power to give all the concessions that they can to the bigger industrialists and traders, rich peasants, landlords, and so on.

This was reflected, for instance, the in Right Communist Industries Ministers' basic policy of helping private capitalists within and outside Kerala to set up industries in collaboration with foreign monopolies and in the Agriculture Minister's enthusiastic championing of tractorization under the plea that the unemployment that will follow tractorization should be put up with in the interest of progressive agriculture.

Question: What is the reason for their choosing this particular moment for precipitating the crisis?

Answer: Despite these political differences, however, neither the Right Communists nor their mini-front allies came out into the open with their plan for toppling the Ministry till the mid-term elections in February 1969 which resulted in an entirely new political situation.

After these elections it became evident that the ruling Congress party would have to find like-minded parties with whom it could ally itself. Naturally, therefore, it was expected that a move would be made by a section of the Congress leadership to move closer to this or that section of the non-Congress United Fronts in the various parts of the country. It was well known that a section of the Congress leadership was trying to forge alliance with some of the (non-Marxist) constituents of the United Front in order that the Congress might pose itself as a party that is fighting right reactionary and communal parties like the Jana Sangh and Swatantra on the one hand and the "extreme left" represented by our Party.

This became still more evident after the Congress High Command got virtually split into the Syndicate and the Indira group, the latter having been able to win the Presidential election with the support of the democratic forces. This naturally gave hope to several constituency of the two United Fronts of Kerala and West Bengal that the time had come for them to join together not only among themselves, but with that Congress group which was like-minded to them. The Right Communist theory that the Indira Gandhi group was the representative of the non-monopolist, national bourgeoisie as opposed to the Syndicate representing the monopolist section became handy for all those constituents of the United Front which are hostile to us. A party like the Muslim League felt that this was an opportunity for them to make their position in the Kerala United Front the basis for the further extension of their influence on the all-India plane.

At the same time, the developments of the last two and a half years dashed the hope these four parties had originally cherished—the hope that our Party would disintegrate under the attacks of the so-called extremists. It is well known that during the very first few months of the formation of the Kerala Ministry, serious differences arose within the ranks of the Party all over the country. This was felt more intensely in Kerala than anywhere else, because there was a conflict in Kerala between the hopes and expectations of the people and the Party as a whole and the actual achievements of the Ministry.

The enemies of the Party calculated on the slow disintegration of the Party as these differences got accentuated. Forecasts of disintegration were made on the eve of the State Plenum held in the beginning of 1968, the all-India Plenum held in April 1968 and during the bitter struggle which followed the all-India Plenum and which culminated in the defections that took place in Andhra Pradesh and other States. The resignation of three MLAs from the Party and their joining the so-called extremist group and the Tellicherry-Pulpalli incidents were also considered as the beginning of the end of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). It was on this calculation that the Right Communists came out as the champions of the Tellicherry-Pulpalli accused and joined the bourgeois Press in glorifying them as heroes.

But all their hopes were dashed to the ground in a matter of weeks. The huge mobilization of the people at the time of the Eighth Party Congress, and subsequent demonstrations and rallies organized by the Party, together with the large number of struggles organized under the leadership of the Party made it clear to them all that not only was the Party not disintegrating but it was marching forward. They also felt that with the enactment of the Land Reform and Debt Relief legislations, a new wave of struggles would be unleashed and that this would further consolidate the Party. They therefore decided that the time had come for a break on an issue which could be artificially created in order to malign and isolate our Party. That is why the four parties jointly took up the campaign of slander on the issue of corruption which the Right Communists had originally launched in the early months of the Ministry. Even those who kept silent at that time joined the Right Communist campaign now.

Question: What is the Right C.P.'s role in breaking the Kerala U.F.?

Answer: What is called the "rivalry" between the Right C.P. and us is in fact a conflict of two policies.

It is well known that within the united Communist Party, there were two political trends—one represented by those who constitute the present Right C.P. and the other represented by us. The essence of this conflict is the different assessment of the class

character of the Congress Government; different understandings of the conflicts between various trends in the ruling class and within the ruling Congress party; the extent to which differentiation can be made as between various groups within the leadership of the Congress party and so on. All this leads to a difference in the strategical concept of the United Front that is to be built up in the country as well as on the tactical lines to be pursued in order to attain the strategical objective.

These differences manifested themselves in sharp form in the post-Avadi period and led to a straight confrontation between the two political lines at the Fourth Congress of the Party held at Palghat in 1956.

They were manifested again in a far more intense form in 1959 and after when the India-China problem came to the forefront and those who constitute the present Right C.P. joined hands not only with the Congress but with the Jana Sangh as well against those of us in the united Communists Party who today constitute the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

It was these differences within the united Party and the bureaucratic, anti-party organizational methods through which the Right Communists who had the party apparatus in their hands tried to settle these differences, that led to the split in the Party.

Immediately after the split, the two political lines confronted each other in the 1965 mid-term election in Kerala. The result of that election was an eye-opener to the Right Communists, but, instead of owning up and correcting their mistake, they took the first opportunity to once again join hands with all the reactionary elements in the country including the Jana Sangh, when the Indo-Pakistan war broke out and intensified tension between India and China mounted in the latter half of 1965. It was only when our Party single-handedly faced the combined assault against it and when mass discontent against the Congress regime swept the country that they abandoned the electoral strategy adopted by them in relation to Kerala mid-term elections.

Even at this stage, however, they foiled the attempt at forming a United Front in West Bengal by making preposterous claims with regard to the number of seats—claims which were proved to have

been hollow when the results of the general elections came. They were compelled, after the election, to join us in forming the first United Front Government of West Bengal. But, within the United Front they virtually ganged up with the Bangla Congress and Forward Bloc. It is well known that the right Communists were behind Ajoy Mukherjee's abortive attempt to topple the Ministry as it was formed originally and to reconstitute it by excluding us and securing Congress support.

In Kerala, as has already been stated, they functioned as an opposition within the U.F. and within the Government.

The other constituents of the U.F. in Kerala (barring the ISP) were not initially prepared to join the Right Communists in wholesale attack on our Party from within the Front and the Government. Gradually, however, the RSP and the Muslim League also joined them in reality, though in form they adopted an attitude of "neutrality", "mediations", etc. As for the ISP, they were as vicious as the Right Communists, though they had not such a well-worked-out ideological-political position from which to attack us as the Right Communists.

Gradually, however, the four parties began to gang up together against our Party which was accused of "big-party" domination and the other smaller constituents of the United Front which, according to them, were "splinter parties" only to be ignored. It was this attitude of the four parties which led to their "informal consultations" in early 1968 with a view to the formation of a non-Marxist Ministry.

Facts regarding these informal consultations were revealed to us by some of the participants themselves. However, when we exposed these facts to the public, the Right Communists angrily asked us to prove the allegation. They adopted this challenging attitude in the expectation that those who revealed the truth to us would not admit it. Being participants in the conspiracy, of course, they would not admit everything, but even the admissions made by the Late Muslim League Minister, Ahmed Kurukkal and by ISP Minister P. R. Kurup, another ISP Minister P. K. Kunhu, and RSP leader Srikantan Nair at the Co-ordination Committee meeting were enough to prove that "informal discussions" took

place among the leaders of these four parties. Srikantan Nair went on record admitting that he participated in one of these discussions because his comrades pressed him to do so, since other parties were discussing and his party should not 'keep out' of those discussions. He also said that the idea of reconstitution of the ministry with a non-Marxist Chief Minister was abandoned because everybody felt that was not a practicable proposition.

Although thus forced to abandon the idea for the time being, it is clear now that the leaders of the four parties were pursuing the idea to be taken up again when an opportunity occurred. It was therefore natural for them to pursue it when the latest political developments in the country as explained above, gave them a good opportunity.

Question: What is the truth about the Right C.P. charging the CPI(M) with "double standards" and "vindictiveness"?

Answer: I have always taken the stand that in dealing with corruption charges two objectives should be clearly placed before ourselves. First, there should be proper scrutiny of every allegation and the evidence brought to substantiate the allegation. Secondly, there should be adequate safeguards against the use of frivolous allegations in order to malign individuals and in order to break the Ministry. These two objectives can be attained only through a preliminary examination of the material placed in support of the allegation in order to find out whether there is a *prima-facie* case justifying further probe under the Commission of Enquiries Act.

A few cases which were placed before the Assembly during the 1969 budget session were, in terms of a decision of the Co-ordination Committee of the United Front, subjected to a preliminary scrutiny by me, I examined all the material placed before me by the Legislature secretariat, since the allegations were made in the Legislature. On an examination of this material, I found that allegations against Sri P. K. Kunhu should be subjected to a further probe and that the material against two others were not sufficient to order such a probe.

This was resented by the four parties. They charged me with discrimination since I ordered enquiry in relation to one and excluded the others from the enquiry.

In making this charge, they obviously want that a decision in favour of the enquiry should be taken not on the material available but on partism considerations. Since I was not prepared either to shield any Minister against whom there was some evidence or to proceed against others in the absence of such evidence, they started attacking me personally as well as our Party. They started levelling charges of corruption against my Party and the Ministers belonging to it. They challenged my right to make the preliminary examination of the allegations and the evidence. They demanded enquiry into the allegations against all our Ministers and against those belonging to parties which had not pursued anti-Marxist policies.

It was at this stage that our Party proposed various alternatives to solve the differences that had cropped up within the U.F. on this issue. We suggested that the preliminary examination of the material should be made either by a sub-committee of the Co-ordinate Committee (as was done in the case of "Srikantan Nair's charge-sheet") or by a sub-committee of the Cabinet. This, according to us, is the most reasonable and only correct method, but, since this was not acceptable to the four parties, we proposed as early as June 1969 as a compromise proposal that this preliminary examination may be made by a person qualified to be a High Court Judge (which obviously includes a sitting or a retired judge) who will come to a finding whether there is a *prima-facie* case and that, on such a finding enquiry will be ordered under the Commission of Enquiries Act.

The four parties, however, were not prepared to accept this proposal. They insisted on an enquiry into the allegations against Wellington without any preliminary examination and discussion on the allegations against other Ministers within the Co-ordination Committee. This was obviously adopting double standards. Furthermore, they decided to push their line of enquiry against Wellington through the Legislature where they could get it adopted only with Congress and Kerala Congress support.

The fact that the Legislature adopted a resolution (without a preliminary examination of the material) that an enquiry should be conducted into the allegations against Wellington made it obligatory on my part to order the enquiry. It would therefore have been unfair on my part not to take up the allegations against other Ministers as well. Since I was precluded from making a preliminary examination of the evidence, I had to confine myself to a comparative study of the allegations. My finding was that the allegations against three other Ministers were as serious as those against Wellington. I therefore ordered enquiries against four—one in terms of the Assembly resolution and three others on my own applying the same standard as was done in the case of Wellington.

It will thus be seen that if anybody has applied "double standards" and has been "vindictive" in dealing with the corruption issue, it is the four parties who have done so. Angry against my finding in the case of P. K. Kunhu, they became vindictive to me and my Party and in order to wreak vengeance on us, they unleashed a campaign of vilification against my Party and Ministers belonging to it. Finally, when the question of corruption charges became a matter of controversy within the United Front, they tried to get their line pushed through the Legislature where, in combination with the Congress, and Kerala Congress, they have a majority. They used this majority in such a way that, while they showed an apparent concern for fighting corruption of one Minister, they wanted to shield other Ministers who were participants in their own campaign against our Party. I, on the other hand, applied the same standards to the extent to which the allegations are serious and came to my findings accordingly.

Question: The Right Communists are now saying that you should not have resigned and that it is your resignation that has paved the way for Presidents' rule in Kerala which they are trying to prevent.

Answer: This plea of the Right Communists, to say the least, is the height of hypocrisy. The refrain of almost all the speeches delivered by the spokesmen of the mini-front in the course of the

three-day debate in the Assembly which preceded the motion was that, the four parties having withdrawn their support, I have no right to continue as Chief Minister. They all asked me: since the majority of the Legislature (this of course includes the Congress and the Kerala Congress) has no confidence in you, what right have you to continue? To my question, whether it was not a formal procedure that this majority in the Legislature should express itself in a direct vote of no-confidence, Right Communist leader, T. V. Thomas, asked: "Why should somebody kill a dead man?" He was thus joining his colleagues of the other constituents of the mini-front in demanding that I should resign.

Furthermore, at the very beginning of the debate I had made it clear that I would consider any adverse vote against me at the end of the debate as a vote of no-confidence even though in form it may not be a no-confidence motion. I said in so many words that as soon as the House divides on such a motion and I am defeated, I would immediately go to the Raj Bhavan and submit the resignation of my Ministry.

I confirmed and repeated this in my final reply to the debate. Replying to RSP leader Diwakaran, who said that this motion was not a vote of no-confidence, I pointed out the nature of the speeches of the spokesmen of other parties and said that under these circumstances, I had no alternative other than treating it as a vote of no-confidence.

All the four mini-front parties, including the Right Communists and the Revolutionary Socialists, therefore, knew very well what would happen if they pressed the motion to a division and got it adopted with the support of the Congress and Kerala Congress. If they were sincerely anxious to avoid my resignation, they could well have taken my words seriously and not pressed the issue to a division. It does not lie in their mouths now to accuse me of creating a situation which they themselves did, in fact, force on me.

(October 27, 1969)



EXCHANGE OF TELEGRAMS BETWEEN S. A. DANGE
AND COMRADE P. SUNDARAYYA

1. *From S. A. Dange received on October 26*
BEFORE THINGS GO FURTHER DOWNHILL
REPRESENTATIVES OF YOUR CENTRAL
COMMITTEE AND OUR NATIONAL COUNCIL
SHOULD IMMEDIATELY MEET AND DISCUSS
DEADLOCK STOP WE ALSO PROPOSE THAT
SUCH MEETING BE FOLLOWED BY JOINT
CONFERENCE OF ALL PARTIES OF UNITED
FRONT IN KERALA AND WEST BENGAL
TOGETHER
2. *From Com. P. Sundarayya to S. A. Dange on October 26*
DENOUNCE FIRST GANGING UP WITH
CONGRESS AND KERALA CONGRESS TO
TOPPLE UNITED FRONT MINISTRY AS TREA-
CHERY STOP THEN ONLY PEOPLE WILL TAKE
SERIOUSLY THESE CALLS FOR TALKS
BETWEEN OUR TWO PARTIES
3. *From S. A. Dange dated 27th received on 28th morning*
KNOWING WELL THAT ABUSE AND SLANDER
IS ONE OF YOUR CHIEF WEAPONS TO
ESTABLISH YOUR LEADERSHIP OVER OTHERS
WE REFUSE TO BE PROVOKED BY YOUR
TELEGRAM IN REPLY TO MINE STOP WE ONCE
AGAIN REQUEST YOUR PARTY TO DISCUSS
RECONSTITUTION OF UNITED FRONT GOVERN-
MENT FOR KERALA AND SAVE ITS PEOPLE
FROM HORRORS OF PRESIDENTS RULE WHICH
WOULD BE INEVITABLE UNLESS YOU AS THE
SINGLE LARGEST PARTY WITHDRAW YOUR

RESIGNATION AND HELP TO REVIVE UNITED FRONT WHICH IS NOT YET DEAD ON BASIS OF A NEW CLEAR CUT UNDERSTANDING AND RULES OF BEHAVIOUR

4. *From Com. P. Sundarayya sent on October 28*

HEARD YOUR TELEGRAM ON RADIO STOP HAVING VOTED UNITED FRONT MINISTRY OUT WITH CONGRESS AND KERALA CONGRESS VOTES COMMA THUS BRINGING ABOUT SITUATION WHERE EITHER YOU FORM NEW GOVERNMENT WITH CONGRESS AND KERALA CONGRESS SUPPORT OR TAKE RESPONSIBILITY TO PRESIDENTS RULE COMMA YOU ASK OUR CHIEF MINISTER WITHDRAW RESIGNATION STOP RECALL CHIEF MINISTERS ASSEMBLY STATEMENT SEVENTEENTH OCTOBER MAKING CLEAR THAT YOU WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR PRESIDENTS RULE STOP CHIEF MINISTER ALSO ANNOUNCED ON TWENTYSECOND OCTOBER THAT ADOPTING OF ANY MOTION OPPOSED BY HIM WOULD BE DEEMED NO CONFIDENCE LEADING TO MINISTRYS RESIGNATION STOP YET YOU JOINED HANDS WITH CONGRESS AND KERALA CONGRESS AND GOT SUCH MOTION PASSED FORCING MINISTRYS RESIGNATION STOP NO QUESTION WITHDRAWAL OF RESIGNATION UNLESS YOU PUBLICLY ADMITYOURMISTAKE OF JOINING HANDS WITH CONGRESS AND KERALA CONGRESS AND AGREE TO RESCIND OCTOBER TWENTY-FOURTH ASSEMBLY MOTION STOP TALK OF RECONSTITUTION OF MINISTRY COMMA NEW UNDERSTANDING AND RULES OF BEHAVIOUR TO REVIVE THE UNITED FRONT IS

MEANINGLESS AND HAS NO BASIS WHATSOEVER UNLESS YOU DISAVOW PUBLICLY YOUR PATH OF TAKING CONGRESS AND KERALA CONGRESS HELP TO SETTE ISSUES OF DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE UNITED FRONT BY WHICH YOU HAVE DESTROYED THE KERALA UNITED FRONT STOP RESPONSIBILITY FOR HORRORS OF PRESIDENTS RULE SQUARELY LIES ON YOU



Note: Connect relevant resolution of the Central Committee of the CPI(M) on 'Fall of Kerala U.F. Government and Threat to West Bengal U.F. and to the Democratic Movement of India' under Item No. 59 of this Volume.

2

CPI(M) STAND ON CORRUPTION ISSUE

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTER OF COM. P. SUNDARAYYA
TO THE SECRETARY, KERALA STATE COUNCIL, COMMUNIST
PARTY, DATED 11-5-1969

Dear Comrade,

I am putting down, in writing, some of the points which we have discussed and our Party's position on some of those issues. This is not an exhaustive note on all the issues we have talked about or all of our differences. In fact, it was not our aim to go into all complaints levelled by your party or by my Party. It is a preliminary discussion to find out what are the main points of differences that are cropping up in the day to day functioning of the U.F. Ministry and to think out some broad principles acceptable to both of us as well as other constituent parties, which may smoothen our functioning together in the U.F. Ministry in Kerala and also to develop common joint action in the interests of the people of Kerala.

1. With regard to the question of meeting the demands of various sections of the people, and the attitude and steps which the U.F. Ministry must adopt to the mass struggles that are breaking out, in the present deepening economic crisis—a result of the Central Congress Government's pro-landlord-big bourgeois policies, there is consensus between us, that U.F. ministers and the ministry must promptly consider all the legitimate demands within the resources available to the Kerala Government; and that the constituent parties of the United Front Ministry, before launching any direct action must submit the list of demands and give necessary time for the Minister or Ministers concerned, to take necessary steps to meet these demands. The Ministers must promptly examine those demands, explain how far they can meet them, and why they cannot fulfil them fully. If the issue is not settled, the Minister must explain to the U.F. constituent party or to the U.F. parties concerned, and to the Co-ordination Committee and a common agreed solution should be sought. If even after it, the differences persist, the mass organisation (guided by any constituent party of the U.F. Ministry) can take recourse to direct mass action, then it is for the U.F. Ministry to deal with the situation arising thereupon. Each

constituent party has to look at the U.F. Ministry as its own and give it sufficient time and opportunity to meet their demands, and strengthen the hands of our U.F. Ministry to fight the vested interests and the pro-landlord, pro-big bourgeois policies of the Central Government, which is the real culprit for all the economic and political difficulties our people are suffering from. Our mass organisations must demarcate from those under the influence of the Congress and company unions, in regard to launching struggles and the tactics to be adopted during the course of the struggle, keeping always in mind that U.F. Ministry is a friend and that the Congress and company unions are always instigating disruptive activities against our Ministry.

2. With regard to the issues of recruitment of employees to all Government controlled corporations like the road Transport Corporation, Electricity Board or any other public enterprise or Corporation, controlled by any Government department or wherever the Government has a great financial interest, our Party has been thinking that an independent service commission be set up and all recruitment should be done through it. This would leave no ground for accusation against any one Minister that he is favouring his party followers. Our Party would initiate immediate measures in consultation with all the U.F. constituents to bring this about.

3. With regard to the question of one or other Minister of one party interfering with department of another minister belonging to some other party, our Party is of the opinion that this practice even in a single party ministry will lead to friction and to disruption of efficient functioning of the Ministry. And so in a coalition Ministry of different parties, this practice would naturally lead to damaging results. We consider that it is the fraternal duty of any Minister of the U.F. Cabinet, to draw the attention of any other Minister of other U.F. constituents to what he considers omissions and drawbacks or failures in implementing the agreed U.F. decisions or discuss difficulties that arise between different departments, to find a solution. But in case an agreed solution is not arrived at, it is *only* the Chief Minister who can take any step that may be urgently necessary

pending the final decision of the Cabinet. As for the various cases which your party has referred to, our Party and our Ministers will immediately examine them and if there is any basis for your complaint, it would be remedied. I hope you agree that to go to the press, with all the minor points of differences and conflicts and replies and counter-replies will not help the smooth functioning of the U.F. Ministry. On major policy matters or on major issues, if differences persist it is of course absolutely essential to explain to the people those issues and take their opinion to finally arrive at an agreed solution.

4. As far as Shri P. K. Kunhu's affair is concerned, apart from his specific issue, a question of principle is also raised; a principle whether the Chief Minister of a coalition Ministry can exercise the right of deciding whether there is a *prima facie* case when serious allegations are brought against a Minister, or finding *prima facie* refer them to a tribunal. Your point was that Chief Minister may exonerate his party ministers while he may not hesitate to find ministers of other parties guilty *prima facie* and so to assure impartiality, it is necessary that all such allegations should be referred to an independent judicial authority, and its decision accepted. On that ground you wanted Shri Kunhu's case to be referred to a Judge and not to be decided by the Chief Minister.

Before I go to explain our Party stand on this matter of principle let me reiterate, our Party and Comrade E.M.S., the Chief Minister, cannot agree to refer this case of Shri Kunhu—whether there is a *prima facie* case in the allegations levelled against him on the floor of the Assembly, to a judge. It is after the Co-ordination Committee authorised Com. E.M.S., he, as Chief Minister, has announced that he would go into the allegations and take necessary action. As such, whatever may be the line or principle that in future cases the U.F. constituents may agree to adopt, as far as this case is concerned, we cannot go back. If Comrade E.M.S. finds there is a *prima facie* case, it will be referred to a tribunal. On this, if the K.S.S.P. (now I.S.P.) or any other party wants to create a crisis our Party has no other go except to face the consequences; I made this position clear in our meeting.

Now coming to the principle involved, we do hold that it is the political parties that run the Ministry and the Chief Minister representing that coalition that have to decide the question of *prima facie* case in the allegations levelled against a minister or against the whole Ministry. If a situation is reached when the bona fides of the Chief Minister have become suspect, then it is time to assume that a situation has been reached or is fast reaching when there can be no continuation of the coalition with parties or groups or individuals who question each other's bona fides publicly.

Our Party does not believe in the myth of so-called impartiality and justice of High Court or Supreme Court Judges, in this landlord-big bourgeois class ruled society. They are not above class prejudices and as such, the political fate of our U.F. Ministry cannot be laid at the mercy of pro-landlord-big bourgeois biased judges. Our political parties, standing for the toiling masses and opposing bourgeois-landlord class rule, their socio-economic system and their ideological superstructure and their exploiter class justice, must take a stand to abide by the people's verdict and not lay faith in so-called 'judicial' tribunals.

We consider that each one of our political parties must constantly check up the functioning of our Ministers and prominent functionaries, and see that no activity is indulged in by them from which the masses can be misled to doubt the integrity and conduct of our Ministers and of our cadres.

Each constituent of the U.F. has to draw the attention of their constituents to facts or information that they have at their disposal which cast doubts on the conduct of our Ministers, and the party concerned is naturally expected to check up and take necessary steps to correct their failures. If it persists, the parties concerned must take it up in the Co-ordination Committee. If in the Co-ordination Committee no common course of action is arrived at, then it is for each party to take whatever course it thinks necessary to safeguard its own prestige and image as well as the prestige of the U.F. Ministry. Till that time, no constituent party should rush to the press with its own version of charges and allegations of corruption and suggested course of action.

As for the Publicmen Enquiry Bill before the Assembly, our Party would come out with concrete and suitable suggestions for working out a mechanism by which the corruption on the part of any Minister or public person wielding authority could be investigated to the satisfaction of the general public, without at the same time giving the vested interests and their paid men, scope to continuously bring wild slanders and blackmailing our Ministers and our parties



Extract from the 13-point ultimatum of the Right Communists on judicial enquiry into corruption:

"Enquire immediately—by a judge of the rank of a High Court Judge all allegations of corruption raised on the floor of the Assembly against the Finance Minister and some other Ministers."



HOW TO PRESERVE AND STRENGTHEN GOVERNMENT IN KERALA

Press Statement of P. Sundarayya and A. K. Gopalan on June 7

. . . . During the last two years, even till a few days back, Shri Thomas and his party were holding us both as persons who were forcing Comrade E. M. S. to act against his better judgment, in such a way as to break the U.F. Ministry, that E. M. S. is a prisoner of his party and that he was being dictated to by P. Sundarayya and A. K. Gopalan, etc. So we are rather taken aback to read that we have now become in the eyes of Shri Thomas the well-wishers of the U.F. Ministry and that Comrade E. M. S. has become the arch villain out to disrupt the U.F. Ministry!

Whatever the past doings of Shri Thomas and his party colleagues may be, if they really want even now to preserve the United Front Ministry, BEFORE WE REACH A POINT OF NO RETURN, we earnestly appeal to him and to his party colleagues to put an end to this maligning press and public campaign against

our Party Ministers and our Party leaders and against the Chief Minister of the Kerala U.F. Government. It was to prevent such a situation that P. Sundarayya, General Secretary of our Party, took the initiative to meet the State Secretary of the Right Communist Party Shri S. Kumaran and hold prolonged talks and it was on the basis of these talks, that he had written a letter to their State Secretary

Instead of having further bilateral and multilateral talks, to iron out the persisting differences, they have taken recourse to the press, to continue their maligning campaign.

The leaders and the Ministers of the Right Communist Party are even going against the decisions of the Coordination Committee. Take for instance: the Co-ordination Committee decided that a constituent party of the U.F. should not bring charges of corruption and allegations against other constituent parties or their ministers in public without first discussing it bilaterally or at Co-ordination Committee level. It is for violation of this rule Shri Wilson of the S.S.P. was censored by the Co-ordination Committee.

Again in the Co-ordination Committee meetings of May 11-13, it was agreed that as far as Shri Kunhu's case was concerned E. M. S.'s findings were final as he acted as per decision of the Co-ordination Committee. Comrade E. M. S. as per his announcement in Assembly adopted the same procedure with regard to Shri Wellington and Shri M. K. Krishnan to which no constituent raised any objection till the eve of the Co-ordination Committee meeting and Comrade E. M. S. gave his findings that on the basis of charges and material placed before him there was no *prima facie* case with regard to these two. If any new charges or new material is brought, it can be examined as per the procedure that may be agreed to by U.F. Co-ordination Committee, as in the case of all Ministers in future. Yet meanwhile, instead of striving to arrive at an agreed procedure the Right Communist leaders are continuously carrying on a slander campaign in public, that all our Ministers are corrupt and the Marxist Party is shielding its Ministers' corruption. This is a clear violation of the Co-ordination Committee decision that no

constituent unit should publicly charge another constituent unit of corruption or bring grave allegations without first discussing bilaterally and at Co-ordination Committee level

We felt very much apprehensive about the possibility of preserving the U.F. Ministry when other constituents of the U.F. are keeping silent over this behaviour and activities of the Right Communists most probably thinking that it is a quarrel between the two Communist Parties. So far we have been exercising great patience and restraint and have been answering the Right Communist slander campaign to the absolute minimum extent necessary just to defend our honour and integrity against their onslaught; whatever complaints we have against their Ministers, we are trying to take it up at bilateral and multilateral level and not in the public or in the press.

But if this maligning press and public campaign against our Party, our Ministers and the Chief Minister continues, we will be forced to take steps to vindicate our position.

WE APPEAL TO THE RIGHT COMMUNIST LEADERS AND THEIR MINISTERS TO PUT AN END TO THIS PRESS CAMPAIGN AND SEE THAT THEIR PARTY JOURNALS ALSO STOP EDITORIALS AND HEADLINES AND WRITE-UPS ATTACKING OUR PARTY, AND WE ON OUR PART UNDERTAKE TO OBSERVE THE SAME STEPS WHICH WE DESIRE THEM TO ADOPT. AND LET US DISCUSS BILATERALLY AND IN THE CO-ORDINATION COMMITTEE ALL POINTS OF DIFFERENCES AND STRIVE TO ARRIVE AT AGREED CONCLUSIONS. BUT THE PREREQUISITE FOR ANY SUCH TALKS BEING USEFUL AND SUCCESSFUL MUST BE STOPPING THE PRESS AND PUBLIC CAMPAIGN.

***Statement of Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad in Trivandrum
on May 29, 1969***

I regret to state that N. K. Krishnan, member of the Central Secretariat of the Right Communist Party has made totally false statements, to say the least.

For instance, he says that at the last meeting of the Co-ordination Committee of the Kerala United Front all the other constituent parties had accepted a "compromise formula" in regard to the procedure for enquiring into charges levelled against Ministers. He also claims that if at least now the CPI(M) agree to accept this, the crisis in the United Front can be resolved.

Right at the beginning I would like to state that at the last meeting of the Co-ordination Committee one thing which I had proposed and which had been accepted by all parties including the Right Communist Party was that the discussion inside the Co-ordination Committee should not be made public or made an issue of public debate. But most of the reports that appeared in the Press the next day were distorted versions of what really had taken place. I do not feel it is necessary even now to refute these reports. But when a member of the Central Secretariat of the Right Communist Party himself now repeats these distorted reports, it has become necessary for me to state what actually took place in relation to this question not only at the meeting of the Co-ordination Committee but before that also.

The Right Communist leaders may find it convenient to deny but it is an incontrovertible fact that in February 1969 the Co-ordination Committee decided that I, as Chief Minister, should examine the material placed before the Assembly and give my finding whether there is a *prima facie* case against Sri P. K. Kunhu or not.

This knocks the botton out of the Right Communists' argument that the task of finding whether there exists a *prima facie* case or not should be entrusted to a judge since this idea did not strike them till long after February 1969.

The Right Communist leaders, therefore, publicly denied the existence of such a decision. After a series of public denials they

were confounded at the last meeting of the Co-ordination Committee when every constituent of the United Front except the Right Communists and Sri Kunhu's own party agreed that such a decision had in fact been taken.

As if this was not enough, they were confronted with the records of the February 19 meeting. These records carried the signature of the Right Communist Minister, Sri M. N. Govindan Nair, who was in the chair at that day's meeting. The Right Communist representatives at the Co-ordination Committee then shifted their position. They said that, I, as the Chief Minister, had been authorized by the Co-ordination Committee only to make a statement in the Assembly and not to act up to it.

This takes me to the second question why after agreeing on February 19 that the Chief Minister should make the preliminary examination of the material to determine whether there existed a *prima facie* case or not, the Right Communists made a volte face and demanded that this job, too, should be entrusted to a judge.

N. K. Krishnan's argument that a sub-committee had accepted that even at the preliminary stage the enquiry should be by a judicial authority will not convince anyone, because the decision of February 1969 was taken more than a year after this decision of the sub-committee. Anyone would naturally ask how that proposal of the sub-committee, if it was not relevant on February 19, could become relevant now. Let me make it clear that what I have stated not only on February 19 but before and after that, inside the Assembly and outside, is that till the Publicmen Enquiries Bill is finally adopted, the procedure being adopted in the case of Sri Kunhu will be adopted in all other cases where corruption charges are involved.

No objections were raised to these statements of mine till the second half of April. It will be interesting to note that new developments made the Right Communists demand that this procedure should be given up.

The ISP had originally taken the stand that nobody but the party to which a particular Minister belonged should be authorized to examine the case and determine whether there was a *prima facie* case. This is a significant fact which throws a flood of

light on the present demand that a judge should go into the question whether there is a *prima facie* case or not. Suddenly, however, the ISP changed its position and joined the Right Communists to demand a judicial enquiry even to find out whether there was a *prima facie* case. This shows that there is no sincerity behind the demand for a judicial enquiry even to find out whether there is a *prima facie* case. Therefore, we feel that the whole demand for a judicial probe in order to determine whether there is a *prima facie* case is inspired by factional considerations.

We, therefore, opposed it. But when some other parties including the Muslim League suggested as a way out of the deadlock that the task of finding out whether there is a *prima facie* case may be entrusted to a sub-committee of the Co-ordination Committee or a Cabinet Committee, we agreed. But since the Right Communists and ISP were not prepared to accept it, the compromise formula was not formally placed before the Co-ordination Committee. It is because of this that the Co-ordination Committee meeting on May 12, dispersed to meet again on May 18.

New efforts were made on the 18th to resolve the deadlock. The new proposal that came up was that instead of a sub-committee of the Co-ordination Committee or the Cabinet Committee, a committee of the legislature may be entrusted with the job. This was accepted by the Right Communists and the ISP. The CPI(M) did not reject it as is sought to be made out by N. K. Krishnan.

We felt that the proposal required detailed examination since a committee of the legislature has its own procedure laid down in the rules of business of the legislature. We were not sure whether a committee like the Estimates Committee or the Public Accounts Committee would be suitable to enquire into corruption charges to determine whether there is a *prima facie* case. We raised certain questions about the details of the proposal. But we received no answers at that time, nor could they be given.

The proposal that was put forward was that since the principle of the formula had been accepted a sub-committee of the Co-ordination Committee could study the details. We felt that such an acceptance in the matter of principle would serve no

purpose. Hence we proposed that until the details were worked out, a formal decision on the principle should be postponed.

We raised a still more important point and that is that even a full agreement on the machinery for probing into corruption charges does not resolve the crisis within the United Front.

Moreover, we are in a situation where the Right Communists have given a three months' ultimatum. Not only the terms of the ultimatum but also the circumstances which led to the giving of the ultimatum raise several important questions concerning the relations between the different constituents of the United Front. We felt that if the Right Communists persist in their attitude which led them to give that ultimatum, a break-up of the United Front was inevitable.

We, therefore, took the stand that the so-called "compromise formula" with regard to the mechanism for probe into corruption charges cannot be divorced from the basic question of relations within the United Front. There is therefore no point in accepting a formula in principle even before getting a clear picture of its details.

The question, hence, is not whether we accept or reject the so-called "compromise formula" as is sought to be made out by the Right Communist leaders. The question is to reach agreement on how the constituents of the United Front should function within the United Front, how they should behave towards one another, etc. The question of machinery for probing into corruption charges against Ministers is only a part of this basic question. It is a part for which a solution can easily be found if the other questions are resolved.

So far as our Party is concerned, we have our own detailed proposals with regard to this entire basic question including the question of the machinery for the probe. I am sorry we have to remind the Central Secretariat of the Right Communist Party that the way they are behaving towards us will not help the process of resolving these questions.

I am pointing out one instance. N. K. Krishnan emphatically says that our Party is interfering in the portfolios held by the Right Communist Ministers. He refers to the letters written to me by the

two Right Communist Ministers which are supposed to give instances of such alleged interference. Let me inform him that I have given detailed replies to both these Ministers pointing out that not only are their charges baseless but there are instances of interference from the Right Communists in my own portfolio.

The difference between them and me is that while they give publicity to their letters containing baseless allegations, I have strictly adhered to the practice of keeping such letters secret. If the Right Communist persist in their tactic of raising such baseless charges, I will have to give publicity to not only my replies to their letters but also some of their own letters which they have kept back, and which I am sure they do not want to publicize now. Is this what N. K. Krishnan and his friends in the Central Secretariat of the Right Communist Party want?

Let me in conclusion taken up N. K. Krishnan's charge that I have made irresponsible charges which cannot be proved against T. V. Thomas. At the very meeting of the Coordination Committee where it was decided that the matter should not be pursued, I had expressed my willingness to inform the public of all that had happened with regard to that incident including the revelations made at the Coordination Committee itself. I am still prepared for it if that is what the Right Communists want.



***Kerala CPI(M)'s Proposals for Functioning of U. F.
Ministry June 11-13, 1969***

We want to do everything to preserve and strengthen the U.F. Ministry.

Our guidelines for the Ministry's functioning are the following points for a Code of Conduct for U.F. ministers and parties.

1. No public levelling of charges of corruption or nepotism or of grave accusations without first taking it up at bilateral and at multilateral (*i.e.*, Co-ordination Committee) level.

The Right Communists' action of carrying on a Press and public campaign against the CPI(M) Ministers of corruption must be openly criticized or disapproved.

Regarding the Right Communist Party leaders raising the issue of Sri T. V. Thomas' conspiracy to exclude the CPI(M) from the Ministry and to form an alternate Ministry last year and demanding the publication of the material and prove the charges or E. M. S. to apologize:

The Co-ordination Committee or U. F. constituent parties must issue a statement that the CPI(M) representatives had placed all the information which they then had before the Co-ordination Committee and each party expressed itself on that and our position on that issue. The CPI(M) representatives wanted that the whole proceedings be published to *allow the public to judge whether there was basis for the charge that E. M. S. and A. K. Gopalan levelled or it was irresponsible slander.*

It was at the insistence of other constituent parties to drop the matter even at that stage, as publishing that material and proceedings would seriously harm the existence of the U. F. that a decision not to publish the proceedings was adopted by the Co-ordination Committee. Now the demand of the Right Communists that the material be published or E.M.S. should apologize is disruptive and as such the Co-ordination Committee must disapprove their action.

2. Constituent parties of the U. F. must not publicly come out against one another on details of administration, unless they are first thrashed out bilaterally and multilaterally and failing to arrive at a solution at these meetings, have given notice that the issue has assumed such importance that it is taking it to the public. On matters of policy where parties hold different lines or approaches, if there is no earlier agreed decisions of the Co-ordination Committee, each party is at liberty to mobilize public opinion, explaining its standpoint *vis-a-vis* other parties' stand in a friendly and political manner.

3. Guidelines for conducting mass struggles by different constituent parties

With regard to the question of meeting the demands of various sections of the people, and the attitude and steps which the U. F. Ministry must adopt to the mass struggles that are breaking out in

the present deepening economic crisis, as a result of the Central Congress Government's pro-landlord-big-bourgeois policies, the U.F. Ministers and the Ministry must promptly consider all the legitimate demands of the people and concede them within the resources available to the Kerala Government; and the constituent parties of the United Front Ministry, before launching any direct action, must submit the list of demands and give necessary time for the Ministers concerned to take necessary steps to meet these demands. The Ministers must promptly examine those demands, explain how far they can meet them, and why they cannot fulfil them fully. If the issue is not settled, the Minister must explain it to the U.F. parties concerned and to the Co-ordination Committee, and a common agreed solution should be sought. If even after this, the differences persist, the mass organization can take recourse to direct mass action; then it is for the U.F. Ministry to deal with the situation arising thereupon. Each constituent party has to look at the U.F. Ministry as its own and give it sufficient time and opportunity to meet the demands and strengthen the hands of the U.F. Ministry to fight the vested interests and the pro-landlord, pro-big-bourgeois policies of the Central Government, which is the real culprit for all the economic and political difficulties being suffered by our people. Our mass organizations must demarcate from those under the influence of the Congress and company unions in regard to launching struggles and the tactics to be adopted during the course of the struggle, keeping always in mind that the U.F. Ministry is a friend of the people and that the Congress and company unions are always instigating disruptive activities against our Ministry.

Every constituent party has to actively campaign and take all necessary steps to defend the decisions of the Ministry, to which they have all agreed.

4. Differences between different Ministers and role of Chief Minister

With regard to the question of one or other Minister of one party interfering with departments of another Minister belonging to some other party, our Party is of the opinion that this practice,

even in a single-party Ministry, will lead to friction and to disruption of efficient functioning of the Ministry. And so in a coalition Ministry of different parties, this practice would naturally lead to damaging results. We consider that it is the fraternal duty of any Minister of the U.F. Cabinet to draw the attention of any other Minister of other U.F. constituents to what he considers to be omissions and drawbacks or failures in implementing the agreed U.F. decisions or discuss difficulties that arise between different departments to find a solution. But in case an agreed solution is not arrived at, it is *only* the Chief Minister who can take any step that may be urgently necessary pending the final decision of the Cabinet. It is the special job of the Chief Minister to see that the policies of the U.F. are implemented and adhered to.

5. Procedure for probe into corruption charges against U.F. Ministers

As for Sri P. K. Kunhu's case it has already been decided by the Co-ordination Committee that the Chief Minister's findings are final as he acted according to the decisions of the Co-ordination Committee itself.

Comrade E. M. S. in his announcement in the Assembly said that he would adopt the same procedure with regard to Shri Wellington and Sri M. K. Krishnan to which no constituent party raised any objection till the eve of the Co-ordination Committee meeting. Comrade E. M. S. gave his findings on the basis of charges and material placed before him, that there was no *prima facie* case with regard to those two Ministers, and that if any new charges or new material are brought, they can be examined according to the procedure that may be agreed to by the U.F. Co-ordination Committee as in the case of all Ministers in future. As such the Co-ordination Committee endorse Comrade E. M. S.'s findings on these two Ministers.

The Public Men Enquiry Bill* is to be modified in the following manner and that shall be the procedure to probe the allegations against Ministers. A person who has qualifications for being appointed as a High Court Judge and elected by two-thirds majority of the Assembly for a fixed term (he may be re-elected) will enquire in *camera* into the charges levelled by a group of MLAs (ten per cent of the Assembly). He will call by public notice anyone else who has any other charges or material to place before him and after getting necessary explanation from the Minister concerned on all the charges and material, he will give his findings whether there is a *prima facie* case. If he finds there is a *prima facie* case then the Minister resigns and his whole case will be enquired in *public* by a Judicial Tribunal.

If the Assembly Tribunal finds that the charges are *mala fide*, then the MLAs who have brought these charges will have to suffer certain penalties such as deprivation of the rights of Assembly membership for a specific period. Besides, their charges on future occasions would not be taken cognizance of.

The Government can on its own refer any allegation of corruption or serious allegations against any Minister to this Assembly Tribune if it feels it necessary to vindicate a Minister against persistent campaign of corruption in the Press by the enemies of the U.F. Ministry.

Corruption is to be defined as "any misconduct or anything done by illegal methods to obtain material or other gains for himself and for his family".

*The Kerala Public Men (Enquiries) Bill empowers any person after depositing Rs. 500 to bring allegations of corruption. Corruption is defined, "bribery, and act of favouritism or nepotism and any other act which is against public interest, public policy or sound administration" And such allegations can be brought not only against Ministers, but MLAs, members of panchayats and municipalities and non-official personnel holding executive posts of any Government Corporation or company and State Presidents and Secretaries of political parties and every such allegation should be automatically referred to one of the persons of the panel of five who are High Court Judges or retired judges or persons who are qualified to hold posts of High Court Judges. It provides, even if the charges are found frivolous or *mala fide*, for only expenses to be awarded to the defendant. If such a Bill is passed, every U.F. Minister will be at the mercy of the slander campaign being let loose by the Congress and Kerala Congress or any stooge of the vested interests, and it is because of this that the CPI(M) is opposed basically to these provisions and hence its amendments as above.

The Assembly Tribune's jurisdiction will be confined to Ministers alone. As for other public persons holding executive posts of public concerns, cases are to be probed by the Vigilance Commissioner. If the Congress and other parties agree on an all-India scale to include the Prime Minister and every Chief Minister to face prima facie probe by the Lokpal or Assembly Tribune, we will accept that the Chief Minister in Kerala will also come under the Assembly Tribune



[*Note:* In this connection connect the Resolution of the Kerala State Committee of the CPI(M) given under Item No. 41 of this Volume.]



FOLLOWING ARE EXTRACTS FROM THE
CORRESPONDECE BETWEEN P. SUNDARAYYA,
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF
INDIA (MARXIST), AND C. RAJESWARA RAO, GENERAL
SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Letter dated August 21, 1969 from P. Sundarayya

Dear Comrade Rajeswara Rao,

This is to draw your attention to the critical situation that is developing in Kerala thanks to the activities of your party among others. We have received a telegram from our comrades saying that your party along with others intends to support a resolution to be moved tomorrow by the Congress party demanding interim machinery to investigate charges of corruption against the U.F. Ministers. This is a question on which our Party differs from your party and other parties and these differences are being discussed in the Co-ordination Committee.

The Congress resolution is coming in the wake of fresh charges by Congress MLAs against U.F. Ministers including our own. They have started this slandering match immediately after the departure of Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad, Chief Minister, to East Germany.

I may mention here that our Party has repeatedly proposed that any fresh charges against U.F. Ministers, coming from U.F. constituents, should be processed by the Co-ordination Committee to find out whether a *prima facie* case exists. And yet your party is taking this irresponsible attitude.

Our Party considers that this demand for interim machinery is not a genuine demand for fighting corruption but one for facilitating hurling of slanderous charges against Ministers to undermine the confidence of the people in the United Front Ministry. It is presenting the Congress and other slanderers with a handy weapon.

The Congress leaders seizing upon differences among the United Front parties are attempting to divide the U.F. by moving the resolution. And your party is joining hands with others and preparing to vote for the Congress thereby aiding Congress machinations.

You will realise that this repudiates all your claims to work for the United Front of democratic parties. If differences persist in the United Front, attempts can be made to solve them through direct talks at the highest level. But your party is openly joining others to disrupt the United Front.

I may draw your attention to the fact that the Agrarian Relations Bill which has vital importance for the peasantry is already before the Assembly. Our Party wants the Bill to be passed in this very session as it has been delayed for a long time. It is clear that the vested interests will do their utmost to sabotage these measures and utmost unity is required in the ranks of the people to defeat them. It is at this stage that your party is undermining the front. You will realise that whatever importance your party may attach to the interim measures demand, it cannot be given precedence over the Agrarian Bill and the U.F. cannot be allowed to be weakened for the sake of this demand.

You know the great urge of the people all over India to fight reaction as evidenced in the presidential election. Your stand in Kerala runs directly contrary to this urge and only helps the same reactionary forces in Kerala that you profess to fight in New Delhi.

All that I wish to tell you is that unless you call your comrades in Kerala to see reason you will have the satisfaction of undermining the United Front, an object for which Shri Nijalingappa and others are working.

I earnestly request you to give up this disastrous path of undermining popular unity when the dire need all over India is to strengthen this unity to fight the reaction.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally,

P. Sundarayya.

*Letter from C. Rajeswara Rao to Comrade Sundarayya dated
August 22, 1969*

I have recieved your letter dated the 21st of August 1969 in Delhi

Your argument that in order to expedite the Agrarian Relations Bill we should put the question of corruption in the background not only betrays lack of sense of moral urgency but even lack of A B C of Marxism. Everyone, even if one is not Communist, knows that no Bills and Acts in favour of the toiling masses can benefit them unless the main instrument to put them into force, that is the state apparatus, is rid of corruption, which is used by the vested interests to defeat popular policies. And this matter becomes extremely serious and urgent, when it affects the ministerial circles which are the backbone of the new policies and whose conduct has to be above suspicion and open to democratic scrutiny. If this is not done, no amount of laws in favour of the working masses will benefit them nor will progress take place anywhere.

You seem to have forgotten that even the most conservative bourgeois rulers, that is, the Congress Ministry at the Centre, has this very week, adopted the Lokayukta Bill to deal with corruption in the state apparatus and ministerial circles, even when the problem of nationalisation of banks and the bitter struggle over the election of the President was on.

If the Congress could take both measures at the Centre, why cannot we deal with the agrarian question at the same time in Kerala? It shows that you want to sidetrack the question of anti-corruption measures by covering it with the cloak of "urgency" of the Agrarian Relations Bill. You are purposely confusing the issues and pitting one against the other because you are sheltering, for your factional ends, some corrupt practices and persons who for their own ends are for the time being on your side. We fail to understand why you do so, though you know very well that neither your majority nor that of the U.F. depends on the support of corrupt people.

The question of corruption charges and how to deal with them is not a new one. It has been debated among the constituent parties of the U.F. as well as in the public for the last three or four months. It was your party's dogged resistance to accept any proposal for a reasonable solution of the problem, even when such proposals were jointly put forward by all the other parties of the U.F. (except the two one-man parties KTP and KSP) that stood in the way of solving the problem up to now. You might remember that the proposal for an interim machinery for inquiring into the charges publicly levelled against Ministers in the Legislative Assembly was accepted by Chief Minister Namboodiripad, but later on he went back upon his commitment due probably to directions from your PB.

The differences on this question therefore remained unsolved up to the time of Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad's departure to the GDR for treatment, and they remain so today. Even now you do not hold any promise of these being resolved. On the other hand, you are trying to postpone even the passing of the Publicmen (Enquiries) Bill into law indefinitely, although the Bill which was in its final phase in the Select Committee could have been passed in the current session of the Assembly itself since it consists of only about 20 clauses and could have been passed within a few hours. Under the circumstances, how could you expect our Party not to take an independent stand on such a question if and when it comes before the Assembly, but merely to fall in line at your party's command?

I may also recall to your mind the fact that while disposing of the case against Shri Wellington, the Health Minister belonging to the K.T.P, as *prima facie* not proved, Chief Minister Namboodiripad had stated that his finding was only limited to the documents and material sent to him for scrutiny from the Assembly Secretariat, but that if fresh charges or fresh evidence on earlier charges were brought forward, the case could be reopened. During the course of the last few days after E.M.S.'s departure, a number of fresh charges with evidence of photostat letters, etc., have been levelled against Shri Wellington in the Assembly. Under the circumstances, I fail to see how demanding an enquiry into these charges will amount to disruption of the United Front. If your party will rise above petty prejudices and find its way to accept the demand, the present crisis can be immediately resolved.

Your letter says that we are supporting the Congress, which is pressing the corruption issue in the absence of Namboodiripad who has left for medical treatment to the G.D.R, in order to disrupt the U.F.

Your attempt to malign our Party as an ally or agent of the Congress is not new to us or to the people. The question of corruption was raised in the Front long ago and you and your party refused to accept the most democratic methods suggested in the Co-ordination Committee of the U.F. by all the other major parties. After having delayed the adoption of even agreed methods through the legislature, if you use the absence and illness of Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad at this stage is, to say the least, disingenuous. If the important Agrarian Bill can be dealt with in his absence, so can corruption. Important measures of the state cannot wait for the illness of a Minister, however high and valued the person may be

But let me not help you in sidetracking the real question—that is, that your party in Kerala is sheltering corrupt men because they happen to be your allies.

We have to request you not to under-rate the importance of cleaning the state machinery as far as is possible in the present conditions since we have not achieved complete power to smash

it in the classical way, and thereby make it serve the mass interests better in implementing all the democratic measures and Acts that we adopt. Instead of smashing the vested interests, you have used enough your Home portfolio to inflict injuries on our Party as well as those masses who do not trail behind your leadership

So, once again in the name of unity and the interests of the masses I will request you to withdraw your scandalous letters and not help in the disruption of the U.F. which now has a far bigger future than before and would have achieved even bigger things if you, in the previous period, had not followed the line of splittism.

Once again, let us unite for the fulfilment of the national democratic revolution for which the masses have opened some good perspectives through the recent events in the national arena and by the retreat forced upon the reactionary monopoly wings in the ruling circles.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally,

C. Rajeswara Rao
General Secretary.

RESOLUTION PASSED BY KERALA STATE
COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF INDIA (MARXIST) AT ITS MEETING HELD
IN TRIVANDRUM ON 28TH AUGUST 1969

The Kerala State Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) considers the action of the Right Communist Party, the Muslim League, the ISP and the RSP coming in support of the Congress Party's resolution in the Assembly demanding an immediate probe machinery into the allegations levelled against U.F. Ministers, is a calculated and planned move to defeat the U.F. Ministry, to force it to resign and form an alternative Ministry excluding the CPI (Marxist). This nefarious conspiracy was planned in a series of bilateral and multilateral talks among themselves and timed to carry it into practice after Com. E.M.S., the Chief Minister had left for treatment to the G.D.R. . . .

To cover up their nefarious plans, they have been raising the smoke-screen of the necessity of immediately probing into corruption allegations against certain U.F. Ministers levelled by the Congress, and are wildly slandering the CPI(Marxist) as interested in shielding corruption, because they allege our party is interested to cover up the corruption of our Ministers.

Our party holds that corruption in the administration and society is the creation of the vested interests, the landlords and the big capitalists and high officers and their party, the Congress. The task of the United Front is to fight it. If any Minister of the U.F. becomes a victim to such viles of the moneybags, drastic action against the concerned Minister is to be taken by the parties that constitute the U.F. We always held and even now hold that such allegations against any U.F. Minister should be probed by the Chief Minister or by a Sub-Committee of the Coordination Committee.

It is hypocritical for those parties not to bring any allegation against any U.F. Minister in the Coordination Committee, but support in the public and in the Assembly, probe demands on wild allegation made by the class enemies of the U.F., the Congress and their henchmen. It is hard to believe that these parties are

anti-corruption crusaders, when they at first vehemently opposed the action of the Chief Minister, who carrying out the decision of the U.F. Coordination Committee went into the case of Shri Kunhu and finding *prima-facie* case referred it to judicial enquiry.

The State Committee of the CPI(Marxist) is of definite opinion that the Right Communists and their allies are trying to cover up their nefarious activities of disrupting the U.F. and of opposing the Agrarian Bill, under the smoke-screen of probe into corruption charges. Our Party has nothing to fear about any real probe against our Ministers nor is it necessary for our party to shield any corrupt practice on the part of any U.F. Minister. So it directs M.L.As belonging to our Party to submit a memorandum demanding enquiry into all the serious allegations against other U.F. Ministers made in the press or in the public, with all material to substantiate them and not merely against Shri Wellington and against our Ministers as being demanded by them.

Our Party reiterates, that no elected Minister or M.L.A. or leader of a political party can allow his integrity to be adjudged by nominated persons even if they hold positions in the High Court or any other judicial body.

We still hold the sub-committee of the Coordination Committee of the U.F., if the Chief Minister is not acceptable to other constituents, is a proper body to probe into the allegations against U.F. Ministers and find out whether *prima-facie* case exists and recommend further judicial action. Since other parties are not prepared to accept our proposal we are prepared to a person who is qualified to be appointed as High Court Judge and who is acceptable to the constituents of the U.F. to probe into the allegations against the U.F. Ministers

COMRADE P. SUNDARAYYA, GENERAL SECRETARY,
AND COMRADE A. K. GOPALAN, SECRETARY OF THE
KERALA STATE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY
OF INDIA (MARXIST), HAVE ISSUED THE
FOLLOWING STATEMENT TO THE PRESS
IN TRIVANDRUM ON SEPTEMBER 24:

It has now become clear that the Right Communists, the Muslim League, the RSP and ISP are conspiring to form an alternative Ministry in Kerala excluding the CPI(M). All their talk of probing into corruption charges against Marxist Ministers or Sri Wellington has been proved to be nothing but a smoke-screen behind which they want to carry out their plan of inducting a non-Marxist Ministry with the support of the Congress and the Kerala Congress. The talks which the Muslim League leaders are having with leaders of the Congress and the Kerala Congress only go to prove it.

These "champion crusaders" of anti-corruption now do not want a probe against all Ministers against whom charges are brought to be probed even by a person qualified to be a High Court Judge and acceptable to the constituents of the United Front. They want a probe only into Congress or Kerala Congress allegations against Sri Wellington. They are now going to make it in a resolution of the Assembly.

Our stand has been and even now is that it is a sub-committee of the Coordination Committee of the United Front, if the Chief Minister is not acceptable, that must probe into the allegations and find out whether a *prima facie* case exists, and basing on that finding, the United Front Government must take necessary action against the concerned Minister. Otherwise it is the Congress and the vested interests that would hold the United Front Ministers to ransom.

If these parties want to force a resolution in the Assembly to institute a probe *only against Sri Wellington* under the Commission of Enquiry Act, they will not succeed in their game. Other Ministers against whom even more serious corruption charges have been levelled will have to face similar enquiries

under the same Act. Our Party will take necessary steps in that regard in the Assembly now and at the Cabinet level as soon as the Chief Minister returns.

If they do not want Sri Wellington or any other Minister of any other constituent party to continue in the Ministry, for whatever reason they may have, the best thing would have been to raise it in the Coordination Committee and arrive at a political solution. Similarly, other parties, including our own, have serious objections to certain persons being in the Ministry from 1967 itself but we in the larger interests of the Kerala people and to maintain the United Front, have put up with them. But if the other constituents want to raise the question of reconstituting the Ministry, it would have been politically honest to raise it in the Coordination Committee than to try to take cover under various subterfuges like corruption charges, etc.

If the Right Communists and their collaborators—the Muslim League and the ISP—do not want the CPI(M) to continue in the Ministry and want their own Chief Minister, the straight honest course would be to bring a no-confidence motion, defeat the existing Ministry and form their own government if they have majority in the Assembly or have the confidence and mandate of the people. Any amount of Press propaganda, subterfuges or threats of resignation will not frighten the CPI(M) to quit the Ministry or to concede their unprincipled blackmailing demands to betray the toiling masses, and surrender to the vested interests.

We will press on with the Land Reform, Debt Relief, Trade Union Bills and then Panchayat and Public Men Enquiry Bills, the latter two with necessary modifications. We will take necessary steps to implement unemployment subsistence relief scheme. If the Right Communists and their collaborators do anything to disrupt the Ministry and prevent these measures being passed or enforced, the people of Kerala and the whole of India will not forgive them.

TEXT OF THE STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE POLIT
BUREAU OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
(MARXIST) IN CALCUTTA ON OCTOBER 8, 1969:

The Polit Bureau heard the report from Comrade A. K. Gopalan, about the developments in Kerala, the way the Right C.P. the League and ISP, with the support of the Congress and Kerala Congress brought the resolution in the Assembly demanding enquiry into the charges against Shri Wellington, earlier brought by the Congress, how the Speaker without putting the amendments by our Party MLAs to institute enquiry against some other Ministers and the resolution for proper voting declared the resolution as passed.

Since the Right Communists and their allies refused to accept that any charges against any Minister should be probed by the Chief Minister, or, if he is not acceptable, by the Sub-Committee of the Coordination Committee or of the Cabinet, continued insisting on enquiry by a High Court Judge or retired judge, and since they insist that even such an enquiry be held only in the case of Shri Wellington and not other Ministers belonging to their parties, the P.B. is of the opinion that now the only course left is to order an enquiry into the charges against Shri Wellington and other Ministers under the Commission of Enquiry Act simultaneously, as soon as Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad, Chief Minister, arrives, irrespective of the legality and validity of the so-called resolution of the Assembly.

The P. B. appeals to the Party ranks and to all the Democratic forces to be alert against the moves of the Right Communists and their allies to disrupt the U.F. Ministry, and defeat their nefarious conspiracy.

The P.B. appeals to the Party ranks and democratic forces to proceed with the Agrarian Bill and other beneficial measures and mobilise the masses against the vested interest.

**E.M.S. REJECTS ULTIMATUM
STATEMENT IN ASSEMBLY ON OCTOBER 17, 1969**

The full text of the statement made by Chief Minister E. M. S. Namboodiripad in the Assembly on 17.10.1969 is given below:

I wish to invite the attention of the House to the situation that has arisen from the resolution submitted to me on October 14 by Mr. Baby John, Mr. N. K. Sesan, Mr. K. Moideenkutty Haji and Mr. T. A. Majid on behalf of the RSP, ISP, Muslim League and the CPI. The resolution ends thus: 'If a clear and satisfactory solution is not found at the earliest, the very continued existence of the United Front itself would be against the electoral pledge and as such we declare that we will be compelled to withdraw the support which our Parties gave to Mr. Namboodiripad to form a ministry'.

It is clear that if these parties are going to act according to this declaration, a new political situation would arise. It was according to the written statement jointly given by the leaders of these four parties and the other three parties, including mine, that the Governor invited me to constitute a Ministry. When these very parties withdraw support, it could only mean that they would be prepared to support or sponsor a no-confidence resolution against this ministry. If that is passed, these parties should, I think, be prepared to form either an alternative ministry or be a party to creating conditions necessitating a mid-term poll. If any of these contingencies arise, I would have to either cross over to the Opposition or to face a mid-term election. When I am prepared for that, I do not propose to adopt unprincipled means as followed by some others to continue in power.

I examined very closely and carefully the political preface in the memorandum submitted to me and the demands embodied in it.

I am of the firm conviction that it is absolutely necessary that the U.F. which came into existence through long struggles and this Government should exist.

I shall always be ready to make the utmost compromise with the constituents for saving the Front. With this in view I examined

all the nine demands made in the resolution. I am prepared to accept most of them. But the political preface to that resolution is a heinous attack on my Party and on the departments that I handle. If the four parties believe that all that (contained in the resolution) is true, all that they should do is to unconditionally withdraw their support to me and move a no-confidence motion against me. All the same, I deny the allegations contained in the resolution. I totally reject the resolution based on the allegations.

In this context, I cannot but mention about two events that took place before the four parties adopted their resolution. I am referring to the incidents of August 22 and October 3. I do not wish to enter into the legal and procedural aspects of the matter. The important point is their political aspect. First they supported an Opposition resolution on August 22 as a means of resolving the inter-party differences inside the United Front. On October 3, they themselves sponsored a resolution knowing well that it cannot be passed without the support of the Opposition.

I wish to point out one thing here. The number of MLAs in the other four parties is larger than that in these four parties. That means the four parties of the U.F. only a minority in the U.F. and the Opposition parties have acted against another section of the U.F. in the Assembly. I feel the legal and procedural issues referred to before are insignificant before the political issue contained in this action.

I explained the gravity of this political aspect to the leaders of the four parties in the course of my talks with them. I told them that they are following the foot-steps of the PSP which, having won some seats with leftist support, formed a ministry in Travancore-Cochin with Congress support in 1954, of the Congress and the PSP which, after having won the elections in 1960 as a triple alliance, dropped the Muslim League and formed a two-party ministry. Now after winning the elections on the plank of the anti-Congress Front and after having formed the Front ministry, these parties are seeking the support of the Congress and Kerala Congress to settle the differences within the Front. I use this opportunity to appeal to them to give up this wrong stand at least at this late hour.

I feel it is necessary to refer to another impropriety in the resolution submitted to me. I am referring to the impropriety in some of the ruling parties trying to wrest certain things from others at the point of threats and ultimatum.

The Right Communist Party once before tried this method on its own when it issued a 90-day ultimatum. Even then I made it clear that no self-respecting party would surrender to such threats and that I was not prepared to do so. I would like to say the same thing to those who have now presented a joint ultimatum.

I wish these four parties should be ready at least in this late hour to give up their ways of seeking Opposition support to their resolutions and issuing threats of withdrawal of support. At the same time, I would like to make it clear that I am prepared to face the situation if they are not ready to change their ways—be it a no-confidence motion against me or an alternative government by them.

Let me now make my stand clear with regard to some of the demands contained in their resolution.

(1) I accepted the demand for an enquiry under the Commission of Enquiry Act against Mr. Wellington before October 18 and the nature of enquiry "is being given shape to and the order will be passed today or tomorrow".

(2) I have examined the memoranda submitted to the Home Minister listing allegations against some other Ministers. Most of them had appeared in the Press and had come to my notice before I left for East Germany. They could not be examined because of the controversy over the manner in which whether there was a *prima facie* case behind them or not was to be found out. And it was urged that in no case I should do that preliminary examination. Under the circumstances, I felt it would not be just to order an enquiry only against Mr. Wellington shutting my eyes to the allegations some of which had been made by some of the leaders of these four parties and which concern certain other Ministers. I, therefore, scrutinised those charges also.

(3) Nobody has examined the nature of evidence supporting the allegations either against Mr. Wellington or the other Ministers. I was not ready to make such a scrutiny. But even

without making such preliminary scrutiny, I am bound, after October 3 to order an enquiry against Mr. Wellington. Also I consider it my duty to order an enquiry into allegations, which appear to me, to be equally grave as those against Mr. Wellington. Going purely by the seriousness of the allegations and without going into the nature of evidence, I, therefore, consider it necessary to order an enquiry against Mr. P. R. Kurup, Mr. M. N. Govindan Nair and Mr. T. V. Thomas. I am accordingly ordering an enquiry into the allegations against these persons also.

(4) The enquiry is being held, as indicated earlier, not after any preliminary enquiry. This is the main difference between the present enquiry and the one I had earlier ordered against Mr. P. K. Kunhu. Therefore, unlike what I did in the case of Mr. Kunhu, I am not asking these Ministers to resign from the Government, If Ministers are to be asked to resign once some allegations are made against them even without a preliminary scrutiny, then they may have to step down even when irresponsible and mala fide charges are levelled. No Ministry can function under such conditions.

So much has been said about the corruption enquiry. This has covered two of the main demands in the resolution submitted by the four parties. I have indicted earlier that several of the other seven are acceptable. I wish to state about two of them now itself.

One of the demands is the withdrawal of the no-confidence resolution brought against the Speaker. Whatever be the circumstances and provocations for tabling the motion, I hope, the member concerned will agree, that a discussion on the motion will not in any way be helpful and therefore, I expect he will withdraw it.

Another demand is that all appointments to all corporations, including the Transport Corporation should be brought within the purview of the Public Service Commission. It had been indicated even earlier that this could be accepted and implemented. I reiterate it and assure the House that necessary administrative steps would be taken immediately.

In respect of the other demands I believe that a generally acceptable solution could be found. But necessary conditions

cannot be created unless one section of the ruling parties gives up its tactics of issuing threats against the other section and soliciting support from the Opposition in its fight against the other section. I would like to once again appeal to these four parties to do so.



E.M.S.'s LETTERS TO MINISTERS

Copy of reply letter dated 18th October 1969 from Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad, Chief Minister to the Ministers who had tendered their resignations:

I have received your letter of resignation which was handed over to me yesterday by the representatives of the 4 consitituent parties including yours.

As I have told the 4 parties' representatives, I feel that it is necessary for us also to have rethinking on the various issues that have divided the constituents of our United Front and our Ministry. Such a rethinking on the part of us all will alone prevent the full and final break up of the United Front. I personally and my Party collectively will always be prepared for such a rethinking.

It is, of course, true that what you consider to be the most important points cannot and will not be accepted by us. It is equally true that what we consider most important cannot and will not be acceptable to you either. It is nevertheless a fact that, despite this apparent irreconcilability of our respective positions, both sides have to make mutual adjustments. Such an attitude on the part of all of us will alone pave the way for the proper functioning of the United Front. For it is obvious, every single constituent of the United Front has equal rights and will not allow itself to be dictated to either by another consitituent unit or a group of constituent units. I, therefore, plead with you and your Party for the adoption of such an attitude of mutual accommodation and adjustment.

I hope you will realise that, situated as we are in Kerala, neither the four constituent parties including yours nor the other 4 constituent parties including mine can hope to form a stable

Government and solve the problems of the State. Sometime or other, we will have to come together, as those of us who stood on opposite sides in 1964-65 had to come together in 1966-67. Is it, therefore, wise to break up now? Is it not better that we try to undo the damage already done, start rethinking on the issues that have divided us and try to find agreed solutions without either side trying to dictate terms to the other? I myself and my Party feel that, despite your 4 parties' joint ultimatum to me, despite my sharp reaction to it which I expressed in my statement in the Assembly yesterday, despite the violent reaction to my statement on the part of some of your leaders, prudence demands of all of us that we start rethinking at least now.

May I, therefore, appeal to you to withdraw your resignation. If however, you consider withdrawal impossible, may I suggest that, pending talks among the constituents of the United Front, the resignation is not pressed.

Your sincerely,

Sd/-

(E. M. S. Namboodiripad.)



An additional paragraph in the reply letter from Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad, Chief Minister to Shri T. V. Thomas and Sri M. N. Govindan Nair reads:

A word about the relation between your Party and mine. Your National Council has been talking of "Communist Unity" which, according to you, is one of the basic pre-requisites for developing a wide United Front of democratic forces in the country. You have, in this context, suggested the formation of Co-ordination Committees, Joint Parliamentary and Legislative Joint Blocs in Parliament and State Legislatures, etc. If these suggestions are seriously meant, is it not necessary for you particularly to have a less subjective approach to the problem of maintaining the existing United Front and Government of Kerala. Do you expect honest unity in the context of your singly and collectively issuing threats to us that you will withdraw support to us? I hope you will

realise that the need for rethinking, pointed out above, is all the greater with regard to the relations between your Party and mine.

An additional paragraph in the reply letter dated 18th October 1969 from Com. E. M. S. Namboodiripad, Chief Minister to Shri C. H. Mohammed Koya and Shri Avukaderkutty Naha Haji reads:

Thus far about the United Front and the Government as a whole. I may now add a word about the importance of cooperation between your Party and mine. Despite the sharp differences between our 2 parties on several fundamental issues, the fact remains that my Party has been one of the boldest defenders of the rights of the religious minorities. That is why the Jan Sangh has bracketed your party and mine in its attacks. You know very well, that, although the decision to form the Malappuram and Malanad Districts was unanimously taken by the United Front and the Ministry on administrative grounds, the Jan Sangh campaign against the formation of Malappuram District was directed against me and my Party, who, it was alleged, were trying to appease you by the formation of the District. This and other incidents should be sufficient to show the necessity of sincere and honest cooperation between your Party and mine in the struggle against Jan Sangh and other communal reactionaries.



An additional paragraph in the reply letter dated October 18, 1969 from Comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Chief Minister to Shri T. K. Diwakaran reads:

I would also like to point out to you that honest and sincere cooperation between your Party and mine is particularly important now. For, despite differences between us on various basic issues, both of us are parties committed to left wing policies and Marxist-Leninist ideology. Your participation in the Congress-organised "liberation struggle" in 1959 and your opposition to us in the 1965 mid-term election have done sufficient damage to the cause of leftist political movement in this State. Is it wise for you now to add another chapter to that history by your contribution to the break up of the United Front?

COMRADE E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD'S SPEECH
IN THE ASSEMBLY ON OCTOBER 22, 1969

Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad began his speech in the Kerala Assembly on October 22 by reading from a 23-page document prepared by him and released for publication on October 20 and justified it by saying that excerpts from it would help him to trace the political history of Kerala from 1964 and the political alignments that the State had seen since.

When several members from the Opposition, including Mr. K. Karunakaran (Congress), Mr. K. M. George (Kerala Congress) and Mr. K. Moideen Kutty Hajee (Muslim League) objected to the Chief Minister reading out "irrelevant things", Mr. M. N. Govindan Nair (Right CP.) cut in to say : "Mr. Namboodiripad's recitation from his Party document will itself help to prove our charge that he is a prisoner of his Party."

The Chief Minister retorted : "It is ridiculous that an honourable member like Mr. Govindan Nair should accuse me of being a prisoner of my Party. Did he not himself once threaten to resign and then withdraw the threat the next moment excusing himself that his Party had not permitted him into do so? (Thumping of desks by CPI-M members.) Comrade Namboodiripad twitted the Right Communists for their new alignment with the Congress and the "more reactionary Kerala Congress."

While Mr. George loudly protested against the Chief Minister's remarks against his Party, Mr. P. S. Srinivasan (Right C.P.) questioned the propriety of Mr. Namboodiripad still identifying his Party as the "Right Communists" when its correct name was the "CPI."

Comrade Namboodiripad conceded the objection and later referred to it as "Communists on the other side of the House."

The Chief Minister ridiculed the Right C.P.'s "high posture" as the "biggest ally" of the Muslim League and of the minorities. He pointed out that when the Marxists were aligned with the Muslim League in 1965 the "friends of the Right C.P. had dubbed the alliance as Peking-Pindi axis."

E. M. S. Namboodiripad denied the charge of the former Irrigation Minister, Mr. P. K. Kurup (ISP) that the CPI(M), General Secretary, Mr. P. Sundarayya had planted discord in the United Front within months of the formation of the Government in March 1967. He asserted that it was Mr. S. M. Joshi and other leaders of Mr. Kurup's then undivided SSP who had generated disaffection among the constituents by taking up the question of distribution of portfolios decided upon unanimously by the Front partners.

He said dissensions began in the United Front the moment the Right C.P. National Council accused the Marxists of a "big brother" attitude, at the same time talking about the "great importance" of certain constituents and the "less importance" of other parties.

Comrade Namboodiripad asked how could the Right C.P. leaders reconcile this stand. "The fact of the matter is that all the constituents of the Front, big or small, are important," he added.

Namboodiripad referred to the controversy over corruption charge against Ministers culminating in the four Front parties supporting a non-official Congress resolution on August 22 and finally voting for the resolution against Mr. Wellingdon on October 3. He said the people of the State knew fully well the "game of the so-called crusaders against corruption."

This "fury and wrath" against corruption had arisen in the four parties only after his action against Mr. P. K. Kunhu (ISP) on the specific directive by the Coordination Committee. Since then they had been alleging that the offices of the CPI(M) were "centres of bribery" and that even the Chief Minister's hands were not clean.

Namboodiripad said his Party had always opposed corruption and was prepared to institute inquiries into genuine charges. But the dispute arose over the interim machinery to go into the *prima facie* nature of the charges. While he could appreciate the opposition against his doing this had not his Party put forward specific proposals—either a sub-committee of the Coordination Committee or a person competent to be appointed as a High Court Judge and acceptable to all constituents?

Instead of discussing these points inside the United Front and the Coordination Committee, the four parties demanded the crucifixion only of Mr. Wellington. They ran amok in rage and fury, met at Calicut and held out an ultimatum that unless he conceded their demand for action against Mr. Wellington they would withdraw support to the Government.

To those former Ministers who charged him with not showing the "common courtesy" of informing his four colleagues of the action he contemplated against them, the Chief Minister asked: "Have you shown the same courtesy? Could you not have waited for two or three weeks more when I would have returned from Germany? You knew that I was getting better and I would not die immediately."

When he had arrived at Moscow airport on his way back to the State, he read reports that leaders of the four parties would greet him with the ultimatum. "This sword of Damocles" and subsequent events proved the worst fears.

Namboodiripad declared: "No self-respecting person or party, will countenance such threats and bow meekly before such a Damocles' sword."

To the claim of former Agriculture Minister, Mr. M. N. Govindan Nair (Right C.P.) that he had been instrumental in bringing this "Namboodiri from the north" to the Kerala political scene in 1957, Namboodiripad retorted that Mr. Nair need not hold brief for him and his political life. "That is an open book. Everyone knows that for well over 40 years I have contributed what little I could to the country's public life, at least, no less than Mr. Nair has done."

Mr. Nair had by his claim subjected himself to "self-ridicule," Namboodiripad said. "If his claim is that he made me the Chief Minister of Kerala in 1957, it is common knowledge that it was not he who made me such in 1967".

He continued amid cheers from Marxist benches "Mr. Nair went about proclaiming in 1965 that his Party would smash mine and that I would see the Assembly only from the visitors' galleries."

Namboodiripad then referred to the invitation of the former Industries Minister, Mr. T. V. Thomas (Right C.P.) to meet at

"Kurukshetra" and said he accepted the challenge as he had done many times before. He added: "The people have not signed any blank promissory note either for Mr. Thomas or for me. They are alert and know where each one of us stands."

Namboodiripad repudiated Mr. Thomas' charge that he and his Party had torpedoed the setting up of a steel plant in the State and compromised Kerala's interests by agreeing to export the rich iron ore deposits in Calicut district to Romania.

Comrade E.M.S. added:

The Japanese monopolists wanted to export the iron ore. But the most beneficial proposals were made by Romania. I can say this because I conducted talks with them on this question. Anyone else may talk about my Party's illegitimate relations with the Romanian Party, but T. V. Thomas should not have said it about the Romanian Party which had participated in the Moscow Conference along with T. V. Thomas' Party.

There were charges about "Polit Bureau interference." If there are all India parties, their all India leaderships will express views. The revisionist leader Dange has expressed views. I have not objected to that. The leaders of the SSP also have given such directives. P. R. Kurup and K. M. George may not need it, because though the name is Indian Socialist Party we know the state of Kurup's party. When there are all-India parties all-India leaderships will give guidance publicly and privately. They say Comrade Sundarayya opposed the industrial policy. Let alone Comrade Sundarayya opposing it, I want to ask T. V. Thomas whether at least one section of that policy was not corrected by the Coordination Committee. T. V. Thomas is trying to mislead people.

I have nothing to speak to those who sign their names below decisions and say later that no decision had been taken at all.

Concluding Namboodiripad recalled that most of the former ministers had asked him: "Why do you still cling to power? Why do you not resign and go?" Mr. Thomas has also insinuated: "Oh, why kill a person who is already dead?"

He would like to ask them: "Who is to pronounce the verdict that I am dead? If the majority of the House pronounces that, I am prepared to accept it."

The Chief Minister said that he was not particular about a no-confidence motion. "If the House divides against me, whether through a no-confidence motion or through any other motion, at that very moment I will go to Raj Bhavan and submit my resignation."

But before I submit my resignation, I must know where everybody stands. It is for that I said that I would resign if I am defeated in a clear division. I want to know whether all of them from Karunakaran (Congress) to T. K. Diwakaran (RSP) will stand up together.



EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH MADE BY COMRADE
E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD IN THE KERALA
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ON
OCTOBER 24, 1969

Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad declared categorically in the course of his speech that he and his Party, the CPI(M), would not submit to any threats by the mini-front parties who had managed to get a majority with the support of the Congress and the Kerala Congress.

He made it clear that he did not want to protect anybody from corruption charges, but at the same time he was not prepared to sacrifice anybody in its name.

He asked the Muslim League and the RSP where their pose of "neutrality" had disappeared when the Right Communists rejected all the proposals of the CPI(M) for negotiations and settlement of disputed questions.

Comrade E. M. S. continued:

Many people except the Congress and Kerala Congress members were heard saying here that the breaking up of the United Front was bad for the people. I do not know whether they said it with any sincerity.

While some say that it is the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) that broke the U.F., some others charge me with responsibility for it. But what is the reality?

It was in April-May 1969 that the quarrels and disputes came into the open here. I had to decide on an examination of charges levelled against certain people whether there was a *prima facie* case or not in those charges. I who, in the language of T. V. Thomas, had not even seen the outer doors of the Law College, became responsible for taking this decision. The latest statement issued by the four parties is evidence of this. I had in advance indicated to ISP leader Chandrasekharan what my decision was going to be (in the case of the corruption charges against the former Finance Minister, P. K. Kunhu, belonging to the ISP). It is from that day the ISP turned against me. Exploiting this opportunity, the Right Communists issued their ninety days' ultimatum and thirteen commandments. But even before the thirteen commandments came, the Chief Secretary had been instructed to do the needful and I had taken the initiative in this. But they issued their commandments in public.

Following closely in its heels, they unleashed the campaign that we were corrupt. C. H. Mohammed Koya and others were heard saying that the Muslim League leader Baffaki Thangal was hurt by some statement of Comrade A. K. Gopalan. When slanderous allegations were being continuously levelled against us, it must have become necessary for us also to say certain things. The call which Comrades Gopalan and Sundarayya made was a call for unity. They appealed for ending of public levelling of charges and counter-charges and for negotiations. We also appealed to the other parties to tell the Right Communists that the path they had taken was the wrong one.

M. N. Govindan Nair says that since our birth we have been against unity and this had been so since we opposed Nehru and Bose.

We do not think that elections alone can be the Kurukshetra. All these things can be taken there. We will go into the fields and factories, among the workers and peasants and there we will decide all this.

Comrades Sundarayya and Gopalan had appealed that the United Front should not be pushed to the point of no return. It was on the basis of this appeal that we postponed the publication of

our State Committee's reply to the ninety-day ultimatum and the thirteen commandments. But the Right Communists did not make any change in the line they were pursuing. Then, we were forced to give our answer. When the Right Communists were levelling heinous and contemptible charges against us we did not hear C. H. Mohammed Koya telling them to stop it. We saw none of the "mediators" trying to put an end to this. When I went to the GDR for treatment, the four parties were holding out the threat of consultations amongst themselves. Though not openly, these consultations had been going on for a long time. Then, after such consultations they used to issue separate statements with the same content, today they issue joint statements—that is the only difference.

C. H. Mohammed Koya said here that four parties supported the proposal for an Assembly Committee to enquire into corruption charges. But, not only Mathai Manjooran (KSP), T. K. Diwakaran of the RSP also had opposed this proposal. Hence, it is that I said it required more thought. But when the others issued a statement that parties including the RSP had accepted the proposal, T K. Diwakaran did not contradict it.

They are now complaining about our big-party domination. At the same time the four parties say that we should submit to what they jointly demand. Also, they treat parties smaller than themselves (SSP, KTP, KSP) with contempt.

It was from the time I took the decision regarding charges against three Ministers that the crisis began. The four-parties began their consultations after that. They rejected the appeal for unity made by Comrades Sundarayya and Gopalan. The four parties which complain that I am the prisoner of my party tried to make me their prisoner. Is this possible? We should accept whatever the four parties say jointly, or it is big-party bossism.

T. A. Majid of the Right Communist Party has said that I should voluntarily submit myself to an enquiry. On what charge? He did not raise any, neither had the memorandum submitted by 47 MLAs, nor had the memorandum submitted by K. S. Nair who jointed them recently. They want the enquiry into charges made by a Congress member, Gopalakrishnan Nair. M. N. Govindan

Nair is reported to have said that an enquiry will be forced keeping E. M. S. as Chief Minister. The link between the date of Gopalakrishnan Nair's memorandum and the date of the four parties' meeting in Kozhikode should be considered.

One of the charges is regarding the reinstatement of an official, C. C. Kunhan. The file regarding this case was placed here a year and a half ago. All this time, there was no need for an enquiry. Now suddenly the demand is made.

Another charge is about the promotion which my brother-in-law got. There is a High Court judgement on this case which says that the court was not convinced that the Chief Minister had any connection with or made any interference in the matter of this promotion. (Comrade E. M. S. read out the judgement delivered by Justice Raghavan on September 2, 1969).

A third charge relates to the Indopol Company. This company is a State concern of Socialist Poland. It is said that they gave me a bribe to get a contract. And who says this? The Right Communist leader T. A. Majid. It is on the same lines as S. A. Dange's follower T. V. Thomas saying here that a Socialist country like Romania was trying to export the iron ore of Kerala and make Kerala a sort of colony. The National Council of the Right Communists say, that aid from Socialist countries is disinterested aid. May be those who spoke here are not "prisoners" of their National Council.

Yet another charge is regarding the appointment of Treasury Officer Ravindran. I have not even seen this file, the appointment was made by the Revenue Board. What the Government did was to correct it when it found that a mistake had been made. (The file in this connection was signed by P. R. Kurup of the ISP in the absence in Mecca of the Finance Minister who belonged to the same party. The Revenue Minister, Comrade K. R. Gowry had placed this file on the table of the House.)

I reject the demand that I should submit to an enquiry. If you come to office, you can order the enquiry.

It had been proposed that corruption charges should be enquired into by a person qualified to be a High Court Judge. RSP leader Baby John had accepted this proposal. Why then was the

resolution of October 3 (which the mini-front parties forced through the Assembly with the support of the Congress and Kerala Congress) not on this line? Why was the line of pillorying only Minister Wellington and of protecting their own Ministers adopted?

You began your crusade when I took action against a Minister who you yourself told he was corrupt. I will give the names of those who said this in Kurukshetra to which you are challenging us. I do not have to protect anybody or sacrifice anybody. But you should examine whether you are not adopting double-standards.

There is still time to save the United Front if you are prepared to objectively approach the problem and deal with the questions that have come up.

T. K. Diwakaran says I should not resign. Madhavan Nair says I should quit. What should I do? That is why I said that those who want me to go should stand up once. Do this at least if you cannot bring a no-confidence motion.

Comrade E. M. S. concluded his speech saying that if the House disagreed with his views, he would be resigning the next moment.



3

SOME LESSONS

ANTI-CONGRESS FRONT TO ANTI-CPI(M) FRONT*

The second half of 1964. The Congress in Kerala has split into two. Following it, the Congress Ministry has been thrown out. A mid-term election is to take place.

How is this situation to be faced?

In 1964, though the Congress had split in Kerala, at the Centre, there was no split and the Congress was continuing to pursue the anti-people policies it had pursued for 17 years. Should the Kerala representatives of the official Congress be decisively defeated so that they would not be able to raise their head again or should all the forces be directed against the Kerala Congress and the Muslim League which are "more reactionary than the official Congress" as the Right Communists were propagating them.

Should all the political parties, groups and individuals prepared to cooperate with the Communists, Socialists and other democratic forces join hands to make efforts to form a strong non-Congress democratic Government or should a "pure left front" be formed excluding "arch-reactionaries" like the Kerala Congress and the Muslim League?

From "Pure Left Front" to "Non-Marxist" Front

The mid-term election in 1965 was an intense confrontation between these two lines. The Kerala people gave their verdict as to which of the two lines was correct. The Right Communists secured only three seats, the RSP one and CPI (Marxist) 45. The Right Communists and RSP which had espoused the wrong line corrected that mistake after two years in the latter half of 1966. The non-Congress Government which could have been formed in March 1965 could come into existence only in March 1967.

The Muslim League, which the Right Communists and RSP in 1965 had opposed and thus sabotaged a non-Congress democratic front, has, since the latter half of 1966, been a constituent of the front along with the Right Communists and RSP. Further, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) was in 1964-65 recognised

*Extracts from a pamphlet in Malayalam by Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad.

by the Right Communists and RSP as a "progressive party" but against it now in 1969, in the name of fighting its "big-party bossism" and "corruption", a Right Communist-RSP-Muslim League alliance took shape. These three parties along with the ISP became "a non-Marxist front (or an anti-Marxist front) inside the non-Congress front". The legislators of this "front" decided to support a Congress member's non-official resolution against a Minister who did not belong to their "front" (August 22, 1969). Later, (October 3) they moved that resolution as their own and decided to get it adopted with the support of the Congress and Kerala Congress. Thus the non-Congress front including the CPI(M) was transformed into a front co-operating with the Congress and the Kerala Congress against four non-Congress parties including the CPI(M), the other three parties being the SSP, KTP and KSP.

When any party changes the line which it has been pursuing in a particular period, it has the responsibility to explain why it is making such a change. And other parties have a right to make their evaluation of such changes.

The readiness of the Muslim League and the ISP to participate in a non-Marxist front contrary to the line they had been pursuing since 1964-65; the decision of the Right Communists and RSP to change the line they had been pursuing since 1966-67 and go back to their position of 1964-65; the changes in the policies of the four parties which have led to this—all this needs to be examined and evaluated, as it is of great importance to Kerala. The non-Congress front which was formed after long struggles has been divided into two—four parties including the CPI(M) on one side with 60 MLAs with them and four parties including the Right Communists on the other with 53 MLAs. These four parties have made a political volte-face and they have taken recourse to getting a resolution against the other side adopted with the support of the Congress and the Kerala Congress.

Some months before the Kerala wing of the Indian National Congress split, in 1964, the Communist Party of India had split into two at the national level itself. Two parties had emerged—the revisionists with the majority of the leaders and the Marxists

with the majority of the ranks. The all-India Congresses of the two parties to formulate their programmes and policies had taken place a few weeks before the Kerala mid-term elections.

The cause of the split in the Communist Party was ascribed by the Right Communists, the central Congress leadership and the Union Home department to the division in the international communist movement, meaning thereby that the CPI(M) was pro-China, that it did not have faith in elections and parliamentary democracy and its programme was for an "instant revolution". The Union Home department issued a "white paper" quoting "evidence" to prove all this. The documents of the Right Communists provided a major portion of this "evidence". Further, the Right Communists also propagated that the election understanding in Kerala between the "pro-Chinese" Marxists and the "pro-Pakistani" Muslim League was a replica of the "Peking-Pindi axis" on the international scene.

That this propaganda had nothing to do with reality becomes evident from a study of the policy statements of the CPI(M).

If the documents adopted by the Calcutta Congress of the CPI(M) and those adopted a few days later by the Right Communists at their Bombay Congress are compared, the differences between the revisionist and Marxist parties will become evident. It was these differences that got reflected in the 1965 mid-term elections in Kerala. It was because of the same differences that, when a few months later, the India-Pakistan war broke out and there were also India-China clashes, the Right Communists joined the chorus to shout that the CPI(M) was a "China-Pak agent". Again, it was because of the same differences that after the 1967 general elections both in Kerala and Bengal where the CPI(M) is strong, the Right Communists adopted the line of forming "a non-Marxist front inside the non-Congress front".

At every stage of the struggle between these two lines—Marxist and revisionist—the RSP wing in Kerala which claims to be a Marxist-Leninist party accepted the stand of the Right Communists.

As for the Muslim League and the ISP, they do not profess to have any faith in Marxism-Leninism, they have the same basic approach as the Congress towards socio-economic-political questions. Hence, their attitude to the CPI(M) is also the same as that of the Congress. Though in the political situation which developed in 1964-65 and afterwards in India and especially in Kerala, they agreed to form a united front along with the CPI(M), their basic opposition to the Party had not ceased.

Hence, when in 1967, the United Front Government came into existence and the CPI(M) put forward its independent positions on issues like food policy, administration and struggles, attitude to the Constitution and the Centre, etc., and the Right Communists took up their revisionist positions on all these issues, the three parties—RSP, Muslim League and ISP—joined them. This alliance developed and has become the non-Marxist front of today. The same Muslim League and the ISP and RSP which in 1959 joined with the Congress in the so-called "liberation struggle" against the Communist-led Government, have once again joined hands with the Congress and Kerala Congress in 1969. The difference between then and now is that the revisionist section of the old united Communist Party has also now joined hands with these parties against the genuine revolutionary party of the working class—the CPI(M), and brought down the U.F. Government in Kerala.

A non-Marxist front, in the sense of four non-Marxist parties formally meeting and functioning inside the United Front and the Government as a separate group, took shape only recently. But its beginnings were as far back as March 1967 itself.

The non-Marxist front was inaugurated with the attack launched against the then Food Minister by all these parties within a few days of the formation of the U.F. Government. They evolved their tactics then not through formal meetings as today but through "informal talks". The Muslim League in those days without openly making any attack on the CPI(M), adopted a pose in public of "neutrality" but behind the scenes gave all support to the attacks of the other parties.

Right from the beginning, they had the overt and covert support of the Congress and the Kerala Congress for these attacks they launched against the CPI(M).

They were not using "corruption" charges alone. The Right Communist Press, their public meetings, Co-ordination Committee discussions and the floor of the Assembly were all made into a permanent forum by them to level criticisms, charges and complaints about the departments in charge of CPI(M) Ministers. The CPI(M) should not make any criticism about the working of the departments held by them, that would be "interference with their powers" and "big party bossism", they have the right not only to level criticism but even give directives regarding the departments of the CPI(M) Ministers—this was their idea of the functioning of the U.F. The Muslim League under cover of its pose of "neutrality" was helping all this. Muslim League leader Baffaki Thangal who approaches CPI(M) Ministers regarding ration shop and wholesale licences, transport permits, appointments and promotions in the police department, etc., was quite insistent that the CPI(M) should not "interfere" with matters like allotment of schools, the Education department being in the charge of a Muslim League Minister.

As a natural consequence of this, the leaders of these four parties and some leaders of the opposition held "informal" talks about forming another Ministry excluding the CPI(M). On the basis of the information made available by some who had participated in these "informal talks", the CPI(M) was forced to bring the whole issue before the people. After this, there was a big public debate. The consequent situation came up for discussion in the Co-ordination Committee. In these discussions the only party which said that no such thing had happened was the Right Communist Party. The leader of one party, the RSP, said, "some such talks were held but the plan was abandoned because it was impractical". The leader of another party, the ISP, said, "when the new Chief Minister is selected he should be from my community because it has had no Chief Minister so far".

Leaders of some parties, realizing the damage that would be done to their parties and to the U.F. as a whole if all these details

were made public, proposed that the whole incident should be considered as a closed chapter. But, it has been reopened now. In April-May 1969, the same four parties again began consultations. Their first aim in these "informal consultations" was to prevent the enquiry against former Finance Minister P. K. Kunhu. When that became impossible they demanded enquiries against Wellington (KTP) and M. K. Krishnan (CPI-M). The Right Communists and ISP separately made threats and issued ultimatums on this issue. When this also did not produce any results, the RSP and Muslim League came out with their own threats. Though all of them spoke separately, the threat was the same: if you do not accept what we say, we will resign from the Ministry. Thus the ninety-day ultimatum of the Right Communists became the joint ultimatum of all these four parties.

Events crowning all this took place on August 22 and October 3. More significant than the legal and technical aspects of these events is their political aspect. On August 22, they lent support to a resolution sponsored by Congress and Kerala Congress opposition members against one of the Ministers. On October 3, they themselves moved a resolution which would have been voted out by 53 votes to 60, if it did not have the support of the Congress and Kerala Congress opposition and the Independents who vote with it. Thus, the four parties which got elected with the pledge that they would inflict a crushing defeat on the Congress and form a non-Congress Government, after the formation of such a Government joined hands with the Congress against one section of the U.F.

At least twice before such betrayal of pledges has taken place in Kerala's political life—in 1954 by the PSP joining hands with the Congress to form the Pattom Thanu Pillai Ministry betraying the U.F. of left parties and in 1960 by the Congress and PSP first betraying the League which was in their front and then the Congress elbowing out the PSP also. Today with the ISP which is the latest incarnation of the same PSP, the League, RSP and the Right Communists have joined hands with the Congress to exclude the CPI(M) thus breaking the U.F. for which the people voted in the 1967 elections.

Political Basis of "Non-Marxist Front"

It is not accidental that since March 1967—from the time the non-Congress Government came into existence these parties began coming closer and getting the support of the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition to "isolate the Marxists". When the Right Communists and RSP retreated from their election tactics of 1964-65 and agreed to have a united front with the League, the political affinity of these four parties and their differences with the CPI(M) became evident.

The CPI(M) is a party which deals with issues from the Marxist-Leninist point of view, organises the entire toiling people under the leadership of the working class and seeks to form a People's Democratic Front against the landlord-big bourgeois classes. The other parties in one way or other are political parties which spread the ideology of the bourgeois-landlord classes and oppose the mass movement led by the working class.

There is a basic contradiction between these two lines and none can attempt to reconcile them.

Fundamentally, the Muslim League has the same class character as the Congress. If the Congress is trying to unite all Indians without distinction of rich and poor, the League tries to unite all the Muslims. As in the case of the Congress, the leadership of the League also rests in the hands of the rich. It is to protect their interests that policies and tactics are evolved. Because the ranks constitute the poor millions and the rallying of these millions under their own flag is a necessity to safeguard the interests of the rich, they have to adopt many "leftist" slogans; they have to often co-operate with the left-democratic movement. But they will be careful to see that all this "does not go beyond" the limit, they will be always be on the alert to keep the leftist slogans on paper and see that they are not implemented.

Viewed from the basic interests of the LEADERSHIP OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE, the one party with which it can never co-operate is the Communist Party of India (Marxist). But it became a practical necessity in the political situation in Kerala. They made just the necessary electoral understandings and fronts for this. They would seek all means possible to break the relations

with the CPI(M). And the Right C.P. and RSP are ever-ready to advise them how to do this. Since these two parties abandoned their anti-Leagueism, the League has come to have closer relations with these two parties than with the CPI(M). Moreover, the alliance with the Right Communists who are attempting to form a "national democratic front" including the Indira Gandhi group in the Congress will give the League the status of an all-India organisation.

As for the ISP, it has one advantage over all other parties—without any programme or scruples, it has the shamelessness to do whatever it wants to do at any time without giving any explanation. ISP in 1948 (1st edition); then PSP after 1952; after that SSP; after leaving that the Kerala SSP, and now the ISP (second edition)—there is no other party in Kerala which have had so many transformations and made so many volte-faces in such a short time. This party did not have any hesitation in joining an anti-Congress front and utilising the seats thus won to form a Ministry with the support of the Congress in 1954 or in another situation in getting the votes of the League in the name of an anti-Communist front and joining the Congress afterwards in forming a Government excluding the League. It is not surprising that the leadership of such a party finds it impossible to have any relations with a party with a revolutionary approach like the CPI(M).

The RSP is a party which claims to be distinct from all this and work on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. But it has never believed in proletarian internationalism which is an important component of Marxism-Leninism. Most often it has functioned as a party steeped in anti-Sovietism. In Kerala, the RSP on two decisive occasions supported the Congress in opposition to the revolutionary mass movement: in 1957-59, this "revolutionary" party also participated in the "mass upsurge" against the first Communist-led Government; in 1964-65, it stood with the Right Communists to prevent the non-Congress Government which was developing and thus to weaken the democratic movement. It is not surprising that this party is anxious to break its relations with the CPI(M) as early as possible and ensure the formation of a non-Marxist front.

Considering the differences which the Right Communists have with the CPI(M), what should be surprising is not what they are doing today. What is strange is that while they are doing all this, they are talking so much about "communist unity". Their proposal is that members of Parliament and State Assemblies belonging to their party and the CPI(M) should form joint parliament-legislature blocs to create the basis for "communist unity". And what is their action? Form an anti-Marxist front in the name of a "non-Marxist front" and join hands with the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition in the Assembly!

Way to Unity

The ideological differences between the CPI(M) and these four parties did not come up as something new in 1969. These existed in 1966-67 just as there were differences among these four parties and between these four parties and other parties. These contradictions confronted each other but by subordinating them to the need for unity to achieve the common aim, the seven-party front was formed then. Not one of the parties with different views were prepared to give up their own independent ideological and political standpoints. But since there was a common aim, all were convinced of the necessity to have a common political approach to achieve it. Hence, it was possible for the seven parties with different positions to evolve a common programme and form the front.

After the forging of the front and the elections and the formation of the Ministry, these different positions came into conflict: on food policy, whether to remove existing controls or make them more strict to find a solution to the food problem; whether prohibition should be scrapped or not; on the attitude to the Central Government—on all these issues different parties had different views.

These views came into conflict; in addition, certain specific positions of the CPI(M) came into conflict with the positions of the other parties: on many issues like the "sanctity" of the Constitution and judiciary, the contradiction between administration and struggle, the importance of the struggle against the

Centre, the way to develop agriculture and industry, the views of the CPI(M) came into conflict with those of the other parties.

But none of the constituent parties allowed all this to go to the extent of endangering the unity of the front. The method then adopted was one of placing the views of various parties before the people through public debates giving them the opportunity to decide which are correct and which are wrong and at the same time making the necessary agreements for the smooth functioning of the front and the Government.

Not only on questions of policy, but also on the question of the status of each party in the front, there were differences and quarrels between various parties during this entire period. On issues like division of seats in the latter half of 1966, the Ministry and allocation of departments in March 1967, complaints about the running of departments by Ministers, formation of committees, land distribution, permission for new schools, distribution of loans, creation of posts and appointments, etc. each party had complaints against other parties. Some of them went to the length of open accusations and counter-accusations. But no party allowed it to go to the extent of disrupting the front.

The SSP, KTP and KSP which have not joined the non-Marxist front have also basic ideological differences with the CPI(M) as also disputes with the Party. It is not because these have been solved that they today have not joined the non-Marxist front. They have not done so because they hold that as in 1966-67 and 1969, today also the need is for a non-Congress democratic front and the non-Marxist front stands in its way.

As for the CPI(M), it will not join hands with anybody sacrificing its own views nor is it so foolish as to ask or expect any other party to do so. At the same time the Party considers that every party should be prepared to forge and develop a democratic front capable of replacing the disintegrating Congress, make the necessary adjustments for this and evolve a common political approach and common policies. The Party stands firm on certain basic organisational principles for the functioning of the front like equal rights for all parties irrespective of their bigness or smallness, adoption of unanimous decisions through bilateral and

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collective discussions and the right of every party to openly state its views on issues on which unanimous decisions are not possible.

It is the departure from this path of united functioning on the part of the Right Communists and the three other constituents that broke up the front.



Note: In this connection connect the Article of B.T. Ranadive on 'Lessons of the Crisis in the Kerala U.F.' given under Item No. 55 of this Volume.

[Note: The following documents included in the Appendix of this booklet, given under Item No. 36 and Item No. 46 of this Volume:

- (i) Statement of the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) on Kerala adopted in its Calcutta meeting on May 20 22, 1969.
- (ii) Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPI(M) on Kerala adopted at its Calcutta session on July 15-20, 1969.

These documents under Item No. 36 and 46, respectively, of this Volume be connected in this connection.]

Anti-Communist Gang-up in Kerala: Betrayers of U.F. Set up Anti-People Government*

E.M.S. Namboodiripad

The Right Communist leader of Kerala, T. V. Thomas, concluded his speech in the Kerala Legislative Assembly on October 21, explaining why he tendered resignation from the Ministry, with the following revealing words:

"If it took twenty years of hard effort to fight and defeat the Congress, I do not think even a period of five years would be too much to defeat the Marxists who are incessantly following anti-people policies."

We have quoted the above passage from the central organ of the Right Communist Party, *New Age*, dated November 2, 1969, lest we should be accused of misreporting. The very fact that *New Age* gave long extracts from the speeches of all mini-front ministers who had tendered their resignations on October 17 including the above passage from Thomas' speech, shows the importance attached by the central leadership of the Right Communist Party to the hostility with which their party and its allies of the mini-front in Kerala treat the CPI(M).

A Peep into The Past

This is nothing new for the Right Communist Party. Ever since the present leaders of the CPI(M) initiated their struggle against revisionism within the old united CPI, those who constitute the present leadership of the Right Communist Party have shown no scruple in trying to malign, discredit and destroy those who carried on the struggle against revisionism. One cannot but recall in this connection the campaign of slanders and lies unleashed by

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the present Right Communist leadership on the issue of the India-China conflict—a campaign which was on all fours with the campaign of the Home Ministry headed by the infamous Nanda and such notorious chauvinists as the Jana Sangh. That was why it was very easy for Nanda and his Home Ministry to try to "prove" their charges against us by extensive quotations from the material produced by the revisionists.

It is not proposed here to trace the history of the bitter battle that we had to fight against the revisionists from 1955 onwards (when they came out with the slogan of a "national democratic front" including the "progressive" Congress led by Nehru at one end and the Communists at the other end). Nor do we propose to tell the story of how we had to face the combined assault made by the present-day Right Communist leader on the issue of India-China and Indo-Pakistan conflicts in 1959-65. We would confine ourselves to the story of how, in the post-fourth general election period, they used their position within the United Front and within the Government of Kerala to undermine our position among, and discredit us before, the people with a view to finally "defeating" us—exactly on the lines indicated in the above-quoted passage from T. V. Thomas' speech.

It is necessary in this connection to compare the political stand taken by the Right Communist leadership on the question of the united front in Kerala in 1964-65, i.e., on the eve of a mid-term election. The all-India congress of their party, held in Bombay about two months before that election, made the following characterisation of the Muslim League and the Kerala Congress:

".....The 'Kerala Congress' (Rebel Congress) and the Muslim League, apart from the fact that they seek to divide the people in the name of religion and caste, their role had always been very reactionary whether it be in the matter of land reforms, Education Act, or state trading in foodgrains.That is why the Kerala State Council of our Party.....will have no truck with reactionary communal groups such as the Muslim League and the Kerala Congress. The Seventh Congress of the Party endorses that stand." (Bombay Congress Resolution on Kerala Elections).

This was not acceptable to us. Our Party wanted to take the Muslim League and the Kerala Congress at their word, i.e., their policy declaration that they wanted to inflict a crushing defeat on the Congress.

We were of course conscious that there were serious ideological-political differences between the Muslim League and the Kerala Congress on the one hand and the democratic opposition on the other. We, therefore, could not think of having any electoral united front with them; we and they would have to fight each other in a large number of constituencies.

We, however, felt that there was a danger that this fight between them and us may, in a large number of constituencies, lead to the victory of the Congress candidates. Since it was our intention to avoid this if it was at all possible, we suggested that, in relation to such constituencies, there might be some understanding that neither they nor we would put up official candidates but would sponsor independents acceptable to both sides.

This, we felt, would help defeating the Congress on a much bigger scale than if the Muslim League-Kerala Congress alliance and the democratic opposition were to range themselves against each other in all the constituencies of the state. It would, however, leave us free of any political compromises with them, since they and we would be fighting each other in the majority of constituencies.

Such an electoral policy was not acceptable to the Right Communists. Not only did they refuse to have anything to do with us on the ground that we were following this policy, but they set themselves up as a "Left-democratic front" simultaneously fighting the Congress and the "still more reactionary" Kerala Congress-Muslim League alliance.

The result of such a three-cornered contest all over the state was that, while the Right Communists suffered the biggest fiasco in their life (winning only three seats out of about 100 which they contested, losing deposits in 75 per cent of them), they helped the Congress to win a score of seats which it would have lost if they had joined us in fighting the Congress.

"Respectable" Company Now

It is necessary to recall this chapter in the history of the U.F. movement in Kerala because the Right Communists are today in the "respectable" company of those very two parties whom they considered the "sworn enemies of the democratic opposition" only five years ago. They broke with us in 1964-65 because we refused to accept their position that the Muslim League and the Kerala Congress were so reactionary that the victory of the Congress was preferable to a limited electoral understanding with them. Today, however, these very two parties are their colleagues in the four-party Ministry formed after toppling the CPI(M)-led Ministry.

Behind this apparent contradiction in their approach to the Muslim League and Kerala Congress is an outlook common to their policies of 1964-65 and 1969—the outlook clearly explained by T. V. Thomas in the above-quoted passage of his speech in the Kerala Legislature.

In 1964-65, they thought that they could discredit us among the people by telling them that we were trying to "collaborate with the two communal reactionary political parties" of Kerala, namely, the Muslim League and the Kerala Congress. They thought that such a campaign would so "isolate" us that we would be reduced to a negligible political force in the state.

The result of the mid-term elections, however, was an eye-opener to them. They, therefore, thought that it was necessary to project a new image of their party—the image of an active partner in the non-Congress united front. They retraced their steps and came to the U.F. including the Muslim League. They appeared to be in such a chastened mood that they were even prepared to accept the leadership of the CPI(M) in the U.F., as well as in the Government (accepting the representatives of the CPI(M) as the Convenor of the U.F. Co-ordination Committee and as Chief Minister).

As if to atone for the "sin" of considering the "reactionary communal organisations" as "untouchable" in the electoral battle at the time of the mid-term election in Kerala, they swung to the other extreme after the fourth general elections by joining ministries dominated by the Jana Sangh, Swatantra and the Akalis

in Bihar, U.P., and Punjab. They thus shifted from their original anti-communal reactionary stand to the subsequent anti-Congress stand.

Even at this stage, however, they continued to pursue the same basic attitude of hostility to the CPI(M). It is not proposed here to explain what they did in West Bengal before and after the fourth general elections; in the critical days of 1967 when Ajoy Mukherjee was on the point of toppling the U.F. Ministry in collaboration with the Congress; in the days following the 1969 mid-term election in Bengal and so on. We would confine ourselves to their activities in Kerala since the U.F. Ministry was formed in March 1967.

The 31-odd months during which that Ministry functioned showed how they continued to pursue within the U.F. and the Ministry the same tactics of trying to "discredit and isolate" the CPI(M) among the people. The toppling of that Ministry in October 1969, the subsequent formation of the present mini-front-Kerala Congress Ministry and the scarcely concealed intention of further strengthening the Ministry by including the Indira group of the Congress Legislature Party in it are the culmination of these tactics.

Spearheading the Anti-Marxist Camp

Before we start narrating the story of the disruptive activities of the Right Communist Party within the U.F. and the Government of Kerala, it is necessary to make it clear that the Right Communists' hostility to the CPI(M), their determination to "fight and defeat the Marxists" as was put by T. V. Thomas, arises out of the fact that just like the other bourgeois petty-bourgeois political parties and groups, the Right Communists too cannot tolerate the uncompromisingly militant class line adopted by us on every issue facing the nation.

They cannot tolerate our opposition to their line of "national democratic front" including the Congress led by Nehru once and by Indira Gandhi today.

They cannot tolerate our determined struggle against their national-chauvinistic stand on such issues as the India-China border dispute and the Indo-Pakistani conflicts.

They cannot tolerate us because, while rejecting the nihilist renunciation of the parliamentary form of struggle *a la* Naxalities, we do not accept the revisionist concept of subordinating the class struggle to the parliamentary form of struggle; their own stand on this question was formulated by the Right Communist Minister, M. N. Govindan Nair, in the formula, "administration and struggle cannot go together: either you leave the administration and carry on the struggle, or you carry on the administration and give up mass struggle."

We, on the other hand, look upon our participation in Ministries formed wherever the people elect us by a majority, as "one specific form of struggle to win more and more people, and more and more allies for the proletariat and its allies in the struggle for the cause of people's democracy and at a later stage for socialism." (*New Situation and Party's Task*, page 70)

The Right Communists, of course, are not alone in their opposition to our militant class line. Some other parties of the democratic opposition, not to speak of such non-Congress parties as the BKD, the DMK, the Akalis, the Muslim League and so on are also as opposed to this militant class line as the Right Communists. That is why these parties are also ranged against us, ranged with the Right Communists, not only in Kerala, but in West Bengal and other places as well.

The Right Communists, however, are clearer and more consistent in their opposition to us and our militant class line than any other party. That is why, as opposed even to such parties as the Muslim League and the DMK (who have at times ranged themselves with us and against the Right Communists), the latter have always and consistently been hostile to us.

Although fundamentally opposed to the militant class line advocated and practised by us, parties like the Muslim League have often been swayed by such considerations as the need to fight and defeat the Congress, and, on that ground, been prepared to collaborate with us. The Right Communists, however, are consistent in trying to secure the objective clearly spelt out by T.V. Thomas. Having been a part of the communist movement for some time, they are more aware than other parties of the damage that can be done to the cause represented by them if the militant class line represented by us is accepted by the mass of the people.

That is why, whenever the other parties (either within the non-Congress front or inside the Congress) want to fight us, discredit us and wipe us out if possible, they look upon the Right Communists as their logical leaders and mentors. The Baffaki Thangals, the Ajoy Mukherjees, the Nandas, the Indira Gandhis and so on find in the Right Communists the most consistent and effective fighters against the cause represented by the CPI(M).

Not only the Congress and the Kerala Congress who have always been opposed to us, but even the Muslim League and the ISP who collaborated with us in the 1964-65 electoral battle against the Congress, were feeling unhappy that we were rising in the esteem of the people of Kerala. They found that the emergence of our Party as the biggest party in the legislature elected in 1965, the heroic ideological-political battle waged by us in the difficult days of the Indo-Pakistan war, the bold lead given by our Party in the mass struggles for food and other demands of the working people in the 1965-66 Kerala bandh and other struggles—all these had heightened our influence among the people.

This made it necessary for them to accept us as a very influential political party with which they should forge an electoral alliance for fighting the fourth general election. At the same time even while forming this alliance with us and even while conceding that we were the leading partner in the U.F., however, they felt that we should not be allowed to so utilise our position in the U.F. and the Government as to further expand and consolidate the militant movement of the working class and the peasantry as a force which will threaten their own line of class collaboration and compromise with the "progressive" Congress leadership.

Food Problem—Whose Responsibility?

Seen against this background, the significance of the assault against the CPI(M) Ministers, launched by the Right Communists within the first month of the formation of the Ministry, will

become clear. We are referring to the vicious attack against the CPI(M) Food Minister, Comrade K. R. Gowri, on her handling of the food portfolio. The Right Communists were joined in this attack by the ISP, the Muslim League and the RSP within the U.F., as well as by the Kerala Congress and the Congress from the opposition.

This combined attack of the future "mini-front", in alliance with the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition, culminated in the demand made by the then Right Communist State Secretary and present Chief Minister, Achutha Menon, that Comrade Gowri should be relieved of the food portfolio. This demand was immediately taken up by the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition. This combined offensive on the food issue, spearheaded by the Right Communists, took place in the first half year of the existence of the U.F. Ministry.

It should be mentioned in this connection that the Statement of Policy adopted by the seven-party United Front before the fourth general elections—a statement signed among others by the then State Secretary and present Chief Minister, Achutha Menon, himself, had made it clear that the food problem of Kerala could not be tackled by any Government in Kerala except with the solid support of the Central Government. We quote from that Policy Statement:

"A difficult problem which any Government in Kerala has to face is the food problem. That it has become so serious is due to the wrong policies pursued by the Centre. Though this state is deficit in food production it earns foreign exchange so sorely needed by the country and as such it is the responsibility of the Centre to see that its people are not made to starve but enough foodgrains are provided to meet the needs of the state.

"The Government will demand of the Centre to provide in time all the rice requirements of the state's people at prices within the capacity of the poor people of Kerala and will seek the co-operation of the people to exert the necessary pressure on the Centre. It is our opinion that to solve the food problem,

substantial changes have to be made in the policies at present pursued by the Central Government. For instance, it is necessary to bring wholesale trade in foodgrains into the state sector, ensuring that small traders and co-operative societies are not adversely affected, guarantee fair prices to the cultivating peasants while at the same time organising distribution in such a way as to make food available to the consumers at low prices. All this cannot be done by a State Government alone, specially the Government in a deficit state like Kerala. What the Kerala Government will do is to exert pressure on the Centre to concede the demand that Kerala should get the rice it needs at low prices."

It was in consonance with this that the Food and Chief Ministers of the UF Government made persistent demands on the Centre that it should honour its commitments by making a steady supply of rice for maintaining a minimum rice ration of six ounces per head per day. The CPI(M) and its Ministers tried to impress on the people, as well as on the constituents of the UF, that if the people of Kerala are to be saved from acute food famine and its consequence, they should put up a joint fight against the Centre.

This campaign of the Party was so convincing that the very first session of the legislature adopted a unanimous resolution demanding of the Centre that it honour its commitments. The State Food Advisory Committee also endorsed the demand. As for the United Front, it sent a delegation to meet the Prime Minister to protest against the Centre's callousness toward Kerala's needs and buttressed it by organising a one-day Kerala bandh on September 11, 1967.

From Free Trade to Rigorous Control

While the Right Communists were obliged to pay lip-service to this demand on the Centre, they based their entire mass campaign on the slanderous formula, "The Food Minister and her party are responsible for the difficulties faced by the people". Within the first few days of the formation of the Ministry, the Right

Communists demanded that control on the movement of food-grains within the state should be withdrawn.

This control, it may be mentioned, had been established under President's rule in order to facilitate procurement from surplus districts and surplus regions even in deficit districts. The CPI(M) was of the view that, if procurement was to continue, free movement of foodgrains from surplus to deficit districts had to be checked. The Right Communists, however, demanded that free movement should be permitted.

This was, of course, a popular demand. People in deficit districts thought they could get more foodgrains from the surplus districts if free movement was permitted. People even in the surplus districts found that movement control was a source of corruption. The Right Communists, therefore, thought that our Party and its Ministers would be discredited if the people were told that movement control was continuing because the CPI(M) insisted on it.

They were emboldened in this because other constituents of the UF like the Muslim League and the ISP as well as the Kerala Congress opposition were in principle opposed to the very idea of food control; free trade was their panacea for all the ills on the food front. The Right Communists, therefore, found it very easy to rally almost the entire United Front as well as the opposition against the CPI(M) on this issue, although their all-India policy was rigorous control on foodgrains trade. The pressure built upon this issue was so great that, in the end, the movement control had to be lifted after the procurement season was over.

In a few weeks, however, the Right Communists began to sing another tune. The most unprincipled opportunists that they are, they swung from the demand for the lifting of movement control to the other extreme of demanding full control. Procurement of the entire surplus, nationalisation of the entire rice trade, taking over of rice mills, rigorous enforcement of control and rationing rules, etc., were the slogans with which they now thought they could beat us.

Shielding The Centre

They conveniently covered up the fact that everyone of these measures required the legal-administrative sanction of the Central Government as well as financial assistance from the Centre. The protracted correspondence entered into between the State and Central Government on the taking over of rice mills, as well as between the State Government and the Food Corporation of India with regard to removing private traders from the wholesale trade in foodgrains, was placed before the Coordination Committee of the U.F. Those who read the correspondence came to realise that it was not lack of any effort on the part of the Food Minister and her department, but the definite policy pursued by the Centre that stood in the way of implementing the democratic slogans with regard to rice milling and rice trade.

But the Right Communists went on telling the people that the Centre did not stand in the way of the implementation of these democratic policies; it was the obstinacy of the Food Minister [who was interested in maintaining private traders and rice millowners who were the sympathisers and supporters of the CPI(M)] that was responsible for the non-fulfilment of these demands. In this campaign against the Food Minister and her party, naturally, the Right Communists were “ably” assisted by the spokesmen of the Central Government who gave false figures of supplies from the Centre to Kerala and projected an image of an “inefficient” State Government blaming a “solicitous” Central Government.

The base treachery indulged in by the Right Communists was clear on September 11, 1967 the day on which, as has been already mentioned, the U.F. had called for the observance of a Kerala bandh. This was in protest against the failure of the Central Government in fulfilling its promise to maintain its supplies—a failure which led to the totally inadequate supplies of just three ounces of rice in a week during which fell the national festival of Onam.

On that very day, which was being observed throughout the state as a day of protest against the Central Government’s failure to fulfil its promise to supply rice, the Right Communist organ, *Janayugam*, came out with an editorial accusing the Food

Minister of failure to discharge her responsibility due to which, it said, the people in Kerala were going without adequate food on the day of the national festival! No wonder they got unstinted support from the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition and its press for this “frank and forthright criticism” of the Marxists.

Just as on the question of food, so on other questions like employment, industrialisation, agricultural development and so on, the Right Communists tried to cover up the failure of the landlord-bourgeois policies of the Central Government led by the Congress. Despite the clear declaration made in the seven-party joint statement of policy, that “Food scarcity, industrial backwardness and consequent unemployment, etc., which are considered to be the ‘special problems of Kerala’ are an index of the all-India policies of the Congress Government. . . . To end this situation, it is necessary to form a stable Government in Kerala, for this Government to advocate strongly the legitimate needs of the state, to inform the people of the details of these demands and get them to exert their own pressure on the Centre. A Government of these parties would take the necessary steps towards this.”

The Right Communists told the people that much could be done to improve the lot of the people if only the powers conferred on the State Government were properly utilised. “Efficient administration” by “competent ministers” rather than joint struggle waged by the people and Government of Kerala against the landlord-bourgeois policies of the Central Government—such was the way of advance mapped out by the Right Communists.

They, therefore, joined the chorus led by the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition that the CPI(M) was doing a disservice to the people of Kerala by trying to use the Government as an “instrument of struggle against the Central Government”.

In the early months of the existence of the U.F. Government, as has already been pointed out, the other constituents of the U.F., including the Right Communists, had to join the rallies, demonstrations and the September 11 Kerala bandh in order to express the Kerala people’s protest against the Central Government’s neglect in the matter of food supplies for Kerala.

On a few other occasions, too, they had to join the protest against the anti-people policies of the Central Government.

The most memorable of these occasions was in September-October 1968 when there was a countrywide struggle of the Central Government employees. All the constituents of the U.F., including the Right Communists, had then to associate themselves with the bold stand taken by the CPI(M) Chief Minister that the organisers and participants of the strike would not be proceeded against as was directed by the Central Government.

But, barring on these very few exceptional occasions, the Right Communists expressed their opposition to the line of struggle against the Central Government. When the CPI(M) called on the people to mobilise themselves against the policies of the Central Government, the Right Communists and their allies characterised this as “sectarianism” and “adventurism”.

They went a step further and said that such sectarian and adventurist calls for struggle against the Centre were the cover behind which the CPI(M) and its ministers were trying to hide the “inefficiency” and “failures” of the CPI(M) ministers. Taking the “generous” help extended to them by the bourgeois press and the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition, they denounced all departments administered by the ministers belonging to the CPI(M), and contrasted them with the “efficient” and “constructive” handling of their departments by the Right Communist ministers. This denunciation of the CPI(M) ministers, this showering of praise on the Right Communist ministers, were faithfully echoed in the bourgeois press which projected the image of “competent administrators” built up about the two Right Communist ministers.

Industrial Policy

This was not surprising because the Industries Minister, T.V. Thomas, and the Agriculture and Electricity Minister, Govindan Nair, handled their portfolios exactly the same way in which the landlord, the rich capitalist farmer and the private industrialist desired these departments to be administered.

To the private entrepreneur in Kerla and outside, T.V. Thomas was an "efficient administrator" because his perspective of helping the existing industries to solve their problems and for new industries to be established was the same as that of the private entrepreneur. As for the Agriculture and Electricity Minister, Govindan Nair, he became the enthusiastic champion of the cause of landlord and kulak agriculture.

Both these "Marxist-Leninist" ministers frowned upon the militant struggles of the industrial and agricultural workers, as well as of the small and medium peasants against their exploiters as "obstacles in the way of increasing industrial and agricultural production".

Special mention should be made in this connection of the Industrial Policy Statement formulated by the Government on the initiative of the Right Communist Minister for Industries, T.V. Thomas. The crux of that policy was to help the local entrepreneur (which includes big business firms outside Kerala) to set up industries in collaboration with foreign monopolies. Offering inducements by way of cheap electric power, raw material at very low cost, tax and rent concessions, etc., and taking away the hard-won rights of the working class, like the right to strike he wanted to get big business from outside Kerala to set up industries in the state in collaboration with foreign monopolies. The Industrial Policy Statement gave the green signal to this approach.

We do not hide the truth that the CPI(M) leaders working in the U.F. Co-ordination Committee and in the Council of Ministers did not show sufficient political awareness to see the dangerous game played by the Right Communist Industries Minister. That was why the Industrial Policy Statement got the endorsement of the United Front and the Government.

The central leadership of the CPI(M), however, promptly pointed out the real character of the Policy Statement, and, together with the State Committee of the party, took steps to correct it. It was pointed out that the main path of advance for an industrially-backward state like Kerala is to set up new industries in the public sector with financial and other assistance from the Centre.

One of the aims with which the democratic opposition in the whole country has been demanding the expansion of the public sector is that industrially-undeveloped states and regions should be helped to catch up with the developed states and regions. The rationale behind the idea of public sector as an agency of developing the backward regions is that the profit-hunting private entrepreneur would not ordinarily invest in such regions but would prefer to garner higher profits by using the already-existing facilities in the developed regions. It is, therefore, important for a state like Kerala to demand from the Centre that the state should get a fair share of central sector projects in industries, transport and so on.

This, in fact, has been the demand of the entire people of Kerala who have protested against the step-motherly treatment meted out to this state by the Central Government in the matter of central sector projects. The formerly-joined CPI had, in the early 1960s, carried on a statewide agitation for the immediate establishment of the second ship-building yard in Cochin and the location of other central sector projects. The parties that subsequently joined together in the seven-party United Front also took up this campaign and organised a huge demonstration in September 1966 when the All-India Congress Committee was meeting at Cochin.

The United Front Government, therefore, should have carried this forward by mobilising the people of Kerala in a joint movement for establishment of such central sector projects as would enable the state to catch up with the developing states and regions.

With Socialist Countries or Foreign Monopolies?

The CPI(M), however, did not confine itself to the suggestion that the Government of Kerala should exert pressure on the Central Government to locate central sector projects in the state. This should be supplemented by state projects to be established with such co-operation as can be made available from the socialist countries. Public sector organisations under the State Government like the Kerala State Industrial Development Corporation can

enter into agreements with public sector corporations in the socialist countries through which technical and even financial assistance can be obtained from these socialist countries.

Whatever industries are set up under this scheme would be in addition to whatever industries are set up under the central and private sectors. What is more, all these units would be in the public sector owned by the State Government which will be a net addition to the assets and the income of the State Government.

The crux of the perspective outlined by the CPI(M) with regard to industrialisation therefore was that, while the State Government and the political parties that constitute the Government should exert the maximum pressure on the Central Government to locate as many central sector projects as possible, initiative should also be taken to set up industrial projects in the state sector with the co-operation and assistance of socialist countries.

There is no doctrinaire opposition on our part to industries being set up in the private sector with whatever foreign aid is available so long as this continues to be the policy of the Central Government for the whole country. We would, however, insist that more and more central sector projects should be established in such an industrially-backward state as Kerala and also that our own (state) public sector should be helped to set up industries with the assistance of socialist countries.

In marked contrast to this realistic policy of industrialisation is the Right Communist policy of depending on collaboration between the foreign and Indian private capitalists for the establishment of new industries in the state. This Right Communist policy was initiated and given a big boost by the well-publicised visit of the Industries Minister, T.V. Thomas, to Japan. He was accompanied by a large number of private capitalists both from Kerala as well as from other states, including the representatives of some big business houses.

Much was made of the "negotiations" between the visiting Minister and leaders of big business houses in Japan such as Mitsubishi, Toshiba and so on. The agitators and propagandists of the Right Communist Party started telling the people that the "great mission" with which their leader had gone to Japan would

herald “an era of industrialisation of the state”, opening the possibility of tens of thousands of our young men and women getting employed in these industries. The unemployed engineering and other graduates were made to shout such slogans as “it does not matter whether it is Japan or even Satan, what we want is that somebody should give us employment.”

It speaks volumes for the “Marxist-Leninist” conscience of this Right Communist Industries Minister that, even after his “pilgrimage” to Japan in search of the benefits of industrialisation, he did not think it worthwhile during the whole 31-month tenure of his office to embark upon businesslike negotiations with any one of the socialist countries. To cap it all, his final speech in the state legislature on October 21 (when he was explaining his resignation from the Ministry) was a denunciation of the Marxist Chief Minister for his efforts at trying to negotiate with such socialist countries as Romania.

Base Slander of Socialist Countries

Both in this speech as well as in several of his earlier public utterances, he denounced the Marxists for their “lack of patriotism”. He accused the Marxists of trying to “mortgage the iron ore of Kerala” to these socialist countries which, according to him, are interested in getting iron ore as raw material for their industries and not in the processing of the ore in Kerala, going up to the establishment of steel manufacturing units here.

Behind this denunciation of the Marxist Chief Minister lies the fact that the Right Communist Industries Minister himself had originally conceived the idea of getting Japanese private entrepreneurs to interest themselves in the iron ore mines of Kozhikode and the neighbouring regions. These Japanese entrepreneurs naturally were interested only in getting the ore and in such ancillary processes as are required for them to get the ore transported from the mines to Japan. It was at this stage that the possibility of developing the ore to the point of its being used for manufacture was explored by the Marxist Chief Minister with such socialist countries as Hungary, Romania, Poland, Soviet Union and so on.

The most concrete proposals came from the Romanians who gave a blue-print of the way in which co-operation between their country and the Government of Kerala could start. If the proposals made by the Romanians were in the opinion of the Right Communist Minister defective, the point or points could have been discussed with them and ways found to overcome the defects. But, far from taking this straight and honest course, he denounced the Romanians as people who are interested in keeping Kerala as a backward semi-colonial region which should be made to do nothing but export raw material—the very thing in which the Japanese private monopolists were interested. Blinded by prejudice and hatred for the CPI(M), he went to the extent of accusing the Marxist Chief Minister of “conspiring” with the “anti-Soviet” Romanians to keep Kerala backward!

Before closing this subject, it is necessary to mention that another leader of the Right Communist Party, T.A. Majid, in his speech on October 22 in the legislature, demanded of the Chief Minister that he should “subject himself to a probe into the charge of corruption” levelled against him by the Congress member, R. Gopalakrishnan Nair.

One of these “charges” which, according to Majid, deserved a probe was that the Chief Minister approved the payment of Rs. four lakhs to the Indopol, a public sector company owned by socialist Poland. This payment was made for a survey of the potentialities of minor ports in Kerala with a view to finding out which of them could be developed as fishing, freight and passenger ports. The obvious implication was that a public sector company from a socialist country—and that too not of “anti-Soviet” Romania but of Poland which collaborated with the Soviet Union in military action in Czechoslovakia—was so corrupt that it would bribe a Chief Minister.

Can the leaders of a “Marxist-Leninist” party go to such depths as the worthy Thomas and his worthy colleague Majid did in thus slandering two socialist countries?

A Kulak-Landlord Policy

The Right Communist Minister for Agriculture pursued in his department the same basic class policy as his colleague did in the

Industries department. Closely following the Congress leaders who talk incessantly of the “green revolution” sweeping the countryside, the Right Communist Minister for Agriculture gave the alluring perspective of so increasing agricultural production that the entire food deficit of the state (amounting to a little more than 50 per cent of the requirement of the people) can be wiped out in a few years.

The methods proposed by him were also the same as those proposed and, in fact, implemented by the Congress leaders—assuring higher prices to the landlord and capitalist farmer; permitting them to sell in the open market rather than to the Government at procurement prices; giving them large-scale subsidies for seeds, fertilisers, pump-sets and so on; constructing permanent bunds in *kayal* areas at Government cost; and so on. Like the Congress leaders, the Right Communist Minister, too, could not think of confining these benefits to the small and middle peasants and making the rich peasants and landlords make reasonable and adequate payments for the assistance received by them from the Government.

This class policy naturally endeared him to the rich peasants and landlords, who looked up to him for help in carrying out their policy of enriching themselves at the cost of the Government as well as at the cost of the agricultural labourers and poor peasants. It however alienated him and his party from the mass of agricultural labourers because he echoed the voice of the rich peasants and landlords with regard to “production being hampered” by the organised action of the agricultural labourers led by the CPI(M).

The Right Communist agitators and their newspapers, together with the bourgeois newspapers and their political parties, raised a hue and cry over the “unreasonable” demands put forward by the agricultural labourers’ organisations and the “anarchical” struggles waged under their leadership in various parts of the state. Fire was particularly concentrated by the Right Communist Minister and his party against the protest raised by the agricultural labourers against the threatened large-scale displacement of labour through the introduction of tractors by the rich peasants and landlords.

They denounced this protest as a manifestation of the “antiquated Gandhian outlook of opposition to modernisation and mechanisation”, although their own party had joined the LIC and other middle class employees in their campaign against the introduction of automation in offices. They also echoed the voice of those bourgeois “theoreticians” who claimed that tractorisation would not only increase production and thus solve the nation’s food problem, but also open up the possibility of creating new employment such as tractor drivers, mechanics and so on.

Since all these arguments would not convince the large number of actual and potential labourers who with their own eyes find that the use of one tractor in one village leads to the throwing out of scores of agricultural labourers, the high-powered campaign of the Right Communists and their friends did not arrest the discontent among the rural poor. Naturally, therefore, the Right Communists as a party got steadily discredited and isolated among the agricultural labourers and other sections of the rural poor who are concerned at the growing unemployment in the rural areas.

It was against this background that the Right Communists initiated a campaign among the agricultural labourers on the slogan of housing, demanding that Government should get a large number of houses constructed for the agricultural labourers.

This is of course a very serious problem since the rural poor find it extremely difficult to get a plot of land on which to build a house for themselves, not to speak of the money and materials with which to construct a modest house for themselves. The Right Communists however posed as if the problem of housing for agricultural labourers stands by itself, in isolation from such problems as employment, higher wages and other conditions of work, etc.

In thus isolating the problem of housing from the other problems of improving the living and working conditions of agricultural labourers, they were trying to divert attention from issues on which there is a confrontation between the agricultural labourers and their employers. In place of this confrontation with their employers, they tried to rally the agricultural labourer around a demand on the Government, in that it should spend its own funds for the construction of houses for agricultural labourers.

This demand naturally was not opposed by the rich peasants and landlords who are opposed only to such demands of the agricultural labourers as increasing rates of wages, human conditions of work, right to organise and fight for their demands, and above all, for assured employment which are directed against their employers. It was for these latter that the agricultural labourers' organisations led by the CPI(M) were fighting. In this fight against the employers of agricultural labour, the Agriculture Minister and his party ranged themselves on the side of the employers in the name of "avoiding any threat to increasing production",

New Friends

Such a class policy pursued by the Right Communist Minister led to new relations of co-operation and friendship between his party and such other political parties as represent the rural gentry. Special mention should, in this connection, be made of the Kerala Congress.

The political assessment made of that party by the Right Communists has already been referred to. That characterisation was that it was a party which represented communal reaction. This characterisation, however, missed the most important aspect of the real character of the Kerala Congress. The crucial element in the class content of the Kerala Congress in fact, is that it represents the rapidly-growing stratum of the kulak-landlord rural gentry.

This stratum is "modern" enough to catch up with all the new techniques of agricultural production and marketing, but is so mediaeval in its social outlook that it would not tolerate the emergence of an organised, class-conscious working class in the rural areas. The representatives of this stratum would not hesitate to resort to the most barbarous feudal forms of exploiting the rural poor, of harassing and persecuting the "low caste" agricultural labourers, even though they come out as the "finest representatives" of the "progressive" farmers using all the most up-to-date gadgets and techniques of increasing agricultural production.

It is to this stratum of the rapidly-growing rural gentry—a gentry that is growing at the expense of the tax-payer on the one hand and of the exploited rural poor on the other—that the Kerala

Congress appeals and it is this stratum that rallies itself behind that organisation.

It is necessary to recall that those who constitute the leadership of the Kerala Congress were the organisers and perpetrators of the most barbarous attacks on the harijan agricultural labourers in central Travancore during and immediately after the "liberation struggle" of 1959-60. Hundreds of harijans were beaten up and otherwise persecuted and several were killed in cold blood for no other reason than that, both as harijans belonging to an oppressed caste and as agricultural labourers, they dared organise themselves under the Red Flag and fought for their legitimate demands.

The present leaders of the Right Communist Party themselves had, together with those of us who are in the CPI(M) today, then denounced the goondaism organised by that section of the rural gentry in the central Travancore area who subsequently formed the Kerala Congress. These perpetrators of goonda attacks on the agricultural labourers have, however, now become "politically progressive" in the eyes of the Right Communists who have embraced their leader as a colleague in the new "non-Marxist" Ministry.

Characteristic Incident

A characteristic incident would reveal the real character of the new alliance between the Right Communist Party and the Kerala Congress. The most notorious leader of the goonda attacks on the agricultural labourers in 1959-60, John Jacob, is at present the Deputy Leader of the Kerala Congress Legislature Party. The Right Communist leaders, including M. N. Govindan Nair, have, on innumerable occasions, denounced his attacks on agricultural labourers in the same terms as those made by many of us.

After the formation of the Marxist-led non-Congress Ministry, too, he continued his attacks on the agricultural labourers. On one occasion in 1967, he led a goonda gang which caught hold of and dragged an agricultural labourer through public roads, tied hand and foot and being beaten up all through the road. This was part of an organised attack on a large number of agricultural labourers and their families.

Since however this happened at a time when the Government was headed by a CPI(M) Chief Minister who was also in charge of the police portfolio, the perpetrator of such an atrocious attack could not go scot-free. He was arrested and charged under the law of the land. John Jacob himself and his party made a hue and cry over this "police persecution". On being bailed out of prison, Jacob made a vow in public that he would do his best to throw the CPI(M) out of office and that, till he attained this objective, he would keep his beard.

He kept his vow for nearly two years and shaved off his beard only after October 24, expressing his satisfaction that his sworn enemy, the enemy of his class, had been thrown out of office. He had the formality of shaving his beard demonstratively carried out.

In a couple of days of this incident, his own leader was taken into the Ministry headed by a Right Communist Chief Minister. Naturally, therefore, the toppling of the former Marxist-led Ministry became the signal for a new series of attacks on agricultural labourers, including many in the very area where John Jacob has always been operating.

Anti-Marxist Partner of Right Communists

This being the class character of the Kerala Congress, it is not surprising that that party did not follow in the foot-steps of the Muslim League at the time of the 1964-65 mid-term election. The League responded to the call of the CPI(M) for such electoral understandings as to reduce the victory of the Congress candidates to the minimum. This was so effective that, in the entire Malabar belt (where the Muslim League and the CPI(M) are the most powerful political forces), the Congress could not win a single seat (except in one in which the Muslim League overestimated its strength, claiming that it would win even in a three-cornered contest and therefore there was no harm in a CPI(M)-Muslim League contest).

On the other hand, in the Cochin-Travancore region, where the Kerala Congress is more powerful, but where there were three-cornered contest because of the Kerala Congress refusal to have electoral understandings with the CPI(M), the Congress was able

to win 35 seats; this could very well have been considerably reduced if the Kerala Congress were prepared to have the same electoral understanding for which the Muslim League was prepared.

The reason for this difference between the Muslim League and the Kerala Congress was that, being a more class-conscious representative of the rural gentry and more indoctrinated by anti-Communism, the Kerala Congress was not prepared to touch the CPI(M) even with a pair of tongs. The leader of the Kerala Congress did in fact make the fantastic proposal that, while his party could not have any understanding with the CPI(M), the latter should support his candidates in a few constituencies "in the interest of preventing Congress victory".

After the mid-term elections, too, the Kerala Congress persisted in its anti-CPI(M) attitude to such an extent that when the proposal was made to them by the ISP leaders that a Kerala Congress-Muslim League Ministry be formed on the understanding that the 29 CPI(M) MLAs who were in detention would be released, the proposal was rejected by the Kerala Congress. Never since then has the Kerala Congress changed from its basic hostility to the CPI(M) in particular and to the ideology of Marxism-Leninism in general.

It is amusing to recall that, in the final speech delivered by the Kerala Congress leader in the legislature on October 24, he denounced the CPI(M) for being "anti-democratic and anti-god", making it clear that in his view "a person or a party which is anti-god can never be democratic". But, within a week after that, he himself joined a Ministry headed by one who claims to be a "Marxist-Leninist" and, if he is true to his profession, should be considered outside the pale in accordance with the dictum of the Kerala Congress leader.

We leave it to the reader to judge whether such a coalition between "an avowed anti-Marxist" and "an avowed Marxist-Leninist" party has been brought about because the former's hostility to Marxism or the latter's allegiance to it is false. In either case, it seems to be obvious that there is a common antipathy for the practical activities of a party which is genuinely

committed to Marxism-Leninism and is therefore, active in organising those classes and strata of society against which the vested interests entrenched in the Kerala Congress are fighting a determined battle.

Common Outlook

The new-found friendship between the Kerala Congress and the Right Communist Party—two parties who were sworn enemies of each other only five years ago—is thus not accidental. It arises out of the common class outlook, the outlook of the rich peasant-landlord rural gentry.

The present-day Right Communists were at one time, i.e., when they were part of the united Communist movement, fighting the present-day leaders of the Kerala Congress as the worst enemies of the rural poor. Later on, when these leaders of the Kerala Congress revolved against the ruling Congress party, these very Right Communists called them “more reactionary” than the ruling faction of the Congress party. After a few years of bitter struggle between Marxism and revisionism, the Right Communists have now become so alienated from the rural poor that these avowed representatives of the rural gentry are their bosom friends and colleagues in a “non-Congress Ministry” which, it is claimed, would “carry out the radical minimum programme of the non Congress U.F.”!

The Kerala Congress and the parties which subsequently constituted the “mini-front” find common ground with the Right Communists also on the basic question of state power which, as is well-known, is the point of departure between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. Making a concrete analysis of the essence of state power obtaining in India, the Central Committee of the CPI(M) had stated in the political resolution adopted by it after the fourth general election: “The essence of state power, we know, lies in the army, police, bureaucracy, judiciary and jails, and all this machinery belongs to the bourgeois-landlord state. In class outlook, composition and in several other respects it is not an instrument that is suitable even for the implementation of a consistently democratic administration, let alone any class policies decisively directed against the vested interests. A good

and essential part of state power resides in the union centre and the Congress Central Government and whatever small share of power the State Governments possess, under the provisions of the country's Constitution, will have to be exercised within the confines of this overall central power. Naturally, under these circumstances, to speak of real political power for the State Governments, that, too, of non-Congress Governments comprising of different opposition parties, is unreal and devoid of substance." (*New Situation and Party's Tasks*, Pages 62-63).

The Right Communists however rejected the implications of this Marxist-Leninist analysis of state power. They shared the common illusion of the people that, by winning majorities in the legislatures and forming ministries, parties of the democratic opposition can bring about such changes in the socio-economic set-up in the country that, though not fully satisfying the aspirations of the people, much can be achieved by way of improving the living and working conditions of the people. The much-talked of "structural reforms" within the landlord-bourgeois state system were placed before the democratic movement as the possible objective.

In doing so, they missed the obstacles that would be put by the landlord-bourgeois classes who are not only powerful within the state but also control the Central Government (in whose hands lies not only the crux of the state power, the military and the police, but also the finances as well as control over the economic development of the entire country including the states). The bitter lesson which the class-conscious working class learnt from the experience of Kerala in 1957-59 and of West Bengal in 1967 was forgotten. People were, on the other hand, told that, if only the ministers discharged their responsibility "conscientiously and efficiently", considerable improvement could be made in the living and working conditions of the people of the state.

It was therefore natural that there should be an ideological confrontation between the Marxist-Leninist outlook of the CPI(M) and the revisionist outlook of the Right Communist Party. It was also natural that the Right Communist stand should

conform to the outlook of not only the Congress and Kerala Congress in the opposition but also of the Muslim League and the ISP.

“Mini-Front”—Ideological Basis

These two parties, it may be recalled, had been drawn into the line of co-operation with the CPI(M) at the time of the 1965 mid-term election only because the electoral-political line adopted by the CPI(M) helped the realisation of the immediate objectives with which they were fighting the election—defeating the Congress and improving their own electoral and legislative position. Neither of these two parties could see eye to eye with the CPI(M) on the issues that divided the CPI(M) and the Right Communist Party.

On every issue about which reference has been made above, such as food, industrialisation, agricultural development and so on, the Muslim League fundamentally agreed with the Right Communists. Unburdened as it was with the necessity to cloak its political attitudes with the cover of Marxist-Leninist analysis, the League in fact took a far more forthright position in favour of free trade in foodgrains, full opportunity for the private capitalists to grow at the expense of the tax-payers and of the working class, the need for collaboration between foreign and Indian private capitalists, the harm that is done by the militant struggles of the industrial and agricultural workers and so on.

The basic socio-economic outlook of the Muslim League has always been, and still is, that of such right-wing parties as the Swatantra all over the country, as well as of the Kerala Congress within the state. The only difference between them and the League was that, in its conflict with the Congress in the post-1960 period, the League got reconciled to co-operation and unity with the CPI(M). They found from experience that this co-operation and unity with the CPI(M) gave them the highest benefits in that not only were they able to double the number of seats since 1957 but were also able to get into the ministry—an achievement unprecedented anywhere else in post-independence India.

They were, however, unhappy, and a little embarrassed that, in return for these political gains, they became participants in a

political-administrative set-up to which from a fundamental socio-economic point of view, they were stoutly opposed. The leadership of the Muslim League therefore proved to be a fertile soil on which the seed of hostility to the CPI(M) could sprout and grow fast.

The ISP, too, was extremely receptive to the anti-CPI(M) ideas propagated by the Right Communists. As part of the social-democratic movement in the country, the ISP of Kerala (which has at various times been known as the PSP, SSP and so on) is basically anti-Marxist. Its approach to all basic socio-economic questions is typically bourgeois reformist and liberal. While it had no hesitation to collaborate with the once-united CPI and recently with the CPI(M) whenever such collaboration helped the attainment of its own immediate political objective, the ISP, like any other petty-bourgeois reformist party, could never give up its struggle against the militant class line adopted by the CPI(M). Naturally, therefore, the leadership of the ISP found common ground with the Right Communists in the confrontation between the latter and the CPI(M).

The result was that on the formation of the non-Congress United Front Ministry, the Muslim League and the ISP came closer to the Right Communists. As for the RSP, they had always been closer to the Right Communists whom they joined in the confrontation between them and the CPI(M) as early as in 1964-65. Sharing as they did the same fate as befell the Right Communists in the 1965 mid-term elections, the leaders of the RSP had to join the Right Communists in reversing the earlier stand of considering the Muslim League and the Kerala Congress as untouchable.

Like the Right Communists, therefore, the RSP joined the seven-party United Front, won six seats while they had not won a single seat in 1957 and only one seat in 1960 and also secured a post in the Ministry together with the Muslim League. Like the Right Communists again, they were opposed to the genuinely militant class line adopted by the CPI(M), were on the other hand pursuing the same revisionist and right reformist policies as the Right Communists. They therefore ranged themselves on the side of the Right Communists who were now supported by the Muslim League and the ISP in their common opposition to the class line adopted by the CPI(M).

Beginnings of Confrontation

Here therefore was the nucleus of that four-party "mini-front" which ultimately succeeded in toppling the Marxist-led non-Congress Ministry. While the four-party mini-front started functioning openly only in April-May 1969, its beginnings could be traced to the early days of the non-Congress Ministry.

As has already been pointed out, the first shot against the CPI(M) was fired by the Right Communists on Food Minister Gowri's handling of the food portfolio. The demand for the lifting of control on movement of foodgrains was the initial attack launched by the Right Communists. This, however, was not a solitary attack launched by the Right Communists but, as has already been mentioned, was the combined attack joined by the Muslim League and the ISP as well. It became the starting point of a statewide campaign run by the "non-Marxist" parties within the UF as well as the Congress and Kerala Congress opposition. While the ideological-political leadership for this combined attack was furnished by the Right Communist Party, it enjoyed the "able" and powerful support of all those within and outside the state who were interested in discrediting, isolating and if possible throwing the CPI(M) out of the leading position it occupied within the UF and its Ministry.

In the face of such a combined attack on the CPI(M), the latter was obliged to expose the disruptive character of this attack. The central leadership of the CPI(M) felt that any softness shown in exposing the disruptive game played by the Right Communists and their allies would do serious damage to the cause of the very struggle against the landlord-bourgeois policies of the Central Congress Government, against which the partners of the United Front had pledged themselves to fight unitedly. The General Secretary of our Party therefore, made public statements drawing the attention of the people of Kerala to the damage done by those constituents of the U.F. who were mounting attacks on the CPI(M) and its Ministers.

In doing this naturally, he exposed the class character of the food, industrial, agrarian and other policies pursued by the Right Communists and their allies within the U.F. While thus publicly

exposing the class essence of the policies pursued by the Right Communists and their allies within the UF he called for such a rectification of policies as would further strengthen the bonds that united the non-Congress parties in their struggle against the landlord-bourgeois policies of the Central Congress Government.

This open exposure of their policies was resented by the Right Communists and their allies in the UF hiding the fact that this was a reaction to the attack launched on the CPI(M) by the Right Communists and their allies, the latter denounced the General Secretary of the CPI(M) for "disruptive activities".

It seems that, according to the Right Communists and their allies, it was legitimate for them to mount attacks on the CPI(M)—and that too attacks in combination with the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition, but the CPI(M) should never take the public into confidence on the issues raised in the course of a public controversy between the CPI(M) on the one hand and the Right Communists and their allies on the other.

Public campaign among the people for lifting all restrictions on the movement of foodgrains is legitimate since it is undertaken by the Right Communists and their allies, but the exposure of the class character of this campaign by the CPI(M) is "disruptive"!!

Making the Food Minister belonging to the CPI(M) the target of attack for failure to solve the food crisis—the crisis which, as is well-known, is the creation of the landlord-bourgeois policies of the Central Government—is perfectly in consonance with the norms of behaviour of four partners of the U.F., but it is contrary to these norms if the CPI(M) hits back !!!

Such is the infamous doctrine invented by the Right Communists and their allies.

This was the beginning of a concerted attempt by what are called the "non-Marxist constituents of the UF" to "isolate" the CPI(M) from the people and make it eventually possible to throw it out of the Ministry. These "non-Marxist constituents" of the UF, among themselves as well as in collaboration with the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition, mounted ideological-political attacks on the positions taken by the CPI(M) and, together with it, indulged in factional manoeuvres against it. Every one of these

parties adopted different political positions but at the same time saw to it that all of them converged on the common line of opposition and hostility to the CPI(M) and its ministers. We are giving below a few instances of the way in which this was done.

Police, Judiciary and Constitution

When the Home department headed by the CPI(M) Chief Minister laid down the policy that the police should not interfere in mass struggle except when there was an actual outbreak of violence, the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition raised a hue and cry over it. The slogans of "breakdown of law and order", "danger to person and property", etc., were raised.

The question of gherao was also brought to the forefront. The stand taken by the Government that gherao was a form of peaceful demonstration and was therefore legitimate unless it led to threat to personal life or safety was denounced as "incitement to violence"; the argument was that gherao by itself was illegal and should be unconditionally banned.

This opposition to the policy of the Government was also endorsed by the Muslim League and the ISP whose leaders, too, came out in public against it.

The Right Communists and the RSP did not join the attack in this form, since, in other states, they too had to resort to gherao and other forms of agitation in the course of their trade union struggles. They, however, indirectly supported the campaign against the police saying that the CPI(M) Minister was using the police machinery in such a way as to protect his party and suppress other parties.

There was thus an apparent difference in the political positions taken by the Right Communist and other non-Marxist constituents of the UF as well as from the Congress and Kerala Congress opposition. But the parallel agitation conducted by them all was calculated to mobilise as big a section of people as possible against the CPI(M) handling of the police portfolio.

This was true also of the ideological-political position of the CPI(M) on the class character of the Constitution, judiciary and so on. The pronouncements of the CPI(M) leaders against the

"sacrosanct" character of the institutions of bourgeois parliamentary system, the "impartiality" of the bourgeois judiciary, etc., were attacked by the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition as indications of disloyalty to the democratic Constitution of independent India. The leaders of these opposition parties went to the extent of declaring that members of a party having such a disloyal attitude to the Constitution of India had no right to become ministers in the state and should therefore be dismissed.

The leaders of the Muslim League and the ISP, being part of the Ministry headed by a CPI(M) Chief Minister, could not obviously go thus far. Even they, however, openly dissociated themselves from the position taken by the CPI(M). They expressed in unequivocal terms their absolute "loyalty" to the Constitution of India and their determination to respect all its organs and above all, the judiciary.

The Right Communists and the RSP, being "Marxist-Leninists" could not go even so far as the Muslim League and the ISP did; they had to pay lip-service to the theory that the state, including the judiciary, is an instrument of class oppression. They, however, demarcated themselves from the CPI(M) by saying that the Marxists were ignoring the possibilities of using the parliamentary democratic system in order to bring about substantial changes in socio-economic relations. Adhering as they did to the concept of "structural reforms within the bourgeois parliamentary set-up", the Right Communists called for a "constructive" approach to the working of the Ministry.

It was with this approach that, as has already been noted, the so-called non-Marxist constituents of the UF opposed the CPI(M) call for struggle against the Centre. While the Muslim League openly dissociated itself from the very idea of struggle against the Centre, the Right Communists and their "socialist" allies (of the RSP and the ISP) took the position that the struggle against the Centre could be effective only after the State Government itself did all that was possible to do within the state. The net effect of all these differing attitudes to the question of struggle against the Centre was that all of them, in effect, opposed that struggle.

Slander Campaign, "Charge-Sheet"

The combined attack against the CPI(M), however, was not confined to such issues of ideology and policy. Day after day, the Right Communist Press came out with lies and slanders directed against the leaders of the CPI(M) and particularly ministers belonging to that party. They and their "non-Marxist" allies worked in close collaboration with the manufacturers of lies and slanders in the bourgeois press—all of whom together tried to discredit the CPI(M) and make it unpopular among the people.

The stories that thus appeared in the opposition bourgeois press as well as in the Right Communist and other "non-Marxist" press were then taken up within the Coordination Committee for discussion. Once again, the proceedings of the Coordination Committee were leaked out to the bourgeois press making it appear that the CPI(M) was thoroughly "isolated" within the UF and that its "atrocities" and "misdeeds" were taken serious note of by the other constituents of the UF. It was in this manner that what came to be known as "Srikantan Nair's charge-sheet" got formulated, given wide publicity to and made the starting point of a concerted attack on the CPI(M).

The material for this so-called "charge-sheet" was taken by the RSP from the anti-CPI(M) press. The real target of attack in that "charge-sheet" was undoubtedly the CPI(M), though for the sake of appearance, some allegations against other parties, including the Right Communists, were also included in it. That the target was the CPI(M) became clear when at a later stage only three charges were pressed and all three were against CPI(M) Ministers. Framed in the form of a statement for the UF Coordination Committee that these allegations should be enquired into, this "confidential" document of the RSP was leaked out to the press on the morning after it was presented to the Coordination Committee.

It was therefore naturally taken up by the bourgeois press and by the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition to discredit and denounce the UF Government in general and the CPI(M) in particular. The "charge-sheet" thus became a weapon in the hands of the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition forged in the anvil of the RSP.

The Coordination Committee could not but take it seriously. It therefore appointed a sub-committee to make enquiries into the allegations contained in it. Those who made the allegations were requested to give whatever evidence they had to substantiate the allegations. They however failed to do so. The sub-committee therefore reported to the Coordination Committee that there was no evidence for it. It was thus proved that the much-publicised "charge-sheet" was a collection of vile slanders spread by those whose intentions were to discredit the U.F. in general and the CPI(M) in particular.

The Right Communists and the RSP, however, refused to accept the falsity of the allegations which formed the basis of the "charge-sheet". They went on to argue that the enquiry undertaken by the sub-committee was not thorough and therefore, they cannot accept the verdict given by the sub-committee. That this was nothing but a cover to shield the inability to prove the allegations is clear from the fact that, in their subsequent demand for a judicial enquiry into the allegations of corruption, they did not include these allegations.

It is not possible or necessary for us to give a large number of instances in which the constituents of what came to be the "mini-front" made vicious attacks on the CPI(M). It is, however, necessary for us to mention that, as early as in September 1967, the then ISP Finance Minister made a public statement that he was ashamed to be in the Ministry, since according to him, the Ministry was guilty of several "misdeeds".

The target of this attack was obviously the CPI(M) and its ministers, but the effect of attack was to discredit the whole Ministry. Any self-respecting constituent of the U.F. and its Ministry therefore should have immediately taken it up as a serious development and pulled up the Minister who made such an atrocious statement. Not only did they refuse to do this but the Right Communist and ISP leaders denounced the CPI(M) for its forthright criticism of the Minister. The vile attack launched by these two parties against the CPI(M) showed that the original statement of the Minister was not a slip of the tongue, but part of a concerted and well-laid plan of attacking the CPI(M).

Having made several such attacks on the CPI(M), the Right Communists, the ISP, the Muslim League and the RSP proceeded to "informally discuss" the question of "fighting the domination and big party bossism" of the CPI(M). Individually, at the bi-party level and in the end collectively, these parties held a series of consultations among themselves as with the opposition with a view to finding out whether it would be possible to form a new Ministry headed by a non-Marxist Chief Minister.

The CPI(M) got information about it since some of the participants in these discussions themselves gave fairly detailed reports on what had actually taken place. The party therefore thought it necessary to warn the people that such moves were being made and that, if they were not thwarted in time, the non-Congress United Front and its Ministry were in danger.

This is what came to be known as the "T.V. Thomas conspiracy". The Right Communists denied the whole thing and accused the CPI(M) of slandering them with this false allegation. The UF Coordination Committee had therefore to take it up. In the course of the discussion on it, however, the then Muslim League Panchayat and Fisheries Minister (deceased since then), as well as such leaders of the ISP and the RSP as P.R. Kurup, P.K. Kunhu and Srikantan Nair said that informal consultations had, in fact, taken place.

The Revelations

"Let nobody take the innocent pose of nothing having taken place" was Srikantan Nair's characteristic remark. He went on: "I was disgusted with the way in which the CPI(M) was behaving. I therefore did not resist the idea of doing something to bring them to their senses. It was then that I was told by my comrades that some such discussions were taking place. I was advised that it would not be good for my party if it kept out of these discussions. I therefore joined one of these discussions, held in the chamber of the Speaker of the legislature. Having listened to the various points made by the participants in the discussion, I asked M.N. Govindan Nair who was present, whether he thought that it was practicable now to have a new Ministry headed by a non-Marxist Chief Minister. M. N. replied that was not practicable, and so the chapter was closed."

The then Finance Minister, Kunhu said: "On my return from Mecca (in March 1968) I was told that a move was afoot to have a new Ministry headed by a non-Marxist. I then told my friends that consideration should be given, in selecting the new Chief Minister, to the fact that nobody belonging to my community had so far become the Chief Minister of this state. Brahmins, Nairs, Ezhavas and Christians have all become Chief Ministers but no Muslim has ever become a Chief Minister. I therefore staked my claim for my community."

Muslim League leader Baffaki Thangal said that if some Ministers of his party participated in such talks, that did not mean that the Muslim League was a party to it.

Representatives of every party except the Right Communists told the Coordination Committee that some informal discussions did take place. They also agreed that these discussions were among the non-Marxist parties and to the exclusion of the CPI(M). Their only excuse was that these discussions did not go very far and the proposed change of Ministry was in the end, abandoned.

These revelations were sufficiently damaging. Though nobody connected T.V. Thomas with initiating and leading the discussions, everybody except the Right Communists admitted the fact that things did happen which could not but be considered as an attempt at replacement of the Marxist by a non-Marxist Chief Minister. Exposure of this fact to the public would, according to the majority of the constituents of the U.F., do irreparable damage to the continuance of the U.F. They therefore suggested that the whole question should be considered as a closed chapter.

The CPI(M) was at first opposed to this proposal because the party had been challenged by the Right Communists to prove the allegation which it had publicly made. Its representatives on the U.F. Coordination Committee therefore said that they were prepared to place all the facts before the people, including the revelations made at the meeting of the Coordination Committee. This would enable the people to come to a correct judgement as to what had, in fact, taken place within the U.F. The party, however,

agreed, in the end, to consider the incident as a closed chapter as was suggested by its colleagues of the Coordination Committee.

Closed Chapter?

Subsequent developments leading up to the toppling of the Ministry in October 1969, followed by the formation of the "mini-front"-Kerala Congress Ministry on November 1, 1969, together with the public statements of the Right Communist Chief Minister and his National Council that this non-Marxist Ministry would have the support of the Indira Gandhi group of the Congress, show that the 1968 "consultations" did not, in fact, become a "closed chapter". The proposal had only been abandoned in 1968 because it was considered for the moment to be impracticable or inopportune. More time and greater political preparation were necessary for putting into practice the idea that had emerged out of the discussions that took place in the first half of 1968. They therefore adopted the tactics of lying low but slowly and consistently preparing the people for a final concerted attack on the CPI(M).

Even though they "closed the chapter" of trying to change the composition of the Ministry, they kept up their attack on the CPI(M) in various ways. The handling of the portfolios held by the CPI(M) ministers became the target of attack by the "non-Marxist constituents" of the U.F. with the unconcealed support of the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition. On the other hand, the portfolios handled by the non-Marxist ministers were claimed to be out of bounds for the CPI(M).

The CPI(M) support for the agricultural labourers' struggles and opposition to tractorisation were, for instance, denounced as deliberately planned to sabotage the development of agriculture, handled by the Right Communist Minister. The struggles of the industrial labourers were also denounced as sabotaging the phenomenal progress being registered in the Industries department handled by the other Right Communist Minister. The suggestion that the Muslim League Education Minister should discuss with all parties including the CPI(M), his plan of opening new schools was also denounced as interference in the Education department handled by a non-Marxist minister.

Yet, every meeting of the Coordination Committee was forced to discuss the working of the food, police, revenue, transport and other departments handled by the CPI(M) ministers. A demand that everything that is done in these departments should be done in accordance with the decisions of the Coordination Committee, combined with a refusal to subject to the scrutiny of the Coordination Committee the sanctioning of loans, opening of schools, payment of subsidies, etc., in the agriculture, industries, cooperatives, education and other departments, showed that the "non-Marxist" parties were trying to exercise control over the CPI(M) ministers, without themselves being subjected to the scrutiny and control of the Coordination Committee.

Reopening The Chapter

This ganging up of the four "mini-front" parties against the CPI(M) had, for two years, been at the informal level. It however, became a formal affair in April-May, 1969. The date is significant in that, by February-March 1969, i.e., after the mid-term elections in the four states of West Bengal, Bihar, U.P. and Punjab, it became clear that the Congress would, in any future general elections, require the cooperation of "like-minded" parties. The question was only, "which are the like-minded parties?"

It became clear that sharp differences would break out among the all-India leaders of the Congress party. One section looks up to the Jana Sangh and Swatantra, while the other depends on the support of the other, so-called "Left-oriented" non-Congress parties, including the Right Communist Party but excluding and hostile to militant parties of the working class and peasantry including the CPI(M). Such a development would obviously be to the liking of the Right Communists and the RSP who had originally preferred the whole Congress to "reactionary communal" parties like the Jana Sangh and Swatantra.

It would also be to the liking of the Muslim League and the ISP since their electoral understanding with the CPI(M) in 1965 and 1967 was more or less forced on them by the political circumstances of the developing non-Congressism. Now that it is possible for them to range themselves against the CPI(M) without being dubbed as part of the reactionary camp, they felt a golden opportunity had arrived for them to build up a new "progressive" image for themselves.

The four parties therefore once again took up the thread which they had left in 1968 since it appeared that the attempt to throw the CPI(M) out of the Ministry was no more premature and inopportune. The new all-India political developments making it obligatory for a section of the all-India Congress leadership headed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to seek the cooperation of "Left-oriented" non-Congress parties created an entirely new situation in which what was a year ago "inopportune" became opportune.

Even under these circumstances, however, it was not very easy for them to completely switch over from an anti-Congress to an anti-Marxist position, to shift from opposition to the Congress to cooperation with it. The basic political shift involved in this had to be carefully worked out and made through a phased programme. It was also necessary to pick up a specific issue on which the CPI(M) could be attacked and, in the process, the cooperation and support of the Congress and Kerala Congress could be mobilised. That was why in April-May 1969 they started evolving a common plan of campaign directed against the CPI(M) and to this end, took up the issue of the so-called "corruption" indulged in by the CPI(M) as a party and its ministers.

Corruption—Wild Charges

It is necessary, in this connection, to mention that, as early as in March 1967 when the first session of the legislature met after the fourth general election, the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition charged the CPI(M) and its ministers as corrupt. The "evidence" tendered at that time was that some of the persons appointed in the personal staff of the ministers were from outside the Government services, many of them being personal friends or party colleagues of the ministers concerned. Such appointments are quite common by ministers and had been resorted to by even the Congress ministers. But, when resorted to by the CPI(M) ministers, it became an act of corruption—such was the logic of the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition.

Ever since then, the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition has been accusing the CPI(M) ministers of corruption because many of those against whom discriminatory treatment on political

grounds had been meted out by the previous Congress ministry were rehabilitated. The very act of ending the system of police verification into the political antecedents of recruits to Government service (a practice which had been deliberately used by the Congress Ministries against the communist movement) was also mentioned as an instance of corruption. The Congress-Kerala Congress press also invented stories of "irregularity" and "corruption" indulged in by the CPI(M) ministers. It was to this opposition campaign of lies and slanders that the Right Communist press and the notorious Srikantan Nair's "charge-sheet" gave ammunition.

Principled Stand

The CPI(M) and its Chief Minister (who was in charge of the anti-corruption work of the Ministry) took the principled stand that while all charges of corruption levelled by anybody with a sense of responsibility and substantiated by reasonable proof showing the necessity of a further probe, should be examined, it was necessary to guard against irresponsible and wild allegations. Hence, the offer repeatedly made on the floor of the legislature as well as outside, that any allegation made on the basis of concrete material evidence to substantiate it would be examined and if on such examination a *prima facie* case was made out, the allegation would be subjected to an enquiry under the Commission of Enquiries Act. Allegations made without any such material evidence would naturally be dismissed as irresponsible.

Neither the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition nor the non-Marxist constituents of the U.F. could substantiate any allegation made by them with such material evidence as to make out a *prima facie* case. The allegations of corruption therefore became wild charges and they were naturally dismissed.

In one case, however, such material evidence was placed before the legislature. The former Finance Minister P. K. Kunhu, belonging to the ISP, was alleged to have discharged his old debts amounting to over a lakh of rupees after becoming the Finance Minister. It was alleged that he was able to do this because he resorted to corrupt practices. Some papers in connection with the allegations were also placed on the table of the House.

The Chief Minister, on the basis of a decision of the U.F. Coordination Committee—the minutes of the meeting where the decision was taken, were signed by Right Communist Minister M.N. Govindan Nair who was in the chair that day—examined these papers, asked for certain clarifications from the Minister concerned and, on examining these papers together with his explanation, came to the finding that the case required further probe. An order was therefore issued constituting a Commission of Enquiry and the Minister was asked to leave his post pending enquiry.

Allegations had also been made against two other Ministers, one belonging to the CPI(M) and the other to the KTP. Unlike in the case of the ISP Minister, not a single paper was placed on the table of the House in relation to the CPI(M) Minister, while in the case of the KTP Minister, one paper was placed in contrast to nearly a dozen papers in relation to the ISP Minister.

The Chief Minister, however, sought explanations from these two Ministers as well. But, on examining these explanations, he found that the material evidence placed before him was not sufficient to warrant further probe.

While giving this finding, he made it clear that, if there were other charges or other evidence to substantiate these very charges in relation to these ministers, they would be subjected to the same examination as allegations against other ministers.

Another Slander Campaign

This was made the starting point of a high-powered campaign against the Chief Minister's integrity and against the alleged corruption of his comrades and colleagues inside and outside the Ministry. The reasoning in the findings of the Chief Minister could not, of course, be challenged, since the material placed on the table of the House, and, therefore, before the Chief Minister, was, on all counts, insufficient to warrant a further probe. But, it was argued, there are "widespread reports" about the various acts of corruption indulged in by the two ministers whom the Chief Minister had cleared, particularly by the KTP Minister. Ignoring the fact that a responsible person occupying the position of the Chief Minister cannot come to a *prima facie* finding on the basis of

"widespread reports" unless there was some material evidence to substantiate the allegation, the detractors of the Chief Minister accused him of partiality towards the ministers belonging to or supporting his party.

From this accusation against the Chief Minister of partiality and lack of integrity, they proceeded to charge his whole party with widespread corruption. The Right Communist press and its agitators surpassed everybody by calling the CPI(M) as the most corrupt party in the political history of Kerala and saying that every office of the party from the Branch to the State Committee was a nest of corruption. A statewide campaign was organised by the Right Communist Party to malign the CPI(M) and to demand a judicial enquiry into the charges of corruption.

Any honest observer of the political scene could see that, if this campaign was allowed to continue, the break-up of the U.F. and its Ministry was only a matter of days. One could therefore have legitimately expected that the non-Right Communist non-Marxist constituents of the U.F. and its sympathisers would take the initiative in putting their foot down on this campaign, in seeing to it that the question of how to deal with the allegations of corruption was settled through internal discussions within the Coordination Committee.

Reasonable Proposals

This was precisely what was proposed by the CPI(M). We made the following alternative proposals : scrutiny by a sub-committee of the Coordination Committee; examination by a Committee of the Cabinet; or leaving it to a person qualified to be a High Court Judge and elected by the legislature. If the finding arrived at by any of the agencies was that the case required further probe, it should, of course, be handed over to an enquiry under the Commission of Enquiries Act.

If the "mini-front" parties were genuinely interested in tracking down and bringing to book those who are really guilty of corruption, they would have readily accepted this proposal. They, however, refused to accept it. Their demand was that, while no such machinery should be set up to examine the material

evidence given to substantiate the allegations against other ministers, the allegations levelled against the KTP Minister should be handed over to a judicial enquiry even without a preliminary examination of the material and even without finding that a *prima facie* case existed.

This naturally could not be acceptable to any reasonable person, since this amounted to laying down one rule for one minister and another for other ministers. The CPI(M) therefore firmly rejected this proposal and said that whatever procedure was adopted in relation to the KTP Minister should be adopted in relation to other ministers. A deadlock therefore arose within the U. F. Coordination Committee on this issue.

The "mini-front" parties decided to break the deadlock by taking the help of the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition. On October 3, they got a resolution adopted in the legislature proposing that the allegations made on the floor of the legislature against the KTP Minister (with or without any material evidence to substantiate the allegations) should be enquired into under the Commission of Enquiries Act, even though nobody had made a preliminary scrutiny of the material in order to come to a finding whether a *prima facie* case existed.

This made it obligatory for the Government, through the Chief Minister who was in charge of the department, to order an enquiry into the allegations against this particular minister, even though the Government had not satisfied itself on the nature of the evidence warranting a detailed enquiry. The Chief Minister therefore thought it only fair that the allegations against other ministers were also subjected to a similar enquiry if the allegations were as serious as in the case of this particular minister. He therefore simultaneously ordered enquiries into the allegations against this one minister and three others.

The Voting

This action of the Chief Minister so infuriated the "mini-front" that, once again with the support of the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition, they got the legislature to approve a motion demanding enquiry into the allegations against all other ministers

excepting the Chief Minister. Since this was a motion which amounted to an expression of no-confidence in the Chief Minister, he immediately tendered the resignation of his Ministry.

An analysis of the final voting shows that, out of the sixty-nine votes polled in favour of the "mini-front" motion, sixteen were from the opposition—nine Congress, five Kerala Congress and two independents, who have always voted with the Congress. Deducting these sixteen votes, the members who voted with the mini-front from the non-Congress MLAs were fiftythree. As against this, sixty non-Congress UF MLAs voted against the "mini-front". The motion could, in other words, be got carried only with the support of the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition.

It is also worthy of note that the spokesmen of the "mini-front" parties did, in the course of the debate preceding voting on the motion, demand the resignation of the Chief Minister on the ground that he had ceased to enjoy the confidence of the majority of the legislature. The earlier voting of October 3, followed by the joint resolution of the "mini-front" declaring that they would withdraw their support to the Chief Minister, had made it clear that the "mini-front" and the opposition in the legislature had come to an understanding that the so-called issue of corruption would be used in order to topple the Ministry. The Chief Minister, for his part, had also made it clear that he was not going to beg the "mini-front" parties to continue to give their support to him and that he would tender his resignation the moment the Assembly recorded itself against him on a motion which, in his view, amounted to "expression of lack of confidence in him".

In reply to this clear statement of the Chief Minister, the Right Communist leader, T. V. Thomas, asked: "Why should a dead man be killed again?", meaning that it was not necessary to have a formal voting but the Chief Minister should resign, since it was already clear that the majority was against him. The majority, as was noted above, was composed of fiftythree United Front MLAs plus sixteen Congress-Kerala Congress MLAs, as opposed to sixty UF MLAs.

These very voting figures would show that the entire campaign on the so-called issue of "corruption" was the cover behind which the "mini-front" in collaboration with the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition was trying to practise in 1969 what they had considered inopportune in 1968. This was made still more clear when, immediately after the CPI(M) Chief Minister submitted the resignation of his Ministry, the leaders of the "mini-front" as well as of the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition went to the Governor and asked for time to explore the possibilities of forming a "non-Marxist Ministry". After just over a week of hectic negotiations, they asked for and the Governor gave permission to form a Right-Communist-led Ministry including the Kerala Congress.

Anybody could see that such a Ministry could not remain for a single day unless it secured the support of the nine-member Congress party as well. It was, however, necessary for the Right Communist and RSP constituents of the UF to make it appear that they were not seeking the support of the Congress party. The Right Communist Chief Minister made the brave-sounding declaration that the moment he found that he could not continue without Congress support, he would tender the resignation of his Ministry.

Bluff Called

This bluff however was called first by the Deputy Leader and then by the Leader of the Congress Legislature Party who ridiculed the claim of the non-Marxist Ministry carrying on without Congress support. The Leader of the Congress Legislature Party revealed, "We have been asking the non-Marxist constituents of the UF how they could tolerate rule by the CPI(M). Their answer was they would withdraw support to the CPI(M) the moment they found that the opposition was prepared to support them in forming a non-Marxist Ministry. We, therefore, told them that we would be ready to support a purely non-Marxist Ministry. On no account, however, would we support a Ministry which keeps the door open for the Marxists to come later."

The Right Communist-RSP claim that they would like the CPI(M) to take the initiative for "reconstructing and reorganising"

the old non-Congress UF was that nothing but the cover behind which they were forming a Ministry which is totally alien in character to the one that was formed in 1967. Behind the talk of the present Ministry being a continuation of the old Ministry, they were, in fact, replacing a ministry of struggle against the Congress with the active participation and leading role of the CPI(M) by another which is directed against the CPI(M) and is supported not only by the Kerala Congress but the Congress itself.

This change in the character of the Ministry was, for a time, sought to be camouflaged by the wild talk of the Ministry having secured the support of individual MLAs belonging to the SSP and the CPI(M). These have now been proved totally baseless. The Right Communists therefore have finally come in their true colours by making it clear that they are in reality depending on the support of the Indira Gandhi group within the Congress Legislature Party. If this fructifies, they hope, it will be possible for them to make the Ministry "respectable" in the eyes of the democratic opposition, since it would make them part of "the struggle against the reactionary Syndicate". That, however, would not obviate the fact that the new Ministry would be essentially anti-CPI(M) and, therefore, totally different from the UF and its Ministry which came into existence in March 1967. The rallying together of the avowedly anti-Marxist Kerala Congress and Indira Gandhi Congress [both of whom have made the struggle against the CPI(M) an article of faith] along with the constituents of the former non-Congress UF would make this Ministry a new variant of the old anti-Communist front which came into existence in the days of the liberation struggle and after. The only difference would be that as opposed to the Communist Party of India being the target then, it is the CPI(M) that is under attack now. Furthermore, as opposed to one solid anti-Communist front, there are today two anti-Marxist fronts, one composed of the Syndicate Congress and such rightist non-Congress parties as the Jana Sangh and Swatantra, while the other consists of the Indira Gandhi Congress and such other "Left-oriented" non-Congress parties as the RSP, Right Communists and so on. As in 1964-65,

the Right Communists and the RSP have, once again, joined the reactionary camp in its struggle against Marxism.

Wild And Baseless Allegations

Before we conclude this, it is necessary to deal with some of the wild allegations that had been made by the Right Communist Party against the CPI(M) as part of their campaign to throw the CPI(M) out of the Ministry. It is also necessary to examine their claim that, while the Marxist-led Government did not carry out the agreed minimum programme of the United Front during the 31 months of its being in office, the present Right Communist-led Ministry is vigorously implementing that programme.

Let us first of all take the question of food policy. As opposed to the wild talk of the Marxist-led Ministry having failed to procure paddy, the Government record shows that there has been improvement both in 1967-68 and 1968-69 over the previous years under President's rule. While the total procurement in 1966-67 was 93,107 tonnes of paddy against a target of 123,696 tonnes, procurement in the latter two years was 118,571 tonnes and 138,046 tonnes against targets of 103,580 tonnes and 110,547 tonnes respectively. This improvement was registered, let it be added, in spite of the fact that the cultivators with holdings of less than two acres were exempted from procurement after 1967-68. The procurement target was reduced due to this exemption as can be seen, but what is to be noted is that the actual procurement not only surpassed the targets during these two years but was also higher than the highest figure under President's rule despite the exemption. In other words, even though the Marxist-led Government gave relief to the poorest section of the cultivators, procurement during the two years when that Ministry was administering the Food department was higher—in 1968-69, it being about fifty per cent above the record of President's rule.

The Right Communist leader and the present Chief Minister, Achutha Menon, therefore, resorted to the clever technique of comparing actual procurement during these two years with the "marketable surplus" that should be available for procurement as calculated by statisticians. What should have been procured,

according to him, is about 1.10 to 1.20 lakh tons of rice, while actual procurement never went beyond 80,000 tons of rice per year. Anybody who is familiar with the extent to which the statistically calculated "marketable surplus" in the agricultural sector is related to the actual surplus that can be procured by a Government agency will see that, particularly in view of the exemption of cultivators below two acres, the actual procurement in Kerala is creditworthy. Achutha Menon himself would have hailed it as a remarkable achievement if only the Food portfolio had been held by a minister belonging to his party. Since, however, it was held by a CPI(M) Minister, he demands that actual procurement should be judged in accordance with the statistician's calculation of available surplus.

Another allegation levelled by them against the Food Minister was that nothing was done to implement that item of the minimum programme of the United Front which relates to the handing over of the wholesale distribution of foodgrains to the Food Corporation. On the other hand, they claim, within less than a month of its assumption of office, the Right Communist Party-led Ministry completed all the formalities and signed an agreement with the Corporation.

The reality is that the decision to hand over the wholesale trade in foodgrains was taken in principle during the latter half of 1967. The Food Corporation, however, was not then prepared to take it up immediately. They wanted more time to set up the machinery. They took a long time also in negotiating with the state Government the terms on which they would undertake the work.

Protracted negotiations at various levels (including those in which the writer of these lines, as the then Chief Minister, took part) had thus to be carried on. All this ultimately led to the preparation of a draft agreement between the Corporation and the state Government. Even at this stage, the Corporation was not prepared to immediately undertake the entire wholesale trade in the state as a whole, but as a first step, to take it up in one taluk in each district—the taluk where the district headquarter is situated.

While the preliminaries connected with the finalisation of the agreement between the state Government and the Corporation

were being carried on, however, the state Government took the most essential step of giving notice to those wholesalers whose services would be dispensed with when the Corporation took it over. These notices were given in August 1969 and the three months period in which they could challenge the Government decision was to expire in November. The wholesalers did, in fact, challenge the Government decision in the High Court. By the time the three-month-period was over and the High Court gave its clearance to the Government decision by dismissing the wholesalers' writ petition, the Marxist Food Minister was replaced by a Right Communist Minister. The Food Corporation was also ready to sign the contract whose draft have been approved by the Marxist Food Minister. What the Right Communist Minister did was only to have the *ceremonial signing of the contract*.

The same thing applies to their claim that, while the Marxist Revenue and Forest Ministers had failed to give pattas (title-deeds) to cultivators who were in possession of Government land, the Right Communist Revenue Minister did, in the very first month, give them in large numbers. The fact is that, in spite of the various difficulties that the ministers had to face in the distribution of pattas, patta distribution had been done in 1968 and 1969, the total number of these pattas coming to about 50,000. Preparations had been made for the distribution of many more pattas. Such formalities as clearing forest land of standing trees, handing over such cleared lands by the Forest to the Revenue department and the preparation by the latter of the pattas for distribution on November 1 (the anniversary of the formation of Kerala State) had all been undertaken by the Marxist Ministers in charge of the Forest and Revenue departments. Since that Ministry was toppled a week before that date, the new Right Communist Minister could, as in the case of the signing of the agreement with the Food Corporation, claim credit for the distribution of those pattas which were under preparation during the previous Ministry.

Another allegation levelled against the CPI(M) and its Revenue Minister is regarding the inordinate delay in the adoption of the

land reforms legislation. While our Party itself would have liked a speedier enactment of this legislation, it is necessary to give here a few facts concerning the process of land reform legislation in 1967-69.

(a) The non-Congress Ministry of 1967-69 was not writing on a clean slate. The amendment legislation pushed through the legislature by the Congress Ministry which followed the "liberation struggle" had made serious inroads into the rights conferred on the peasants by the 1959 Land Reforms Bill. These inroads had been made under the cover of "protection to small holders," "encouragement of efficient cultivation" and so on. The non-Congress UF itself contained parties like the Muslim League which held that these arguments were valid. It was, therefore, necessary for the Government to have detailed discussions within the United Front itself as well as with the opposition parties. Meanwhile, in May 1967 itself, i.e., within two months of the Ministry assuming office, an Ordinance was promulgated, which was later enacted into a law, widening the definition of tenant to include tenants who had been left out of the Agrarian Reforms Act, giving them more rights, prohibiting eviction of tenants and *kudikidappukars* (hutment-dwellers) and collection of rent arrears.

(b) These discussions were started within the first few months of the existence of the Government. Following some informal discussions among the constituents of the United Front, a formal committee of political parties functioning in the legislature was constituted in November 1967. Views were invited and exchanged and those that emerged out of these deliberations formed the basis of the preparation of the Bill which was ready by 1968. The last meeting of this Committee was held on December 12, 1967.

(c) Since according to the provisions of the Constitution, this Bill required sanction from the Central Government, it was sent to them on August 14, 1968. The Central Government, however, took a very long time and gave the sanction only eight months later on April 10, 1969. The Centre returned the Bill proposing certain amendments which would have defeated some of the main purposes of the Bill. The Centre did not agree to the fair rent fixed

in the new Bill and wanted the old provision to continue, it wanted plantations to be allowed to keep fallow lands without any limit, ceiling not be applied to pepper and arecanut gardens, that hutment-dwellers on plantation land not be given ownership rights and so on. The Ministry, UF Coordination Committee and the Select Committee were all informed of the Centre's stand.

(d) Even before receiving Central Government sanction, however, the legislature took up the consideration of the Bill. The Select Committee carried on its deliberations and finally submitted its report and after its introduction on August 7, 1969, the Advisory Committee had decided it should be taken up for discussion on August 11. This did not happen because the mini-front parties and the Congress did everything to prevent the Bill being taken up for discussion.

(e) The CPI(M) made the proposal to the other constituents of the UF in August 1969 that since the land reforms legislation was the most important legislation, consideration of the Select Committee report and the Bill as amended by the Committee should have priority over other Bills. The Muslim League, however, objected and demanded that its own Minister's Panchayati Raj Bill should get priority over it, and the Right Communists, among others, supported the League leaders. Only after vigorous mass campaign started by the CPI(M) and its allies did the League and the Right Communists agree to give priority to the land reforms Bill over the Panchayati Raj Bill. For such a party which in actual practice gave priority to the Panchayati Raj Bill to denounce the CPI(M) of having delayed the enactment of the land reforms legislation is the height of dishonesty. Not only that. During the full eight months when the Central Government was delaying the Bill and when it sent back the Bill proposing certain substantive amendments, the Right Communist Party, leave alone organising a campaign, did not pass even a single protest resolution against the Centre's tactics. And they shamelessly blame the CPI(M) with delaying the Bill, the Party which mobilised the people, fought the Centre, forced it to withdraw its proposals and got the Bill successfully enacted.

These are only some of the wild allegations levelled against the CPI(M) by the Right Communist Party. We do not propose to go into all their allegations, since this would show how contrary to truth are the so-called "facts" adduced by them to support their allegations. It is, however, necessary to debunk some of the claims that have been made by them.

One of them is that the two Right Communist Ministers—Agriculture and Electricity Minister M. N. Govindan Nair, and the Industries Minister, T. V. Thomas—are so efficient that, under their leadership, there have been solid achievements both in agricultural production and in industrialisation. From making this claim for themselves they go forward to the denunciation of the CPI(M) and its Chief Minister by making the further claim that, if only the CPI(M) and its Chief Minister had not put obstacles in their way, their achievements would have been even bigger.

Far more vocal than even his colleague, the Industries Minister, is the Agriculture Minister, M.N. Govindan Nair. Basing himself on the figures supplied by the Directorate of Agriculture, he claims that under his dispensation, there has been an upsurge in agricultural production. He then complains that the Bureau of Economics and Statistics, which was under the Chief Minister, gave figures of the agricultural production which were a few lakh tons less than what was calculated by the Agricultural department.

Anybody who knows anything about the figures of agricultural production in any state or at the Centre knows the divergences in the figures supplied by the various departments. This was a fact noted at Trivandrum by the Central Food and Agriculture Minister, Jagjivan Ram, who was asked by pressmen about these different figures. (It is a fact that at the Centre, the Food Ministry, the Agriculture Ministry and the Central Statistical Organisation gave different figures.) It is also well-known that the basis of calculation by various departments is different; the Agricultural department calculates it on the basis of acreage under irrigation, under new high yielding varieties of seeds, the quantity of fertilisers consumed and other inputs used in agricultural production. The Statistical department, on the other hand, undertakes crop-cutting surveys in model plots selected at

random. It is, therefore, not surprising that the results of these different calculations are different from one another. If under these circumstances, a particular minister claims that the figures supplied by his department should be considered as authentic and on that starts denouncing other ministers, knowledgeable persons would consider such ministers as nothing but petty-minded if not worse. Such, unfortunately, was the conduct of the Right Communist Agriculture Minister in Kerala.

Leaving aside the basis and method of calculation, let us look at the facts as they are. There has undoubtedly been a sizable increase in agricultural production in Kerala, as there has been in all other states of India. It is precisely this that is claimed by the bourgeoisie and its Congress leaders at the "green revolution". No credit can be claimed by any particular minister of any state for this increase in production, because it is the result of the "new strategy" evolved by the bourgeois leadership in its efforts to bring about a capitalist transformation of agriculture.

If the Right Communists were, in fact, Marxist-Leninists as they claim to be, they would have pondered over the question where this technological transformation is taking place—in the narrow layer of capitalist farms or in the farm sector as a whole. They would have considered whether the undoubtedly real increase in production is leading to the accentuation of class conflicts in the rural areas, since the advance in technique and increase in production do not percolate to the wide sectors of small and even medium-size farms. Even the bourgeois leadership of the country has started raising this question, as can be seen from the note of warning issued by the central Home Minister, Chavan, "the green revolution may well turn into a Red revolution, if the social conflicts that are breaking out in the wake of the technological change are not resolved in time". The Right Communist Minister and his party, however, are not bothered with all this, they being absolutely certain that Kerala is well on the way to a solution of its food and agricultural problems if only the Agricultural department is under a Right Communist Minister.

As for the Industries department, even this claim is not being made. It is realised that the perspective of large-scale

industrialisation in the private sector with the help and collaboration of foreign monopolists has not materialised. The Central Government, the monopoly capitalists in India and abroad, have not been so "co-operative" in setting up new large-scale industries in Kerala as the Right Communists had expected them to be. Students of the economics and politics of monopoly capital in India will not be surprised at this gap between their expectation and the reality. The Right Communists, however, want to throw the responsibility for the failure of their policy to the "obstruction" placed before them by the CPI(M) and its Chief Minister.

It is necessary in this context to negate the idea that the non-Congress Ministry of 1967-1969 is completely barren of achievements in the industrial field. Several industries have undoubtedly been set up during this period, particularly in the small-scale sector. The intensive campaign for the setting up of small-scale industries under the guidance of the Central Small-Scale Industries Institute did indeed give fillip to several small-scale entrepreneurs. Much more could have been done in this field if only the Right Communist Industries Minister and his party had devoted more time and attention to this aspect of industrialisation than to their wrong and distorted idea of industrialisation in collaboration with foreign and Indian monopoly capital. More could have been achieved also if the Right Communist Minister and his party had placed before themselves the perspective of starting major industries in the public sector with the cooperation and assistance of socialist countries.

Real Face Of "Achievements"

Let us now turn to the so-called "achievements" of the Achutha Menon Ministry during the two months of its existence. Some of the claims they have made would themselves show their utter political bankruptcy, subservience to the landlord-bourgeois leadership of the Congress and the Kerala Congress—the main characteristic feature of the Right Communist Party.

A pamphlet issued by the Ministry claims as one of its "achievements" that they have removed checkpoints that have been in existence to control movement of foodgrains. This has always been the demand of those who have been claiming that, if only free movement of foodgrains all over the country is permitted, there would not be famine and high prices. Free trade is the slogan of the Swatantra Party. Free trade at least within the Southern Zone has been the slogan of the Muslim League and Kerala Congress. Free trade within Kerala may thus be the beginning of the Right Communist surrender to the demand of the Muslim League, Kerala Congress and Swatantra Party.

Another achievement, claimed in the pamphlet, is that they have "reorganised" the State Planning Board set up during the previous Ministry under the Marxist Chief Minister. Though the word used is "reorganised", their actual deed is to *abolish* the State Planning Board. For the new 'Board' consists of a few ministers, a few secretaries and a few heads of departments! What is "abolished" is the four non-official experts each specialised in one aspect of planning and the staff working under them.

The setting up of such a body of experts, including the Economic Division of the Planning Board, was welcomed by those interested in planning in other states as well as at the Centre. It was, however, precisely this that was objected to by the Kerala Congress and Congress openly and by some constituents of the UF secretly, when the former Ministry was functioning. The reason for this opposition was that, while the non-official members of the Board and the staff working with them did their work creditably in the matter of producing the Fourth Five-Year Plan for Kerala, the Board as a whole and its Economic Division in particular, became the centre out of which basic criticism of the landlord bourgeois leaders of the Central Congress Government was made. "The alternate policies for Indian planning" worked out on the initiative of the Economic Division of the State Planning Board did indeed make sharp departure from the Central Government's policies.

The State Planning Board, therefore, was denounced by the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition as "a Marxist instrument". The Right Communists, true to their complete subservience to the landlord-bourgeois policies and practices of the Congress-Kerala Congress groups, obediently carried out their master's policy. Kerala is, therefore, back where it was with no machinery of planning.

Still another "achievement" of the present Ministry is the issue of several ordinances showing its claim that unlike the former Marxist-led Ministry, the present Ministry is energetic, getting things done quickly, without waiting for bureaucratic red-tape. The fact of the matter, however, is that almost every one of these ordinances was before the legislature in the form of Bills. The Debt Relief Bill, for instance, had been introduced in the legislature at its October setting. It would have been finally passed in October itself, had it not been for the fact that some members wanted more time to consider the Bill and in the meantime, the Ministry was toppled. This applies also to the gratuity and other labour legislations. The former Labour Minister, Mathai Manjooran, had prepared these Bills. They could have been adopted by the legislature if only the Right Communists and their mini-front partners had not toppled the Ministry. The present Ministry did, in fact, prorogue the Assembly which was to have met on November 17, thus actually delaying the adoption of these Bills by the Legislature.

Having thus stood in the way of legislation in the normal process, they adopt the clever method of issuing these very same Bills as ordinances. This was doubly advantageous to them: first they could postpone the evil day of holding the Assembly session at which they would have to prove their claim of having a majority in the legislature; secondly, they could claim credit for adopting the quick and speedy method of issuing ordinances to help the people.

Mention should, however, be made of one ordinance which is the creation of this Ministry—the ordinance entrusting the Public Service Commission with the responsibility of making appointments to the Kerala State Transport Corporation. This has a history behind it.

One of the points of attack against the CPI(M) by the partners of the mini-front and Congress-Kerala Congress opposition was that the Transport Minister belonging to the CPI(M) was responsible for large-scale irregular appointments to the Corporation. The Right Communists have also been demanding that the appointments to the Transport Corporation should be handed over to the Public Service Commission. The CPI(M) was opposed to treating the Transport Corporation in a way different from other Corporations, the largest number of these Corporations being attached to departments handled by the Right Communist Party.

The Party, therefore, proposed that appointments to all Corporations should be handed over to the PSC. The writer of these lines had, in fact, given directives to have the necessary preparations made to implement this objective. A statement to this effect had also been made on the floor of the legislature on October 17. If the Ministry had continued, therefore, a Bill would have eventually been introduced in the legislature bringing all appointments to the Corporations within the purview of the PSC. The mini-front-Kerala Congress Government, however, is not interested in bringing all Corporations under the purview of the Bill. They wanted to make an exception of the Transport Corporation.

This was also done in the case of the post of the Chairman of the Transport Corporation. Like other Corporations such as the Agro-Industries Corporation, Plantation Corporation, and so on, the Transport Corporation had a non-official Chairman. Unlike them, however, this Corporation had as Chairman a Communist (Marxist) while the others were Right Communists, ISP and so on. One of the very first actions of the present Ministry was to relieve this particular Chairman, while Chairman of other Corporations belonging to other parties still continue.

Together with the Chairman, several employees of the Corporation are also being dismissed. The reason given is that they were irregularly appointed. The fact is that, as in the case

several other departments of the Government and Corporations, provisional appointments are made for short durations; if regular appointments are not made for some time and these provisional appointees have to continue for a sufficiently long time, they are confirmed. This practice had been followed in the Transport Corporation even before 1967. Many of those who were thus "irregularly appointed" as is now suggested by the present Transport Minister—were then confirmed because the then Marxist Transport Minister agreed with the trade unions that it was wrong to dismiss such persons who had remained at those posts for some time.

The present Transport Minister does not propose to follow this principle which had been accepted on the demand of all trade unions; and some of the very trade unions (including the INTUC and the Right Communist unions) had taken that stand then but have now agreed with the present Kerala Congress Transport Minister. The only reason is that the appointments were made when the Communist (Marxist) Transport Minister was in charge; furthermore, since nobody was barred on political grounds from appointments as was the case in previous appointments, many members and sympathisers of the CPI(M) also got appointments. This, it may be seen, is a reversion to the old practice of screening of candidates for appointment with a view to eliminating all those who are politically "dangerous" to the landlord-bourgeois regime, the practice that has become notorious as "police verification". The restoration of this practice and the unleashing of unprecedented police and goonda terror are the big "achievements" of the reactionary ruling class from the coup d'etat of October 24.

The developments of the last month-and-a-half have proved that the October 24 voting was a real coup d'etat. It was intended to reverse the political change that took place in March 1967. Replace a Government, which was pledged to serve the common working people by a Government pledged to serve the landlords and capitalists—such was the intention with which the 'mini-front' and the Congress-Kerala Congress opposition joined together in voting the Government out.

Police-Goonda Terror

The resignation of the Marxist-led Ministry following the October 24 voting was accompanied by attacks on agricultural labourers throughout the state. The incident referred to earlier (the demonstrative action of the notorious landlord bully John Jacob having shaved off his beard which he had started growing when he was arrested for his brutal attack on agricultural labourers) was indicative of the mood of the landlords and their bullies. Within a week of the resignation of the Ministry and during the first few days of the new Ministrys' regime, three agricultural labourers or their leaders (including one woman labourer) were done to death and hundreds subjected to brutal attacks. Those officers and men of the police force who were unhappy over the restraints put on them during the last 31 months heaved a sigh of relief and went back to their old traditional ways of beating up and terrorising the people.

Four MPs, headed by Comrade A.K. Gopalan, went round some of the areas of such incidents and told the people what they had seen. Three MLAs headed by Comrade Gowri visited another place and they, too, brought before the people what they saw. These statements of responsible leaders of the people were, however, dismissed with contempt by the Right Communist Chief Minister and the Muslim League Home Minister who repeated the time-worn justification of "organised violence and subversion" on the part of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). It became thus clear that, like all earlier bourgeois Governments, the new "Communist"-led Government considers it to be its foremost duty to keep the working people (particularly the rural working people) under the thumb of the landlords and their rural bullies to suppress their rising movement.

This, however, was not all. The new Government made it clear that it would not tolerate demonstrations against the new Ministry or its individual Ministers. It should be mentioned that every Ministry that has come into being in Kerala has had to face hostile demonstrations with black flags. The police, too, have acquired the necessary training to keep the demonstrators at sufficient distance, so that, while the demonstrators have full freedom to

express their feelings, the minister against whom the demonstration is organised is protected from any physical attack. Such hostile demonstrations with black flags have been held even before the Prime Minister of the country. The new ministers, however, are so "democratic" that they would not tolerate this. At Kozhikode and at Malappuram, those who waved black flags against ISP Minister Koran were beaten up by the police. At Nilambur, the demonstrators were attacked not by the police but by a gang of Muslim League goondas who had come in special vehicles "to protect" the League Home Minister. The attack was so violent that one of the demonstrators, Poulouse by name, was killed.

These attacks reached their climax on December 1 when the Communist Party of India (Marxist) organised a statewide programme of picketing the district officers of the Government in order to register the people's protest against these attacks on the people, against the unjustified postponement of the Assembly session (which had been fixed to be convened on November 17) and against the continuance of a Ministry which does not enjoy the confidence of the legislature. As in the case of earlier protests of the people, here, too, the demonstrators were brutally lathi-charged and fired upon. Over a thousand people were seriously injured and hospitalised all over the state and four were killed in police firing. Never before in Kerala have so many been killed and so many injured in one day of protest. As for the severity of the lathi-charge, the "Communist"-led Ministry has surpassed all records, including those set by the old British and Princely rulers.

The police-goonda raj has become even more intense since January 1—the day on which the peasants and agricultural workers of the state began assuming the rights conferred on them by the Land Reforms Amendment Act on the basis of their organised strength in response to the historic declaration of the Alleppey convention to prevent the landlords from robbing them of the benefits of the Act. The Right Communists who have given a call at the national level for occupation of land, who in West Bengal have joined other parties to occupy illegally-held land are, in Kerala, using the Central Reserve Police to inhumanly beat up

the peasants and agricultural workers for doing the same. That is the extent of their servility to the rural vested interests and their party, the Kerala Congress.

It is obvious that the Communist Party of India (Marxist) will not be cowed down by this kind of brutal attacks on the people. Together with all other parties, organisations and individuals (including groups and individuals from the 'mini-front' parties or even from the Congress and the Kerala Congress) who are horror-stricken at these brutal attacks, the Party would organise a broad united people's movement against this policy of the 'mini-front'-Kerala Congress Government. We have no doubt that those Right Communists and Revolutionary Socialists who have not yet forgotten the days when they and we together joined against the British, the princely and Congress rulers who had tried to drown our people's movement in blood, would join us in resisting this new wave of ruling class attack camouflaged by a 'Communist'-led Ministry. We are also confident that the democratic conscience of the whole country would be roused against this brutality.

One is reminded on this occasion of a day in 1959 when the present Chairman of the Right Communist Party, S.A. Dange, had said that the then Communist-led Government of Kerala would have to be forced to resign if it could not continue to rule without the support of the workers. The occasion was that, due to reasons beyond the control of the then Communist led Government, fire was opened on workers during a strike. One or two other incidents also took place when fire was opened by the police. All these were deeply regretted by the then Government of Kerala.

Today, however, it is a 'Communist'-led Government whose head (Dange's own colleague in the Central Secretariat of his party) is justifying the firings and lathi-charges in the same language in which the British rulers, the Dewans of princely states and Congress ministers were justifying firings. Dange and his colleagues should know that firings and lathi-charges are resorted to in this state for nothing other than to suppress the struggles of the working people, as well as to attack the rights of the democratic parties to organise protest demonstrations against the

Government collectively and against ministers individually. A Ministry which does not hesitate to resort to these methods and justifies all these in the same way as the earlier British Governments is nothing but an ordinary bourgeois Ministry with an outer coating of bogus 'communism'. This is a fact which the people have begun to realise.

The welcome political change that took place in March 1967 is being reversed. A Government pledged to serve the common working people is being replaced by a Government pledged to serve the landlords and capitalists. Such in short is the "record" of the mini-front-Kerala Congress-Congress collaboration which led to the toppling of the previous Ministry and the formation of the present Ministry.

Appendix

At the end of the first month of the Mini-Front-Kerala Congress Government in office, the Public Information Department of the Kerala Government put out a hand-out listing the achievements of the new Government. The Government is too modest and does not claim the real achievements it has to his credit till then and afterwards.

For instance, the Government did not take credit for its police and the goondas of the ruling parties killing in cold blood—

Prabhakaran Nair (Ponnu Nair to the agricultural workers and others in his area) of Kunnukara in Ernakulam district;

Kutty, a forty-five-year old woman agricultural worker, of Melpadu in Kuttanad in Alleppey district;

Ahthony Rajan, a cardamom estate worker in Vandi-periyar;

Poulose of Nilambur killed by Muslim League goondas in the presence of the Muslim League Home Minister Mohammad Koya for showing black flags to the Minister;

Sreedharan, agricultural worker of Ward 2 of Kavalam Panchayat in Kuttanad in Alleppey district;

Balan Pillai, a Branch Secretary of the CPI(M), in Trivandrum district;

19-year old **Thilakappan**, a CPI(M) worker of Shertallai;

K. Sukumaran, **Manickan**, **Chellan**, **Rajan**, killed in the wanton police firing in Palghat on December 1, 1969.

The Government has not taken credit for the brutal lathi-charges on December 1 all over the State, particularly in Kozhikode (where CPI(M) MLAs M.K. Kelu, E.V. Kumaran and Dakshinamoorthy and district leaders of the Party were made the special targets of attack by the Central Reserve Police); in Vaikom where Right Communist MLA P.S. Srinivasan sat in the Taluk office and instructed the police officials during the lathi-charge in which over 250 people were seriously injured and admitted in hospital; in Irinjalakuda where a well-known Right Communist lawyer himself had to openly protest against the brutality of the lathi-charge; in Mukundapuram, Cochin, Trivandrum and Nedumangad—a day of statewide lathi-charges in which over a thousand persons were hospitalised.

Earlier on November 1, when the Achutha Menon Government assumed office, police made lathi-charges in 18 places on those who were observing it as a Betrayal Day.

Cries of agony have again begun to be heard from police lock-ups, their walls have again begun to get spattered with blood, under the new Government as the police beat and maim people. P. R. Vasu and Diwakaran in Muthukulam, the tile workers of Manalur, agricultural workers' union leaders in Ollur, Pachar and a large number of CPI(M) sympathisers in Kuttiadi and around after some extremists made an attack on the police station there though the Government and the police know that the Party had nothing to do with the attack; the CPI(M) volunteers who were arrested from a regular training camp in Kasargode; picketing workers in Badagara including women workers; and agricultural workers and others in dozens of places. P. R. Vasu was bound tightly with a rope and was beaten for hours while Pachar and some others after hours of beating were forced to eat rice mixed with human flesh and blood of the sub-inspector who was injured in the attack on the Kuttiyadi police station.

About a hundred huts of agricultural workers were burnt down in Paraal near Changanessery while in Thykattusseri in Shertallai their homes were raided and men, women and children were beaten. In the whole of Alleppey district, particularly in Kuttanad, the Kerala Congress landlords with the backing of the Right Communists and the active help of the CRP and State police are making attack after attack on agricultural workers, beating the men, raping the women, burning their homes. The heart-rending appeal from the women of these areas is, "save us from molestation by the police".

Since the Kudikidappukars (hutment-dwellers) began to assume the rights conferred on them by the Land Reforms Amendment Act from January 1 onwards, the police attacks on them have been further intensified. Newly-erected huts have been demolished and those who erected them lathi-charged in hundreds of places, thousands have been involved in cases for "stealing cocoanuts" which rightly belong to them after the Act came into force on January 1. Thousands of others had already been involved

earlier in cases for participating in protest demonstrations and movements.

The Government, particularly its Revenue Minister, claims that it is distributing title-deeds to land to thousands. But in just over a month, this Government used the police to evict the families staying in Government wasteland in Cheruthony in Idikky, 41 families in Thalappuzha, 700 families in Vellathuval, a number of families from Government wasteland in Meloor in Chalakudi, 38 families from Panchayat wasteland in Pyngottukara in Muvattupuzha, 47 families from Government wasteland in Chattangarj, to evict the settlers in Jeerakappara for the big Muslim landlord family of Koyappathodi by burning their huts and beating them, from wasteland in Nedumbram, 30 families in Mannamkandam in Devicolam and so on.

Students protesting against the High Court judgement invalidating certain clauses of the University Act were brutally lathi-charged in Tellicherry on November 1; school boys fighting for cancellation of examination fees were lathi-charged in Kannapuram, and Socialist Youth Federation volunteers picketing Government offices demanding jobs or unemployment relief were lathi-charged on January 5. The police made a wanton and indiscriminate lathi-charge on striking workers of Premier Tyres in Kalamassery during the course of which they entered a near by *madrassa* and beat up small Muslim girls; they used their lathis on the heads of transport workers who were picketing Transport Corporation offices in protest against unjust dismissals.

The Mini-Front-Kerala Congress Government can also take the credit for reviving the hated practice of police verification for recruitment to Government services. Near about a thousand persons have already been thrown out of the State Road Transport Corporation on this basis including its chairman appointed by the UF Government. The police questioned many of them and the only thing the police wanted to know was about their connections with the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

The Achutha Menon Government, in the name of "re-organizing" the State Planning Board has, in fact, abolished it.

When the Board was set up, it had been welcomed by those interested in planning in other States and at the Centre. The Kerala Congress and Congress had opposed its formation. The Achutha Menon Government has satisfied their demand and there is no planning machinery for the state now.

The Gratuity Ordinance: The Labour Minister in the UF Cabinet, the late Mathai Manjooran, had already prepared a Bill regarding this. If the Assembly had been convened on November 17 as fixed earlier, the Bill would have been enacted. By postponing the Assembly to organize defections to manufacture a majority for the Government, the mini-front-Kerala Congress delayed the enactment of the Bill and issued it as an ordinance in an attempt to earn some cheap popularity.

Handing over of wholesale distribution of foodgrains to the Food Corporation of India: The decision to do this had been taken in principle in the latter half of 1967 by the UF Government. It was the FCI which wanted time to set up its machinery and the Corporation took an inordinately long time to settle its terms with the State Government. Even when the agreement was ready, the FCI did not want to take the entire distribution, but only in one taluk in each district. Meanwhile, the UF Government had taken the most essential step of serving notices to wholesalers that their services would be dispensed with when the FCI took over. They challenged the Government decision in the High Court. By the time, the High Court dismissed the petition, the UF Government had been toppled. All that the present Government has done is to sign the agreement which the CPI(M) Food Minister had approved and for the signing of which the ground had been cleared by the CPI(M) Ministers.

Distribution of pattas (title-deeds): Despite various difficulties that the Government had to face, the distribution of pattas had been done in 1968 and 1969 under the UF Government, their total number coming to about 50,000. Arrangements were also made for distribution of more pattas. Forest land had been cleared and these lands had been transferred from the Forest to the Revenue

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department and the preparation by the Revenue department to distribute the pattas on November 1 had been made. The UF Government was toppled on October 24 and all that the present Government is doing is to distribute the pattas already prepared.

In short, the present Government is trying to take credit for all the good things that the previous Government has done while it maintains silence on the police-goonda raj which it has set up in total contrast to the police policy of the UF Government and its Chief Minister who held the Home portfolio in that Government.

Upsurge of Lakhs of Agricultural Labourers in Kerala*

Defying Landlord Attacks Agricultural Workers' Wing Demands

There is a new upsurge in the land of Punnapra-Vayalar—the upsurge of lakhs of agricultural labourers united and organized under the banner of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in the Kuttanad and Upper Kuttanad areas, the rice-bowl of Kerala.

Resisting the united onslaught of the capitalist landlords and their hirelings and political representatives in the Congress, Kerala Congress and even the Right Communists, the mighty organized strength of agricultural labourers has scored victory after victory after the U.F. Government took office.

This upsurge is different in form and the victories won are also different from those of 1959. In 1959, the movement of the agricultural labourers was confined to a few pockets. Even the limited movement was not a united one—the INTUC had also some influence—and had no united preparedness to meet the attack of the capitalist landlords. And so, when faced with the onslaught of Kayal Rajas (owners of thousands of acres of Kayal land) and the vested interests, the movement retreated and split, some even going over to the side of the class enemies.

Today, the situation is vastly different. The movement covers the entire vast areas of Kuttanad and Upper Kuttanad. A special feature is the number of women workers participating in the movement. Lakhs of women workers have been mobilized and the entire labourers have been organised. There is no alien influence over them, even the Right Communists have lost all hold there.

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Today, when confronted with the onslaught of the capitalist landlords, there is no disruption, no going over to the enemy camp. On the contrary, there is greater vigour, morale and militancy in facing, resisting and defeating the manoeuvres of the capitalist landlords.

In August 1968, there was an incident at Viyapuram at the time of harvesting in the paddy-fields of E. John Jacob, Kerala Congress MLA, notorious for his anti-labour activities. John Jacob threatened the local workers that they would be barred from work in his fields; he also refused to give wages for the second crop, according to the rates given during the first. If any worker demanded such wages, he would be denied work, John Jacob threatened.

Wages are given in kind. According to the 1968 agreement, when there was only one crop in the area, every worker was to get one measures of paddy for every eight measures accounted for as well as one-fourth of the total of such wages. (This is known in local parlance as $\frac{1}{8}$ *patam* and $\frac{1}{4}$ *thirppu*.)

John Jacob refused to give the $\frac{1}{4}$ *thirppu* for the second crop. When workers demanded it, John Jacob began mobilizing blacklegs and made an attempt to prevent local workers from entering the fields. The workers resisted and he had to retreat. Afterwards, he called a meeting of his class brethren and declared that he would organize an army of 5000 and with its help would harvest the crop on a particular date. He announced the date also.

On that day 4000 local workers, majority of them women, with sickles in hand surrounded John Jacob's fields. Due to the organised strength of the workers, Jacob could muster only 500 of his goondas, instead of 5000. The police cordoned off the workers. When John Jacob tried to harvest the crop with his blacklegs, the local women workers, without waiting for any instructions, broke the police cordon, entered the fields and drove off Jacob and his gang.

Though subsequent floods washed away the crop, the demands of the workers were conceded, and later, the Industrial Relation Committee for Agricultural Workers, which exists only in Kerala, conceded the demand that wages given for the first crop should also be given for the subsequent crop.

The second struggle began in September 1968, with the planting season. There were no uniform wages for planting, different rates existing in different areas, the maximum being Rs. three for women and Rs. five for men.

A struggle was launched for enhancing these wages, for reducing hours of work from 9 to 6 and for giving preference to local workers over others in any cluster of paddy-fields.

As a result of this long-drawn-out struggle, during which there were clashes between landlords and labourers, the workers won their demands, uniform wages throughout the area were fixed, the earlier maximum enhanced to Rs. 3.50 for women and Rs. 5.50 for men, becoming the minimum wage.

The flag timing was also won. The practice is that the representative of agricultural labourers' union at a cluster of paddy-fields hoists the red flag for the workers to enter the fields and at the time the representative takes down the flag, they get out of the fields.

The flag also serves as a warning. When the representative takes down the flag suddenly at any unusual hour, the workers understand that there is some danger, some attack from the landlords, and they stop work, get out of the fields to hear their leader and prepare to resist the attack.

These demands were not easily achieved. During the struggle, the political representatives of these capitalist landlords, the Congress and Kerala Congress, with the silent support of the Right Communists threatened to organize a goonda sena to crush the agricultural labourers and announced that December 23 would be observed as black day.

They mobilized their strength in Haripad and its suburbs in the Kuttanad area. About 5000 of them armed with batons and sticks with one side blunted with razor-sharp steel marched through Haripad with provocative question-and-answer slogans like "what is your programme?" "Beating to pulp is our programme." The demonstration was led by Congress and Kerala Congress leaders, and Ramakrishnan Pillai, a candidate of the Right Communist Party in the 1965 mid-term elections.

This show of strength, instead of frightening the agricultural labourers, made them more determined to unitedly resist any attack on their rights. They organized themselves to face any contingency. In every area, at all levels, agricultural labour unions were organized.

The day after the threatening demonstration, John Jacob made an attempt to sow his fields. He had earlier denied local workers work and had refused to concede their demands. He came in a boat to Viyapuram with 30 hirelings armed to the teeth and with chilly powder to spray on the labourers. The area was adjacent to his own home.

When he came with his hirelings, the workers in the neighbouring fields downed their flags, struck work and over 700 workers gathered near Jacob's fields. Jacob and company had to flee but he announced that he would return at 3 p.m. with more strength.

The report went around, and over 1500 workers waited around Jacob's fields. Jacob was nowhere to be seen. He did not turn up. The workers marched to his house and challenged him to come out and sow the field. He did not. A huge demonstration of workers was held, workers themselves addressing the meeting at the end of the demonstration.

Excepting Jacob's field, sowing is over in all the other fields in the area. Jacob so far had refused the workers' demands and his fields remained fallow.

Jacob then tried to smash the movement in his other strongholds in Pallippad. On December 31, 1968, a young boy of an agricultural labourer's family was spotted attending to a cow. He was beaten by hired goondas when his father, a red volunteer, was working in an adjacent field. The father, P. T. Kutty, rushed to the spot—as was expected by the goondas, who used the boy as a decoy for the father—and he was beaten and stabbed. The stabbing was followed by over 200 goondas marching to the field.

It was about 11 a.m. Immediately the danger signal was given and nearly 700 workers, majority of them women, gathered and faced the goondas. The hirelings had to flee, and about a dozen of goondas had to be taken to hospital. In the

afternoon, the news spread further, and all the agricultural workers in the neighbouring villages—Haripad, Viyapuram, Cheruthana, and Karuvatta—struck work and they rushed to the spot. Over 3000 workers were there and they marched to the stronghold of the goondas, hearing meanwhile that yet another worker had been assaulted. They marched through the stronghold of the goondas telling them, "if you want a fight, you can have it".

The next day, the entire agricultural labourers in Karthigappaly taluk struck work. The new year started with the offensive of workers against the onslaught of the capitalist landlords. The strike was complete in the taluk. In the evening, a powerful demonstration was held, led by CPI(M) District Committee Secretary Comrade N. Sreedharan and Comrades B. B. Nair, and K. N. Thankappan, Karshaka Labour Union leaders. The agricultural workers proclaimed that they would unitedly fight for their rights and resist and defeat all attacks on them and their rights by the capitalist landlords.

A notable feature of these struggles is that they were led by the workers themselves who rose to the level of trained leaders by their determination to face any sudden attack of the landowners.

The strongholds of the capitalist landlords crumbled one after another before this determined resistance. Their attacks on the workers were defeated and repulsed. Ultimately, they were forced to approach the police and the concerned authorities for protection and they expressed their readiness to talk with representatives of the workers.

As a result, a conference was held with representatives of the landowners and of workers, and the demands of the workers were conceded. There was no victimization of the workers and work was resumed.

CPI (M) Campaign For Land Reforms in Goa*

The Goa State Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in its three-day session held on January 25, 26 and 27 1969 at Vasco da Gama has demanded of the ruling Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party to fulfil its election pledge and implement its main slogan of "land-to-the-tiller."

For the last over four years, the ruling party has been occasionally issuing statements promising agrarian reforms. Now Government is talking of introducing a Bill for the purpose. However, opposition to radical land reforms is being voiced by the Opposition United Goans Party and the Goa Congress Party.

The Goa State Committee of the CPI (M) has already started a campaign for agrarian reforms on the basis of its resolution "For radical land reforms in Goa." The resolution states:

"The ruling Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party and its Government have appointed two separate committees to study and deliberate on the so-called 'land to-the-tiller' legislation to be proposed in the near future.

"However, taking into consideration the bourgeois-landlord class character of the Goa Government, its agrarian programme will be based only on the forging and consolidation of the class alliance between the bourgeoisie and the *big bhattkars* and the bankrupt capitalist path of development."

"The Programme of our Party rightly states: 'It is common knowledge that the breaking up of the land monopoly and the distribution of land *gratis* to the agricultural labourers and poor peasants and the abolition of their heavy debt burdens are the

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pre-requisites for releasing the creative energy and labour enthusiasm of the millions of peasants. This alone can form the foundation for tremendous expansion in agricultural production'."

The CPI (M) stands for the abolition of all sorts of landlordism and feudal remnants; for the distribution of cultivable wastelands to the rural labourers and poor peasants; for full protection of tenants and against eviction; for securing substantial reduction in rent; for securing loans at reasonable rates of interests; and for household-sites for *munddkars* and the rural poor, free of cost.

Out of the total surface area of Goa estimated at 361,113 hectares, only 35.5 per cent is under agricultural crops, while forests occupy nearly 30 per cent, and cultivable waste and barren lands account for another 30 per cent. The Government-owned lands, mainly forests, amount to about 18 per cent, while the big landlords occupy about 20 per cent and the medium and small landholders own about 25 per cent.

There are 226 Comunidades in Goa owning about 50,750 hectares of land, i.e., about one-third of the cultivated lands or about 14 per cent of the total surface area of Goa. The break-up of the area crop-wise in hectares is as follows: rice—16,116; coconut—1,866, rice and coconut—10,782, cashewnut—5,937, and others—16,049 hectares.

The CPI (M) has demanded that all lands whether paddy fields and cultivable wastelands or coconut, areca and cashew plantation lands as well as forest lands (barring those needed for preservation of forests), belonging to Government Comunidades and big landlords be distributed gratis to the tillers of the soil, tenants and agricultural labourers, as a first measure of land reforms.

The resolution, in conclusion, states that the CPI(M) is of the firm opinion that the carrying out of the anti-feudal tasks depends upon forging unshakable worker-peasant alliance. The Party, therefore, has called upon all Left and democratic forces to forge a strong united front and conduct systematic and organized struggles to achieve radical agrarian reform.

The special session of the State Committee was attended by eight members out of nine and seven invitees who are important

Party functionaries in Goa. The session was presided over by Comrade Sitaram Manzrekar.

In another resolution the Committee condemned the bestial and brutal mass murder by burning of 44 women and children by the landlords in Tanjore (Tamil Nadu) on December 25, 1968. The resolution called upon the DMK Government to take to task not only the actual culprits but also the leadership of the landlords, the so-called Paddy Producers' Association, which according to information available planned, guided and abetted the inhuman burning of the innocent victims.

The State Committee adopted another resolution fully supporting the struggle of the "Vaddem Nagar" people in Marmagoa district, who are defending their homesteads against evictions by the pro-feudal Comunidades of Vaddem and Marmagoa. The Party has promised full support to the Vaddem Nagar Samiti in defence of their 500 and odd homes which they constructed on the barren rocky hills.

In another resolution, the State Committee lodged its protest against the landlord terror and police harassment against the peasantry in Canacona district. The landlords in collusion with the police authorities are still collecting from one-third to one-half of the produce from the agriculturists as against the one sixth laid down by the Agricultural Tenancy Act of 1965.

The landlords are falsifying records and have transferred a number of plots of poor peasants and tenants to their own names. The Party fully supported the agitation that is being conducted by the Goa Munddkar and Shetkari Sabha.

CPI(M) Programme & Policies have been Proved Correct 8th Congress Reasserts Them*

E. M. S. Namboodiripad

All the "forecasts" made by political "pundits" regarding the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) have proved false.

They had "forecast" that the struggle between the Party and the "Naxalites" would lead to a break-up of the Party, but the Party Congress turned out to be one of complete unity of the Party!

They had "forecast" that the expulsions of individuals in some and groups in other States would undermine the mass base of the Party which would remain as nothing but a "splinter group". The Eighth Congress, however, showed that not only is this far from true, but that the removal of Left sectarianism has only cleaned and further strengthened the Party, just as the removal of right reformism and revisionism earlier had cleaned and strengthened the Party!!

They had "forecast" that there would be a scramble for power among the leaders of the Party. They had cooked up their own "stories" regarding the alleged contenders for power. All this turned out to be false: Elections to all the ^{existing} ~~leading~~ bodies of the Party were unanimous!!!

Having thus been proved false prophets, the ^{political} ~~political~~ "pundits", now resort to a new trick. They tell the people that the Party leadership has "come closer" to the right reformists and revisionists with whom the Party made a complete break over four years ago! From this "discovery" they go on to make a new "forecast"—that the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the revisionists would before long become united into one party!

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"Discovery" About Eighth Congress

They try to prove this "forecast" by referring to the announcement made by Comrade A. K. Gopalan at the time of the Party Congress that the Kerala State leadership of the Party would shortly initiate bilateral talks with the revisionists.

In pointing this out as "evidence", they suppress the truth that Comrade Gopalan referred not only to the revisionists but to all constituents of the United Front. The Kerala State leadership of the Party was going to have bilateral talks with all the constituents of the United Front in order to iron out mutual differences and further strengthen the United Front.

If they had noted this, they would have to come to either of two conclusions: That all the constituents of the United Front would give up their separate identities to form a single united party of opposition to the Congress; or that the bilateral talks between our Party and the revisionists were only a continuation of what has actually taken place in the past. For, it is well-known that, even after the break between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, our Party has had innumerable bilateral and joint talks with the revisionists as well as with other non Congress Parties.

It is, however, significant that among the political "pundits" who made this "discovery" are the revisionist leaders themselves. Their General Secretary C. Rajeswara Rao writes in *New Age* that "the gap between the political-ideological positions of the CPI and the CPI(M) have further narrowed down". Further down in the hierarchy of the Party, the middle leadership has started assuring their followers that, before long, the Marxists would "come back to the parent body"!

The revisionists, however, are not alone in this: They are joined by the so-called "extremists" as well.

The "extremist" leader of Kerala, K.P.R. Gopalan, for instance, reacted to the Eighth Congress of our Party by declaring that the Eighth Congress went back on all the positions taken at the Seventh Congress! He and his colleagues are at one with C. Rajeswara Rao and his colleagues in "forecasting" the early coming together of our Party and the revisionists!!

New Version of Old Slander

To complete the picture, it may be added that no less a leader of the Congress than the Union Law Minister, Govinda Menon, hailed the Political Resolution and other decisions of the Eighth Congress of the Party and said that if these were sincerely implemented, there would not be any trouble in Kerala!

How is it that all our political opponents who have for so long denounced us for our "adventurism", "dogmatism", lack of "patriotism", and so on, have now begun to sing a new song? Is it because there is something in our resolution and our decisions which are capable of the interpretation that they put on our present stand? These are questions which every class-conscious worker and peasant who is a friend of the Party would legitimately ask.

Before answering that question in detail let us make a general observation: Our political opponents are here giving a new version of their old slander against us. They have so far been so distorting and misinterpreting our position as to make us appear as "anarchists". That trick having failed—our Party having proved that it is not a group of anarchists but an organised party of the working class leading all other sections of the working people—they now want to so distort our stand as to make it appear that we have been corrupted by the crumbs of office thrown to any party that enters the arena of bourgeois parliamentary politics.

Why This Attack From All?

A careful examination of all the resolutions and documents of the Seventh and Eighth Congresses of our Party, together with the resolutions and documents of the Central Committee between the two Congresses, would show that our Party has consistently refused to be either a group of anarchists or a party that plays the bourgeois parliamentary game; in fact, ours is a party which bases itself firmly on the soil of mass struggle and uses the parliamentary institutions (including ministries wherever they are

formed) as effective means through which the militant struggle of the working people is strengthened. This is why our Party has become the common target of attack by the Congress leaders at one end and the so-called "extremists" at the other, with the revisionists in between.

An analysis of the main basic issues on which our Party differed from the revisionists on the one end and the "extremists" on the other would substantiate the correctness of the observations made above. We would, therefore, try in the following pages to take each of these issues one by one; see where we and the revisionists stood once and stand now.

India-China Conflict

Let us take the question of the India-China border conflict. This, it may be recalled, was the issue on which a furious struggle took place within the united Communist Party ever since 1959 when the issue cropped up. The revisionists took up the so-called "patriotic" stand that the communists should "swim with the current" of nationalism. They wanted the Party to join the chorus of anti-China campaign, make that campaign the basis of "patriotic unity". They conspired with the main organs of the bourgeois Press against those of us who refused to take this stand, carried on a public campaign that we were "Chinese agents".

They hoped that this "national patriotic" campaign would isolate us in the country and within the Party itself. It was this stand of the revisionists that culminated in the notorious resolution of the leadership of the united Communist Party (October 1962) which welcomed the imperialist military "aid" to India in furtherance of its "national defence".

The revisionist leaders owe it to themselves, owe an explanation to us whom they persistently denounced as "Chinese agents", owe it to the people of the country whom they have been trying to convince that the Communist Party split on this issue of "patriotism" versus "Chinese agency". They should explain where they stand now on this issue.

Change in Government Position

The decade that has elapsed since the issue of the India China border conflict came to the forefront has seen many changes in the stand taken by the ruling Congress party and the Government itself. No more do we hear the slogan of so organising the armed forces of the country as to "throw the Chinese out" of the Himalayan heights where they have "encroached upon and seized several thousands of square kilometres of our national territory". No more do we hear even the less militant slogan, "we will talk with the Chinese if only they accept the Colombo proposals". Prime Minister Indira Gandhi herself has openly proclaimed her readiness to open talks with the Chinese without making it a prior condition that they should accept the Colombo proposals.

We, for our part, are happy that such a change has taken place. It was such an attitude that we have always been pleading for; it was for such a plea that we were denounced throughout the country as "traitors" and, on the basis of such denunciation, hunted and jailed. We are, however, afraid that, like the unimaginative bourgeois statesmen and politicians that they are, the leaders of the ruling Congress party and the Government have been rather late in correcting this mistake. If the late Prime Minister Pandit Nehru had taken the stand (which his daughter has now taken) at the time when the Colombo proposals were made, it would have yielded results. It is, however, good that, even though late, the leaders of the Congress and the Central Government have been forced to change their stand on this issue.

Where Do The Revisionists Stand?

It is against this background that one would like the revisionist leaders to answer whether they consider themselves to have been correct in taking what was called the "national-patriotic" stand on the India-China border question in 1959, 1962 and later. We, for our part, are firmly convinced that the whole course of development since 1959 has completely proved the correctness of our stand. We are of the view that the anti-China campaign which became the centre of politics of all other parties except ours has had disastrous consequences for the country. It has done immense

harm to the country economically and politically, without any gain in any field. The country would have gained a lot if only its leaders and statesmen had accepted our advice that the question of India-China border is one to be settled not through the military means of using force but through the political means of mutual discussion and settlement. The course of history would have been different if only Nehru had reacted realistically to the proposals made by Chou En lai when he visited India in 1960.

We would, of course, be happy if the revisionists learn from the lessons of history, admit that they were wrong on this issue and come closer to us. There is, however, no question of our going closer to them on an issue on which history has proved them completely wrong, completely bankrupt.

Attitude to Other Parties

Let us now take another issue which came to the forefront in the inner Party struggle which led to the break-up of the old united Communist Party, to the formation of two parties each of which claims to be the real Communist Party of India. We mean the issue of how to assess the character of the ruling Congress party on the one hand and such Opposition parties as the Jana Sangh, Swatantra, Akali, Muslim League, etc., on the other.

It was, for long, an article of faith with the revisionists that the Congress should be included in the "forces of democracy and progress", as opposed to the Jana Sangh, Swatantra, etc., which are reactionary parties.

"Isolate and defeat the forces of the right, forge alliance with the forces of progress and democracy"—such was the line of . . . according to them. A long and bitter struggle was waged in the united Communist Party between the revisionists who took this stand and those of us who took a more realistic stand of greater flexibility in the struggle against the Congress regime which, being the organ of power wielded by the big landlords and big bourgeois classes of the country, was the main class enemy to be fought and defeated.

Confrontation of Two Lines

The conflict between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism on this issue was clearly revealed in the classic electoral battle in Kerala in 1965. Being the first confrontation between the two political stands after Marxism-Leninism and revisionism broke from each other, the Kerala election posed the issue in an unambiguous manner. The Marxist-Leninists took the position that the main point was to inflict a crushing defeat on the Congress for which it was necessary, above all, to strengthen the forces of Left democracy, socialism and communism; having ensured such a unity and strengthening of the Left and democratic forces, however, it was necessary to make as many adjustments as possible with other non-Congress forces which would help the reduction of the Congress strength to the minimum and increase the strength of the Left and democratic opposition to the maximum.

With such an electoral strategy, we came to electoral adjustments with the Muslim League. The official candidates of this party were all fought (and some of them defeated) by our Party but we came to such adjustments as would ensure that, in constituencies where mutual fights might result in Congress victory, we and they would support agreed common candidates. This was denounced by the revisionists as "opportunistic". They wanted us to make a complete break with the Muslim League and, on our refusal to do so, they themselves broke with us. They carried on a raging and tearing campaign against the "communist-communalist alliance"—a campaign which understandably was supported by the Congress itself.

Swing to Opportunism

The revisionist leaders owe it to themselves, owe it to us whom they denounced as "opportunists", owe it to the people that they explain where they stand on this issue today. We all know, of course, that they have changed their *practice*. In Kerala itself, they are now part of the United Front in which the Muslim League is an equal partner. In other States, too, they participated in coalition Governments in which parties like the Jana Sangh, Swatantra and the Akalis had even greater roles to play than the revisionists. There

is, therefore, no question of their looking upon the Congress as a progressive, democratic party in contrast to the parties like the Jana Sangh, Swatantra, etc.

Having thus changed themselves in *practice* is it not necessary for them to answer whether their *strategical concept* has changed or whether they have made an "opportunistic" change in the practice in order to get into the ministries. In other words, do they or do they not, adhere to their earlier denunciation of the electoral adjustments made by us with the Muslim League in Kerala in 1965? We would be happy if they correct themselves now and on the basis of such a correction come closer to us. It is, however, plain that there is no question of our abandoning the position taken by us then and going closer to them.

In order that the picture may be complete, it is necessary to mention that, just as in 1965, so now, we consider the strengthening of the forces of Left democracy, socialism and communism as the basic consideration. Alliances and adjustments with other non-Congress forces is, and should be, subordinated to the requirements of such a strengthening of revolutionary forces. That is why we, who are prepared to have an electoral alliance with the Muslim League in 1965, we who had also United Fronts with the Muslim League in Kerala and the Bangla Congress in West Bengal in 1967, were not prepared to join the coalition Governments with the Jana Sangh and Swatantra in Bihar, U.P. and Punjab. We were and are, still of the view that in such States where the revolutionary forces are relatively weaker, our Party should not become associated with the functioning of the non-Congress Governments in which the major role would be played by the Jana Sangh, Swatantra, etc.

The revisionists, however, swung from one extreme to the other: From the 1965 "no truck", they swung to "coalition at all costs". One does not know whether the experience of the Ministries in 1967-1968 has taught them any new lesson in this respect. We would, of course, be happy if they have learnt such lessons and would refuse to repeat the earlier experiment of going into Ministries in these States, and thus come closer to us on this issue. We, however, do not intend to give up our stand, go closer to them on this issue. We firmly believe that this is the only correct path to be followed by us.

Estimate of non-Congress Governments

The third question on which differences cropped up between the revisionists and us was: How to assess the role of non-Congress Governments that came into existence in some States after the Fourth General Elections—are they Governments with real (though limited) powers; or are they just positions of vantage from which the revolutionary forces can mount attacks on the bourgeois-landlord regime?

The Central Committee of our Party set its face firmly against any attempt to equate Governmental power in Indian States with real state power. "The essence of state power", we pointed out in the resolution on post-election "Situation and Tasks", "lies in the army, police, bureaucracy, judiciary and jails, and all this machinery belongs to the bourgeois-landlord state. In class outlook, composition and in several other respects it is not an instrument that is suitable even for the implementation of a consistently democratic administration—let alone any class policies decisively directed against the vested interests. A good and an essential part of state power resides in the Union Centre and the Congress Central Government and whatever small share of power the State Governments possess under the provisions of the country's Constitution, will have to be exercised within the confines of this overall Central power. Naturally, under these circumstances, to speak of real political power for the State Governments, that, too, non-Congress Governments comprising of different Opposition parties, is unreal and devoid of substance".

Our Class Understanding

Explaining how "the entire state apparatus, bureaucracy, judiciary and police even at the States' level as now constituted is definitely class-oriented with a definite bias to the well-to do and propertied classes" the Central Committee went on:

"It is regrettable that this reality is not fully understood by several Opposition parties, let alone the colossal ignorance that the mass of our people are left in on this crucial question.

"Sometimes several among the members of the Communist Party, too, failed to grasp it fully. Unless all the democratic Opposition parties and the United Front Governments comprising these parties make earnest and conscious efforts through concerted action and propaganda to dispel this ignorance among the wide masses of our people, it would become a handy weapon in the hands of the ruling bourgeois-landlord party to discredit the Opposition democratic parties by holding them responsible for not solving any of the burning problems of the people, a thing which they cannot just venture to undertake within the framework of the present set-up".

As opposed to this class understanding of the real character of the State Governments (even though they are composed of Left-democratic, socialist and communist parties) is the understanding put forward by the revisionists. The essence of their understanding is that what are called "structural reforms" are possible even within the limits of the Indian Constitution. Here, for instance, is the assessment made by Unni Raja in an article published in *Peace, Freedom and Socialism* (October-November 1968):

"The aim of the leadership of the Indian National Congress and other reactionary forces was clear: To create a situation in the State that would provide an alibi for the Central Congress rulers to intervene and dismiss the U.F. Government in Kerala.

"How to meet this situation? There is only one way to defeat the nefarious game of the reactionaries, i.e., to win over and rally the masses still more closely behind the U.F. and its Government. For this, the most important thing is to implement with speed and determination the commonly accepted election programme of the United Front, so that the people are able to get some relief, however limited, from the U.F. Government and feel that this Government is something different from and better than the Congress rule".

Revisionist Call For "Structural Reforms"

The author wants us all to "reject and combat the sectarian dogmatic view that non-Congress democratic State Governments can achieve little under the present set-up in India. A programme of structural reforms possible within the limited powers of State

Governments should be worked out and speedily implemented". This, according to him, is the surest way to "win over large sections of the politically uncommitted people who voted for the U.F. in the General Election" and to "consolidate and stabilize its influence over these sections on the basis of actual performance by its Government".

The essence of the strategy, in other words, is to use the "real, though limited power" to get substantial relief to the people through which more and more people can be won over and more power can be wrested. Those who have evolved this strategy miss the fact that the smallest attempt to bring about even the barest minimum of what are called "structural reforms" puts the non-Congress State Governments in direct conflict with the Central Government on the one hand and with the internal forces of reaction within the State on the other.

Struggle Against The Centre

This is exactly what happened in 1957-59. The two measures of "structural reforms"—the Land Reforms Bill and the Education Bill—led to such a bitter conflict that the State Government was dismissed and the two measures of "structural reforms" were very much watered down. If this was the position in 1957-59, all the more is it so a decade later. Our Central Committee pointed out:

"The defeat of the Congress and the coming into existence of several Opposition parties' Governments in States have roused big hopes and expectations among our people. But a closer examination of the political power that rests with the States and the scope of relief these State Governments can offer to their people reveal the extreme limitations. Judging from the enormity of the problems facing the people today, it appears that the record of the Communist Government of Kerala in 1957-59 in the matter of giving relief to the masses becomes enviable. With the deepening economic crisis and the acute food crisis that have enveloped the entire economy, with depleted resources and limited powers for the States and with the running of the Kerala and West Bengal Governments together with several other political

parties who do not see eye to eye with us on the several pressing issues, our Party is faced with an extremely difficult and formidable task".

Does it mean that we accept defeat and clear out of the administration? On the contrary, the Central Committee holds, "the fortunes of the entire Party at the present stage of development, are closely linked with the successful running of these ministries and the role our Party plays in them". This, however, cannot be done unless the Party "mobilizes ever wider popular support to these programmes and exposes every obstacle placed in their way and all attempts to torpedo them by the Central Congress Government as well as its party's agencies working in the respective Legislatures."

The conclusion is then drawn: Our Ministers without either entertaining undue illusions about giving relief in a big way or courting despair that nothing can be done in the present set-up should always bear in mind that they, as the Party's representatives, should strive to tender our bona fides to the people. Any failure on this score compromises the Party's political line in the eyes of the people, adversely affects the independent mobilization of the people and their activities, and all this in turn will not help us to resist and overcome the vacillations, wobblings and some times, even possible backsliding of some democratic parties in the U.Fs and their respective Governments. In a word, the U.F. Governments that we are now having are to be treated and understood as the instrument of struggle in the hands of our people, more than as Governments that actually possess adequate power that can materially and substantially give relief to the people".

"Gradualism" Had Been Rejected

It may be mentioned in this connection that just over a decade ago, in October 1958, the National Council of the then united Communist Party of India had made the following critical assessment in relation to the first non-Congress Government of Kerala: "a concept grew in our Party which can be described as the concept of gradualism, the concept of a path of more or less smooth advance, the concept that by doing more and more good

for the people we shall be able to achieve progressively greater consolidation and increasingly isolate our opponents and that with their growing isolation their resistance would decrease. It was thought that conflicts among parties opposing the Kerala Government were so sharp and their internal contradictions so deep that they would not be able to unite. This led to a sense of complacency".

It is this same "concept of gradualism" that in 1967-68 assumed the form of "structural reforms as the only way of defeating the reactionary game".

Our Party, for its part, does not deny the need for giving as much relief as is possible under the circumstances to the people, particularly the basic masses of toilers. We, however, wish to point out that the extent of such relief being extremely limited, both because of the class character of the state as well as due to the ever-deepening crisis of the capitalist path, we should educate the people on these limitations; we should point out to them that between their (and our) aspirations and the actual realization of these aspirations lies the bourgeois-landlord regime at the Centre; a mobilization of the people against the Central bourgeois-landlord regime is thus the essence of our work; the relief that is provided within the limitations is only a by-product of this mobilization of popular forces.

The revisionists, on the other hand, hold that it is futile to appeal to the people to fight the Centre. Such an appeal to them will be useful only if it follows the "structural reforms" brought about by the non-Congress democratic Governments in the State.

Behind The Conflict In Kerala

This conflict of (Marxist-Leninist and Revisionist) policies was fully revealed in the very first few weeks of the formation of the non-Congress Government in Kerala and that on the issue of food. Our Party firmly and loyally adhered the Marxist-Leninist concept that there could be no solution of the food problem in Kerala unless the Central Congress Government was forced to fulfil its commitment to supply Kerala's needs. This, it may be mentioned,

is a position which had, in fact, been accepted by all the constituents of the United Front when they agreed on the common minimum programme. That programme stated:

"A difficult problem which any Government in Kerala has to face is that of food. The reason why it has assumed such serious proportions lies in the wrong policies of the Central Government. Although highly deficit in foodgrains production, Kerala is earning for the country as a whole large amounts of extremely useful foreign exchange. It is, therefore, the duty of the Central Government to provide the people of Kerala food at reasonable prices".

Opposition to Anti-Centre Struggle

Any sensible person can see that it is not any new policy adopted by the Government of Kerala or its effective implementation that will solve Kerala's food or other problems. What is required is a complete change in the policies of the Central Government. It is, therefore, the basic task of all the democratic and Left parties to fight for thorough change in Central policies.

This, however, was not accepted by the revisionists. Paying lip service to the idea of the Centre's responsibility, they nevertheless went on emphasizing the need for new policies to be adopted by the State Government; they also asked for more vigorous and effective implementation of these policies. Leaving aside for a moment the fact that the main target of their food campaign was an attack on our Party and its Food and Chief Ministers, leaving aside also the fact that they swung between two extremes of removal of all control on food movement and full and vigorous control, we may state that the essence of their campaign was to ignore the role of the Central Government and to call for "structural reforms" in the administration of food without which, they claimed, there could not be any struggle with the Centre.

Not only with regard to food, but with regard to every field of the State Government's activity, the revisionists adopted this attitude. They did, in fact, join not only some other constituents of the United Front but even the Congress in condemning our Party's call for a struggle against the Centre. We, therefore, had

independently to mobilize the people of the State in a phased programme of struggle against the Centre. The revisionists and several others did in the beginning ridicule our call for struggle but had, in the end, to agree that we were successful in mobilizing the people. Our direct action of October 23 was an admittedly magnificent success. So, too, was the mobilization of our Party at the final day's rally and demonstration after the Party's Congress.

Where Do They Stand Now?

The question, therefore, arises: Where do the revisionists stand now on the question of "structural reforms" as the Central slogan around which the activities of non-Congress Governments and the communist movement should be concentrated? Are they still of the view that it is "sectarian" and "dogmatic" to hold that any effort to bring relief to the working people will lead to a confrontation between the Congress Central Government and the non-Congress State Government? If they do, there is no question of our accepting that position.

The foregoing discussion on the role and limitations of non-Congress Governments raises once again the old theoretical question on which Lenin in his days fought an uncompromising struggle against revisionism. We mean the question of the extent to which the party of the working class can and should use bourgeois parliamentary institutions.

Lenin on Parliaments

Lenin, it is well-known, firmly rejected the idea propagated by the "heroes of the Second International"—the idea that parliament being the expression of the will of the majority, the working class can use it for transforming capitalist society into socialist society. Pointing out that even the most democratic of parliamentary institutions in a capitalist set-up is an instrument of capitalist oppression over the toiling masses, he made it obligatory on every communist to combat the idea that there can be any medium in capitalist society through which the toiling masses can express their will.

Even in his well-known polemics against the "Left communists" who advocated the policy of the boycott of parliament on the ground that bourgeois parliaments had become outmoded, he agreed that bourgeois parliament was from a historical angle "obsolete" and that Soviet democracy had come on the scene of history. He made it clear that for the advanced class-conscious sections of the working class, bourgeois parliamentarism was obsolete. His criticism of the "Left communist" line was only that they were equating what was historically obsolete, what was obsolete for the advanced class-conscious sections of the working class with what was obsolete for the class as a whole, for the masses. Advising how to use the bourgeois parliamentary institutions in the class struggle, he went on:

".....it has been proved that, far from causing harm to the revolutionary proletariat, participation in a bourgeois-democratic parliament, even a few weeks before the victory of a Soviet Republic and even after such a victory, actually helps that proletariat to *prove* to the backward masses why such parliaments deserve to be done away with; it *facilitates* their successful dissolution, and *helps* to make bourgeois parliamentarism 'politically obsolete'."

What CPI(M) Programme Says

Marxism Leninism, therefore, cannot but look upon the process of elections and the institutions of elected legislatures in capitalist societies as nothing but the instruments of class struggle, nothing but fields of battle in which the organized working class mobilizes and organises all sections of the working people against the bourgeoisie and its allies. No quarter will be given to any political or tactical line that would create the illusion among the people that the exploiting classes will allow themselves to be "peacefully overthrown" if only the working class and its allies "play the parliamentary game". That is why our Party Programme calls the "universal adult franchise and parliament and legislatures", "instruments of the people in their struggle for democracy, for defence of their interests". The Programme goes on:

"Although a form of class rule of the bourgeoisie, India's present parliamentary system also embodies an advance for the people. It affords certain opportunities to them to defend their interests, intervene in the affairs of the state to a certain extent, and mobilize them to carry forward the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress".

The Party, however, has no illusion that the exploiting classes will calmly look on while the working people utilizes the opportunities afforded by the existence of parliamentary institutions. "When the people begin to use parliamentary institutions for advancing their cause and they fall away from the influence of the reactionary bourgeoisie and landlords, these classes do not hesitate to trample underfoot parliamentary democracy as was done in Kerala in 1959" (and, we may now add, as was repeated in Kerala itself in 1965 and West Bengal in 1967). "When their interest demands, they do not hesitate to replace parliamentary democracy by military dictatorship. It will be a serious error and a dangerous illusion to imagine that our country is free from all such threats".

"Concept of Gradualism"

It is interesting to note that, paying lip service as they have to do to the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism, the revisionists, too, have in a way incorporated the very same idea in their Party Programme. They, however, do not mean it seriously, as will be clear from the foregoing discussion on their conception of "structural reforms". The crux of their understanding of "structural reforms" is the abandonment of the Leninist idea that communists go into bourgeois parliamentary institutions with the basic objective of educating the mass of the people on the real class character of the bourgeois parliamentary institutions, educate them on the need of a revolutionary overthrow of the exploiting classes. In place of this revolutionary conception is advanced what was called by the Sixth Congress of the (then united) Communist Party of India as the "concept of gradualism", the "concept of smooth advance". Our Party firmly rejects this concept.

This rejection by our Party of the path of parliamentarianism was denounced by our opponents (including the revisionists) as the advocacy of the so-called Chinese path of armed struggle everywhere and under all conditions. In the 1962-65 period of bitter battle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, the advocates of the latter joined the chorus of anti-communism and denounced us as "adventurists", training guerrillas and preparing for armed struggle everywhere. The notorious "white paper" issued by Gulzarilal Nanda's Home Ministry, it is well-known, was based among other things on the vile slanders spread against us by the revisionists.

We Stand by Our Programme

Just as for all other sections of anti-communists so for the revisionists, too, rejection of bourgeois parliamentarianism as the path of struggle for socialism is equivalent to the adoption of immediate armed struggle; refusal to accept the peaceful non-violent path is equivalent to the acceptance of individual and group terrorism as the only path of advance. They, therefore, denounced us in the early years of struggle within the communist movement for the so-called advocacy of armed revolution here and now.

Finding that line of argument does not hold water now, in view of the serious and effective work that we have been and are still carrying on in the field of bourgeois parliamentary institutions, they now turn round and say that we have given up our old "adventurist" line and accepted the "sober line" of parliamentary struggle. The whole thing is ridiculous because, as we have stated above, we have even in our 1964 Programme called the institutions of bourgeois-parliamentary democracy as means through which the people can mobilize themselves and fight the exploiting classes. That was why the Seventh Congress of our Party (which completely broke with revisionism as an ideological-political trend) called for a United Front of all the radical left forces in the country (including the revisionists) in order to inflict a crushing defeat on the Congress. The Party Congress call for such a United Front of Left and democratic forces in Kerala (where the mid-term elections were to take place in a few weeks' time) is the most effective

reply to the off-repeated canard that we were taking a negative attitude to the struggle on the parliamentary front.

Let us, therefore, make it perfectly clear that we have nothing to change on the fundamental principles laid down by our Seventh Congress which adopted the Party Programme. Not only did we envisage the use of elections and the elected institutions as means of further strengthening the struggle against the exploiting classes, but we even visualized a situation in which "Governments pledged to carry out a modest programme of giving immediate relief to the people" would come into existence. While we have no doubt that the "formation of such Governments will give great fillip to the revolutionary movement of the working people and thus help the process of building the democratic front", we added that even such a development "would not solve the economic and political problems of the nation in any fundamental manner. The Party, therefore, will continue to educate the mass of the people on the need for replacing the present bourgeois-landlord state and Government headed by the big bourgeoisie even while utilizing all opportunities for forming such Governments of a transitional character".

Power from Barrel of Gun

This discussion on the place of struggle on the parliamentary front in the development of the revolutionary movement will be incomplete if we do not make reference to a question posed before us by the revisionists on the one hand and the so-called "extremists" on the other. That question is: Do we believe in the "Thought of Mao Tse-tung" that "power flows from the barrel of a gun"? The revisionists accuse us of believing in and trying to practise this theory, while the "extremists" accuse us of the opposite. The facts, however, are:

(i) As Marxist-Leninists, we do not believe that the bourgeois landlord classes will voluntarily relinquish power. On the other hand, they will fight a last-ditch battle even after it has become clear that they are on the way out. We are of the view that even after a century, Karl Marx's idea that "force is the midwife of the new society that is growing in the womb of the old" is still true.

Comrade Mao has only put this Marxist idea in a probably little more picturesque language when he brought in "the barrel of the gun". That idea, therefore, is, in its essentials, correct and should be accepted by every Marxist-Leninist.

(ii) But we as Marxist-Leninists look upon the Marxist theory not as a dogma but as a guide to action. (This, by the way, is what Comrade Mao himself taught. He, like Lenin, tried to combine the greatest possible flexibility in practice with firm refusal to compromise on theory. How else can one reconcile the "Thought of Mao Tse-tung" with regard to "the barrel of the gun" as the source of political power with a call for coalition Government with the Kuomintang, against which of course he was in a few months' time to launch a furious battle?)

(iii) The guiding line in every attempt to relate theory to practice is the proletarian class standpoint, i.e., which particular practice, which particular method will help the mass movement of the working people to advance; which will weaken the enemy most, secure allies in the struggle against the enemy and neutralize the middle strata? It is from this angle that we look upon the efficacy or otherwise of any particular method of struggle, peaceful or non-peaceful.

1951 Statement of Policy

We may, in this connection, remind our revisionists as well as the "extremists" that this question had once before become the point of controversy in the united Communist Party. That controversy was settled in the Statement of Policy adopted by the Central Committee in 1951. Let us quote the relevant passage from that Statement for the benefit of our revisionists and of our "extremists".

It is the reactionary classes, the Statement pointed out, "who pose for us the question whether our creed is violence or non-violence. Such a poser is a poser of Gandhian ideology which in practice misleads the masses and is a poser of which one must steer clear. Marxism and history have once for all decided the question for the Party and the people of every country in the world

long ago. All action of the masses in defence of their interests to achieve their liberation is sacrosanct. History sanctions all that the people decide to do to clear the lumber-load of decadence and reaction in their path to progress and freedom".

There is, however, one action, the Statement went on, "history does not sanction and that is individual terrorism". Why is this not sanctioned? "For the simple reason that therein the masses are not in action. Therein the belief is fostered that the heroes will do the job for the people. Therein it fosters the belief that many more such actions will mean in the sum-total the annihilation of the classes or the system. Ultimately, it leads to passivity and inertia of the masses, stops their own action and development towards revolution and in the end results in defeat. Hence Marxism warns against individual terrorism and bans it."

Who has Strayed from this Path?

The revisionists on the one hand and the "extremists" on the other may have strayed from the path laid down in the above Statement of Policy. The former might want to abandon it in favour of the path that is peaceful everywhere and under all circumstances; they may want to equate vigilance against the enemy and preparedness to meet all eventualities as "adventurism" and "sectarianism". The "extremists" might want us to abandon the above method in favour of violence everywhere and under all circumstances. We, however, refuse to follow their lead. We adhere firmly to the idea that the bourgeois-landlord regime can be replaced by People's Democracy only through revolutionary struggle and that there is no revolutionary struggle unless every form of struggle is used to mobilize and unite the working people under the leadership of the working class. This was our stand in 1964 (Seventh Congress); this is our stand in 1968 (Eighth Congress). The revisionists as well as the sectarians are welcome either to join us on this basis or to tell the people why this is wrong.

Economic Realities Debunk Government Claims of Recovery*

B. T. Ranadive

In the Economic Survey presented to Parliament, the Union Government makes a number of claims which are not borne out by facts. On the other hand, the Survey reveals that the Indian economy continues to remain in a perilous condition, forecasting new burdens on the people and offering hardly any relief from the growing unemployment which has rapidly developed in the period of recession. It also reveals that the dependence of the economy on foreign loans and doles has not decreased but increased and a drastic reduction in the American loan is bound to lead to another crisis, upsetting the neatly-laid plans of the Finance Minister and the Planning Commission.

For months, the Government has now been claiming that the economy has turned the corner and has renewed its onward advance. It has been boasting that it has succeeded in holding the price line, that food production has increased and will continue to increase and endeavouring to create a climate of buoyant optimism—in fact, of smug self-satisfaction.

Claims Not Borne Out By Facts

What are the facts? Prices had risen at an average annual rate of about 12 per cent over the three years ending 1966-67. By October 1967, the price index reached the level of 224.5 and by December that year it had come down to 207.8, a figure higher

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", Calcutta, March 2, 1969. This is a critical review of the ECONOMIC SURVEY presented by the Finance Ministry of the Government of India to the Parliament before the Budget Session in 1969.

than the preceding two years. In December 1968, it was 206.3, only a slight decline since December 1967. And it is for this marginal decline which does not in the least abate the burden of the price-rise of the preceding two years that the Survey takes credit.

It is true that this year's foodgrains prices fell by 9 per cent but for this also the Government cannot take credit. Because this was due to the bumper harvest which came after two years of drought. As a matter of fact, the fall of 9 per cent in wholesale prices can hardly be considered as a relief for the people considering that the price index for foodgrains had risen up 100 per cent since 1962-63.

What about the other claims? Official statistics themselves reveal that Government's claims are exaggerated. In last year's Economic Survey the increase in national income was estimated at 10.8 per cent; in the present Survey it has been reduced to 8.9 per cent. In December 1968, the real national income in the current year (1968-69) was estimated at 6 per cent; much was made of this claim and it was offered as a positive proof that the economy had resumed its quick progress. But now the Survey estimates that the real growth in national income is only 3 per cent. By the time of the next Survey, the figure might be reduced still further and we may be told that 1968-69 was a year of "marking time", i.e., stagnation.

Industrial output is expected to rise by 5 to 6 per cent; exports by 9 per cent; the earlier claims that agricultural production will exceed last year's bumper production are given up and the Government is content with stating that food production will not be lower than last year's.

Industrial Production—The Reality

True, because of the increased agricultural production, industrial production has been given an impetus and the decline of the preceding years is being replaced by an advance of 5.6 per cent. Index of industrial production rose by only 1 per cent in 1966 and had declined by 0.5 per cent in 1967-68 as compared with an average increase of 8 per cent during the calendar years

1961-64. Even if this year's advance finally turns out according to the estimate, it does not give a firm hope that industry is turning the corner. This is not to say that a number of industries are not showing increased production. In fact, a large number—barring some of the key industries—are going ahead. But as will be seen later their progress has obvious limitations. In the circumstances given by the Survey one cannot hope that they will take the economy out of the crisis.

And, besides, even this so-called revival is accompanied by unemployment, greater exploitation of the working class and a steady attack on their standard of living. The Survey further says that despite significant expansion of industrial output there will still be large areas of under-utilization of capacity such as heavy electrical equipment, coal-mining machinery and heavy engineering equipment. So far as transport equipment is concerned, the following figures tell their own tale. Percentage growth over the previous year for 1966 was —19.5, for 1967—11.9 and for January-September 1968 (the year of recovery) it was only 0.6.

In this background, the agricultural harvest seems to be the only hope for the maintenance of industrial production. Last year's harvest, by adding to the purchasing power of the peasant, gave a fillip to consumer goods industries and also industries producing agricultural implements. The pent-up demand of the previous two years, the big addition of 28 per cent in one year to agricultural production did give some relief. But the prospect this year is at best of maintaining last year's level of production and how far it will succeed in giving an impetus to increased production is anybody's guess.

Food Price-Rise Inevitable

On the other hand, facts point out that if food production does not improve, if it only keeps to the last year's level, things might be worse and the price situation will deteriorate. In spite of last year's record harvest, the net availability of foodgrains in 1968 was only 457 grammes which was lower by 3.6 per cent than the availability in 1965, though it was higher by 15 per cent than that

in 1965. In fact, in 1968 the per capita availability was less than in some of the earlier years.

This together with the fact that the Government proposes to withdraw food subsidies is bound to raise the prices of foodgrains next year. Jagjivan Ram, Minister for Food, stated in the Rajya Sabha on February 21 that the rise in the issue price of wheat might become inevitable at a later date as the Government continued to incur heavy losses because of a subsidy of nearly Rs. 10-Rs. 11 involved in it. With this inevitable rise of food prices, the purchasing capacity of the ordinary man in the city will be under heavy pressure and industry will in vain try to forge ahead. The urban cost of living index is bound to go up. Besides, the benefit of this rise will not go to the largest strata of the rural population—poor peasants and agricultural workers—so that it will not add to their purchasing power. Whatever diffusion of purchasing power may follow a big harvest, higher prices of foodgrains will act as a counter-acting force.

Enforced Exports

The increase in exports which is advertised as a great sign of recovery also shows the down-and-out condition of the Indian economy. The 17.5 per cent increase in exports recorded during the first six months of the year is not likely to be maintained and the average for the year may work out to be 9 per cent. Exports of engineering goods, iron and steel, etc., have forged ahead. Among the non-traditional items iron and steel is expected to fetch 100 million dollars this year while engineering goods are expected to fetch about 90 million dollars this year. Railway wagons, automobiles, railway coaches, bicycles, mild steel pipes, etc., constitute other items diversifying India's exports.

What is the significance of the export drive? To the extent that they end India's dependence on a few traditional items, they are a welcome development. But the matter does not end there. They are enforced exports. India is forced, long before reaching her own production targets, to export these items and keep her economy going. They cannot be consumed in the country. They have to be exported even at lower costs, with official incentives,

so that the demand for foreign exchange to meet part of the costs of imports is met. Recessionary conditions at home together with the dire dependence on foreign imports compels Indian economy to seek foreign markets at all cost. As the Survey says, for exports as a whole prices were quite unfavourable and the rise in export earnings despite an adverse turn in export prices reflects a much larger volume in the value of exports. In short, we are trying to make up for the exchange gap by selling more at lower prices.

Many of the countries to which our goods are exported are under the influence of big imperialist Powers. And to get access to this market, India must pay a political price. Otherwise why should Bhilai steel and Tata trucks be exported to South Vietnam and Indian rails to South Korea?

Dependence on West Growing

The exports and imports figures reveal that India's dependence on Western monopolist countries is growing; that India would have been in a completely helpless position had it not been for development of her trade with the USSR and the East European People's Democracies. India's exports to East European rupee payment countries were slightly above 20 per cent of total exports in the preceding year; they increased by 10 per cent in the first half of the present fiscal year while the exports to all other countries increased by as much as 19.5 per cent. In spite of this dual relationship the dependence of Indian economy on Western, especially American imperialism, is growing. This is seen in the first place from the rapid growth of imports from the USA—imports from the USA in 1967-68 amounted to 40 per cent of the total while exports were 18 per cent. Imports from the USSR and the East European countries were 30 per cent, exports 19 per cent. This relation of dependence is hampering economic recovery and quick progress. Once again one of the obstacles to the recovery of Indian industries is the absence of sufficiently large foreign assistance. In spite of tall talk about imports substitution, anxiety is expressed that lack of foreign funds in the pipeline may arrest the recovery of Indian industries.

The Survey says that there has been a substantial decline in fresh authorization of foreign assistance during the past 18 months. These amounted to 982 million dollars in 1968-69 against 1912 million dollars in the previous year. In case PL-480 assistance is excluded new authorization amounted to only 658 million dollars against 1612 million dollars in the previous year. And, therefore, the Survey expresses the view that in the coming year, a substantial improvement in the level of aid authorization will be necessary to sustain the imports called for by higher activity. It is thus not only the development of the internal market or the good harvest that determines the recovery in industry; it is also dependent on the benevolence of American imperialism, its loans, to finance the imports required for keeping the industry in production. This speaks a lot for the independence of Indian industry built under Congress planning.

US Demands More Concessions

The trend in the USA is towards very hard bargaining. They have reduced the so-called aid to demand greater concessions. They demand entry of American private capital with handsome concession. They demand political concessions. And only when these are found to be coming step by step they will open their purse-strings.

Besides, the heavy price paid for the import of foreign capital is one of the causes of the crisis. It has saddled Indian industry with costly loans and payments under which it is bound to flounder. The loans are costly; their real purchasing power being 20 to 50 per cent below their nominal value. This imposes a heavy burden on Indian production and the economy is not able to meet the demands of its creditors without instituting barbarous methods of exploitation. Add to this the fact that the enforced devaluation of the rupee has raised the burden of foreign debts in rupees by 57 per cent and has enabled India's exploiters to pump out her goods at low prices.

And yet the Survey considers these costly loans to be the only saviour of Indian industry.

This means that India must borrow every year much more than before if she has to keep the wheels of her industry running. For now the debt-servicing charges have increased so much that they absorb a substantial part of the new loans leaving inadequate sums for meeting the foreign exchange shortage. Debt-servicing charges have increased from 319 million dollars in 1966-67 to 444 million dollars in 1967-68 and about 517 million dollars in 1968-69. Commitments of assistance amount to only 777 million dollars this year hardly leaving a balance net aid of 250 million dollars. Thus unless more heavier borrowings are permitted or debt suspension is allowed, there is hardly any chance of having sufficient foreign loans to meet the requirements.

Heavy Taxation in the Offing

Another warning emerges from the Survey, i.e., a warning about heavy taxation on the common man. Strange though it may seem, the need for heavy taxation arises from the reduced dependence on food imports from the USA under PL-480. The fact is that the Government of India's finances have been dependent on foreign sources and aid. The proceeds of sales of PL-480 food formed a valuable source for Central finance, and that now this is being reduced people will be asked to foot the bill, through taxation. As the Survey says: "Another aspect of welcome reduction on the dependence on imports of foodgrains is that domestic revenue mobilization will need to replace the support given to the budget by the PL-480 assistance." The extent of the support may be measured by the volume of loans, grants, and investments of counterpart funds in special securities. This amounted to Rs. 347 crores in 1966-67; and Rs. 366 crores in 1967-68; and was estimated at Rs. 274 crores in 1968-69. The people will have to make up this loss by paying an equal amount to the exchequer.

Economy Still Rooted in Crisis

Can any of these be considered to be steps for recovery of the economy? Withdrawal of food subsidy and increase in foodgrains prices, more costly foreign loans, enforced exports at low prices to meet the foreign exchange obligations and finally increased taxation on the common man—are all these supposed to improve the market in India, to make the common man a better customer? It will seem that the claims to have turned the corner are not substantiated and the Indian economy, in spite of the relief provided by a good harvest, is still rooted deeply in the crisis, with its inflationary price spiral, its attack on the purchasing capacity of the people and its foreign trade and production growingly mortgaged to costly foreign loans which completely distort the price structure.

It is in this background that the Survey talks about a broad-based tax structure, rationalization of tax structure. The meaning seems to be to spread the net of taxation far and wide to include those who are on the verge of destitution. As a matter of fact, the heavy and monstrous rates of indirect taxation on necessities of life are denuding even the lowest sections of the population of part of their income. The present burden of taxation is beyond their means and it is both unjust and unbearable. But what about the big capitalists? Their cry that they are over-taxed is just propaganda stunt. Evasion of income-tax has become a fine art with them. As Dr. Gadgil puts it, "known evasion of income-tax is so large that the tax statistics are worthless even for estimating distribution of incomes, especially in higher incomes". Arrears of income tax amount to more than Rs. 541 crores. Besides, there are lakhs of income-tax assessments pending.

Afraid of Touching Rural Allies

Apart from this, there is another rich source of revenue which the Congress Government hesitates to tap lest it might offend its allies, the landlords and the new rich class in rural areas. There is a lot of euphemistic talk about the increased purchasing power in the rural areas, as if the mass of poor

peasants and agricultural labourers have suddenly developed excess purchasing capacity which a benevolent Government must tap. But the fact is that, thanks to Congress policies, a thin strata of rural population, landlords, moneyed people, rich farmers, and traders in rural areas have amassed large sums of money through profiteering, through monopolizing the gains of so-called Congress planning. They monopolize the co-operatives, they draw huge Government loans in the name of co-operative factories and amass huge fortunes from their hands. Sri Chavan, India's Home Minister, was constrained to observe about Maharashtra, "Maharashtra's co-operative movement is slowly but steadily turning into new co-operative capitalism and that the sugar co-operatives have become the cockpits of political power."

These people have gone comparatively untaxed. They speak in the name of the farmer and peasants, and make it appear as if taxing them means taxing the poor peasant. They, the landlords and the rich capitalist elements, are the main supporters of the Congress in the rural areas. It is they who by their caste appeal and traditional influence, influence the peasant in favour of the Congress. Simultaneously, it is they who appeal to regionalism and casteism to pressurize the Congress Government to concede their claims in the name of regional development.

It is estimated that taxation on this sector will realize a sum of more than Rs. 100 crores. The Congress is afraid to single them out for taxation because they are part of the capitalist-landlord alliance. That is why it talks of taxing the rural areas and wants to saddle the peasant with additional burdens. The big capitalists of the city and the landlords and rich elements in the villages are the classes which can bear additional taxation.

Real Face of the Claims

The Survey offers a picture of our economy which is under severe strain—to overcome which the ruling classes are victimizing the working class and the people. It nowhere deals with the misery, the privations and sufferings inflicted on the

people, in pursuit of official policies to protect "industry", at the cost of the people. It conceals the fact that to earn this so-called stability for the economy, thousands of workers were deprived of their jobs. It conceals the picture of our growing dependence on foreign loans, a dependence which has reached alarming proportions. A low rate of growth of national income, an enforced plan holiday, and a feeble industrial advance—these are being paraded as official victories.

Congress Leaders And Big Business Nurtured Shiv Sena for Their Sordid Interests.

**Extracts from P. Ramamurti's Speech in
Lok Sabha on February 18, 1969**

Extracts from Comrade P. Ramamurti's speech in the Lok Sabha on February 18, 1969, introducing the no-confidence motion in the Government:

We all know what is happening in Bombay during the last one week; how property had been burnt—it is not a question of Government property alone—and how during the last one week the Shiv Sena mob was let loose upon a section of the people of Bombay. Restaurants, not one or two, but nearly a hundred of them were burnt down. Thousands of ordinary workers not speaking the Marathi language have been rendered jobless and homeless and they are wandering in the streets. Rupees. 25 crores worth of property have been lost.

Government was Warned Two Years Ago

Did it happen suddenly? On August 25, 1967, a similar orgy of violence was perpetrated throughout Bombay. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) which was then in session in Madurai took note of the seriousness of the problem and deputed Mr. Umanath to go there. The Chief Minister of Madras, at that time the late Mr. Annadurai, also considered it a serious matter and deputed one of his party MPs, Mr. Krishnamurthi. Both these MPs went to Bombay and conducted a detailed enquiry. They submitted a joint report to their respective parties. They also came to Delhi. At that time Parliament was not in session, but we went and submitted the report to the Prime Minister and Home Minister. We requested

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them to look into the whole thing and see that proper action was taken. It is not a question of South Indians versus North Indians. We have no grouse against the Maharashtrian people and Maharashtrian workers. We know that they are foremost among the working class in the country and they united to fight the battle against capitalism. Unfortunately, in the name of the Maharashtrian people and the Maharashtrian working class, a vicious, pernicious, poisonous propaganda is allowed to percolate the public life of Maharashtra saying that the Maharashtrian people are not able to get jobs because some other citizens of this country—Tamilians, Malayalees, Kannadigas—are taking away their jobs.

Mr. Bal Thackeray openly incited the people from the public platform to attack the chawls and bastis where the poor South Indian workers live. He gave open notice that before such and such date if non-Maharashtrian workers and shop-keepers did not leave the city of Bombay bag and baggage, they would be attacked the next day. These were not whispered about but openly tom-tommed. Mr. Umanath and Mr. Krishnamurthi culled out cuttings from their own paper, *Marmik* run by the Shiv Sena, and gave copies to the Prime Minister and the Home Minister two years ago.

Complicity of Police

May I just draw your attention to just one or two things? The major contributing factor for the continuation and accentuation of fear and insecurity amongst the South Indians is the deliberate conduct of the police services biased in favour of the Shiv Sena. Any amount of request may be made for protection from these attacks, but the police just stands by when the attacks take place and just keeps looking on. Then, they were not taking any preventive measures. May we ask what preventive measures they took when openly it had been advertised that before a particular date if the non-Maharashtrian workers and the non-Maharashtrian middle-class people and the non-Maharashtrian shop-keepers did not leave their place, their place would be attacked and burnt down? May we ask whether the Maharashtra

Government lifted even its little finger to see to it that proper protection was given to the people and to the citizens of this country?

On certain occasions, they colluded with the Shiv Sena in the assaults and murderous attacks on South Indians, and on certain occasions took advantage of the riots to wreak police vengeance on South Indians and beat them up and arrested them indiscriminately and tortured them in their lock-up and foisted false cases on them. This was what was specifically done. What action did the Government of Maharashtra take against all these kinds of activities? All these years, how many murders have taken place? It started at the time of the election contest of Sri V.K. Krishna Menon. How could the Congress Government take action against the Shiv Sena? After all, this Shiv Sena helps them to win seats. It rouses the Maharashtrians against the non-Maharashtrians. Here is Sri V.K. Krishna Menon who is a non-Maharashtrian, and, therefore, they ask the people to vote against him and burn the houses and attack the non-Maharashtrian people who might support him. This was the type of propaganda. When the Congress party wanted to take advantage of this propaganda, how could you expect the Congress party and the Congress Government to take action against the Shiv Sena and its poisonous activities?

Can Sri Y.V. Chavan tell us what action the Maharashtra Government has taken against those people who had indulged in so many murderous assaults? How many people have been hauled up in the courts for having indulged in murderous attacks on the common people, for having burnt down their houses and their shops? Why was it that the police of Maharashtra did not take up this question energetically?

For example, even in a trade union struggle, even when a small thing happens, immediately they come out with stories of communist violence. But here is a case when the people are being incited against a people, when fratricidal war amongst the people is being openly encouraged. I would like the Government to tell us what action has been taken by the State Government which belongs to their own party? Not a single action has been taken. That is why today we are finding in Bombay the sort of thing that has happened there.

Congress Encouraged Shiv Sena

I would like to point out that it is not as if the Government was keeping quiet. Far from taking action against these people, what was the Government there doing? Here, I charge the Congress party and the Congress Government as responsible for complicity with these attacks. I charge them with complicity because they by their open words and spoken words had encouraged the activities of the Shiv Sena.

The Shiv Sena conducts a paper called *Marmik*. For months it has been writing this kind of exciting stuff. It is not hidden. Nobody can deny that fact. Sri Y.V. Chavan cannot show a single issue of *Marmik* which did not contain this kind of incitement against the non-Maharashtrians. The Maharashtra Government knew about this. The Chief Minister of Maharashtra knew what stuff this paper was writing and also what type of activities the Shiv Sena was indulging in. But then he goes as the chief guest of the paper on the occasion of its anniversary. The Shiv Sena stages a drama, *The Blind Man Grinds and the Dog Eats Away* meaning thereby that the blind man goes on grinding *atta* or some such thing, but instead of his being able to eat it, somebody else, the dog of a South Indian, comes and takes away or eats away the fruits of his labour. Advertisements were there about this drama. Shri Naik cannot escape by saying that he did not know what this drama contained. The advertisement that was issued about this drama was to the effect that if a non-Maharashtrian saw it, he would feel as if he had spent one night in Yama's kingdom. And our friend, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Sri V.P. Naik, was there throughout the drama. So, he cannot say that he did not know what it contained. The drama was nothing but vindictiveness and vituperation against the ordinary people. It was not against the big capitalists like the Birlas and Tatas and Poddars who are not Maharashtrians. Sri Naik attended that whole drama and at the end of it he blessed that organisation.

In his speech, which is published, he relates a story. When he was a young boy, in his village a man from the village started a shop. Unfortunately, the people of the village did not encourage him and that man ultimately went bankrupt. But then somebody

from outside came—by 'outside' is meant a man from outside that village—the word used in Marathi is very significant—the word is *Upare*; it means somebody, who is an outsider, from outside the State, that is a non-Maharashtrian.

When somebody from outside the village came and started a shop, those very people encouraged him and that man built houses, two-storeyed houses and three-storeyed houses and he became prosperous. Relating this story, Sri V. P. Naik said:

"The instance from my childhood goes only to show how we would not allow a man from amongst ourselves to have this shop. We brought all manner of difficulties in his way and made him go bankrupt, but when an outsider opens a shop we behave with him as if he is some very big man, a good man who has come to do some favours to us. We should ponder over this experience of my childhood if any such things happen at our hands today. If we do that, many of our difficulties would be removed".

In what context did he say that? He said that in the context of the anniversary of that paper, *Marmik*, a paper which is spitting venom against people who do not speak the Marathi language, the common people who do not know the Marathi language. In that context, this man goes and talks like this. He cannot escape by saying that he was talking of something else.

This is how the Congress Government there has been actively encouraging this fascist organisation, this organisation which seeks to wreak vengeance on the non-Maharashtrian people, which seeks to rouse the basest passions against non-Maharashtrians.

Role of Big Businessmen

Next-year you find the President of the Maharashtra Congress Committee attending the annual celebration of this very paper. May I just ask these people to give me one quotation from speeches where they come out with an open condemnation of the activities of these people? What is it that they do? May we also be enlightened about the action taken against the perpetrators of these crimes?

Therefore, what happened later is nothing to be wondered at. After all, you sought the help of this organization because it was very handy. Big businessmen were behind it. I know one Mr. Poddar, a big businessman from Rajasthan, addressed an organisation of graduate students in an area where there are workers from Rajasthan and he said: "Sri S.K. Patil is unfortunately played out; we must have other people to rely upon and therefore we must create a Shiv Sena".

We also know that the *Indian Express* had written an editorial condemning the activities of the Shiv Sena and demanded from the Central Government firm action against it. Then there was a big businessman, I think it was Ramkrishna Bajaj, who immediately telephoned the office of the paper and asked them how they wrote such an editorial. He told them that such editorials should not be written. The paper then stopped writing such things.

We know which are the forces that are rallied behind this Shiv Sena. These are the forces of Big Business in this country. They know with the worsening conditions, the working class and the common people of this country are bound to unite and rise against their rule. They want diversionary activities. For these people it does not matter if people have to be killed, if properties have to be looted, if hotels have to be burnt down, if small shops have to be attacked. When it comes to the question of property of the common people, the working class and poorer sections, it does not matter to them. Sacredness of their private property is all that matters to them.

After all this, we find a statement issued by a certain big industrialist of Bombay. The *Statesman* reported: "In a statement here before a meeting which was attended by prominent industrialists and businessmen it was said that this great metropolitan city has been a victim of senseless orgy".....

Very good. Who is to be blamed for that? Did they come out with a condemnation of the perpetrators of this orgy, of the ideology of Hitler? After all, Bal Thackeray has been openly saying that he is an admirer of Hitler and he wants another Hitler to rise because, according to him, otherwise the problems of this country cannot be solved. Do they come out condemning the

senseless hate propaganda that has been going on for years under the auspices of the Shiv Sena? Nothing of the kind. They want the Central Government to deal firmly—with what? The paper says: "The representatives of trade and industry have today expressed the view that the agitation launched by the Shiv Sena has been greatly exploited and taken undue advantage of by the communists and other anti-social elements".

When this lawlessness was going on for days together, they did not come out in open condemnation of it. They simply said, "the communists are exploiting this". Probably, they would add that it is the communists that have attacked them.

Statement from Jail

Then I cannot understand another thing. The funniest part of the whole episode is the Maharashtra Government getting a statement from Thackeray when he is inside jail. I am not one of those who believe that people who are in detention or in jail should be prevented from issuing statements. But when I was detained preventively so many restrictions were put on me. Even with regard to interviews with relatives, restrictions were put on me. When one of my friends wrote a book on atom when he was inside jail, although the book was on atom, the Maharashtra Government of this very same V.P. Naik prevented its publication although it had nothing to do with politics. Then we had to go to the Supreme Court to get a verdict that the Maharashtra Government had no business whatsoever to prevent the publication of such a book. Yet, here is a man, at whose instance orgies of violence have been perpetrated and he is allowed to issue a statement, and that statement is allowed to be published.

But what does it say? It says: "At any cost, our struggle should not be allowed to be exploited by the communists".

Of course, I can understand my friends of the Swatantra Party being worried about it because after all it is one of their men, I think Sri Madhu Mehta, that probably drafted the statement. After the interview by Sri Madhu Mehta, this statement was issued. I do not know whether he has anything to do with it, but this is a fact.

The point is this. Ordinary working class people are being beaten to pulp for days together. If such a thing had happened anywhere else, what would have the Congress Government at the Centre done? And the strange part of it is that here is the President addressing a joint session of both Houses of Parliament and there is not even a mention of this orgy of violence that took place in Bombay about four days before he addressed us.

I know, as a matter of fact, I have very deep suspicion, that just as the Congress party and the Maharashtra Congress utilized the Shiv Sena for its own purpose of winning a Parliamentary seat, similarly this party or some of its leading lights, I do not know whether the Home Minister is also part of that, are trying to utilize this orgy of violence in order to bring pressure on the Central Government to settle this border issue (between Maharashtra and Mysore) in their favour.

You are not able to settle the problem of Maharashtra *versus* Mysore because you cannot lay down any norms for settling these disputes. Here is a party which after twenty years of independence is not capable of laying down any democratic principles with regard to border disputes on the basis of which this problem can be settled. That is why a Maharashtrian Congressman will take up cudgels against a Mysore Congressman. Sri Nijalingappa is the President of the Congress and Sri Chavan is the Home Minister. Sri Chavan will say that this report must be rejected and Sri Nijalingappa will say, "No, not a single comma of this report can be altered". That is the party. What am I to do?

Incidents in Telangana

Turning to the incidents in Telangana, Ramamurti said it was the responsibility of the Congress Government at the Centre to see that the law enacted by Parliament regarding Telangana safeguards was observed. But they never bothered to do it. Today the Congress Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh says that some disgruntled politicians are behind this agitation. The disgruntlement is due to not being taken into the Ministry and who can be disgruntled except some of the leaders of the Congress party?

Ramamurti continued:

When such a serious thing has happened, when the Telugu-speaking people belonging to two different regions of the State are being encouraged to enter into a fratricidal war, when thousands of people have fled the Telangana area in fear, when murder, arson and looting have been taking place systematically for a number of days, is it not the elementary duty of the Chief Minister of that State, Sri Brahmananda Reddy, to identify those disgruntled politicians, announce their names before the public, pillory them and tell the people not to give any quarter to those people? Why does Sri Brahmananda Reddy not do such a thing? He does not do it precisely because these people belong to his party.

Mid-Term Election Results

Referring to the results of the mid-term elections, specially in West Bengal, Ramamurti said: In the face of this verdict of the people, any Government would have said, 'Yes, my policy has failed'. But nothing has happened. Even after all this, does this Government think of changing their basic policies? Absolutely not. The Working Committee of the Congress party met for 2½ days. Does it now consider that some of the basic policies which this Government is pursuing, the policy with regard to Centre-State relations, the policies with regard to the economy of this country, the political policies which the Congress Government is pursuing, need a change? Absolutely not. All that the Working Committee is thinking of is to call those gentlemen from West Bengal, Sri Atulya Ghosh and Dr. P. C. Chunder, to hear their explanation, 'We are stunned; we do not know how this has happened. Possibly it is because 90,000 temporary employees had been confirmed by the U.F. Government and those employees must have somehow or other sabotaged the election'.

This is the type of explanation offered. Therefore, I say a party which is incapable of taking this defeat seriously and undertaking an introspection, a party which is not capable of sitting down calmly and trying to change some of its policy, is incapable of delivering the goods.

We have, for instance, this Government's policy towards the Central Government employees. In consequence of this policy

against the Central Government employees, how does the Government expect the middle class employees to jump for the Congress party?

After all, the Central Government employees asked only for arbitration. Government refused that. Now Government has the cheek to say that it has full faith in the scheme of joint consultation and compulsory arbitration. Arbitration on what matters? On those matters Government chooses, and not on other matter. This is the reality. As a result of the policy followed up to now, even now at least 10,000 Central Government employees are on the streets. When Government employees are on the streets, when Government wants to continue the same policy of attacking the common people and introduce no change in its basic policy, how can the people expect anything better from this Government?

Here is a Government which, in order to see that its policy of attacking the common people is perpetuated, is prepared to use the machinery of the Governors of States to dismiss elected Government by a very strange interpretation of the instrument of instructions and the Constitution. Here is a Government prepared to use the army and the police in order to thrust an unwanted Ministry on the common people of a State.

Here is a Government which, in order to serve its sordid, base interests, is prepared to make one section of the people fight another, and still looks on. Here is a Government whose important members have been encouraging such fascist ideologies in this country and have refused to take firm action against such organizations. Yet it talks of national integration and all that kind of thing.

Having seen this Government perpetrating all these things, I would only ask of every member to search his conscience and give the answer whether such a Government deserves the confidence of this House. I know that as a result of the majority they have in this House, they may be able to have this motion rejected.

But there is a higher conscience, the conscience of the people of this country. I know if tomorrow that conscience is appealed to, if we go to the people and ask their verdict on these very issues, there will be no doubt whatsoever that this Government will go lock, stock and barrel.

How Can Centre-State Relations Improve When Congress Ministers Incite People Against United Front Governments?*

Extracts from A. K. Gopalan's Speech in Lok Sabha on February 24, 1969

Following are extracts from Comrade A. K. Gopalan's speech in the Lok Sabha on February 24, 1969 during the debate on the President's Address:

The President in his Address has said that it was an appropriate occasion for the Government to present a realistic appraisal of the year under review. I am sorry to say that the appraisal was not realistic; it was only imaginary. The Government is blind because it is not able to see what is happening around. It is also not able to understand what the people say. That is the reason why the President has drawn a picture which is a very bright picture and which has nothing to do with what is happening in the country today.

As far as the economic or political situation in the country for the last one year is concerned, it is one of unrest and turmoil. There was the student unrest. The student unrest was a part of the general unrest among the entire population. Dissatisfaction and a sense of frustration are pressing themselves into various forms and various sections of the people are coming out against the policies of the Government.

Claims of Recovery Debunked

Debunking Government claims about the industrial and agricultural fronts with facts and figures, Comrade Gopalan continued:

It is said that we are on the path of recovery. Take the index of fresh capital raised. This is also an indicator of recovery or otherwise in the industry. If you take the base year 1960 as 100, the index rose to 113.9 in 1965, but dropped to 80.7 in 1966 and

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again dropped further to 76.9 in 1968. In fact, the index which was 90.7 in 1967 dropped to 76.9 in 1968. You see from the figures that there is a continued declining trend in the index of fresh capital raised. How can we say, when the fresh capital raised is less every year and the percentage is less, that the process of recovery has begun?

Take also the machine-tool industry. As far as machine-tool industry is concerned, if the orders received by the machine-tool industry are more and more, then that is an indication of recovery. Any process of recovery in industry will be clearly reflected in greater activity in the machine-tool industry. In 1967-68 the HMT secured orders for 2,276 machines whereas in 1968-69 the orders secured dropped to 1,217 machines, i.e., almost to half. Yet, the Government is saying that the process of recovery has begun.

Then, the closure of textile mills is another factor. The closure of textile mills remains a continuing phenomenon in the country. I have got the figures of only one State. The number of textile mills closed in Tamil Nadu, which was six in the beginning of 1967, rose to 21 in 1968 and further rose to 29 at the beginning of 1969.

This is the fate of handlooms also. I have no figures, but I can say that it is a fact and a reality that in many States in India, handlooms are closed and that also for want of foreign market and other things. So, handlooms are also being closed. Yet, we say that the process of recovery has begun.

I am quoting this from *Commerce* dated February 15, 1969: "Reflecting partly the lustreless demand conditions and partly the slackened tempo of expansion of the industries the industrial output may not show vigorous expansion in the immediate months ahead, and what is worse, it may relapse into stagnation."

As far as small industries are concerned, I can say that in Kerala the position in regard to the cashew industry, the coir industry and the beedi industry is very bad. The beedi industry is completely closed. In cashew, thousands of persons are unemployed; many small factories are closed. In coir also, the fate is the same. As far as small industries are concerned, instead of developing, most of the factories are going out of commission. Therefore, there is no meaning in saying that we are on the path of recovery. I can only say that the story of the process of recovery is either a figment of imagination or wishful thinking. If for Government 'recovery' means the recovery from the shock

that they had during the mid-term election, then I have no objection to that. But there is no question of recovery as far as industrial production is concerned.

Comrade Gopalan then exposed the hollowness of the claim of price-stability and described the growing unemployment in the country.

Central Government Employees

Continuing, he said:

Another question that has been referred to in the Address is about the Central Government employees. The President has said that the Government is going to set up a kind of machinery to promote harmonious relations between the Government and its employees and for redressal of the employees' grievances by having joint consultation and compulsory arbitration.

The agitation of the Central Government employees was an expression of the deep discontent felt by the majority of the people, discontentment arising out of the increasing difficulties, the difficulties of the day-to-day life and the burdens of life. This was the reason which prompted the Central Government employees to go on strike. But there was ruthless repression, and all norms and procedures of the Central Civil Services Disciplinary Rules were thrown to the winds, and there was victimization. That was keynote of the whole thing.

The State Government of Kerala withdrew the cases. Some differences of opinion have developed between the Central Government and the State Government on this point. The Kerala Government withdrew the cases, but secret instructions were sent from here to the heads of the departments to oppose the withdrawal. Hence the cases are continuing. The State Government is primarily responsible for law and order, but heads of departments have been instructed to act contrary to the decision of the State Government in this matter.

I read in the papers that in Punjab also, the State Government has ordered the withdrawal of the cases. I do not know whether the same position will obtain there in regard to the Central Government's attitude.

Out of 10,000 Central Government employees in Kerala, 888 have either been dismissed or discharged. If the Central Government here does not like the State Government of Kerala, is it right to show the former's vindictiveness on the Central

Government employees also? Yet that was what was done in Kerala.

Stop the hostile attitude of Government and vindictiveness towards the employees, drop the proposal to bring forward a Bill in this session banning strikes. I want to ask whether banning the right to strike and keeping 8,000 employees out, either suspended or out of service, putting them and their families to great suffering and hardship—and also punishing half their number—will create the right atmosphere for the re-establishment of good relations between the Government and the employees. If the President wants that there must be these good relations, as he says, it is necessary that all of them must be taken back. This is the first step required towards that end.

Centre-State Relations

The next important aspect which has not received attention is Centre-State relations. Today, there are differences even between the Centre and the Congress-governed States. Sri Brahmananda Reddy has given expression to that. There is also the case of Maharashtra. It is a fact today that there are differences between the Central Government and the State Governments at the policy level.

The Prime Minister speaking in this House said the other day: "I have said this on various occasions, and I would repeat here, that we offer full co-operation to all those who have been elected and all the Governments which have come or will come into being and the Government of India will deal fairly with those States".

I am very glad about the sentiment but let us examine whether the Government of India dealt fairly with all the States, especially the States ruled by the non-Congress Governments. The Prime Minister says "we", I do not know whether it means all the Ministers in the Government or only some, because I can point out to utterances and deeds of some of the Ministers and other highest leaders of the Congress which show that they do not want co-operation; they want to topple these Governments.

The Congress President, Sri Nijalingappa, says on January 5, that if the reports received by him about lawlessness in Kerala were correct, the time had come for the Centre to take over the Government of the State. Why should he say this while

addressing a public meeting? They want to demoralize the officers, especially the all-India services: Be careful; this Government will be toppled and they will go away; so, do not do as they say.

I can at least understand other common people saying such things. On October 21, Sri Desai, the Deputy Prime Minister, speaking to CRP jawans and officers on the 20th anniversary celebrations of the CRP, told the audience that "If, the Namboodiripad Government persisted in its anti-constitutional activities and rendered the constitutional functioning of the administration impossible, the Centre would not hesitate to intervene and impose President's rule."

What was this to do with the CRP celebrations? They say so to demoralize the officers.

Incitement by Congress Leaders

What Sri Panampilli Govinda Menon, the Minister-in-charge of 'lawlessness' in Kerala says is very interesting. It is not one speech. I have a series of speeches with me but I have no time to quote them all; I shall refer to a few specimens.

In Trichur last October he said: "The Centre is strong enough and fully capable of dealing with any constitutional problem that it may be faced with and found necessary, the Kerala Government can be dismissed under Article 365 of the Constitution and Central directive enforced".

He then says something more interesting: "When the ruling parties have unleashed such violence under the protection of the State Government the Congress must firmly resist and beat them back even, if, in so doing, they have to take the law into their hands."

He then declares: "The sort of administration now running the State is something that no self respecting person can possibly tolerate."

He further says that in this situation he would without fear exhort people to strongly resist that Government with suitable means, even if in the process he lost his Ministership or was arrested. He says that the law must be taken into the hands of the members of his party. Resist them and beat them back—that is what he says.

He went on to say: "There may be persons who will ask whether such resistance would not invite clashes and violence."

Sri Menon himself answered it: "That is something which is inevitable".

"It is likely that some may fall wounded in the battle. Some may even die. But no one has been born yet who has been secured against death."

Can a Central Minister, especially not one in charge of Fisheries, but is in charge of Law, say these things? I wrote to the Prime Minister about these things. But he denied it after some time. Only a shameless coward will deny what he has said. When these things come in the *Kerala Kaumudi* with a circulation of more than a lakh—it is an anti-communist paper—surely after one month he would have denied it through the paper itself. He did not do it.

Addressing the meeting of the district Congress workers, Sri Menon exhorted Congress workers to rise like lions and fight back bravely the violence unleashed by the masses. If this kind of speeches are made, how can anybody expect Centre State relations to be cordial? It is not a question of one or two speeches. Whenever Parliament is in recess, he goes to Kerala, he makes speeches which are published in papers and he never denies them in the Press. I am sorry that while on the one hand the Prime Minister wants that Centre-State relations should improve, on the other Central Ministers are making this kind of speeches.

The President refers to certain disturbing trends in our national affairs—parochial, regional, caste and communal trends. But who is responsible for it? It is not the Congress Government which is responsible?

After dealing with how the Congress had itself nurtured the Shiv Sena and how the Congress leaders themselves were responsible for the recent agitation in Telangana, Comrade Gopalan warned that if the Congress continued to rouse communal, regional and parochial feelings for its selfish interests, it will ruin not only the Congress but also endanger the unity of the country.

Biggest Ever Rally in Calcutta Organised by CPI(M)

That the people of West Bengal had not only given the United Front a massive majority but also given a special place to the Communist Party of India (Marxist) was evident to anyone who witnessed the unprecedentedly huge rally organised by the Party on the Brigade Parade Ground on March 9, 1969. One only hopes that those who have been challenging this from the day the election results became known, the Right Communists especially, have seen the mighty mobilization of that day and would keep quiet in the future on this question at least.

This was the third rally the CPI(M) was holding on the same ground. The United Front only a week before had held a rally there. The one on March 9 was the biggest of all and no other party in West Bengal today has the mass base or the organisational strength to hold such a rally.

People came to the rally from all over the State—there was no district that was not represented.

From neighbouring 24-Parganas district came over 80,000 to one lakh people in organised demonstrations. Colourful processions trekked to the Maidan from all the surrounding areas of the City. Then there were the mighty demonstrations from inside the City itself.

Less in number, but they came from all the districts to be present at this central rally of their Party. From Purulia came

Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY". Calcutta March 16 1969 The Rally organised by the West Bengal State Committee of CPI(M), was held at the Brigade Parade Ground, Calcutta on March 9, 1969 on the massive electoral victory of CPI(M) and the United Front in the mid term Assembly election in West Bengal in 1969

2,000, from one place in Murshidabad, Domkal, 2,000, a large group entirely composed of Santhals from Gadadharpur in Birbhum, not less than 25 buses carrying workers and others from Durgapur. The list can go on like this, but suffice.

Amazing was the determination of the people to reach Calcutta in time for the rally—whatever the inconveniences they had to face.

A group of people from Jiaganj (Murshidabad) walked twelve miles to the nearest railway station to catch a train leaving at 11 in the night on 8th and reached Calcutta the next day.

The bus from Cooch Behar started in the evening of 7th and reached Calcutta after over a twenty-four hour journey. What was the discomfort of such a long journey compared to their anxiety to be on the Maidan when the rally began!

From Bankura came seven buses with people packed like sardines—more than a hundred to each bus. They would travel that way rather than be left out.

In Birbhum, the district was divided into zones and 12 buses starting from various points, picked up 800 people and brought them to Calcutta.

It was an inspiring sight to see peasant women, young and old, walking proudly into the Maidan with their menfolk to be part of their Party's demonstration.

The Maidan was bathed in red—with Red Flags and festoons, the raised dias with five Red Flags flying over it, the colourful gate, exhibition, book and tea stalls and a first-aid centre.

Early in the morning itself peasants from nearby areas had begun arriving in trickles. Train after train reaching Howrah and Sealdah stations brought slogan-shouting people who converged near the station to join the demonstrations to the Maidan.

An early visitor to the Maidan, around 3 in the afternoon, could only see small groups scattered over the vast expanse of the endless Maidan. Then in minutes, the Maidan began to fill up buses from districts were coming in a stream and the demonstrations entered the Maidan in wave after wave. When the rally began, the place was filled to capacity. It had to be seen—

this splendid sight of a Maidan empty one moment and the vast crowd covering every inch of it the next.

Veteran Communist leaders Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad presided over the rally which was addressed by Comrades P. Sundarayya, Promod Dasgupta, Jyoti Basu and Harekrishna Konar.

Conveying the greetings of the Central Committee and of all Party ranks from all over the country for the great electoral victory won by the people of West Bengal in which the CPI(M) had played a leading role, General Secretary P. Sundarayya said: This victory for the time being has foiled the conspiracy of the Central Government to topple the Kerala U.F. Ministry and introduce President's Rule. Our Party together with other democratic forces is in a far better position to carry forward the struggle against the vested interests and wrench more rights for our toiling masses, but we cannot afford to be complacent, he added and continued:

The refusal of the Central Government to immediately recall Governor Dharma Vira and its connivance with the Governor in his unconstitutional tampering with and omitting of two vital paragraphs from the speech prepared by the U.F. Cabinet, brings out this danger sharply.

It is the Central Congress Government that is bent upon interpreting the Constitution in its own way, to negate parliamentary democracy and convert it into rule of nominated Governors and salaried bureaucrats. That is why our Party appeals to the democratic forces and people not to rest content till the very institution of nominated Governors is abolished and assemblies are allowed to elect Governors for a fixed period to discharge the function of a constitutional head.

Centre-State Relations

The talk of Centre-State co-operation, incessantly indulged in by Congress leaders, is highly hypocritical and the seemingly positive response to these calls by certain non-Congress democratic parties and groups is devoid of depth. Centre-State friction and conflicts are not growing due to certain lapses and

errors by this or that Central Government leaders or because of the mischief in the demand raised for greater and fuller autonomy for the States.

Inherent in this phenomenon of Centre-State relations are some serious contradictions which are coming to the surface as the class contradictions are fast maturing and sharpening with the deepening of the economic and political crisis in the country. The issue is not confined to the framework of the Indian Constitution but it, essentially, embraces the serious question of class policies and conflicts which can neither be compromised nor hushed up. Just as the pro-big business, pro-big landlord and pro-imperialist policies of the ruling Congress party are at the basis of the anti-Congress democratic fronts that are materializing, the growing strife between the Centre and States and the consequent confrontation is nothing but a logical and inevitable extension of this conflict between the Congress-dominated Centre at one pole and the non-Congress democratic Governments at the other.

We have bitter experience both in Kerala and West Bengal during U.F. Governments of how the IAS, IPS and other all-India services resist to carry out the policies and decisions of popular elected Government and play the game of the Central Congress Governments and of the vested interests. Some senior police officers are indulging in their old practice of beating the people, instead of taking prompt and effective steps to foresee and prevent the communal and anti-social elements resorting to riots, arson and murders. The vested interests and the Congress have once again already started inciting riots, as is evidenced in Titagarh and Telinipara.

Pledge to Minorities

Our Party, declared Comrade Sundarayya, pledges that it will do everything to defend the Muslim minority and the scheduled castes and tribes who are becoming the special target of attacks by the vested interests. Our Party will not hesitate to undergo any sacrifice in defending the rights of minorities and preserving communal amity.

That is why our Party appeals to the democratic forces and people not to rest till the all-India services are transferred to the full control of the popularly elected State Governments, i.e., the right to appoint and take disciplinary action promptly without Centre's interference.

Today, the State Governments are left with very meagre powers, continued Comrade Sundarayya. They cannot legislate radical agrarian reforms, ensuring the land to the tiller, abolish usury and supply cheap credit to the rural masses; they cannot enact effective labour legislations guaranteeing employment, minimum living wage, social insurance against unemployment, sickness or accident or old-age pensions or against retrenchment and lay-offs; they cannot legislate steps to force the industrialists to carry out the existing labour measures; the right to take over industries and run them without paying compensation even to the guilty mismanaging industrial tycoons; the State Governments cannot impose taxes on the richer sections, all such taxation is kept in the hands of the Central Government; the State Governments cannot guarantee education and medical and housing facilities or rapid agricultural and industrial development to ensure food for all and full employment for lack of resources. Out of the current year's total revenue and capital budget of about Rs. 6,000 crores, States are being given only Rs. 1,700 crores. This could be easily increased to Rs. 3,000 crores by merely transferring many development items to the States and cutting down defence expenditure by a sizable extent.

So our Party appeals to all democratic parties and forces and to all people not to rest till they make the Central Government respect real States' autonomy, and to delegate almost all the subjects in the concurrent list and many other subjects from the Central list to the States.

Our Party appeals to all democratic parties and forces and to all people not to rest till the Central Government, pending the radical revision of the Constitution, distributes 75 per cent of the present Central revenues to the States.

Be Ready for United Struggle

The Central Government should not be allowed to intervene against any popular measure undertaken by the elected popular U.F. Government, said Comrade Sundarayya and added: Our Party wishes that the Central Congress Government heeds the voice of the people and not continue its suicidal and obdurate attitude as shown in the Dharma Vira incident. But we must be conscious that it will not be easy for the Central Government, being the representative of big landlords and the big bourgeoisie, to concede these demands. We must be prepared for a stubborn and united struggle of the people, till the demands are conceded.

Referring to divergent views and solutions on issues from different constituents of the U.F., Comrade Sundarayya said the CPI(M), whenever necessary, will not hesitate to place these issues before the public. Our Party firmly believes that it is only such public discussions and mobilizing of popular opinion as to what solution is the correct one, that will enable the U.F. to grow stronger and stronger mobilizing more and more people's support. He warned the people against being bamboozled by the vested interests and their Press who will play up these differences to create confusion.

He appealed in conclusion to all the Party ranks, sympathizers and to all democratic forces and to all the people to build strong united mass organisations, a strong People's Volunteer Corps and to strengthen the U.F. of all democratic forces, ready to face any conspiracy of the vested interests and the bureaucracy and of the Central Congress Government. The people must be ready at the call of the U.F. to undertake to discharge the responsibilities and duties to the people, wherever the bureaucratic machinery sabotages the faithful carrying out of the policies and decisions of U.F. Government.

Red salute to the people and democratic parties and forces of West Bengal who along with the Kerala people and U.F. are in the vanguard of the Indian people's struggle against the vested interests, for a new society and a new life in India.

Comrade Promod Dasgupta greeted the people who had come from all corners of the State to "this historic rally" not

only from the point of view of participation but for other reasons as well.

He said, though the Congress has been given a good thrashing by the people in the mid-term election, we must not forget that it polled no less than 40 per cent of the votes cast. Not all of those who voted Congress are reactionaries—a large number of common people are still under illusion about the Congress. We shall have to go to them, raise their political consciousness and rally them under our flag, or else a great part of our responsibility will not be fulfilled.

The Congress is now fanning communal and provincial sentiments with a view to discrediting the United Front and its Government. This has to be fought back through launching of class battles. The favourable background to the political situation created by the establishment of the U.F. Government will have to be utilized and new class battles are to be launched in the villages as well as in the cities—with the one aim of achieving People's Democratic Revolution based on firm alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

There are some people who maintain that the victory in the election is of the U.F. as a whole and not of any of its constituents. They would have done well if they came and saw today's rally. That only anti Congressism is not enough for cohesion of the United Front has been proved by the post-1967 events in Bihar, U.P. and Punjab, where, unlike in West Bengal, the CPI(M) was not the leading constituent. With our Party leading the anti-Congress front is it only possible to carry the struggle further.

Unmasking the revisionist tactic of obstructing the CPI(M) while championing the cause of bourgeois-democrats, Promod Dasgupta said, there is nothing surprising in that. It has been the experience all over the world that when defeated, the enemy classes attack the revolutionaries from behind the revisionist guise, as has recently been demonstrated once again in Czechoslovakia.

He also gave caution of the danger emanating from the sectarians. "The aim of the revisionists and sectarians are identical—to serve the monopolists," he said.

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In the darkness of the Maidan, one was reminded of the vast audience only by the applause with which they greeted the speeches, otherwise it was total silence as they attentively listened to their leaders. Then, as the speeches ended, the veil of darkness was pierced and the whole Maidan was lit up with improvised torches in the hands of the people, while fireworks—brought by transport workers—bursting above flood-lit the whole area. It was the people's declaration that the CPI(M) was the torch-bearer of their struggle for a new social order.

Behind Talk Of Centre-State Co-operation Attempt To Impose Diktats*

**P. Ramamurti's Speech in the Lok Sabha
on April 14, 1969**

The following is the text of the speech made in the Lok Sabha on April 14, 1969 by Comrade P. Ramamurti, CPI(M), during the discussion of the statement made by the Union Home Minister on April 11, 1969, regarding the Bandh in West Bengal on April 10, 1969:

I do not know why the sponsors of this move wanted a discussion on this subject unless it means that they wanted to have their usual communist-baiting. I can well understand the outpourings of Sri Ranga and the Jana Sangha because they found that they could not go to the people of West Bengal. When they went to the people of West Bengal, the entire people rejected them outright. Not being able to go to the people of West Bengal, out of sheer frustration, they thought that the parliamentary forum can be used for the purpose of ejecting a Government which has been elected by the overwhelming majority of the people of West Bengal.

I will now come to some of the arguments that have been raised. Since mostly my Party has been attacked you will bear with me if I will answer some of the points that have been raised.

Rabindra Sarobar Incident

Firstly, it is asked why this Government did not have an enquiry over the Rabindra Sarobar incident. Well, I was present on that day. I was sitting in my house in the Central Committee Office which is a few yards from there. The next day we discussed the whole question. I said there is nothing to inquire

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into and what is needed is action against goondas because what a shameful thing was it that happened there? There are no two versions about that. Nobody says that women were not molested. On this I gave the same advice which I gave to the Madras Chief Minister on the Kilvenmani incident when some people demanded a public enquiry. I advised him: "No need of an enquiry. Proceed against the people for murder charges and prosecute them. If there is a public enquiry, those people will escape".

It will only procrastinate them. Similarly, the West Bengal Government also thought that in this case there was no need of a public enquiry to find out facts. But it is necessary to hunt the culprits and give them the punishment that is due to them. Therefore, the police were ordered immediately to hunt them. Even an order was given to them to search any place without a warrant in order to arrest these people. Already three hundred people have been arrested and the cases are going on and they are going to be prosecuted.

We all deplore that what happened in the Rabindra Sarobar is something shameful and nobody expected that. That was something that took place unexpectedly. That in a cultural show a thing of this type was going to happen was not expected by anybody. There something happened suddenly where some goondas were mixed up with the common people unfortunately. It is a place which can accommodate only 5,000 whereas 10,000 tickets had been issued by the organizers. And a lot of people were remaining outside. The police itself had to resort to tear gas continuously for every hour over these people. I myself had to suffer by the use of that tear-gas by the police. It all happened there. And afterwards, they had started hunting the culprits and prosecuting them vigorously. That is all I would say.

Ghastly Incident

The next point that I would like to say is this. I do not want to go into the whole of the incident. What happened in Cossipore was something ghastly. That news spread throughout West Bengal. About fifty thousand people gathered there including

those of the trade union organization as also the INTUC of the Congress Party. When they saw the feeling among the people, they have got to give vent to their feelings. And so they asked them to arrange an orderly protest. That is all that has happened there.

Now a question that is raised here is this, 'What is the attitude of the West Bengal Government in this regard?' Here I want to make it absolutely clear that the moment we become Ministers we do not get divorced from the masses of the people. That may be the philosophy of the Congress Party. But, as far as our Party is concerned, as far as we in the United Front are concerned, we do not get ourselves divorced from the people—we understood their feelings. Therefore, the next day, the West Bengal Government, after the call for bandh was given by the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti, asked them to observe the hartal peacefully. That is all I can say.

We have full sympathy for these people. If, in their anger, the people expressed their anger by doing a certain thing, something is made about it. Centre-State relations are brought into it. When the firing took place, immediately the Police Commissioner sent his Deputy Commissioner with a number of policemen and officers. They all went there after about an hour when the people were not being admitted and the army officers were refusing to admit the people inside the factory. But, ultimately, the police officers were allowed to go in after Sri Jyoti Basu had gone there and asked them to let them in. And after investigation by the police officers, they came to the conclusion that it was a case of a downright cold-blooded murder. And after the investigation under the law of the land, under the Criminal Procedure and the Penal Codes, they have decided to charge these people for the murder.

Why This Hurried Move?

Now the question arises, why is it that the Government of India within two days rush to appoint a Commission of Enquiry? They were not anxious to appoint a commission of enquiry in Indraprastha Bhavan; they were not anxious to appoint a

commission of enquiry when shooting took place in Pathankot. But, here when they knew that the Government of West Bengal had charged the persons concerned there with murder, it is precisely at that time the Government of India is over-anxious to appoint a commission of enquiry.

We considered the whole question in 1967 when we were there, when our Party was there along with others, and when there was a similar case. In that case the High Court of Calcutta said: "When you have charged the people with cases and the cases are going on in the High Court, and simultaneously if you appoint a Commission of Enquiry and if that Commission of Enquiry proceeds with it, then we will hold it as contempt of the court". This is the decision of the Calcutta High Court and, therefore we considered the question whether to stop the cases or to go ahead with it. It was felt that these gruesome murders could not go without such an action.

No Consultations Were Held

Shri Asoke Sen said that no man should be hanged without being heard. There is no question of hanging here. They are given every opportunity and it is that not they are not heard. Afterwards, if it becomes necessary, we can appoint a Commission of Enquiry. Only with that understanding the Government of West Bengal proceeded. Why is it that the Government of India, immediately after that, took this decision of appointing a Commission of Enquiry and announced it here, and then told the Government of West Bengal to co-operate? It is more or less an order.

In fact, both the Governments have the right to appoint a Commission of Enquiry under the Commission of Enquiries Act. Had Sri Chavan or the Government of India consulted the West Bengal Government, it would point out the difficulties. Both the Governments could have had a discussion and all the facts could have been gone into. Even if a Commission of Enquiry had to be appointed there could be an understanding. Even this elementary courtesy of consulting the West Bengal Government is not there and that, too, after the protest by Sri Jyoti Basu. Immediately

after the speech here, Sri Jyoti Basu said that law and order is a State subject. Elementary courtesy demanded that the Government of India should consult the West Bengal Government in this matter. No consultation was there. It has been done this way: "We have appointed a Commission of Enquiry; we have got the right to do it and you have got to obey."

Is this the kind of co-operation that you expect? I can give you instances after instances. You talk of co-operation, but actually you ask the people to accept whatever you do. Take, for instance, Durgapur. Why is it that in one factory there is trouble, whereas in the other factory, the Durgapur Alloy Steel factory where also the same union is holding the majority position, you don't have any trouble for the last two years? Since the commissioning of the factory, the production schedules have been kept up there and everything there is going smoothly. This is a matter which has to be enquired into. Sri Jyoti Basu had told the Home Minister: "This IPS officer who is on the West Bengal cadre is not able to enforce discipline among the security people. We will take him back and you appoint anyone who will be able to enforce discipline there." Not even a reply was sent to that letter. What happens there? This man is called here and is told to go back and resume charge of his work. The courtesy of a letter was not there.

What has happened today? Is that man able to enforce the discipline? After this man has gone, Mr. Wadhera, the Manager, has asked the West Bengal Government to send the police in order to enforce discipline there and the West Bengal Government has sent the police force there. It is not that the West Bengal Government refuses to co-operate.

Protection to Railways

Then, the question is raised that the West Bengal Government did not give protection to the railways. I would like to know, was there any attack by anybody on a single ounce of Government's property? Absolutely not. On the other hand, in Andhra Pradesh, at the time of the steel plant agitation, which everybody knows was sponsored by the Government itself, how many crores of Central Government's property were destroyed? During the

recent Shiva Sena agitation crores worth of Central Government's property were destroyed. In the Telangana agitation, is it not a fact that railway stations have been burnt down? Did you charge them with having failed to give adequate protection to Central property? Here was Government which, after all, had not refused to give protection. When the postal authorities wrote to the West Bengal Government, the latter said, "we are prepared to give protection, but unfortunately on that day since there is a West Bengal Bundh, we want to prevent trouble anywhere and our forces will be deployed throughout the State; therefore, we will not be able to give enough protection if trouble comes. So you decide on that". The postal authorities then decided that it was better to close down.

Similarly, as far as the railways were concerned, there was no written correspondence. The General Manager telephoned Sri Jyoti Basu and he replied, 'I am prepared to give some protection, but it may not be adequate because the people's anger is terrific' (Interruptions). How can you understand the people's anger? Here was Sri A. K. Sen who understood the people's anger and had to make that apologetic speech (Interruptions). How can you understand the people when you are divorced from the people (Interruptions).

All that the Government said was, 'This is our position. Do you want to run the railway trains?' Afterwards, the railway authorities themselves informed Sri Jyoti Basu that they were not going to take out the trains and the trains would stop outside the Bengal border. This is what has happened.

Therefore, it is not a question of refusal as some people wanted to make out. It is a question of the possibility of giving adequate protection in the face of the people's anger if they insist on the railway train services operating. Therefore, there was nothing wrong in that. When you are not prepared to take action against the Government of Andhra Pradesh for all the destruction of property that has taken place, when you were not prepared to take action in Assam in connection with what happened there in 1960, or even in West Bengal when there was an agitation there in 1960 with the blessings of Dr B. C. Roy and no trains

could run, why talk differently in this case? After all, you have to understand the particular circumstances in which a thing has happened.

Therefore, all this talk of Centre-State co-operation, when the Central Government wants to impose its dictates on a State Government, will not be possible.

What Does Army Act Say?

One Member was talking about the Army Act.

I have it before me. These people have been charged with murder. What does Section 70 of the Act say? "A person subject to this Act who commits an offence of murder against a person not subject to military, naval or air force law, or of culpable homicide not amounting to murder against such a person or of rape in relation to such a person, shall not be deemed to be guilty of an offence against this Act". He shall be deemed to have committed an offence under the ordinary Penal Code." . . . and shall not be tried by a court martial, unless he commits any of the said offences—

- (a) while on active service, or
- (b) at any place outside India, or
- (c) at a frontier post specified by the Central Government by notification in this behalf".

[Smt. Sharada Mukerji: It was in pursuance of duty.]

There is no question of pursuance of duty. He has to prove it. What is active service? Only when he is on active service and he commits murder or some of these things will he be tried by court-martial; otherwise, he will be tried by the ordinary law of the land.

Section 3 defines 'active service'. It says: "Active service as applied to a person subject to this Act means the time during which such person—

- (a) is attached to, or forms part of, a force which is engaged in operation against an enemy;
- (b) is engaged in military operation in, or is on the line of march to a country or a place wholly or partly occupied by an enemy, or

(c) is attached to or forms part of a force which is in military occupation of a foreign country. . . ."

Active Service Against People

I would like to know on what active service they were. Were the people the enemy against whom they were on active service? Do you consider the workers to be your enemies against whom these people were on active service?

When the West Bengal Government requested the Government of India to hand over those people to police to be dealt with according to law, this Government has not even the courtesy of replying to it. And still it wants, and talks of, co-operation. When this Government talks of co-operation but refuses to hand over the rifles for being sent for examination by ballistic experts in furtherance of the case against them, this Government of India is actually obstructing the due process of law. Yet it is the same Government which says that it wants the co-operation of the States.

I understand this, there is a conflict of class policies. In the Indraprastha Bhaban people were being butchered and beaten up unlawfully. What is the action taken against these persons? Nothing. But here is another type of Government which says: Whether he is an officer or an ordinary person, if he commits murder, he will be equal before the law and he will be dealt with according to the law. It is the Government which wants to respect the life of the common people and wants to take action against the offenders who are accused of murder, whatever be their status. Therefore, it is a conflict of two different policies—one the policy of protecting the officials and Big Business interests in this country so that they could go scotfree whatever be the crimes committed by them and the other, the policy of using even the present Constitution and law and indict those persons when they transgress the law of the land. That is where the conflict comes.

I ask the Government of India even now to think a hundred times. I can understand the array of forces here: Jana Sangh, Swatantra and the Congress. This is the shape of things to come

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but my point now is different. If you attempt to do this kind of thing, you will be challenging the entire people of West Bengal. . . .(Interruptions). When Sri Jyoti Basu had made the charge against the highest officials, he has the blessings not only of the people of West Bengal but of the entire working class and the common people of India (cheers from Opposition Benches). Therefore, beware of what you are doing. If you want co-operation, talk to them; do not adopt this high and mighty attitude. So long as you adopt this attitude, co-operation will not be forthcoming.

Congress Ousted From Calcutta Municipal Corporation*

Results of Election: 1969

After an uninterrupted reign of 45 years the Congress party has been dislodged by the United Front from its leading position in the Calcutta Corporation. Out of a total of 100 seats, the U.F. has secured 71, the Congress 22, Independents 4, Jana Sangh 2 and Forward Bloc, outside the U.F.I., The CPI(M) emerged as the single biggest party with 31 seats to its credit. The Right CP has won 10 seats.

The overwhelming victory of the U.F. in the Calcutta Corporation has not come as any surprise—the leaders of the U.F. confidently predicted on the eve of the election that the Congress would be routed by the U.F. The reluctance of many Congress leaders including the outgoing Mayor, the failure of the Congress party to put up any candidate in seven constituencies and the unopposed win of five U.F. candidates were sufficient indications of the final outcome of the civic election. Many stalwarts of the Congress party including a number of chairmen of Standing Committees have been squarely defeated by U.F. candidates.

By electing the U.F. candidates, and in particular the CPI(M) candidates, in such large numbers the citizens of Calcutta have given their verdict in favour of the 14-point programme of the U.F. They have responded to the call of the U.F. to give its powerful support to save this metropolitan city from the machinations of the Indian and foreign monopolists and the Congress-dominated Centre. By reaffirming their loyalty to the U.F., the people of Calcutta have also given a fitting rebuff to

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the calumniators who are raising a hue and cry over the Rabindra Sarobar incidents. The massive support they have given to the CPI(M) and the U.F. in the civic elections is their answer to the demand of Jana Sangh and others for the resignation of Comrade Jyoti Basu and even intervention by the Centre in the State.

Gheraos : How Marxists View Them*

M. Basavapunnaiah

The so-called free Press in our country, which is 'freely' and completely monopolized by the Big Business, had built up a big ballyhoo about gheraos in West Bengal during the year 1967 when the first U.F. Government was in office in the State. It was also well-known that its target of attack was the U.F. Government, though the Communist Party of India (Marxist) was singled out to be depicted as the chief villain.

The results of the mid term poll have revealed how this malicious propaganda has been treated by the people with all the contempt it deserves, by cutting to its size the Congress party's legislature strength, bringing it down to a bare fiftyfive seats from the one hundred and twentyseven it had in 1967.

Lies, Slanders, Canards

And yet the politically bankrupt ruling classes, left with no other political weapon to fight the U.F., have once again busily engaged themselves in the building up of a second round of 'gherao scare' with a view to blackening the image of the U.F. Government, to unnerve some of the U.F. constituents and to sow division and disruption in the United Front. How ignominious is the fall of our big capitalist landlord ruling classes can be easily seen when its kept Press is left with no other political and programmatic issues to choose from to fight the U.F. except such things as the alleged incidents at the Rabindra Sarobar Stadium, the stories of collapse of law and order under the 'gherao-epidemic', and the circulation of canards of a 'civil war' among the U.F. constituents.

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No top leader either of the ruling Congress party or of any other akin-minded class parties has dared till now to denounce even once the four-month old violence, vandalism and fratricidal war organized by the Telangana landlords against the Telugu people of another region of the State! But they are not ashamed to pour out slanderous statements day in and day out against the U.F. Government of West Bengal for one or other alleged omission or commission.

Big Business and its political representatives in the country have so debased and degraded themselves as to be more and more dependent upon the sale of adulterated facts and absolute lies, manufactured in the Press they control, not content with the profits on the sale of commodities like adulterated foodstuffs and spurious drugs in the market. Such is the demeanour of the decadent bourgeoisie with its decadent values and morals, and it need not surprise anyone.

Marxism and Forms of Struggle

Since gherao is once again thrust into the forefront of the public debate, we deem it our duty to expound the views of the CPI(M) on the issue, with a view to presenting our principled stand on the subject, leaving no ambiguity whatsoever.

Gherao is a form of struggle which has come to be used mainly by the working class and middle class employees in their trade union struggles, though other aggrieved sections of the people such as students, teachers and Government employees also have begun to make use of it. Notwithstanding the difference of opinion on the merits or demerits of this form of struggle, no student of politics can dispute the fact that it is a form of struggle.

Different political parties in the U.F., depending upon their social outlook and political philosophy, are bound to have different views on the forms of struggle. It is for them to expound them clearly, so that the issues are properly formulated and decisions are arrived at after a fraternal debate and discussion.

At the outset, let it be clearly stated that our Party is a party based on the theory, ideology and philosophy of Marxism-

Leninism, and there are definite Marxist premises to guide it in analysing and assessing the issue of forms of struggle.

In the first place, Marxism "admits the most varied forms of struggle; and it does not 'concoct' them, but only generalizes, organizes, gives conscious expression to those forms of struggle of the revolutionary classes which arise of themselves in the course of the movement. Absolutely hostile to all abstract formulas and to all doctrinaire recipes, Marxism demands an attentive attitude to the *mass* struggle in progress, which, as the movement develops, as the class consciousness of the masses grows, as economic and political crises become acute, continually gives rise to new and more varied methods of defence and offence. Marxism, therefore, positively does not reject any form of struggle."

"In the second place, Marxism demands an absolutely *historical* examination of the question of the forms of struggle. To treat the question apart from the concrete historical situation is to betray ignorance of the very rudiments of dialectical materialism. At different stages of economic evolution, depending on differences in political, national cultural, living and other conditions, different forms of struggle come to the fore and become the principal forms of struggle; and in connection with this, the secondary, auxiliary forms of struggle undergo change in their turn. To attempt to answer yes or no to the question whether any particular means of struggle should be used, without making a detailed examination of the concrete situation of the given movement at the given stage of its development, means completely to abandon the Marxist position."

"These are the two principal theoretical precepts by which we must be guided." (V. I. Lenin, *Marx Engels-Marxism*, pages 186 and 187).

Thus, the Marxist-Leninist theoretical standpoint on the forms of struggle is made abundantly clear and our Party is completely convinced of the absolute correctness of these theoretical postulates of Lenin.

Gherao Form of Struggle

Now, let us proceed to discuss what exactly is this gherao form of struggle, how it has come into vogue, what are its merits and demerits, how it is being used or misused, etc.

The gherao form of struggle, first, was chosen by the working class, in factories, workshops and other industrial establishments, as a weapon to pressurize the concerned industrial managing personnel to concede one or the other of their day-to-day demands, which were long overdue and denied to them. Just as every form of struggle between the two contending sides invariably contains an element of pressure and coercion, gherao, undoubtedly, carries with it a certain amount of moral pressure and coercion by the exploited employees against the exploiting employers.

We characterize it as moral pressure and coercion because there is no violence or injury involved in this form of struggle against the person or persons gheraoed. The person gheraoed is simply immobilized in the office or factory for some hours, and in extreme cases, for some days, by a section of the working class militants, surrounding the person. Hundreds of instances of gherao, during the last two to three years, clearly demonstrate that there is no violence and injury contemplated or inflicted, leaving aside the rare and exceptional cases when this form of struggle outstepped the bounds of moral pressure.

No doubt, this form of struggle which was first introduced by the working class had subsequently come to be used by students, teachers and middle class employees in their day-to-day disputes with the concerned authorities.

When do Workers Resort to it?

An objective and unprejudiced examination of these struggles brings out the truth that, in most cases, during the tenure of the first United Front Government, it was resorted to as a last, desperate measure, i.e., after a series of representations, strike notices and strikes were gone through, and when, even the awards of the Labour Courts, industrial tribunals and other judicial verdicts were sought to be violated with impunity by the employers.

However, we do not deny the fact that in several cases the gherao form is also resorted to by advanced groups of workers as a preliminary form of struggle to focus attention and mobilize wider opinion of the employees around the demands formulated. The gheraos are nothing new and they were there in quite a good number during the pre-1967 Congress regimes as well as under Governor's rule, the difference being that under the Congress regime there used to be prompt police intervention against the workers involved in gherao and less of a ballyhoo by the bourgeois Press as is now the case under U.F. Government.

The weapon of gherao, obviously, was and is not as confidently and frequently used by the working class under Congress Governments as under the U.F. Governments of West Bengal and Kerala. The reason for it is not difficult to seek, and everybody knows that, whereas the Congress State Governments and other akin-minded non-Congress State Governments would readily oblige the big capitalists by sending their repressive police machinery to be freely used against the gheraoing workers, the U.F. Governments of Kerala and West Bengal have adopted a policy of restraining the police machinery from throwing its weight on the side of the employers, against the working class, in the industrial disputes between the two.

If this policy endears the working class to U.F. Governments and estranges the exploiters from it, and if workers feel encouraged and capitalists feel aggrieved at such a policy, there is nothing for the U.F. and its constituent parties to repent about it, because it is this pro-working class policy and programme that has made the U.F. what it is today in the eyes of the people.

It may also be noted here that the powers of the U.F. Governments to implement this police policy are severely restricted, and any number of judicial orders by the High Courts can be cited whereby the police is directed to go to the rescue of the gheraoed capitalist, no matter what the policy of the U.F. Government is in this regard. And yet a hue and cry is raised against the U.F. Government! A barrage of propaganda is let loose by the 'free' Big Business Press!

Swept off their feet by the mounting offensive of the monopoly-controlled Press on the one hand and irked by some cases of gross abuse of the gherao form of struggle, by interested forces on the other, voices are heard from among certain constituents of the United Front that a rethinking is required by the U.F. about its labour policy, and in particular on the gherao issue. Some tendentious statements are being made by interested persons who pretend to be the exclusive 'inventors' of the gherao form of struggle casting doubts on the CPI(M) and its attitude to this issue.

Principled Stand

The CPI(M) does neither claim any originality in this 'discovery' nor is it prepared to idealize this form of struggle as a miracle weapon to fight working class battles. It considers gherao as one form of struggle belonging to the category of civil disobedience satyagraha, picketing, hunger strike and the like which are not new to our country.

Further, the CPI(M) is also of the opinion, that gherao carries with it the danger of a few militants substituting the mass of workers, reducing the majority to the role of passive spectators and sympathizers while creating a handful of 'heroes' to do the job of the masses for their emancipation. It looks upon gherao as only one among numerous forms of struggle, employed by the working class, a form to realize some of the day-to-day economic and other demands of the class and nothing big beyond that.

As such, we totally disapprove of the capitalist campaign against the workers' right of gherao and cannot appreciate the overt or covert suggestions from one or the other of the U.F. constituents to consider the question of depriving the workers of this small right which they have come to avail under the U.F. Government.

While reiterating this principled stand of our Party on gherao, we are not oblivious to the fact that there are quite a few cases where this right is improperly used. We do know that in certain cases it is misused and even abused by some interested persons and groups to discredit the gherao form of struggle as well as the

U.F. Government that upholds this right of the working class. There is no reason whatsoever to believe that different opponents of the U.F. Government would not exploit this same weapon for purposes other than conceived and aimed, the purpose of turning against it and of discrediting it.

We are here constrained to observe that this gherao form of struggle is sometimes indiscreetly resorted to in certain essential services such as electricity and hospital establishments, which are normally excluded even during all-out general strikes and hartals.

Similarly, this gherao form of struggle between the employers and employees, which is sympathetically looked upon and morally supported by the U.F. Government is sometimes sought to be turned against the very U.F. Government by gheraoing its Ministers. The absurd lengths to which it is being extended can be seen when some of the constituent parties of the U.F. Government resort to the use of gheraos against some other party's representatives in the same U.F. Government! Does not such indiscreet and objectionable wielding of the weapon of gherao discredit the very form of struggle and harm the working class in whose interests it is being upheld? It is high time that all the constituent parties of the U.F. seriously ponder over such abuses and excesses and take steps to remedy them.

Let it be remembered that such misuse and abuse is not confined to one particular 'right' or 'civil liberty' that is sought to be conferred upon the people, but every democratic right and liberty, the right of freedom of speech, Press and assembly and the right of strike, demonstration, etc., is never free from the danger of being abused and misused. However, from this it never follows that a remedy for this should be found in denying these rights. Such a course might be a course for the arch-reactionary classes and parties but can never be for democratic and progressive parties.

In fact, the single right, the right of private property and its sanctity under the bourgeois constitutions and the unfettered right of earning profit and amassing wealth by individuals and propertied classes, virtually reduces every other right and liberty of the people under capitalism to a fake and formal right, with

‘Mr. Money’ in command and control over every other thing. As such, is it not fantastic that venomous attacks are mounted by the reaction on this small right of the exploited, the right to resort to gherao, which, in reality, is being emasculated by the orders of the judiciary?

No Equivocation Possible

Then the question before the parties of the U.F. and its Government is not, either support the right of gherao in the abstract and upholding all gheraos or deny the right in principle and oppose every gherao, as some tend to pose the problem. What is necessary is a case-to-case examination by the U.F. Government whether it is discreetly used or grossly abused, whether the gherao weapon is used by the genuine workers and for the real purposes it is intended, and then take the decision in full conformity with the declared policy of the U.F. regarding industrial disputes.

Any other course or a short-cut solution to the problem is fraught with adverse consequences to the struggles of the toiling masses and to the very pledged policies and programme of the U.F.

These, in brief, are our Party’s views on the issues, and we place them for the serious consideration of other U.F. constituents, so that a consensus is arrived at in the U.F. and a firm and principled decision on the issue taken, without any equivocation and confusion.

United Fronts and Divisive Trends*

M. Basavapunnaiah

The anti-Congress democratic United Fronts and the Front Governments formed in the States, in particular the U.Fs. and the U.F. Governments of Kerala and West Bengal, have come to be looked upon by the democratic and progressive forces in the country with high hopes and expectations. They are considered to be the precious landmarks of victory for the democratic and progressive forces in their prolonged struggle against the monopoly rule of the bourgeois-landlord classes led by the Congress party.

It is precisely these two U.Fs. and their State Governments of Kerala and West Bengal that have become the principal objects of enmity and hatred of the entire reaction in the country, of course, with the ruling Congress party in the van of this reaction and counter-revolution. It is also no secret that the CPI(M) as the biggest constituent in these two U.Fs. is singled out by this reaction as its target for its numerous attacks political, ideological, organizational and in every sphere of social life and activity.

Under these circumstances, the inter-party differences and disputes among the constituent parties of the U.Fs., the differences and disputes sometimes reaching the stage of scurrilous charges and counter-charges, are causing serious concern to the democratic and progressive forces, while providing succour to the decaying and disintegrating camp of reaction. Political prudence and statesmanship on the part of the constituents of the U.F. demand a dispassionate and objective analysis of this phenomenon, so that effective ways and means are devised to resolve these differences and disputes,

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in order to strengthen and consolidate the U.Fs. and their achievements.

The Problem in Its Various Aspects

Let us present the problem and examine its different facets.

First of all, the fact to be acknowledged is that different political parties and groups have come to exist because they, essentially, represent definite classes or sectional interests, and they have their own political philosophy, programme, policy and identity which they deem to be correct. Whether one is fully conscious or not, admits or refutes, the truth remains that in a class society like the one we are living in with the classes of workers, peasants, middle classes, landlords, capitalists, and the big monopolists collaborating with foreign monopolists, no political party can exist if it were not to represent definite class or sectional economic interests.

Politics in the final analysis is nothing but a superstructure of economics, and political parties can never exist in the vacuum unless they are oriented to definite economic class interests. Hence it is to indulge in futile exercises to deny the existence of differences between different parties that have come together in the United Fronts. To reckon with this reality is the first prerequisite, before one can proceed for the further examination of the issue under discussion.

The second question that follows is, why then should these different parties unite, what is common between them that has brought them together and how is it possible to keep them together.

The enemies of the United Front, the Congress Party and its unashamed apologists, have a readymade reply to all these questions. They shout that it is all "opportunistic" and "unprincipled ganging up" since it is their experience such ganging up alone keeps up the facade of Congress unity and enable them to stick on to offices like leeches! They forecast the disintegration and doom of these U.Fs. and it is by feeding such stories alone they intend to inspire confidence in their following which is fast getting shattered under the impact of the deep disunity and disintegration that the Congress party is facing now! Such were the answers they were giving in the past, and they will

continue giving them in the future, too, till they are ousted from power under the hammer blows of the United Front of all democratic forces.

Fight Against Congress

But the advocates of the U.F. and its constituent parties have different answers, totally opposed to the ones given by their avowed class enemies. Each of the constituent parties in U.F. through its own experience, during the last two decades of struggle against the Congress regime, has come to realize that on its own it cannot oust the Congress from power, that unless different democratic classes and parties unite in a democratic front it is not possible to fight and defeat the reactionary front of landlords, capitalists, monopolists, both Indian and foreign, i.e., the front that the present Congress party symbolizes.

Each of these democratic parties does also realize that all the people oppressed and exploited by the Congress regime are deeply interested in forging a United Front to fight their battles, and any democratic political party that does not respond to this irresistible urge of the people will have to pay a heavy penalty for the crime, the penalty of foregoing the confidence of its own mass following and facing the prospect of its weakening and, even, extinction from the political scene.

Further, each of these constituents of the democratic front, faced with the realities presented before it, realizes the need to subordinate the issue of its political-ideological differences with others to that of the united struggle against the Congress reaction.

It is this political awareness and understanding that is at the root of the concept of a United Democratic Front against the Congress, and it is this which has brought about the West Bengal and Kerala United Fronts on to the stage of our political life today. If any one constituent of these United Fronts, consciously or unconsciously, tends to underplay what is common to them, namely, the united struggle against the Congress and its class politics, while overplaying its political-ideological differences in a blind partisan manner, then discord and dispute set in the front, and the parties responsible for such dangerous errors will not be spared by the people. Most of the differences and disputes that we are witnessing today among the U.F. constituents belong to this

category. The United Front gets strengthened and consolidated by boldly, and in a principled manner, tackling these disputes and overcoming them instead of getting panicky and shirking them. The enemies of the U.F. see nothing except division and disruption in such differences and disputes and forecast their disintegration, while experience and life demonstrate the contrary, i.e., the decay and disintegration of the Congress and pro-Congress parties and the emergence and assertion of United Fronts, notwithstanding the differences and disputes among parties of the U.F. Let our enemies dare deny this and prove their contention by facts instead of bluff.

New Congress Tactics

The third point that has to be understood is that among the parties in the United Front of Kerala and West Bengal, though united against the bourgeois-landlord rule of the Congress party, there exist differences regarding the depth and dimension of anti-Congressism and also regarding the means, methods and forms of struggle necessary to oust the Congress from power; depending upon the political-ideological outlook and the basic class or sectional interests that each of these parties represents, they vary widely. These United Fronts should not be equated and confused with the higher forms of *revolutionary* United Front, since many of the constituents have not yet outlived their bourgeois constitutional illusions and still look upon the parliamentary forms of struggle as the only highest forms of struggle.

The Congress party, which is reduced to a hopeless minority in the legislatures of both these States, realizes that it is no more possible to carry out its 'toppling operations' by buying up a few unreliable elements from the U.Fs., and harps mainly on exploiting the differences and disputes among the U.F. constituents in order to undermine them. It seeks to operate its strategy through such parties and groups in the U.Fs. which, according to it, are near to it from the political-ideological point of view. The Congress game of singling out these two United Fronts for attack, and in that again the singling out of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), is to be seen in this background, and no party, knowingly or unknowingly, should fall a victim to such a political conspiracy.

The fourth point that needs to be emphasized in this connection is about certain principles and rules that should guide the formation and functioning of the United Fronts. If the formation and functioning of the political parties itself is new to our country, a phenomenon more pronounced during the last two decades in the post-independence era, the concept of U.Fs., their actual formation and functioning, etc., are still more a recent phenomenon, and it is quite natural that several teething troubles will have to be faced in the forging and running of these United Fronts. Political parties as well as the people following them will have to go through such schooling from which there is no escape.

Principles and Guidelines

Since the principles, rules and guidelines for the U.Fs. are not yet systematically formulated, discussed and accepted by different parties of the fronts, and since each constituent has its own understanding of them, instead of a commonly accepted and united understanding, it is fruitful and urgently necessary that they are properly formulated. We shall attempt to present our views on the subject and invite comments and suggestions from other constituents of the U.Fs. for their further improvement or modification.

Firstly, every constituent party or group in the front should be clear in its thinking as to what it is politically hostile against, primarily, and for what it seeks to join the United Front. Any equivocation and ambiguity on its part regarding this primary issue is sure to land itself in trouble and create complications for the front. Every constituent of the front, *ipso facto*, is supposed to be in opposition to the present Congress regime and its policies. The opposition to the Congress regime and its policies, to make things clear, need not, of course, mean opposition to every aspect of its policies or to every single step in it, but the opposition should be basic and predominant, and never should agreement with the Congress regime and one of the other policies it pursues predominate. Notwithstanding the fact that different parties, basing on their own evaluation, experience and understanding, might differ in the degree of their opposition to the Congress and its policies, the attitude should be one of basic opposition with a

determination to defeat its policies and oust it from power. Otherwise it is either sheer opportunism or bordering on it to seek a place in the united democratic front and continue to be one of its constituents.

Front of Equal Parties

Secondly, every constituent party is assured of its equality and independence with unfettered rights to independently propagate its own programme, policy and ideology, subject to the scrupulous respecting of the agreed minimum programmes and policies of such fronts. Each constituent party, while exercising its right of independence, is naturally obliged to exercise it in such a manner that it would not undermine the U.F., and its pledged programme and policy. When and if such a big and unbridgeable divergence develops, the honest course left open for one or the other parties in the U.F. is to leave the front, instead of continuing in the front and at the same time exercising its right of independence in such a manner that it would nullify the programme and policy of the front, thus undermining the very existence of the front. The very concept of United Front presupposes a voluntary surrendering of a certain part of its independence by each constituent of the front. Either this is understood and respected by all in order to build and consolidate the front or its inadequate appreciation and consequent "free" actions will lead to disunity and disruption of the front.

Thirdly, since the United Front is neither a party nor the liquidation of the independent parties with a view to merging them in some amorphous front, it is incorrect to attempt the formation of a single legislative party comprising of all parties in the front, and to make the front function according to the discipline enforced on a political party. Such a course carries with it the danger of the big party or parties streamrolling the minor parties and groups, annulling independence of parties and breeding friction and disunity among the parties of the front instead of strengthening the front. While the parties in the front have a duty and also a right to discipline a constituent when it violates the agreed programme, policy and decisions of the front, it should never overstep and try to discipline individual members of a party for their indiscipline, as that would be nothing short

of an encroachment on the independence of parties and their functioning. Such a disciplining falls, obviously, in the sphere of the party concerned. Discipline there must be since neither a party nor a front of parties can function without discipline. But under no circumstances should party discipline and front discipline be equated and confused, the two must be clearly distinguished.

Co-ordination Committees

Fourthly, the parties of the front should set up appropriate compact bodies to co-ordinate and guide the work of the front, with proper representation to each constituent on the basis of its mass influence and legislative strength, excluding none from it. Discussions should take place on the problems with a view to arriving at a consensus and such decisions should be respected by all parties, irrespective of one's own reservations in the matter. The meetings and discussions of the Co-ordination Committee should be properly organized and regulated so that differences and complaints do not accumulate, but are promptly resolved from time to time. If one or the other party deems that its difference with the rest is so fundamental in terms of the accepted programme of the front and insists on the right to place its differing views before the public, it should be permitted to do so with all the implicit consequences, and it cannot grudge if other constituents, exercising the *same* right, place their views on the matter before the public.

As a general rule, it is neither prudent nor fruitful for the parties of the U.F., to take their differences to the public, and every attempt must be made to thrash them out at the level of bilateral discussions or discussions of the Co-ordination Committee. In this, it is of particular importance for every party in the front to adhere to the rule of never levelling a charge of either violation of the decisions of the U.F., or a charge of corruption openly against one or the other allied parties and their representatives either in the legislature or in the Cabinet before it is first taken up with the party involved, and if unresolved even after that, then it should be raised in the Co-ordination Committee. The party that levels such charges must take full responsibility of substantiating them or if it raises frivolous and unfounded charges should be compelled to tender apology before the parties if it is raised within the front and

before the entire public if it is raised in the open public. Whichever party does not obey this code should not be permitted to retain its membership in the front, and yet continue to level charges of corruption on any allied party or parties.

Struggles—How and When?

Equally important is the issue of a constituent party or parties of the U.F. launching class and mass struggles and direct actions against the U.F. Government. Class and mass mobilizations on the issues and demands by parties of the front against the employers and landlords are not only not excluded under the U.F. Government but, on the contrary, they are absolutely necessary and are additionally emphasized. The U.F. Government ensures such rights for the struggling masses. The U.F. Government is duty bound to concede their just demands in so far as they are within the bounds of its limited resources and attenuated powers. But the constituent parties of the U.F. have a duty and an obligation to present the demands of the people concerned to the U.F. Government with a view to amicably settling the dispute before they decide on the course of direct action against the U.F. Government if they so choose. However, the point to be noted here is that if each constituent party of the U.F. Government exercises its right of launching direct action against the U.F. Government without exhausting the possibilities, it will result in the ridiculous situation of U.F. parties finding themselves in frontal conflict with the U.F. Government, thus virtually nullifying any difference between a U.F. Government and a Congress or any other reactionary Government. In such an absurd situation, there is no reason why the representatives of these U.F. parties should remain in office to run the Government; in fact, there remains no justification in the very existence and functioning of such a Government.

Fifthly, all the constituents of the U.F. should be constantly conscious of the fact that their unity is based on the desire to fight against the policies of the Congress Government, that it is in the course of their struggle against the Congress that they have come to unite and form the non-Congress U.F. Government, that this struggle is not ended by the victory of the U.F. in one or several States in the country but is closely bound up with the struggle

against the Congress and its political power at the all-India level. Any underestimation or relaxation of such a struggle would spell the disaster to the great political cause they have espoused, namely, the removal of Congress rule and its replacement by the rule of an anti-Congress front of democratic parties. If this principal bond and cementing force that units different political parties are allowed to be corroded and weakened, then the differences that exist among them are sure to gain the upper hand, and the disintegration of the U.F. cannot but be its cruel and inevitable consequence.

It is for each constituent of the U.F. to self-critically analyse and assess as to how far they are living up to these principles and ground rules that we have attempted to formulate above so that the cause of the U.F. is not adversely affected, causing happiness only to the enemies of the U.F.

Doings of Right Communists

However, one cannot miss noting the phenomenon that one constituent of the U.F. in both Kerala and West Bengal, namely, the Right Communist Party, has earned conspicuity by raising numerous complaints and causing unending disputes during the course of United Front's functioning in the last two years. Thanks to the big bourgeois Press, these complaints, charges and grievances of the Right Communists have secured wide publicity, providing ample grist to the mill of enemy propaganda against the U.F. in general and the CPI(M) in particular, as it happens to be the major constituent of these fronts. A cursory review of Right Communist doings would reveal that the inter-party struggles this party is ceaselessly waging are neither based on correct principles and ground rules for the working of United Fronts nor have they anything to do with any principled ideological political struggle against the CPI(M), a struggle the Right Communist Party is perfectly entitled to carry on along with the rest of the U.F. constituents.

It appears on all counts that the major motivation behind this odd and disruptive behaviour of the Right Communist Party stems not mainly from the intricate problems and difficulties in the course of the work of the U.Fs. and their State Governments, but its refusal to reckon with one glaring reality, i.e., the emergence of

the CPI(M) in both Kerala and West Bengal as the single biggest party among the constituents of the U.F., among the people as well as in the respective legislatures. Any refusal to reconcile with this reality and ceaseless endeavours to reverse this correlation of forces between it and the CPI(M) are bound to push the inter-party struggle between the two into the forefront while relegating the primary struggle of the U.F. against the Congress Party, both at the State and the Centre, to a subordinate position. Such a course objectively undermines the existing U.Fs., notwithstanding one's repeated and high sounding calls for formation of U.Fs., Left and democratic fronts, etc., on an all-India scale. May we call their attention to the fact that in no other State, except in Kerala and West Bengal, U.Fs. of such a character are in existence where other democratic parties, including the Right Communists, had come to hold a leading position.

It should be realized by one and all the constituents of the U.F. that the strength that each of them had acquired and the place it has earned among the people is not fortuitous and accidental but by the steadfast service it has rendered to the people and, above all the consistency it has displayed in the principled and uncompromising revolutionary opposition to the bourgeois-landlord regime of the Congress party, and the sacrifices it has made during this course of struggle. What sense is there in trying to ignore this glaring reality and start envying each other on the ground that one party happens to emerge stronger than the other?

How to Enhance Strength

Each party that is interested in joining the United Front, no doubt, is also keenly interested in improving its political image among the people and increasing its independent strength. But the materialization of these wishes depends upon how a particular political party or group truthfully, honestly and vigorously carries out the programmatic tasks of the U.F., how it struggles for the consolidation and strengthening of the U.F., and above all, how it tenders its *bona fides* in regard to the irreconcilable struggle of the U.F. against the bourgeois-landlord Congress Party and its allied reactionary forces. On this depends the strengthening or weakening of any constituent party, the strengthening, of course, mainly,

at the expense of the reactionary, anti-U.F. classes and forces, but not at the expense of each other in the U.F. It is also possible that some parties and groups in the U.F. get weakened, but the blame for such a reverse cannot be placed at the doors of some other constituent of the front, the reasons for it will have to be self-critically analysed by it, the yardstick being one of loyalty to the programme and principles of the U.F. and the staunchness and steadfastness with which they are carried out by the party or group concerned.

The Right Communist Party, abandoning all such objective examination, frequently indulges in levelling scurrilous charges and frivolous accusations that the CPI(M) is adopting the attitude of a 'big brother', that it is trying to 'lead' other constituents instead of treating all as 'equals', that it is striving to 'squeeze' the other parties in the front out of existence, that its representatives in the U.F. Cabinets are behaving more as their 'party men' instead of as U.Fs.' nominees, etc. The present phase of the acute inter-party strife, particularly, between the CPI(M) and the Right Communist Party owes its origin and growth to a totally erroneous outlook on all the issues mentioned above, and it is causing serious concern and worry to all those who have come to look upon the U.Fs. in Kerala and West Bengal as the only hopeful signs in the otherwise hopelessly bad political situation in the country—a situation when the bankrupt Congress regime is crashing under the weight of its own crimes but with no viable democratic alternative to inspire confidence and optimism among the people.

Disputes Can be Resolved

Given the necessary goodwill, sense of responsibility and correct understanding of the complicated issues involved in the inter-party disputes that are cropping up among the U.F. partners in Kerala and West Bengal, the difficulties are not insurmountable and they can surely be overcome. Our Party strives its utmost to strengthen and consolidate these U.Fs, in the forging and building of which it had no small part to play, and it is for other parties to co-operate in this endeavour. The people judge every party from its performances, and no constituent of the U.F. is exempt from this supreme judiciary—the people's tribunal.

Workers Cannot and Should not Bear Burdens of the Crisis*

Budget Speech of the Labour Minister of the United Front Government of West Bengal, 1969

Following is the text of the Budget speech Comrade Krishnapada Ghosh, Labour Minister, Government of West Bengal, delivered on July 28, 1969:

It is customary to present a review of the activities of the past year. Had this not been the case, I would have been much too reluctant to say anything from this side for the year 1968, a year that will never be obliterated from our living memories particularly for the fact that during the whole year labour got nothing tangible from the Government other than experience in the course of their long and tenacious struggles against mounting attacks on their rights and employment.

1968—A Dismal Year

In 1968, 2,76,323 workmen were affected all over the State involving 70,56,931 man days, a figure all-time high, in 469 cases of lock outs and strikes. These figures can be well compared with 1967, a year of noisy clamour of reactionaries and vested interests, now being renewed again, when 1,65,102 workmen were affected involving 50,15,852 man-days in 438 similar cases.

During the year under review, the workmen of engineering industry, jute industry, foreign oil companies, mercantile offices, newspaper organizations and in various other establishments had to face severe attacks from the employers and from the administration both at the State and in the Centre they got a raw deal. In engineering industry alone, 78,611 workmen were

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affected involving 35,64,442 man-days in 179 cases of lock outs, closures etc. In jute industry, there was "marked reduction in employment opportunities" and, according to the trade union sources, about 40,000 workers lost their jobs. In the foreign oil companies, hundreds of employees were retrenched during pendency of the issue of their job security before a Commission of Enquiry appointed by the Government of India. The decision of the Wage Board on the demands of journalists and non-journalist employees were flouted dragging the workmen to a protest action through a justified strike.

In 1968, the number of accidents was highest in West Bengal. In 1957, the number of accidents per thousand of workers was 39.33, whereas in 1968, it was 73.64. This was due to most extensive labour exploitation through reduction of labour force under various forms of mechanization, rationalization and re-organization measures adopted by the employers in various industries.

E.S.I. Fund to the extent of nearly Rs. Two crores against sanctioned scheme for construction of two E.S.I. Hospitals in West Bengal has not yet been released. Present fixation of four hospital beds per 1000 insured men has still not been achieved in West Bengal.

These are some of the achievements of industrial relation in the year 1968! I do not think there will be anybody here to claim credit for them.

The dismal picture of 1968 brings to light the motivation and hollowness of the ornamental and concerted attacks on the U.F. Government which has embarked on a small beginning to recognize the rights and needs of the labour of the State who have a tradition of long suffering and of glorious struggles.

As a prelude to this, more vigorous efforts were made from the day the U.F. formed the Government on February 25, 1969 to settle the pending disputes in favour of the workers, and as a result, several closed factories like Bengal Immunity, Shankey Division of Guest Keen Williams, National Iron and Steel Co. (Belur), etc. were re-opened and the workers started their work. In all, between 25.2.1969 and 31.5.1969, 298 disputes were

settled covering 1,11,839 workmen. Yet, what has been achieved is not enough compared to the need.

In the ensuing session two labour bills are going to be moved:

- (i) The West Bengal Payment of Subsistence Allowance Bill, 1969;
- (ii) The Trade Union (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1969.

The first bill is purported to ameliorate the sufferings of the workmen during the period of suspension. The purpose of the second bill is to streamline the question of recognition of the unions with the sole object of enhancing the bargaining power of labour for greater gain and more enduring industrial relation.

These bills were discussed in the Standing Labour Advisory Board's meeting on June 9 and 10, 1969. Trade unions in general supported the proposed bills as laudable and overdue.

Poor Logic

The attempts of the employers to blame labour for all the ills accumulated over the years due to wrong policies is a continuing phenomenon. But the labour is nowhere nearer to the cause creating such ills. Therefore, the employers' elaborate and expensive arrangements to blame labour reveals poor logic. In the present relation of production labour represent the weaker side and they are far from the causes creating the crisis.

It is to be reckoned here that if an underdeveloped country ventures to develop industries by depending on foreign loans and by impoverishing the people through taxation without developing the internal market by increasing the purchasing power of the overwhelming majority of the people, crisis will appear and reappear as a continuous process. The burden of this crisis is being entirely imposed upon the workers. The workers cannot and should not bear this burden. In West Bengal, workers' conscious resistance to imposition of this burden is being represented as a 'law-and-order' question. This deliberate misrepresentation of facts is an integral part of the total machination of the political attacks on the gains achieved through formation of the United Front Government in West Bengal.

'Gherao' Bogey

It is in this light that the bogey of 'gherao' raised by the vested interests should be reviewed. Shorn of realities, they pose that 'gherao' is the root-cause of everything although in many cases 'gherao' is the creation of the managements themselves. Without going into its merit—good or bad—'gherao' cannot be stopped either by legislation or by force; it could be minimized through successful negotiation. In engineering industry, since bipartite discussion started following the tripartite meeting on May 17, 1969, it created more or less a satisfactory condition on both sides insofar as there was practically no 'gherao' in the engineering industrial units since then. At a similar conference of the tea industry an encouraging understanding was reached benefiting about 200,000 workmen and since then there is marked improvement in the understanding between labour and management in the tea gardens.

Employers' Defiance

But there is considerable resistance from the employers' side to improve and stabilize the industrial relation. Of the total number of joint meetings called by the Labour Directorate in 1968, 28.05 per cent meetings were not attended by the employers, and this figure went up to 51.14 per cent during the first 96 days of the U.F. Government, i.e., from 25.2.1969 to 31.5.1969.

There are glaring cases of employers' defiance of legal obligations also. In West Bengal an amount of Rs. One crore covering contribution for Employees' State Insurance Scheme was not paid by the employers which include even amounts collected by employers from their workers (i.e., workers' contribution) but not deposited. In case of Employees' Provident Fund, similar defaulted amount is over Rs. One crore.

Yet, the employers are fond of hearing their own voice repeating everyday about law-and-order situation.

With 'gherao' comes the question of flight of capital. This is not a new propaganda weapon; this is being heard for a long time. During the tenure of the Congress Government for 20 long years, its pro-employer and anti-labour policies were tried to be

justified by raising the fear of 'flight of capital'. The entrepreneurs and the capitalists have fully exploited West Bengal's differential advantages and cheap labour due to comparatively lower wage-structure. This exploitation is still continuing. In fact, the number of factories has increased in West Bengal whereas average number of men employed everyday is showing an alarmingly declining trend. The figures are given below:

Year	No. of factories on the register at the end of the year	Average daily no. of workers employed during the year
1965	5878	910191
1966	6053	872788
1967	6133	865297
1968	6151	850287 (Provisional)

As a matter of fact, labour is depressed all over the country and they are fighting for their survival in all the States. West Bengal cannot be isolated in this regard.

Inadequate Laws and Machinery

To understand the malaise of labour, one cannot ignore the fact that the laws of the land are highly inadequate to meet their requirements. In overall analysis the existing labour laws are inadequate and balanced against the workmen. The laws should have a living link with the people, take care of their rights and needs and operate in their interest. In fact, very little progress was made during last twenty years in this sphere.

The present machinery of tribunals and adjudication is equally unable to solve the industrial problems. The processes are lengthy, time-consuming and expensive and naturally, therefore, the workers are unable to stand them. Huge number of cases are pending before the Industrial Tribunals.

At the same time, it is relevant to note that for lack of effective enforcement of the decisions of the wage boards and the delay involved in finalizing its decisions, wage boards have become machinery for 'wage freeze.'

Moreover, some of the verdicts of the highest law courts have very much depressed the workers.

Taken everything together, workers are justifiably losing faith in the existing machinery for solution of their problems.

Therefore, maximum emphasis is given on tripartite negotiation and settlement with assistance from the Labour Directorate.

The predominant question in the sphere of industrial relation is the question of wage. Wage is extremely depressed in West Bengal.

Fallacious Slogan

The employers suggest that workers should increase production if they want to earn more. This is a fallacious slogan. In jute industry, the production increased by nearly 45 per cent in 1968 compared to 1950 but employment was reduced by over a lakh. India is the lowest-cost-tea-producing country of the world, and compared to 1947, production registered a rise of 60 per cent; but labour in tea gardens do not get even now subsistence wages and over the past years in relation to acreage of land, the number of workmen has fallen with consequent rise in workload. Even the recommendation of the one-man commission has not been accepted by the employers in this regard. So it is not correct so say that increase in production enhances workers' earnings. Therefore, it will be more proper to say that employers should GIVE MORE TO GET MORE.

The demand for wage increase is vitally related to worker's very existence. Any policy to ignore this demand is sure to be defeated. The United Front Government will support and solidly stand behind the workers in their struggle for realizing legitimate demand for wage increase.

The United Front Government will also stand behind the workmen in their legitimate and justified struggles against reduction of employment and employment potential through different forms of mechanization, rationalization, reorganization and automation and for discontinuation of worst labour exploitation through casual and contract labour,

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The employers should realize that the old concept of 'master-and-servant relation' is no more operative in the present-day situation. If the employers realize the change of time and sincerely prepare their minds to recognize the needs of the workers, there is much to expect in the sphere of industrial relation. At any rate, the employers cannot discharge their responsibility by blaming the workers.

Nationalization Alone Is No Panacea*

P. Ramamurti warns Government of India

Following is the text of the speech of P. Ramamurti, MP, on the Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings) Bill, in the Lok Sabha on July 29, 1969:

Without entering into any panegyric over this measure that this is a very courageous measure or piece of socialist legislation, I and my Party certainly welcome this measure as a step in the right direction. It will continue to be a step in the right direction provided the right direction is continued afterwards.

While welcoming this measure, my purpose is to meet the arguments advanced against this measure and the best argument came from Mr. Masani. His first argument: After all, this measure is born out of political faction, factional conflict inside the Congress party. We all know that there has been factional conflicts and I can quote the Biblical saying: Out of evil cometh good. If out of factional conflict something good has come, let us have it and not look at the conflict.

May I ask Mr. Masani one simple question? There have been conflicts inside the Congress party. But when there was a conflict why was it necessary for the Prime Minister, to project her image in the country, to take this measure and not those measures which the Swatantra Party proclaims from the housetops? We know that my friend Mr. Patil and Mr. Desai also stand totally opposed to these things. Why had it become necessary for Mr. Desai to move that resolution and not adopt the slogans of the Swatantra Party? After all, we know what happened in Bangalore. We know that all of them became protagonists of nationalization. And the

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very next day, Mr. Patil will go to the Rotary Club and abuse it. That is a different matter. Today, the situation has come about in the country when no one who is today opposed to this kind of measure can go to the people and solicit their suffrage, and ask for their support. This is the question.

Therefore, Mr. Masani and his people are giving up the case altogether when they say—and they admit—that they are a tiny minority of the people in this country who did not seek the support of the people. That is their argument. And by adducing such arguments, they are today giving up their whole case.

Whose Money?

Mr. Masani threatens that by this measure there will be no increase in the deposits. He warned the Prime Minister, "Beware, you think you will be able to grab the depositors' money; I warn you; the depositors will not oblige you. They will not deposit money." The question of grabbing is raised, as if all those bank-owners, all those people who are managing directors of these banks will treat it as their own money. Whose money is it that they are keeping in the banks? Is it their prerogative to grab the money of the depositors, of the poor people? If it is a question of grabbing, then is it their prerogative, is it their privilege, is it their monopoly to go on grabbing money of the depositors?

After all, here is a Government; at least there is an elective element in the Government. At least once in five years, we go to the people, and, therefore, even the depositors are part of the people. At least there is some urge to rouse the people; at least we can shout even if something goes wrong. We can rouse public opinion against this big bank monopolies. What is public opinion? We can rise against the misdeeds of the monopolists and rouse public opinion against such things. They cannot utilize the public money in any way they want to.

A Bogus Scare

Then, they say, "You are grabbing money." Mr. Masani warns the Government that the people of this country will not deposit their money. Why? I do not understand. After all, the State Bank

is a nationalized institution. Does the history of the State Bank show that the people of this country are afraid to put their money in the State Bank and they are willing to put their money only in the private banks? What does it show? On the other hand, I am absolutely certain that because the Government is running the banks, the people will feel secure, more secure; and they will put their money into the nationalized banks. At least we can catch hold of the Government, the Finance Ministry, if something goes wrong, and we can see that the banks do not fail. That will be the understanding of the people, and therefore, all this hullabaloo that this measure will not attract deposits from the people is just chimera. It is not going to succeed.

Then, they say another thing, and that is what I am more concerned about. They say that it is a bad measure economically. Why? Because the confidence about us in this country, outside, has been shaken, and all the foreign capital and the help we get will be endangered. This is the main argument against this measure. They say that foreign capital will be scared.

Loyalties Outside, Whose?

Here is a party which comes and accuses us of extra-territorial loyalty, and here is a party which cannot think of developing this country on the basis of our resources. Here is a party that cannot even think, let alone doing it, in terms of independence, both economic and political, of our country except by getting subsistence, doles etc., from foreign imperialists and they say that we are extra-territorial loyalists and they are loyal! Loyal to whom? They are loyal to those people, elsewhere, which means that there should be continuous flow of foreign capital into this country and continuous flow of foreign aid in this country.

I might say that a Member from the Jana Sangh also adduced the same argument. I am sorry he did it. He adopted the same argument. Unfortunately it is so. Mr. Kothari, for example, had the same argument. Excuse me for saying so. Unfortunately, these are the people—may I say—who are today loyal to somebody else, to foreign capitalists, foreign financiers. They are more loyal to those people than to interests of the people of this country. That is why they are today becoming angry.

These Preachers of Democratic Ways

The last thing that he said was, "Beware, I warn you, what happened to Dr. Nkrumah and what happened to Dr. Soekarno? That will befall you." These are the people who swear by democracy. The other day, in this House, there was a big debate raised by them that we are the people who do not believe in democracy. Here is, on the other hand, their wonderful democratic pretension which is today torn asunder. They said, "Beware; remember what happened to Dr. Nkrumah, will befall you ultimately if you go like this." That means the army will step in; no Constitution; nothing of the type; "We will ultimately resort to the use of force in order to overthrow you."

This is the argument that is made, and these are the people who day in and day out preach democracy to us. The less said about it the better.

Nationalization Alone Can't Work Wonders

Having said these things, I only want to point out that this measure by itself is not going to usher in any wonderful thing. After all, we have the history of the LIC. We have the history of the State Bank itself. The other day, on the 21st, the Dutt Report [Licensing Policy Enquiry Committee's Report—Ed.] was placed on the Table of the House. What does that report reveal? That report reveals that after the LIC was nationalized 56 per cent of the financial allocations of LIC went to the Big Business houses. To whom has the money been given? Who are the people who have reaped the greatest benefit? It is the Big Business houses. No wonder Sri Morarji Desai, the former Finance Minister, when we put a question on the floor of the House to reveal the names of the houses who received benefit from the LIC, said that it is not in the public interest to give that. After all, public interest means, according to him, the interest of Birlas, the interest of Tatas and the interest of the Mafatlals and others. That is why even their names could not be revealed on the floor of this House.

The LIC was brought in the nationalized sector to prevent these big people from reaping the benefit out of the savings of the

common people in this country. But nothing happened. The Dutt Report points out that shares of big industrialists in the LIC investments was 70 per cent. Eighty-two per cent of State Bank of India's shares went there. These are not my figures, these are the figures given by a committee appointed by the Government of India. In spite of the fact that this bank was in the hands of the Central Government, it did not prevent the Tatas, Birlas and Mafatlals from reaping the largest benefit. What is the guarantee that today with the nationalized sector of banks that is going to come into the hands of the Government it is not going to be utilized by these people? That is the question that is today uppermost in my mind.

We know how these capitalists, how these Indian big businessmen, have developed. What is the wonderful kind of entrepreneurship that they have exhibited in this country? I know what cleverness they have exhibited. Their cleverness is to be able to manipulate and pull strings behind the scene. What is the wonderful amount of money that they have invested in this country's industries? Out of the bank's money, out of peoples' deposits and savings in the LIC, out of Government's own different public undertakings they have invested. They have grabbed all that money. They did not invest this money. They did not have even the ordinary entrepreneurship of going and selling shares to the common people. It is well-known that these financial institutions like LIC and others underwrote nearly 20 per cent to 36 per cent of the shares of these big companies.

They were not able to sell their shares and even there these financial institutions had to go to their rescue. The Dutt Report points out that 60 to 75 per cent of the total money of most of the undertakings undertaken by these people after the war had to be financed by LIC and other Government financial institutions. This is their wonderful entrepreneurship. And, for the rest they got foreign loans. Their investment is nothing more than 6 per cent and they want to continue to reap the benefit for that. And, for this investment they want a tremendous compensation. Compensation for what, for having grabbed the money of the people and for having utilized it for enriching themselves at the

expense of the common people, and by utilizing this they went into foreign collaboration agreements and got them? Is it for that that they want this compensation, for having fleeced the people all these years?

They Should Compensate Us

Let us not talk much about compensation. Sri Masani pointed out somewhere that this is a Marxist measure. I do not know whether he knows any Marxism at all. If it is a Marxist measure these people would never have got any compensation. We would have told the bigger people, go to hell, it is for you to give us compensation. The smaller people would certainly have got compensation but the big people would have been told that far from their asking us for compensation we have got to get recompense from them. That recompense we will get from them by confiscating their big property. That is the kind of compensation that Marxists would be giving. Therefore, to think of this as a Marxist measure is giving a caricature to it.

Therefore, I say, having known how these banks have functioned before, as a result of the further development of the democratic movement, as a result of the pressure of public opinion which I am sure will be built up in this country, I hope the Government themselves will change their policies not only with regard to the new banks that are going to be taken over, but they will change their investment policy even with regard to the undertakings that are already existing, namely, the various financial institutions as well as the LIC. I would urge upon them that if they do not do so and if they go the same way, the people of this country will draw their own conclusions from this measure and take to the path of struggle.

Significance of The Presidential Election

Harkishan Singh Surjeet

This August 15, the twentysecond anniversary of India attaining political independence, comes at a time when the Congress Party, which has ruled at the Centre uninterruptedly all these years, is in the throes of the most severe crisis in its history.

No Presidential election has assumed such a significance as the present one in our country. The first three were not seriously contested. They were held when the Congress could claim monopoly of power. Therefore, in the past, the only Presidential election seriously contested was that of 1967 but the context was of anti-Congress sentiment in the country which was reflected in the defeat of the Congress in the Fourth General Elections in a number of States covering big areas which contain more than half of the country's population, the narrow majority the Congress had in the Lok Sabha and the formation of the non-Congress Governments in eight States.

But this electoral verdict was not a conscious vote for any alternative path. Analysing the election results the Central Committee of our Party had correctly stated:

"To say so is obviously a mistake, and it would be grossly exaggerating the degree of political awakening and consciousness of our people at the present stage. The people did not and could not agree with the Government's policies, disapproved in clear terms practical effects of these policies on their day-to-day life, and voted in large numbers in favour of different non-Congress parties, whichever party with its political-organizational strength could capitalize on their discontent. Hatred and anger against the Congress rule predominated in their consideration. It is, *by and*

large, more a positive pronouncement against the big bourgeois-landlord policies and practice of the Congress, than a conscious endorsement of the programmes as enunciated by the non-Congress parties, whether they are of a right or left character. It would be hazardous for any non-Congress party to claim that the votes it has secured against Congress misrule denotes a clear and conscious endorsement of all that its programme or election manifesto has put forward. As things stand at present in our country, the political consciousness of the vast bulk of the non-Congress voters is anti-Congress and hence, objectively speaking, anti-feudal, anti-monopolist and anti-imperialist. But its subjective expression as mainly anti-Congress reflects only the elementary stage of political consciousness." (*New Situation and Party's Tasks*, pp. 43-44)

In this situation, the basis of the Presidential contest in 1967 was between the Congress and all anti-Congress forces irrespective of the class interests they represented.

Context of the Election

In April 1967 itself our Party, examining the new situation had said, "these developments undoubtedly have far-reaching political significance, profoundly influencing the course of events in India. In short, a new qualitative change has come about in the Indian political situation which should be characterized as the beginning of a political crisis."

Within two years the ruling party forced on the people of four States mid-term elections with a view to regaining its monopoly but the results were totally different from what it expected. In fact, in the mid-term elections, not only did the Congress Party suffer defeats, the elections also gave a rebuff to the aggressive claims of parties such like the Jana Sangh. The U.F. in West Bengal scored a resounding victory routing the Congress and all other reactionary parties and groups. "The cumulative impact of all these developments sharply aggravated the political crisis in the country, further intensifying the contradictions between the reactionary ruling classes on the one hand and the democratic classes and masses on the other."

The significance of the present Presidential contest can be understood only in this context. The Central Committee of our Party has rightly stated: "a victory of the Syndicate will clearly be a further shift of the country's policies in the direction of arch-reaction."

Right Reaction's Slogan

Our Party has time and again made it clear that the present crisis is the result of the internal and external policies of the ruling Congress Party—the bourgeois-landlord class rule which seeks to develop capitalism in collaboration with foreign monopoly capital. That "the deepening crisis in the path of capitalist development is not only rapidly intensifying the contradictions between the bourgeois-landlord combine led by the big bourgeoisie on the one hand and the people as a whole on the other, but it is also accentuating the inherent conflicts and contradictions within this combine, i.e., the big bourgeoisie and the non-big bourgeoisie and the landlords."

Conflicts and quarrels inside the Congress Party acquired a big momentum after its defeat in the mid-term elections threatening the Congress Party with increasing disintegration. Leaders of the Congress Party, Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh began talking of new alliances for the protection and perpetuation of the present reactionary class rule. On this our Party had given the timely warning that the slogan of extreme reactionaries to forge a front of the Congress, Jana Sangh and Swatantra Parties for setting up a so-called national coalition government was nothing short of an open call for counter-revolution to mobilize, attack and crush the democratic revolutionary movement in the country, first and foremost singling out the two strongest contingents of West Bengal and Kerala to begin with.

In fact, the country today is facing a serious situation created by the deepening economic crisis. US pressure on our economy continues to grow, we cannot be blind to the danger of American intervention through its stooges in our country's political life in the midst of the growing political crisis.

These are the Alternatives

Unable to find a way out of the deepening economic crisis and faced with the growing mass discontent and the struggles arising out of it, the ruling classes are resorting to more and more repressive measures and attacks on whatever democratic rights the people enjoy. Two alternatives are being posed: Either surrender before imperialism and further throw the burden of the crisis on the common people and break their resistance, or defeat the present pro-landlord, pro-imperialist and pro-monopoly policies of the ruling classes, by developing a mass movement through united action of the working class and other toiling people. The Congress leadership, Jana Sangh and Swatantra are working for the first alternative and it is not accidental that a big ballyhoo was raised by all these parties on the statement of Comrades A. K. Gopalan and E. M. S. Namboodiripad on the question of demanding a thorough changing of Constitution, a stand which our Party had made clear in its Programme itself.

Although voices for unity of the Congress, Swatantra and Jana Sangh were being raised for more than two years, it had assumed added importance after the mid-term poll and this slogan has now been brought into action during this Presidential poll. All the talk of finding a third candidate by these parties was motivated by their desire to disrupt the fight against the Syndicate's nominee, Sri Sanjiva Reddy. Some of them had declared their support for Sanjiva Reddy even before his candidature was announced. With the accentuation of the crisis, narrow class interests came to the fore replacing their opposition to the Congress. When they failed to hoodwink the democratic parties and get support for a third candidate and knowing fully well that in the circumstances only Sri V. V. Giri could defeat the Congress nominee, they made the announcement of Sri C. D. Deshmukh as their candidate merely to divide the Opposition vote with the hope that this may help the Syndicate's candidate to succeed.

Because of the crisis inside the Congress, avowed reactionaries of the Swatantra and Jana Sangh did not rest with that. The Swatantra Party openly declared that the second preference votes of its members would go to Sri Sanjiva Reddy while the Jana

Sangh is in vain trying to keep up a pose of anti-Congressism. Their leaders like Sri Madhok and Sri Vajpai have not minced matters. They have expressed their sympathy for Sri Sanjiva Reddy and their whole campaign is against Sri V. V. Giri and not the Congress candidate. The opportunism of the Jana Sangh has been thoroughly exposed. It had been trying to utilize the anti-Congress discontent of the masses and direct it to the reactionary channels; now it is coming as defender of the present reactionary regime by helping the Congress nominee to succeed. In fact, when approached by Congress President Nijalingappa in Delhi on August 5, Jana Sangh leader Madhok pointed out that although no directive had yet been issued about second preference votes, these votes of the Jana Sangh legislators would largely go in favour of Sri Reddy.

Crisis in Other Parties

Because of the growing disintegration of the ruling Congress Party, this election of the President has got mixed up with the next General Elections to be held in 1972. The landlords and the monopolists are preparing to overthrow the garb of bourgeois democracy if it can save them from the wrath of the people. Therefore, polarization is taking place in the positions of various classes and masses. Many parties are facing serious crises. Many parties are ready to throw away their anti-Congress garb and have proved themselves to be defenders of bourgeois-landlord rule.

Apart from the Swatantra and Jana Sangh, BKD has decided in favour of voting for Sri Deshmukh. But it is facing a serious crisis threatening its unity. Many of its members have openly announced their support for Sri Giri. Its leadership had already shown reactionary tendencies when it began negotiations to merge with the Swatantra and Jana Sangh into a single organization. It is but natural that such a party comes in defence of the vested interests. But it is not yet a well-knit party with any traditions of its own, a splinter group from the Congress it has all types of elements in it. Recently established on the basis of opposition to the Congress it is not easy for its ranks to swallow the bitter pill of supporting the Congress in this Presidential election.

The PSP is another party which has exposed its bankruptcy. Because of its pro-Congress bias, its leadership had to pay dearly in the virtual emasculation politically of the party on a national plane. Refusing to learn any lesson, its leadership began the search for the third candidate along with the Swatantra and Jana Sangh. In spite of the resentment of their ranks, their leadership even before referring the issue to their National Executive began canvassing for Sri Deshmukh and thus disrupting the Opposition votes. It is only after the rank and file in various States refused to toe the line that they passed a resolution giving freedom for its members to vote either for Sri Giri or for Sri Deshmukh. Even at this stage they would not come forward in support of Sri Giri because the leadership is doing its best to divide as many votes of Sri Giri as possible. Their decision is being ridiculed by political circles and everybody is sure that a big majority of that party will oppose the leadership in this matter and vote for Sri Giri.

Hectic Efforts

Thus it is clear that this election is being taken as a life-and-death struggle by the avowed representatives of the reactionary classes. In spite of the clear majority of the Congress, hectic efforts are being made by the Syndicate to woo as many parties as possible. This is due to the serious crisis which the Congress Party is facing and because the quarrels inside the Congress Party have begun taking a policy colouring. Starting with the Prime Minister's note to the AICC, followed by the virtual dismissal of Sri Morarji Desai and bank nationalization, these quarrels are taking the shape of an open debate. This is bound to lead the Congress to further disintegration or even a split.

Judging by the mood of the masses and the support which the Prime Minister is getting even inside the Congress Party for her moves and manoeuvres, the Syndicate has adopted the line of lying low till the Presidential election is over. They have swallowed the 'insult' meted to Sri Morarji Desai. They are aware that if they precipitate matters at this stage they will lose the Presidential election which would put them in a disadvantageous position in the bid to assume sole control of the Government.

The total value of the votes in the Presidential election is 861,000 of which the Congress Party controls 450,000 i.e., 52.8 per cent. A candidate to be elected requires absolute majority of votes. This means a shift of about three per cent votes away from the Congress can result in the failure of the Congress candidate getting through in the first ballot. It is because of this that Sri Nijalingappa and other members of the Syndicate want to ensure for Sri Sanjiva Reddy the second preference votes of those who give their first votes to Sri Deshmukh.

The defeat of the Congress candidate will depend upon those sections of the Congress who are talking about "progressive policies", "opposition to the Syndicate", etc., coming forward in open support of Sri Giri. Nothing can be said so far about this. Smt. Indira Gandhi and two of the seniormost leaders in the Cabinet and the Congress High Command have already made a move in this direction demanding a "free vote".

Whatever the outcome of the Presidential election, it is bound to further aggravate the crisis in the Congress.

Our Party's Assessment

We do not want to draw any hasty conclusions from this crisis, nor do we cherish any illusions about Smt. Indira Gandhi's faction that it might get the country out of the crisis by making bold shifts in the policies of the Government. But we cannot remain unconcerned about these developments because in that case "the party squabbles inside the Congress might end in a big defeat for popular forces, strengthening the forces of reaction and foreign monopolists who are waiting in the wings to take advantage of the situation."

The Central Committee of our Party has assessed the present situation in the following words:

"The election of our country's President is coming about at a stage when the ruling Congress Party is deeply involved in a serious political crisis. The selection of its nominee has further aggravated this crisis, and has led to further disunity in the Congress Party. The political significance of the event is further emphasized when a good number of Congress leaders who are

notorious for their extreme reactionary views, factionally champion the present political nominee and several other groups and individuals who are avowedly pro-monopoly, pro-landlord, and pro-imperialist, outside the Congress, have begun to openly and vocally rally round the official Congress nominee. Undoubtedly, this development highlights the growing threat for democracy and popular forces, a victory of the Syndicate will clearly be a further shift of country's policies in the direction of arch reaction."

The Central Committee said further: "However, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) does not think that the present sharp division and threatening split in the Central Congress leadership is any thing like a clear class division between the pro-monopolist and non-monopolist bourgeoisie of our country, a division that is bound to take place ultimately. But it also does not and cannot afford to dismiss the entire innerparty crisis of the ruling Congress Party as simply a factional quarrel between the two equally determined champions of the monopoly bourgeois interests since the bulk of the leaders representing the Syndicate have earned notoriety for their extreme right-reactionary views on a number of vital questions affecting the life of our people. Neither entertaining any undue illusions about the group led by Smt. Indira Gandhi nor placing any reliance on it, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is vitally interested in inflicting a defeat on the Syndicate which represents the aggressive, outspoken and organized wing of the extreme reaction in the ruling party, which is also deriving whole-hearted support from the avowedly counter-revolutionary forces represented by the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh."

Inflict a Hard Blow

In the light of this assessment, the democratic movement cannot be indifferent to this election of the President. It is an occasion for the democratic forces to inflict a hard blow on the forces of reaction and counter-revolution. This issue must be posed not only before the parties of the democratic Opposition but also before those Congressmen who talk about "policy

changes". If they do not pick up courage at this crucial juncture, they will be reduced to a position where they will not be able to play much of a role in the future. The outcome of this election will have a great bearing on the future political developments in the country.

Radical Land Reform not Possible by Relying on Government Machinery Alone*

Harekrishna Konar

Basic agrarian reforms cannot be implemented by solely relying on the governmental machinery—Comrade Harekrishna Konar, Land and Land Revenue Minister of the West Bengal U.F. Government, said in a statement to the Assembly on July 21 and later in a signed article in DESH HITAISHI, organ of the West Bengal State Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

He elaborated at length the numerous obstacles in the way of proper implementation of radical land reforms in the interest of the peasantry and stressed the importance of mass initiative for realizing one of the prime needs of the day.

In the article in DESH HITAISHI, Comrade Konar recalled the statement he had made in the Assembly in March last where he had said that the avowed purpose of a Land Reform Act is to break the monopoly on land by fixing a ceiling, distribute the land freed to as many landless peasants as possible, and ensure security of the share croppers.

The loopholes in the laws and weaknesses of the governmental machinery, together with the pro-landlord policies of the Congress rulers had led to the total failure of this purpose. Huge tracts of land were kept as *benami* by jotdars and fishery-owners by evading the law and they even illegally took possession of the vested lands. Forcible eviction of share-croppers was rampant.

It is, hence, imperative that these laws are reformed even if basic reform is not possible in the limited framework of the

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", Calcutta, August 24; 1969. Comrade Harekrishna Konar was Minister for Land and Land Revenue in the United Front Government of West Bengal in 1967 and 1969-70. He was also the General Secretary of All India Kisan Sabha.

present socio-economic-political set-up. Since such reforms are rather long-drawn processes, steps had been announced for partial reforms of the laws, proper implementation of the laws that are already on the Statute Book and activizing of the governmental apparatus.

The conspiracies of landlords cannot be foiled and the complex programme of land reform cannot be implemented by sole reliance on the administration, and a call was, therefore, given for active help from the toiling peasantry.

Immense Difficulties

It can be proudly claimed that quite significant progress has been registered, continues Comrade Konar. The most significant factor was the unprecedented mass action in the countryside by lakhs of toiling peasants and agricultural labourers and the help it rendered to the implementation of the declared policies of the Government. Although some mistakes or excesses might have been committed in course of such massive actions against the innumerable conspiracies of the jotdars and fishery-owners, the significance of this action is quite big and it has helped a lot to implement the popular verdict given through the elections.

The Government has to face immense difficulties in securing possession of the lands vested in it, after the huge acreage misappropriated by the landlords. It is difficult to estimate the actual amount of land vested in the Government and taken possession by it since much of it has been involved in various court cases and injunctions even after possession was taken.

During the first six months of the first U.F. Government, i.e., up to August 1967, 50,000 acres of cultivable land could be brought under Governmental possession. After August 1967, a drive was initiated for unearthing the lands illegally possessed by landlords and the administrative machinery was alerted for that purpose. As a result, beginning from then up to the eve of the installation of the present U.F. Government, 153, 178 acres of land was vested in the Government. During the last four months, 72,000 acres more were vested. The cultivable land out of all this is about 143,000 acres.

Illegal Fisheries

The illegally-possessed lands kept as fisheries in the 24-Parganas district are a very complicated problem. Many of these have very tragic tales to tell. In many cases the lands of hundreds of cultivating peasants were forcibly inundated, in other instances share-croppers were forcibly evicted and sometimes the cultivable lands were falsely recorded as fisheries. The Government is trying its best to recover these illegally-possessed lands.

The landlords are filing innumerable civil cases in courts against the Government and are easily getting ex-parte injunctions. As the drive for unearthing illegally possessed lands becomes intensified the number of cases and injunctions are also increasing proportionately. Injunctions are issued not only against possession but also against enquiries. The landlords are getting injunctions over lands over which they never had any right and even over those lands which had been vested in the Government and quite lawfully distributed by the latter.

They are also getting court orders for police aid to keep these lands in possession. As a result, not only is land reform being thwarted, but problems of law and order are also increasing in the countryside.

It can be said with certainty that the extent of land involved in thousands of such cases is from 1.5 lakhs to two lakhs of acres. The Government feels helpless so far as proceedings in the court are concerned. There is a big lesson for the people in this.

Land distribution advisory committees which were set up after the toppling of the first U.F. Ministry have been dissolved, as they have been proved to be contrary to the interests of the peasantry. Pending the constitution of alternative committees, Junior Land Reform Officers have been directed to act in consultation with the members and chairmen of local panchayats, local mass organizations of peasants and agricultural labours and local MLAs. With a view to distributing land among the maximum number of peasants, it has been laid down that those who have no land or less than two acres of land will have

holdings with a maximum limit of two acres or in some cases three (inclusive of their own land). One fact should be noted in this connection. Peasants have, in practice, actual possession of more land than has been recorded by the Government, because although Government vested land has been actually distributed at the initiative of the peasants themselves, in some cases the recording of this is still not done.

Eviction of Share-croppers

Eviction of share-croppers goes on unabated every year, even after it has been declared a penal offence. For the security of the share-croppers and the safeguarding of their legitimate rights, a major reform of the existing laws has become imperative. The draft of such a Bill will be brought forward in the current year. As an interim measure, an Ordinance has been issued prohibiting all kinds of evictions. This Ordinance has fortified the anti eviction movement of the peasants and evictions have, to a great extent, been stopped.

In this context, Comrade Konar again assured small land-owners and middle-class owners that during the reform of the main Act, their legitimate rights would be respected and they should not be misled by the motivated campaigns of big landlords.

Despite the shortage of foodgrains in the State, it has been noticed that some owners keep their cultivable lands fallow, in the name of factories, gardens, fisheries, etc. An Ordinance has been issued in order that these lands will be utilized for the purpose of cultivation. If any land is found not cultivated before the season, the Government will requisition it for one season and give such land to cultivators for cultivation for that season. The landowner will get 25 per cent of the produce as compensation while the grievances of the landless peasants will be redressed to some extent.

As a part of future policy, the Government has decided that those families which have three acres or less of land, will have revenues remitted on their land. In order to make up the deficit of about two to 2.5 crores of rupees thus created, graded rates of

taxation will be levied on owners having more than seven acres of land. Government is considering the question of bringing a Bill in the current session of the Assembly in this respect.

Excess Lands in Tea Gardens

There are 332 tea gardens in West Bengal. The total amount of land possessed by the gardens is 435,000 acres. A committee was constituted in 1956 with the purpose of estimating the amount of land possessed by the tea gardens in excess of what is required for the operation of the gardens. This committee declared in 1960 that 70,000 acres of land were possessed in excess.

The previous Congress Governments did not implement the recommendations of the committee even within nine years. The Congress Government had allowed to retain all excess lands in the case of 140 tea gardens. Recently, orders have been issued to take possession of a total of 39,400 acres of excess land from 128 tea gardens. But only 20,731 acres could be possessed; regarding the rest, the owners have either filed cases in the High Court or appealed to the Government for reconsideration.

The Government has given special attention to this problem of excess land in the tea gardens. According to law, the revenue from land in the tea gardens is twice that of ordinary land and is up to Rs. 6.50 per acre. In regard to this as well as regarding possession of excess land, the owners are putting all sorts of obstructions. The U.F. Government is no longer prepared to allow this situation and this had been made clear to the owners. The Government does want the development of the tea gardens and is prepared to help the owners of the gardens. But no popular Government can bow down before the owners to enable them to make more profits at the expense of the general development of the State. These big owners are very powerful, but the Government is in a position to tackle the situation adequately, with the aid and active help of the people.

Complete reform of the Acts concerning land reform has become urgent. It is not an easy task to clear the Augean stable created by Congress rule since 1953. Tasks which could have been completed with ease earlier have become arduous now.

There are also various constitutional and legal questions. All these have to be taken into consideration drafting the new Act. The Government is fully aware of this.

It is not possible to solve the problem of land completely within the present socio-political structure. It is not easy even to realize what is possible. The U.F. Government is trying its best to see that the middle and poor peasants, share-croppers and agricultural labourers get their due right and build up a prosperous society. It is receiving help from the major sections of the masses. Many departmental workers are exerting themselves in this direction despite the inherent weaknesses of the administration and the fetters of old habits. The signs of awakening noticed among the peasant masses definitely generates hope of better and more expeditious implementation of Government policy.

"Operation Scuttle"*

A Blow-by-Blow Record of the Conspiracy in Kerala

The "Operation Scuttle" of Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill is on.

This Important legislative measure which aims at ending landlordism in the State and gives ownership right to cultivating tenants, prevents evictions and gives relief to 'Kudikidappukars' is now facing stiff opposition from the vested interests.

In their move to scuttle this Bill, the vested interests have gained support of four ruling partners—the Muslim League, the Right CP, the RSP and the ISP.

Obviously to disrupt the U.F. Ministry and thereby to torpedo the Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill, these four partners of the United Front have joined hands with the Opposition in raising a smoke-screen about corruption against selected U.F. Ministers. They went one step further; they even decided to vote in favour of a Congress member's non official resolution in the Assembly demanding an immediate probe machinery into the allegations levelled against U.F. Ministers.

No doubt, this move of the four ruling partners was a part of a calculated and planned move to defeat the U.F. Ministry on the floor of the Assembly to force its resignation, form an alternative Ministry excluding the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and in the bargain torpedo the Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill.

This nefarious conspiracy was planned in a series of bilateral and multilateral talks among the four partners, who had decided to implement it after Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad, the Chief Minister, left for treatment in the GDR.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY", Calcutta, September 14, 1969

This blow-by-blow record of the conspiracy reveals that every effort was made by these four conspirators to thwart the introduction of the Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill on a priority basis, to disrupt the functioning of the United Front and later form an alternate non-Marxist Ministry.

The First Blow

When Comrade E. M. S. was about to leave for the GDR, Comrade K. R. Gowri was appointed to act as the Leader of the Assembly and the Chief Minister's portfolios were distributed among Ministers belonging to his party, the CPI(M). This was done according to the practice hitherto followed of Ministers of various parties handing over their portfolios to their party nominee in the Cabinet, when they were ill or went abroad. The Chief Minister had informed his Cabinet colleagues about the steps he had taken.

Then the first open blow to unity was struck by the four conspirators—the Right CP, the Muslim League, RSP and the ISP. The portfolio distribution was opposed by these four and the State Committee of the CPI(M) had to remind them that the Chief Minister had done nothing abnormal, he had only followed the practice prevalent so far. But the opposition of the portfolio distribution was only the thin end of the wedge—a very small part of the hidden "Conspiracy Iceberg". The whole thing was yet to emerge.

The same four parties soon made a volte face on their respective positions on the Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill. Before leaving for the GDR, the Chief Minister, Comrade E. M. S., it learnt, was able to persuade the Business Advisory Committee of the Assembly to take up the Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill first on the agenda when the Assembly commenced its session on August 11.

The Volte Face

The moment the Chief Minister left Kerala for the GDR, the second open blow at unity was struck to torpedo the Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill. It is clear from reports that in the

Business Advisory Committee meeting held afterwards, the Right CP, the Muslim League, RSP and ISP joined hands with the Congress and Kerala Congress representatives to give a low priority to the Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill and opposed the earnest effort of the CPI(M) representatives to give it first priority. No decision was taken on that day due to the opposition of the four partners who joined hands with the Congress-Kerala Congress to torpedo the Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill

At this stage, Comrade K. R. Gowri, who had to pilot the Bill which had already completed its Select-Committee stage, circulated a note on agenda among the Ministers giving top priority to the Bill. The six Ministers belonging to the Muslim League, RSP, Right CPI and ISP opposed the move to give top priority to the Land Reforms Bill while five Ministers belonging to the CPI(M) and two of other parties wanted it to be given first priority.

Thus taking advantage of the absence of Comrade E. M. S., exploiting their majority in the Business Advisory Committee and in the Cabinet, the four parties refused to give priority to the Land Reforms (Amendment) in the Bill Assembly and adopt it unless the Panchayet and Bills were passed. The attitude of the Muslim League leadership towards the passing of the Land Reforms Bill has stiffened particularly after the formation of the Malappuram district and because of their vested interests they are backing up the Right Communist conspiracy to eliminate the CPI(M) from the Ministry.

To cover up their nefarious game, they have been raising a smoke-screen insisting on the necessity of immediately constituting a machinery to probe into corruption allegations against certain U.F. Ministers levelled by the Congress. With this object they conducted a series of bilateral and multilateral talks and had discussions with the Congress and the Kerala Congress leaders.

The views of the CPI(M) on corruption is well known. In the latest resolution of the State Committee, it has again reiterated its views. [For the full text of the resolution see page 9—Ed.]

The hypocrisy of these parties can be seen in the fact that they do not bring any allegations against any U.F. Minister in the Co-ordination Committee, but sport them in public and in the Assembly, and demand probes on wild allegations made by the enemies of the U.F., the Congress and their handmaids. No one can take these parties seriously as anti-corruption crusaders. When it is remembered that they at first vehemently opposed the action of the Chief Minister who, carrying out the decision of the U.F. Co-ordination Committee, went into the charges levelled against Sri P. K. Kunhu and found there was a *prima facie* case in the charges and referred them to a judicial enquiry.

No doubt, the Right Communists and their allies try to cover up their nefarious activity of disrupting the U.F. and opposing the Land Reforms Bill with the smoke-screen of corruption. This was the only reason why they decided to support the Congress party's resolution for an immediate machinery to probe into corruption allegations.

Their Hearts With Congress

A day before this resolution of the Congress Party was to be introduced in the Assembly, Comrade Gowri, as Leader of the House, convened a meeting of the U.F. Ministers to formulate a united stand on the Opposition resolution. The Right CP and ISP Ministers absented themselves from the meeting—a thinly-veiled boycott. The Ministers of the RSP and the Muslim League who were present, made it amply clear that their heart was with the Opposition, that they were for supporting the Congress resolution. As a result of their position and their determination to disrupt the U.F. by joining hands with the Opposition, a united stand on the Congress member's resolution became impossible.

CPI(M) leaders once again approached leaders of other U.F. constituents to unitedly face the Congress resolution. They appealed to them to see that the differences within the United Front were not utilized by the Opposition, and that these differences should not lead them to play into the hands of the enemies of the United Front, that the U.F. constituents should not support the resolution of the Opposition under any circumstances.

that differences among the U.F. constituents had to be discussed and settled within the Co-ordination Committee. In fact, it was on this basis that former Finance Minister P. K. Kunhu's case was discussed within the Co-ordination Committee and it was decided unanimously that such cases and allegations should not be discussed in public. For levelling allegations in the open, the SSP had been censured once. But all these appeals were in vain.

Against all conventions, formalities, procedures and understanding, the four parties was to support the Congress resolution and disrupt the U.F., and thereby the United Front Government, and sabotage the Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill. This was the reason why the Right Communists and their allies rejected Comrade Gowri's proposals to give first priority to the Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill and their opposition to present a united stand on the Congress member's resolution.

This is the background in which Congressman Devassikutty's resolution was allowed to be moved in the Assembly by the Speaker on August 22.

Congress Sponsors, they Support

That it was sponsored by the Congress and supported by four partners of the United Front itself was a conspiracy against the U.F. Allegations have been raised in and outside the Assembly against almost every Minister. Whatever may be the nature of these allegations, even if they are against Ministers of the CPI(M), the stand of the CPI(M) was that firstly, it should be enquired into to find out whether there was a *prima facie* case and if there was a *prima facie* case, an enquiry should be conducted.

But on the basis of wild allegations and without even an inquiry to decide whether there was a *prima facie* case, a demand for picking up one Minister and demanding action was nothing but disruption of the U.F. These allegations have been raised by the Congress at a time when the Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill is to be taken up for consideration and they have been raised only to sabotage the Bill. The four U.F. constituents by supporting the Congress resolution deliberately played into

the hands of the vested interests represented by the Congress to scuttle the Bill itself.

When the Congress member's resolution came up for discussion in the Assembly, a 'point of order' was raised by Minister Mathai Manjooran (of the KSP) and several CPI(M) MLAs on the propriety of its introduction, constitutionally and otherwise. When the 'point of order' was being raised, Opposition MLAs belonging to the Congress and Kerala Congress as well as MLAs belonging to the Right CPI, RSP, Muslim League and ISP wanted its introduction and adoption.

At this juncture CPI(M) MLAs demanded that the Speaker give his ruling on the 'point of order' raised. They were battling to save the United Front and its Government. By then, the time fixed for discussion was over, and the Speaker adjourned the House sine die without giving his ruling on the 'point of order' raised.

The Speaker belongs to the ISP, the party of Sri P. K. Kunhu, the former Finance Minister, corruption charges against whom is now before a judicial enquiry. The ISP, the Right CP, Muslim League and the RSP wanted to put the issue of the introduction to vote and split the United Front. Sri Kunhu was waiting in the Deputy Speaker's chamber—he had not attended the Assembly sessions after his resignation—to exercise his vote when called for. The leaders of the vested interests were waiting in the Speaker's and visitors' galleries expecting the downfall of the U.F. Ministry. Despite all this, the stand of the CPI(M) MLAs saved the United Front and the House had to be adjourned without an open split of the U.F. on the floor of the Assembly.

Conspirators Confer

Immediately after the House was adjourned the conspirators went into session. They conducted separate meetings with the Congress and the Kerala Congress to find out whether these parties of the Opposition would support a Ministry excluding the CPI(M). Muslim League leader C. H. Muhammed Koya, himself a Minister, had meetings with the Governor. The Congress leaders also had a session with the Governor. The conspirators

wanted everything to be ready to form a Ministry without the CPI(M) so that the Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill was not adopted.

But how could they tell the people of Kerala that what they really wanted was the scuttling of the Land Reforms Bill. So the Right CP, the Muslim League, the ISP and the RSP, came out of their conclave with a joint statement demanding action against Minister Wellington. They said they could not wait till the Chief Minister returned for action to be taken against a Minister. They wanted action without waiting to find out whether there was a *prima facie* case. What was conspicuous in their joint statement was that they had not a word to say on the Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill. The game became clear—the demand to oust Wellington first and then institute an enquiry against him, a demand of the enemies of the United Front to disrupt the U.F. and sabotage the Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill had been taken over by these four parties.

CPI(M)'s Proposal

The State Committee of the CPI(M) stated it was of definite view that the Right Communists and their allies were trying to cover up their nefarious activities of disrupting the U.F. and of opposing the Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill under the smoke screen of probe into corruption charges.

The main question before the conspirators is: Are they prepared to give priority and pass the Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill? Are they ready to discuss every allegation raised against all Ministers within the Co-ordination Committee? Do they recognize the procedure of having a preliminary enquiry to decide whether there is a *prima facie* case and then a detailed enquiry as was done in the case of Sri Kunhu? Are they ready to abandon their position of giving support to the Congress member's resolution on an immediate probe into corruption which was only meant to disrupt the U.F. and torpedo the Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill?

Even after all this, to save the United Front and defeat its enemies, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has decided to

hold bilateral talks with other constituents of the United Front and organize a big campaign throughout the State.

The State Committee has decided to hold mass rallies throughout the State explaining the reasons for the crisis in the U.F. and to place the Party's proposals for its solution before the people. It is only the mobilization and vigilance of the people that can avert the serious threat to the existence of United Front Ministry created mainly by the Right Communist Party and their allies.

Revisionism Seeks to Parade as 'Creative Marxism'

M. Basavapunnaiah

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) is heavily indebted to the Right Communist Party for having practically dedicated two of the issues of its weekly organ NEW AGE, dated August 31 and September 7, 1969, to do the political dissection of our Party's political line. We are particularly indebted to Comrade C. Rajeswar Rao, the General Secretary of their party, who has written an article with a view to expose our Party's erroneous political line and to expound his party's 'Creative Marxist' line. We better pay back our debts and clear the accounts.

A cursory reading of the article in question, together with the rest of the concerned material appearing in the NEW AGE, conveys the impression that the nationalization of banks by the Congress Government led by Smt. Indira Gandhi, has swept the Right Communist leaders off their feet, thus once again throwing them back into their time-old malady of pro-Congressism from which they pretended to be recovering slowly during the last two and a half years or so. From their hysteric utterances and cavalier writings in the recent weeks, it looks as though they are gripped with the delusion that it is their party that is really running the Government of Indira Gandhi by a device of back-seat driving, and their dream of National Democracy and non-capitalist path is just round the corner. Such seems to be the political paranoia responsible for the patronizing and condescending postures that Rajeswar Rao strikes towards the CPI(M) in his article.

United Front with Congress?

Characterizing the current political developments in the country in class terms, he makes a sweeping assertion that “these developments have carried the political polarization of forces that occurred in West Bengal and Kerala to the all-India plane”. He indulges in the glorification of his party’s Bombay programme and their political line for their supposed visualization of the present political developments and perspectives. He issues a call “for an *all-in United Front* on the basis of a *common minimum democratic programme*”, although he does not spell out what he means by either an ‘all-in United Front’ or what his ‘common minimum programme’ looks like. Evidently, if they go by their Bombay programme, it appears to be a United Front with Smt. Indira Gandhi’s Government and with the Congress Party she represents, even though he is shy of stating it.

He does not stop at that. He assures his readers that his party “appreciates the stand taken by the Communist Party (Marxist) on these significant developments in the country in the resolution adopted by their Polit Bureau in Delhi”. He assures himself and his party that the Communist Party of India (Marxist) though “falls in line with the CPI but wrong programmatic understanding continues”. After this appreciation of the stand of the CPI(M), as a stand that has ‘fallen in line’ with the Right Communists, he turns round to attack the same stand of the CPI(M) since according to him, it views the Congress in-fight as “only two conflicting tactical lines” and still considers the Congress Government of Indira Gandhi as a bourgeois-landlord government led by the big bourgeoisie. It is anybody’s guess what stand of our Party he appreciates and what other stand of it he deprecates, since he does both.

Rajeswar Rao has made a new discovery in the political line of the CPI(M)—a discovery which none so far dared to attempt—that the CPI(M) is of the view “that no split in the Congress can take place”. To describe this atrocious distortion as a simple slander will be too mild though it will not be in good taste to call it a detestable lie.

Last come Rajeswar Rao’s demands on the CPI(M), and they are: (1) “The leadership of the CPI(M) must give up its

domineering attitude towards other parties of the United Fronts in Kerala and West Bengal", (2) The CPI(M) leadership has also to give up its hostility towards the CPI, (3) He hopes that "the CPI(M) will give up its petty-partisan considerations" and join hands with the Right Communist Party in the holy cause of rallying behind Smt. Indira Gandhi's Government.

Such in brief is the sum and substance of the stuff that Rajeswar Rao's article contains. True, there is nothing new in it, except repeating the same old revisionist muck in the current political situation. And yet, we cannot ignore it, lest we are once more accused of our 'domineering attitude', etc. and we shall reply.

Their Congenital Disease

Before we go to deal with the points raised in Rajeswar Rao's article, we may be permitted to state a few things which may serve as a background material and enable our readers to better understand the differences between Rajeswar Rao and his party on the one hand and the CPI(M) on the other.

This is not the first time that we witness the Right Communist leaders opting out for the role of trumpeters and drummers of Congress progressivism, and they did not miss a single opportunity during the last one decade and more to seize upon one so-called measure of progress or the other in order to raise the slogan of unity and United Front with the ruling Congress Party and its Government. It is a recorded history of repeated and recurring attempts at the game, and it is precisely because of this we are compelled to conclude that it is, more or less, a congenital political disease with the Right Communist Party leadership to systematically hunt for the discovery of one progressive wing or the other inside the Congress, while always stubbornly resisting to accept that the leadership of the Congress Party represents the class interests of the bourgeois and landlord alliance headed by the big-bourgeois representatives.

They Saw Radical Virtues Galore

For some time after 1954-55, they seized upon the foreign policy of non-alignment of the Congress Government as their

central plank to advocate the slogan of lining up behind Nehru's foreign policy, all in the high-sounding name of defending world peace and the cause of world socialism.

A little later, no sooner than the outlines of the Second Five-Year Plan were out that the present Right Communist leaders started discovering in it radical land reforms, rapid industrialization and building of an independent economy, national reconstruction and laying the foundations for a non-capitalist path of development. This role of buglers and trumpeteers was assumed once again for the advocacy of cooperation and support to the Nehru Government.

The Congress Government took the steps of taking over the Imperial Bank and nationalizing the Life Insurance Companies. In this again, the Right Communists did not miss to discover anti-imperialism, attaining of commanding heights by the public sector and many more radical virtues, with the promise of forward strides against imperialism and for democracy and socialism.

Every Congress resolution aimed at doping the gullible about socialism and radical economic reforms—starting from Avadi socialistic pattern to Nagpur, Jaipur, Bhubaneswar and the recent Bangalore AICC economic resolution—was acclaimed by the right-revisionist leaders as a measure to herald a new era.

Now comes their turn to trade upon Smt. Indira Gandhi's revolt against the Congress Syndicate and her Government's bank-nationalization measure and to sell the same as a miniature revolution, a step on the threshold of National Democracy and non-capitalist path of development to socialism, etc.

To top it all, they now brag about that they had all along been correct, that what their Bombay programme had visualized has come true, that it is a positive proof of their creative Marxism, and that the CPI(M), at long last, "falls in line with CPI" revisionists.

Let Us Look Back

We believe that Rajeswar Rao and his party will not be ruffled and offended if we remind them of the political line he and his like-minded comrades had fanatically advocated as long back as the year 1956, the line of rallying behind the Congress

Government, long before the birth of the fateful Bombay programme. It would probably be more correct on the part of Rajeswar Rao to tell the people that the political-tactical line he and his associates had propounded for the situation obtaining in the year 1956-57 now fits into the political situation in the middle of the year 1969, after full twelve years.

To be fair to history and the General Secretary of the Right Communist Party, we may be permitted to quote the pertinent points from the thesis submitted by Rajeswar Rao, P. C. Joshi, Bhowani Sen, Somnath Lahiri and others, though, we are afraid, it may somewhat tire the patience of our readers. They read as follows:

(1) "India is one country in the entire non-socialist world that is *nearest to countries headed by the USSR and People's China*; moreover, it has a *common policy* with those countries for the reduction of international tension." . . . Thus the role of the Nehru Government for world peace is unique without parallel in the non-socialist world and is "nearest" and "common to socialist policy", which demands the Communist Party to be rallied round it!

(2) "India can now strengthen its independence, through industrialization and get the capital goods and technical know-how from socialist countries on terms of mutual benefit and without strings. This welcome development has already been noted in the sphere of Indian economy. And this gives India the bargaining power to force more favourable terms from the imperialist countries."

Let nobody misunderstand our authors' meaning of the term "India" mentioned above, as it means nothing else than the bourgeois-landlord Government of the Congress. So, a new era had begun with the capitalist class, in a newly liberated country, carrying out the industrial revolution under its hegemony, by taking socialist aid and by forcing favourable terms on the imperialist aid, and thus strengthen the country's independence. Can the party of the proletariat miss to cooperate with the bourgeoisie in this historic mission of social progress?

(3) Departing from the Nehru Government's earlier pro-feudal and pro-landlord policy, "now the system of Raj Pramukhs is to be

abolished, ceiling on landholdings and more rights to tenants are being proposed. The direction of the policy of the ruling class has begun to change from what it was, on the whole, policies of compromise with imperialism and feudalism. *The old policies are now being replaced by policies of firmer opposition to imperialists and feudal elements* . . . *"The Indian situation has taken a progressive orientation, but it is still insecure."*

So the Nehru Government had begun to play the role of opposition to imperialism, and thus radical agrarian reforms were ensured!

(4) The passing of the Avadi Congress resolution on socialistic pattern of society with "the inclusion of the aim of socialism in the creed is . . . itself an expression of the growth of radical forces in the Congress and it creates scope for further popularization of the ideas of socialism among the Congress masses." Already "common action on several issues has grown between Congressmen including even Congress organizations and the other elements and organizations including the CPI. Anti-communist prejudices are decreasing."

So fast, thus, was the growth of radicalism and socialism among Congressmen and so ripe were the conditions for unity and united action between the Congress Party and the Communist Party, and all this, mind you, as early as April 1956! It, indeed, is the unique example of the concrete analysis of the concrete conditions by the Indian revisionists!

(5) Hence "the first task obviously is to force national unity for policies of national and democratic advance." . . . *"This implies that the task of building an anti-Congress democratic front must be given up as outmoded."*

The slogan of United Front against the Congress Party and its bourgeois-landlord rule not only has now become outmoded after bank nationalization by Smt. Indira Gandhi's Government, but according to Rajeshwar Rao and his talented associates, it was outmoded some twelve years ago!

(6) Finally, comes the cat out of the revisionist bag: "The CPI believes that as a result of the development of national unity and *on the basis of the changed co-relation of forces in favour*

of progressive forces, an alternative government of national unity can be brought into being." The authors, listing out some five tasks and naming them the "Main Tasks of the Party", proceed to state that, "The above are truly national tasks and demand for their successful fulfilment unity of all the national forces."*"For carrying out the tasks and to save and consolidate world peace and defend and consolidate Indian independence, unity of the people, including unity with the national bourgeoisie, the Congress and even the Congress Government is possible even now."* (From the Alternative Draft political line presented at the Fourth Party Congress at Palghat by Rajeswar Rao and others which was rejected by a two-third majority. All emphasis have been added.)

Unalloyed and Unashamed

Such was the unalloyed and unashamed revisionist thesis of class collaboration which was sought to be thrust on the Communist Party as early as 1956, and the same was further perfected and adopted only in the year 1964 after the CPI(M) broke away from them. They gave it a big name—their new Party Programme. It is about the correctness of this programme that Rajeswar Rao is beating his breasts and attacking the CPI(M) and its programme as wrong, anti-Marxist-Leninist and what not.

Now let us proceed to examine the points made against the Polit Bureau's statement of the CPI(M) by Rajeswar Rao, and find out the truth whether the CPI(M) "falls in line" with the Right Communists or the Right Communist leaders have stooped to sell this canard to their following in order to save their sagging political morale.

He accuses the CPI(M) of a serious political crime as "they reduce the present sharp crisis inside the Congress to that of only 'two conflicting tactical lines' of two sections of the bourgeoisie and landlords led by the big bourgeoisie." It is a pity that he has entered into polemics even without either ability to read and understand our PB's statement or the elementary decency to correctly quote the relevant passage before attacking it.

From where and what context does he pick up these four words of “two conflicting tactical lines”? Here is the full sentence from the PB statement: “Both the Congress groups, while adopting *the two conflicting tactical lines*, have not only in view the present situation facing the Congress rule at the Centre and in several States but also the strategy for the Fifth General Elections which are in the offing after the next two years.”

A complete idea is conveyed here. Is it not extreme perversity to pick up four words out of context and then add another word ‘only’ before them to misinform and mislead his readers? We have at length described as to what these conflicting tactical lines are and how they are also related to the future election strategy of the Congress Party in the Fifth General Elections of 1972. If Rajeswar Rao has neither forgotten nor given up as wrong the Marxist-Leninist meaning of the terms “tactics” and “strategy” he has no reason for directing his attack on the formulation of ‘two conflicting tactical lines’, because tactics too emanate from a definite class point of view and to subserve a definite class strategy, hence serious in nature by themselves.

Too Clever to Deceive

When Rajeswar Rao finds fault with us for describing the Congress inner-party differences at this stage as essentially tactical, are we to assume that his party dares to characterize them as strategic differences, denoting political and class differentiation among the Congress leadership? They should be characterized, in the main, either tactical or strategical differences, one way or the other. While attacking his political opponents for calling them tactical conflicts, why does he hasten to guard himself by adding, that “it is, of course, wrong and harmful to make an over-estimation of the differences inside the Congress and say that a clear-cut differentiation between progressives and reactionaries has taken place representing the non-monopoly bourgeoisie and monopoly bourgeoisie”? Then it is to make cheap of oneself while trying to be too clever to deceive the ignorant.

He again serenely makes a forecast and teaches us that "it is utter blindness not to see that this differentiation has already started and the *process will proceed at a rapid pace*." What an amazing discovery! Then what happen to the same discoveries of differentiation made, over and again, by the revisionist pundits during the last thirteen years, since 1956? Such a differentiation, we were told, started with the progressive foreign policy of Nehru in 1954-55, again with the Second Five-Year Plan, and once again with the radical Congress resolutions of Nagpur, Jaipur and Bhubaneswar and the present one is either fourth or fifth in the series of such discoveries by Rajeswar Rao and his close comrades-in-arms in the Right Communist Party.

For the benefit of Rajeswar Rao and his party let us reiterate what the CPI(M) sees in and understands about the current political developments, and then let the people judge where prevails not only utter blindness but also an outright political stupidity.

CPI(M)'s Characterization

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M), nailing down the extreme reactionary class character and the counter-revolutionary essence of the political line the Syndicate puts across, declares its irreconcilable hostility to this line while offering unstinted support to the anti-Syndicate wing led by Indira Gandhi, *to every progressive measure directed against the Syndicate and the vested interests it represents*. Expressing its views on the class nature of the Congress in fight the statement observes: "The Polit Bureau is of the considered opinion that the present inner-party crisis in the Congress is nothing but a clear manifestation of the deepening economic-political crisis in the country which was gaining momentum since the Fourth General Elections of 1967."

"Notwithstanding the factional squabbles and group struggles among the Congress leaders, it is these lines of alliance that are leading to a kind of polarization inside the Congress."

"It is in this background and under specific correlation of class forces the inner-party struggle in the ruling party will have to be viewed and the attitude adopted to them by the democratic parties and groups in the country."

“But it will be extremely hazardous at this stage to characterize these two rival groups as representing monopolists and non-monopolists. . .”

“Nothing can be more politically naive and opportunist than to exaggerate the initial differences that have cropped up among the Central Congress leaders and characterize them as a decisive division between the monopolists and progressive non-monopolists.”

If these clear, categorical and unmistakable statements do not convey any sense to Rajeswar Rao and his party, then it must be either a case of outright dishonesty or self-imposed political illiteracy. This analysis of ours is in consonance with our programmatic understanding, the understanding that the Congress Party represents the class interests of the bourgeois-landlord classes and is headed by the big bourgeois representatives. The tactical line the CPI(M) has evolved perfectly dovetails into the class strategy given in its Programme.

It is the Right Communist Party and its General Secretary who find themselves in a ridiculous predicament in analysing and assessing the class content of the present in-fight in the Congress, as to pronounce absurd and conflicting views, which on the one hand state that it is wrong and harmful to say there is a clear cut differentiation between the monopolists and anti-monopolists and in the same breath attack the CPI(M) for treating these differences as only conflicting tactical lines, instead of discovering strategic realignments! What else can be the plight of a party which calls itself communist, and yet is unable to clearly define either the class character and content of the Congress Party and its Government or as to which class or section of it is in the leadership of the party and state, but continue repeating the *mantram*, ad nauseum, the bourgeois state, the bourgeois government and the bourgeois leadership?

Deep Dilemma

They really are involved in a deep dilemma. They do not venture to say that with the bank nationalization and the revolt against the Syndicate, the Congress Government headed by Smt. Indira Gandhi is transformed into a Government under the

leadership of the progressive bourgeoisie. They also cannot say that it continues to be under the leadership of the big bourgeoisie, because they had taken a vow long back never to admit that the big bourgeoisie is in the leading position of the state and government. Their Bombay programme forbids them to accept it, even though it is a truth. They always hold the view that the non-big bourgeoisie is in the leadership. Poor souls, they were all along opportunistically wriggling on this question like a snake between the two mutually excluding positions, and the game is up now as the events that are rapidly unfolding are making the dodging trick more and more difficult.

Lacking the moral courage to admit that the revisionist analysis of the present Indian state, the class character and composition of the Congress Government and the nature of its leadership etc. had gone totally bankrupt, ending in a fiasco, their General Secretary has the temerity to declare that since "the wrong political and programmatic understanding of the CPI(M), that the Central Congress Government is in the *firm grip of the big bourgeoisie* and that *no split in the Congress can take place* because of that" etc., the CPI(M)'s political initiative during the current crisis was paralysed while Right Communists had played wonders. (Emphasis added.)

Defending the Indefensible

Better that Rajeswar Rao does not imagine that this type of trickery would take him too far. The question of questions that is under debate is whether or not the present state and the Congress Government have been under the leadership of the big bourgeois representatives. The CPI(M) has been and is maintaining that it is, whereas the Right Communists maintain it has been and is not. To say the least, it is silly to introduce here the irrelevant question whether it is simply under the grip of the big bourgeoisie, or firm grip of the big bourgeoisie, or weak grip of the big bourgeoisie.

The CPI(M) in its Party Programme speaks of "*Bourgeois-landlord state headed by the big bourgeoisie*", and "*the big bourgeoisie and its political representatives who occupy leading position in the state,*" To introduce the phrase "firm grip" in this

context is only the cheapest device of our political ideological opponents, who find themselves in the death grip of the crassest right reformism and revisionism and go in for a face-saving device to defend the indefensible.

Equally atrocious to utter the absurd lie, as our revisionist leader does in saying that the CPI(M) believes "that no split in the Congress can take place." The CPI(M) firmly and always has been holding the view that the Congress Party, in essence, represents the three main exploiting sections, namely, the big bourgeoisie, the non-big bourgeoisie and the landlords and the split in this conflicting combine is inevitable. For the information of our uninformed critics and for the benefit of the victims of their erroneous and distorted propaganda, we cite below the lengthy passages from our Party Programme:

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) "does take cognisance of the contradictions and conflicts that do exist between the Indian bourgeoisie, including the big bourgeoisie, and foreign imperialists The Communist Party, while carefully studying this phenomena, shall strive to utilize every such difference, fissure, conflict and contradiction with the foreign imperialists to isolate the imperialists and strengthen the people's struggle for democratic advance. Entertaining no illusions of any strategic United Front with the ruling Congress Party, the working class will not hesitate to lend its unstinted support to the Government on all issues of world peace and anti-colonialism—which are in the genuine interests of the nation" (Para 108)

"Even many industrialists, manufacturers, businessmen and traders are hit by the policies of the present Government and by the operations of foreign and Indian monopolies and financiers. Allocation of capital issues, raw materials, transport facilities, import and export licences is carried out by the Government and bureaucrats in such a way that almost all except big business suffer. Those engaged in small and cottage industries face a permanent crisis." (Para 81)

"The other broader sections of the national bourgeoisie which are either having no links altogether with foreign monopolists or having no durable links, which are not monopolistic and suffer at

their hands in a number of ways, are objectively interested in the accomplishment of the principal tasks of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution. As the general crisis of the world capitalist system deepens, as the contradictions between foreign monopolists and them grows in all its intensity and as the big bourgeoisie using its economic power and leading position in the state attempts to solve its crisis at the expense of its weak brethren in the country, this stratum of the bourgeoisie will be compelled to come into opposition with the state power and can find a place in the people's democratic front. But it should be borne in mind that they are still sharing state power along with the big bourgeoisie and entertain high hopes of advancing under the same regime." (Para 106)

"Every effort must be made to win them to democratic front and by a diligent and concrete study of their problems no opportunity should be lost by the working class to render them support in all their struggles against both the Indian monopolists and foreign imperialist competitions." (Para 107)

What is Rajeswar Rao's explanation now to his lying propaganda?

Nauseating Apologia

It is simply astounding that after full twentytwo years of the Congress Party's monopoly rule in the country and the colossal growth of the Indian monopoly capitalists to listen to the nauseating apologia repeated by the revisionists that in the present Indian state and the Congress Central Government the big-bourgeois representatives are not in the leadership, but remain as hangers-on around the progressive non-big bourgeoisie. The General Secretary of the revisionist party nonchalantly, writes in his latest article the following dissertation: "If the Central Congress Government is firmly in the hands of the big bourgeoisie, as the CPI(M) leadership says, the bank nationalization measure and the removal of Morarji would not have taken place at all. It is true that the 'big bourgeoisie holds powerful influence' in the Government as the programme of the CPI states, but it is wrong to state that it is in the firm grip of the big bourgeoisie". What a choice piece of Marxist-Leninist class analysis!

We have already dealt with the revisionist jugglery with the phrase 'firm grip' and need waste no more space on it. But the central issue under dispute is about the leadership of the big-bourgeois representatives in the Central Congress Government, its policies and practice.

The revisionist theoreticians are not tired of talking about 'big bourgeoisie holding powerful influence', in demarcating its leadership. Regarding the holding or wielding the influence on the working of the Central Congress Government there might be different varieties of influences, whether 'powerful' or 'less powerful', or 'nominal'. Imperialist influence, landlord influence, revivalist and communalist influence and even revisionist influence might be there in different degrees. But what we are concerned with here is the concrete analysis of the class character of the Government, its essential class content and which class or stratum is in the leadership. People who plead inability or pretend ignorance to state in clear terms what the class character of the state and its Government is and which class or stratum is in its leadership, while claiming to lead a proletarian-revolutionary movement, must be either rank opportunists or utter ignoramuses.

Displaying his profound political wisdom, Rajeswar Rao asks his readers the demagogic question: If the Central Congress Government has been under the leadership of the big bourgeoisie, then how could it be possible for that Government either to nationalize the banks or remove Mr. Morarji Desai from the Cabinet? and thinks thus with a stroke of his arguments, he is demoralizing the case of big-bourgeois leadership of the present state and Government.

Well ! Then, can our learned politician explain, by the same logic of his, as to how these monopolists in the country's industry and banking have grown in such perilous proportions and why they were allowed to, if the progressive non-big bourgeoisie is in the leadership? Is it his contention that the successive Congress Governments, starting with Nehru's leadership to the late Shastri's and the present Smt. Indira Gandhi's, till the recent bank nationalization, were the Governments under the leadership of the

progressive non-big bourgeoisie, but stupidly serving the cause of the monopolists, as hewers of wood and drawers of water? Or does he advance the untenable non-class and meaningless argument that the leadership is neither in the hands of the big-bourgeois representatives nor the non-big bourgeois representatives, though all the same Big Business in continuously prospering and flourishing as to suffocate every pore of our social life?

The Right Communists have been systematically shouting the slogan of the so-called National Democratic Revolution in violent opposition to the slogan of People's Democratic Revolution advocated by the Communist Party of India (Marxist). It is an elementary truth that the basic and central issue in every revolution is that of state power. Revolution means nothing short of overthrowing the state power of certain class or classes and the capture of the state power by certain other class or classes. This is the A.B.C. of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) states that the present state power in India is held in the main by the big bourgeoisie and landlords while allowing a minor share of power to the non-big bourgeoisie also. Hence the CPI(M) advocates the overthrow of the state power of the big bourgeoisie and landlords and the capture of political power by the workers and peasants together with the non-big bourgeoisie, breaking the latter away from the fold of the monopolists and landlords.

Dodging A Straight Answer

Our Party has been repeatedly confronting the revisionist party with the straight question demanding a straight-forward answer as to which are the classes the so-called National Democratic Revolution aims to overthrow from the state power, if it excludes from the present state power both landlord and Big-Business classes? Dodging, evasion, equivocation and trickish play on phrases have been the only answer so far. Honesty and elementary decency in politics demand, even now, that the leaders of the Right Communist Party answer it. In the absence of such an answer we are left with no other alternative except to conclude

that the talk of their revolution is a hoax on the working class, and what they are really begging for is only for a junior partnership in the present state power under the protective wings of one Congress bourgeois section or the other.

Further, may we ask the Right Communist Party and its General Secretary if they really believe that the Central Congress Government is headed by the progressive non-big bourgeoisie all along, and, if such is their firm conviction, how was it morally permissible and politically justifiable for them to rally round the slogan of anti-Congress united democratic front during the last three years or so, and even go to the length of allying with reactionary Jana Sangh and Swatantra to form anti-Congress coalition State Governments in U.P., Bihar and Punjab after the 1967 General Elections?

The political and class essence of anti-Congressism of the democratic forces in our country resides precisely in the fact that it is directed and spear-headed against the powerfully entrenched forces of Big Business and landlordism inside the Congress, the former holding the commanding positions in the field of economy as well as politics, but not against the non-big bourgeoisie, which, of course, is also sharing power as a junior partner in the combine.

Revisionists Achilles' Heel

Here lies the Achilles' heel in the entire political line of the revisionists. They stubbornly, doggedly and fanatically hold the view that it is not a bourgeois-landlord state we are under, nor there is big-bourgeois leadership over it. It is a bourgeois state in which the landlord class has no share of power. According to them, the state power is under identity-less bourgeois leadership but not under monopolist representatives!

The anti-Congressism of our revisionist friends is either shallow and hypocritical or rank opportunistic to suit their political exigencies. They cannot run away and shield under their criticism against the factional and blind anti-Congressism of certain political parties and groups, which adopt ultra-left postures, but again do not hesitate to join hands with any and every so-called anti-Congress party including the rabid anti-communists and rank communalists.

It is this confirmed and hardened pro-Congressism, a class-collaborationist thesis for shielding the power of landlordism and big bourgeoisie in the Congress Party and Government that is at the root of revisionists' hostility and venom towards the CPI(M) and its political line. This enmity is driving it alternately into either allying with the Congress in attacking our Party, or opportunistically mobilizing some anti-Congress democratic parties against the CPI(M).

Such has been the record of the revisionist party. The systematic sabotage of every effort at anti-Central Government mobilizations and struggles in Kerala by the revisionists, and the naked anti-CPI(M) mobilization that are being hectically attempted at in the recent months are not accidental, but are born out of a deep-seated right-opportunist and revisionist understanding of the class character of the Congress Party and the Central Congress Government.

When such is the gulf that is dividing us from the Right Communist Party on the most crucial question of the present state power and its class content, is it not simply ridiculous on the part of Rajeswar Rao to say that the CPI(M) "falls in line" with his party and the two parties' political understanding is coming closer?

Revisionist Utopia

Neither the Right-Communist canard that our Party is lining up with the revisionist line is entirely new, nor it is the first time they delude themselves that their dream of National Democracy and non-capitalist path is just round the corner following the bank nationalization by the Congress Government of Smt. Indira Gandhi. Exactly similar outcries were raised and shrieking calls came forth from the revisionists for forging the national democratic front, here and now, immediately following the 1967 General Elections. All non-Congress State Governments, in whichever the Right Communists were participating and no matter to what class and political complexion they belonged, were sought to be hailed as symbols of their National Democracy!

Calls came forth from the revisionist party Chairman, "Delhi Chalo"! and "Forward for the Formation of National Coalition

Government"! Slogans were raised for the immediate forging of a national united front of Opposition parties at the all-India level and in Central Parliament. All this, accompanied by the scare propaganda that counter-revolution headed by 'extreme reaction' is round the corner and to ward off its imminent threat, the urgency of rallying round one or the other 'progressive' Congress wings'!

It fell to our misfortune to reject all this as revisionist utopia and thus incur their displeasure and wrath, since our Party did flatly refuse to fall in line with them for their plan of parliamentary insurrection to realize the dream of "National Democracy and non-capitalist path". Now, once again, after the bank-nationalization "revolution", in a somewhat changed political situation, their chronic disease of rallying behind the Congress Government has relapsed assuming more serious dimensions. We cannot help but attending to it, and we do it willingly and are duty bound though without undue illusions to cure it.

New "Three main points" that Split the Party

A new and highly original contribution to the polemics between the CPI(M) and the revisionists comes from the pen of Rajeswar Rao. In all seriousness and with all solemnity he tells his readers and the Indian public that the split of 1963-64 in the once-united Communist Party took place over three main points of controversy. They, according to the latest—revised version of our self-styled historian of the Indian Communist Movement, are:

(1) "The first main point of difference, that is whether there was a revolutionary situation maturing in 1962" or not.

(2) The second was "the ideological controversy in the International Communist Movement, the leadership of the CPI(M) supported the dogmatic positions of the Maoist leadership till 1968" while Rajeswar Rao and his party was supporting nobody's positions except their own creative right-revisionist positions.

(3) "The third point of controversy (is) national democracy versus people's democracy, the organisation of the national

democratic front, progressive forces inside the Congress and split inside that organisation" etc.

How truthfully, objectively and honestly these points of crude and crass distortion of history are presented!

The first alleged difference is an absolute lie. The question of revolutionary situation was never posed by any single section of the then United Party as a difference for debate during the 1960-62 period. Not a shred of evidence can he adduce in support of this slander from the innumerable speeches documents and resolutions of the period. It was only the late Home Minister Mr. Nanda's White Paper, which came under public ridicule and contempt, that levelled this base slander against the CPI(M) that it was organizing armed rebellion on the assumption that there existed a revolutionary situation. Is it not really disgusting that the revisionist leaders repeatedly and shamelessly plumb for a page or two from this notorious Nanda's White Paper?

Base Lie

He does not satisfy himself with this : He works himself up into uttering another base lie by stating that this imaginary controversy over the issue of revolutionary situation "was resolved inside the CPI(M) in their Eighth Party Congress in 1968" after full six years. To put the record straight and pin this deliberate lie for what it is worth, let us enlighten the Right Communist Party's General Secretary that it was for the first time that such a controversy was raised by the 'Naxalites' in the months of May-June 1967. This thesis of the existence of a revolutionary situation and the urgency for an armed revolution was publicly rejected as infantile nonsense, then and there, throwing the indisciplined out of the Party. Then wherefrom comes the slander of six-year-old controversy to be settled in our Eighth Party Congress of December 1968?

At any rate, we can neither assure our revisionists that a revolutionary situation does not arise in the foreseeable future, nor can we promise them that such a situation does not range our two parties on two sides of the barricades. Hence our humble submission to them is, not to misunderstand our assessment of the

present political situation that it is not yet a revolutionary situation, and on that basis delude themselves into thinking that no conflict exists between our two parties. Let Rajeswar Rao not preach the gospel of unity on this score, because the moment the CPI(M) states that such a revolutionary situation has arisen, when it does, it may turn out to be the basic difference, once again.

Debasing the Debate

Coming to the alleged second difference that led to the split—our Party's toeing Peking's political-ideological line, we replied to this base slander umpteen times by now, and we have no hammers and chisels in our possession to break the stony skulls of others to write the truth on their brains. We wish that our Indian revisionist leaders enter polemics with our Party basing themselves on the science of Marxism-Leninism, its theory and ideology, since they too claim to be communists, instead of stooping to debase the debate by bringing it to the issue whether our Party toes either the CPSU or the CPC, and if it does neither, accuse it with the cheap gibe that it is claiming exclusive monopoly of Marxism.

Better Rajeswar Rao also remembers that there exist several other Communist and Workers' Parties such as the North Vietnamese, North Korean, Cuban and Japanese etc., who are neither in agreement with the political-ideological line of the CPSU nor that of the CPC, but maintain their independent positions without claiming any monopoly of Marxism for themselves. If he and his party, for reasons better known to themselves, do not like and cannot venture to stand on their independent political line, let them not lecture to others on the necessity to "fall in line" with one big party or the other.

Our Party, and the entire politically-informed public know the story full well, what sort of united Marxist understanding was demonstrated between the Indian revisionist party and the CPSU on the crucial issue of Czech developments and the intervention by the five Warsaw-Pact countries. At least, our Party's Marxism has enabled us to realize the threat of counter-revolution and the necessity and inevitability of intervention to save the situation. Not one amongst the thousands of our Party members has

expressed any smallest disagreement on that score. But the "Marxism" of the revisionist party had plagued them for one year to decide whether the phenomenon was a counter-revolution or "progressive democratisation and liberalization", to decide finally in their National Council, by a bare majority, to declare their support for the Soviet action.

Indian Revisionism much Older

Let us leave this point here to deal with it more exhaustively sometime later. But one thing to be remembered is that the political-ideological conflicts inside the Indian Communist Movement were much older than when they had erupted in the world communist movement. They date back to 1954-55. Indian revisionism was born and blossomed much earlier than the notorious Khrushchov's revisionism, and there is enough recorded history to prove it. Then why take shelter behind the ideological controversies of the world communist movement and mischievously hide the grave differences on a number of issues of the Indian revolutionary movement which were at the root of the split? This, of course, is not to underrate the international issues.

The third main point made out by Rajeswar Rao for the split is not being resolved by the course of current development bringing the two opposed political lines nearer, as he cleverly tries to present, but they in fact are sharpening the conflict and focusing it into the forefront. We shall just now proceed to deal with this problem.

Falling in Line or further Widening of the Gulf ?

Rajeswar Rao states that he reads in our PB's statement on the current political developments our Party's falling in line with his party. But the writings, statements and activities of Rajeswar Rao and his party on the same are promising us just the opposite. Even though our two parties have been sharply divided on several political-ideological issues during the last five years after the split, there still remained adequate basis for united activities, to work in common United Fronts of several democratic parties, and to function in two State Governments of West Bengal and Kerala. We have been working together accordingly.

But on looking at the dangerous manner the Right Communist Party is analysing the developments and acting in practice, none but the politically naive can miss to see that the gulf separating the two is daily widening and deepening, threatening even the final parting of ways. It cannot be otherwise, because the two fundamentally-opposed and irreconcilable concepts—the Right Communist Party's concept of National Democracy and the CPI(M)'s concept of people's Democracy—are more and more coming into head-on clash, body against body, as the political crisis deepens. The dispute between the two has projected into the field of direct, immediate and practical activity, leaving the stage of its academic character far behind.

It is high time we clearly and sharply presented the problem before the Indian people, so that the respective opposed lines are judged by them on their merits.

1. The first and foremost conflict centres round the very question of assessing the class character of the present Indian state and Government about which we have dealt at length in the foregoing paras. According to our Party's understanding the maturing democratic-revolutionary movement is bound to head for a clash with the state power of the monopolists and landlords who are powerfully entrenched in the state, the Government, and the ruling Congress Party at different levels. The revisionists' understanding, on the contrary, which negates the state power of Big Business and landlordism and which considers the present state virtually as a state headed by the democratic non-big bourgeoisie, cannot but lead to the advocacy of unity and alliance with the basic state power in order to "liberate" it from the powerful influence of the monopolists and their clutches and guard it against the danger of threats coming from them. With the Right Communists it is not a case of lending tactical support to the relatively progressive wing of the Congress against another avowedly reactionary wing, but schematically and arbitrarily fit them into a reactionary monopolist wing and a progressive non-monopolist wing, and then plumb for strategic unity, united front and even formation of United Front Government with it. In name it is sought to be palmed off as an alliance with the

non-monopolists, but in essence it is rallying round the monopolists and their landlord allies.

Thus an in-built clash is pushed to the forefront between the two irreconcilable political lines, the line of class collaboration and the line of class struggle.

2. The conflict between the concept of National Democracy of the Right Communists and the concept of People's Democracy, now stands in bold relief demolishing once for all the light-hearted remarks of some superficial critics that it is more a wordy warfare with no substance and content in class terms.

Concept of "Dual Hegemony"

The revisionists firmly hold the view that a National Democratic Front and its Government should come into existence under the "dual hegemony" of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—a totally misleading and highly deceptive concept. This is invented to dodge the real issue: Which class, the bourgeoisie or the proletariat, alone can lead such a National Democratic Revolution in the present era?

To further confuse the gullible they argue that they visualize neither "exclusive proletarian hegemony nor exclusive bourgeois hegemony", thus once again to escape the answer for the simple and straight question—the hegemony of which class—by trickish introduction of an adjective "exclusive" before hegemony. An absurd theory of two-class leadership for their National Democratic Revolution is coined with the sole aim of abandoning the entire concept of proletarian hegemony and to substitute in its place the bankrupt theory of bourgeois hegemony. Under this cover they wish to participate in the Government, and thus secure a junior partnership with it. The modern revisionists not only question the correctness of the Leninist tenet that proletarian hegemony is a must to accomplish and complete the democratic revolution in our era, but even go to the length of shamelessly asserting that even the non-capitalist path of development and building of socialism is possible under the hegemony of 'progressive' bourgeoisie of one category or the other in the present "new epoch" of their own.

Several such experiments under bourgeois hegemony conducted in Ghana, Mali, Burma, Indonesia, Iraq and the like, and the fiascos reaped have no salutary lessons for them, since they represent a hardened core of class-collaborationist theoreticians.

In fact, they have become inveterate enemies of the concept of proletarian hegemony. A taste of it one can find out from both the experiences in Kerala and West Bengal where they would be willing to accept any other class hegemony, but can never reconcile with the leading role of the CPI(M) even though it represents the single biggest force in the respective Legislatures and among the people. They slander it as "domineering" of the CPI(M) over other.

The dominant political forces, according to them, should be there only to take upon itself the major blame for all the commissions and omissions of the Front Government, but not to assume major responsibility in shaping its policies and conducting its works.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) while it can very well understand the conditions and situations when the revolutionary party of the proletariat will have to temporarily unite with this or that section of the bourgeoisie, can join united actions with it, can also form United Fronts, and even, in certain cases, lend its critical support to a bourgeois Government, but it cannot either accept the thesis of bourgeois hegemony to complete the democratic revolution or reconcile to the idea of joining the Government under bourgeois hegemony as they compromise the position of the working class and damage the cause of revolution.

It is all the more so with the Central Government of India because it is not similar to the case of some State Governments in India, and it concerns the Central Government, which wields the real political power in the State. Our Party has been always maintaining, even in the case of State Governments, that it harms the interests of the revolutionary working class, if its party directly joins the Government, when it happens to be a negligible force in the coalition State Government while the other petty-bourgeois and bourgeois parties are predominant. The effort of

such a weak force within the Government to influence the course of policies would be like a tail trying to wag the head, and in the bargain get discredited for all the failures and misdeeds of such Governments to which it is least responsible. To such a course our Party can never afford to subscribe.

Two Positions Irreconcilable

So the clash between the two irreconcilable positions is daily becoming acute, while the developing political crisis is hastening that process. The current political developments, instead of asserting in the reconciliation of these differences as Rajeswar Rao wants us to believe, are sharpening them to be decided either way by life and events.

3. Besides these basic differences concerning the question of Indian revolution, there are ever so many issues on which the attitudes of the two parties not only differ but seriously come into conflict. The attitude towards the present Indian Constitution, the attitude towards parliamentary and non-parliamentary forms of struggle, over the issue of peaceful and non-peaceful possibilities of revolution, the Indo-Pak conflict, the Indo-Chinese border dispute, and on a whole series of political-ideological issues in the world communist movement. Over all these issues the stand of the revisionists is invariably more in harmony with the stand of the official Congress and other petty-bourgeois parties while sharply conflicting with that of the CPI(M).

Even on several day-to-day developments such as separate Telangana agitation, the border dispute between Maharashtra and Karnataka, inter-State dispute over Narmada river waters etc. the CPI(M) and Right Communists find themselves ranged against each other. If the CPI(M) considers Telangana agitation under Dr. Chennareddy's leadership as basically counter-revolutionary, the Right Communists are not late to discover in it the revolutionary kernel of genuine grievances of the people. If the CPI(M) feels that the border agitation by Shiva Sena is an anti-communist-inspired and reactionary one, the Right Communists see behind it militant and democratic aspirations and urges of the Maharashtrian youth and middle classes. The Secretary of the

Madhyapradesh unit of the Right Communist Party comes out with a hysteric call to rally behind the State Congress Government and appeals to the State Congress Government 'to lead a people's revolt' against the State of Gujarat, comparing the latter's stand to that of Pakistan over Farakka barrage! And so goes the story of completely conflicting readings of every situation. The two have come to look through two different glasses—the glasses of revisionism and Marxism, and as such it cannot be otherwise.

Before closing this reply of ours we once again wish to reiterate that our Party does not subscribe to the facile theory that either bank nationalization undermines the foundation of monopolists or Smt. Indira Gandhi Government, thereby, is transformed into a Government of anti-monopolists, anti-imperialists and anti-feudalists.

We remind our revisionists the warning of Lenin, that *the bourgeois-landlord Governments, throughout the modern world, have developed two methods for perpetuating their class rule and in it the first is violence and the second is the method of deception, flattery, fine phrases, promises by the millions, petty sops, and concessions of the unessential, while retaining the essential. A communist can forget it only at his peril.*

We hope that the revisionist leaders and all their party members and followers would give serious thought to our criticism, and do not hesitate to rectify the grave errors pointed out, so that the Indian working class might be enable to unitedly intervene in the current political situation and pave the way for its forward strides for progress, democracy and socialism.

Lessons of The Crisis in The Kerala U.F.*

B. T. Ranadive

Reports from Kerala show that the United Front Ministry there might collapse any day. Four parties—the Revisionists, the Muslim League, the RSP and the Indian Socialist Party, a breakaway wing of the SSP, have combined to form an opposition inside the Front and openly support Congress moves. This combination in August supported a Congress MLA's resolution in the Assembly against a U.F. Minister, a resolution which charged him with corrupt practices and demanded an inquiry.

Reading the bourgeois Press one may think that the whole trouble in Kerala is over the corruption of one Minister. It would appear that the integrity or otherwise of this one Minister has assumed such revolutionary and basic importance for the four parties that they are prepared to wreck the United Front, forget the Congress, the capitalists and landlords of Kerala, forget the main demands of the suffering people and open the way to Congress rule in a direct or indirect form.

Marxist View of United Front

It is necessary to understand the class character of the developments in Kerala, the new stage in the United Front and relations of parties—a stage for which preparations are being made by the opportunists in West Bengal. It is a fundamental error to think that United Front freezes the situation as between parties and classes; that it is an exception to the laws of motion and change and it is a permanently happy family.

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The necessity of a United Front, including a United Front Ministry arises out of the needs of class struggle, out of the awareness of the people that without their combined efforts they cannot move forward. Leaders of opportunist parties may look upon the U.F. only as an electoral machine but the masses attach more basic importance to it as their weapon of struggle.

The necessity of United Front or united action with individuals, groups and parties arises from the fact that the Marxist-Leninist Party till it is recognized as the absolute leader by the large mass of people, is able to influence and activize at any given stage only a part or a small section of the people on any issue against the existing regime. The classes and strata in which the society is divided, the various ideological influences which dominate them lead to the formation of various parties and organizations having some influence over the people and professing progressive policies.

Even the working class is divided among various political parties and has to be patiently won over. The superiority of Marxism-Leninism over other ideologies is experienced by the masses in course of broad mass struggle, which the Party alone cannot launch. The United Front thus becomes a weapon of winning over the majority of the masses for the cause of revolution.

This was seen by the founders of Marxism who advocated support to this or to that party or movement in different countries. Whenever there was any revolutionary movement against the existing order the communists should support it, they said. The COMMUNIST MANIFESTO says:

"The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement. In France, the Communists ally themselves with the Social-Democrats, against the Conservative and radical bourgeoisie, reserving, however, the right to take up a critical position in regard to phrases and illusions traditionally handed down from the great Revolution."

The Basic Difference

Here lies the basic difference in the approach of the Marxist-Leninists and others including the Revisionists. For the others, United Front and the Ministries are just a weapon of freezing the class situation, enjoying the ministerial positions, under the bourgeois landlord constitution and manoeuvring against the masses. For a party of revolution, every United Front and United Front Ministry is an instrument of changing the balance of class forces, impelling the mass movement forward.

Our Party's position in this respect was stated in April 1967, in *New Situation And Party's Tasks*: "In a word, the U.F. Governments that we have now are to be treated and understood as instruments of struggle in the hands of our people, more than as Governments that actually possess adequate power, that can materially and substantially give relief to the people. In clear class terms, our Party's participation in such Governments is one specific form of struggle to win more and more people, and more and more allies for the proletariat and its allies in the struggle for the cause of People's Democracy and at a later stage for socialism."

This meant that priority had to be given to mass issues, class demands, and that masses had to be continuously roused to fight bureaucratic apathy, Central hostility and the opposition of the vested interests. This also meant that the parties of United Front must be among the people, secure greater confidence of the people by their steadfast loyalty and strengthen the United Front. It meant that the electoral struggle, the electoral balance must be turned into a class balance decisively winning over sections with the Congress and changing the balance of forces in the country. It also meant that the parties in the U.F. had to be in the forefront of mass actions as they have been in West Bengal. The strike of jute and tea workers led by the parties of the United Front and supported by the Government show how the balance of class forces can be changed.

Their Class Affiliations

But in Kerala from the beginning there was resistance to going beyond the confines of Assembly, law, negotiations, and finally intrigues. The class affiliations of the various parties began to stand out very soon. A United Front of Opposition parties does not mean that it is a U.F. of parties belonging to toilers or the working class. The Muslim League leadership in Kerala is headed by leaders associated with rice traders, the RSP and SSP had only recently outgrown their strong anti-communist bias; and the Revisionists in the 1965 elections had not only opposed our Party, but had refused to propagate against Government repression against us. This party, the tool of the bourgeoisie, sworn to fight us, was forced to align with us in 1967 after its debacle in 1965.

The tremendous support of the Kerala masses for a U.F., their hatred against the Congress, brought these parties in a common United Front with us. But all of them only wanted to run the Ministry in the normal bureaucratic way. Their ideas represented not simply the opportunist outlook of individuals but in reality the outlook and interests of the various class elements to which they were tied.

Impact of Ruling Class Tactics

Apart from this, all of them had illusions about the Constitution, about the Centre. As Lenin pointed out, difference in the Labour movement often arose because of the tactics of the ruling class. "Not infrequently, the bourgeoisie for a certain time achieves its object by a 'liberal' policy which, as Pannekoek justly remarks, is a 'more crafty' policy. A section of the workers, of their representatives at times allows themselves to be deceived by sham concessions. The revisionists declare the doctrine of the class struggle to be 'antiquated', or begin to conduct a policy which in fact amounts to a renunciation of class struggle. The zig-zags of bourgeois tactics intensify revisionism within the Labour movement and not infrequently exacerbate the differences within the Labour movement to the point of a direct split." (*Against Revisionism*, pp. 137-138)

How well the situation has been put. The fact that a Ministry was allowed to be formed, open elections were held—all these concessions were interpreted as a new situation in which legislature alone can be the instrument of people's advance. After all the Revisionists swear by the parliamentary path. It is precisely because of this that when Comrades E. M. S. Namboodiripad and A. K. Gopalan said that the present Constitution must go, a howl was raised by the United Front Parties. The Muslim League raised a protest and the Revisionist Dange joined in the chorus, certified the Constitution to be an instrument for achieving socialism and asked Comrade E. M. S. to resign or change his views. What glorious United Front in a holy cause! The Revisionist Chairman and Muslim League Chairman defending the bourgeois-landlord Constitution against the CPI(M)—a sight for all the revisionist gods to see.

Whom do Revisionists Represent?

How the Revisionists represented the vested agrarian interests and wanted to attack the agricultural labourers, how they shamelessly opposed occupation of land by the agricultural labourers and how they sponsor the cause of the foreign monopolists is seen from the following from the May 1969 resolution of the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) on the Kerala situation:

"One of the points, for instance, is that the Government of Kerala, should encourage large-scale mechanisation of agriculture, since such mechanisation would increase agricultural production. Our Party is of the view that, under the present conditions of India, this would be highly detrimental to the mass of rural poor among whom there is already large-scale unemployment and under-employment; uncontrolled mechanisation will accelerate this process and intensify the problem of unemployment and under-employment.

"Again, they join the chorus of the vested interests that the growing activities and struggles of the agricultural labourers in the rural areas against landlord exploitation are hampering production; they accuse us of instigating agricultural labourers

against cultivators. Our Party resolutely rejects this and makes it clear that we would not be deterred by the joint campaign of the vested interests and the Right Communists; we would on the other hand, continue our work of organizing agricultural labourers and helping their struggles, while of course striving our utmost to unite the agricultural labourers and poor and middle peasants in their common interests of joint struggle against their common enemies.

"Thirdly, they demand that in the name of industrialization of Kerala, we should accept the proposal of T. V. Thomas to invite Messrs. Mitsubishi of Japan as the main agency for industrialising Kerala, and thus hand over the wealth and manpower of Kerala to be permanently exploited by this giant monopolist concern. It is significant that the Right Communist Party proclaims its total opposition to penetration of Indian economy by foreign monopolists, but its Ministers and Kerala State unit fight for it. Our Party refuses to oblige them in this nefarious game. At the same time, the Chief Minister has been exploring the possibilities of securing help on better terms from the Socialist countries for industrialization and it is known that Romania has already signified its willingness to help the Kerala Government in setting up ferro industries based on the iron ore available in Kerala. The Kerala Government will also do its utmost in assisting the starting of small-scale and medium industries in the State."

Add to this the fact that T. V. Thomas wanted to sell the workers' right to strike to the new employers—he had suggested, as a method of encouraging new industries, that unions which abjure the right to strike should be granted recognition.

This is the real class background to the crisis of the United Front in Kerala.

It must be admitted in this connection that there was a certain lack of vigilance on our part. We often accepted the honesty of these parties forgetting their class affiliations. We got ourselves involved in endless talks, negotiations, and did not take resolute steps to take the masses into confidence and rouse the masses of all parties to the new danger.

Opposition to Land Bill

Because of their delaying tactics, the Land Bill was delayed and it is coming before the Assembly only now. The trade union law is yet to be passed. Panchayati and anti-corruption bill got priority. It is true that the masses got a number of concessions but the necessary laws to change the class balance have not been passed.

This situation was utilized by all these parties to launch an attack against us with the help of the Congress and other bourgeois papers. There was a regular division of labour between some U.F. Parties and the Congress papers. The partners in the U.F. supplied that slander and the bourgeois Press broadcast it. This new method was necessary because the Congress had lost its credentials with the people. Slanders echoed by it would not have appealed to the people and created confusion. Hence the necessity of initiating slanders through one or the other U.F. partners.

That there was more than this division of labour was revealed last year when a conspiratorial meeting of these four parties with Congress Kerala Congress leaders took place and in which formation of a Ministry excluding us and supported by the Congress was discovered. The initiators were the Revisionists, whose preference for the Congress and the national bourgeoisie is a part of their political make-up. Thus the class interests of these parties, their defence of agrarian vested interests, their lackeyism towards the big bourgeoisie led them to attempts at open betrayal of the United Front.

Once on this path, they used every opportunity to divert mass attention from the Congress and the Central Government against us. The Muslim League and other parties helped them in this and utilized their positions in the Government to protect and defend the Congress Government at the Centre. Typical was their attitude on the question of food. The Muslim League whose leaders have close links with rice trade opposed any restriction on food movement. They wanted Kerala to be a paradise for rice profiteers and blackmarketeers.

It was clear that in the beginning the Centre was using food to blackmail the Kerala Ministry, as it did try to use in West Bengal.

These parties—the Revisionists and the Indian Socialist Party screened the Central Government and in Congress fashion threw the blame for the food situation on CPI(M) Minister, Comrade K. R. Gowri.

Opposition within Front

Ever since the formation of the U.F. Ministry in March 1967, these two parties have been functioning as opposition parties in fact, although a part of the Government in form. On every serious issue which faces the Government of Kerala, such as food, the State's legitimate share in plan, the democratic rights of the entire Indian people for which a non-Congress Government like that of Kerala should fight against the Central Congress Government and so on, they have either opposed the political line of struggle against the Central Congress Government, or, in some cases, even aided and abetted the Congress-Kerala Congress Opposition within the State and the Central Government in their malicious attacks on the Government of Kerala.

In the latter category are their lying and slanderous campaign that it was the indifference and inefficiency of the State Government that led to the difficulties of food distribution. Beginning with this and other lies and slanders against the State Government, they made the so-called "correction of these defects" in the administration of the state the pre-condition for any struggle against the Centre. They also joined the vested interests, within the State and outside, in their campaign against the administration of the police department by the Chief Minister.

They went to the extent of joining the anti-Communist Marxist chorus of "Communist (Marxist) responsibility for the ultras' attack on the police stations in Tellicherry and Pulpally".

The Right Communists, on the one hand, declared that those who launched the attacks on police stations only practised what the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has been preaching; on the other hand, they attempted to organize a so-called "Defence Committee" to defend the cases launched against those who were arrested in connection with the two cases. It is thus obvious that

the Right Communists had no other consideration than blind opposition to the Communist Party of India (Marxist), which is the major constituent of the U.F. Government.

This approach of being in opposition functioning within the Government—enjoying all the benefits of being ruling parties while weakening and undermining the Government as a whole, and particularly the major constituent of the Government—has been of enormous service to the Congress-Kerala Congress Opposition within the State and to the Central Government who, it is well-known, are plotting to attack the U.F. Government.

This is nothing new to the Right Communists. It may be recalled that it was they that supplied ammunition to the slanderous and notorious White Paper of Nanda in 1965. The pronouncements of the spokesmen of these parties inside as well as outside the legislature have been almost the only weapon in the hands of the Congress-Kerala Congress Opposition in Kerala. On every occasion, when the Government was under attack by the Opposition, the attackers were aided and abetted by the Right Communist and ISP partners in the Government. The two attacks on the Government—that by the Opposition from outside and that by the partners from within—either converged into a concerted attack or were complementary to each other.

True Colour of the Conspiracy

This is really the political and class background to the present crisis in which corruption charges against one Minister of the KTP are given major importance. This is nothing but deceitfulness of an ordinary cheat. And these protagonists of anti corruption—are their hands really clear? Our Party has now put before the people the facts about some of these gentlemen. And the fact is that they became protagonists of purity only when enquiry was started against the former Finance Minister, P. K. Kunhu, who was one of the conspirators to bring in a new Ministry without us and with the support of the Congress. It was to stall an enquiry against him that the diversionary tactic of slandering some of our comrades started.

And now the whole conspiracy has come in its true class colours. The sabotage in the name of fighting corruption was really directed against the Land Bill whose passage we are demanding in this session of the Assembly. The Revisionist tactic has been to get the other Bills like Panchayat Bill to be passed and blow up the Ministry before the Land Bill is passed. When we charged them with intention to sabotage the Bill, when we demanded priority for the Bill, they had to say in public that they were for the Bill and its priority. But these deceitful gentlemen at the same time opposed priority in the Business Advisory Committee of the Assembly where they have the majority. They thought this fact would not be known but now it is known, their double-faced character is seen. And the Muslim League leadership has openly declared its opposition to the Bill. No wonder members of the dissident Kerala Congress are wooing the Leaguers to form a new Ministry, a Ministry excluding the CPI(M) and are promising support for this. The League leader was being bribed into treachery by promising him Chief Ministership in the new Ministry. Besides, it is rumoured that they hope to get a minister's post in the Central Government and therefore want to please the Congress by opposing the Land Bill. In any case, some of the leaders are associated with large landholders and big rice traders and they were bound to oppose the Bill.

Lesson to be Drawn

What are the lessons to be drawn from this state of affairs? An instrument which was forged to unite the strength of the people is being turned against the people and is being used to pave the way for Congress' return in Kerala. The United Front is a sharp form of class struggle. Its edge is turned against the main class enemy. And yet at various stages of its development it includes elements which are close to the main enemy, which have the same ideology. They join the United Front only as a chip of the old block, to play the same class game—as opposition parties do under the parliamentary system. For many of them the mass movement and

mass action are anathema once the elections are over. They want to tinker with demands of the masses and render the situation safe for the vested interests.

But the masses behind these elements and other constituents want to move forward. Therefore, inside the United Front a continuous struggle must go on—a struggle to move forward, a struggle to isolate the line that wants to freeze the mass situation, a struggle to educate the masses to exercise vigilance over their leaders. The strengthening of the U.F. cannot be achieved without a gradual release of the masses from the fallacies, illusions, and obscurantism that tie them to some of the parties. The balance of class forces cannot be changed without a steady rise in the class consciousness of the masses belonging to all parties, without linking ministerial work with the developing mass movement.

The march of the economic crisis does not stop because of a United Front Ministry; the agrarian crisis does not lose its severity nor the intensity of the inflationary prices imposed by the Centre lessen, because of a U.F. Ministry. If the class struggle is not sharpened, the disappointment of the masses is turned into reactionary channels.

This is precisely what the reformist and revisionist parties do not want. Mass action now contradicts with their parliamentarism and in their half-hearted support to the masses, they lose their leadership, the masses drawing the conclusion that the support is not very generous. Then start the charges that the CPI(M) is exploiting the situation, that new unions are being formed, that it is entering the prohibited area of one or the other party. The decisive movement of the masses against the vested interests frightens these parties because they are unable bear it. Then they charge our Party with going against the Constitution, domination or arrogance.

Protect the Front

The Ministry and the U.F. cannot standstill. They must move or crack. In Kerala for days there was less reliance on the main motive force—the masses. That is why the following belonging to other parties could not be moved easily, the disrupters could

not be isolated. Unless the task of protecting the unity of the people is combined with the task of isolating the disruptive trends, and unless the United Front succeeds in unleashing mass initiative all the time, it cannot march ahead. It is because of this that the Kerala U.F. is cracking. With such tactics, the constituents or personnel of the leadership of U.F. may change but the fight will continue more severely than before.

The threatened collapse of the U.F. in Kerala constitutes a serious danger to the growth of the democratic movement. The task of our Party does not end by proving that the other parties are disrupters. It is our minimum duty towards our people, towards the fighting masses that we do our best to protect the unity of the front, to sharpen it as a weapon of defending the masses.

In the midst of the economic crisis, in the midst of attempts for a reactionary take-over, the only effective weapon of the masses, is the United Front in which our Party is playing a prominent part. It is because of the independent strength of the United Front forces that the defeat of Sanjiva Reddy and the Syndicate was ensured. It today appears to be the only alternative to the Congress, the only focal point for the gathering mass discontent to express. To weaken or disrupt it is an act of treachery. To weaken or disrupt the Kerala and West Bengal U.F. Ministries is to commit the greatest act of betrayal. It is because of this that we cannot easily accept disruption and must fight it every inch.

In doing this we must realize that we are not doing it for any partisan end. The battle is not between us and other parties as the Revisionists put it, as the Congress propagates; the battle is between the United Front and those who wish to desert; between the line that develops people's striking power and one that undermines it to serve the capitalists. That is why fighting the disrupters we must use every persuasive method to win over the followers so that the U.F. does not weaken.

Unless we succeed in doing this the vested interests will succeed in inflicting a heavy defeat on the people and its first victim will be our Party.

Real Face of Dangeites "Anti-Corruption Crusade"

M. Basavapunnaiah

The Right Communists, thanks to their disruptive and wrecking activities of United Fronts, have brought the U.F. in Kerala to the verge of collapse.

This despicable bourgeois agency in the Indian working class movement had fought over the years the very concept of forming a fighting front against the Congress party, on the shameless plea that the Congress is headed by the patriotic and national wing of the bourgeoisie and it has in its fold the major forces of democracy in the country. They doggedly fought for a united front with the ruling Congress and this line of crass class collaboration culminated in the outright split of the Indian communist movement. Such is the undisputed fact of history, and the cock-and-bull stories and slanders trotted out regarding the basic causes of the split do not and cannot hide this ugly reality.

Volte-Face in Tactics

But the mid term poll results in 1965 in Kerala and the debacle of the revisionists when their strength in the Legislature was reduced to a bare *three* and the major victory scored by the anti-Congress parties which had certain adjustments among themselves came as a rude shock to them, forcing a volte-face in their tactics of class collaboration. The change they made was to join the anti-Congress United Front and continue to play the role of saboteurs and disruptors of the Front from within. This has been the revisionist tactical line since the General Elections of 1967, and they are pursuing it with the additional advantage secured by this change in tactics—the advantage of getting

twenty seats in the Kerala Assembly instead of the three they had in 1965.

A glance into the history of the U.F. Government in Kerala during the last thirty months of its existence and functioning bring out in bold relief the nefarious game of the Right Communists. From the very beginning they opted to play the role of an Opposition within the United Front, with their main fire of attack directed not against the Congress but the CPI(M), the single biggest force in the Front, which commanded nearly half the Legislature strength of the U.F., the other half being represented by six other political parties including the revisionist.

Class Collaborationist Face

When the Central Congress Government with its discriminatory food policy was starving the people of Kerala, the revisionists saw a golden opportunity to direct their attack on Comrade Gowri, who was then in charge of the State's Food portfolio, while they doggedly resisted a united mobilization against the Central Congress rule of the bourgeoisie and the landlords. The revisionist leaders were the first to echo the Congress slogan that "agitation and administration do not go together", slandering the CPI(M) that it was not interested in giving the relief that was possible to the people but was only attempting to wreck the Constitution from within.

Whenever the CPI(M) exposed the bourgeois-landlord class character of the present Indian state and Constitution, they were the first to vie with the Congress and other reactionary forces to let loose a barrage of propaganda that the CPI(M) was out to destroy the 'democratic' Constitution of the country. They shamelessly joined the State Cabinets of U.P., Bihar and Punjab to work in alliance with the Jana Sangh and Swatantra, under the leadership of people like Sri Charan Singh and others, and stuck to office like leeches and behaved like docile creatures and worms, even when some of the constituents of these Governments organized communal pogroms against the Muslim minorities and unleashed merciless repression and suppression of the struggling people, but they acted as rebels and renegades against the

CPI(M)-led Ministries in Kerala and West Bengal. They begged, bargained and pressurized to secure more seats in the Cabinets for their party, utterly disproportionate to their strength in the Legislature as well as among the people. At the same time, and in the same breath, they shamelessly denied its due to the CPI(M) even though it singly commands a strength of 80 seats in West Bengal of a total of 217 of the U.F. and 50 of the total U.F. strength of 116 in Kerala, and indulged in constant and systematic slander that the CPI(M) was adopting a domineering attitude. The list is too long to be enumerated here, but what is stated above is enough to reveal the gross class-collaborationist and anti-CPI(M) face of the revisionist.

The Correct Background

Let it also be noted that this chronic disease of the revisionists of playing second fiddle to the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties has once again assumed an acute character following the recent intensification of inner-party crisis in the Congress. They now openly advocate a front and alliance with one official wing of the Congress party or the other as, for instance, in U.P. where they enthusiastically advocate, acclaimed by their central leadership, an alliance, front and formation of a Government together with the Congress wing led by Sri Kamalapati Tripathi. In fact, it is the official line of the revisionists to rally round Smt. Indira Gandhi, since according to them, it has been transformed into a progressive Government led by the non-monopolists. In order to prove their pro bourgeois bona fides they have to wage a war against the CPI(M) in alliance with anybody and everybody, and thus qualify themselves for junior partnership in the great "National Democratic Alliance" with the bourgeois landlord Congress and its Government.

The hypocritical anti-corruption crusade the revisionists have launched in Kerala and the latest so-called Assembly resolution farce enacted against a U.F. Cabinet Minister in alliance with the Congress and Kerala Congress can be correctly understood by the class-conscious workers only in this political background. Otherwise, the dust and din raised over the issue with the active

assistance of the anti-communist bourgeois 'free' Press in the country, can confuse many and cloud the real issue.

The anti-corruption crusade of the Indian revisionists was hardly witnessed when they were in the U.P., Bihar and Punjab State Cabinets for a year along with several constituents notorious for many things. In Kerala, too, it did not worry them and grip them until Sri Kunhu's corruption case was referred to the judicial tribunal by the Chief Minister, Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad, excluding him from the Cabinet, pending the judgement of the tribunal. The anti-corruption crusade took precedence over everything else for the revisionists, only after the ISP openly rebelled against the Chief Minister and the CPI(M) in an effort to shield its Minister whose case was referred to the tribunal. Until then, for two full years, everybody in the U.F. Cabinet was considered an angel, and the Right Communists had no complaint of any corruption, the only complaint was of the domineering attitude of the CPI(M)! Well! What then is the main plank of the anti-corruption platform of the revisionists and how do they propose to fight out and liquidate corruption?

Their Target and Their Allies

Here again the principal target of the revisionists is the CPI(M) which, according to them, is the arch defender and shielder of all corruption! Their target is neither the bourgeois-landlord Congress party, its corrupt leaders and its corrupt state bureaucracy, nor the parties and groups that are for sale for favours of office and patronage!

Who are their staunch allies and reliable battering rams to blast the fortifications of corruption? The ISP, Muslim League, the Congress and the Kerala Congress!

Which are the forces they want to rely on to detect corruption, to decide on the course of action to fight it, and determine whether a particular person in authority is corrupt or not? Not the popularly-elected U.F. legislators, their political parties, and the U.F. and its Government, but the Congress and Kerala Congress 'angels' as the accusers and the bourgeois judges even to decide whether there is a *prima facie* case for an enquiry to be instituted into the corruption charge!

Such is their social-democratic understanding of the class character of the present bourgeois-landlord state, its principal organs of state power such as the army, bureaucracy and judiciary and such is their bankrupt understanding of the role of the U.F. in fighting corruption and its very basis in the existing corrupt social order of exploitation.

The bourgeois judicial outlook, as is evident to anyone who is acquainted with the A.B.C. of Marxism and proletarian class instinct, is diametrically opposed to the outlook of the exploited classes. It proceeds from the fundamental premise of the sanctity of private property and the right of exploitation of labour. If a Chief Minister of the U.F. Government judges the conduct of a police officer from the angle of the exploited and disciplines him for abusing his powers in a class struggle between the agricultural labourers and landlords, the learned bourgeois judge cannot be prevented, and he will be within his rights, from opining that the Chief Minister had acted in the partisan interests of his party or the U.F. Government. There are any number of such instances during the last 30 months of U.F. Governments. How then can every accusation of corruption be permitted to be referred to a bourgeois court, even to decide whether there is a *prima facie* case or not, and thus stake the entire political future of a non Congress U.F. Government which has been voted into office to fight against the bourgeois-landlord order? Such a proposal, motives apart, subordinates, the proletarian class struggle to the four corners of the capitalist-landlord social order and its parliamentary framework.

Elementary Question

They do not even once ask the elementary question if every flippant, irresponsible and slanderous accusation of corruption by the avowed class enemies of the U.F. Governments, the Congress and Kerala Congress, is to be entertained and ordered for judicial enquiry, removing the Ministers thus involved, can a U.F. Cabinet and Government exist and function to fight either the bourgeois-landlord rule of the Congress or corruption in the State administration? Probably they have a tacit agreement with the

Congress that such charges should be levelled on the floor of the Assembly only against the CPI(M) or those who stand together with it, but never against the revisionists and their close allies as long as these are discharging their 'holy' mission of attacking the CPI(M) and disrupting the U.F.s.!

The revisionists, who claim to be Marxist-Leninists and communists, let alone their opportunist allies in this regard, are utterly oblivious of the fact that corruption is a deep-rooted social problem of the bourgeois-landlord order and there are extremely severe limitations imposed, on the anti-corruption struggle when it is sought to be carried out under this social order and with a bourgeois-landlord state apparatus. Instead of subordinating the anti-corruption struggle and making it a part and parcel of the revolutionary class struggle to overthrow the corrupt social order, they indulge in petty-bourgeois glorification of it, promising a corruption-free capitalist-landlord order.

Do they agree that there should be one uniform and agreed procedure with regard to all charges of corruption against one and all or do they demand one set of rules and one code of behaviour for Sri Wellington, the Health Minister, and an entirely different one for the others belonging to other parties? No. If Sri Wellington's case is not referred to a judicial enquiry and he is not to quit the Cabinet, the CPI(M) is committing the crime of not respecting an alleged Assembly resolution, and if the Home Ministry orders enquiries into all such charges and all the persons involved in them, then the CPI(M) would be guilty of outright disorganisation and disruption of the U.F. and its Government in Kerala! Such is the scoundrel's stratagem to discredit the CPI(M), to disrupt the U.F. Government and to serve the bourgeois-landlord rule and its principal custodian, the Congress party.

Ruling Classes Made Happy

The U.F. parties and their Governments in West Bengal, in the background of the enveloping economic political crisis in the country and sharpening class contradictions, have reached a critical stage in the process of their evolution: either they rise

to the occasion to be able to forge a new unity at a higher level corresponding to the new stage of development of the class struggle or face another round of division and disunity, characteristic of the period prior to 1967, giving another lease of life to the crisis-ridden Congress rule in the country. The entire reactionary Press and ruling circles are extremely jubilant at the developing crisis in the United Fronts, since that is the only hope for the survival of the decadent bourgeois-landlord rule, and they are frankly acknowledging and openly stating the yeoman's service rendered by the revisionists in this regard.

All honest, democratic-minded and forward-looking people are extremely worried, perplexed and even depressed at this phenomenon, a tragic phenomenon that had taken place in the Fronts and Front Governments in U.P., Bihar and elsewhere within a year following the 1967 elections, but had not succeeded so far in West Bengal and Kerala. They ask the questions: why is it happening so, why are some parties and groups in the Front playing into the hands of the revisionists and cannot something be done to avert this setback?

The CPI(M) on its part will strive its utmost to avert it, but it cannot claim to have a magic remedy in its hands. It depends on the other political constituents, and above all, the worker and peasant masses of our country, their political awakening, and the capacity to call a spade a spade, no matter to which party they owe their allegiance at the moment. But one thing need to be made clear, and that is that this development does not come to the CPI(M) as a surprise, it had expressed its views publicly in a comprehensive political resolution as early as in April 1967.

Party's Estimate Proved Right

The CPI(M) was fully aware and made it clear that the newly worn garb of the Right Communists' anti-Congressism was only a left-opportunist manoeuvre, that they had not abandoned their class collaborationist thesis of united front with the bourgeois-landlord Congress party, and that they had not ceased to play a disruptive role in the working class movement of our country. Equally aware was it of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois class

character and complexion of several political parties and groups that had rallied in the United Front in Kerala and West Bengal, the shallow nature and depth of their anti-Congressism, the type of bourgeois parliamentary illusions they were entertaining and the possible and probable backsliding of some of them from the Fronts and their pledged programmes as the class struggle matured and intensified. Do we not know of several petty-bourgeois parties, since 1952, joining with the communists in different Fronts—U.D.F., P.D.F. and the like in several States, and subsequently deserting and disrupting such Fronts, though each time such Fronts came into existence again on a comparatively higher level and plane? Knowing all this full well, the CPI(M) decided to play its due role, and accordingly was striving its utmost to build and consolidate these Fronts and run the Front Governments in these two States.

History and life experience demonstrate the truth of the above observations. Hardly within six months of the formation of the U.F. Government in West Bengal in 1967, there came on the surface the treacherous character of certain political groups in some parties, and also the political wobbling and vacillation of certain other constituents of the Government. Some renegades of the U.F. Legislature Party were outright purchased by the Congress party and the Ministry was toppled. Of course, the people taught them the lesson of their life and solidly rallied behind the other parties in the 1969 mid-term poll, enabling all those who staunchly stood by the U.F. win a resounding victory against the Congress misrule. The CPI(M), despite the scandalous countrywide propaganda barrage by the bourgeoisie and its kept Press, emerged victorious and unscathed.

It is regrettable that the revisionists and some other constituents seem to be forgetting these lessons, and once again have begun CPI(M) baiting with the aid of the bourgeois Press.

In Kerala, the U.F. has survived full 30 months, firstly, because of the utter rout of the Congress reducing it to a bare nine in a Legislature of 133, and secondly, due to the popular awareness born out of the arduous past experience of Congress-backed puppet Governments and their misrule. And.

now, the revisionists leading an alliance with some petty-bourgeois parties, are busy at the game of toppling the U.F. Government, each of these parties pursuing its own factional and partisan ends. At the root of it all is the ever-increasing mass radicalisation which is not only unnerving the Congress and the Kerala Congress parties but also the leaders of some parties in the U.F. who are worried about their opportunist policies and their continued leadership in face of the sharpening class contradictions and mass political awakening.

Role of the Muslim League

The role of the Muslim League in Kerala in the present crisis is both interesting as well as intriguing. The Muslim League leaders joined the Kerala U.F. pledging to fight the reactionary rule of the Congress party. The CPI(M) had welcomed it despite its communal orientation, considering it an expression of the interests of an aggrieved minority community which is suffering at the hands of Congress rule. But now strangely enough, its leaders once again have relapsed into their time-old obscurantist and anti communist prejudices, and express their dismay and horror at the anti Congress and anti-Central Government stances of the CPI(M), as though they have discovered it anew. It is anybody's guess as to what their political understanding is of the anti-Congress U.F.s. and why they joined it, if not to fight the Congress, its state power and its exploiting big bourgeois landlord rule over the country. We can well understand how they feel jittery when secular and democratic feelings and class-consciousness grow fast among their mass following in the process of U.F. activities, threatening the unquestioned authority of some top leaders over a blind and faithful following. We may remind the Muslim masses that the notorious 'liberation struggle' into which these leaders dragged them in the year 1959, did not end in any 'liberation' but only 'imprisonment' under the high-handed rule of the Congress. Let there be no mistake that if that was the prize these leaders could secure under Sri Mannath Padmanabhan's leadership, nothing better awaits them now under Sri M. N. Govindan Nair's leadership in the holy 'liberation'

struggle against the CPI(M). We hope that they ponder over their new political line and desist from the temptation of fishing in troubled waters, in which the Muslim League too is now neck-deep.

Coming to the issue of corruption and evolving suitable means and methods of fighting it out, there should not be any insurmountable difficulty for the U.F. and its Government in Kerala. No honest and thinking person can ever believe that the present grave crisis really centres round the issue of genuine struggle against corruption. If any one constituent of the Kerala U.F. has honestly and really come to the conclusion that the CPI(M) is a party that is interested in shielding corruption instead of ruthlessly fighting against it, then it would be dishonest on its part to proclaim that it is interested in strengthening the U.F. and working along with the CPI(M) which is the major constituent in it.

Conflict is on Policy

The entire political line evolved by the revisionists and the Muslim League for the so-called anti-corruption crusade is chiefly directed against the CPI(M), objectively assisting and abetting the Congress game of undermining the U.Fs., singling out the CPI(M) for vicious attacks and venomous slanders. The revisionists who till recently were shouting hoarse that they were being accused of the conspiracy to exclude the CPI(M) and form a Government with the tacit support of the Congress, now prove in practice that they are in fact at such a game. Hence the differences over the so-called anti-corruption issue and are not as simple and innocent as the revisionists and their accomplices are trying to present before the public. They are basic and fundamental involving certain vital principles, which, once sacrificed for momentary and doubtful gains, will spell disaster to the whole cause of the United Front and its future. The real conflict is a political conflict between the two fundamentally opposed concepts of united front, the front of democratic classes and parties against the Congress rule of monopolists and landlords, and opposed to it, a front of alliance with one official

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wing of the Congress or the other directed chiefly against the CPI(M).

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) together with the people and the democratic and sober sections in all the constituent parties of the U.F. will fight back these new machinations and strive to defend the Front and its Government. It spares neither the corrupt nor the opportunist disruptors who hypocritically parade as crusaders against so-called corruption. It is fully prepared to meet every twist and turn in this struggle, but never will succumb to the bamboozling of the revisionists and their camp-followers and allow an unprincipled and disruptive procedure—all in the big name of fighting corruption, but objectively playing the role of servitors of the bourgeoisie.

Biggest-Ever Demonstration of Kisan Sabha at Borsul, Burdwan*

The 20th Session of the All-India Kisan Sabha concluded its four-day deliberations successfully at Borsul village near Burdwan town, West Bengal on November 2, 1969:

Meeting at a critical phase of Indian history when the deepening economic crisis in the country touched off a major political crisis within the ruling classes, when an unprecedented radicalisation of the masses is being manifested in growing democratic movements both in sweep and participation, the 449 delegates from all the States of India showed a remarkable keenness to evolve the correct policy to meet the need of the situation. Significant also was the desire to have joint action of kisans owing allegiance to the different kisan organizations, aptly voiced by AIKS President A. K. Gopalan in his speech at the open session.

The mammoth demonstration of agricultural workers and poor peasants which rounded off the session was unprecedented in the history of the AIKS.

Our correspondent covering the AIKS Session writes:

Your correspondent was roused from sleep at about three in the morning by loud slogan shouting of the first demonstration which brought participants to the open session scheduled to be held at four in the afternoon on November 2, 1969. The rest may be imagined. From six in the morning one procession closely following another. By eleven o'clock there were no more demonstrations—it was a steady stream of multitudes of kisans and agricultural workers, jostling and pushing their way forward

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to the ground of the Basic Training School—about a mile from the conference pandal, the site of the open session.

Meanwhile, the delegates were busy at the conference hall where the final session was in progress. The closing session adopted a number of resolutions, including adoption of one calling upon "the kisans and other rural toilers all over the country to join the working class and others in celebrating the Lenin Birth Centenary in a most befitting manner" which was adopted with the delegates standing. Besides, a new panel of office-bearers of the CKC was elected unanimously amid thunderous cheers. The delegates' session came to an end with the closing speech by Comrade A. K. Gopalan. He said, he was not well before he reached Borsul to attend the 20th Session and had with him a number of medicines provided to him by the doctor at Calcutta. But the best medicine he had was from the delegates—the reports they presented on the state of the AIKS organization in the States. These, as well as the consciousness about the historical responsibility of the AIKS in this critical phase of our history had enthused him tremendously. He exhorted on them to go back to their village, spread the message of this 20th Session and successfully implement the tasks the AIKS has laid down.

The first marchers were naturally from different parts of Burdwan district itself—two remarkable exceptions being a demonstration from near Pakur and another from Purnea, both in Bihar, that also reached very early in the morning. The latter two were composed mostly of *bataidars* (sharecroppers) and agricultural workers with a number of women among them. They had long lathis, some of them with bundles containing dry provisions, some others carried Red Flags and all of them lustily responded to the slogans. Women's voices rang out in sharp contrast to the deep-throated shoutings of their menfolks. In less than the time it takes one to study them, they were off the field of one's vision, and their place taken by another procession equally militant and as eager to reach the ground as early as possible from Bhandarhati (Hooghly district) shouting full-throated

slogans in Bengali. Such went on and on, yet every new one was different from the one preceding it.

As the morning progressed towards noon, there was almost no place vacant in the field and harassed volunteers were at a loss to answer anxious questions about whether accommodations could be had for those who were still arriving.

The processionists were mostly agricultural workers and poor peasants. "A significant departure from all the Kisan-Sabha demonstrations I have seen so far," that was how one who has seen earlier sessions described it. He was visibly impressed as were the thousands and thousands who thronged the two sides of the road. They were shouting slogans—you could hear all the shades of intonations of all the West Bengal districts in them. Comrade A. K. Gopalan likened the gathering at the AIKS Session in his speech later at the open rally as one representing the whole of India—"from the Himalayas in the North to Kanyakumari in the South". He said it figuratively, but it was a fact—at least so far as West Bengal was concerned, for the participants included peasants from all the northern districts of West Bengal to Bhangar, Kultali, Jainagar and Kakdwip in the south of 24-Parganas bordering the Bay of Bengal. "A token detachment of 20 has come from Pathar Pratima," said a kisan leader almost apologetically.

Marching in step with them were white-scarved youth—members of the Democratic Youth Federation, middle-class employees, women shouting slogans that the whole of Bengal would be on fire if one peasant was killed during the coming harvesting season—veins glistening with sweat standing out against their thin necks, red-shirted colliery workers,—hailing mostly from Bihar and U.P., their faces and shirts showing the inevitable presence of omnipresent coal-dust. There were festoons with the names of a number of trade unions—textile, motor transport, electric, pharmaceutical, engineering, stevedore. There were students who could be picked out from their occasional slogan-shoutings in English—probably for the benefit of delegates from other States.

By two-thirty in the afternoon there was no more space in the ground. We became apprehensive: we did not want to be left out. We go through a different route to avoid the rush. Here the condition is no better. We had literally to wade our way through the sea of humanity to the ground. Some among our colleagues had a little vigour still left and they mounted the 20 ft. high rostrum to have a panoramic view of the gathering. Meanwhile, volunteers were seen clearing the nearby spaces and felling trees to accommodate some more people.

How many people are there?—this was a question being asked everywhere. I will not hazard a guess. According to a PTI report, there were five lakh people there, Comrade Harekrishna Konar said it was the biggest ever gathering in rural Bengal. A bourgeois Bengali paper went one better and termed it as the biggest event in the whole of rural India. Comrade A. K. Gopalan said there were five to six lakhs of people. It will, however, not be any exaggeration to put it at one million, since the people who attended equalled those who could not go anywhere within three miles of the meeting place. There were no eatables in any shop within a radius of ten miles from the place, all brands of cigarettes were sold out to the last packet, even *panwallas* had to politely disappoint their late customers, and to top it all, there were no printed tickets at the Howrah Station for Saktigarh after a time and hand-written official slips were given to commuters by train.

Kumudia Devi was one of the 50 women workers who came there at the open session all the way from Purulia. they all work in the fields as well as in the lac factories. Asked why she took the trouble to come there, she very simply replied: "There is an air of change everywhere. We came here to learn more about it". The Santal adivasi women from Mashagram in Burdwan District were very bashful and none would tell us their names. But when the same question was asked, they replied that they came to hear their leaders. The woman agricultural worker who seemed to be the leader of the 70 and odd women workers from Pandua in Hooghly district and who was very zealously guarding the rolled-up festoon of the Mahila Samiti was forthright in her

statement: "We worked with out menfolks on the occupied land where the stalk-heads have started taking the golden tint. We came to learn from our leaders here what we should do to safeguard the harvest we have grown".

Earlier, on October 30, veteran Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad after hoisting the hammer-and-sickle Red Flag, said, "I am very happy that I could avail of the honour you bestowed on me to hoist the Red Flag at this Session of the AIKS in this state of my health in this my eightyfirst year". The AIKS President A. K. Gopalan garlanded the Martyr's Column with the delegates, visitors and local people forming a square with the leaders in the middle.

Thus was inaugurated the 20th Session of the All-India Kisan Sabha at Tarapada Nagar in Borsul village near Saktigarh, some 10 km. from Burdwan town, West Bengal. The square reverberated as twenty crackers were burst to herald the opening of this historic Session.

Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad went on: "Today I am reminded of those days 33 years ago when late in June 1936 I came out of jail. I found that the Bengal section of the AIKS was in the process of being formed. I immediately joined them. I am eightyone now, but the AIKS is only thirty-three—in full youth. You still have to go a long way to attain the liberation of the toiling masses through forging of an alliance of the working class and the peasantry. I shall not be alive to see those days. I wish you all well".

The Delegates' Session began later in evening with Comrade Benoy Konar welcoming the delegates on behalf of the Reception Committee and Comrade A. K. Gopalan delivering his Presidential Address. Three resolutions—Condolence, Martyrs and paying homage to Ho Chi Minh—were adopted by the Session with the delegates all standing.

General Secretary, Comrade Harekrishna Konar, then presented his Report.

Simultaneously with the Delegates' Session a mass rally was held a little to the west of the square where the Conference Pandal was constructed on the occasion of the Anti-Imperialist

Solidarity Day—which was how the first day of the Conference was designated by the Preparatory Committee—where Comrades Promod Dasgupta, Harkishan Singh Surjeet, Addullah Rasul and Suhrid Mallik Choudhuri spoke. Later the dramatic unit of the Sen-Raleigh Workers' Union staged Rabindranath Tagore's "Shasti" (Punishment) which ended late in the night.

The whole length of the Grand Trunk Road from where Burdwan district begins were decorated with a number of arches and that portion of the road which branches off from the G.T. Road leading to Borsul village wore a festive look with colourful posters, buntings, arches, streamers of small paper red flags across; streaming down this road were people throughout the day in multi-coloured garments, red naturally dominating. The square in front of the Conference Pandal hummed with people, women being predominant in this crowd of sightseers. The handicraft stalls, the book stalls, the poster exhibition on the struggles of the Indian kisans—arranged by the Painters' Front. Calcutta, whose artists, incidentally, colourfully decorated the whole area and the roads, the tea and refreshment stalls, the vendors of snacks and *pan*, the balloon-wallas—everything lent the atmosphere an air of a festival.

While the festive mood prevailed outside, 449 delegates, 170 visitors and 50 fraternal delegates showed a remarkable receptivity and single-mindedness, particularly noted when discussing the General Secretary's Report. Delegates from 15 States took part in the discussion.

Every single one of them expressed agreement with the formulations made in the Report and enumerating their own experience gained in the particular conditions of their own State, wanted to enrich the formulations with still further concrete facts. Comrade Harekrishna Konar, replying to and rounding off the debate, expressed his satisfaction over the fact that the Conference was unanimously agreed with the formulations, particularly with regard to the nature of the crisis, the nature of the tasks ahead as followed from these formulations, the organizational weaknesses coupled with a strong desire to

overcome them. He assured the delegates that their suggestions would be incorporated when finalizing the Report.

He also said that it was clear from the speeches and reports that we are being able to appreciate and shoulder to a great extent the historical tasks devolved on us in the background of attack of the ruling classes as well as that of dogmatism and reformism.

The conference hall burst out into an applause as the message of greetings from the Secretary, Central Committee of the Agricultural Workers' Union of the USSR was read in the evening of the second day's session. The message mentioned that the Soviet agricultural workers were keenly watching the developments in India as well as how the agricultural workers here were fighting for their wages and democratic rights, etc.

The delegations split themselves into five commissions on the morning of November 1, 1969 to discuss certain issues which were very much pressing from the point of view of the AIKS in the changed conditions of the country since the last session held at Madurai. These were: land reforms, agricultural labour, taxation, prices and rural indebtedness. Each of the issue was weighed in the background of the situation obtaining in the States and debated by the delegates. The findings of these five commissions were presented to the general body of the delegates, where they were debated again, amended where necessary and adopted.

Holding Red Flag, A Crime Under "Communist"—Led Government*

E.M.S. Namboodiripad

The "Communist" led Government of Kerala has come out in its true colours. It has surpassed all previous administrations—the British, the Princely, the Congress—in its brutal suppression of political agitations by Opposition parties and economic struggles waged by the working people.

November 1969, the first month of the new "Communist"-led regime, witnessed the unprecedented lock-up tortures at Muthukulam in Alleppey district, where the coir workers are engaged in the struggle for the realisation of a modest increase in their wages and against the mechanization of coir-making. Their employers had tried their level best to break the morale of the fighting workers. As is usual in such struggles, they employed goondas to attack and terrorize the workers. When these tactics failed, they persuaded the Government to use its police machinery. A large number of Special Armed Police (SAP) were posted in the area in newly set-up camps.

Sap Misbehaves with Women

This became a source of continuous harassment not only to the fighting workers and their families, but also to the common people who are unconnected with the coir workers' struggles. A few incidents took place in which some SAP men behaved rudely and indecently to the woman passing along the village road, as well as at the local pond where woman were bathing. The owner of the adjoining tea-shop politely pointed out to them that such behaviour was unbecoming of decent men. This infuriated the

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men concerned who seized the man, took him to the police outpost, and subjected him to inhuman tortures within the lock-up.

This, however, was not a solitary incident. Nor was the torture against him the worst. The most bestial torture was reserved for the local leader of the CPI(M), Comrade P.R. Vasu. A Communist of 25 years' standing, he is the most influential leader of the CPI(M) in the area and naturally was the leader of the fighting coir workers. He was also seized, taken to the police station and subjected to such inhuman tortures that I was reminded of the Nazi concentration camps—the site of which in one place, Sachsenhausen, with all instruments of torture preserved as a museum, I had occasion to see during my recent stay in the GDR.

Not A Drop of Tear Then

It was with deep personal sorrow as well as pride as a Communist that I listened to Comrade Vasu declare at a meeting organised in his village to receive him and other three comrades on their discharge from hospital:

"When they started torturing me, I had a moment's doubt whether I should retaliate. (If he had done it, a few of his torturers would have been maimed and incapacitated for life; so powerful is he in physique-E.M.S.N.) After a few moments' consideration, I decided, (rightly or wrongly, it is for you to decide now) that I should not resist but suffer the torture." After describing in detail how he was beaten up by two policemen standing on either side and kicked from the front by the Sub-Inspector of Police, "a boy young enough to be my son" and so on, he said:

"I suffered all this torture and, as becomes a true Communist, did not allow a drop of tear to fall out of my eyes. But, when a few days later in the hospital I read in the JANAYUGAM (the Right Communist daily, a report that I went to attack the police station, tears dropped out of my eyes. I remembered the days when, at the call of the then Secretary of the Communist Party, Sri Achutha Menon, I as the Local Committee secretary of the Party participated in the ONE-LAKH fund campaign for the JANAYUGAM. Our Local Committee could not fulfil the quota

through ordinary means and, therefore, organized a squad for collecting frogs which had good market in those days. Through this and other means we overfulfilled our quota and got a shield since our Committee had collected the maximum amount in the State. The very Achutha Menon who gave us the shield then is now the head of the Government whose police has tortured me like this. And the very JANAYUGAM for which we did this has put out such an atrociously false story against me. That was why the tears, which did not fall out of my eyes during the lock-up torture, did fall now."

Torture for Holding Red Flag

Comrade Vasu revealed that one of the questions with which he was tortured was, "Will you now stop holding the Red Flag with the hand?" Such a question for such tortures under a regime supposedly headed by a "Communist"!

Although one of the most brutal, the torture done to Comrade Vasu is not an isolated incident. Among the comrades from the same village, including the tea-shop owner referred to above, there was also Comrade Bhaskaram Vaidyar from the neighbouring village. His "Crime" was that he helped the agricultural labourers in his village in their struggles. One after another, representatives of mass organizations—coir workers, agricultural labourers, youth and students' organizations, women's organization and so on—went up the platform and garlanded the heroes who, through their ordeal, confirmed the eternal truth that real Communists may be beaten but will not bend.

Worst Lock-out Torture

On the following day, I had the same experience at Vaikkom in Kottayam district where a large crowd had collected to express their indignation against the brutal lathi-charges and lock up beatings indulged in by the police on December 1, the day fixed by the CPI(M) to protest against the continuance of a Ministry which does not enjoy the confidence of the Legislature, not to speak of the confidence of the people of the State. Here, too, as

Comrade K.K. Joseph revealed in his speech at the protest meeting, the police indulged in the worst form of lock-up torture. For hours together, the torture went on not only against those who picketed the Government offices on December 1, but also against those who went to see them in the police lock-up or in the hospital, those who sent them food and medicine, etc; among these latter are persons who are friends or relatives of the CPI (Marxist) comrades but themselves belong to such parties as the Congress, Kerala Congress and so on. Never in the history of Vaikom have people seen such bestial torture.

Rightists not to be Seen

The Right Communists who had played this despicable role in this tragic story have made themselves scarce. "They have gone underground" said one comrade, "and it will be a problem for us how to restrain our boys when these fellows come out. We would, however, do our best to educate our boys on the damage that will follow any provocative action."

As at Muthukulam, here, too, I found the comrades fully conscious that the only way to beat back the police and goonda attacks is to build up the organization. Show the class enemy that he cannot cow the common people down and, in the process, rouse the democratic consciousness of all good men and women. Strengthening the working people's struggles and drawing larger numbers of people into these struggles is the surest way of beating back the landlord-bourgeois regime masquerading under the cover of a "Communist"led Ministry.

Defeatism in Ranks of Ministerialists

Meanwhile, a sense of frustration and defeatism is gripping the ranks of the ministerialists. Gone are the days when the Right Communists were claiming that their Ministry do not require the support of the Congress, since they expected the support of the SSP as a party, and or a sizable number of defections from the CPI(M). Achutha Menon himself in his latest pronouncements does not claim the support of the SSP as a party. He concedes that this party is opposed to his Government. His claim is only that he

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can expect one or two SSP MLAs to defect from their party and support him. As for the CPI(M), he does not claim a single MLA from our Party. And yet he claims he can continue to rule, since "it is not likely that the Congress will oppose my Government which is carrying out popular measures". In other words, he bases his Ministry on the 'benevolent neutrality' of the Congress whenever there is a division in the Legislature, with the mini-front Kerala Congress on one side and the Opposition including the CPI(M) on the other.

The Congress Split and The Class Differentiation Thesis of The Right Communists*

M. Basavapunnaiah

The inner-party conflict in the ruling Congress party which had set in following the Fourth General Elections of 1967 and got further intensified after the mid-term elections during the first quarter of 1969, has now finally ended up in a split.

Two Congresses led by two wings of the leadership, popularly called the Syndicate and the Indicate, have clearly emerged. The wing led by the Indicate is recognized as the official Congress party in Parliament since it commands a two-thirds majority in the Congress Parliamentary Party while the Syndicate is being named as the Congress (Organisation).

It is now clear that a right-royal battle is on between both the Congress wings, the Syndicate attempting to perpetuate its hold on the party organisation while the Indicate is feverishly attempting to capture it. Despite all the appeals for unity talks and compromises by the spokesmen of both the camps, things are heading for a split from top to bottom, sparing no State or Union Territory from this division and split. The extraordinary AICC that met at Delhi has put a seal on this process.

The Way the Issue is Posed

The entire Press and all the political parties in the country are debating as to what the nature of this split is and what the issues that are involved in it.

The Press which is mostly controlled by the big capitalists is deeply distressed over the Congress split and is anxiously urging

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upon both the sections to compromise and unite. It characterizes the split as a power struggle between rival personalities and dismisses claims that there are ideological and programmatic differences between the two. In the beginning most of the monopolist-controlled Press actively supported the Syndicate, though of late it is either tending to be neutral or attempting to veer round to the Indicate which holds power at the Centre.

It is also interesting to note that some of the U.S. and British dailies have been writing comments in support of Smt. Indira Gandhi and her professed new drive for revitalizing the Congress party and reinvigorating its Government. Equally interesting is the attitude of the Soviet and Chinese Press, the former openly denouncing the Syndicate and upholding the Indicate, while the latter denounces and curses both as imperialist stooges.

The leaders of the Syndicate and their allies have been putting the entire blame on Smt. Indira Gandhi and her allies, characterizing the struggle as one thrust on the party by the power-crazy group of Smt. Gandhi. They rejected the view that there are ideological and policy conflicts between the two as asserted by Smt. Indira Gandhi's wing and also accuse her of leaning on the support of the communists and their fellow-travellers. They also argue that they are as much democratic and socialistic as Smt. Indira Gandhi and her associates are, and it is utterly foul on her part to lay the blame on the shoulders of the Syndicate for the failures of the Congress Government, since she was holding the post of Prime Minister during the last four years. They even refute the charge of Smt. Indira Gandhi that they are allying with Jana Sangh and Swatantra, though their alliance is patent to all who have eyes to see.

Stand of Other Parties

The leaders of parties such as the PSP and SSP are confused and confounded over the nature and character of the Congress split, are sharply divided among themselves. The majority of the leaders of both these parties assert that it is a factional quarrel between the two wings of the Congress. But, curiously enough, they decided to vote in favour of the Syndicate's censure motion

against Indira Gandhi's Government. The utter confusion and crisis that have gripped these two parties is demonstrated in their voting on the censure motion. Only seven out of the seventeen MPs of the PSP voted for the motion, one voted against and nine absented themselves! In the SSP only twelve voted in favour of the motion, while the rest of the five absented themselves! The confusion and crisis in these parties are not accidental, they betray their bankrupt outlook on foreign policy and their hardened anti-communist prejudices.

Several other State-based political parties and groups, which are either breakaway groups from the Congress or parties and groups with closer class affinity with the Congress party but had joined the anti-Congress fronts in 1967 under political compulsions and exigencies, have begun to see the Congress split as a new opportunity opened to them to line up behind one or the other wing of the Congress, preferably the wing led by Smt. Indira Gandhi. Many of these parties and groups, as being vividly demonstrated in Kerala and West Bengal, are getting panicky at the sight of advancing and intensifying class struggle, and are eager to ally with Indira Gandhi's Congress and dissociate with the CPI(M) which occupies the leading position in these fronts and takes a forthright stand in support of the struggling workers, peasants and toiling middle classes.

Smt. Indira Gandhi and her wing of the Congress are busy propagating that the causes for the Congress crisis and split are ideological and programmatic. They assert that they stand for secularism, democracy and socialism while accusing their opponents in the Congress of defending the status quo, conservatism, reaction, alliance with communalism and opposition to socialism. They appeal to the breakaway parties and groups either to rejoin the Congress to rejuvenate it or rally behind them to implement the programme of the promised 'new deal'. They exhort the people to have faith in the Congress party since they are going to rebuild the Congress and restore its lost glory.

Contribution of Right Communists

Then comes the Right Communist Party with its own unique contribution regarding the class nature and character of the Congress split. It is advocating the thesis that the split in the Congress is a division between those who represent the monopolists on the one hand and those who represent the anti-monopolists on the other. It is argued that a class differentiation among the Indian capitalist class has taken place, the Syndicate representing the big capitalists and the Indicate representing the non big capitalists. Since the Syndicate represents reactionary forces, the Right Communists conclude that the Indicate, automatically, represents the progressive forces. A slanderous propaganda is unleashed against the Communist Party of India (Marxist) denouncing its political line as opportunist, since the CPI(M) rejects the Right Communist thesis of class differentiation in the bourgeoisie as arrant nonsense and yet is lending its critical support to the Indicate in its fight against the Syndicate.

Further they are feverishly working to break up the anti-Congress fronts, the only two existing ones in Kerala and West Bengal after disrupting all such fronts in other States during the 1968-69 period. They have already succeeded in doing it in Kerala and are busy at it in West Bengal. They are fanatically attempting at the formation of a front with the Indicate wing of the Congress, and openly brag that they were the first to discover the progressive wing in the Congress, a wing with which the so-called National Democratic Front should be forged and a National Democratic Government formed.

They are directing their main fire and attack against the CPI(M) as they see in it the main stumbling block to their treacherous line of class collaboration and united front with the Indicate wing of the Congress. The reactionary forces, including the Congress leadership, are jubilantly supporting the revisionist attacks on the CPI(M) since it is for such a political line that they have been working during the last several years without much success, but now they have secured an effective agency in the Right Communist Party. If earlier the Right Communist leaders,

for years, were acting as the trumpeters and buglers of the late Jawaharlal Nehru's Government for its progressivism and socialism, they have once again found the same in his daughter Smt. Indira Gandhi, and all this under the pretext of supporting and allying with the so-called progressive and non big national bourgeoisie for achieving the 'National Democratic Revolution' and in the name of Marxist-Leninist tactics. Hence this entire treacherous political line of the revisionists need a thorough exposure.

Marxist-Leninist Concept of Class Differentiation and Its Revisionist Distortion

A Marxist-Leninist analysis and assessment of the Indian capitalist class, it is true, admits that this class is composed of two broad sections, the monopolists and the non-monopolists. It also holds that the capitalist class, situated as it is in an underdeveloped, backward and newly liberated country as ours, is neither in a position to complete the tasks of the democratic revolution and speedily industrialise the country nor capable of maintaining its class unity under conditions of severely restricted and crisis-ridden capitalist development.

Further, Marxist-Leninists believe that the capitalist path of development, embarked upon by the Indian bourgeoisie, a path of development in alliance with landlordism and in collaboration with foreign monopoly capital, is bound to end in a fiasco, and this in turn would lead to further intensification and aggravation of the conflicts and contradictions between the big bourgeoisie and its landlord allies and foreign collaborators on the one hand and the non-big bourgeoisie and the people on the other. They also visualize the possibility of the non-big bourgeoisie breaking away with their big bourgeois class brothers, and becoming allies of the working class in the stage of the revolution when it is directed against feudalism, foreign imperialism and native monopoly capitalism. Communists make no secret of this class alliance and they openly include it in their party programme.

Our dispute with the revisionists, however, is not over this theoretical postulate that at a certain stage of development of the revolutionary movement there is a possibility of the non-big bourgeoisie allying with the working class, but in concretely assessing and analysing such a development, and in determining how and when such a class differentiation actually takes place. Any error in this regard is fraught with damaging consequences for the cause of the working class, either leading to the right-opportunist mistake of becoming the camp-follower of the bourgeoisie or landing into the Left sectarian blunder of isolating itself from possible allies in the revolution.

Whom does Congress Represent?

Before ascertaining whether the present split in the Congress party is a split between the big bourgeois and non-big bourgeois wings of the class or not, the first pertinent question to be raised is, what classes and strata are represented by the Congress party. The Right Communists who are bragging about the class differentiation in the Indian bourgeoisie and slandering the CPI(M) with base accusations of sectarianism and opportunism have been delightfully vague on the question, they dare not say what exactly the class character and composition of the Congress party is. These pseudo communists, till now have been proclaiming from the house-tops that the present Congress party neither represents the big capitalists nor the landlords, but it represents the 'national bourgeoisie'. When cornered with the question as to what place the monopolists and landlords occupy in the Congress they deceitfully answer that there is powerful big bourgeois influence over the Congress party and Government and the Congress party and Government permit landlords in the State Cabinets!

Strangely enough, the very same Right Communists are now busy selling the thesis that the Congress split denotes a split between the monopolists and anti-monopolists. May we ask these revisionist pundits, where come the monopolists in the Congress party and Government to split away, when according to them they

are neither in the Congress party nor are holding leading positions in it? If they are to maintain that the Syndicate leaders and associates are the representatives of the monopolists, does it not refute their thesis that monopolist representatives are not in the leadership of the Congress party and its Government? Or do they maintain that these Syndicate leaders have, all of a sudden, transformed themselves into agents of the monopolists from representatives of the 'national bourgeoisie'? It is for the Right Communists to explain this and for the people to pillory them for their political chicanery.

CPI(M)'s Characterization

But the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has been consistently maintaining that the Congress party and its Government, by its class character, represents the bourgeois landlord classes and is led by the big bourgeoisie. It has also been stating that the Congress combine of big and non-big bourgeoisie and landlords will have to be broken up, and the non-big bourgeoisie will have to be won as an ally of the proletariat in the People's Democratic Revolution, isolating the big bourgeoisie and its landlord allies, both from the mass of the people as well as their non-big bourgeois brethren. Accordingly, the CPI(M) in its Programme assures protection to the non-big bourgeoisie in the People's Democratic Revolution and agrees to forge a united front and Government with it while aiming only at the elimination of monopoly capital, landlordism and foreign monopoly capital. Here again, the revisionists resort to the lying propaganda that the CPI(M) does not believe in alliance with the non big bourgeoisie and does not admit that this section is still continuing in the Congress party and Government.

In pursuance of the same lying propaganda and political slander, the Right Communists say that the CPI(M)'s talk of alliance with the non-big bourgeoisie is only formal and nominal and it does not really believe in it. As proof of this they cite our refusal to ally with the Indicate wing of the Congress, a refusal which, according to them, amounts to rejection of alliance with the non-big bourgeoisie!

The CPI(M) rejects this revisionist thesis, as it neither believes that the Congress split is a split between the big and non-big bourgeois wings, nor is it prepared to accept that the wing led by Smt. Indira Gandhi's leadership represents the anti-monopolists, leave alone the prattle about so-called class differentiation among the Indian capitalists.

Class Differentiation—When and How?

Let us, for the benefit of our revisionist theoreticians and victims of their pseudo-Marxism, reiterate what the Marxist-Leninist concept of class differentiation in the bourgeoisie means and when it takes place. Such a differentiation does not take place on our request and desire but only under certain definite economic-political conditions and situations. It takes place when the economic-political crisis deepens and the non big bourgeoisie is severely hit by the monopolists; it takes place under conditions when the working class and its revolutionary Communist Party assert themselves as such a serious organized political force on the arena as to inspire confidence and courage among the non-big bourgeoisie to break away with the monopolists and ally with the working class; in short, it takes place in a revolutionary or near-revolutionary situation where the ruling classes can no more rule in the old way and the people can no more tolerate the plight to which they are reduced under bourgeois-landlord rule.

The political class differentiation does not take place, simply, because conflicts and contradictions exist between the big and non-big wings of the capitalist class, or because the non-big bourgeoisie, on the basis of a Marxist Leninist class analysis, is given a place in the united front for struggle against the big capitalists, foreign monopolists and the landlords. Marxist-Leninists assert that in a People's Democratic Revolution an alliance of workers, peasants, petty-bourgeoisie and the non-big bourgeoisie will emerge. That does not automatically mean that all these classes and strata are already won over politically by the working class and its allies. It only means that objectively these classes are interested in such an alliance and in such a revolution.

Until and unless all these are politically won over to the alliance of the working class, by isolating the big bourgeoisie and landlords, and are freed from their political-ideological influence, there cannot be any materialization of such an alliance. This is ABC of politics and elementary Marxism.

Ignoring this truth, it has become a habit for the Right Communists to talk of political differentiation of non-big bourgeoisie from the monopolists and advocate collaboration with one or the other faction of the bourgeoisie.

Above all, there is one important factor which no communist can afford to ignore while discussing the issue of alliance and united fronts between the working class and non-big bourgeoisie. It should be always remembered that the non-big capitalists too, as a class, by their very disposition, is hostile to the working class and carry with it enough anti-communist prejudices. It would outlive these anti-working class and anti-communist prejudices only in the hour of a dire crisis for it, and when it finds no other alternative to defend its interests except in alliance with the working class. Do the revisionists dare say that such a situation has come into existence at the present stage of development of the economic-political crisis in our country?

In defence of their bankrupt thesis of class differentiation the Right Communists cite the CPI(M)'s critical support to the Indicate in its fight against the Syndicate, and ask the question: Why is the CPI(M) supporting the Indicate if it is not progressive and anti-monopolist? Further, they demagogically assert that they had been always speaking about the progressive wing in the Congress which has now been proved by the emergence of the Indicate whereas the CPI(M) which was rejecting the existence of any progressives inside the Congress party has now chosen, opportunistically to support the Indicate. Our poor revisionists do not and cannot understand the simple truth that splits in the bourgeois landlord political party, such as the Congress, need not always be between the progressive and reactionary wings or between the monopolists and anti-monopolists, but do also occur over a number of other questions that concern the class rule of the exploiters.

How Does the CPI(M) Understand the Congress Split?

Let me at the outset make it perfectly clear that the CPI(M) does neither dismiss the present Congress in fight and split as a factional quarrel between personalities for power as the Syndicate leaders are ascribing to their opponents, nor is it prepared to be deceived into the belief that it is a struggle over programmes and ideologies as the Indicate is presenting its case. The claims and counter-claims by both the wings about socialist objectives etc., are of course, a hoax, and this is amply proved during the last twenty-two years of Congress rule which has fattened the big capitalists and landlords and fleeced the common people.

The first thing to understand regarding the nature of the split is that it is taking place in the background of a steadily deepening economic crisis, a crisis that was brought about by two decades of pro-monopolist, pro-landlord, pro-imperialist economic policies pursued by the Congress rulers.

The second vital point to be noted is that the split is taking place in the background of a political crisis, a crisis that has set in immediately following the General Elections of 1967 and got further aggravated after the mid-term elections of 1969. The Congress party not only lost monopoly control over several States, but was also faced with the serious threat to its future as the premier political party of the capitalists and landlords in the country.

Is it any wonder, then, that serious questions of how to arrest the rising tide of mass discontent against Congress rule, how to defend the Congress party's political power, how to safeguard its future, etc., are sharply posed before the Congress leaders? In fact, these are the crucial questions around which the whole conflict has grown, and two sharply opposed lines have crystallized.

Class Essence of the Two Lines

What are these opposing political lines and what is their class essence?

The wing led by the Syndicate has come to the conclusion that the Congress party, on its own, cannot face this economic-

political crisis, that it will have to ally and agree to form coalition Governments at the Centre as well as in the States with akin-minded parties such as the Jana Sangh and Swatantra, that the internal policies of the Government need to be shifted further to the Right, giving more concessions to big capitalists and their foreign collaborators, and that concerted attacks should be launched against the rising struggles of the workers, peasants and other toiling middle classes, directing the main fire against the CPI(M) and other political parties who loyally stand by the toiling millions. Shades apart, this is the substance of the line.

The other wing led by Smt. Indira Gandhi is opposed to the above line of the Syndicate. It is of the view that the political line propounded by the Syndicate, instead of staying off the crisis and saving the Congress rule from its impending doom, is the surest and shortest road to ruin; it argues that the proposed alliance with the Jana Sangh and Swatantra would destroy the secular image of the Congress and alienate it from the Muslim minority and oppressed castes and communities; it says that the proposed further shift of policies to the Right would lead to increasing isolation of the Government from the people at home and from several powerful friendly countries abroad; it also points out that the present policies and practices have not only alienated the masses from the Congress but also become a source of serious discontent among the non-big bourgeois sections, and any more shift to the Right would lead to weakening class unity; and it advocates policies such as bank nationalization and modifications in the industrial licensing policy, etc., in order to impose certain curbs on the profit-greed of the monopolists and to appease the non-big capitalists.

But both the lines advocated by the two wings of the Congress are essentially class lines of the bourgeois-landlord party, centring around the issue of class power and its defence. To call one line reactionary and the other line progressive is oversimplification par excellence, and objectively serves the ruling classes in shielding the class character of the conflict and duping the common people with the illusion that one line upholds the monopolists while the opposing line is anti-monopolist. To

characterize the Syndicate as avowed reaction, representing the big capitalists, landlords and foreign monopoly capital is absolutely correct, but to describe the Indicate as anti-monopolist, anti-landlord and anti-imperialist is false, intended to cheat the masses. The Indicate's line is not an *alternative* class line to the Syndicate's line, but only a *variant* of the same bourgeoisie-landlord line. The only alternative to the bourgeois line can only be the proletarian line, the line of uncompromising opposition and hostility to Big Business, landlordism and foreign monopoly capitalism.

Representatives of Same Class

A cursory look at both the wings of the Congress party, the opposition of their leaders and their long past, the manner in which they are linked with the vested interests at every level, both in party organization and governmental set up, and the entire experience during the last twenty-two years will convince every honest person that all of them are a dedicated lot of bourgeois representatives, hostile to the cause of the common people—workers, peasants and the toiling middle classes. As far as the declarations and proclamations of the two wings are concerned, every politically-conscious worker is aware that they are nothing but deceitful demagogy. Smt. Indira Gandhi who is accusing her opponents with the charge of conservatism, defence of status quo, etc., is in fact, arguing for status quo, of the late Nehru's so-called neutral or middle path, neither "traditional capitalism" nor "Marxian Communism", but bogus socialism.

The Right Communists ask us: Why then is the CPI(M) lending its support to Indira Gandhi's Government, if she represents neither progressives nor anti-monopolists, and why choose to back one bourgeois line against another bourgeois line?

We take pity at their plight and would make an effort to enlighten them. The present conflict in the ruling Congress party and the political situation prevailing in the country are not such as to pose the alternative of choosing between the reactionary bourgeois line and the revolutionary proletarian line. If the proletarian revolutionary movement had become that strong and

powerful to frontally challenge the bourgeois-landlord rule and overthrow it, the proletarian revolutionary party, certainly, should issue such a call for the overthrow of both the Syndicate and the Indicate together. But when the revolutionary working class movement has not attained that strength and that degree of maturity, and when it is faced with a situation like the one we are facing today, it will have to examine whether there is anything which deserves its conditional and critical support against something still worse and harmful. It is in that context that the CPI(M) has declared its unconcealed opposition and hostility to the Syndicate and all it stands for, while offering support to the Indicate in its struggle against the Syndicate and every progressive measure in that direction, without giving any good conduct certificates to the Indicate that it is either 'progressive' or 'anti-monopolist' or trotting out false theories of 'class differentiation' among the Indian bourgeoisie.

Lenin's Observation

Since our revisionists, too, have not yet stopped speaking in the name of Marxism and Leninism we would cite a passage from Lenin which may be of some help to enlighten them. In the early twenties of this century when the British Communists were arguing that the conservative Lloyd George as well as Labour Party's Henderson were equally reactionary and neither deserved any support by the Communist Party, Lenin observed: 'It is true that the Hendersons, the Clyneses, the Macdonalds and the Snowdens are hopelessly reactionary. It is equally true that they want to assume power (though they prefer a coalition with the bourgeoisie), that they old want to 'rule' along the bourgeois lines, and that when they are in power they will certainly behave like the Scheidemanns and Noskes. All that is true. *But it does not at all follow that to support them means treachery to the revolution; what does follow is that, in the interests of the revolution, working class revolutionaries should give these gentlemen a certain amount of parliamentary support*'. (Lenin, *'Left'-wing Communism*, Collected Works, Page 81—Emphasis added)

We hope that our revisionists would understand that the support of the CPI(M) to Smt. Indira Gandhi's wing against the Syndicate wing of the Congress is somewhat on lines cited above. Our denunciation of the revisionist line as treachery to the working class does not arise from the support declared by them to the Indicate against the Syndicate. We denounce it as treachery because the Right Communists, like drummer-boys of the Indicate, are propagating that it represents 'progressives' and 'anti-monopolists' and hence advocate a united front with it and even aim at forming a Government under its leadership. Such a line, instead of assisting the working class, breeds illusions among the working class and condemns it as the camp-follower of the bourgeoisie.

We denounce the Right Communists because in the name of opposing the Syndicate and supporting the Indicate, they are out to disrupt the anti-Congress United Fronts in Kerala and West Bengal and they are concentrating their main fire and attack on the CPI(M), something which the Syndicate has been advocating for years, and it is now actually backing the Right Communists in this unholy mission and is extremely jubilant about their counter-revolutionary performance in Kerala.

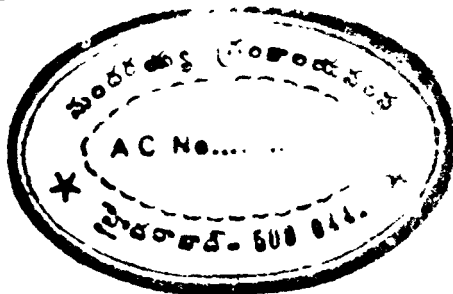
Why Critical Support?

While concluding this topic we cannot ignore another type of criticism by some radical minded persons who hate the Congress party and its reactionary performances, and do not relish the idea of distinguishing between the two wings of the Congress. They want our Party to stand aloof cursing both as reactionary and counter-revolutionary. With due respect to their militant anti-Congress sentiments, we beg to differ with them, since the political line they are suggesting is neither good politics nor really revolutionary tactics.

Lenin has the following to observe, which may help such critics to see their mistake when they ask us the question as to what the difference is between the Syndicate and Indicate and why the CPI(M) should lend its critical support to the Indicate in its struggle against the Syndicate: "The differences between the

Churchills and Lloyd Georges with insignificant national distinctions, these political types exist in all countries—on the one hand, and between the Hendersons and the Lloyd Georges on the other are quite minor and unimportant from the standpoint of pure (i.e., abstract) Communism that has not yet matured to the stage of practical political action by the masses. However, from the standpoint of this practical action by the masses, these differences are most important. To take due account of these differences, and to determine the moment when the inevitable conflicts between these 'friends' which weaken and enfeeble *all the 'friends' taken together*, will have come to a head—that is the concern, the task of a Communist who wants to be not merely a class conscious and convinced propagandist of ideas, but a practical leader of the masses in the revolution. It is necessary to link the strictest devotion to the ideas of communism with the ability to effect all the necessary practical compromises, tactics, conciliatory manoeuvres, zig-zags, retreats and so on, in order to speed up the achievement . . . etc.' (Lenin, *'Left' wing Communism*, Collected Works, Vol. 31, pp.-94 95)

Nothing more need be added to explain why the CPI(M) is lending its critical support to Smt. Indira Gandhi's wing and what its objectives and aims are in giving such support. We hope that our critics will ponder over all this and appreciate the principled and revolutionary stand of the CPI(M) on the present Congress crisis and split.



Historic Decision of Kerala Peasantry*

3-Lakh Demonstration, Half-a-Million Rally

The Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill adopted by the Kerala Legislative Assembly before the U.F. Government under Comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad's leadership was subverted by betrayers will be considered to have come into force from January 1, 1970, and peasants and occupants of homesteads will implement the provisions of the Bill whatever the Government does or does not do that is the historic declaration of the Conference of representatives of peasants and agricultural labourers held in Karivelloor-Kavumbai Nagar in Punnapra in Alleppey on December 13 and 14.

Karivelloor Kavumbai—two sacred names in the history of Kerala's kisan movement when the blood of the early kisan martyrs had dyed the land red. It was befitting that the call for beginning the most powerful and arduous struggle for the ending of landlordism in the State was given from the rostrum of Karivelloor Kavumbai Nagar, from the spot immortalized by the heroes of Punnapra Vayalar

The peasants and agricultural workers of Kerala have been eagerly waiting such a call—to take what is theirs with their own organized might.

Tremendous Response

Every one of the participants of the three kisan jathas which covered the entire State in preparation for this conference had seen this during the campaign and narrated it at the conference.

*Published in "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY" Calcutta December 21 1969

The Mighty response which they received was something unprecedented. The jatha which left Manjeswaram in the north on November 21 addressed 750 meetings and receptions, big and small, in just one district, Cannanore, before it entered Kozhikode district. The jatha which began from Parassala sold Rs. 280 worth of literature—small pamphlets priced 10 and 15 paise in the course of just two days. It was the same everywhere with all the three jathas—DESHABHIMANI every day had ten to twelve columns just mentioning the places where the jathas were received with currency and coin garlands and where the leaders of the jatha addressed people—peasants and agricultural workers who had gathered to hear them.

After this triumphal march, when the jathas entered Alleppey in the evening of December 12, the whole area had turned red.

Two thousand delegates—inheritors of the glorious traditions of the kisan martyrs of North Malabar, the heroes of the many struggles in the high ranges against rapacious forest kings, the heroic homestead occupants of Punnapra-Vayalar, the agricultural workers of Kuttanad who have bravely fought against the goonda gangs of the landlords who behave like medieval chieftains, the militant adivasi peasants—they were all there to solemnly declare that nothing—no terror, no repression, would stop them from going ahead to take their due.

And to give them the fullest backing of all sections of the people, there were observers from working class, youth, student and women's organizations and from parties like the SSP, KTP and KSP.

Comrades from all the districts spoke at the session telling the delegates of the readiness of the peasantry to respond to the call of the conference.

Comrade P. Sundarayya, General Secretary of the CPI(M) and Comrade Hare Krishna Konar, General Secretary of the All India Kisan Sabha and Land and Land Revenue Minister of West Bengal, greeted the delegates' session.

Comrade Sundarayya welcoming the decision of the conference hailed it as a historic declaration. He recalled the great struggle of the Telangana peasantry against the Nizam's

oppressive regime—how hundreds of Comrades had been killed, how women had been raped and the peasants tortured, yet how the people faced this repression and advanced.

He said the repression unleashed by the Achutha Menon Government on the agricultural workers and people reminded him of the repression in Telangana. The Mini Front Kerala Congress Government will not succeed in this just as the Nizam did not, he said, because the people will fight and defeat the repression.

Comrade Konar narrated the experience of the West Bengal peasantry in the struggle for land.

Comrade A.K. Gopalan, President of the All-India Kisan Sabha, giving the decisions of the conference to the Press said that the Action Council would begin implementing the provisions of the Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill wherever possible from January 1.

The form of struggle will be decided locally depending on the strength of the movement and the conditions existing in the area.

He told the Press that neither the peasantry of Kerala nor the delegates present at the conference had any illusion that the Achutha Menon Government would implement the Land Bill despite its brave declarations. For one, the Kerala Congress which had opposed the Bill inside the legislature and outside and has declared that it is opposed even now to it, is a partner of the Achutha Menon Coalition.

There will be no payment of rent to landlords from January 1. The occupants of homesteads will declare that they own the plots. Only those landlords who agree to transfer the ownership of the land will be given the fair rent fixed as payment towards compensation.

The Right Communist Kerala Revenue Minister's declarations about appointing special officers to implement land reforms overnight were meant to cheat the people. Peasants who have waited for 22 years know what their special machineries have done and they are not waiting any longer, said Comrade A.K.G.

Demonstration and Rally

It was raining incessantly since the afternoon of Saturday and till Sunday afternoon the question hung in the air: Will the rains stop, will the demonstration and rally be possible?

The questioners were terribly underestimating the mood of the masses.

From early morning, people had been pouring into Alleppey from northernmost Kasargode to southernmost Neyyattinkara, from the high ranges to the coastal areas. No corner of the State was left unrepresented.

When the jathas began forming in the Recreation Ground, it was still raining. But soon the sky cleared up, the sun came out and bathed the demonstrators in its rays. The Arabian Sea was saluting the Kerala peasants on the path of struggle.

The demonstration begins its march. Here are the peasants and agricultural workers of Mathukulam, Niranam, Pandanad who have seen the worst repression in recent days—murders, daily assaults, lock-up torture. Here are the agricultural workers of Paraal, a hundred of whose huts were burnt down only a few days ago. And in these jathas from the centres of worst landlord police repression, women agricultural workers dominate defying the landlords and their Government with militant slogans.

The demonstration stops in silence for a minute before the Martyrs' Column at the cremation ground of the Punnappa Vayalar martyrs and of Comrade P. Krishna Pillai. Another stop at Punnappa to pay homage at the place where the Dewan regime's army had showered bullets on the people. It is an emotion charged moment. What a mighty-movement has been built through the supreme sacrifice of these martyrs. Three lakh peasants and agricultural workers are marching by the Martyrs' Column. If only the martyrs could see, if only Comrade Krishna Pillai could speak he would repeat his last words he left as legacy for the Communist Party even as he was suffering the agony of the serpentbite and life was ebbing away: FORWARD, COMRADES!

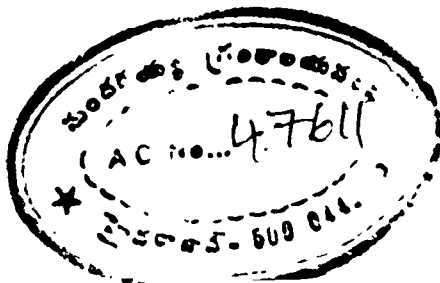
The Punnappa-Vayalar Martyrs' Nagar was already full and the demonstrators had to find place all around. The news agencies reported that not a vehicle could proceed on the National Highway from 6 p.m. in the evening till 6 next morning. Comrades A.K.G. and Konar who had to leave by next morning's plane from Cochin had to walk three miles at 2 a.m. before they could find a jeep which could manoeuvre its way out of the jam.

The rally was addressed by Comrades Sundarayya, E.M.S. Namboodiripad, A.K. Gopalan, Hare Krishna Konar, P.K. Chathunni Master, K.R. Gowri and B. Wellington of the KTP and John Manjooran of the KSP.

The delegates and the people have dispersed with the flag of battle in their hands which will be unfurled all over Kerala on January 1.

Even as they were dispersing came the threats from Chief Minister Achutha Menon and Police Minister Mohammad Koya that they would ruthlessly suppress the struggle.

If Alleppey is any indication, the people's reply is: The battle will be fought, the battle will be won.



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