

DOCUMENTS OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN INDIA

VOL. XXII
(1987-1988)



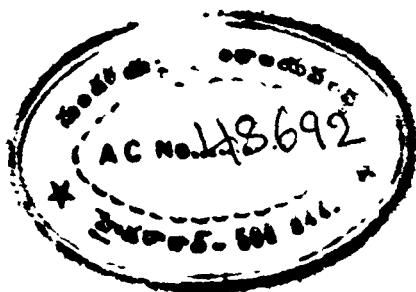
NATIONAL BOOK AGENCY PRIVATE LIMITED
CALCUTTA 700 073

First Published : August 1998

National Book Agency Private Limited
12 Bankim Chatterjee Street
Calcutta 700 073

ISBN : 81-7626-000-2 (set)
ISBN : 81-7626-036-3 (Vol. XXII)

324.254075
B. J. - D. XXII



C-89370

Price : Rs. 1000

U.S. \$ 50

£ 30

Published by Salilkumar Ganguli on behalf of National Book Agency Private Limited, 12 Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta 700 073 and printed by Samir Das Gupta on behalf of Ganashakti Printers Private Limited, 33 Alimuddin Street, Calcutta 700 016

Members of the Editorial Board

Jyoti Basu, *Chief Editor*

Sailen Dasgupta

Buddhadev Bhattacharya

Anil Biswas

Shanti Shekhar Bose

Introductory Note

This Volume (Volume No. XXII) contains documents for the years 1987-88 of the Communist Movement in India. During these two years significant political developments took place in India as well as in the international arena. This Volume includes important political documents covering these developments and would reveal the understanding and approach of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) to these developments.

This Volume includes 147 documents of the Communist Movement in India. It also includes 8 documents in its appendix which would reveal the efforts made by the Communist Party of India (Marxist) to build up Left unity and united movement in defence of democracy and secularism in India and also to defeat the anti-people policies of the Congress(I) Government led by Rajiv Gandhi and to thwart the nefarious game of disruptive and divisive and communal forces.

During this period we lost one of our outstanding Comrades, a political stalwart, Comrade P. Ramamurti, who dedicated his whole life for the development and expansion of the Communist Movement in India.

This Volume includes statements and resolutions of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) on important national developments, like developments in Punjab, in Tripura, in Kerala, in West Bengal and also on the effort of the Congress(I) Government for an out-of-court settlement for Bhopal Gas

victims purported to give relief to the American multinational Company owning the factory at Bhopal and responsible for this disaster.

This Volume also includes documents covering the policies and stand-points of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) on various important international developments like the struggles of African National Congress in South Africa, developments in Sri Lanka and developments in Afghanistan.

The Joint Communique of Japanese Communist Party and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is also a very valuable document of this Volume.

A number of documents are included in this Volume on Punjab developments, particularly ghastly killings of innocent people and political leaders in Punjab by the terrorists who were obeying the dictums of foreign forces.

The violence perpetrated in Tripura by the Congress(I)-TUJS Government was a serious development during this period and this has been dealt with in a number of statements, communiques and resolutions of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee of the CPI(M).

A number of documents were adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) during 1987-88 on important national and international developments and all these documents are included in this Volume.

The political analysis made in these documents brought to light the genesis of these developments and revealed how correctly our Party assessed these portentous developments of far-reaching consequence.

In the document "On Certain Ideological Questions" adopted by the Central Committee in its meeting held on May 3-6, 1988, it was very categorically pointed out:

"Our understanding of the developing contradictions led to differences with the CPSU and later on with the CPC. In the 1960s we differed with the CPSU because it underestimated, to the point of ignoring, the contradiction between national liberation movements and imperialism, which was becoming a focal point of resistance.

The CPSU, at that time concentrated only on the contradiction between socialism and imperialism.”

“At a later stage we differed from the CPC which while recognizing the intensification of the contradiction between national liberation and imperialism began to growingly ignore the principal contradiction of our period, that is between imperialism and socialism. We all know the net result of this outlook.”

In the same document “On Certain Ideological Questions” the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) also pointed out certain erroneous ideological understandings which had most harmful effect in the international Communist movement:

“Absence of war amongst imperialist powers during these post-war years is interpreted as modifications of contradictions. It is asked why should not the imperialist countries extend the same concession to socialist countries and declare for rejection of wars between the two camps. This is how it is argued: “Since an alliance between a socialist country and capitalist states proved possible in the past when the threat of fascism arose, does this not suggest a lesson for the present, for today’s world which faces the threat on nuclear catastrophe, and the need to ensure safe nuclear power production and overcome the danger to environment.”

“Once again there is an appeal to forget class contradictions between the two worlds. It is not remembered that the imperialists have avoided war against each other in order to preserve their strength and unity, against the socialist camp. This is the class reason for maintaining peace amongst themselves. How can they be asked to forget this class objective and persuaded to be peaceful towards all including Soviet Union and the socialist camp.”

In the national sphere the reactionary policies of the Rajiv Gandhi’s Government as it was reflected in its Budget Proposals were fully dealt with in the “Report on Political

Developments" adopted in the meeting of the Central Committee of the CPI(M) on April 9-12, 1987 where it was very clearly pointed out:

"The budget proposals of Rajiv Gandhi carry forward the same policy of opening India to the blast of foreign competition, of import liberalization, of giving relief to the capitalists and businessmen at the expense of the people. Except for a minor relief in relation to the capital goods and fertilizer industry, there is no relief to indigenous industries against increased import liberalization. The reduced taxes on the upper strata continue while the people are going to be taxed with the burden of high prices. The provision of deficit financing of Rs. 8,000 crore in the budget will lead to accelerated rise in prices fleecing the people."

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) also exposed the anti-people policies of the Rajiv Gandhi's Government in its "Political Report" adopted in the meeting held on January 4-7, 1988 where observations were very clear:

"Reliance on seeking western expertise and western technical aid is increasing under World Bank pressure. No previous government ever tried to enter into any negotiation with the U.S. in matters concerning defence, equipment and technology, but Rajiv Gandhi did attempt to strike such a deal. His U.S. tour perhaps raised false hopes that the U.S. Government would readily transfer technology for the light combat aircraft. But this is not the end of the tale."

"Recently it was reported in the Press that Indian administrative officers and police officials will be sent to America, Harvard University and places to train themselves in American expertise. From the exposure of the CIA and other agencies, we fully know what American expertise consists of."

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) was held during this period in Trivandrum and all

the documents of this Party Congress are included in this Volume. In the Political Resolution adopted by the Thirteenth Party Congress of the CPI(M) it was again pointed out :

“The crisis of the capitalist path of the Indian economy has imposed unbearable misery on the Indian masses, misery worse than that experienced in capitalist countries during the transition period to capitalism and the process of primary accumulation. The latest developments pose the near certainty of a foreign debt-trap unless the present rakes progress is stopped or controlled. India’s external debt has been increasing at a phenomenal rate. According to the OECD figures it had reached 43 billion dollars, and at the end of the current year it is estimated to reach 60 billion dollars.”

In the same Political Resolution adopted by the Thirteenth Party Congress the stand of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in regard to communal and disruptive forces was outlined in clear terms where it was stated :

“The Party opposes and exposes the reactionary character of Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christian fundamentalist propaganda, exposes its anti-national character and its disruptive effect. It exposes the communal propaganda of the BJP, RSS and Vishwa Hindu Parishad. It exposes the communal appeal of the Jamat-e-Islami and the Muslim League which plays an equally disruptive role. In the name of defending the interests of the Muslim minority, the League keeps Muslim masses away from the common struggle and helps the vested interests. But it should be noted that part of the appeal of Muslim communalism is due to the inferior treatment given to the Muslim minority in our country.”

The Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M) also warned against giving any quarter to communal and disruptive forces out of opportunist electoral consideration in so far as it was stated in the Political-Organizational Report adopted by the Thirteenth Party Congress that :

“The fight for national unity and carrying out our anti-feudal responsibility, demands that no quarter should be given to these forces out of opportunist electoral considerations. Organizations like the BJP and the RSS which, while mouthing some nationalist slogans, carry on a line of hatred and animosity against the Muslim minority, cannot be considered as allies in any democratic movement to oust the Congress(I). It is known that what the RSS and BJP preach is a Hindu-theocratic state, which will definitely alienate the entire non-Hindu mass and create permanent barriers inside the country. Parties and people who are not thinking in terms of social transformation, and who are averse to understanding the prevailing situation in class terms do not flinch from allying with anybody in an electoral conflict. But our Party, which considers the electoral struggle itself as part of the class struggle to change the balance of class forces, cannot take an opportunist attitude towards manifestations of communal chauvinists like that of the RSS and the BJP.”

I have given these quotations to highlight the fact that the Communist Party of India (Marxist) consistently fought against the anti-people policies of the Congress(I) regime and also against the divisive and communal forces and to combat these dangers our Party carried on ceaseless effort to unite the Left forces and to build united movement which alone can defend the interest of the people and safeguard the unity and integrity of India.

This Volume will be of immense help for those who want to make indepth study of the political developments and the role played by the CPI(M) during this period in India.


(JYOTI BASU)
Chief Editor

Calcutta
July 6, 1998

Foreword

The convulsions that occurred during 1987-88 of Rajiv Gandhi's regime, the crisis in the policy and socio-economic structure and the growing discontent of the masses springing from the ruinous policies of the Congress(I) Government at the Centre had intensified the contradiction between the people and the government. Instead of finding a solution to the urgent problems, the government was trying to take away the democratic rights of the people through various repressive measures. On the one side, the government was adopting a compromising role towards the menacing communal and divisive forces, and, on the other, the disrupting forces were making all efforts to utilize the discontent in order to divert it to the communal and divisive channels and thus disrupt the unity of the democratic movement. And over and above all these, the disclosures of corruption scandals one after another that rocked the country led to the further loss of credibility of the Rajiv Government. This period marked with powerful countrywide movement for the resignation of Rajiv Government which was installed with a massive unprecedented mandate after the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and for early mid-term poll. Our Party played a significant role in conducting these struggles of this period which the documents of this Volume signify in a large measure.

The Twelfth Congress of our Party held in Calcutta had warned categorically that the political crisis of the system was expressing itself in the drive towards authoritarianism.

The economic crisis, aggravated due to the new economic policy imposing new burdens on the people and compromising the interests of the country, was intensifying the contradiction between the people and the ruling classes; which the ruling party would try to solve by strengthening authoritarianism in the government and compromising criminally with the divisive and communal forces. The developments following the Calcutta Congress had proved the correctness of the warnings but its impact was underestimated by the people earlier.

The sharp deterioration of the economic situation as a consequence of succumbing to the growing pressures of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund as expressed in the new economic policy of Rajiv Government had resulted in a mighty outburst of mass anger. The Twelfth Congress had also warned against the yielding by the Rajiv Government to the growing intervention of imperialism and its agencies on our economic sovereignty, imperialist pressures against our non-aligned foreign policy, and their direct support and instigation to the secessionist and communal forces to destabilize our Indian polity.

The Central Committee of our Party concluded in its meeting in August 7-10, 1987 that "Rajiv Government is leading the country to ruin, disunity and disorder with accelerated speed. Everything which it touches leads to increased miseries, disruption of national unity, enabling the forces of destabilization to attack the country with greater vigour". Further, taking into consideration the immediate political developments, the discontent among the people, the mighty struggles that they were waging against the series of corruption scandals, the rapid isolation of the ruling party as manifested in the struggles and significant electoral battles in West Bengal, Kerala and Haryana and so on, the Central Committee considered that "Rajiv Gandhi Government has become a government of national disintegration, incompetence and utter callousness towards democratic and parliamentary norms". It demanded the resignation of the

Rajiv Government and called for a fresh mandate from the people. It was of the opinion that "only a government which is secular in outlook, wedded to fight communalism, determined to fight authoritarianism, protect democracy and eliminate corruption; which stands for a policy of non-alignment and preservation of world peace; protects Indian unity against imperialist forces of destabilization; and agrees to remunerative prices for the peasants and give immediate relief to the people from high prices, unemployment and inadequate wage, will be acceptable to the people to meet their needs".

In order to realize the demand, the Party called for the broadest understanding and unity of all secular Opposition parties, unity between these and the Left and democratic forces. Even it called upon all Congressmen who were opposed to corruption and other facets of the Rajiv regime to take a bold stand and join the popular forces. It may be recalled that the CPI(M) had been foremost in analysing the situation concretely and called for a countrywide movement to replace the regime through a mid-term poll.

The Congress(I) led by Rajiv Gandhi was appeasing on the one hand Muslim fundamentalist forces by enacting Muslim Women's Bill with a view to reversing the rights accorded by the Supreme Court to the Muslim women in the Shah Bano case and compromising with Hindu fundamentalists by cropping up Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid issue. By this twin stroke, the ruling party had contributed immensely to the deteriorating communal situation all over the country. The BJP, taking advantage of the situation, was training its gun with the revivalist slogans.

The issue of Presidential form of government raised by BJP at that time deserves mention because of its relevance in today's context. Whenever the ruling party finds itself in a mess, failing to solve the problems of the people with the deepening crisis of the economy, it resorts to the slogan of changing from the parliamentary to the Presidential form of government. Instead of bringing about a sharp change in the economic policies, policies of developing capitalism in

collaboration with feudalism and imperialism, it seeks other ways to perpetuate its rule, the ways of fettering the democratic rights of the people. The debate started with the break in the monopoly of power of the Congress party in 1967 when, in many of States, the non-Congress governments came into power. Thus the debate began, not because the system had failed, but as a means of somehow recovering the Congress monopoly of power. Subsequently, the debate arose when the Emergency was imposed and though at that time, the Constitution was amended in this direction, the change could not be fully implemented because of the resistance that came up, even inside the ruling party. The debate again was raised by some Congress leaders in 1982 when economic situation visibly worsened, two years after the Congress came back to power. By 1983, the movement in defence of democracy, against mortgaging our economy to the IMF and other imperialist agencies was so powerful that the ruling Congress Government had to retrace back and appoint Sarkaria Commission to restructure Centre-State relations, a demand raised more often with a view to strengthening parliamentary system.

In 1986, Janata Party leader and Chief Minister of Karnataka had come to the support of the idea of bringing into existence two-party system. One can understand that the party like BJP, which stands for unitary form of government, whose real intention is to work for the 'Hindu Rashtra' will naturally advocate for a Presidential form of government. It was with this dictatorial approach that since 1987 BJP has been persistent for redrawing the political map of India, giving up the present linguistic set up as fashioned in their election manifesto of 1998, and being in power, is now bent upon carrying out this exercise. Behind all this false theorizing which deliberately obscures the history of our freedom struggle, lies the objective of establishing a 'Hindu Rashtra'.

As for separatism it was the ruling Congress(I) which has been in alliance for long with the separatists of Tripura and cooperates with those outfits in other parts of North-East

region thus aggravating the very cause of national unity. It was the same Congress(I) which tried to destabilize Kashmir by its earlier manoeuvre of toppling Farooq Government and installing Shah Government. It was the policy of non-implementation of the Punjab Accord arrived at on July 1995 and dismissal of Barnala Government that perpetuated the wanton extremist activities of the Khalistani separatists.

In the chain of the national political campaign for securing the removal of Rajiv Gandhi Government to be followed by mid-term elections, two all-India campaigns were unleashed in cooperation with other secular Opposition parties—against communalism and separatism that was culminated to the convention held in Delhi on October 12 and the historic December 9 march to parliament by 24 mass organizations of Left parties, on a number of burning issues: drought and flood relief, the price rise, an effective public distribution system, remunerative prices for the peasant's produce, education and jobs for all, industrial closures, defence of trade union rights, equal rights for women, the atrocities against weaker sections including women, central legislation for agricultural labourers, minimum wages for unorganized workers, land reforms, restructuring of Centre-State relations and electoral reforms, fight for national unity and against communalism, corruption in high places like Fairfax, German submarine and Bofors deals. The massive campaign, protest rallies and *jathas* were followed by a great Bharat Bandh on March 15, 1988. The nationwide struggles of public sector workers and workers of different industries, the all-India struggles of the peasants and agricultural labourers in September 1988 evoked unique response. The unity in the fields and factories was accompanied by an effective demonstration of Opposition unity in parliament against the enactment of the 59th Constitution Amendment Act, which constituted a strong threat to the fundamental rights.

A series of corruption scandals in the columns of the Press exposed those who were in authority. Names alleged to be involved in those scandals were mentioned by some

of the people very close to the Prime Minister. This led him to rush through infamous Defamation Bill to gag the Press. It was resisted by the complete strike by the employees and the employers of the national Press on September 6 which had the support of the entire people, political parties and mass organizations, trade unions and kisan sabhas. The Bill, obviously failed to see the light of the day, but was indicative of the extent the government could go to suppress the freedom of the Press in order to cover up its misdeeds.

At a time when among the people of the country there was an earnest desire for Opposition unity to get rid of the Congress(I) regime and prevent the communal forces from taking advantage of the situation, there seemed growing disunity in the Janata Party whose main concentration centered on permutations and combinations among the leaders. The merger of four national parties was announced without any programme whatsoever. We welcomed the formation of the National Front. Although it used to suffer from serious weaknesses, it was able to keep the BJP and other communal parties away. We had appealed to the leaders of the secular Opposition parties to understand the gravity of the situation, submit their personal ambitions to the requirements of national interests, forge unity and, in alliance with the Left, develop a challenge to the present regime, and keep the divisive and communal forces at bay. This could be done by leading movements in defence of the interests of the masses, of their democratic rights, of national unity. Two distinct streams of the Opposition, the right on the one side and the Left and secular forces on the other emerged who had always been irreconcilably opposed to each other. Only on rare occasions that too on limited issues and for short spell—did they come together as in 1976-77 against the rule of Emergency. It is an undeniable fact that some of the secular Opposition parties had reservations on the uncompromising line adopted by the Left towards the BJP and caste-communal parties. The same hesitation on the part of

many parties seemed to have been exploited by the BJP today to forge unprincipled alliances.

While mobilizing the masses against the Rajiv Gandhi Government's policy, the Party in cooperation with the Left forces simultaneously exposed and opposed the communal forces, representing Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communalism and the political parties spreading the communal passions like the BJP and the Jamat-e-Islami. The Party in its campaign focussed attention on the task of defending national unity. Since the days of the freedom movement, such a massive mobilization by the Left in the fight against communal and divisive forces and for the unity of the country had not taken place. Moreover, this struggle was linked with people's fight for democratic advance and expansion of democratic rights for better living conditions. In doing so the Party took notice of the increased political influence and the organizational strength of the BJP, the expanding sphere of activities of RSS and kept in view the fact that the task of defending national unity in effect requires focussing attention on isolating the BJP and concentrating on exposing its virulent propaganda.

The CPI(M) and the Left forces emerged as the most consistent champions of national unity and it made a deep impression on the broad patriotic forces which were feeling concerned over the growing influence of divisive tendencies. The bourgeois parties' vacillations in the fight against communalism also became evident in the context of this initiative of the Left.

In fighting the challenge of Muslim fundamentalism, the CPI(M) expressed the view that part of the appeal of fundamentalism is due to the fact that Muslim minority in the country does not enjoy either a sense of security, or a sense of equality and there is in many respects obvious discrimination against them. All this followed from the incapacity of a bourgeois-landlord regime of a newly liberated country to ensure the guaranteed fundamental right of a religious minority. The Party recognized that a successful fight against

Islamic fundamentalism cannot be carried out without the relentless defence of the basic rights of the Muslim minority and without our mass intervention when, during riots, they are made the targets of severe attacks. It was because of Party's regular intervention in earlier years in West Bengal and elsewhere that it had in that State secured the confidence of the minority.

The Party has been in the forefront of the fight against secessionist challenge ever since it raised its head posing a serious threat to country's unity. The Party in West Bengal was able to deal with the secessionist movement in the Darjeeling District and find a solution which protects national unity. This was appreciated by all the patriotic sections of the people. Only our Party understood the crux of the problem i.e. the dual character of the movement, due to the genuine grievances which were utilized by a few secessionist elements. The election results in Darjeeling, however, showed that though the mass of the people had been won over to give up secessionist demands, the calls in the name of ethnic identity still exercised a powerful influence.

The Party also fought the chauvinist, anti-minority and anti-tribal policy of the AGP Government in Assam. In Punjab, our Party and the CPI shared the burden of heavy sacrifices in our fight against Khalistani secessionists. The Party also simultaneously made efforts to mobilize other political parties and the democratic forces to end the impasse in Punjab. But its efforts were sabotaged by the criminal opportunism of the ruling party. Just at a time when the Akali ministry under the moderate leader Shri S.S. Barnala was taking up cudgels against the secessionists and when all parties including the Congress(I) were conducting a joint campaign against secessionism, the Central Government of the Congress(I) dismissed the Barnala ministry with the only objective of wooing the electorate in neighbouring Haryana to install a Congress(I) ministry there. Needless to say that the ascendance of Khalistani propaganda and the vastly expanded theatre of violent activities of terrorists in the late

eighties to a great extent was a result of the political myopia of the Congress(I), which led it to the dismissal of the Barnala ministry.

The election results in Kerala and West Bengal in early 1987 constituted a stunning defeat for the Congress(I). It was a people's verdict on the opportunistic policies of the Congress(I) party under Rajiv Gandhi's leadership. The Left Front in West Bengal secured a three-fourth majority. This was the third successive defeat for the Congress(I) with the CPI(M) strength increasing from one election to the next. The Left Front in West Bengal was able to achieve this success, despite the rather difficult situation due to unemployment which followed the closure of jute mills and other engineering concerns. The Congress(I) dared not in ousting the Left Front Government primarily due to the commendable performances of the West Bengal Government.

Evaluating the West Bengal results positively the Party thought it necessary to further deeply analyse the figures of voting and remove weakness thus revealed. The Party came to the conclusion that securing absolute majority of votes after five years of economic crisis was an outstanding achievement. The election figures also showed that in spite of continuous exposure of the Congress(I) policies in particular its economic policy, its attitude of compromise with divisive and communal forces and its approach on the Gorkhaland issue, it partially gained in industrial areas where big sections of non-Bengali, Hindi and Urdu-speaking workers and other sections reside, though the Congress(I) lost the rural areas. The setback to our influence in our traditional industrial areas was obvious. The Party came to the conclusion that the politicisation of the Hindi-speaking working class had lagged behind. It was also clear that sections of Urdu-speaking Muslim workers had been swayed by the propaganda of the fundamentalists, as well as, that of the Congress(I).

The Left Front victories in West Bengal and Kerala helped in further projecting the Left and democratic alternative at the national level. Following these victories, the CPI(M)

and the Left forces were in a position to play a much more meaningful role in the matter of coordinating activities of secular Opposition parties to fight the anti-people measures of the Congress(I).

It was for this reason that the Congress(I) concentrated its attack on the three Left Front Governments of West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura. In Kerala, the Congress(I) backed by the BJP, the RSS and the bourgeois Press used every excuse and every event to rouse sectional and communal feelings against the Left Front Government. The vicious propaganda against the Left Front ministry of West Bengal surpassed all records. Manifestly defamatory statements were made against CPI(M) leaders and ministers and a slanderous offensive was launched against them all because the Congress(I) party in West Bengal was incapable of impressing the masses with any alternative policy.

In Tripura the Congress(I) itself created law and order problems by encouraging the TNV activities. The ally of the Congress(I), the TUJS, worked in close collaboration with the TNV extremists coming from across the Bangladesh borders. Instead of fighting these anti-national elements the Congress(I) used their activities to defame the Left Front ministry and demanded President's rule. The support that the Congress(I) in Tripura got from Rajiv Gandhi and other Congress(I) leaders revealed the utter degeneration of the Congress(I) outlook and policies. The government leaders at the Centre conspired with the separatist TNV to organize a series of murders on the eve of the election, creating the pretext for declaring the whole of the state a "disturbed area" and then deploying the army in the name of "curbing the TNV terrorists". This was followed by rigging of elections, particularly at the stage of counting thereby ensuring an electoral victory for the Congress(I), and the formation of Congress(I)-TUJS Government. The ruling party thereby established a semi-fascist regime in the State unleashing physical attacks, mayhem and murder of the CPI(M) and the Left Front activists. In this cynical game of dislodging

Left Front from power, the obvious outcome was a political settlement with the TNV. The CPI(M) and its cadres once again bore the brunt of terror and succeeded against heavy odds in keeping the tribals in the mainstream of national life.

The international situation in relation to rapid developments in erstwhile Soviet Union and East European countries was of grave concern for the forces of socialism, peace and freedom worldwide. This Volume contains documents which explain our correct and timely assessment of the changing situation.

It was explained in the previous Volumes that the CPI(M) stands unswervingly with its independent assessment of the concrete situation by applying concretely the science of Marxism-Leninism. This basic position that can in no way be compromised, has distanced us from the two big contingents of world Communist movement, CPC and CPSU, for long. It was during sixties that the observations of Comrade Rajni Palme Dutt proved to be prophetic. At the time of the formation of the CPI(M), Comrade Rajni Palme Dutt had extended his valuable observations to us that once the Party gains the confidence and support of the people, Communist parties from all over the world would be interested in forging relations with us. By then, since we had emerged as a leading Left force of the country, a large number of overseas parties had established relations with us.

The rapid developments in the international plane witnessed in the mid-eighties, were followed by even faster changes in the subsequent period. The USSR persisted with its efforts, through ever-new proposals, to prevent the disaster of a nuclear war. In February 1987 USSR came out with proposals to remove medium-range missiles from Europe. These proposals were also vital for peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region. The year 1986, which was declared the 'International Year of Peace' by the U.N., was dominated by the theme of unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests. The U.S., however, went on with new tests and the

building of its 'Star War' project. Subsequently, an agreement was reached between USSR and USA to eliminate all medium and short-range missiles from Europe. The Party hailed this agreement though it did not cover more than 4 to 5 per cent of the nuclear weaponry. As a result of the consistent policy of peace followed by the USSR and other socialist countries and the role played by the world-wide peace movement which led to an increased awareness of the nuclear threat all over the world, the U.S. imperialism found itself isolated internationally. And though the U.S. had not given up its efforts to blackmail the socialist and other peace-loving countries, it was forced to take the course of dialogue and negotiations.

Assessing the world situation the Party noted:

"It would not be wrong to state that in spite of efforts by U.S. imperialism to gain superiority in nuclear weapons, a change in the correlation of forces has taken place, which is capable of averting nuclear war. This is because of the strength of the peace-loving forces, which unite the socialist countries, the non-aligned movement, the world peace movement and even sections of the ruling circles in the imperialist countries."

The change in the correlation of forces in favour of peace made it possible that a series of measures to settle local conflicts were taken. Such were, for example, the Geneva Agreement on Afghanistan, the cease-fire in the eight-year-old war between Iraq and Iran and the agreement on independence of Namibia.

The rapid developments inside Soviet Union, in particular the programme of perestroika in the socio-economic life of the country, attracted a great deal of attention of the entire mankind and particularly of various segments of the international Communist movement. Our Party paid attention to these developments and discussed both socio-economic as well as political-ideological issues involved and expressed its opinion. In November 1987 a Party Central Committee delegation attended the 70th anniversary of the

October Revolution in Moscow where the CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev made a report. Our delegation was of the view that the report marked a major deviation in the understanding of the Central Committee of the CPSU about the international situation and the tasks of the international Communist movement. We informed the Central Committee of the CPSU about our disagreement on the assessment of the situation and they agreed to hold discussions with us on these issues. We also briefed the Communist Party of Vietnam, Japanese Communist Party, Communist Party of USA and Communist Party of Cuba about our views on the report. After a few days, a delegation of our Party visited Moscow and had discussions with the representatives of the CPSU on this subject. But we could not reach at any agreement.

The Central Committee of our Party in May 1988 adopted a detailed resolution titled **“On Certain Ideological Questions”** which contained our evaluation of the position taken in the Report on the 70th anniversary. This resolution was circulated for inner-Party discussion.

The Central Committee in this resolution reviewed the main controversies in the international Communist movement since the 1957 Communist Parties' Conference and explained the stand of the CPI(M) at various stages. The Central Committee resolution said that Gorbachev's presentation of the world situation sought to make a case for growing modification of contradiction of the period, for avoiding confrontation between the people and imperialism and suggested ways in which the interests of the people and the working class could be reconciled with the interests of imperialists and capitalists. The Gorbachev Report put forth a new concept of growing interdependence and integrated relations of the two worlds, the socialist and the imperialist. The resolution said that the internationalization of economic ties is not taking place on terms of equality and it only provides opportunities to imperialists for further exploitation of the rest of the world. The scientific and technological

revolution was also a weapon of domination in the hands of the advanced countries. Discussing the new concept of Gorbachev about the Third World countries' relations with the imperialist countries, the resolution noted that according to Gorbachev the choice is that the Third World countries **"must tolerate exploitation of the imperialist countries and should not think of creating a disaster by trying to liquidate the relations of exploitation"**. The resolution further said :

"The analysis (contained in the Gorbachev Report) keeps the Third World masses out of the picture of international situation and helps the governments of these countries to strike a deal with imperialism in the name of equally balancing the interests of all. The analysis will result in giving a wrong direction to the international movement, to ignore the mass struggle in the Third World countries, ignore parties, including Communist parties leading the struggles and consider the compromising governments of these countries as the sole representative of the people". In August 1988 the Central Committee adopted a resolution titled **"On developments in the Soviet Union"**, taking into consideration in particular the discussions and resolutions of the 20th CPSU Conference. This resolution stated that the developments in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries had to be understood in the background of political problems faced by the Communist parties. In 1986, the Central Committee had supported the decisions of the Twentyseventh Congress of the CPSU in a general way upholding expansion of democracy and restructuring of economic management. The concrete proposals advanced at the 20th CPSU Conference were however presented in the context of, at times, a total negation of entire course of the CPSU. The guiding role of Marxism-Leninism and the leading role of the party were an essential condition in social transformation, which stood negated in the conclusions of the conference.

The August 1988 Central Committee resolution had

provided a framework to assess the then recent developments in the Soviet Union. It had noted that CPI(M) realized that advance of socialism in any country must be accompanied with increased initiative of the masses both in running the economy and the State. With the development of socialism it was also necessary to strengthen the roots of democracy while adhering to the science of Marxism-Leninism and preserving the role of the Party as a leading force in the society.

Held in this national and international backdrop, the Thirteenth Party Congress that met in Trivandrum from December 27, 1988 to January 1, 1989 analysed the concrete situation and formulated the immediate tasks this way :

“It will be appropriate to recapitulate the concrete conditions under which we have to discharge our immediate tasks while working for the objective of our class alternative.

(i) The contradiction between the bourgeois-landlord rule and the Indian people has further sharpened. At present it manifests itself through isolation of the ruling party and sharpened opposition of the people towards it. It gets intensified through the effects of the economic policies of the ruling party and the economic crisis.

(ii) The contradiction between imperialism and the Indian people has sharpened demanding a firm policy of non-alignment. The non-aligned policy still stands but is under pressure.

(iii) The ruling party meets the growing anger of the people by resorting to authoritarian measures.

(iv) Its economic policies facilitate easy penetration of foreign capital and multinationals endangering the independence of the economy.

(v) Divisive, secessionist and communal forces have launched an intense offensive against national unity exploiting the prevailing discontent and the failure of the Rajiv Government to combat them.

(vi) The battle for national unity has to be carried on by the Left and democratic and patriotic forces.

(vii) The sharpening of the conflict between the bourgeoisie and landlords aggravates the agrarian situation.

(viii) The economic crisis aggravates Centre-State relations and leads to further erosion of Congress(I) influence. Opportunistic forces use the situation for divisive purposes.

(ix) The isolation of the Congress(I) is creating conditions for its electoral defeat but the class limitation of the bourgeois Opposition parties and their opportunistic attitude to the BJP hinder the process of consolidating the anti-Congress(I) secular and democratic forces.

(x) The CPI(M) and the Left forces have increased their influence in national politics. This calls for strengthening Left unity without which there is every possibility of a major part of the mass discontent petering out or being exploited by reactionary forces.

(xi) A mass upsurge is fast developing all over the country. It is the task of the Left and the CPI(M) to guide and centralize it to change the correlation of class forces.

(xii) It is only by intervening in the present situation, by defeating the Congress(I) in the next elections and frustrating all attempts of the communalists and pro-imperialist forces that the revolutionary forces can march ahead and strengthen the struggle for Left and democratic unity.

(xiii) The Party must play its role by its initiative and unifying capacity.

“It is under these conditions that the Party has to discharge its immediate tasks and link them with the struggle for a Left and democratic front. The immediate task is to secure the ousting of the Rajiv Government in the coming elections while protecting the unity and integrity of the country against the divisive designs of imperialism and the secessionist and communal forces. There can be no compromise with these forces and popular victory in the elections must result in their rejection and repudiation. It is necessary therefore to mobilize all the bourgeois Opposition secular forces and the Left forces for a common fight against this government of national disintegration and authoritarian attacks.

“It is necessary to continue to strengthen Left unity and increase its weight in national politics by increased mass activities among all sections of the people.

“It is necessary to increase the political activities of the Party, its activities to fight the destabilization designs of imperialism, communalist and secessionist forces, in defence of non-aligned foreign policy and overcome the weakness of bourgeois Opposition parties in this respect. It is necessary to popularize the achievements of the Left Front Governments and defend them against the attacks of the ruling party. It is further necessary to strengthen our independent mass activities in defence of the interests of the common man, strengthen the unity and activities of the mass organizations and promote growing unity in action with mass organizations belonging to other Left parties. This all-sided struggle is to be linked to the struggle to build up the Left and democratic front.”

The Thirteenth Party Congress also reviewed the situation of the Party organization since the Central Committee Plenum of 1978 on organization. There had been a three-fold increase in the Party membership i.e. from 1,61,000 to 4,65,000. The membership of the mass organizations led by the Party had increased 21-fold from 0.223 million to 4.8 million.

Reviewing the shortcomings, the Political-Organizational report of the Thirteenth Congress stated:

“While the Party membership has grown considerably in the last three years it still lags behind the growing influence of the Party among the people. The work of Party building and consolidating of our mass influence has to be stepped up in a big way. While the mass organizations have registered notable progress during this period they are still far from what they should be if they are to be in a position to play their vital role in the developing national politics. The entire Party should pay serious attention to implementing the correct relations between the Party and mass organizations to ensure their proper development. The Party has to

pay priority attention to the requirement of Party members from the working class and systematic work to develop cadres amongst them. There is to be planned recruitment from the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, women and minorities. The Party committees must pay serious attention to the systematic re-education of the old and educating the new members of the Party. The Party has to step up in a big way its agitation and propaganda activities independently and through its publications. These and other tasks outlined in the Salkia Report and Resolutions on Organization adopted in 1978 should be carried out. This alone will guarantee steady advance in the radicalization of our national politics, further consolidation of the ties between the Party and the working class and the general mass of secular democratic forces.”



(Harkishan Singh Surjeet)

General Secretary,

Communist Party of India (Marxist)

July 22, 1998

Contents

Introductory Note	vii-xii
Foreword	xiii-xxx
1. CPI(M)'s Greetings to Communist Party of Cuba	1-3
2. CPI(M) Polit Bureau's Communique Issued after its meeting held on January 6-7, 1987	4-10
3. Build a Powerful Peace Movement Statement dated January 20, 1987 issued by the Polit Bureau of CPI(M) in New Delhi	11-12
4. West Bengal Polls Must be Held in March Statement dated January 21, 1987 issued by the Polit Bureau of CPI(M) in New Delhi	13
5. Polit Bureau Greets the Striking Public Sector Workers Statement dated January 22, 1987 issued in New Delhi	14
6. On Prime Minister's Press Conference Statement issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) in New Delhi	15-16
7. Polit Bureau Statement on "Hukumnama"	17-18

8. **Polit Bureau Appeal for Rs. Five-Lakh Fund**
Statement dated January 31, 1987
issued in New Delhi 19-21
9. **On the Action of The 'High Priests'**
Statement dated February 10, 1987
issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) 22-23
10. **Polit Bureau's Homage to Comrade Chanan Singh**
Statement dated February 16, 1987
issued in New Delhi 24-25
11. **CPI(M) Greets Saharawi People** 26-27
12. **On Murder of Comrade Hukumchand Gulshan**
Statement dated February 21, 1987
issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)
in New Delhi 28
13. **BJP Demonstration Condemned** 29-30
14. **Polit Bureau Hails Soviet Offer on European Missiles**
Statement dated March 3, 1987 issued
in New Delhi 31-32
15. **Polit Bureau Condemns Use of I.B. Officers in Kerala Poll Process** 33-34
16. **On UDF Malpractices in Kerala Elections**
Statement dated March 9, 1987 issued
by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) 35-36
17. **Polit Bureau on Chandra Shekhar's Statements** 37-38
18. **Polit Bureau Hails Kerala Electoral Victory** 39-40
19. **Polit Bureau Hails West Bengal Electoral Victory** 41-42
20. **Central Committee Communique**
Issued following its meeting held in
New Delhi on April 9-12, 1987 43-50

21. Report on Political Developments Adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) in its meeting held in New Delhi on April 9-12, 1987	51-106
22. CPI(M) Greets 18th Session of P.N.C.	107-109
23. Polit Bureau's Homage to Comrade Rajinder Singh Sarinh	110-111
24. Agreement on Cooperation Between the CPI(M) and the Workers' Party of Korea	112-113
25. CPI(M)-CPI Joint Statement	114-115
26. Anti-Ribeiro Statements Condemned Statement dated May 6, 1987 issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) in New Delhi	116-117
27. On the Demise of Comrade V.P. Chinthan	118
28. Homage to Comrade Deepak Dhawan	119
29. Polit Bureau Statement on Bihar Killings	120-121
30. On Developments in Sri Lanka Statement issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)	122-123
31. Polit Bureau Condoles Charan Singh's Death	124
32. On Shameless U.S. Interference in Punjab Statement issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)	125
33. Polit Bureau Communique Released after its meeting held on June 7-8, 1987	126-129
34. Polit Bureau Statement on Sri Lanka	130-132
35. On Haryana Elections Statement issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)	133-134

36. **On Ghastly Terrorist Killings in Patiala**
Statement dated July 7, 1987 issued by
the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) 135
37. **EMS's Rejoinder to Narasimha Rao** 136-137
38. **Assault on Dissident Congress(I)
Leaders**
Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemned
the murderous attack issuing statement
dated July 24, 1987 in New Delhi 138
39. **Homage to Comrade Nrisingha
Chakraborty** 139-140
40. **Polit Bureau Hails LTTE Decision** 141
41. **Political Report Adopted by the
Central Committee of the CPI(M) in
its Meeting Held on August 7-10, 1987** 142-194
42. **Resolution Adopted by the Central
Committee of the CPI(M) in its
Meeting Held on August 7-10, 1987** 195-204
43. **Resolution on Drought**
Adopted by the Central Committee of
the CPI(M) in its meeting held on
August 7-10, 1987 205-206
44. **Polit Bureau Condemns Assassination
Attempt on President Jayawardene of
Sri Lanka** 207
45. **On University and College Teachers'
Struggle**
Statement dated September 6, 1987
issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) 208
46. **On Vaccine Action Programme
Concluded Between the Government
of India and the Government of USA**
Protest Statement dated September 3,
1987 issued by the Polit Bureau of the
CPI(M) 209-210

47.	Polit Bureau on Developments in Punjab	
	Desperate Move by Priests Denounced	211-212
48.	Polit Bureau Flays Congress(I)'s Alliance with TUJS	213-214
49.	On the Developments in Sri Lanka	
	Statement dated September 26, 1987 issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)	215-216
50.	Glorification of Sati Assailed	
	Statement dated September 29, 1987 issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)	217
51.	On the Second Coup in Fiji	
	Statement dated September 26, 1987 issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)	218-219
52.	Polit Bureau Communique	
	Issued following its meeting in New Delhi on October 10-11, 1987	220-226
53.	Polit Bureau Warns Against Increasing U.S. Pressure	227-229
54.	Defeat Nefarious Game in Punjab	
	Call Given by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)	230-231
55.	Polit Bureau on Developments in Sri Lanka	232-233
56.	Disciplinary Action Against CPI(M) Members in AIFUCTO Leadership	
	Statement issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)	234
57.	70th Anniversary of Great October Revolution	
	Greetings of the Central Committee of the CPI(M) to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the Working Class and the people of the Soviet Union	235-238
58.	Polit Bureau Condemns Congress(I)-TUJS Violence	
	Statement dated October 29, 1987 issued to Press	239-240

82. **On Tamil Nadu Developments**
Statement dated January 29, 1988
issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) 337
83. **Polit Bureau on Tripura Elections**
Statement dated February 4, 1988
issued in New Delhi 338-339
84. **Soviet Move on Afghanistan Hailed
by Polit Bureau**
Statement dated February 11, 1988
issued in New Delhi 340-341
85. **Homage to Karpoori Thakur**
Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued
statement dated February 17, 1988 342
86. **Vijaya Kumaranatunga's Murder**
Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemned
it issuing a statement dated
February 17, 1988 343
87. **Greetings to Twelfth Congress of
Communist Party of Spain**
Sent by E.M.S. Namboodiripad on
behalf of the Central Committee of
the CPI(M) 344-346
88. **On Appointment of Governors**
Statement dated February 17, 1988
issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)
to Press 347-348
89. **Polit Bureau on Just Demands of
Peasantry**
Issued statement dated February 17, 1988
in New Delhi 349
90. **Polit Bureau on Central Budget**
Statement dated March 1, 1988 issued
in New Delhi 350-351
91. **On Panchayat Elections in
West Bengal**
Statement dated March 1, 1988 issued
by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) 352-353

92. **Rail Price-Hikes Must Be Withdrawn**
 Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) made the demand in a statement dated February 25, 1988 issued to Press 354-355
93. **Polit Bureau Denounces Slander by Tripura Home Minister**
 Statement dated February 25, 1988 issued to Press 356
94. **Polit Bureau Hails Bharat Bandh on March 15, 1988**
 Statement dated March 15, 1988 issued to Press 357-358
95. **Homage to Punjab Martyrs**
 Statement dated March 14, 1988 issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) 359
96. **Grave Threat to Democratic Set-up**
 Polit Bureau Opposed Amendment to the Constitution 360
97. **Withdraw U.S. Troops from Honduras**
 Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) made the demand in a statement dated March 19, 1988 361
98. **Polit Bureau Communique**
 Issued following its meeting held on March 29-30, 1988 362-368
99. **Terrorist Attack on CPI MLA**
 Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemned it issuing statement dated April 11, 1988 to Press 369
100. **Polit Bureau Denounces PLO Leader's Assassination**
 Statement dated April 17, 1988 issued to Press 370
101. **Polit Bureau on the Afghanistan Agreement**
 Statement dated April 15, 1988 issued to Press Welcoming the Agreement 371-372

102. **Polit Bureau Communique**
 Issued following its meeting held on
 April 22-24, 1988 373-377
103. **Central Committee Communique**
 Issued following its meeting in New Delhi
 on May 3-6, 1988 378-384
104. **Resolution on Certain Ideological
 Questions**
 Adopted by the Central Committee of
 the CPI(M) in its meeting held on
 May 3-6, 1988
 (Pertaining to M.S. Gorbachev's Report
 on the 70th Anniversary of the October
 Revolution) 385-421
105. **Condolence Resolutions and Homage
 to Martyrs**
 Adopted by the Central Committee of
 the CPI(M) in its meeting held on May
 3-5, 1988 422-424
106. **Peace in Haryana must be Maintained**
 Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued
 statement dated May 9, 1988 to Press 425
107. **Central Committee's Greetings to
 Polisario** 426-427
108. **CPI(M) High Power Delegation to
 China** 428
109. **Polit Bureau Condemns Execution of
 Fedaian Leader in Iran** 429
110. **Ordinance on Misuse of Religious
 Places** 430-431
111. **Polit Bureau's Call : Foil Congress(I)
 Manoeuvres** 432-437
112. **Polit Bureau Condemns U.S. Crime
 Against Humanity** 438
113. **Polit Bureau Hails Iran's Gesture**
 Statement dated July 19, 1988 issued to
 Press in New Delhi 439

114.	Central Committee Communique Issued following its meeting held in New Delhi on August 8-10, 1988	440-445
115.	Condolence Resolutions and Homage to Martyrs Adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) in its meeting held on August 8-10, 1988	446-447
116.	Resolution on Recent Developments in USSR Adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) in its meeting held on August 8-10, 1988	448-452
117.	Central Committee Condemns President's Rule in Nagaland Statement dated August 8, 1988 issued to Press	453
118.	Polit Bureau on Relief Operations for Earthquake Victims Statement dated August 22, 1988 issued to Press	454
119.	Polit Bureau Denounces Defamation Bill Statement dated August 21, 1988 issued to Press	455
120.	Polit Bureau Demands : Cancel Licence to Pepsico	456
121.	Polit Bureau Hails Bandh in West Bengal Statement dated September 15, 1988 issued to Press	457
122.	Polit Bureau on Successful Tripura Bandh Statement dated September 15, 1988 issued to Press	458-459
123.	Polit Bureau on Withdrawal of Defamation Bill Statement dated September 22, 1988 issued to Press	460

124. **Central Committee's Greetings to the GDR** 461-462
125. **Polit Bureau Condemns Use of NSA in Tripura**
Statement dated October 7, 1988
issued to Press 463
126. **Central Committee Communique**
Issued following its meeting held on
October 2-6, 1988 464-468
127. **Polit Bureau Congratulates the People of Chile for Rejecting Dictatorship in a Referendum**
Statement dated October 7, 1988 issued
to Press 469
128. **Polit Bureau on Communal Riots in U.P.**
Statement dated October 12, 1988
issued to Press 470-471
129. **CPI(M) Condoles Armenian Tragedy** 472
130. **Polit Bureau Welcomes Gorbachev Proposals**
Statement dated December 8, 1988
issued to Press 473-474
131. **Gruesome Massacre of CPI(M) Workers in Tripura**
Polit Bureau issued statement dated
October 14, 1988 issued to Press
recording condemnation 475-477
132. **Amendment to the Party Constitution**
Proposed by the Central Committee of
the CPI(M) to be moved in the
Thirteenth Party Congress 478
133. **Homage to Comrade Truong Chinh** 479-480
134. **Polit Bureau Supports Kisan Demands**
Statement dated October 20, 1988
issued to Press 481
135. **Central Committee's Greetings to the USSR** 482-488

136. **Polit Bureau Condemns Kaithal Killings**
Statement dated November 2, 1988
issued to Press 489-490
137. **Polit Bureau on Developments in Sri Lanka**
Statement dated November 22, 1988
issued to Press 491-492
138. **E.K. Nayanar Welcomes Delegates & Fraternal Guests**
Speech of the Chairman of the
Reception Committee of the Thirteenth
Congress of CPI(M), held at Trivandrum
(now Thiruvananthapuram), Kerala, from
December 27, 1988 to January 1, 1989 493-496
139. **E.M.S. Namboodiripad Opens the Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M) held at Trivandrum (now Thiruvananthapuram) from December 27, 1988 to January 1, 1989** 497-501
140. **Condolence Resolutions**
Adopted by the Thirteenth Congress of
the CPI(M) held at Trivandrum (now
Thiruvananthapuram) from December 27,
1988 to January 1, 1989 502-508
141. **Political Resolution Adopted by the Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M) held at Trivandrum (now Thiruvananthapuram) from December 27, 1988 to January 1, 1989** 509-581
142. **Political-Organizational Report**
Adopted by the Thirteenth Congress of
the CPI(M), held at Trivandrum
(now Thiruvananthapuram) from
December 27, 1988 to January 1, 1989 582-699

143. **Resolutions adopted by the
Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M) held
at Trivandrum (now Thiruvantapuram)
from December 27, 1988 to January 1,
1989** 700-725
144. **Amendment to the Party Constitution
of the Communist Party of India
(Marxist)**
(Adopted by the Thirteenth Party
Congress) 726
145. **Messages Sent to Thirteenth Party
Congress of CPI(M) by Fraternal
Parties and Organizations** 727-759
146. **Report of the Credential Committee
Presented to and Adopted by the
Thirteenth Congress of CPI(M)** 760-766
147. **The New Central Committee
Elected by the Thirteenth Congress of
the CPI(M)** 767-768

APPENDICES

- (i) **Appeal for Maintaining Communal
Harmony in Punjab**
Statement issued by CPI(M) Punjab State
Committee 769-771
- (ii) **Jyoti Basu Contradicts Zail Singh's
Claim** 772
- (iii) **Report on Historic Delhi Rally on
December 9, 1987**
People Demanded Rajiv's Resignation
Rousing Call for Bharat Bandh on
March 15, 1988 773-780
- (iv) **Resolution Adopted in Historic Delhi
Rally Held on December 9, 1987** 781-783
- (v) **Left Parties Appeal for Common Mass
Action** 784

(vi)	Opposition Parties' Joint Call	785-787
(vii)	Take Categorical Stand Against Anti-National Forces Harkishan Singh Surjeet's Open Letter to Shiromoni Gurdwara Pravandak Committee (SGPC)	788-792
(viii)	Names of Representatives of Foreign Fraternal Parties who Participated in the Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M) at Trivandrum	793-796
	INDEX :	797-807

List of Abbreviations Used

CI	: The Communist International
ECCI	: The Executive Committee of the Communist International
CPI	: Communist Party of India
CPI(M)	: Communist Party of India (Marxist)
LM	: The Labour Monthly, published from London
CPGB	: Communist Party of Great Britain
CPSU	: Communist Party of Soviet Union
CPC	: Communist Party of China
INPRECOR	: International Press Correspondence of the Communist International
BCI	: Bulletin of the Communist International
C.C.	: Central Committee
P.B.	: Political Bureau
Polit Bureau	: Political Bureau
INC/Congress	: Indian National Congress
Congress (R)	: Ruling Congress
JPC	: Japanese Communist Party or Communist Party of Japan
AITUC	: All India Trade Union Congress
INTUC	: Indian National Trade Union Congress
CITU	: Centre of Indian Trade Unions
AIKS	: All India Kisan Sabha
CKC	: Central Kisan Council of All India Kisan Sabha
WFTU	: World Federation of Trade Unions

xlvi *Documents of The Communist Movement in India*

AISF	: All India Students' Federation
SFI	: Students' Federation of India
DYFI	: Democratic Youth Federation of India
Govt.	: Government
UF	: United Front
RSS	: Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangha
JP	: Janata Party
RSP	: Revolutionary Socialist Party
FB	: Forward Bloc
SP	: Socialist Party
EMS	: E. M. S. Namboodiripad
BTR	: B.T. Ranadive
PS	: P. Sundarayya
PR	: P. Ramamurti
MB	: M. Basavapunnaiah

CPI(M)'s Greetings to Communist Party of Cuba*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its revolutionary greetings to the Communist Party of Cuba, its leader Fidel Castro and the Cuban people on the occasion of the National Day of Cuba.

The historic triumph over imperialism 28 years ago, on January 1, 1959, heralded yet another chapter in the progress of human civilisation towards Socialism. This triumph, a few hundreds miles away from the shores of the gendarme of world reaction, the USA, has galvanised the aspirations of millions of people the world over. The history of these 28 years of achieving and consolidating Socialism in Cuba continues to be a source of inspiration to people, clearly demonstrating, as it has, the superiority of Socialism and the opportunities it offers for all-round human progress.

These 28 years have also seen the most naked and aggressive attempts of imperialism to undermine the Cuban revolution. But thwarting all these attempts, including the criminal economic blockade, the Cuban revolution has consolidated and advanced, and in spite of the difficulties imposed by imperialism, continued to hold high the banner of proletarian internationalism with the solidarity and active support expressed with the fighting people of all countries—in Nicaragua and elsewhere in Central and Latin America, in Angola, South Africa and other States in the African continent, in Vietnam, Kampuchea, the Middle-East and

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 4, 1987

Afghanistan, and all over the world where the people are involved in the struggle against imperialism and in defence of their independence.

The lead taken by Cuba in exposing the neo-colonial exploitation practised through imperialist agencies, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, that has plunged many developing countries into the 'debt trap', has now become the voice of the oppressed millions. On this occasion when we convey our greetings to you we also express our unflinching solidarity with the fighting peoples the world over.

During these 28 years while engaged in defending its homeland, combining the spirit of patriotism with proletarian internationalism, Cuba has equally contributed to the struggle for world peace. Through its participation in the Non-Aligned Movement, it has made significant contributions in strengthening the anti-imperialist character of the NAM and strengthening its resolve for safeguarding world peace. In expressing our greetings to you we reiterate our commitment to jointly work for strengthening the peace movement and rallying the people of the world behind the proposals made by the CPSU General Secretary, M.S. Gorbachev. In this connection, the recent Delhi Declaration signed by M.S. Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi is an important step to help the peace forces.

While discharging these responsibilities under the most difficult conditions created by world imperialism led by the USA, the further consolidation of Socialism in Cuba has led to impressive gains in the standards of living of the Cuban people.

During the last four years, the GNP grew at the rate of 7.3 per cent, and social consumption increased by 7.1 per cent. Particularly impressive were the successes in the fields of education and health. Today in Cuba, not a single child remains out of school, and one-third of the adult population is engaged in different kinds of studies. The revolutionary principle in medicine of one family doctor, to take care of

less than 100 families in the neighbourhood, has helped eradicate all the major diseases that continue to plague millions of people in other parts of the world. Nowadays, 99 per cent of the births in Cuba take place in medical institutions, and the life expectancy has risen to the phenomenally high level of 74 years in this span of 28 years. These advances, made at a time when the capitalist world is reeling under one of the severest crises throwing millions of men and women into unemployment, are indeed inspiring to all those who are today engaged in the struggle for Socialism.

The adoption of the Party Programme in December 1986, after intensive nationwide discussions, at the close of the Deferred Session of the Third Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, is another important milestone in the march of the Cuban people to Socialism. The Programme sums up the rich experience of the Cuban revolution and the building of Socialism.

On the occasion of your National Day, on behalf of all the members of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) we express our warm revolutionary greetings to the heroic Cuban people. The strengthening of Socialism in Cuba is in effect strengthening the anti-imperialist forces in the world, and the march of mankind towards Socialism. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) has been and will continue to mobilise the Indian people in support of the Cuban revolution, and to express firm solidarity in its struggle against U.S. imperialist manoeuvres and in defence of Socialist Cuba.

CPI(M) Polit Bureau's Communiqué*

Issued after its meeting held on January 6-7, 1987

The visit of Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary, CPSU, to India has been an important occasion for strengthening Indo-Soviet ties and for furthering the cause of world peace. The talks between M.S. Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi have resulted in the signing of the Delhi Declaration and for new projects of economic collaboration. These are important milestones resulting from Gorbachev's first visit to India. This visit will help India to ward off imperialist pressures to weaken its unity and non-aligned policy.

Test-Ban Moratorium

The Polit Bureau extended its full support to the Soviet Government statement regarding its stand on the moratorium on nuclear tests. The Soviet Government had announced in December, 1986, that in the face of the U.S. Administration's continued refusal to stop testing, the Soviet Government would be forced to terminate its moratorium after the first U.S. nuclear explosion in the New Year. The Polit Bureau appreciated the sincere efforts of the Soviet Union to end nuclear testing and its continuing advocacy of a total nuclear test ban.

New Force for Peace

The Polit Bureau welcomed the formation of the National Campaign Committee for Peace, Security and Disarmament which has been formed with representatives of all political

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 11, 1987.

shades of opinion and different fields of Indian society. It supports the holding of the National Convention for Peace in February, and is confident that it will provide a big fillip to the peace movement in the country.

ANC — 75th Anniversary

The Polit Bureau extended warm greetings to the African National Congress which has completed 75 years of its heroic struggle. The martyrs who laid down their lives, and several others who underwent untold suffering in the cause of freedom for their country, have advanced the cause of the struggle against colonialism everywhere. The Polit Bureau warmly congratulated the fighting people of South Africa and wished them further successes in their struggle to finally throw off the shackles of colonialism and apartheid.

Sri Lanka — Ethnic Problem

The Polit Bureau expressed its deep concern about the setback in the process of negotiations to settle the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka. All those impeding a negotiated settlement at this stage are only playing into the hands of imperialism, which stands to benefit from the continuing conflict.

Threat from Divisive Forces

Reviewing the situation inside the country, the Polit Bureau noted that the threat from the divisive and separatist forces is increasing day by day. Far from effectively fighting the national disruption and division, the ruling Congress(I) and the Central Government are appeasing them in order to save their narrow partisan interests. Some Opposition parties are also opportunistically helping and strengthening the forces of separatism and division. The Polit Bureau called on all patriotic and secular forces to fight these trends and preserve national unity.

Punjab — Centre's Responsibilities

In Punjab, the failure of the Central Government to implement the Rajiv-Longowal Accord continues to weaken the hands

of the Barnala Government in the struggle against the separatists and terrorists who are taking full advantage of this. The victory of the dissident Akalis in the SGPC election was facilitated by the fact that the Barnala Government had been put completely on the defensive. The Polit Bureau demanded that the Central Government take immediate steps to implement those parts of the Accord on which there can be no difference and simultaneously remove such irritants as the imprisonment of a large number of innocent people in Jodhpur jail. While taking these necessary measures, the Polit Bureau calls upon the Central Government to ensure strict security on the Indo-Pakistan border. It called upon both the Congress and Akali parties to join all other political parties in the country in organizing a campaign against the terrorists and those infiltrating from Pakistan into Punjab.

The Polit Bureau appreciated the services of the security forces in Punjab who are working in difficult conditions to curb the activities of the extremists. At the same time, it deplored instances of excesses on innocent civilians, which only assist the extremist cause.

Tripura — TNV Terrorism

The Polit Bureau expressed its concern at the continued campaign of savage killings indulged in by the TNV terrorists in Tripura. The Congress(I) in the State and at the Centre, are trying to foist the responsibility for this on the Left Front in the State. The baselessness of this charge and the lack of political support for the terrorists among the people, have once again been demonstrated by the decisive victory of the Left Front in the just concluded Panchayat by-elections. It should be noted that the Congress, in this election as earlier, was allied with the TUJS, which in its turn is working in close co-operation with the TNV extremists. As the earlier by-elections to the Assembly and the Autonomous Tribal Council had shown, these elections have again confirmed that the TNV would be no-

where had it not enjoyed the political support of the Congress-TUJS alliance. Lacking popular support, the TNV is operating with foreign backing from across the border. In order to meet this situation it has been decided that the State Government will identify those border areas which should be declared disturbed areas, and the Central Government will put at the disposal of the State Government the necessary security forces required to tackle the TNV infiltration through the border.

Gorkhaland — Centre's Stand

On Gorkhaland, the Polit Bureau noted with regret that the pronouncements of the Prime Minister are completely negative in finding a political solution, and are in fact helping the separatist forces which are indulging in violence against the peaceful citizens of the area. The assertion of Ghising that he has not withdrawn his letter to the King of Nepal confirms the anti-national character of the movement. The CPI(M) and the Left Front have always been and continue to be for the redressal of the genuine grievances of the Nepali-speaking people. Inclusion of the Nepali language in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, removing all doubts being raised to create confusion with regard to the citizenship rights of Indian citizens speaking the Nepali language, forming an autonomous council comprising the three hill subdivisions of the Darjeeling District — these would have met the legitimate political aspirations of the Nepali-speaking citizens of India.

The Central Government has been obstinately rejecting all these legitimate demands. The Polit Bureau called upon the Prime Minister and the Government of India to give up its narrow partisan attitude and cooperate with the Government of West Bengal to fight the divisive and separatist forces led by the GNLFF.

It congratulated the Nepali-speaking democratic people who are fighting the separatist forces by laying down their lives and courageously facing the terrorist attacks to defend national unity.

Assam — Attack on Minorities

The Polit Bureau regretted to note that in Assam, though differences have cropped up between the AGP Government and the AASU, they are united in attacking the legitimate demands of the minorities. The P.B. called upon all the democratic and pro-unity forces in the State to unite and fight for the legitimate demands of the minorities.

The Polit Bureau expressed grave concern at the call given by the Babri Masjid Convention for a programme of direct action in order to "save the Masjid" from Hindu occupation. It will be recalled that it was the Hindu communalists who had earlier called on the people to 'save' the very same place which they called "Ram Janambhoomi" for the Hindus. The U.P. Congress Government surrendered to this Hindu revivalist demand, thus making the place a bone of contention between the two communities. The new call would only add to the passions which have been whipped up on the issue, which will do no good to any community. The Polit Bureau noted with satisfaction that several Muslim individuals and organizations have spoken out against the call for the boycott of Republic Day. The effort, on the other hand, should be to come to such agreements as would respect the sentiments of both communities.

Goa—New Area of Conflict

The Polit Bureau noted with concern that a new centre of conflict has been opened in Goa where the people at large, and even the leaders of the ruling party, have been divided on the question of the official language. The opportunistic stand of the ruling party has again worsened matters and led to violent conflict.

The CPI(M) has always stood for the right of every linguistic group to use its mother-tongue as the medium for education and administration. In Goa, therefore, the rights of the linguistic groups—those who speak Konkani and Marathi—should be recognized.

Tamil Nadu — MLAs' Expulsion

The Polit Bureau noted with concern that the Speaker and the AIADMK majority in the Legislative Assembly in Tamil Nadu overstepped their jurisdiction and expelled duly elected members of the Legislature. Whether the members have become disqualified to hold their seats in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, is a question to be decided by other agencies and not by the Speaker and the Legislature. The P.B. therefore, called on the Tamil Nadu and Central authorities to rectify the wrong committed in Tamil Nadu.

BJP—Stand Condemned

The P.B. deplored the proposals made by the Bharatiya Janata Party at its recent National Council meeting in favour of a transition to the Presidential form of Government, which is harmful to the cause of democracy.

Crisis Intensifying

The P.B. noted with concern that the economic situation continues to worsen with harmful effects for the living conditions of the people. The price rise in essential commodities continues unabated. The Government has hiked up the prices of postal articles as a further burden. The concessions to monopolists and the private sector continue with a vengeance, and the liberalisation of imports is leading to widening the deficit in the trade balance. On top of all this the Government continues its policy of undermining the public sector and encouraging foreign capital. In this connection, the P.B. extended its full support to the call for a one-day strike in all public sector units on January 21 in defence of the public sector. It calls upon all its units to work to make the strike a success.

Forthcoming Elections

It was found regrettable that though the West Bengal Government had made the suggestion to the Election Commission

to hold the Assembly elections in February, still the election dates have not been fixed.

The Polit Bureau heard reports from West Bengal and Kerala on the preparations for fighting the elections in these States, due in a few weeks' time. Expressing satisfaction at the steps taken by the two State Committees, the P.B. hoped that the politically conscious people of the two States would give convincing victories to the Left Front in West Bengal and the Left Democratic Front in Kerala.

Build a Powerful Peace Movement*

**Statement dated January 20, 1987 issued by the
Polit Bureau of CPI(M) in New Delhi**

A year has passed since Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary, CPSU, made concrete proposals, on January 15, 1986, for the stage-by-stage reduction of nuclear weapons aimed at their eventual elimination by the year 2000. These proposals received world-wide support not only from the people of the Socialist and non-aligned countries but also from the people of the Western advanced capitalist countries. It will not be incorrect to say that these proposals unleashed a powerful peace movement aimed against the dangers of a nuclear war, for lasting peace in the world. These proposals were followed by a detailed exposition of the peace policies in the 27th CPSU Congress, which was hailed not only by the Communist Parties, but even by the Social Democratic Parties and peace loving people the world over.

Comrade Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech was another landmark where the issue of security of Asia and the Pacific region was clearly posed, as a part of the world-wide struggle for peace. Then came the Reykjavik proposals where the Soviet Union went to the extent of meeting all the U.S. and other Western proposals for reduction of nuclear weapons, and went beyond towards a lasting peace on this planet. But the refusal of Reagan to give up the SDI resulted in the failure of the talks.

The Eighth Summit of the NAM in Harare came in full

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 25, 1987.

support of the Soviet proposals. The Soviet proposals had their echo in the Six-Nation platform for the reduction of nuclear weapons and declaring outer space as a zone of peace. The Delhi Declaration which was the result of the talks between Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and M.S. Gorbachev became another chapter in the struggle for world peace.

The failure of the Reagan Administration to respond to the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests declared by the Soviet Union 18 months ago, and its continuation with the tests, has posed a big challenge to the peace forces in the world. And now the Soviet Union has been forced to declare that after the first test this year by the USA, the Soviet Union will be forced to abandon its moratorium. Instead of resorting to the path of peace the U.S. obstinacy is aimed at gaining superiority, thus changing the existing parity and endangering world peace.

The P.B. of the CPI(M), while appreciating and endorsing various proposals of the Soviet Union in regard to the reduction, banning and total elimination of nuclear weapons, on this anniversary of the Soviet proposals of January 15, 1986, calls upon all its Party units to join with all the forces struggling for peace, and contribute in building a powerful peace movement in the country capable of foiling the designs of imperialism.

It appeals to the Indian people to rally behind the slogans of peace and raise their voice against the machinations of U.S. imperialism to throw the world into the catastrophe of a nuclear holocaust.

West Bengal Polls Must be held in March*

Statement dated January 21, 1987 issued by the Polit Bureau of CPI(M) in New Delhi

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its serious concern at the Election Commission's delay in announcing the dates of the elections in West Bengal, despite the recommendation of the State Government that the elections be held on February 22. The P.B. wishes to remind the Election Commission that there is no rule or practice that dictates that elections to State Assemblies are all to be held on the same date. In fact, the last Assembly elections in West Bengal, Kerala and Haryana where elections are due now, were held on different dates in 1982. This year itself, the Election Commission has already fixed the date for the election in Mizoram while the dates for other State elections are still to be finalised.

Even the election schedule explained by the Chief Election Commissioner himself states that the preparation process in West Bengal will be over by January 20, and therefore there is no reason why the elections cannot be held in the beginning of March itself. The method adopted by the Election Commission is a further step in eroding the legitimate right of the State Government and the Cabinet to recommend the date of elections. Further delay in announcing the elections will only erode the people's faith in the constitutional and independent role of the Commission. It is therefore essential that the elections in West Bengal be announced, keeping in view the recommendation of the West Bengal Chief Minister.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 25, 1987.

Polit Bureau Greets the Striking Public Sector Workers*

Statement dated January 22, 1987 issued in New Delhi

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) greets the workers and employees of the public sector enterprises in the country for having magnificently responded to the call for a one-day strike on January 21, 1987. By this action, they have given the people at large a lead in the struggle against the attacks on the public sector, launched by influential leaders of the ruling party following the New Economic Policy of the Rajiv Government. The P.B. hopes that the one-day strike will be followed by a systematic campaign in which all the political parties, mass organizations and others interested in the defence of the public sector, independence and self-reliance of the economy, will join.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 1, 1987.

On Prime Minister's Press Conference*

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

The observations made by the Prime Minister in the Press Conference on January 20, 1987, on the situation in Punjab are, in the opinion of the Polit Bureau, of such a nature as would worsen the situation in the State and country. He seems to forget that the deteriorating situation in the State cannot be dealt with either by the Central Government or the State Government alone. The people of Punjab and the whole country should be mobilised against the extremists who are engaged in anti-national activities, backed by imperialism. Chief Minister Barnala is handicapped in mobilising the people due to the non-implementation of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. The Prime Minister is also ignoring the fact that his Party is totally failing to do its duty in Punjab with respect to mobilising the people.

It is neither factually correct nor fair to shift the whole responsibility for the non-implementation of the Accord on the Akali Government. The responsibility for this is no less on the shoulders of the Central Government. As the head of the Central Government, Rajiv Gandhi should think twice before taking steps or making statements which will lead to confrontation between the State Government and the Centre. It must be noted in this context, that the response of Chief Minister Barnala to the Prime Minister's remarks have been sober and in favour of national unity.

The Polit Bureau is also concerned at the manner in

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 1, 1987.

which the Prime Minister forced the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Venkateswaran, to tender his resignation. His remarks at the Press Conference were of such a character as would be intolerable to any self-respecting officer. No honest citizen in the country will accept a state of affairs in which any government employee is publicly humiliated as Mr. Venkateswaran was. This treatment has been meted out to a Foreign Secretary who was known for his commitment to the policy of non-alignment.

This action, in the wake of the resignation of G. Parthasarathi and the dissolution of the Policy Advisory Committee, and the transfer of K.R. Narayanan from the External Affairs Ministry, gives rise to the apprehension that these moves may have wider implications.

Polit Bureau Statement on “Hukumnama”*

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) issued the following statement dated February 4, 1987, to the Press on the “Hukumnama” issued by the High Priests from the Akal Takht on February 3, 1987 :

The “Hukumnama” issued by the Sikh “High Priests” yesterday, “directs, from the Akal Takht, all heads, presidents, and jathedars of all organizations using the name of Akali Dal, to send their resignations to the Akal Takht, Amritsar, by 5 p.m. on February 5”. It also stated that all the Akali Dal factions stand dissolved. The Five “High Priests” will meet again to give the Akali Dal a reorganized shape. Whosoever continues to use the name Akali Dal with its party, or raise a new party in this name, will be considered to be flouting the Akal Takht “Hukumnama”.

This “Hukumnama” is nothing but a ruse to pursue the decisions of the Sarbat Khalsa of January 26, which posed a direct threat to national unity by declaring its open support to the separatist demand of Khalistan, and by lending its support to all separatist and terrorist movements going on in the country. It has sought to usurp the authority for running all Sikh affairs for the Panthic Committee, in place of the democratically elected bodies, such as the SGPC or Akali Dal. It had already denounced the leadership of the Akali Dal (Longowal) and had asked for action against Barnala. The High Priests were not appointed through the normal

*Published in ‘PEOPLE’S DEMOCRACY’, New Delhi, February 8, 1987.

processes, but were nominated by the extremist-sponsored Sarbat Khalsa. The aim of encouraging separatism was made clear in the declaration adopted.

The Barnala Cabinet rightly denounced this Sarbat Khalsa "as a conspiracy of foreign powers which threw their agents to destabilise the unity and solidarity of India", and stated that "the Government could not remain a mere spectator to such a secessionist and seditious declaration from any platform whatsoever". The next day this statement was endorsed by the Akali Dal Working Committee, showing its determination to fight against the secessionist forces in whichever garb they may come.

The present "Hukumnama" is aimed at removing Surjeet Singh Barnala from the presidentship of the Akali Dal, followed by his removal from Chief Ministership, thus paving the way for intensifying the activities of the extremists and separatists for their nefarious game.

This is a very dangerous move, and if allowed to succeed will pose a serious threat to the unity of the country. It will be harmful to the cause of Punjab as well as the Sikhs. There is no precedence in the history of the Akali Dal where the spiritual authority is involved in settling major political differences.

The P.B. appeals to all the patriotic forces in the country, particularly the democratic-minded patriotic Sikhs, to raise their voice against this new manoeuvre.

The P.B. appeals to the Akali Dal (Longowal) to stand firm by the consistent stand taken against separatism, extremism and for national unity, and not allow itself to be blackmailed in the name of the "temporal authority".

The P.B. appeals to the Government of India to give up the policy of drift and find a political solution to the Punjab problem by implementing the Punjab Accord in letter and spirit, so that the forces of communal harmony and national unity are strengthened, and the game of imperialism and its agents defeated.

Polit Bureau Appeal for Rs. Five-Lakh Fund*

**Statement dated January 31, 1987 issued
in New Delhi**

The Polit Bureau has issued a call for the collection of a Central Party Fund of Rs. five lakhs for the year 1987. This fund call, which is an annual feature of the Party for raising money for the Centre, comes this year at a time when the country is facing a grave situation. The divisive and separatist forces, instigated and backed by imperialism and threatening national unity, have gone on to the offensive and are launching aggressive attacks. The Party is in the forefront in rebuffing their onslaughts.

In Tripura, the CPI(M) cadres are courageously battling the TNV extremists and many have laid down their lives to defend people's unity. In Darjeeling district of West Bengal, the CPI(M) and CITU ranks are heroically fighting the separatist and divisive Gorkhaland movement which has already claimed the lives of 28 comrades. In Punjab the Party and mass organizations are consistently mobilizing the people against the anti-national and terroristic activities of the Khalistani extremists.

The Party is giving the lead in fighting the forces of fundamentalism, separatism, communalism and divisiveness which are being backed by imperialism to break up the country. To strengthen this fight, the Party has to step up its intervention and activities in 1987 in a big way.

The popular resistance to the Government's anti-people and anti-democratic policies and attacks is growing,

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 8, 1987.

highlighted by the recent public sector workers' strike when over two million workers joined the protest action in defence of the public sector and against the retrograde economic policies of the Rajiv Gandhi Government. The Party has to redouble its efforts to foster these growing united struggles against the economic orientation and policies of the Government. The struggle to defend the economic and democratic rights of the working people, won through years of persistent struggle, to defend the economic independence of the country against the pressure of the multinationals, the World Bank and the IMF, is to be carried out in a big way in the coming year.

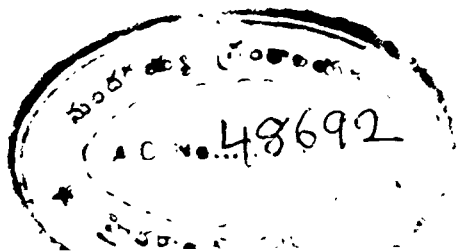
The broadening and intensification of the peace movement in India to encompass all the working people in town and country, is an urgent task before the Party and other Left forces. The world still faces the dangerous consequences of U.S. imperialism's obdurate stand to pursue the "Star Wars" and break the SALT-II treaty obligations. In its naked pursuit of global domination, imperialism is conspiring against our country and in the sub-continent. All this has brought the threat of war close to our country. It is essential that the Indian people, who are at present insufficiently aware of the war danger, be aroused to the threat and mobilized to defend peace. The CPI(M) has taken up this task on a priority basis in the forthcoming period.

We shall also soon witness the elections to the West Bengal and Kerala Assemblies which will be big political battles to assert the correctness of the political understanding and tactics of the Party. The mass electoral campaigns in these two States is part of the political struggle waged by the Left and democratic forces against the bankrupt politics of the Congress(I).

The Party Centre has to take up a multiplicity of tasks in the coming year in right earnest. In order to successfully meet its responsibility it has to be equipped, on a better and larger scale, to enable it to cope with the growing demands. This requires the enhancement of both its material as well

as monetary capacities. It is in keeping with this need that the call for the Party Fund is issued every year so that the resources of the Centre are continuously augmented.

The Party Fund campaign provides all the Party units, members and sympathisers an opportunity to go amongst the people and popularise the Party's political line and campaign for the Left and democratic alternative. The P.B. appeals to all the well-wishers of the Party and the Left movement to donate generously to the Fund and make the call a complete success.



On the Action of the ‘High Priests’*

Statement dated February 10, 1987 issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)

The “High Priests” working under pressure from the Panthic Committee of Khalistani extremists, issued a “Hukumnama” on February 9, declaring Surjeet Singh Barnala as a “Tankhaiya”. They have directed the Sikh masses all over the world to boycott Mr. Barnala and to extend no cooperation to him until the next order of the Akal Takht.

This “Hukumnama” is a direct challenge to the Indian Constitution and to Indian unity, and aims at establishing a theocratic party with the objective of setting up a theocratic State. This is intended to negate the democratic verdict of the Punjabi people who endorsed the Punjab Accord and gave a massive majority to the Akali Dal (Longowal) in the elections. By using the authority of the Akal Takht, a religious seat, for political purposes, the “High Priests” are directly playing the game of the anti-national elements and encouraging the forces of separatism and extremism.

The Polit Bureau appeals to the people of Punjab and especially to all patriotic-minded Sikhs who inherited the revolutionary tradition of the Gadr heroes, Babbar Akalis and innumerable martyrs in the struggle for independence, not to be carried away by the disruptive moves of the “High Priests”. They should firmly uphold the principles of democracy and secularism and thwart all attempts to impose a theocratic system. No heed should be given to

*Published in ‘PEOPLE’S DEMOCRACY’, New Delhi, February 15, 1987.

On the Action of the 'High Priests' 23

the calls of the “High Priests” unless they denounce the declaration of the Sarbat Khalsa, the Five-Member Khalistani Panthic Committee and confine their activities to religious affairs.

Polit Bureau's Homage to Comrade Chanan Singh*

**Statement dated February 16, 1987 issued
in New Delhi**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is shocked at the murder of Comrade Chanan Singh, CPI(M) leader, at Dhoot Kalan village on the evening of February 15, 1987. It denounces this heinous crime committed by the extremist assassins. Comrade Chanan Singh was a member of the Punjab State Committee of the Party and the Secretary of the Hoshiarpur District Party Committee. He was killed while returning from the State-level Convention held in Jullundur for national integrity and secularism.

Comrade Chanan Singh has laid down his life valiantly in the struggle against the Khalistani extremists who are backed by imperialism. In his death, the CPI(M) and the Left movement in Punjab have suffered a serious loss. Comrade Chanan Singh served the Communist movement with dedication for fifty years. He plunged into the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle when he was a student in 1934, by participating in the State People's Movement struggling against the feudal oppression in the Kapurthala princely State. In 1936 he joined the Party in the first batch of comrades. He first became a member of the State Committee of the Party in 1948. Altogether he spent eight years in jail in the pre-independence and post-independence period, and was underground for four years. Comrade Chanan Singh was the popular leader of the peasants and agricultural labourers in his district and the Kapurthala area. He was twice elected to

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 22, 1987.

the Punjab State Assembly; the first time when he was elected to the Assembly, he was a detenu in jail in 1952. Comrade Chanan Singh was in the forefront of the determined struggle being waged by the Left democratic and secular forces to preserve national unity and combat separatism in Punjab.

By killing Comrade Chanan Singh and other leaders, the Khalistani terrorists hope that the forces fighting for national unity will be demoralised and in disarray. But they will be proved decisively wrong. The tireless efforts of Comrade Chanan Singh and other martyrs to defend national unity will further inspire the democratic and patriotic forces in Punjab to combat the anti-national elements.

Comrade Chanan Singh's last political activity was to attend the State Convention to defend national unity and secularism. The P.B. calls upon all the Party ranks in Punjab and all democratic and secular forces to redouble their efforts to mobilize the people and activise them into a mighty force to rebuff and isolate the criminal terrorist gangs out to subvert the unity of the Punjabi people and India.

The P.B. pays its respectful homage to Comrade Chanan Singh. It conveys its grief and sincere condolences to his wife, family members and his colleagues.

CPI(M) Greets Saharawi People*

On the occasion of the 11th anniversary of the founding of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic, the C.C., CPI(M), sent its greetings to President Abdel Aziz. The text of the message is given below :

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its revolutionary greetings to the Saharawi people and its leader, the Polisario Front, on the occasion of their eleventh National Day.

On February 27, 1976, the proclamation of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) marked the most significant advance in the national liberation struggle of the Saharawi people. Since then the Saharawi people have heroically resisted and advanced against the innumerable obstacles put up by imperialism and its allies.

The naked aggression by imperialist-backed Morocco has assumed new dimensions in recent years, with the building of the so-called "walls" to buttress its illegal occupation of a part of the Saharawian State and protect the so-called "useful triangle". The Moroccan Government, isolated from the people of the world and outlawed by the International Court of Justice, is being unashamedly supported and financed by U.S. imperialism and its allies, and supplied with sophisticated arms.

The events of the last few years, however, have shown that the Saharawi people, under the leadership of the Polisario

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 22, 1987.

Front, have not only repulsed Morocco's aggression but have also scored significant victories. We salute you, on your successes, the determination and the unity with which you are conducting your liberation struggle. The Saharawi people have once again demonstrated to the world that no force can keep a people enslaved.

On this occasion we greet you on your military and diplomatic successes. While stoutly defending its national independence, the SADR has made steady progress in providing the Saharawi people with education, health and better living conditions. The SADR, supported by world public opinion and the progressive forces everywhere, is today recognized by the world community of nations.

Your struggle against Moroccan aggression backed by world imperialism led by the USA, to liberate your country fully and for peaceful economic construction for the people's advance, receives our Party's unflinching and unequivocal support and solidarity.

On this occasion please convey our fraternal and revolutionary greetings to the brave and courageous Saharawi people and to all members of the Polisario Front.

On Murder of Comrade Hukamchand Gulshan*

Statement dated February 21, 1987, issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) in New Delhi

Within the space of a week the Khalistani terrorists have struck again and killed another leading comrade, Hukamchand Gulshan of Hoshiarpur district on February 20. This crime follows the murder of Chanan Singh on February 15 in the same area.

Comrade Gulshan was a veteran leader of the Hoshiarpur district of the Party. As a young boy he joined the independence struggle in the thirties. He joined the Communist Party in the forties and was member of the District Committee since the days of the united Party. He spent several years in jail and underground. He was a popular peasant leader and a poet. He was shot down when he was engaged in mobilizing the people for a rally to condemn the killing of Chanan Singh.

By targetting the CPI(M) leaders and cadres the extremists hope to terrorize the Left, democratic and secular forces in Punjab, but the Party in Punjab will face these attacks with unflinching determination to mobilize the people against the anti-national terrorists.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) pays homage to the memory of this brave martyr and extends its heartfelt condolences to his family members and colleagues.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 1, 1987.

BJP Demonstration Condemned*

Statement issued on February 2, 1987, by the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) on the proposed demonstration by the BJP on February 23, 1987:

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its condemnation of the proposed demonstration by the BJP demanding dismissal of the Barnala Government and imposition of President's Rule. No sane person, no one who really cares for national unity and wishes to isolate the Khalistani terrorists in Punjab, can think of such a step, which is also demanded by the secessionists and the Sikh communal fanatics supporting them.

It is strange that the BJP should organize this demonstration to raise this demand after agreeing with the other political parties at a recent meeting to support the Barnala Government at this critical stage. The Longowal gathering called by the ruling Akali Party and the decisions taken by it, make it clear that forces striving for national unity in Punjab are organizing themselves to meet the challenge of the Khalistani disruptors. It is the patriotic duty of all to help and strengthen these forces. It has been already decided that there should be a joint campaign involving all political parties to mobilize the people in Punjab and isolate the foreign-inspired secessionists.

At this juncture to organize a demonstration to demand the imposition of President's Rule is to help the Khalistani

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 1, 1987.

elements, under the guise of voicing concern for the protection of the minority. The minority in Punjab which has been the target of the secessionists, can be protected only by the joint efforts of all political parties and by supporting the Barnala Government's fight against religious fanaticism. It cannot be done by helping the Sikh communalists to oust Barnala. The P.B. urges upon the BJP leaders to abandon the demonstration and from joining with the Akal Takht to aggravate the communal situation in Punjab.

Polit Bureau Hails Soviet Offer on European Missiles*

Statement dated March 3, 1987, issued in New Delhi

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) welcomes the latest initiative of the Soviet Union seeking to eliminate medium range nuclear missiles in Europe. The proposal to this effect made by Mikhail S. Gorbachev on February 28 is yet another major step taken by the Soviet Union towards eliminating nuclear weapons from this world.

At the Reykjavik Summit, the United States of America refused to come to an agreement which would have paved the way to rid the world of nuclear weapons, by insisting on their "Star Wars" programme. The Summit talks had shown agreement on the need to remove all medium range missiles from Europe within the next five years.

By making this latest announcement, the Soviet Union has taken the significant step of separating the issue of medium range missiles in Europe from the package of the Reykjavik proposals. This sincere offer provides a historic opportunity for the peoples and Governments of Europe to rid their territories of nuclear missiles and advance in the creation of a non-nuclear Europe.

The Polit Bureau while full-heartedly supporting this proposal of the Soviet Union hopes that the USA and its allies will respond meaningfully to this offer. The Western European Governments must realize that a serious response on their part will be in full conformity with the intense

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 8, 1987.

desire of the people of their countries and of the whole world for securing a lasting peace on this planet.

The P.B. calls upon the Indian Government and the people to fully support this proposal and exercise pressure to force the USA and its allies to respond positively to this Soviet initiative.

Polit Bureau Condemns Use of I.B. Officers in Kerala Poll Process*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) issued the following statement dated February 26, 1987 to the Press :

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly condemns the use of top officials of the Central Intelligence Bureau to intervene in the political affairs of the Kerala Congress and the United Democratic Front, to influence the elections in Kerala after the election process has begun. It has been reliably learnt that the Director of the I.B., Mr. Narayanan, and the Joint Director, Mr. Rathindran, were dispatched to Kerala on February 22, by the Central Government to try and influence the Kerala Congress factions who have not come to an agreement on seat allocations. Mr. Rathindran, camping in Ernakulam, held discussions with Kerala Congress leaders by phone. Further, Intelligence Bureau officials were utilized to contact and liaise with Kerala Congress leaders.

The blatant use of police officials of the Central Intelligence Bureau is a grave interference in the election process in Kerala by the ruling party at the Centre. It shows to what desperate lengths the Congress(I) is prepared to go in fighting the elections. The Kerala State Committee of the CPI(M) and the Polit Bureau have protested to the Chief Election Commissioner against these illegal activities, and demanded

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 8, 1987

that they should be stopped immediately. The CPI(M) calls upon all democratic sections to voice their protest against the unlawful and unconstitutional use of the Government and Intelligence machinery by the Congress(I) Government at the Centre.

On UDF Malpractices in Kerala Elections*

Statement dated March 9, 1987, issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) notes with growing concern the desperate and illegal measures being adopted by the UDF Government to influence the election process in Kerala. The CPI(M), both at the State and Central level, has protested strongly to the Election Commission of India against these malpractices.

Chief Minister Karunakaran personally participated in a move to threaten an independent candidate to withdraw from the Wandoor constituency in Malappuram district on February 26. When the concerned candidate was summoned by the Chief Minister, a big contingent of police was standing by who were utilized to intimidate him to withdraw.

The UDF ministers, in blatant violation of the election norms, have been announcing a series of schemes and appointments. The Revenue Minister has announced a hundred crore rupees scheme to build check-dams with an eye to influencing voters in the drought affected parts of the State. The Education Minister has announced the appointment of the Director of the State Institute for Children's Literature, and the Governing Body of the Granthasala Sangham. The Water Department has advertised for private contracts to hire 1200 watchers for water tankers and appointment of scores of supervisors in the department. All these steps are being taken to misuse the official machinery in favour of the Congress(I) and the UDF.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 9, 1987.

The CPI(M) has also protested to the Chief Election Commissioner against the move to prevent the Government employees on election duty from utilizing the postal ballot to which they are entitled.

All these steps make it obvious that the Congress(I) and the UDF are bent upon vitiating the poll atmosphere by their illegal practices. The CPI(M) has demanded that the Election Commission authorities immediately intervene to nullify these announcements violating the election rules and take the Chief Minister, Cabinet and concerned officials to task. The Commission should ensure the rights of the Government employees on election duty to utilize the postal ballot, and create conditions for the Opposition to function freely without official intimidation and obstruction.

Polit Bureau on Chandra Shekhar's Statements*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) issued the following statement dated March 18, 1987, on Shri Chandra Shekhar's remarks :

Patriotic forces in Punjab are busy in mobilizing the people of Punjab against religious separatism and extremism which is playing havoc with the lives of innocent people and threatening the unity of the country at the behest of imperialist forces. It is distressing that at this very time, the Janata Party President, Shri Chandra Shekhar, instead of contributing to this struggle, has decried the all-parties' campaign as "non-productive", thereby providing grist to the mill of the extremists. He has also not hesitated to defend the Akal Takht whose authority today is being used to serve the interests of extremists and separatists. When the country is facing the threat of religious fundamentalism which seeks to divide the people, Shri Chandra Shekhar attempts to justify the mixing up of religion and politics, knowing fully well that this idea strikes at the very roots of secularism which is essential to keep the country united.

Shri Chandra Shekhar has also advocated a dialogue with the extremists who have made Punjab the playground for imperialist machinations. Is he not aware that the extremists are being trained by imperialism in Pakistan and sent here with the ulterior motive of destabilizing the country? Does he not know that the Akal Takht and the precincts of the

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 22, 1987.

Golden Temple are being used for anti-national activities, for raising the demand of Khalistan and for harbouring criminal elements ?

When the democratic minded people of Punjab have begun to courageously fight the forces of extremism and separatism and the workers of most political parties are engaged in a life and death struggle, the statement of Chandra Shekhar can only blunt the edge of this fight, and thus give sustenance to the divisive forces.

Polit Bureau Hails Kerala Electoral Victory*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) warmly greets the people of Kerala for decisively defeating the combination of communal and casteist forces led by the Congress(I) and for giving an effective majority to the Left Democratic Front to form the Government. By this verdict, the politically conscious people of Kerala have shown their awareness in facing the challenge posed by the divisive forces to the unity of the country. They have responded to the appeal of the LDF to struggle against communalism, casteism and fundamentalism and in defence of secularism, while rejecting the policies of the Congress(I) of forging opportunistic alliances for narrow electoral gains.

The Polit Bureau notes that the firm and principled lead taken by the CPI(M) in having no alliance with communal and casteist parties has found a positive response from the people. They have expressed their faith in secular politics in the face of the Prime Minister distorting the meaning of secularism in his election campaign and adopting double standards of calling for separating religion from politics at the national level, while sustaining his alliance with such forces in Kerala. The P.B. hopes that the Congress(I) will draw proper lessons from this debacle of its short-sighted and narrow policy of forging alliances with communal and divisive forces which can prove disastrous for national unity.

The Polit Bureau also expresses its satisfaction that the

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 29, 1987.

people of Kerala have rejected all the illegal blandishments offered to them by the UDF in its desperation during the election campaign. They have voted against the UDF for its dismal record of corruption, internal bickerings and blatant appeasement of communal and casteist forces. It is also a verdict on the UDF policies which have led to the deterioration of the economic conditions of the people.

The militant struggles launched by different sections of the people, workers, peasants, agricultural labourers, youth, students, women and employees against the harmful policies of the Congress(I) and the UDF, contributed to the shift in popular support for the LDF. The P.B. congratulates the cadres and supporters of the CPI(M) and all the partners of the LDF, for their dedicated work in taking the political line of the LDF to the people, unitedly and vigorously.

The victory in Kerala will provide a further fillip to all the Left, democratic and secular forces in the country, which are at present not only engaged in the struggle against the disastrous effects of the economic policies, but are also fighting the forces of disruption, raising high the banner of secularism and national unity as against the Congress(I) policy of compromise with them.

Election Results in Kerala (Total No. of Seats = 140)

	*1987	1982		*1987	1982
CPI(M)	36	26	Congress(I)	34	Cong(I) 20
CPI(M) Supported					Cong(A) 15
Independents	4	4	IUML	15	15
CPI	16	13	Kerala Congress(J)	5	8
CPI Supported			Kerala Congress(M)	4	6
Independents	1	—	NDP	1	4
Janata	7	4	SRP	—	2
Congress(S)	6	7	Others	2	7
RSP	5	4	Rebel Cong(I)	1	—
Lok Dal	1	(DSP) 1	UDF Supported		
		AIML 4	Independent	1	—
Left Democratic Front	76	63	United Democratic Front	63	77

*Elections were held only for 139 seats.

Polit Bureau Hails West Bengal Electoral Victory*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) hails the results of the elections in West Bengal and sends its warm greetings to the people of the State for giving a crushing defeat to the Congress(I), and for returning the Left Front to power for an unprecedented third successive term. This result is due to the sincere implementation of the policies taken up by the Left Front during the past five years, to serve the interests of the workers, peasants, employees and other sections of the toiling people.

Under Left Front rule, West Bengal became an island of communal peace when compared to the tensions which plague the Congress(I) ruled States. People of all communities live and work in harmony, thereby setting a sterling example of national unity. The State has an exemplary record in maintaining peace and security with guaranteed democratic rights for all citizens, without the atrocities on oppressed social sections like scheduled castes and tribes which are common in Congress(I)-ruled States. The Left Front Government decentralised the administration by revitalising the panchayat system and making it the vehicles for the development of rural areas and for advancing the interests of the rural poor.

Given this record of service to the people, the Congress(I) was trying desperately to increase its strength in the Assembly, and in the last leg of the campaign the Prime Minister even gave the call for dislodging the Front. The propaganda launched

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 29, 1987.

by the Prime Minister had no political direction. The empty slogans of a "New Bengal" and fake economic concessions were combined with a sustained tirade of falsehoods. The cadres of the CPI(M) were slandered — those thousands who dedicatedly serve the people and who braved the brunt of the Congress terror in the seventies and during the Emergency. These are the cadres who have built up the most powerful mass organizations of the working people existing in the whole country. The Congress(I) also did not hesitate to initially use the Gorkhaland agitation by encouraging the forces which are out to disrupt the unity of the Bengali and non-Bengali people.

But the people of West Bengal have given a fitting reply to the Congress(I) by rejecting its false propaganda, and by further reducing its strength in the Assembly and reposing their confidence in the CPI(M) and the Left Front. The election results, giving 85 per cent of the seats to the Left Front, show that the correlation of forces brought about by the prolonged record of class and mass struggles led by the CPI(M) and other Left Forces, have been able to decisively counter the policies of the bourgeois-landlord classes represented by the Congress(I).

The Polit Bureau extends its warm greetings to the cadres and supporters of the CPI(M) and the partners of the Left Front. It is their dedicated work and political campaign which has contributed to this result. This victory will undoubtedly strengthen the Left and democratic forces in the country and assist their advance.

Election Results in West Bengal (Total No. of Seats = 294)

	1987*	1982		1987*	1982
CPI(M)	186	174	Congress (I)	38	49
Forward Bloc	26	28	Congress (S)	—	4
RSP	18	19	Gorkha League	—	1
CPI	11	7			54
WBSP	4	3			
DSP	2	3	SUCI	2	2
RCPI	1	2	Muslim League	1	—
FB (M)	2	2			
Left Front	250	238			

* The results of 291 seats given here

Central Committee Communiqué*

Issued following its meeting held in New Delhi on April 9-12, 1987

Reviewing the international situation the Central Committee of the CPI(M) welcomed the latest proposal made by the Soviet Union for the removal of medium range missiles from Europe by both sides. It called upon the Indian people to support the Soviet proposals and to strengthen the peace movement in the country to fight the danger of imperialist instigated nuclear war.

West Bengal, Kerala : Victory for Alternative Policies

The Central Committee greeted the Party members, Party committees and its allies in West Bengal and Kerala for their electoral victory which was achieved during the course of a serious struggle waged against Congress(I) policies. The defeat of the Congress(I) in the two States was not an electoral defeat but was secured on the basis of consistent pursuit of basic policies, policy of defending the interest of the masses, policy of fighting communalism, policy of continuous struggle against the divisive forces. It is these policies for which the people in the two States carried on their struggles for the past few years, that enabled the Party to inflict an electoral and policy defeat on the Congress(I). The victory was the result of the continuous mass activities of the Party in the two States which enabled the Party to maintain the closest contact with the widest sections of the people. In this sense it was not just an electoral victory, not

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 19, 1987.

a simple test at the polls, but a balance-sheet of the class activities of the Party and the furious class struggle expressed through the elections.

Coordination of Secular Opposition for Wider Struggles

The success of the CPI(M) and its allies in the two States has galvanised radical sections all over India. It will help in projecting the Left and democratic alternative all over the country. It is creating new hopes among the patriotic forces that the communal and divisive forces can be contained and fought on the basis of popular unity and that democratic rights of the people can be sustained and defended against the growing attacks of the Congress(I) ruling party. Among broad sections of the people the urge is being expressed for larger and wider combination of democratic and patriotic elements to meet the present critical situation in the country and to accelerate the process of isolation of the Congress(I). The Central Committee fully appreciates the desire of wide sections to unite and combine against the Congress(I) ruling party. The C.C., therefore, decided that steps should be taken by the Party to coordinate the activities of all secular Opposition parties and intensify the struggle on common issues. The Central Committee, however, feels the victory in the two States by itself does not offer a readymade solution to the problem of a viable alternative which can only come through further intensification of mass struggles, further isolation of the Congress(I) and a change in the correlation of forces, with the Left forces and the CPI(M) increasing their weight in shaping the political developments. The lesson of the victory in the two States is that the balance against the Congress(I) cannot be turned without a principled fight on the vital issues facing the country, issues of national unity, communalism and the divisive forces. Parties and groups which vacillate and do not take a principled position are unable to gather the democratic discontent emerging out of the anti-people policies of the Congress(I). Centre-State relations, the question of national unity, the defence of democratic rights, protection of parliamentary norms and defence

of economic interests of the people, provide issues for common activities to activate wide sections of the masses.

Further Strengthen Left Unity

The Central Committee urges upon the Left forces and Left parties to strengthen Left unity as large sections of people are looking to them for continuous guidance in matters of daily 'struggle and struggles on important political issues. To strengthen Left unity and develop its appeal further is the common task of all Left parties which have solidly stood together in the two States and now have a history of uninterrupted cooperation over many years. In these circumstances any discordant note in the Left ranks, any departure from Left unity should be a matter of grave concern.

The C.C., therefore, is unhappy that the CPI(M) and the CPI could not join their efforts and strength in the recent Panchayat and District elections in Andhra to combinedly fight the Congress(I) in cooperation with Telugu Desam.

Rajiv's Low-level Propaganda

After hearing reports from Kerala and West Bengal about the tactics adopted by the Congress(I) the Central Committee came to the conclusion that the ruling party violated almost every norm for electoral conduct. The Congress(I) unleashed the most untruthful propaganda against the CPI(M) and its Left allies. In particular, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi reduced election propaganda to the level of street-brawls. All because he and his party had nothing concrete to say to the people on the grave issues facing the country. He was unable to explain the economic policy of the Government, its opportunism on the issues like Punjab and Gorkhaland, the creation of Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi controversy, and finally the alliance with the Christian and Muslim communalists in Kerala.

West Bengal : Political Maturity of Electorate

The C.C. noted that the economic situation in West Bengal as everywhere else in India was very critical because of the

crisis of the capitalist path and the economic policy pursued by the Congress(I). An electorate with less political consciousness would have voted against the Left Front Government holding it responsible for its distress. The West Bengal electorate showed its political maturity in fixing the responsibility for its economic distress and gave absolute majority of vote to the Left Front. To secure an absolute majority of vote for the Left Front in the context of the prevailing circumstances obtaining was an outstanding achievement. It spoke of the performance of the Left Front in West Bengal and the close ties of the Party with the mass of people.

Kerala : Frontal Fight Against Congress(I)-Led Communal Alliance

In Kerala also it was a frontal fight against the combination of the Congress(I) and the fundamentalist and communal forces. The fact that these forces could not secure a majority in the Assembly means that the initial process to storm the citadel of communal forces has started. This is a very important development for the Indian people as a whole. The Party and its allies in Kerala cannot rest on their oars but must continuously endeavour to win over the masses under sectarian communal influence and bring them into the national stream. The C.C. appreciated that many leaders of the minority communities have shown courage to come out in the open against their communal leaders and boldly asked the people to vote for the LDF. The C.C. noted that in spite of economic distress and opportunism of the Congress(I), both in West Bengal and Kerala, Congress(I)'s political votes have not decreased. In West Bengal its voting percentage is 41 per cent. It means that more efforts are needed to create an impact of the correct policies on the minds of the Congress(I) following.

The C.C. calls upon all State units and members of the Party in all States to popularise the meaning of the electoral successes in the two States and rouse the consciousness of the masses in defence of national unity and the fight against the Congress(I) policies. It also calls on them to leave no

effort to organize the mass in defence of their economic and democratic rights and to forge the unity of the people from below which alone is a successful answer to the divisive and communal forces. The successes achieved in West Bengal and Kerala in containing and frustrating the communal and divisive forces has its roots in the common struggle waged by the Party and its mass organizations, a common struggle which drew all sections of all castes and communities to defend their rights.

Fairfax Scandal

The C.C. expresses its deep condemnation of the conduct of Rajiv Gandhi in relation to the Fairfax affair. It considers the hiring of foreign agencies under whatever pretext an act which is likely to endanger the security of the nation. To hire an American agency in the present international context is to be reckless in regard to the security of the country and turn a blind eye to the widespread espionage that the CIA spread through various agencies. It is no excuse for the Prime Minister to say that he did not know about it. It shows the thorough incompetence of the Cabinet and its leading figure. In any other country this would have led to the immediate resignation of the Cabinet itself.

The C.C. condemns the Government for its refusal to face an open discussion in Parliament. The reference to the Supreme Court Judges is not an honest attempt to find truth but an escape from the judgement of the elected Parliament. In this particular case reference to Supreme Court Judges is nothing but an open violation of the sovereignty of Parliament.

In the minds of the people the reference to Supreme Court rightly raises the suspicion, that it is a device to protect the guilty parties who were criminally looting Indian money and transferring it abroad. The C.C. demands that the full truth be placed before the public and all those who are guilty of transferring Indian funds abroad be exposed and punished.

Growing Instability At the Centre

The Fairfax affair and the subsequent affair connected with the Defence Ministry, and the resignation of V.P. Singh, all show the growing instability at the Centre born out of the crisis of the system. The Cabinet is run as a one man show, its collective responsibility does not exist. A common purpose of carrying out the mandate of the electorate and the wishes of Parliament is not respected; the Ministers have reduced themselves to subordinate servitors of Rajiv Gandhi. In such a situation every scandal rocks the Government, eroding its credibility everyday. The second scandal concerning the Defence deal exposes corruption in the highest places and reveals how unscrupulous elements are misappropriating vital defence expenditure.

Disregard of Constitutional Norms

The C.C. took note of the recent differences between the Prime Minister and the President and the sordid Press controversy following it. There is no doubt now that the Prime Minister had failed to discharge his responsibility about keeping the President informed and misinformed Parliament. The C.C. is of the opinion that the differences did not arise out of personal conflict only. They are part of the Congress(I) party's line of subordinating the Constitutional provisions to its own ends. Notwithstanding its huge majority in Parliament the ruling party and its Cabinet, because of their anti-people policies, find it absolutely difficult to observe the Constitutional norms. Any restriction on their unfettered behaviour is resented. The separation of powers under the Constitution, the Constitutional powers of the President, all these lose their relevance if they affect the interests of the party.

Budget : Hardships for the People

The budget placed by the Prime Minister continues the basic tenets of the new economic orientation—policies in favour of privatisation and import liberalisation—which is going to cause further hardships for the people.

GNLF Attacks Continue

The C.C. expressed concern over the continuing violence by the GNLF in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal. It appreciated the work of its cadres in meeting this onslaught and keeping high the flag of national unity. It asked the Central Government to reconsider its rejection of the Party's proposals for inclusion of Nepali language in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution and for the creation of an autonomous council for the hill areas of Darjeeling district.

New Situation in Punjab Developing

The C.C. considers that with the stand taken by Barnala against the fundamentalists and the all-party support to him in fighting the terrorists, a new situation is developing in Punjab which can play a big role in the hands of the secular parties. It is essential to carry on a massive propaganda to win over the people and isolate the terrorists. The joint rallies have already produced an atmosphere conducive to national unity. Much more needs to be done and with greater speed to change the situation in favour of the forces standing for the integrity of the country. In this situation the refusal of the Central Government to implement all the terms of the Accord and the release of innocent Jodhpur detenus is hampering the process of secular advance. All patriotic and democratic forces must urge upon the Central Government to implement all the terms of the Accord so that the forces standing for national unity are able to seize the initiative and carry on the battle with greater vigour.

Tensions in India's Neighbourhood

The Central Committee expressed its concern over the growing tensions between India and its neighbours. It expressed its concern over the strained relations between India and Pakistan which recently led to the massing of armed forces on the borders. It also took note of the fact that there were concerted efforts on the part of the external forces and internal reactionary forces to coordinate their activities and create a crisis.

The C.C., also expressed its serious concern at the strained relations between Sri Lanka and India over the Tamil question. While condemning the barbarous atrocities being committed by the Jayawardene Government on the Tamil minority, the C.C. noted that the continuing tension in the relations between the two neighbours is being utilised to the advantage of U.S. imperialism.

Report on Political Developments*

**Adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M)
in its meeting held in New Delhi on April 9-12, 1987**

International Situation

The months since our last meeting were crowded with quickly moving events in the world and events of outstanding importance in the national sphere. The international arena is dominated, on the one hand, by the danger of nuclear war which still persists and on the other, by the various proposals which the USSR makes to save it from the disaster of a nuclear war. In response to these proposals the struggle for peace gets strengthened, forcing the war-mongers on the defensive.

Along with this are the outstanding developments within the socialist countries which are reaching a new stage of development and ushering in striking changes to expand socialist democracy, activate socialist economy and introduce radical changes in management and planning to take full advantage of the socialist system of production combined with the advantages of the industrial-technological revolution.

Socialist China is fighting the difficulties of the transitional period with its determination to protect the leading role of the Communist Party, dictatorship of the proletariat and the guiding role of Marxism-Leninism, and meet the attack of bourgeois liberalism in a systematic planned manner.

The fighting people of Nicaragua continue to battle against U.S. intervention and draw the sympathies of the world.

*Published as a booklet in May 1987.

Angola, Namibia and Afghanistan all are in the line of struggle against U.S. imperialism defending their national freedom. The people of South Africa enact new examples of heroism and steadfast devotion to freedom in their fight against apartheid—the soulless cruel regime of the South African white minority.

The persistent refusal of the U.S. Administration to respond to the peace proposals of the USSR and exposure of its deals with Iran to fund counter-revolutionaries in Nicaragua have brought down the credibility of Reagan and his policy makers. The Soviet Union's peace proposals continue to impress the world and strengthen the peace movement. At its 27th Congress, the CPSU raised the question : Must the inevitability of war between the two social systems be accepted? If so, there is no escape from destruction of the world. It came to the conclusion that the world can be saved from this destruction if all endeavour for the security for all countries. The Soviet foreign policy is now based on ensuring an all-embracing system of international security. Its core is the Soviet proposals for elimination of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. The acceptance of these proposals by the U.S. and other imperialists will change the face of the world. But the U.S. continues to build its "Star Wars" project. The January 1987 plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU, therefore, observed : "Today's complex international situation and the striving of the hawk-like imperialist forces of the U.S. to break the military-strategic parity and to achieve nuclear superiority demand speedy building up of the economic potential, comprehensive strengthening of the defence of our country and maintenance of its defence capability at the proper level, high training standards and combat readiness of the armed forces and constant vigilance".

Nonetheless the efforts to set the world on the path of nuclear disarmament are vigorously pursued. The February proposals of the USSR to remove medium-range missiles of both sides from Europe have again impressed the world.

They are hailed all over Europe and elsewhere. They offer assurance to the people of Europe that peace can be maintained and security ensured. This will lead to proportionate reduction of arms of both sides in Asia, ensuring security and peace for the Asian-Pacific region. If accepted by the U.S. they will initiate the process of reduction of nuclear weapons and open the way for further progress.

But the U.S. refuses to respond adequately though the Reagan Administration is unable to reject them outright. In the meanwhile, the French Government raised objections referring to balance of conventional weapons, though it is aware that the Warsaw countries have made comprehensive proposals for balanced reduction of conventional weapons and forces. Margaret Thatcher has also decided to follow France. During the course of her Moscow visit she belittled the idea of non-proliferation and reduction of nuclear arms. The imperialist gang is working together to foil all efforts for de-nuclearization.

The year 1986 was declared the International Year of Peace by the United Nations and many anti-war activities during the year were held under its aegis. Naturally, therefore, the peace consciousness and peace movement of the year were dominated by the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests which attested to the seriousness with which the socialist country treated the call for international year of peace. No imperialist government showed any response to the U.N. call and the U.S. went on with new tests and building up its "Star Wars" project. More than a year ago, the Soviet Union advanced a plan for destroying the stockpiles of nuclear weapons in stages and suggested a moratorium on all nuclear tests. This was a concrete step appreciated by the people of all countries but the imperialists refused to respond. They trotted out the excuse that there was difficulty in verification, that they could not be sure the other party was conducting tests in secret. But this argument also lost its validity when the proposal put forward by the six countries of five continents called for an international system of verifying the

silence of nuclear testing sites. The Soviet Union accepted the proposal. The American seismologists also accepted the reliability of the proposal which showed that the opposition came only from the U.S. Administration's refusal to endorse any proposal.

Three important events of the year in the struggle for peace were (1) the Soviet proposal for a nuclear free world, (2) the Reykjavik Summit, (3) the joint Indo-Soviet Delhi Declaration. They showed the new initiatives of the USSR to prevent nuclear war; the refusal of the U.S. to respond to any genuine proposal to check the drive towards nuclear war and the close understanding between non-aligned India and the socialist Soviet Union on the question of peace. The Delhi Declaration expressed the will of the non-aligned nations to co-operate with the socialist world to save peace, freedom and check aggression and war.

This persistent struggle for peace, this exposure of the imperialist war-mongering designs is producing results, changing opinions, attracting new organizations and new sections to demarcate themselves from their former stand and overcome their hesitations to support the peace proposals of the Soviet Union.

In the United States, in the spring only 42 per cent of the Americans favoured ban on nuclear testing; the percentage increased to 56 per cent in the summer; to 80 per cent in the autumn of 1986.

The discussions and thinking in the 27th Congress of the Socialist International held in Lima in the summer of 1986 are also striking. There was a positive response to the Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions and appeal to the U.S. to respond; there was condemnation of the "Star Wars" project, of U.S. aggressive moves in Central America. These positions, being close to the positions of the Communist Parties, enabled the SUPG (Socialist Unity Party of Germany), West German Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to submit joint proposals on the establishment of a European zone, free from chemical

weapons and of a nuclear-free corridor along the borders of the three countries. Of great importance is the decision of the British Labour Party to work for the removal of U.S. nuclear weapons and for unilateral nuclear disarmament.

The World Peace Council where 94 countries were represented and which met in Denmark in 1986, said in its appeal, "to halt the nuclear arms race on the earth and to prevent it in the outer space to eliminate all nuclear weapons, we demand urgent practical steps. Stop all nuclear weapon tests immediately. No to "Star War". This represents a diverse spectrum of world public opinion. The Communist Parties of the world are actively participating in the struggle for peace, consistently strengthening and broadening it. All consider it as a force which will decide whether the antagonism between the two worlds of socialism and imperialism should be necessarily expressed in a nuclear war or can it be contained through popular pressures by maintaining peaceful co-existence.

National Situation

The five months since our last meeting have witnessed rapid changes intensifying the contradiction between the ruling party and the people. The most outstanding event during the period born out of the intensification of the contradiction was the election victory of CPI(M) and its allies in West Bengal and Kerala.

But apart from this there were important developments intensifying the isolation of the ruling party due to the bankruptcy of its policy and its incapacity not only to hold the unity of the country, but also the administration. The full effects of its new economic policy are now being unfolded with protests from sections of indigenous industrialists. Its opportunistic dealings with communal and divisive forces is landing it deeper and deeper into the mire of compromise. It has got the Babri Masjid issue virtually into an impasse. Its farcical policy of anti-poverty programmes, and its 'consideration' for weaker sections and manipulations of

the reservation issue are encouraging sectarian movements enabling the divisive forces to strike deep roots among certain oppressed sections of the people. Its growing loss of influence in States ruled by it is seen in the rise of peasant agitations under the leadership of landlord and other vested interests. The push and pull between the landlords and bourgeoisie is reflected in these agitations which often draw thousands of peasants under its influence. It indicates that the conflict between the partners of the bourgeois-landlord alliance is further intensified. The class character of some of these agitations is coming out in the open when, as in Gujarat, the sponsors openly demanded suspension or withdrawal of minimum wage legislation for agricultural workers.

The Congress(I) State Ministries all have tarnished images where rarely a Minister escapes the charge of corruption. But now the new addition is of charges regarding sexual offences of Chief Ministers. The Congress(I) MLAs and its leaders have now also developed an unsavoury reputation. The links between the Congress(I) leaders and anti-social elements are seen at least in some States. All this has led to the growing disintegration of the Congress(I) party, its lack of cohesiveness. Its commonness of purpose is day by day becoming a thing of the past.

The Rajiv Government is being rocked by one scandal after another. The conduct of Rajiv Gandhi in relation to the Fairfax affair is to be strongly condemned. The C.C. considers the hiring of foreign agencies under whatever pretext an act which is likely to endanger the security of the nation. To hire an American agency in the present international context is to be reckless in regard to the security of the country and turn a blind eye to the widespread network of espionage that the CIA spreads through various agencies. It is no excuse for the Prime Minister to say that he did not know about it. It shows the thorough incompetence of the Cabinet and its leading figure. In any other country this would have led to the immediate resignation of the Cabinet itself.

The C.C. condemns the Government for its refusal to

face an open discussion in Parliament. The reference to the Supreme Court Judges is not an honest attempt to find truth but an escape from the judgement of the elected Parliament. In this particular case reference to Supreme Court Judges is nothing but an open violation of the sovereignty of Parliament.

In the minds of the people the reference to Supreme Court rightly raises the suspicion that it is a device to protect the guilty parties who were criminally looting Indian money and transferring it abroad. The C.C. demands that the full truth be placed before the public and all those who are guilty of transferring Indian funds abroad be exposed and punished.

The Fairfax affair and the subsequent affair connected with the Defence Ministry, and the resignation of V.P. Singh, all show the growing instability at the Centre born out of the crisis of the system. The Cabinet is run as a one man show; its collective responsibility does not exist. A common purpose of carrying out the mandate of the electorate and the wishes of Parliament is not respected; the Ministers have reduced themselves to subordinate servitors of Rajiv Gandhi. In such a situation every scandal rocks the Government, eroding its credibility everyday. The second scandal concerning the defence deal exposes corruption in the highest places and reveals how unscrupulous elements are misappropriating vital defence expenditure.

The developments connected with the Fairfax affair, the conflict between the President and the Prime Minister and the defence corruption scandals show the fragile character of Congress(I) integrity and stability of the Government.

No wonder Rajiv does not hold the promised organizational elections. The call arising out of Indira's assassination has been ignored and the process of disintegration of the ruling party has started with greater speed.

The growing contradiction between the ruling party and the people finds expression in the authoritarian drive against the democratic rights of the people, growing concentration

of the power at the Centre, attacks on the powers of States and violation of constitutional norms by the ruling party. The conflict between the President and the Prime Minister is part of this drive. The individualist and arrogant methods of Rajiv Gandhi's functioning also indicate the dictatorial concentration of power in one person inside the Congress(I).

Simultaneously, imperialist pressures on the economy and foreign policy are increasing. India finds herself at odds with all its neighbours—China, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Pakistan—the tension between India and the last two assuming serious proportions. It should be realized that these tensions on all borders, especially with Pakistan, are also meant to bring about the collapse of the Indian economy weighed down by defence expenditure. This has already started happening. While Rajiv Government stands by non-alignment the economic situation is creating new pressures. It will be, besides, a big achievement for U.S. imperialism if it succeeds in erecting permanent barriers between India and Sri Lanka. The democratic forces in India do not realize the danger from this likely hostility. They are blind to the fact that it helps imperialist penetration in the sub-continent, enabling them to surround India by hostile Governments.

The misdeeds of the Congress(I), its growing isolation from the people do not mean that either the Left or Opposition secular parties will automatically gain from it. On the other hand, as is seen, reactionary communal parties and landlord interests are trying to reap the benefit from the anti-national policies. The secular Opposition bourgeois parties have, in the last few months, unfolded a sorry tale of lack of principled policy. They are also unable to maintain their unity. The Congress(S) leader Sharad Pawar deserted to the Congress(I) taking away with him perhaps the strongest section of the party. The Lok Dal has been split by a man with absolutely no qualifications and no political credentials, his success perhaps due to manipulation of the Congress(I). The Janata Party seems to be having two lines. The President Chandra Shekhar is unable to side with other secular parties

on the Punjab issue and is totally blind or deliberately prefers to be blind to imperialist plots against the country. He pins more faith on the Badal group to solve the Punjab problem. The party has a place of honour for people like Shahabuddin, who, to cultivate the Muslim vote, is prepared to outdo any fundamentalist in appealing to reactionary customs and traditions. In Maharashtra, a section of the Janata Party is rousing linguistic chauvinism over the Maharashtra-Karnataka issue and is preparing to lead a Satyagraha agitation against the Ministry of their party in Karnataka. The Telugu Desam still maintains its line of taking a democratic stand on issues of national interest. Farooq Abdullah who was with the Opposition a few months back, is now an ally of the Congress(I). Such is the state of Opposition secular parties. The task of the democratic forces gathering the discontent on a secular basis is not easy, but the CPI(M) and the Left have now the advantage of being considered as a more reliable and consistent force. Left unity and its strengthening should no doubt compensate to a great extent the disadvantage arising from the weaknesses of the secular Opposition parties.

Economic Situation

The economic stewardship of V. P. Singh and Rajiv Gandhi has landed the country in difficulties intensifying the crisis of the economy. The foodgrains production during 1986-87, according to the latest Economic Survey, is expected to increase by a mere 0.6 per cent over the previous year. Though the foodgrains production for 1986-87 is estimated at 151.50 million tons, i.e. one million tons higher than the figure for 1985-86, it is lower than the figure of 152.37 million tons for 1983-84.

The Survey optimistically states that healthy industrial growth is being maintained but is unable to curb growing sickness of industries. Sickness has now become endemic, affecting both traditional industries due to lack of investment in modernization and the newer units because of bad

management, poor technology and insufficient demand. Industrial sickness, according to the Survey, is a major area of concern. No wonder, because at the end of December 1985 itself, sick units in the portfolio of commercial banks stood at 1,19,606 involving an outstanding bank credit of Rs. 4207.93 crore. Between March and November 1986 consumer price index number for industrial workers increased by 7.8 per cent. The annual rate of inflation, which had declined by 4 per cent up to August 1986, went up to 7.1 per cent by October 1986 and was 6.3 per cent in January 1987. The Survey considers the price situation as a matter of concern. The overall exchange reserves recorded a decline of Rs. 60 crore at the end of January 1987 as compared with an increase of Rs. 577 crore and Rs. 1271 crore in 1985-86 and in 1984-85 respectively. Debt service burden of past borrowings is increasing and this was one of the factors affecting the improvement in trade account in 1985-86. The balance of payment position is going to be under pressure in the coming years.

Not satisfied with this condition of Indian economy, the World Bank is demanding further deregulation of economy, privatization, import liberalization and control of labour.

Its report on India, December 1986, concerning industrial regulatory studies makes the following proposals with their demands : "Immediate removal of licensing barriers for capacity growth, considerably narrowing the number of industries subject to capacity licensing and simplifying the procedures for technology and foreign investment licensing; an increasing focus on firm conduct and restrictive trade practices and reduced concern with individual firm size and some of the structural features of the industrial markets; a shift away from reservation policies for small-scale industry and toward the promotion of growth and modernization of small firms; increased expediency of shedding activities, the transfer of assets and the redeployment of labour (with mandatory compensation) in the context of stricter lending guidelines and a fully implemented Government commitment

to avoid taking over "sick units"; and the progressive decontrol of industrial prices and greater focus on the impact of price regulation upon investments are needed in trade and fiscal policies to stimulate export activities and to allow greater import competition."

Rajiv Gandhi's speech before the gathering of international capitalists held in February makes it clear that he is determined to implement these directives of the World Bank.

Rajiv Gandhi's determination to lower the barriers against foreign capital and his decision to destabilize the public sector was reiterated in the 29th Congress of the International Chambers of Commerce attended by businessmen from 79 countries. To woo foreign capital the Prime Minister talked about rationalization of the tax-system, that is, more concessions to big capitalists, Indian and foreign, at the expense of the Indian people, and accelerated demolition of the system of controls and duties. He told them that it was an on-going process which will continue for their benefit. "This will be a continuous process and we believe once we have touched a particular area and rationalized the system in that area, whether it is the controls, the excise duties, the custom duties, the taxation systems, the location system, then we should not tamper with that—and we will try to maintain that in the coming years." Having given this long term assurance the Prime Minister clarified the Government's policy regarding the public sector, promising to confine it to critical areas, i.e., in the language of the Arjun Sengupta Report, to a narrow core sector.

This reiteration of the new economic policy was coming in the wake of its implementation over the last two years. The World Bank directives to lower import duty, to accommodate foreign imports, to relax regulations and controls, licensing and several other things are only ruining Indian concerns. Simultaneously some big Indian houses are developing new ambitions to exploit their countrymen with the help of foreign capital and are eagerly waiting for foreign equity participation. A climate is being created for partnership

of Indian capital with foreign multinationals for exports to other countries and also for joint ventures abroad. A section of Indian big business, feeling the growing constraints of the domestic market, is eager to seek new pastures abroad. It is demanding that the Government remove all restrictions on the export of Indian capital abroad. Rajiv's speech in fact summed up these developments.

Rajiv's statement was of course welcomed by the ICC which felt "that foreign direct investment with accompanying technology and management and market technique, can and should play a significantly larger role in the transfer of resources from industrialized to developing nations. Moreover, to help achieve a substantial increase in foreign direct investment its traditional form must be complemented by arrangements such as joint ventures, licensing agreements, management contract, production sharing, and international subcontracting. The swapping of foreign debt for equity was a novel and increasingly popular device for attracting investments while reducing investments at no cost to hard currency areas". This is nothing but an open proposal to overrun the economy of under-developed countries. The new proposal to swap foreign debt for equity reveals the design to lay hold of the productive capacity of under-developed countries.

Rajiv Gandhi and the Indian capitalists who hosted the Conference were of course not in the least surprised by these proposals. Because under the pressure of the World Bank they have been using some of these devices to attract foreign capital giving up their earlier insistence that any import of foreign capital should safeguard the long term interests of indigenous capital and self-reliance of the economy. Nowhere is this seen more clearly than in relation to transfer of technology. In the earlier years it was India's policy to purchase technology outright from foreign sources, master it, and through indigenous research further develop it. Indigenous research prevented permanent dependence on foreign suppliers. But now it seems that this simple safeguard

no longer suits the immediate interests of the new economic policy. It does not suit the interests of foreign suppliers and some Indian big businessmen who are now seeking partnership with foreign capital for high profits.

The Government is now making a right about turn and shows preference for foreign equity capital with advance technology rather than outright purchase. The excuse of lack of money and resources is of course there. Rajiv Gandhi virtually spelt out this policy when he told the ICC that Indian industry was ready to co-operate with industry from any part of the world at perhaps every level of technology. But India was no longer interested in merely buying technology and using it without developing it further. It wanted to switch to a system where it could co-operate in developing new ideas and then transferring these ideas into further products.

Greater scope to private industry under the new economic policy is now inevitably leading to collaborative agreements between Indian and foreign businessmen on terms which are detrimental to self-reliance.

The process has already started and some of India's big businessmen are already in the field to take advantage of the situation and repudiate conditions of collaboration laid down by earlier Governments. Typical is the case of the fertilizer industry. Under the 7th Plan the expansion of this industry is to be the sole privilege of the private sector. While new expansion is supposed to take place in the private sector, public sector plants are to be closed under the excuse that they are unable to earn profit. This is the meaning of Rajiv's assurance to the ICC that the public sector will be confirmed to critical areas alone. The plan for a phased closure of the public sector concerns met with strong resistance from the workers of the Sindri Fertilizer Factory. The authorities had to retreat and the first public sector concern was saved from closure for the time being. But the threat of closure hangs over all the public sector concerns.

In the meanwhile what is the achievement of the private

sector employers who have undertaken to establish new plants? They are not in a hurry and are waiting till the way is clear for them to enter collaboration agreements of the type they want. These business houses do not want to avail themselves of Indian expertise and skill which has been developed in recent years. They want to hand over the construction of the plants to foreigners and import foreign equipment. That is why there is hardly any progress in the development of private plants. These big bosses are bound to have their way because day by day the Government itself is embarking upon a policy of discriminating against Indian skill and expertise and plumping for foreign expertise.

The most glaring instance of recent times is the way the National Geographical Research Institute was treated by the Government. The Government recently purchased Canadian Electro-Magnetic Survey System because Canadian aid was available. This despite the fact, as an editorial of *The Times of India* points out, that "an Electro-Magnetic system has been developed and tested in the country by the National Geographical Research Institute, Hyderabad. And as it happens this is one of those rare instances where the Indian technology is actually superior to the technology being imported. It has by now been used for nearly ten thousand line KMs. of Electro-Magnetic Survey and its response has been technologically superior to response of the system being used by the Canadians".

The same story is there about BHEL. Its order book is getting thinner every year and it will be unable to use a substantial part of its capacity in the coming years. To meet the energy demand of the country, BHEL's capacity must be fully utilized. But the Government pleads lack of resources and under this dubious excuse it is permitting import of foreign equipment. As a result not only private concerns are importing equipment for captive power plants but public sector concerns are also doing the same. All this because the advanced countries have offered credit to India for the import of these plants. A Government which grants concessions

of thousands of crores of rupees to businessmen now pleads lack of resources to keep the indigenous industry running and plumps for foreign imports.

The evil effects of these imports are already to be seen in the dwindling fortunes of Indian capital goods industry. The liberalization of imports and the lowering of custom duties are directly affecting the viability of Indian industries. There is no customs duty on the import of capital goods for the fertilizer industry. Power projects attract 25 per cent duty on capital goods. This is leading to increased preference for import of capital goods in these sections. The recent budget has given more relief to the fertilizer and capital goods industries. As an article in a well-known economic journal points out, "Special review of the impact of the import liberalisation on fertiliser and power equipment industries reveals that the impact of the policy on national economy as a whole will be disastrous and will lead to drastic reduction in the capacity utilisation of Indian fertilisers and power equipment manufacturing units. In terms of extant prices, the total demand for 10 approved fertiliser plants is around Rs. 2,300 to 2,400 crore ignoring capital equipment needed for erection and construction work. Now if the Indian manufacturers are deprived of the bulk of these orders it can be very well imagined what is going to be the fate of these manufacturing units".

The capital goods industry showed a growth rate of only 3.3 per cent in 1985-86. It was affected by large imports mainly of machinery and machine tools. Six machine manufacturing industries showed decline in 1985-86 varying from 14 per cent to one per cent compared with 1984-85. During the first six months of 1986 the growth rate was reduced to 0.3 per cent.

It is reported that the Government refused to accede to the request of the Indian goods producers to check the influx of foreign imports. The Industry Minister did propose to levy increased customs duties on certain capital goods but the Finance Minister would not agree. Instead he proposed

to lower the duty on inputs required for the industry. This was in consonance with the Government's policy of giving national treatment to foreign capital.

The Economic Survey, 1986-87, detailed measures which were introduced to promote electronic industries. These show how in the name of promotion of indigenous production wide scope is given to facilitate imports and promote foreign collaborations. The Government claims success for its policy by showing increased production in the industry. How far this advance leads to real indigenization of the industry and how far the industry is getting dependent on foreign import is anybody's guess. One thing is quite clear: the increased facilities given for import of components, software, etc., are now being availed of by big business houses and the smaller concerns are placed in great difficulty. The big industrialists who are also exporters are able to draw on the manifold export concessions while the small ones are threatened with ruin.

Rajiv Gandhi forgot to tell the international business community assembled in the ICC that he was taking steps to curb labour and its right of organization to ensure profitability of their investment.

The budget proposals of Rajiv Gandhi carry forward the same policy of opening India to the blast of foreign competition, of import liberalization, of giving relief to the capitalists and businessmen at the expense of the people. Except for a minor relief in relation to the capital goods and fertilizer industry, there is no relief to indigenous industries against increased import liberalization. The reduced taxes on the upper strata continue while the people are going to be taxed with the burden of high prices. The provision of deficit financing of Rs. 8,000 crore in the budget will lead to accelerated rise in prices, fleecing the people. The proposed restrictive labour legislations will facilitate the transfer of burden of the new economic policy on to the shoulders of the workers. Rajiv Government's policy is nothing but passing on the burden of the economic crisis to the shoulders of the people to ensure

safety for the investment of foreign capital and indigenous capital. In the meanwhile in the name of controlling non-developmental expenditure, the relief measures for people affected by recurring drought are restricted. There is an urgent demand from several States to save the rural mass from starvation. Starvation deaths are taking place in Orissa and the Central Government is unable to give proper relief to the needy. The peasants, the agricultural workers are going to be the worst victims of Rajiv Gandhi's policy.

Our Party has been determinedly fighting the new economic policy of the Rajiv Gandhi Government and warning the people that it may end in enchaining our economy. Our trade unions succeeded in organizing a mighty strike of public sector workers, a strike of two million workers and officers to demand reversal of the policy. That was an important intervention of the working class in policy matters. We must continue this fight and bring about larger mobilization into action.

Sri Lankan Developments

The rapid deterioration in the Sri Lankan situation has led to extremely strained relations between India and Sri Lanka, a situation which provides fertile ground for imperialist manoeuvres. The people and the Governments of both countries seem to be unaware of the likely consequences of this estrangement and are proceeding as if the Western powers have no interest in the developments in Sri Lanka and the shape of India-Lanka relations.

The bitterness and intensity of the situation is summed up in the recent appeal of Sirimavo Bandarnaike, "to desist from any course of action that will adversely affect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka". She further said that she was making the appeal "after having closely watched the serious and alarming developments between the Governments of Sri Lanka and India for the past few days". Mrs. Bandarnaike issued her appeal after her meeting with Sri Lankan President Mr. Jayawardene and the Indian High Commissioner J.N. Dixit.

What are the alarming¹ developments referred to by Mrs. Bandarnaike in her appeal? Of course there was a sharp attack by India on Sri Lankan Government's policy of seeking a military solution to the Tamil problem, the policy of wholesale massacre of Tamil civilians and the economic blockade of the population in the Jaffna Peninsula. India also rejected the cosmetic steps and puerile concessions announced by the Jayawardene Government to befool the world and Indian opinion.

But this by itself would not have opened India to the charge of planning to take steps adversely affecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka. The air is thick with rumours that India is preparing to take some positive action in support of the LTTE and the Tamils, giving up its role of mediator and advisor. India, it seems, has announced her determination to send relief and aid to the affected people of Jaffna Peninsula suffering from the inhuman blockade which denies the civilian population fuel and other necessities of life. Such a step is likely to lead to a conflict between the two Governments ending in incalculable results. In any case, giving up the role of mediator will definitely mean more active interest and help to the Tamil fighters in every matter. The Sri Lankan Government is afraid that this will prolong the resistance of the Tamil fighters and remove all chances of a quick solution which they thought was round the corner.

The Sri Lankan Government and the Opposition also know that they are not in a position to maintain a prolonged and sustained war against the Tamils. If the conflict gets prolonged they will be compelled to rely more and more on military and economic aid from Western powers and their allies, compromising their country's independence. At least a section of Sri Lankan patriots realises this danger.

India also cannot look on with equanimity on the likely consequences of the present alienation. The two countries and the two Governments are heading towards a collision and it should be avoided at all costs. Further alienation and

collision will mean invitation to the imperialists' diplomacy to play one country against the other and penetrate deep into the political life of Sri Lanka.

Already the mercenaries from Israel, South Africa, Britain, and the USA are operating in Sri Lanka and helping the Lankan Government against the Tamils. Not to be outdone, the Pakistani trainers are there to help the war against the Tamil militants. Here is an assembly of international reaction used by the Sri Lankan Government against its own nationals. When you use foreign mercenaries to kill your own people, your own nationals, do you not violate your own sovereignty?

No wonder the U.S. mercenaries are there. The U.S. imperialists have their eye on the Trincomalee harbour and are keen to get a firm footing in Sri Lanka. Prolonged conflict, instability and insecure conditions suit them excellently. The U.S. imperialists often help both sides to weaken each other and secure their domination. Does the Sri Lankan Government know this? Perhaps in the Government there are ministers and people who see the danger of imperialism and try to do their duty by pleading for India-Lanka understanding. But there are also hawks in the Government playing the U.S. game of erecting walls of suspicion between the two countries, two Governments and the two people. These elements were against India's mediating role, they were against parleys and consultations with India and relied more on mercenary troops from abroad to crush the Tamils.

But India cannot take a line of drift, a line of tit for tat, and allow enmity between the two countries to develop. This will be a master triumph of imperialist diplomacy to isolate India from all her neighbours. India must take quick steps to defuse the situation assuring Sri Lanka that the Government and the people of India firmly stand for the integrity and sovereignty of their neighbour and are prepared to render every help for the purpose.

Recent diplomatic efforts of India reveal some weaknesses. While India did express her commitment to finding a solution

within the framework of Sri Lanka's sovereignty, the point was not sufficiently stressed and repeated to assure democratic opinion in Sri Lanka. The task of modern diplomacy consists not only in having a correct principled approach to the issues involved but in carrying conviction to the people of the country concerned. The Government to Government approach has to be reinforced by a persuasive explanation to the people. This was hardly attempted which enabled the hawks to propagate that India was not a genuine mediator but a partisan. It should be no surprise therefore if the majority public opinion in Sri Lanka, concerned as it is with the integrity of the country, should be influenced by this propaganda.

It is necessary that India should reiterate her desire to settle the issue within the framework of Sri Lanka's integrity and on the basis of the 19th December, 1986, proposals. She should also see that the LTTE also makes a clear statement spelling out its desire to achieve settlement on the basis of Sri Lanka's integrity and with the 19th December proposals as the basis for the negotiations. Press reports say that the LTTE has now expressed its desire for negotiations and India's High Commissioner to Sri Lanka, Mr. Dixit, has conveyed this to the Sri Lanka Government. India's insistence that the military offensive against the Tamils should be stopped is a legitimate and principled demand.

One does not know whether the Jayawardene Government also is a victim of encouragement from abroad and is provoked by the hawks into launching a cruel assault on the Tamils. After announcing the 19th December proposals it suddenly decided to settle the issue by military means, even with the help of the notorious mercenaries of the world and of notorious freedom killers like Israel and others, some of them stooges, of the USA. America seems to be working with India which is demanding justice to the Tamils while her allies, Israel, Pakistan, South Africa and Great Britain, co-operate with the Lankan Government to crush the Tamils. A fine international division of labour!

The Jayawardene Government first tried to modify the

19th December proposals under pressure from reactionary forces at home. Then suddenly it decided to act as if the 19th December proposals were not there and decided to settle the issue by way of extermination. In its military assault to destroy the Tamil fighters it has left no cruelty, no barbarity uncommitted. The operation of military forces is the cowardly operation of an exterminating force determined to wipe out the civilian population. It is not a force defending the integrity of Sri Lanka but exterminating its own citizens. Jayawardene and the hawks have brought shame to Sri Lanka and are raising permanent barriers between the citizens of Sri Lanka and of the two countries. All this is compromising the freedom of Sri Lanka and making the country vulnerable to imperialist pressures.

Unfortunately for Sri Lanka all patriotic and national forces do not see this danger. A substantial section talks about the war to the finish and extermination of terrorists, that is, of Tamils. They aid and abet the game of U.S. imperialism. That politicians of Sri Lanka like Sirimavo Bandarnaike have fallen victim to this outlook underlines the gravity of the situation.

The warning voice, however, comes from the Left parties and especially the Communist Party of Sri Lanka which sees the danger and forewarns the people against it. The imperialist danger is also seen by some members of the Jayawardene cabinet but their voice is yet weak.

The Jayawardene Government, if it wants to save Sri Lanka, must announce withdrawal of all military action against the Tamil fighters and lifting of the inhuman, cowardly embargo against the Jaffna Peninsula. Its demand that Tamils should simultaneously announce withdrawal of their resistance and retaliatory activities is correct and should be endorsed by the LTTE. The Jayawardene Government should further announce its decisions to hold talks on the basis of the 19th December proposals and should assure the LTTE and other Tamil militant groups that it will not take advantage of ensuing peace to the detriment of the latter. This should enable India

to resume her mediatory role. This is the only way to save Sri Lanka and the Tamils and the friendly relations between the two neighbours, and frustrate U.S. plans to fish in the troubled waters of Sri Lankan politics.

Relations with other Neighbours

The last few months have witnessed unfavourable developments in India's relations with other neighbours also. People's China has protested against grant of Statehood to Arunachal Pradesh. The Government of India has described China's protest as unwarranted interference in India's internal affairs. At the same time it is a matter of satisfaction that both Governments have expressed their keen desire to settle the dispute amicably.

The dispute over the Chakma refugees hounded out of Bangladesh by military operations threatens to strain relations between the two countries. Indo-Pak relations are now relations of growing tension and naturally so. With an ever larger supply from the U.S. of sophisticated weapons, promise of AWACS and the certainty that Pakistan possesses or is soon going to possess a nuclear bomb, the threat to India's security is obvious. All these years the U.S. Administration was assuring the American people that Pakistan had no intention of developing nuclear weapons, and therefore military and economic aid cannot be barred under the Symington Amendment. Now that the truth is out, the Reagan Administration has decided to continue arming Pakistan with a new plea. The U.S. needs Pakistan more than Pakistan needs the USA. In short the continued supply of arms to Pakistan possessing a nuclear bomb is presented as necessary for U.S. security. General Zia recently announced that Pakistan was on the way towards producing a nuclear bomb, a statement which he recently tried to retract. He also announced that war between the two countries was not totally ruled out.

This certainly is not an atmosphere conducive to friendship and peace, notwithstanding the Zia stunt of visiting India to witness a cricket match.

The seriousness of the situation was brought home to all by the mobilization of Pakistani forces on the Punjab border a few kilometres away from Amritsar. The excuse was that India was mobilizing huge forces on the Pakistani border for its three-yearly manoeuvres for which notice was duly given to the Pak Government.

The Pakistani forces had their own manoeuvres recently but they did not withdraw their forces from the border after their manoeuvres were over. It seems they were waiting for India's Republic Day. On that day the Muslim communalists were to mobilize Muslim masses to boycott the celebrations. Pakistan's official circles were hopefully looking to developments following the boycott. Even more eagerly they were awaiting another development. That day the Khalistanis were to declare the formation of Khalistan from the Golden Temple.

This was indeed a serious situation. The effective and quick steps taken by India prevented untoward developments. This was an attempt to combine the operations of internal and external forces against the Indian people but it failed. Nevertheless it underlined the gravity of the situation, the worsening of the relationship between the two countries and an atmosphere of insecurity and doubt. But there were enough innocents in the country who thought that the Government of India was over-reacting and there was nothing much in the mobilization of the Pakistani forces. These elements deliberately underestimate the anti-India doings of Zia's Government and screen U.S. imperialism which is giving sophisticated weapons to the martial law regime and praises Zia as a sober statesman and a man of peace. In reality they operate as a fifth column of U.S. diplomacy to screen U.S. designs in the sub-continent.

This emphasizes the necessity of developing fraternal solidarity between the democratic and working class movements of the two countries. The people of Pakistan, struggling against the martial law regime and growing domination of their country by U.S. imperialists, represent the real will and interest of

the Pakistani masses. Their advance, like the advance of the Indian movement, constitutes the real guarantee of peace and friendship between the people of the two countries.

The Indo-Pak relations and developments in Sri Lanka shed light on the recent imperialist activities in this sub-continent. From time to time the U.S. agencies, including circles connected with the State Department, publicise that there is now greater understanding between the USA and India and that friendly relations are developing unlike the past. News is also spread that the deal for the super-computer is almost clinched and that there is going to be co-operation in defence research between the two countries, and so on. There is also lot of praise for Rajiv Gandhi and his leadership of the nation.

This propaganda is only intended to cover up the designs behind the huge U.S. military aid to Pakistan, to lull India into a false sense of security. It leads the Indian Government to concentrate fire on Pakistan. Rajiv Gandhi's statements are all condemnatory of Pakistan but there is very little mention of the U.S. role in aggravating India's security problems. Now it is revealed that India will not get the super-computer but something inferior to it.

In this context greater attention needs to be paid to certain happenings and changes in India's Foreign Ministry. The Policy Committee headed by G. Parthasarthi to advise the Cabinet was suddenly dissolved a couple of months back. Its importance in relations to foreign policy matters was earlier reduced and circumscribed by turning it into a general advisory committee. It was packed with a number of people who had very little knowledge of foreign affairs and included people who took non-alignment with a pinch of salt. Its main prop was G. Parthasarthi, a defender of non-alignment and national self-respect, a diplomat of the earlier Nehru days. He continued to be the foreign policy advisor of Smt. Gandhi in the entire period of her Prime Ministership. But now his services are suddenly dispensed with. This is followed by the rude and arbitrary dismissal of

Foreign Secretary Venkateswaran who had the courage to expose to the world that American mercenaries were operating in Sri Lanka against the Tamils.

Is Parthasarathi's dismissal a result of a fight among coteries surrounding Rajiv Gandhi or is it the offering made by India's young Prime Minister to propitiate the USA and quicken the process of 'understanding' between the two countries? Is Sri Venkateswaran a victim of the same illusion about growing good relations with the USA? The dismissal of the staunch advocate of non-alignment combined with the consequence of Rajiv's new economic policy raise questions which will have to be answered in the next few months.

The Turning Point in Punjab?

Bourgeois politicians finally awakened and in a rare demonstration of unity they are supporting the Barnala Government which has now taken a stand against the diktat of the Acting Head Priest of the Akal Takht and its efforts to oust him and seize the ministry for the supporters of Khalistan.

This is really a battle between the elected representatives of the people and religious authority which has placed its services at the disposal of the secessionists and foreign imperialists. It is a battle between religious fundamentalism which seeks to dominate Indian politics and the secular forces who stand by the republican Constitution.

The CPI(M) has been warning that in the context of the current situation in Punjab, the Barnala Government, despite its vacillations, deserves support of all the democratic forces to avoid a complete polarization on communal lines. The Khalistanis and their patrons were concentrating against it because it was a big obstacle in their way to have sway over the mass of Sikh peasantry. But the Congress(I), the Janata Party, and especially the BJP, made the Barnala Government their target to the satisfaction of the extremists. The BJP demanded that the Barnala Government should be dismissed and the State should be handed over to the army. The Congress(I) party in the State demanded several times

that it should end its support to the Government in the legislature, i.e., prepare conditions for its dismissal. The president of the Janata Party went further and openly displayed his sympathy for the opportunist group of Badal and Tohra.

Now, the bankruptcy of these policies stands exposed. All these parties are forced to support the Barnala ministry and concentrate their attention on the challenge of the High Priests supported by the Khalistanis. Now they realize that pursuit of their earlier policies will end in handing over Punjab to the Khalistanis and the priests. Even the BJP which has been cashing in on the killings of Hindus in the State is compelled to slur over its earlier demand.

The crisis was maturing during the last few months. It was becoming clear that unable to oust Barnala from leadership, unable to do so through the fifth column activities of some of his opportunist colleagues, the priests and the Khalistanis would come out in the open and demand subordination of the Akali Party to the edicts of the religious authority. This was of course a desperate measure, the last throw of the gambler, to whip up religious frenzy for their cause. During the last six months, attacks and murders of Sikhs at the hands of the extremists had increased. This was not going to endear them to the Sikh masses. This also indicated that opposition from inside the Sikh community, was having effect. A big offensive on the part of the Head Priest of the Akal Takht was necessary to disorganize Barnala's followers, intimidate Akali members of the Assembly and put Barnala in a minority. This would have completely changed the electoral verdict and made the Acting Head Priest of the Takht and the extremists appear as the real representatives of the people. This would have also led to the seizure of the ministry by pro-Khalistani elements. It would have placed the Khalistanis in a very advantageous position to proclaim themselves as the duly elected authority of the people of Punjab. It would have led to immeasurable consequences and political upheaval.

But Barnala's firm stand, his refusal to accept the hukumnama and step down from authority has saved the situation for the time being.

In fact, Barnala with all his vacillations, was already poised against the High Priests and the extremists. In spite of many compromising moves, he was expressing his firm commitment to fight against the Khalistani extremists and protect the unity of the country. Earlier, he showed courage in sending the police into the Golden Temple to clear it of anti-social and extremist elements. For lack of sufficient support from all political parties, Barnala was put on the defensive because of this courageous move. The bourgeois political parties, including the Congress(I), failed to make use of this courageous decision of Barnala and arm him with further confidence to continue the fight. Since then Barnala was under constant pressure from the reactionaries, the High Priests and was left to manoeuvring on his own. Only the CPI(M) and the CPI understood his difficulties and encouraged him to demarcate himself from the vacillating elements and take a firm stand against the religious fundamentalists.

It was, therefore, a question of touch and go. The Akal Takht launched its offensive against Barnala, asked to dissolve his party and on his refusal declared him a tankhaiya. But Barnala now, by being firm, gave a unique opportunity to all secular and national minded parties to seize the lost initiative in Punjab and unite their efforts to isolate the secessionists.

Precious time has no doubt been lost due to the opportunist manoeuvrings of the bourgeois parties and the opportunist position of the Congress(I) which, with its failure to implement some major parts of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord, added to the crisis and weakened Barnala's position, but better late than never. The all-party support to Barnala, the Longowal conference, the resolution adopted by the Akali Party there and the massive gathering at Ludhiana and the subsequent gatherings and rallies on Shaheed Bhagat

Singh Day, expressed the united voice of political parties against secession and subordination of politics to theocratic dictates. The decision to cover Punjab with a series of mass meetings constituted an important step to start the political battle against the secessionists and the theocratic challenge.

But this united battle is just starting. There will be many vacillations to start with, differences about speeches, and so on. These are likely to be utilized by those who have been forced to take a stand by circumstances to support Barnala.

But the Left and secular parties must realize that strengthening this unity and strengthening Barnala and his colleagues and rousing them to fight the extremists and the religious priests is the only way to save Punjab and national unity. A massive campaign must be launched and the initiative lost after the elections must be seized back. Matters will be easy if the Rajiv Gandhi Government drops its opportunist considerations for the Haryana elections and decides to fulfil all the terms of the Accord—release of the Jodhpur detenus, transfer of Chandigarh and settlement of the water dispute. The Left and democratic forces must constantly urge on the Congress(I) and the Central Government to fulfil the terms of the Accord so that Barnala's hands in fighting the extremists are immensely strengthened.

This is very important because nothing has been more harmful to the cause of national unity in Punjab and given greater encouragement to the Khalistani elements than the betrayal by Rajiv Gandhi's Government of the terms of the Punjab Accord. If the Government had kept its word the Punjab problem would have been by now settled, with the Khalistanis and the religious priests isolated from the people.

Due to the Congress(I) opportunism the people of Punjab have suffered immensely and unity of the country has been endangered, encouraging the forces of destabilization. There should be no relaxation of pressure on the Rajiv Government to fulfil all the terms of the Accord.

Ghishing Again

Once again Congress(I) tactics of handling secessionist forces have failed. The soft-peddling of the Gorkhaland issue, the attempt to win over Ghishing by describing him as a wronged person has yielded no results. Ghishing promised to suspend his movement for two months and create a peaceful atmosphere. But the promise was not kept. Policemen, CPI(M) workers and others are being murdered by Ghishing's followers. Houses of opponents are set on fire. The demand for Gorkhaland is reiterated with greater emphasis. Rajiv Gandhi and the Central Government have been fooled into the belief that Ghishing is in a position to deliver the goods. The man who posed as the unchallenged leader of the agitation no longer controlled the situation. But the recent revelations made by a weekly raised the question, who is Ghishing and who is guiding him? An Article in the *Illustrated Weekly* reveals, "the Centre decided to harness RAW's services around May 1986 with the express purpose of guiding the GNLf agitation along lines which would cause maximum embarrassment to West Bengal's Left Front Government".

"Ghishing's trip to Delhi in August in 1986 was organized by RAW. The then RAW operator in Darjeeling, J.N. Sharma specifically asked the GNLf president to travel to Kathmandu where Ghishing met S.S. Katoch, the RAW chief in the Nepalese capital. Later Ghishing met Arjun Singh and Fotedar who apparently asked him to call off the Black Flag Demonstration on August 15."

What is one to make of these revelations? Ghishing was acting as a RAW man to create difficulties for the West Bengal Government. Ghishing succeeded so well that he not only created difficulty for the West Bengal Government, he roused secessionist forces to undermine national unity. It is the Bhindranwale story repeating itself in Darjeeling. Bhindranwale was patronized by the Congress(I) to create difficulties for the Akali Party, as a counter blast to the electoral claims of the Akali Party. But the imperialists ran

away with him and his movement. The same has happened with Ghishing who is no longer able to control the extremist elements. The Congress(I) is foisting upon the nation the price of its opportunism and selfishness.

Every avenue is to be explored to isolate the extreme sections and rescue the Gorkha masses from their political influence. This is a hard political battle which has to be carried mainly by the Left and democratic forces, especially our Party.

In fighting it the CPI(M) and the Left forces should assure the Gorkha masses all over India that they stand for full justice to them and equal treatment. They highly appreciate the sacrifices of Gorkha soldiers of the Indian Army in defending the country against external aggression. These Gorkha masses are far more numerous and are extended over a far bigger territory than those living in Darjeeling district and their interests cannot be secured by the narrow restricted slogan of Gorkhaland. They are part of Indian people, their demands are part of the demands of the Indian masses and can be secured only through a joint struggle. The CPI(M) at the same time assures them that it stands for special attention being given to those areas where they are living in extremely backward conditions.

Notwithstanding the opposition of the Central Government and the Congress(I), the CPI(M) reiterates its demand that the Nepali language should be included in the 8th Schedule and Constitutional provision should be made to confer regional autonomy status, within the State of West Bengal, on the Nepali-speaking hill areas of Darjeeling district.

The Situation in Assam

The formation of the AGP ministry, the product of a chauvinist and secessionist movement, has not led to the relaxation of the secessionist pressure. The result is that while the secessionist forces continue to attack the minorities, murder their leaders and attack political opponents, the administration looks on not daring to move to protect the life and

security of non-Assamese Indian citizens. On the other hand, the Chief Minister of Assam sidetracks attention by raising the cry that the Assam Accord is not being implemented. Implementation means that the Central Government should directly and indirectly help in ousting lakhs of Indian citizens from the State to placate the secessionists.

A report in *The Telegraph* dated 11th March from its Gauhati correspondent said, "top leaders of the militant United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) have owned responsibility for most of the political murders that took place in the State during the past years. The leaders admitted their involvement in some bank hold-ups where they escaped with a few lakhs of rupees and disclosed that they with their allies, the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), had encounters with the Burmese security forces.

"These interesting disclosures were made on the night of March 5 by at least three highly placed ULFA leaders before six Gauhati based newsmen at a village in Nalbari division where armed guerillas stood guard. Nearly 200 ULFA cadres are currently undergoing advanced training by NSCN instructors in Burma. Intelligence agencies here believe that the outfit could launch a major offensive towards the end of the year". So the stage is set for a Punjab type murderous campaign. Need we wonder if there is complete collapse of the law and order situation putting the minority and non-Assamese at the mercy of goondas and growing freedom for the anti-socials to do what they like? Gauhati correspondent of *Amrita Bazar Patrika* dated 11th March reported : "Crimes have increased because criminals go scot free. Well to do criminals even evade arrest. The manager of a tea estate wanted in connection with the murder of teenaged Dalip Karmakar secured anticipatory bail from the court. The accused in a case of abduction and rape of a minor girl in the Brahmaputra Valley could not be booked by the police because the medical officer who had examined the girl did not furnish the report immediately. He took months. Thus the accused could not be charged with rape." Such is the everyday

commentary on the functioning of the law and order situation in the State. And in his speech to the Lok Sabha on 3rd April the Home Minister had to admit that secessionist insurgency was growing in Assam. He identified the ULFA, with which a section of the ministry is connected, as the agency leading this insurgency. This is the fruit of the Assam Accord. Realities can no longer be concealed.

President Vs. Prime Minister

The last few weeks have been full of news about intense differences between the President of India and the Prime Minister. It is not certain that the recent meeting between the two has led to an understanding and relaxation of tension. Rajiv Gandhi and some of his ministerial colleagues have been guilty of uncouth and blackmailing behaviour towards the President. When the Rashtrapati raised valid objections against the Postal Bill and his objections were the same as those of the ordinary citizen, an attempt was made to denigrate him by leaking to the Press that the objected Bill was prepared when Zail Singh was the Home Minister. Earlier, a Congress(I) MP charged that Rashtrapati Bhavan was entertaining anti-national elements. For this piece of good work the MP was given a post in the Cabinet. Another minister stated recently in Kerala, of course not for publication, that Rashtrapati Bhavan has become a haven for CIA agents. News was leaked out to the Press that some MPs were thinking of launching impeachment proceedings against the President. Recently it was revealed in a Bombay weekly that the Thakkar Committee's report on Indira Gandhi's assassination was not made public and not given to the President because it contained some adverse remarks against the President, and recommended that he should be interrogated after he quits office.

No Congress(I) leader, including Rajiv Gandhi has the decency to deny these charges and allegations.

Why all this loss of decorum? And this disrespect for the highest office under the Constitution? Because the President

exercised his Constitutional right to seek clarifications on the Postal Bill. Because the President has complained the Prime Minister was not keeping him informed of events and happenings which under the Constitution he was bound to do. He was violating the President's right to be informed about the work of the Cabinet and the decisions taken.

This was enough to rattle the ego of Rajiv and his colleagues. They were not prepared to accept that the President had any right claimed by him. Rajiv Gandhi brought out the crisis in the open when he made a misleading statement in the Lok Sabha that he was keeping the President regularly informed. The President's letter to him exposed this untruth leading to protest and demand for a discussion. The situation was compounded by the Speaker's ruling preventing the Lok Sabha from discussing the issues under the plea that the correspondence between the President and the Prime Minister was confidential. The ruling was given when the entire Press and people knew of the correspondence and were expressing their opinion. It only gagged Parliament.

There is no doubt that there is lot of personal element involved in this crisis. Perhaps for a long time, because of several reasons, the personal equation between the Head of the State and the Head of the Government was not what it should have been. But it is wrong to look at the whole episode on the basis of clash of personalities and forget the political reasons behind the present crisis. The crisis is due to the fact that the ruling Congress(I) MPs and Congress(I) State Ministers all behave as if they are above the law and are not responsible to observe any Constitutional provision. It is part of the same process that led to the declaration of Emergency and to establish one-party authoritarian rule trampling underfoot Constitutional safeguards. Though the Emergency was lifted, the process of erosion of Constitutional norms, of the democratic rights of the people and growing concentration of power in the ruling party, continues unabated. In these years since the withdrawal of Emergency and return of Congress(I) to power, democracy at the grass roots

level has completely collapsed making the rural areas in many Congress(I) ruled States virtual police terror areas. The rule of law is not to be seen in these areas, nor in the slum areas of the cities. Deaths in police custody, attacks on women, all these are increasing and hardly anyone is punished. The murderous happenings for which Bihar and Orissa are notorious are taking place in other States also. One need not mention the repression directed against people fighting for collective demands.

But while this was happening at the bottom, an attempt was made to maintain the facade of parliamentary democracy at the top. But this is now becoming day by day difficult and important parts of the Constitution like the independence of the judiciary are being eroded and liquidated through various means. There are wide protests from the High Court bar in some States against appointment of judges. There are allegations that favouritism is shown by the executive and that those with a reputation of independence are not welcomed by the powers that be.

The Congress(I) State Ministries are now taking to other methods of reducing elections and legislation to a farce. There have been complaints by the Opposition parties that a number of Congress(I) Ministries are reducing the duration of the Assembly Sessions and turning them into a mere formality. The rights of Opposition parties are very often denied. The question hour is often reduced to a farce, and even the presiding officers have sometimes to pull up the Ministers asking them not to give evasive and vague answers. Assurances given on the floor of the House are rarely carried out. Some Congress(I) Ministries bypass the legislature and rule through ordinances, a practice which is subversive of democracy and which has been sharply criticized by the Supreme Court. In the context of an acute situation in the country, the Assembly forum has definitely become a battle ground forcing the ruling party on the defensive. In this situation, to protect people's faith in democracy, it is essential to ensure that the proceedings of the Assemblies

are conducted with absolute impartiality and proper regard for the democratic rights of the Opposition. But in the Assemblies and Parliament, the Opposition repeatedly comes into conflict with the rulings given by the presiding officers and feels that it has been denied its right of expression. The rulings given by the Lok Sabha Speaker to shut off all discussions on the controversy between the President and the Prime Minister has left all Opposition members completely dissatisfied and made them feel that they are being deprived of their Constitutional right to discuss matters pertaining to the conduct of the Government. So deep is the dissatisfaction that the Opposition parties have decided to move a censure against the Speaker; the second time this is being done in the last forty years.

All this should show that in spite of its parliamentary majority, faced by a critical situation in the country, unable to tackle any issue democratically, exposed to people's criticism for its total failure on almost all fronts, the ruling party takes recourse to violate Constitutional norms to rule dictatorially. The Zail Singh-Rajiv Gandhi controversy is a direct product of this political situation. There is no doubt that Rajiv's method of functioning is individualistic, arrogant and dictatorial. But this would have not have led to the present impasse if the ruling party had not reached a situation where it is unable to tolerate any restriction on the unlimited power it is claiming to rule the country.

In this dictatorial move, Rajiv Gandhi and his Cabinet find the normal rights of the President inconvenient and embarrassing and restrictive of their power. They are afraid that if the differences are known and the President exercises his discretion, it may have wide repercussions among the people shaking their solid hold on Parliament. That is why Rajiv Gandhi and his Cabinet are denying the Constitutional rights of the President. If this denial was not an urgent necessity for the rule of the party, at least some Cabinet Ministers would have protested against the violation of norms by the Prime Minister. But they are all in the sinking boat

and they all know that it can be kept afloat only by dictatorial support.

It is therefore essential that the people see that this is not a crisis and combat between two personalities but a part of the authoritarian drive of the ruling party against the people and the Constitution. It once again shows that all the sanctity preached by the ruling classes and the ruling party about the sacred character of the Constitution, its checks and balances, its distribution of powers, all turn out to be meaningless jargon if the ruling party's sway over the Government is endangered. As our Party Programme has correctly stated, the danger to parliamentary democracy comes from the rightist forces, from those who want to turn the Constitution into an instrument of narrow party interest.

Election Results

The election results in Kerala and West Bengal constitute a stunning defeat for the Congress(I), a people's verdict on the opportunistic policies of the party pursued under Rajiv's leadership. The West Bengal electorate has routed the Congress(I) securing a three-fourth majority for the Left Front and reducing the Congress(I) representation in the Assembly. This is the third successive defeat of the Congress(I) inflicted by the Left forces and in every election the strength of the Left forces (really of the CPI-M) has gone on increasing. No other party and combination has been able to inflict such successive defeats on the Congress(I)

The elections were of special importance because they were coming in the wake of a continuous battle waged by the CPI(M) and its Left allies on important national issues against the opportunistic line of the Congress(I) and the Central Government. Besides in West Bengal, the Left Front and its performance was continuously attacked by the Congress(I) party during the last five years. Their hopes were roused by the electoral results of the 1984 parliamentary elections when the electorate, moved by the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi, expressed sympathy for Rajiv Gandhi

and inflicted some reverses on the CPI(M) and the Left Front.

In fact the situation should have been a very difficult one for the CPI(M) and its Left allies. For the last 5 years the crisis of the capitalist path had deepened, inflicting large scale suffering on the people. A number of jute mills were closed throwing hundreds out of employment. A number of engineering concerns were also closed and total unemployment had increased. As elsewhere in India, avenues of employment were hardly there for the new entrants to the labour market. During these years, prices of necessities of life had risen putting additional burdens on the people.

All this was explosive material for election campaign against the Left Front. The Congress(I) hoped to exploit the situation and turn the anger of the people against the Left Front Government. By all rules of the electoral game, under a bourgeois Constitution, the balance in popular opinion should have shifted towards the rival party leading to the ousting of the Left Front Government from ministerial power.

But the Congress(I) failed to do this because of its bankruptcy and primarily because of the performance of the Left Front Government. The people and the working class were mature enough to understand that their sufferings were the direct result of the capitalist path, of policies pursued by the Central Government, policies over which the Left Front had no control. They had witnessed the Left Front Government demanding more powers for the State and an end to the Centre's discriminatory treatment. They had seen the Left Front Government carrying a continuous struggle against these policies, demanding nationalization of the jute and cotton textile industries to ease the situation for the workers. They had witnessed the Left parties demanding incorporation of the right to work as a fundamental right under the Constitution. The people had also witnessed how the West Bengal peasants and agricultural workers were the beneficiaries of the Left Front rule and how every effort was made to throw the weight of the Government in favour of

workers and employees to secure them their just demands. And along with this stood the outstanding fact that during the last five years, as in earlier years, the democratic rights and liberties of the people were fully protected and the Government had refused to use anti-democratic, anti-people, anti-working class measures like the ESMA, NSA, and other preventive detention Acts. There were no instances of lathi-charge or firing against striking workers or agitating peasants. There were hardly any instance of communal rioting or communal tension. Against this performance the Congress(I) had no answer except its slanderous propaganda. It dared not promise bold measures of relief to the people because the people remembered that the tall promises made during the parliamentary elections—promise to open the jute mills—died away with the conclusion of the elections.

Rajiv Gandhi, therefore, in his election tour had nothing to say except that the West Bengal Left Front ministry had failed to utilize the resources placed at its disposal by the generous Central Government. This claim also was thoroughly exposed by the Left Fronts' spokesmen, but Rajiv Gandhi had to repeat it since the Congress(I) had nothing also to offer. Rajiv's charge that the law and order situation had broken down in West Bengal was treated with utter disregard by the electorate which knew what was happening in the neighbouring Congress(I)-ruled State of Bihar. Against the pressing economic problems, the problem of unemployment, the problem of closure of mills, the problem of rising prices, the Congress(I) party had absolutely nothing to offer. It bypassed these problems and concentrated only on launching a slanderous propaganda against the Left Front Government.

The performance of the Left Front Government, the inability of Rajiv Gandhi and Congress(I) to present anything concrete to overcome the economic situation were not the only reasons for Congress(I) debacle in West Bengal. Deeper forces were at work this time and they were maturing during the last five years. They related to the rise of divisive

forces, the challenge of Khalistan, Assam, Mizoram, and last but not the least the Gorkhaland agitation directly on the soil of West Bengal. The concerted attack of these divisive forces on the unity of the country, the challenge from the communal forces—Hindu, Muslim, Christian and Sikh—to undermine the unity of the nation and the new economic policy of the Rajiv Gandhi Government, disbandment of the public sector, import liberalization, encouragement of entry of foreign capital in the name of opening India to the vagaries of foreign competition—were the problems agitating the people.

Only the CPI(M) and some other Left parties took a forthright stand to oppose these forces and these policies to protect the unity and economic self-reliance of the country. The CPI(M) and the CPI, the Forward Bloc, and RSP all joined in opposing the new economic policy and lent their full support to the public sector workers' strike of 21st January, 1987, when 2 million public sector workers and officers struck work to protest against the policy of disbandment of the public sector.

The CPI(M) and the CPI waged a consistent struggle against the Khalistani elements in Punjab defending national unity. A number of their leaders and cadres had to sacrifice their lives in this struggle. In Assam again, the CPI(M) and mass organizations, the SFI, DYFI, AIDWA, and Kisan Sabha, waged a struggle for national unity and bore the brunt of attack from chauvinistic and separatist elements. During the chauvinistic Assam agitation West Bengal itself would have gone into flames if matters had been left to opportunistic leaders of the Congress(I). The political guidance of the CPI(M) and the Left parties and the firm stand of the Left Front Government served to combat attempts to rouse Bengali chauvinism and create further complications.

In the Darjeeling district of Bengal, the CPI(M), its cadres and tea garden workers of CITU are waging a valiant struggle against the secessionists. Their houses are being burnt, their lives are at stake, many have been killed, but the fight

continues. The Congress cadres are nowhere seen in the fight and the West Bengal people have noted it. The opportunist stand of Congress(I) and Rajiv Gandhi on the Gorkhaland agitation shocked the people. The attempt of Rajiv Gandhi to present Ghishing as a well meaning person to deny the anti-national separatist character of the agitation angered large sections and put the Congress(I) on the defensive. The revelations on the eve of the elections that Ghishing is a RAW agent who was assigned the task of creating difficulties for the West Bengal Government by starting the separatist agitation, exposed the mean pedestal of Congress politics. The Congress(I) position on Gorkhaland was condemned by bourgeois papers inside and outside West Bengal, giving a measure of Congress(I) isolation from nationalist patriotic opinion.

The Left Front leaders campaigned on all these issues. They raised the question of national unity and focussed attention on Congress(I) failure and opportunism. They revealed the imperialist hand behind these agitations while the Congress(I) was keeping silent on imperialist machinations. The Congress(I) campaign had nothing to say about challenge of divisive forces or of communal elements. The Left parties had taken a firm stand on the question of Shah Bano judgement, the Babri Masjid issue and at the same time consistently defended the minority rights of Muslims and others. The secular image of the Left Front leaders was there for all to see. The maintenance of communal peace in West Bengal in contrast to recurring communal riots in Congress(I)-ruled States, was noted by the minorities and the electorate as a whole.

It is this failure of the Congress(I), its inability to project the struggle for national unity during the election campaign and its compromise with the divisive and communal forces that finally sealed its fate in the election.

The defence of national unity and integrity had become a live question for the people. The Left had struggled for national unity and the people voted for the Front in spite of the adverse economic situation.

The election showed polarization on a political basis. The contest was between the Congress(I) and the Left Front, it also showed that the Muslim fundamentalists had only limited success in weaning away Muslim masses from the Left Front. It also showed that Hindu communalism was given short shift by the electorate.

As if all this was not enough, the Congress(I) sealed its defeat by its unprincipled internal quarrels, unseemly attempt to monopolize the election seats for the ruling group controlling the State office, the public wranglings and the raids on Congress(I) party offices by rival groups. This gangster behaviour of sections of Congressmen and leaders disgusted a section of the electorate. What was happening inside the Congress(I) was recently revealed by Ashok Sen, Law Minister in the Rajiv Cabinet, in his resignation letter and subsequently in an interview to *The Telegraph* : "Our election campaign committee was set up only a month before the State went to the polls and that too without a Chairman. The norms laid down by the AICC for the selection of candidates were flagrantly violated. The claims of deserving candidates were ignored to favour special candidates causing considerable dissensions in the party. Senior party leaders were ignored and relegated to the background. I was the Chairman of the election propaganda committee but I never saw the poll manifesto. There was also unequal distribution of posters, banners, money among the candidates."

Considering that quite a few crores were spent for the election, the complaint regarding unequal distribution of money must have caused a lot of heart-burning and bitterness.

Anyway, this was the party that was facing the Left Front and the people seeking solution of serious problems facing them. This was the Rajiv way of functioning the party through favourites, sycophants having access to the president. No norms, no collective decision and no plan but only arbitrary dictatorship of those in power. Rajiv himself dares not hold party elections and face the verdict of its members. The party under Rajiv, under crisis of the system, is rapidly

disintegrating and is unable to express the collective will of its members. The Jalandhar Congress of our Party had noted that no bourgeois party will be able to keep its unity in the midst of the growing crisis of the system. The inner conflict inside the Congress(I), the frequent change of the Chief Ministers, the dissidents' protest, all manifest the growing disintegration of the Congress(I) as a well-knit party. The West Bengal elections show that the process has gone deep and no magic or change of leadership can restore the character of cohesive party to the Congress(I) party in the State.

The big victory in West Bengal is having all-India repercussions. It has raised the prestige of the CPI(M) and the Left forces as a reliable force that can successfully combat the Congress(I). The prestige is all the more because progressive political circles and large sections of people realize the importance of the issues on which the Left fought its battle and the way it did it. There is no doubt that this victory will help the struggle to change the correlation of forces, the correlation of class forces, to rally the progressive and democratic forces around the policies of the working class, of the CPI(M) and its Left allies.

The leaders of our Party, the State Committee and our cadres in West Bengal have earned the congratulations of the entire Party for this third big success. The entire Party recognizes, besides, the maturity of the West Bengal electorate which in spite of the adverse economic circumstances gave its political confidence to our Party, the Left Front and its Ministry. It increases the responsibility of the entire Party and our Party in West Bengal to be continually worthy of this trust and confidence.

Outstanding as the victory is, it is necessary to analyse the figures of voting and remove weaknesses revealed by them.

The voting figures show that the Left Front vote was 52.65 per cent in 1982 and 52.97 in 1987, an increase of .67 per cent. The voting for Congress(I) and Congress(S) was 41.06 per cent in 1982 and 41.83 per cent for the Congress(I)

in 1987, an increase of .77 per cent. The percentage of our Party vote was 38.49 in 1982 and 39.29 in 1987.

To have succeeded in securing an absolute majority of votes after five years of economic crisis is indeed an outstanding achievement which speaks volumes for the confidence people have reposed in us. The figures also show that in spite of continuous exposure of the anti-national policies of the Congress(I), its reactionary economic policy imposing unemployment and miseries, its policies of compromise with divisive and communal forces, its position on Gorkhaland issue and the discriminatory treatment of West Bengal by the Congress(I) Central Government, the solid bloc of Congress(I) votes could not be broken or even penetrated. Figures show that the Congress(I) lost in the rural areas, but it partially gained in industrial areas where big sections of non-Bengali, Hindi and Urdu speaking workers and sections reside. There is definitely a certain set-back in our traditional industrial areas though it was initially thought by our comrades that there was a shift for us in the Hindi speaking belt. This loss of votes in our own class has to be taken seriously by us. It is a fact that during the days of the Left Front Ministry all other mass organizations have grown more rapidly than the CITU. Besides it is now quite clear that trade union agitation apart, the politicalization of the Hindi-speaking working class has lagged behind. It cannot be done only at the time of election. It must be a continuous process extending over a fairly long period to be able to reap its fruits. Of this there has been no signs and indications. There should be a proper discussion on CITU activities in the State Committee to estimate how far they conform to the T.U. document and the tasks assigned in it. The political failure is obvious.

It is also clear that sections of the Urdu speaking Muslim workers were swayed by the fundamentalists and Congress(I) propaganda and voted against us. To some extent this was inevitable because this was our first direct brush with the fundamentalists because of the Shah Bano affair. It is, however, recorded that the Bengali speaking Muslims voted solidly

for us and this, in the context in which the election was taking place and the propaganda of the fundamentalists, was certainly a very big achievement. This, however, was not only due to our propaganda for communal amity but was the result of years of common class activity and defence of minority rights by the Party and the movement. It is this that has solidly united the Hindu and Muslim masses in the rural areas around the Party and the common movement.

It is also necessary to analyse our agrarian votes. There is no doubt that the large mass of agricultural workers and poor peasants have voted for us *en masse*, thanks to the huge strength of our Kisan Sabha. It must be looked into whether the Congress(I) has been able to rally any substantial sections of the middle and rich peasants. This has to be studied to ensure that a wrong and harmful polarization does not emerge—polarization which obstructs our way to rally the rural masses for agrarian revolution.

This demands that continuous and persuasive efforts should be made by the Party and the Left Front to wean away the Congress(I) following, to rectify our weakness in relation to Hindi speaking and Urdu speaking working class, inspire new confidence in the Muslim minority while fighting fundamentalist tendencies, work for a correct polarization in the rural areas and to pursue with determination our campaign to win over the Nepali speaking mass and to come forward as the leader of the entire people of the State. It is of course necessary to defend and strengthen Left unity, increase its prestige among the people and increase the prestige of CPI(M) as a vigilant force which protects the unity of the people.

The outstanding victory in West Bengal followed by the equally important victory in Kerala has enlivened the drooping political spirits of many and is creating illusions of a quick victory against the Congress(I). Leaders of some political parties think that the victory in West Bengal and Kerala is only a question of election equation, and by sheer combination of numbers the Congress(I) can be easily ousted from

power. This of course simplifies the situation and turns a blind eye to the systematic fight on national issues carried on by the Left forces. They led the agitation against communalism, against fundamentalism, against secessionism, against the policy of destabilizing the public sector and combined it with the dour defence of the economic interests of the masses. Parties which fail to take initiative on these national issues will be unable to earn the confidence of the masses turning away from the Congress(I). That is why to develop a real alternative, a programme of principled struggle is necessary as explained in our Party Congress resolution. The genuine alternative to the Congress(I) is not just an election alternative but one based on a Left and democratic programme, and it requires a qualitative change in the existing correlation of class forces.

It is true the two victories help in projecting the Left and democratic alternative. What is, however, immediately possible is co-ordination of the activities of a number of secular Opposition parties on issues of popular interests as they arise. Today, even on how to defend national unity there is often no common understanding. The Janata Party, for instance, does not co-operate with others in supporting the Barnala Government to fight the Khalistani elements. It has more faith in the Badal group.

Nonetheless it should be quite clear that the victory in West Bengal and Kerala opens up prospects of better co-ordination of the activities of secular Opposition parties to fight the anti-people measures of the Congress(I) and isolate it. And the differences with the earlier period is that the CPI(M) and the Left forces can play a much more intensive role in these united activities than before.

Kerala Elections

The Congress(I) defeat in Kerala, though with a small majority, is of great political significance taking into consideration the character of the confronting forces and the national issues involved. It is bound to accelerate the process

of disillusionment with the Congress(I) in the country and help in shaping a new correlation of political forces.

The Kerala election struggle had its own peculiarities. Here the polarization did not take place on the same basis as in West Bengal, that is, Congress(I) against the Left. There were two coalitions, the Left and Democratic Front headed by the CPI(M) and consisting of the CPI, RSP, Janata, Congress(S), Lok Dal, and the Congress(I) camp which was a coalition of the Congress(I) with all communal and caste parties like the Muslim League, Kerala Congress, Nayar Service Society and others. The Congress(I) was unable to face the CPI(M) led combination on its own. It had to enter into an alliance with anti-national sections to keep itself in power.

For the last five years the Congress(I) was running its Ministry in collaboration with these forces. The consolidation of communal forces—Muslim and Christians—and their powerful and successful intervention in politics and elections has been a special feature of the Kerala situation for years. The Congress party had helped in this consolidation from 1959 onwards when it brought down the Communist Ministry led by E.M.S. Namboodiripad. The Vimochana Samaram it launched against the Ministry was nothing but an agitation in collaboration with the Catholic church and Muslim communalists to oust the Ministry. The Catholic mass was roused on the education bill of the Communist Ministry. This was frankly communal appeal to rouse anti-Communist prejudices. The Congress(I) returned to power by rousing communal passions to fight the influence of the Communist Party. Since then the communal forces got growingly consolidated in Kerala and the Congress(I) became growingly dependent on them in the election struggle.

The more the Congress(I) got isolated from the advanced Left and democratic and nationalist forces the more it became the prisoner of the communal parties, its victories and Ministries remaining at the mercy of the latter. Thanks to this anti-national line, the communal forces in Kerala soon

became the makers and unmakers of Ministries. Attempts of Left parties to befriend some of these organizations and tow them into common democratic and secular struggle failed. They brought about the downfall of the Nayanar Ministry in 1981. The Karunakaran Ministry would have been ousted long back if the CPI(M) has accepted the secret offer made by some of the partners and agreed not to contest their seats in the election.

The election victory of the Left and Democratic Front means that a breach has been made in the combination and conditions are being created to rouse the mass of people against the politics of communalism. These developments have all-India importance and will accentuate the fight of the patriotic forces against fundamentalists and divisive elements and organizations.

The elections were taking place after five years of the coalition ministry's rule. What was its performance in comparison with the performance of West Bengal Left Front Ministry? The Kerala people consider these five years as years of unending corruption and jobbery. There is hardly any Minister who has not got a tarnished image. Three Ministers were forced to resign because of the strictures passed by the courts.

So far as the people are concerned, all that they have got from the Ministry was ruination of Kerala's traditional industries, coir, cashewnut, handloom, and others and ruination of commercial crop growers. In these five years unemployment increased by more than 30 per cent and notwithstanding the support of the Central Government there was no notable industrial advance in Kerala. New entrants to the labour market, educated and semi-educated, found no jobs, and when unemployed youths organized themselves to get better relief they were lathi-charged and one was shot dead. The Ministry's attitude towards the democratic rights of the people was symbolized in the happenings in the Thankmani village where the entire village was attacked by a rowdy police force, women were outraged and people were tor-

tured—all to protect the interests of a scoundrel bus owner. The virtual hiring out of the State's police force for private vengeance and interests underlined the Ministry's outlook towards peoples and their rights. What chance had the Congress(I) and its allies in the face of these facts?

These years were also years of continuous struggles led by the CPI(M) and its allies in defence of the mass of Kerala people. The CPI(M), the CITU, the DYFI and SFI and AIDWA led innumerable demonstrations and struggles to protect the interests of the workers, the peasants, the women, agricultural workers, youth and student and others. There were big struggles of transport workers, NGOs, coir and cashew workers and industrial workers. The AIDWA was particularly active in defending the rights of Muslim women against the fundamentalists and the compromise of the Central Government on the Shah Bano judgement. All sections of the people were getting awakened and vigilant by these continuous mass agitations and activities, demonstrations and strikes. The fight of the people was carried into the legislature by the CPI(M) and its allies and every misdeed of the Government was thoroughly exposed. In particular the Left parties exposed the heinous role of certain Muslim League Ministers in facilitating the entry of suspicious elements from Kuwait and the secessionist and treacherous content of Balkrishna Pillai's appeal for a Punjab-type secessionist agitation. The LDF simultaneously continued its fight against communalism of all types—rising Hindu communalism and the consolidated Muslim and Christian communalism. At the same time they defended the democratic rights of all minorities and religious freedom for all.

The anti-people performance of the Karunakaran Ministry and the incessant activities of the Left forces in defence of the people were not the only reason for the defeat of the Congress(I) communal bloc. The electorate of Kerala was very much seized of the problems facing the country, the emergence of the divisive and communal forces eating into the vitals of national unity. The CPI(M) which was heading

the election struggle, was battling against the divisive forces in Punjab, Assam and West Bengal. It was battling against the communal forces in Kerala and the Congress(I) opportunism in allying with them.

The inability of Karunakaran to call for the resignation of the offending League Ministers and reinstatement of Balakrishna Pillai was a measure of the Congress(I)'s surrender before communal blackmailing.

This was enough to condemn the Congress(I). But in the meanwhile the communal challenge had increased all over India and the CPI(M) and the Left parties were calling on the people to defeat it. But Rajiv and the Congress(I) were appeasing one communal section after another to seek electoral gains. The decision of a U.P. court on the Babri Masjid issue, a decision which could have been postponed if the Congress(I) Ministry wanted, led to communal polarization. It was a deliberate appeasement of Hindu fundamentalists. Subsequently the disgraceful and despicable decision to sacrifice the rights of Muslim divorcee women to the fundamentalists was another piece offering at the door of communalism, this time minority communalism.

In Kerala, where the advanced democratic forces were already locked in a combat with the communal forces, these developments were not only noted, they went against the Congress(I). In the background of the increased challenge of communalism they were regarded as betrayal by the Congress(I) of the cause of national unity. In contrast the CPI(M) was already in the field fighting for the rights of Muslim women and combating Muslim orthodoxy. Its clear cut secular stand led to the defection of a section of the League which was hitherto a constituent of the Left Democratic Front supporting the struggle for common democratic demands. But the CPI(M) continued its offensive. It led to the defection of M.V. Raghavan who was intent on continuing an opportunistic alliance with the League. His renegacy was boosted by the bourgeois Press which sought to create the impression that wide sections of CPI(M) following were

supporting his stand. All this meant a further consolidation of the Muslim votes and brought grist to the mill of the alliance.

The Congress(I) was hopeful of defeating the Left and Democratic Front because of the defection and consolidation. But there were other forces at work also. The forthright stand of the CPI(M) against communalism, its rejection of electoral alliance with communal parties, strengthened the secular and national elements in the State, and large sections of them began to rally behind the LDF. The younger section from all communities, the youths who had built their independent mass organization during these years, responded readily to the call for national unity and fight against communal forces. The youth represented the bulk of the new voters voting for the first time in the election. The Muslim communalists, besides, could not consolidate the entire Muslim votes. The progressive section, large number of Muslim women and Muslims outside Malappuram district voted for the Left allies.

The LDF alliance campaigned on the issue of national unity, exposed the reactionary character of Congress(I) alliance with the communal parties and called upon the people to defend national unity.

Rajiv Gandhi, on his election tour, bypassed all these problems. He had no argument to justify the alliance with Muslim League when from Delhi he was calling for fighting the communal forces. In Kerala he gave up his usual talk of separating religion from politics. He gave a new definition of secularism. On the performance of the coalition ministry also he had hardly anything to say. He promised help to the ruined traditional industries if Congress(I) alliance was elected to power. He promised a stable Congress(I) Ministry when the people were determined to unsettle it. Having nothing to say he attacked the performance of the previous LDF Ministry.

The Congress(I) was defeated and the LDF came to power. The margin of votes was small. The LDF secured only 56,000

votes more than Congress(I) combination. Last time the latter had got only 95,000 voters more than the LDF. It all demonstrates how close was the fight and how keen the competition for vote. The results also show that Congress(I) policies have brought into action the forces of Hindu communalism also. The BJP and the Hindu Munnani got eight lakh votes, a substantial number, leading to the thin margin between the two contestants. The total communal vote is still capable of upsetting the political balance.

But the importance of the Kerala victory should not be underestimated. The people of Kerala have given a rebuff to the combined strength of the Congress(I) and communal forces. They have given a blow to the power of communal forces to be the arbitrator of the election battle. This has been achieved notwithstanding the loss of votes due to the defection of some constituents and certain consolidation of Muslim votes by the Muslim League. It shows a bigger shift of nationalist opinion to the Left and Democratic Front. The battle in Kerala against Congress(I)-communal alliance has started in right seriousness and the initial victory has been won. More efforts are required to liquidate the stranglehold of communal parties over large sections of the people. The elections have again demonstrated that the Congress(I) in Kerala can never stand on its own legs and protect national unity.

The Congress(I) party in Kerala has not drawn any lesson from its electoral reverses. In the newly elected Assembly it unashamedly continues its alliance with the Muslim and Christian communalists and joins with them in berating the victory of the secular forces. The isolation of communal forces and its own discomfiture at the hands of the Left and Democratic Front it describes as due to appeal to majority communalism. This is nothing but an assurance to the Muslim League that Congress(I) will continue its alliance with it and will not recognize any secular force.

The Kerala victory will definitely activate large sections of nationalist forces to gird up their loins to fight and defeat

the communal forces, majority or minority. It will definitely rouse protests in other States against Congress(I) compromise and retreat before communal forces.

The victory in West Bengal and Kerala has raised the prestige of the CPI(M) and the Left forces. It will lead to greater consolidation of the Left democratic forces around the CPI(M)'s line of all-out fight against the divisive and communal forces, defence of national unity, of economic self-reliance, and opposition to Rajiv Gandhi's policy of disbanding the public sector, and facilitating the entry of multinationals in our economy. The performance of the Left Front Government of West Bengal will inspire large sections in other States to rally around the CPI(M) and the forces of Left unity. The CPI(M) and all its cadres must do everything to explain the meaning of this victory to people of all States and strengthen Left unity.

The Congress(I) defeat in the two States is bound to isolate the ruling party further from the democratic and patriotic mass and prepare for a new correlation of forces. Further defeat of the Congress(I) depends not on a mere conglomeration of Opposition parties but on a common understanding of the policies, to meet the challenges faced by the nation. The Left parties succeeded because they had a correct line in the fight against the Congress compromise and retreat. Those who are, like Shri Chandra Shekhar, prepared to compromise with divisive forces, whether in Punjab or elsewhere, or those whose members lead communal agitations or who look upon the minority as alien, cannot, by reliance on combinations, defeat the Congress(I). The lessons of West Bengal and Kerala point to principled fight against the challenges before the country.

The Kerala State Committee, our cadres and all committees and leaders deserve the congratulations of our entire Party on great victory achieved in the midst of difficult circumstances—the communal divide—and our first open brush with the fundamentalists in an election. Having appreciated the importance of the victory we must deal with

certain important factors and developments connected with it and correct the weaknesses revealed.

Firstly, it should be remembered that it was after a lot of effort on the part of the P.B., helped by the C.C., that our Party in Kerala really understood the correctness and importance of taking a forthright stand against communal parties and electoral understanding with them. The confusion was due to over-preponderance of electioneering and neglect of Party's revolutionary objectives due to over-rating of parliamentary success.

The Party's leaders and ranks swung into action after the Party Congress and were able to defeat the disruptive activities of Raghavan and others. Our line received a big response from people. But the fact that the entire Party had to fight Raghavan showed how certain sections were affected by confusion. This once more urges on all to take a principled position on all issues, never forget the Party's strategic and revolutionary objectives and never adopt ad hocism and electoral tactics as the purpose of the Party's activities.

Secondly, the reverses in Palghat district which were not expected, require explanation. It was noted in earlier elections, both in relation to Palghat and Alleppey, that the way we have been conducting our agricultural workers' struggle, the character of demands we put forward and the way we fought for them alienated large sections of peasantry. It must be examined to what extent this problem has been overcome. If it is persisting we must take immediate steps to rectify the situation.

The results of Kashmir elections are a defeat for the forces of Muslim fundamentalism and pro-Pakistani elements. Because of the opportunist compromise of the Congress(I) with G.M. Shah and illegal ousting of Farooq Abdullah, these anti-national forces had got consolidated and had become a danger to national integrity. Even in the recent elections, though they have been elected only in a few places, the fact that they have consolidated their strength cannot be denied. This is the consequence of Congress(I) opportunism.

Having brought Kashmir to this dangerous situation and at the same time finding that it cannot secure a ministerial position in collaboration with these anti-national forces the Congress(I) suddenly decided to change its line and seek understanding with Farooq Abdullah. There is absolutely no evidence that the Congress(I) has criticized itself for its earlier anti-national stand. Its alliance with Farooq Abdullah against the Muslim fundamentalists seems to be the result of electoral expediency. However, this understanding has helped Farooq Abdullah to isolate the forces of fundamentalism and pro-Pakistani elements. The consolidation of communal forces left no other way to Farooq Abdullah except to choose the Congress(I) as an ally. On his own he would not have succeeded so well in giving a rebuff to the reactionary forces.

The Panchayat and local elections in three States of Andhra, Karnataka and Gujarat show that on the whole the Congress fortunes are declining. In Karnataka the Congress(I) did put up a reasonable show of resistance but was unable to snatch victory from the hands of Janata Party.

In Andhra the understanding of the CPI(M) with the Telugu Desam served to isolate and defeat the Congress(I). The results of the election show that the Telugu Desam continues to be the main vehicle of discontent in the State against the Congress(I). It was necessary to administer this rebuff to the Congress(I) in the interest of defence of democracy. The CPI failed to realize this and found itself ranged against our Party, missing the immediate purpose of Left unity to carry forward the democratic struggle against the authoritarian policies of the Congress(I).

In these struggles it seems that the Congress(I) did not refrain from taking the help of all communal parties to seek electoral advance. In Gujarat, which has seen a spate of communal riots, the Congress(I) policies have helped growing polarization around communal parties. The result was that it got reverses in a number of city municipalities elections and lost its majority in Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation to the BJP. However, in the rural areas where the big

majority of landless backed its Ministry the Congress(I) swept the polls. But now it is facing mass agitation from the property holding better-off sections of the rural population. It will be seen that day by day the Congress(I) is losing its mass base among the advanced democratic forces. The result is that in the near future it will be forced to rely more and more on the support of communal and caste organizations to remain in power.

It should be noted that in all the three States the ruling parties, Telugu Desam, Janata and Congress(I), tried to win rural votes by dangling the bait of increased reservation in jobs and services to backward rural committees.

Comrades!

The two victories of our Party have placed our Party and Left forces in a favourable position in relation to the democratic forces and movements all over India. It is our duty to consolidate this advantage, this influence and rouse it behind these two Governments. Our victories mean a further intensification of the class struggle in the two States. In this struggle the Left movement in the two States will require strong help and sympathy of the country's democratic forces. It should be our task to gather their support.

Our newly elected Ministries will have to be far more alert and come forward as a champion of the entire people not only in the matters pertaining to the State but on all issues of national importance.

Our Party should take the initiative to co-ordinate the activities of all secular Opposition parties to intensify mass struggles by which alone a viable alternative can emerge. Centre-State relations, defence of national unity, defence of democratic rights, parliamentary norms and the economic interests of the people provide issues for common activities to activate wide sections of the people.

Our entire Party must be geared to strengthen Left unity and lead the fight against the divisive forces, against the economic policies of the Congress(I) and the imperialist machinations against our country. It should be our privilege

to maintain communal unity while fighting fundamentalism. And our main instrument of unity overcoming all communal barriers is the mass struggle of our people led by Kisan Sabha, trade unions, SFI, DYFI, AIDWA, etc. Our mass activity must increase manifold to consolidate the advantage we have secured from the victory in the two elections.

CPI(M) Greets 18th Session of P.N.C.*

The Eighteenth Session of the Palestinian National Council began its deliberations in Algiers on April 20, 1987. Harkishan Singh Surjeet, member of the CPI(M) Polit Bureau, attended the Session on behalf of the Party, and conveyed to it the Party's message of greetings which is published below :

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) conveys its warm greetings to the fighting representatives of the Palestinian people assembled for the 18th Palestine National Council meeting at Algiers to be held from April 20, 1987. All progressive and anti-imperialist sections in the world are looking forward to the successful deliberations of your Conference as it will mark a turning point in the continuing battle for self-determination of the Palestinian people against imperialism and zionism.

Forty years ago, after the creation of Israel, the zionists began uprooting the Palestinian people from their homeland, and untold sufferings have been inflicted on them by the forces bent upon subjugating the Arab and Palestinian people. The Palestinian patriots faced this difficult situation with calm determination and set about the task of fighting for self-determination and social justice.

The formation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1965 marked a new stage in the struggle for national liberation. The PLO has been discharging the task of uniting

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 26, 1987.

all the fighting forces and expressing the will and determination of the Palestinian people. In the struggle against the ferocious combination of U.S. imperialism and Israeli zionism, the PLO in the past two decades was successful in spearheading the militant struggle and rallying worldwide support for the Palestinian cause. Its just struggle got the recognition of the United Nations where the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. It is a valued member of the Non-Aligned Movement which symbolises the anti-imperialist aspirations of the Third World countries.

Imperialism and its zionist clients have sought to defy world opinion and the U.N. resolutions calling for the convening of an International Peace Conference with the PLO as a full participant. They have made all efforts to sabotage any just settlement. The U.S. Administration brazenly encourages the aggressive forays of the zionist regime and its conspiracies against the Palestinian people and the Arab countries.

In recent times, the situation has become more complex and difficult. The imperialist-zionist forces were able to divide the Arab Governments. The unity of the fighting formations of the PLO also got impaired. The Palestinian people have had to face the brunt of the attacks of the Israeli aggression in Lebanon, along with the Lebanese progressive forces. Thousands have been martyred in the cynical and aggressive attacks. However, the Palestinian movement and its combatants have faced all the odds with courage and emerged steeled and unbowed. The vicious attacks of the Amal and the siege of the camps are being beaten back with death-defying courage by men, women and children. In the West Bank, years of zionist occupation and terror have not been able to snuff out the widespread resistance and mass protests by the people. We declare our solidarity with the brave fighters in the camps and the heroic resistance in the occupied territories.

It is this indomitable will which today has, by grim sacrifices and the urge of united resistance, led to the reforging

of the unity of the Palestinian movement and the PLO. A principled unity is in full consonance with the aspirations of the Palestinian people who wish to see that the uncompromising fight for self-determination be carried forward, that no reactionary quarters succeed in retarding their advance.

The Israeli zionists backed by U.S. imperialism are doing their utmost to suppress the PLO. They continue to occupy Arab territories by aggression and naked expansionism. It is fully supporting the racist Pretoria regime to counter the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa. Against this menace to the freedom loving people, in support of the PLO and the Arab people stands world opinion including the Non-Aligned Movement. India, as an important member of the movement, has always been in the lead in support of your just struggle.

The blood and sacrifices of the Palestinian people will not go in vain. In the world today, the forces of peace, national liberation and progress are steadily forging ahead. It is with this march of history that the destiny of the Palestinian nation is inextricably linked.

We are confident that the deliberations of authentic and militant body of the Palestinian people will formulate the correct perspective and tactics to meet the current challenges and take the struggle forward to greater heights.

The CPI(M), on this important occasion, reiterates its full and staunch solidarity with the PLO and the Palestinian revolution. It has always stood with the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people and has consistently taken the lead with other anti-imperialist forces to mobilize the Indian people in support of the Palestinian cause. We pledge to carry on this fraternal responsibility with renewed vigour. The friendship and bonds of solidarity between the Palestinian and Indian people are unbreakable and will grow and flourish in the coming days.

We wish all the delegates to the Session and the leadership of the PLO all success in their endeavours.

Polit Bureau's Homage to Comrade Rajinder Singh Sarinh*

Comrade Rajinder Singh Sarinh, member of the Secretariat of the Punjab State Committee and Secretary of the Jalandhar District Committee of the CPI(M), died on April 23 night at Dayanand Hospital, Ludhiana. For some time he had been suffering from jaundice and had undergone a minor operation at Patel Hospital, Jalandhar, from where he was only a shortwhile ago shifted to Ludhiana for a major operation.

At a very young age Comrade Sarinh threw himself into the struggle for national emancipation from the British raj. He joined the Kirti Party in united Punjab in 1939 and had since then been actively leading the struggles of the working class and peasantry in the State, which endeared him to the masses, particularly in the Doab region.

His work for communal harmony and security of the minorities during the post-1947 riots is still remembered by the people in the State.

In his long political career spanning over four decades, Comrade Sarinh spent some twelve years in jail in 1940, 1948, 1949-52 and 1965-66, and led an underground life for about five and a half years. In September 1949, Comrade Sarinh, along with Gurcharan Singh Randhawa and Badhava Singh, escaped from prison through a 26 feet long tunnel they had clandestinely dug, and continued underground Party work in Gurdaspur district till he was again arrested and sentenced to eight-year prison term.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 3, 1987.

When the anti-revisionist struggle within the Party led to the formation of the CPI(M) in 1964, Comrade Sarinh, without hesitation, sided with the latter and was elected Secretary of the Party's Jalandhar District Committee. When the Congress Government launched an attack on the Party in 1965, Comrade Sarinh again went underground and, moving constantly throughout the State, provided leadership to the Party ranks in the State as Acting Secretary of the Punjab State Committee.

The last couple of years of Comrade Sarinh's long political life were spent in determined struggle against the terrorists and secessionists.

Comrade Sarinh has left behind his wife and two daughters.

In his death, the Party has lost a leader much needed in this hour of crisis in the State. He will always be remembered for the dedication and determination with which he fulfilled his duties towards the Party and the toiling masses.

The Polit Bureau pays homage to the memory of his unflinching struggle and sacrifices throughout his life, and conveys its heartfelt condolences to his bereaved family.

Agreement On Co-operation Between the CPI(M) and the Workers' Party of Korea*

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the Workers' Party of Korea agree as follows to consolidate and further develop the fraternal relations between the two Parties and two people on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

1. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the Workers' Party of Korea shall exchange Party delegations and Party work experience groups.
2. The two Parties shall exchange information on the successes and experiences gained by their people in the struggle to build a new society, and on the situation in their own country.
3. The two Parties shall exchange documents on the Party history and other publications with the purpose of deepening mutual understanding.
4. The two Parties shall introduce Party activities and successes gained by the people of the two countries and other news through the Party organ and other mass media.
5. The two Parties shall exchange messages or greetings and organize various celebrations on events of importance in each other's respective history.
6. The two Parties shall assist affiliated mass organizations to strengthen contact and exchange delegations.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 3, 1987.

Signed on April 14, 1987, in Pyongyang in two originals, each in English and Korean, both texts being equally authentic.

Sd/-

E.M.S. Namboodiripad
General Secretary

For the Central Committee
of the Communist Party
of India (Marxist)

Sd/-

Hwang Yang Yop,
International Secretary.

For the Central Committee
of the Workers' Party of Korea

CPI(M)-CPI Joint Statement*

A meeting of the Coordination Committee of the CPI(M) and the CPI was held at Ajoy Bhavan on April 30, 1987.

Those who took part in the meeting were CPI(M) Polit Bureau members B.T. Ranadive, Harkishan Singh Surjeet and M. Basavapunniah, and CPI Central Secretariat members N. Rajasekhara Reddi, Indrajit Gupta, Homi Daji and M. Farooqi.

The following joint statement was issued at the end of the meeting:

"Members of the Secretariat of the Communist Party of India and the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) met at Ajoy Bhavan on April 30, 1987, to exchange views on some recent developments. In particular, they took note of certain alarming statements emanating from several quarters, egging on the President to intervene in the present situation following the exposure of corruption scandals on the floor of Parliament. Some "constitutional" experts opine that the President has the inherent right to dismiss the Ministry and the Lok Sabha.

"The two Parties which had earlier criticised the Prime Minister for violating certain norms in connection with the rights of the President, consider that such an advocacy of powers for the President will be in total violation of the Indian Constitution. Anyone who asks the President to embark

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 10, 1987.

upon this path is in effect advising him to organize a coup against the republican Constitution.

“The two Parties call upon all democratic forces to exercise vigilance to ensure that the supremacy of Parliament and the people is protected against all mischief makers.”

Anti-Ribeiro Statements Condemned*

**Statement dated May 6, 1987 issued by the
Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) in New Delhi**

The public attack on the Punjab DGP, Ribeiro, by its Finance Minister, Balwant Singh, will only help those elements who are out to protect extremists. The Punjab Government must realise the difficult conditions in which Ribeiro has had to function when the police administration was not only demoralised but some sections were even conniving with the extremists. His own life was endangered by some of these very policemen who were supposed to deal with the extremist menace. Even today certain police officials and even some Ministers are either in league with the extremists or are protecting those who harbour them. Recently in Hoshiarpur district, near Mukerian, when three extremists who went to attack a CPI(M) leader, were caught by the villagers and handed over to the police, they were later on let off. The murderers of Chanan Singh Dhoot, Hukamchand Gulshan and Darshan Singh Canadian remain untraced even today. Ribeiro has been performing his duty with dedication and has won the confidence of all secular-minded people in the State.

While not approving Ribeiro's airing of views in the Press and while recognizing that he has to work under the authority of the State Government, one has to recognise that under his leadership some confidence has been created among the police to deal with the extremist menace, and a good number of extremists have been booked. There is no doubt that mere

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 10, 1987.

administrative measures cannot help in dealing with the Punjab situation. They have to be followed up by political measures regarding which the Central Government continues to drag its feet. While working under heavy pressure from the extremists and in the context of the Central Government's continuous delay in implementing the Punjab Accord, leaders like Balwant Singh should refrain from making such statements which can only lead to the further worsening of the situation.

On the Demise of Comrade V.P. Chinthan*

**Message Sent on May 9, 1987, to Comrade Nallasivam,
Tamil Nadu State Committee Secretary of CPI(M) by
E.M.S. Namboodiripad on behalf of the Polit Bureau, on
the Death of V.P. Chinthan**

“Deeply shocked at death of Comrade V.P. Chinthan in Soviet Union. His was a life of a dedicated revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist. His notable contribution to building working class movement in Madras and Left movement in Tamil Nadu will always be cherished.

“On behalf of the Polit Bureau convey our grief and sincere condolences to his wife and son.”

***Published in ‘PEOPLE’S DEMOCRACY’, New Delhi, May 17, 1987.**

Homage to Comrade Deepak Dhawan*

Deepak Dhawan, a young leading cadre of the CPI(M) and the Agricultural Workers' Union was shot dead by Khalistani terrorists in Sanghe village near Tarn Taran in Amritsar district on May 19. The killers came on horse-back and fired at Dhawan.

Deepak Dhawan, aged 32, was a member of the Punjab State Committee of the CPI(M) and Joint Secretary of the Khet Mazdoor Union. From the beginning of the extremist menace, Dhawan was in the forefront in rousing the people against the terrorists and organizing the agricultural labourers. He was a valuable comrade who studied Marxism-Leninism and wrote extensively in the local Press to counter the separatist challenge. His whole family stood firmly with the Party and actively worked for defending national unity and communal harmony.

The Polit Bureau pays homage to this young and valiant comrade who died a martyr to the cause of national unity. The P.B. conveys its deep condolences to the bereaved members of Dhawan's family and share their sorrow at this tragic loss. It expresses its serious concern at the attitude of the State and Central authorities who, despite repeated requests, have failed to provide even minimum protection to the Party offices and the cadres who are under constant threat of attack.

***Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 24, 1987.**

Polit Bureau Statement on Bihar Killings*

The ghastly massacre of men, women and children in the two villages, Dalilchak and Baghaura in Aurangabad district of Bihar on May 29, is shocking and alarming. The death toll as reported by different newspapers varies from 45 to 50. All the seven families who were subjected to this brutal butchery are said to be belonging to the Rajput caste.

This murder raid on these families was conducted by a mob of 700 people who were fully armed with deadly weapons. The houses were set on fire and the victims were thrown into the flames. The attackers are said to be from the Yadav and other communities. It is stated that this butchery was in retaliation for a similar murderous attack on Yadavas and others a few days back in which eight people were killed.

Though it appears on the surface that these killings and counter-killings are a part of the caste war, this does not tell the whole truth. There exist powerful socio-economic factors — such as the antagonism between landlords and the landless and land poor.

Since the Belchi massacre in the year 1977, scores of such deadly clashes have taken place in several parts of Bihar. To put it bluntly, in a good part of rural Bihar law and order has collapsed. Private armies of landlords are openly organized and maintained. Periodical killings and counter-killings continue. If the law provides for a wage of Rs. 8.50 or 4 kgs of grain for agricultural workers per day, the actual

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 7, 1987.

payment in several places has remained only 1.25 kgs. Add to this the tenant-landlord disputes which are widespread in a number of districts.

It is said that more than 450 persons have been killed since 1980 in the clashes between the landlords and agricultural labourers. Different groups of so-called Naxalites have penetrated these areas and are inciting the downtrodden agricultural labourers and the tenants for retaliatory actions against the landlords. This has added a new political dimension to the prevailing agrarian unrest in Bihar.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemns these atrocities and holds the Congress(I) Government responsible for this deterioration of law and order in the State. It demands an immediate judicial enquiry and punishment of the guilty. It also demands the resignation of the Ministry which has totally failed to maintain law and order in the State. The P.B. demands that the attempt of the Bihar Government to reduce the whole question to a problem of Naxalites versus the rest, be abandoned at once and organized killings of the Naxalites and the so-called Naxalites, be stopped immediately.

The P.B. is of the opinion that urgent socio-economic reforms are required to tackle the situation apart from streamlining the law and order machinery.

The P.B. conveys its heartfelt condolences to the families of the victims who have fallen in the mutual massacres.

On Developments in Sri Lanka*

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

The Polit Bureau expresses its deep concern at the mass genocidal attack against the Tamil minority people in Jaffna area which has already led to hundreds of casualties and destruction of property due to aerial bombing and artillery shelling. This, combined with the blockade for the past five months, has led to acute shortage of food supplies and medicines and brought the people to the verge of starvation and ruin.

The CPI(M) along with all democratic forces in the country has always maintained that a solution to the ethnic problem must be found within the framework of Sri Lanka's sovereignty. That is why it had supported the December 19, 1986 proposals for a settlement of the issue. However, despite the efforts of the Government of India, the Sri Lankan Government has now adopted the slogan of a "fight to the finish" and gone in for an all-out military solution.

The approach adopted by the Jayawardene Government and the escalated military offensive only serves the interest of U.S. imperialism and its allies like Israel which wish to utilise the growing fratricidal war to further their penetration and entrench themselves in Sri Lanka. The potential for confrontation between India and Sri Lanka is also open to be exploited by imperialism.

In this situation, the step taken by the Indian Government to send by sea urgent supplies of foodstuffs and

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 7, 1987.

essentials for the civilian population in the Jaffna area is a necessary one dictated by humanitarian considerations. The Jayawardene Government should realise the rationale behind such a step and not put any obstacles in its way.

The P.B. further wants to emphasise that the continuous escalation of the conflict is in the interests of neither Sri Lanka nor India. It only subserves the interests of U.S. imperialism and its allies which want to destabilise the countries in our sub-continent to force them to submit to U.S. dictates at the cost of their independence and sovereignty.

The P.B. appeals to the Government of India to exercise its influence on the Sri Lankan Government through world public opinion to persuade the Sri Lankan Government to give up the path of genocide and find a solution to the problem on the basis of the democratic proposals.

Polit Bureau Condoles Charan Singh's Death*

The Polit Bureau condoles the death of Shri Charan Singh, former Prime Minister and President of the Lok Dal. In his long and eventful political life, Shri Charan Singh distinguished himself as a freedom fighter and later, in independent India, he served the country in a number of public positions.

His services to the nationalist movement and his own specific contribution to the debate on how rural India and the country should develop, are important chapters of his life. Notwithstanding differences in political views, all acknowledged his integrity and simple way of life.

On behalf of the CPI(M) we extend heartfelt condolences to Smt. Gayetri Devi and other family members.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 7, 1987.

On Shameless U.S. Interference in Punjab*

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

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep concern at the unprecedented one-hour long debate in the U.S. Congress 'Open House' concerning the situation in Punjab, held on June 2, 1987.

For a long time the CPI(M) has been warning the people of India about the diabolical role being played by American imperialism for further fanning the troubles in Punjab. Yesterday's discussions in the U.S. Congress expressed disagreement with the handling of the Punjab problem and suggested that the U.S. tie up its high technology deals with India with reference to India's handling of the Punjab situation. This provocative suggestion, coming as it does at a time when the situation in Punjab is undergoing serious trouble under extremist activities, will only further encourage the extremists and Khalistani separatists.

The CPI(M) calls upon the people of our country to be vigilant and thwart all attempts of U.S. imperialism aimed at interference in the internal affairs of our country. The CPI(M) Polit Bureau exhorts the Congress Government to be vigilant against the U.S. conspiracies against India and to take appropriate counter-measures to defeat this game.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 7, 1987.

Polit Bureau Communique*

Released after its meeting held on June 7-8, 1987

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) had a meeting on June 7 and 8, 1987. It noted with satisfaction that the verdict of the people in the March 23 elections in Kerala were confirmed and further strengthened by the June 2 elections to the Kottayam and Vamanapuram constituencies. While in the Vamanapuram constituency, the LDF candidate won with a much bigger margin than he had in 1982, Kottayam, which was lost in 1982 by nearly 5000 votes, was won by the LDF by over 9000 votes.

Congress(I) Approach Fuels Communalism

Warmly greeting the activists of the LDF who made this victory possible, the Polit Bureau noted that the Congress(I) persists in its bankrupt policy of alliance with the caste and communal parties not only in Kerala, but in several other parts of the country. Together with the concerted attacks launched by the revivalist and fundamentalist forces of the majority and minority communalism, this Congress policy of forging opportunist alliances has created an explosive situation which has led to two successive waves of communal orgies in Meerut within a month.

Not only were the majority and minority communalists in concerted action, but the notorious Provincial Armed Constabulary of the Uttar Pradesh Government launched vicious attacks on the minority community in Meerut. The Congress

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 14, 1987.

Government of U.P. and the national leadership of the Congress(I) party cannot escape the responsibility for creating the atmosphere for the riots, as well as for unleashing the PAC terror on the minority. The demand has therefore come that the PAC should be disbanded; the P.B. supports this.

At the very time when riots were taking place in Meerut, Delhi was in flames; so was Gujarat. The brave declarations of the Prime Minister that the riots will be put down with an iron hand were nothing but empty words. If the P.M. was serious about fighting the forces of communalism, he would have immediately convened a meeting of the National Integration Council and sought its advice on how to meet the situation.

The P.B. recalls that in the two meetings of the Council held last year, sharp criticism was made by Council members belonging to the CPI(M) and other secular parties, of the opportunist use of casteism and communalism by the ruling party for electoral gains. The obstinate refusal of the ruling party to heed this voice of criticism, the persistence in continuing the same policy in State after State, lies at the root of the recent outbreaks.

Bihar Massacre

Another illustration of the disastrous consequences of Congress opportunism is the ghastly massacre of men, women and children in the two villages of Dalelchek and Baghaura in Aurangabad district of Bihar on May 29. The Congress(I) leadership and the Government of Bihar cannot escape responsibility for this ghastly deed. It is they who have set one caste group against another in their narrow partisan interests; attacks and counter-attacks by caste groups have led to a complete collapse of law and order in Bihar. The P.B. joins the Opposition parties in Bihar which have demanded the resignation of the Congress Ministry in the State.

Punjab : Opportunist, Partisan Act

The dismissal of the Barnala Government and the clamping of President's rule in Punjab have been rightly seen in political

circles as part of the opportunist game with an eye to the Haryana elections. The recent declaration of the Prime Minister that President's rule will continue till terrorism remains, is another example of the same approach. The ruling party has thus made it clear that it puts its own narrow partisan interests above national unity.

The P.B. took a serious view of the statement made by the Union Home Secretary that the Government would be prepared to talk with the extremists in Punjab.

In Tripura too, the Congress party's liaison with the TUJS continues, leading to encouragement of TNV activity. The P.B. called upon the Central Government to extend full cooperation to the Left Front in fighting the extremists in the State.

West Bengal : Obstructive Tactics

The P.B. noted that while the Congress party at the Centre and in the States is rocked by scandals of an unprecedented character, its leaders in States where they are in the Opposition are resorting to obstructive tactics. In West Bengal, one of their MLAs made an abusive remark against a woman CPI(M) MLA, which his own colleagues find impossible to justify, but his party does not take action against him.

Opposition Meetings

The Polit Bureau reviewed the Conference of Chief Ministers held in April and the Conference of Opposition Parties held in May. The proceedings of these two Conferences have helped the secular Opposition forces to come together on some burning issues such as corruption charges levelled on the floor of Parliament and outside.

Exposures of the scandals and mass agitation on them have compelled the Central Government to decide on a Parliamentary probe into one of these charges, although in the beginning the demand for it had been turned down in Parliament. The P.B. decided that the Party should carry on independent and joint mass campaigns on this and other important issues.

Develop United Actions

Reviewing the Conference of Opposition Parties held in May, the P.B. expressed the opinion that the proposal for the formation of a confederation of Opposition Parties is neither feasible nor desirable. The reality which cannot be ignored is that, while the Left and other secular Opposition Parties agree on a number of issues on which united action is possible, their perceptions are different on vital questions of policy.

What is, therefore, required is not the formal setting up of any united front mechanism but the development of united action among as many secular Opposition Parties on as many concrete issues of people's life as possible. The consensus arrived at in the Srinagar and Calcutta Conferences of October, 1983, and January, 1984, provide the basis on which such united campaigns and actions can be developed.

The P.B. further reiterated the Party's opposition to caste communal, regional and other divisive forces against which secular Opposition Parties have to carry on a relentless struggle.

Presidential Candidate

The P.B. heard reports on the search for a generally acceptable candidate in the forthcoming election of the President. The P.B. is of the view that while the secular Opposition Parties should no doubt respond to any sincere move from the ruling party for a consensus candidate, it is unrealistic to expect that the Congress will agree to a consensus candidate. A non-party candidate, whose commitment to national unity and secularism is beyond doubt, should be found to contest against the Congress candidate.

Polit Bureau Statement on Sri Lanka*

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its grave concern over the exacerbation of relations between Sri Lanka and India following India's unprecedented action to rush relief to the starving Jaffna population. India took the step after its earlier request to allow the relief to be reached to the suffering Tamils was rejected by the Sri Lanka Government.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M), meeting in April this year, had pointed out in its report: "India it seems has announced its determination to send relief and aid to the affected people of the Jaffna peninsula suffering from the inhuman blockade which denies the civilian population fuel and other necessities of life. Such a step is likely to lead to a conflict between the two Governments leading to incalculable results."

The Polit Bureau feels at the same time that the refusal of the Sri Lankan Government to allow relief was a callous and cruel action devoid of all humanitarian considerations and unworthy of a civilized government. It was a logical conclusion of its policy of settling the ethnic issue on the basis of military prowess, force and arms.

The entire Indian people and more so the people of Tamil Nadu are deeply moved by the insensate sufferings imposed on the Lankan Tamils by the Jayawardene Government. However, the P.B. warns that wrong and adventurist steps to solve the issue will harm the interests of both countries

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 14, 1987.

and people. A bellicose and chauvinist attitude on either side will bring grist to the mill of the imperialists who are wanting to exploit the situation in their own interests. It will also undermine the influence of the Non-Aligned Movement to which both the countries are committed.

The P.B. calls upon the Union Government to immediately engage itself in discussing with the Sri Lankan Government the modalities of sending relief to the affected people. It should also appeal to world public opinion to persuade the Sri Lankan Government to allow relief and aid.

The P.B. strongly condemns Jayawardene's military campaign of extermination against the Tamils. It calls upon the Sri Lankan Government to stop all military repression and actions and announce its readiness to negotiate with the Tamil representatives on the basis of its December 19 proposals. Everyday that the conflict is prolonged, the Sri Lankan Government gets more dependent on imperialist help. Prolongation of the conflict will definitely compromise Sri Lanka's independence. Already in its fight against its own nationals it has to rely on foreign mercenaries from Israel, South Africa and U.K.

The P.B. also calls upon the fighting LTTE contingents to unequivocally declare their willingness to join the negotiations on the basis of the December proposals. It is unrealistic to expect that prolongation of the conflict will put the LTTE in a better position. A solution has to be found within the framework of Sri Lanka's integrity and sovereignty and on the basis of Jayawardene's December proposals.

The P.B. highly appreciates the stand of the progressive forces in Sri Lanka which, in spite of a very difficult situation, have expressed themselves against further escalation or alienation between the two countries. All progressive and democratic forces in India should exert themselves to see that the existing alienation is removed and friendly relations are established between the two countries and their Governments.

The Polit Bureau calls upon the Union Government to

firmly adhere to its position that it stands for the integrity, sovereignty and unity of Sri Lanka and it is prepared to use its good offices to get the negotiations started. It appeals to the Jayawardene Government to settle the issue of rushing relief to the affected people and remove one acute cause of the exacerbation of relations between the two countries.

On Haryana Elections*

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

The Haryana electorate has electrified the political atmosphere in the country by inflicting a crushing and humiliating defeat on the Congress(I). Never before was there such slaughter of the Congress(I) candidates, ministers and non-ministers, celebrities and non-entities since the 1977 Janata victory. The Congress(I) defeat was expected, but its debacle and utter rout was unexpected. The people of Haryana are to be warmly congratulated for this overwhelming rebuff to the Congress(I).

For this the Congress(I) has to thank Rajiv Gandhi and his opportunist policies. Rajiv Gandhi dismissed the Barnala Government to draw electoral advantage in the Haryana elections. The trick failed. His tall promises of water failed to fool the Haryana electorate. The opportunist policies pursued, the corruption scandals and the ruination of the rural mass under Congress(I) policies, and finally the installation of the notorious Bansi Lal as Chief Minister sealed the fate of the Congress(I). By the rout of the Congress(I), the Haryana electorate has accelerated the process of the Congress(I)'s isolation all over the country. Devi Lal, the victorious leader and his party the Lok Dal (B), have the responsibility to consolidate this victory by championing the interests of the people, defending national values and fighting the divisive forces. The CPI(M) wishes them success in their struggle

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 28, 1987.

and is confident that the new ministry will throw in its weight to solve the Punjab problem and will not allow Haryana to be exploited as a pawn by the Central Government in pursuance of its opportunist policies.

On Ghastly Terrorist Killings in Patiala*

**Statement dated July 7, 1987 issued by the
Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep indignation at the barbaric outrage perpetrated by the Khalistani terrorists who have cold-bloodedly murdered 38 bus passengers in Patiala district on July 6. This latest atrocity shows the desperate extent to which the terrorists are going in order to disturb the situation in Punjab and foment communal tensions.

The Central Government and the Congress(I) seem unable to comprehend the gravity of the threat. They continue to rely on administrative measures instead of taking the urgently necessary political steps to rally the people. The dismissal of the Barnala Ministry has put a brake on the process of rallying the people. The grave challenge posed in Punjab by the anti-national secessionists has to be determinedly met by the united fight put up by all secular and patriotic forces. The Polit Bureau appeals to all sections of the people in Punjab and outside to maintain communal harmony and foil the designs of the extremists.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 12, 1987.

EMS's Rejoinder to Narasimha Rao*

E.M.S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary of the CPI(M), issued the following Press statement on July 8, 1987 :

I have seen the comments of Union Minister, Narasimha Rao, on what I said at Bhubaneshwar on July 6, asserting that "the position of the President as the Constitutional head was very clearly laid down in the Constitution itself".

This, however, does not answer the question whether Article 78 of the Constitution provides for the Council of Ministers to make regular reports to the President and the President asking for such reports. The reply given by the Council of Ministers to a letter by the President asking for such reports was, as public information goes, that the President is entitled to get only such reports as are graciously provided by the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers. I would like Sri Rao to say whether the Council of Ministers did send such a reply to President Zail Singh when he asked for reports in terms of Article 78 of the Constitution.

Our Party has taken the forthright stand that the President has no right to dismiss the Prime Minister so long as the latter enjoys the confidence of Parliament. We characterised any attempt, if made by the President to do so, as a "Constitutional coup". At the same time, if the Council of Ministers has written to the President, as alleged, that he has no right to get any report other than what the Council

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 12, 1987.

of Ministers decided to supply, we consider that act of the Council of Ministers, too, as something which amounts to a "Constitutional coup".

This, in fact, is the basic issue of policy raised by Justice Krishna Iyer as Opposition candidate in his letter to the voters. He has been consistently making this point in all his campaign speeches and Press conferences. Where does Mr. Narasimha Rao and his leader Rajiv Gandhi stand on this question?

This is a question of policy on which it would be surprising if there are no differences among Congress M.P.s and MLAs. Those of them who hold the Cabinet's refusal to provide reports to the President as violation of the Constitution, are certainly free to exercise their judgement in such a way as to defend the Constitution. Talk of cross-voting as a "heinous political misdemeanour" in relation to them amounts to demanding that Congress M.P.s and MLAs should have no political opinions of their own.

Assault on Dissident Congress(I) Leaders*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemned the murderous attack, issuing a statement dated July 24, 1987, in New Delhi

The murderous attack on V.P. Singh on July 23, 1987, night in the Delhi University campus, deserves to be universally condemned. All national dailies have rightfully denounced this vandalism under banner headlines. Coming close on the heels of the attacks on Arif Mohd. Khan, this attack on V.P. Singh clearly reveals a plan to physically browbeat and intimidate inner-party dissent by the Youth Congress stormtroopers.

No party that claims to be democratic can indulge in such blatant vandalism that is reminiscent of Hitlerite stormtroopers.

The CPI(M) calls upon the Congress(I) High command and its president Rajiv Gandhi, to intervene and put an end to this vandalism which is seriously undermining democratic norms. While this goondaism has been going for over a week no forthright condemnation has come from any Congress(I) leader, leave alone its president, Rajiv Gandhi. Unless this vandalism is put an end to the ruling party's commitment to uphold democracy, a claim challenged by many, will remain under serious doubt.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, August 2, 1987.

Homage to Comrade Nrisingha Chakraborty*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) deeply mourns the passing away of our esteemed Comrade Nrisingha Chakraborty, member of the Central Committee of the Party. His sudden demise in Moscow on July 23, 1987, where he was undergoing urgent medical treatment has shocked the Party. He was aged 62.

Comrade Chakraborty began his life as a railway worker in the early forties, and by his devotion to the cause of the working class and Communism, he came to occupy a high position in the trade union movement. He was dismissed from railway service for his trade union activities. He played an important role in the historic railway strike of 1974, and was a member of the Action Committee of the National Coordination Committee of Railwaymen's Struggle (NCCRS) on behalf of the CITU. He was re-elected as Secretary of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions at its recent session held in Bombay.

Comrade Chakraborty joined the Communist Party in 1952. His Party work earned him the distinction of membership of the Central Committee to which he was first elected in the Tenth Congress in 1978 and in the successive Congresses.

His sudden demise is an irreparable loss for the CPI(M), the trade union movement and the railway workers whom he

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, August 2, 1987.

served devotedly for years. The Party dips its red banner in his honour. The Polit Bureau sends its sincere condolences to his wife, sons, daughter and other family members, and hopes they will bear the sudden loss with fortitude.

Polit Bureau Hails LTTE Decision*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) issued the following statement to the Press on August 5, 1987:

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) welcomes the decision of the LTTE to accept the terms of the agreement reached between the Sri Lankan and Indian Governments and to lay down arms. This step lays the basis for the implementation of the agreement, the terms of which can meet the aspirations of the Tamil minority within the framework of the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka. The Polit Bureau hopes that the terms of the agreement will be implemented keeping this aim in view.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, August 9, 1987.

Political Report Adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) in its Meeting held on August 7-10, 1987*

International Developments

The C.C. takes note of the world economic situation which threatens to affect the political development in many developing countries giving chance to the imperialists to intervene and dictate terms. After all, the path of capitalist development embarked upon by these countries, is bound to affect political developments, strengthening reactionary attacks and imposing reactionary solutions for the country's economic events.

The latest report of the World Bank says that the global economic recovery that began in 1983 continues to slow down and that unless Governments take action, economic stagnation, if not decline, lies ahead. It should be remembered that this global recovery did not see abatement of the unemployment situation in the leading capitalist countries. On the other hand, it was noted that the characteristic of this recovery was that there was no relief in the unemployment situation. Part of the burden of this recovery was borne by the Third World countries who had to face tariff barriers for their exports. From mid-seventies, according to the Bank, when the economic climate worsened and oil crisis, debt crisis, recession and high unemployment faced the developed countries they resorted to protectionism and some even took the course of non-tariff barriers. The Third World was the worst sufferer. By 1984, according to the report,

*Published as a booklet in October 1987.

17 per cent of the industrial countries' imports were subjected to some kind of non-tariff barriers and that these barriers bore more heavily on the major exports of developing countries than on several exports from industrial countries. The scapegoat and victim of the recovery, which is now on the decline, is quite clear.

In passing we must take note of the logic of the World Bank which while pretending to protect the developing countries against tariff barriers, demands of them lifting of all trade restrictions to the penetration of foreign goods and capital. Note in particular its advice to India. It says that India's capacity licensing system, the most important regulatory policy for the industrial sector, has been instrumental in contributing to the high concentration of industry, sub-optimal scale of production and slow technical progress (World Development Report 1987). "The capacity licensing system has constrained competition between domestic industry and led to high rejection rates, long delays and changing sub-section priorities thereby making it a significant barrier to the entry and growth." Here is the call for complete deregulation of Indian economy to allow free access to multinationals and complete freedom to private capital.

According to the Bank, the economic recovery produced a real net GDP growth of 4.6 per cent in the industrial countries along with 5.1 per cent in real GDP for developing countries. These growth rates declined last year to an estimated 2.5 per cent and 4.2 per cent respectively.

According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) there was a deterioration in the economic situation. Its report says that the global economy may further deteriorate unless the western industrial countries act as they promised at the recent Venice Summit. According to its estimates for the next 18 months, July 1987 to December 1988, there is not going to be any improvement in the situation. The economic rate of the 24 OECD member-states has slowed from 4.7 per cent in 1984 to 3 per cent in 1985 and 2.5 per cent in 1986. Now the

latest OECD estimate is that this rate of 2.5 per cent cannot be improved for the next 18 months. The unemployment rate in the 24 countries is 8.25 per cent of the total labour force and the report predicts growing unemployment in the next couple of years. In Japan the rate of unemployment rose to 3.15 per cent in 1986. Total unemployment may come to 1.91 million in 1987, an increase of 90 thousands compared with the same period in 1986. The inflation rate in the OECD countries is also increasing. The average rate of the OECD countries was 2.8 per cent in 1986 and is expected to be 3.5 per cent in 1987 and 2.75 per cent in 1988.

In this situation of declined recovery the logic of capitalism is each for himself. Each country or group of countries tried to save itself at the expense of others and all of them try to save themselves at the expense of Third World. They resort to protectionism, trade wars, manipulation of exchange rates, budget deficits, high interest rates, in short every kind of device is used to protect one's position at the expense of others.

The OECD report pointed to the unstable exchange rates caused by unbalanced trade of United States, Japan and Federal Germany as one of the key factors affecting the world economy. The imbalance, it said, may increase resulting in the slow economic progress everywhere. The report further says that the uncontrolled fall in the dollar exchange rates will trigger instability in other countries' currency values which will result in increased interest rates, production stagnation, unemployment as well as the worsening of the Third World economy.

The Third World countries pursuing the capitalist path are now being placed in a helpless economic situation with unbearable burdens on the mass of people. To get out of this situation and the danger to their rule, the ruling circles are being pressurised and being prepared to sacrifice the independence of their economy and accept the rescue plans of the World Bank and the international finance sharks.

During the last year the external debt of all developing

countries rose to 936 billion dollars. For all developing countries the ratio of total debt to GNP rose from 36 per cent in 1985 to 39 per cent in 1986 and the ratio of total debt to export goods and services from 147 to 172 per cent according to the Bank of International Settlement. It says that even the ratio between interest payment and export proceeds rose last year, despite the decline in dollar interest rate which, it said, cut service cost by over 4 billion dollars in 1986.

Protectionism in industrial countries, lower commodity prices for exports, especially of raw material of developing countries have brought about this perilous situation. According to the Bank, economic mismanagement in developing countries is also a contributory factor.

The situation has now further deteriorated with the virtual collapse of prices of commodities in developing countries. Damini Correa, former UNCTAD General Secretary, in a Press interview in Colombo in July 5, said that there has been a dramatic collapse in the prices of commodities in developing countries which have reached the level that prevailed in the great depression of 1930s. According to him, to a large extent the protectionist policies pursued by the developed countries were to blame for the situation. He said that there was a general depreciation in the commodities markets and this was creating severe difficulties for virtually all developing countries.

The fall in commodities' prices and the debt burden have created an impossible situation for a large number of developing countries which found no way out except to seek more loans and accept stringent conditions undermining their economic independence. This is what is being proposed by the Bank of International Settlement and others. Rescheduling the debt, resort to commercial loans and recently resort to debt equity swap, all have failed to soften the impact of the debt crisis. Now once again there is need of new loans. The Settlement Bank says that debtor nations will need more loans from official and private sources but these would have

to coincide with more efficient use of resources and structural changes. It said new credit should be linked in part directly to domestic investment projects. The meaning is quite clear. The creditors will decide priorities and intervene with management and demand restructuring of the economy to suit their interests. The debtor countries are called upon to restructure their economies to suit export-led growth so that the return of foreign credit is safe. The World Bank Development Report 1987 itself observed that this export-led growth means reduction in the consumption standards of the people and injures long term prospects of advance and production. "The achievement of some of indebted countries in generating trade surpluses to service debt has been remarkable. But the counterpart of this has been low domestic consumption and investment with adverse effect on long run productivity improvement." (Page 19)

The havoc done to the living standards of the people in the Third World countries and their development is registered in the World Bank staff paper "Short Term Outlook for the Developing Countries and International Economy". "In the current decade many developing countries have lost the gains of the previous 20 years of development. The picture is particularly bleak in Sub-Saharan Africa."

And for large parts of the developing world the picture is almost dark. There are exceptions, notably China, India, South Korea, and Brazil, although the recent growth spurt of the last was based on clearly unsustainable financial policies.

Elsewhere per capita investment has fallen back to the level of 15 years ago. Per capita consumption and imports are lower than in 1980.

For highly indebted countries, the picture is worse. Imports and investment levels in 1987 are as low as a generation ago on a per capita basis, while consumption has yielded back the gains of the past 15 years. A generation ago, the 15 most indebted countries of Africa had per capita income 50 per cent higher than today, investment per capita was

43 per cent higher and consumption per capita was a third higher. The one indicator that has continued to grow in most of these countries is the ratio of debt service to exports. A further rise in debt service ratio to an average of 46 per cent for the highly indebted countries is anticipated for 1987.

The way out is cancellation or at least a prolonged moratorium on debt payment, international guarantee for prices of exports of developing countries and end to protectionism by advanced countries and manipulation of exchange rates. Simultaneously there should be an agreement for honest efforts on the part of advanced capitalist countries to help the developing countries and reduce the gap in progress between the two worlds. But if this is accepted capitalism will not be capitalism.

The present perilous situation, with the prospect of further deterioration, forecasts intense economic and political pressures on the Governments of the Third World countries to compromise their independence and independent economic development. The imperialists and the reactionaries will make use of popular discontent arising from the present situation to pressurise the Governments of these countries. There is every danger that in a number of countries where the democratic movements are not strong imperialist aims will be pursued with vigour with attempts to topple democratic governments. The capitalist path pursued in these countries is now creating danger for their independence. Only a vigilant democratic movement in these countries can stay the attack. The slow down of the recovery has sharpened the contradiction between imperialism and the people and Governments of Third World countries. It often finds expression in mass upheavals in these countries against reactionary rulers and stooges of U.S. imperialism. It also leads to shameless intervention and aggression by imperialism to stem the advance of the popular and democratic forces.

But while the economic situation in the advanced capitalist countries continues to deteriorate, unemployment continues to increase, while peace movement gets strengthened;

nonetheless, in these countries a direct confrontation between the working class and the capitalists does not take place and the reactionary capitalist parties are able to win elections in a number of these countries.

The Conservative victory in British elections in June and the defeat of the Labour Party reveal how in the midst of economic crisis, sections of the working class continue to have illusions not only about the capitalist system but the possibility of its improvement under the rule of the party of capitalists.

What were the achievements of the Conservative Party during the last four years of its rule? The leader of the Conservative Party, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher boasted of her Government's victory over socialism in her pre-election speeches. This was a reference to the de-nationalisation drive with about a third of the public sector handed over to the lakhs of private shareholders. But this victory against socialism also included 3 million enemployed, hundreds of thousands "new poor" homeless, large number of bankruptcies and stagnation in many industries. And the Government spent millions on nuclear weapons and defence expenditure.

During the years of the Conservative regime, unemployment has doubled with 12 per cent of the labour force idle. But the Conservatives claimed that three quarters of the population now owned the houses they were living in and that 85 per cent who are on jobs were taking home a decent pay packet.

Labour Party propaganda exposed the Conservative claims but could not win over the majority to its side. It was besides noted that the word socialism was rarely uttered by the top leader of the party, Kinnock in his election speeches.

To the credit of Labour Party it must be stated that it firmly stuck to its demand for unilateral nuclear disarmament which the Conservatives considered as treacherous.

The Labour Party increased its vote and seats in parliament but could not secure a majority in spite of the acute unemployment situation. This was partly due to the reformist

outlook of the leaders but, above all, to the illusions shared by large sections of workers and partly because a top sections of workers are getting the benefit of better living standards made possible by exploitation of ex-colonial countries. Imperialism, even in the midst of the crisis, reveals its capacity to corrupt a strategic section of workers and keep it away from class politics.

In Italy also, in spite of the economic situation and the fight against it, the Communist Party was faced with decline in votes. The Socialist Party has gained the most, followed by the Christian Democrats. The votes lost by the Communist Party have gone to the Greens Party and there has been erosion in the votes of the younger generation. The success of Hawke, the Australian Labour Party leader, represents an important development. It represents anti-American sentiments. The success of the Australian Labour Party in the recent election has not been secured by a radical programme to ease the burden of the working class and to take the country's economy forward. On the contrary, the Labour Party leadership has turned in the recent years to the right, making concessions to big business at the cost of the interests and rights of working class. The Liberal and National Country parties opposing Labour lost part of their support because of their openly pro-U.S. foreign policy. The Labour Party had a better image in this respect.

The Venice meeting of USA, France, FRG, Britain, Canada, Italy and Japan was an attempt to develop a coordinated policy towards economic questions faced by the fraternity of exploiters. But because of their rivalries nothing tangible could result from the conference.

In fact the inter-imperialist contradictions, mainly the contradictions between the USA, Japan and FRG, are further exacerbating because the entire group of seven is threatened with the consequences of indebtedness of the developing countries. The impending bankruptcy of the debtors threatens this creditor's club with the collapse of their economy.

The problems of security and nuclear disarmament had

to be discussed after Gorbachev's offer to clear medium and short range missiles from Europe. This was going beyond the so-called zero option advanced by the West. Reagan had earlier given an assurance that the U.S. sought agreement with the Soviet Union but no concrete steps were taken to carry out the assurance.

Venice also discussed U.S. aggressive designs in the Persian Gulf. On the eve of the meeting Pentagon had informed the participants that U.S. has sent a naval force headed by aircraft carrier Saratoga to the area. But Washington found it difficult to rope in its allies in this adventure. Italy opposed the U.S. plan of intervention and called for steps to end the Iran-Iraq war. Nakasone and Kohl told Reagan that the intervention activity will violate the constitution of the respective countries.

Having first expressed dissent over the policy of sending naval ships to the Gulf, Britain refused to send her mine-sweepers to the area to help the U.S. Sending of mine-sweepers might threaten to escalate tension in the Gulf, British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs announced on July 31.

On August 1, the Netherlands refused the U.S. request for naval help in the Gulf. It was officially stated that the Netherlands Government will consider only a request for contribution to the United Nations Maritime Peace Force.

On August 2, Italy refused a U.S. request to send mine-sweepers to the Gulf dealing a blow to U.S. efforts to muster on international force to protect Gulf shipping threatened by the Iran-Iraq war. The Italian Defence Minister in a letter to the U.S. Defence Secretary stated that the Italian Government shares the American assessment of the worsening military situation and the absolute need to safeguard the freedom of navigation. However, freedom of navigation would be best secured through the United Nations. The letter said that Italy fully supports political initiative in this matter but not the military one. It further said that the Italian mine-sweeper presence in the region was not opportune in the present circumstances.

The U.S. was, however, bent upon carrying out its aggressive designs. It has taken a number of Kuwaiti vessels under its flag, ready to strike against Iran if these vessels were attacked. This brazen-faced act is justified in the name of freedom of navigation and uninterrupted oil supply to the West. But the region accounts for only 5 per cent of U.S. supply and as far as the supply of her friends are concerned, the latter are not enthusiastic for an armed conflict with Iran.

To fool American public opinion, the lying U.S. Administration often argues about the Soviet naval threat in the region. The fact is that in the Gulf and nearby area there are many more U.S. naval ships than Soviet. Recently the Soviet Union exposed the hypocrisy of this argument by proposing that naval ships of both countries should be withdrawn from the Gulf areas. The U.S. kept silent on this offer.

The aggressive actions of U.S. imperialism continues as before. In Nicaragua and El Salvador, U.S. intervention continues. Its latest intervention was in Fiji where in alliance with Fiji reactionaries it has brought about a coup against the constitution and the elected Government. It was incensed by the adherence of the elected Government to a foreign policy of non-alignment. The Governor General appointed by the British Queen, Fiji's feudal reactionaries and CIA plotters combined to bring down the elected Government with the aid of a few soldiers. The U.S. imperialism could not tolerate the national unity of the two ethnic groups of Fiji for a progressive purpose and defence of democracy.

Equally sinister is the U.S. intervention in Panama where the Government had to declare Emergency to meet the threat from reactionary elements supported by the U.S. Panama's authorities are in possession of the U.S. State department's plan to destabilise the ruling coalition led by progressive democrats. Two things have irritated the Reagan Administration most : Panama's independent stand in international affairs and its demand that the Panama canal should be transferred to the country as per the agreement of 1977. But

Reagan has no intention of honouring the agreement signed by his predecessor. He said : "We bought it and we paid for it, it is ours, we ought to keep it." These brazen aggressive designs can be carried out by installing a puppet government, and revising the treaty. This is the secret behind the recent anti-Government activities in Panama.

Notwithstanding the Soviet proposals on Euro-missiles and several other proposals and the recent proposal put before the Geneva Disarmament Conference by a group of socialist countries, nuclear explosions are increasing. The U.S. refused to stop them in spite of the earlier nuclear moratorium declared by the USSR. Today there is plenty of talks by the imperialists do not move an inch on the ground. They utilise the time provided by the talks for further nuclear test explosions to perfect new weapons and prepare for the Star Wars project. Hypocritical excuses are invented to sabotage agreements. In relation to Euro-missiles, the FRG now claims that the Pershing and Cruise missiles in its territory are its property and they cannot be covered under any U.S.-USSR agreement. So every device is used to torpedo the negotiations. The U.S. is bent upon pursuing its objectives of a Star Wars project. But the world responds to the peace proposals of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries enthusiastically, and the imperialists are forced to cover up their designs.

The Governments of a number of capitalist countries, especially the USA, are spending enormous sums on manufacture of nuclear weapons and research for the Star Wars project. This drain of funds for destructive purposes accentuates the economic crisis in these countries and intensifies the unemployment problem. The peace movement and the progressive forces in these countries have been demanding drastic reduction on weapons of mass destruction and to use the resources to ease the unemployment problem and help the developing countries to overcome thier backwardness. The peace movement and all anti-war forces have been pressing this demand for many years so that the resources of mankind are directed for maintaining peace and overcoming the

backwardness of the developing countries which also is a source of growing conflict in the world.

The socialist countries have recently attracted the attention of progressive forces all over the world by the planned changes in the management of their economies and the promise of a more rapid economic advance. The steady progress of their economy without crisis and unemployment stands in sharp contrast with the record of the capitalist countries.

While welcoming freer discussion about the past mistakes it is necessary to avoid unhistorical and unrealistic attitudes towards earlier developments. Highlighting any criticism of the serious mistakes committed by Stalin should not lead to a virtual repudiation of the mighty achievements of the Soviet Union and socialist society during Stalin's period. Stalin's name is not associated only with the mistakes but primarily with the successful building of socialism, building resistance against attack and finally the historic victory against Hitler. Critics who ignore these achievements while focussing attention on the undoubtedly grave mistakes committed by Stalin, are not likely to contribute to a correct understanding of the past. Such unhistorical criticism, besides, will not help in avoiding mistakes in future. Our Party stands by the resolution on Stalin passed by the united Party in 1956 and the two documents on the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat adopted by the Central Committee of Communist Party of China.

In the last few months there is steady improvement in the relations between the USSR and the People's China. Besides, China has normalised its relations with the socialist countries of Europe. This contributes to the growth and strength of the progressive and democratic forces in the world and creates a better sense of solidarity and unity in the Communist movement.

Relations with Neighbours

Recent months have witnessed accentuation of India's relations with her neighbours, especially with Sri Lanka. There

is of course no improvement in relations with Pakistan for the simple reason that it is getting more and more armed with sophisticated weapons, the condition being that it must maintain strained relations with India. Therefore talks and offers are of no avail. Pakistan continues to support and help the Khalistanis and in spite of incontrovertible proof refuses to change. The arming of Pakistan, besides, helps to disarrange the Indian budget and the economic programme of the Government. It creates a powder magazine of discontentment which can be lit by the imperialists whenever they want. The gravity of the situation and the tension is reflected in Rajiv's recent speeches in which he openly charged Pakistan's U.S. connection for keeping the tension alive.

General Zia's recent statement about Kashmir has served to intensify the tension between the two countries. It is totally against the spirit and letter of the Simla agreement and deliberately calculated to create further tension between the two countries and encourage pro-Pakistani elements in the State of Kashmir and create a climate for continuous U.S. military aid to Pakistan. The USA fully knows that the Zia Government is making every endeavour to manufacture nuclear weapons. The theft of vital material for these manufactures by Pakistani agencies in USA was given publicity and it was made to appear as if the authorities were set for withdrawing military aid to that country. But it turned out only to be a big show and the responsible committees refused to reduce aid to Pakistan. Pakistan is an important instrument of U.S. global policy in this region and therefore it will continue to get help. It is quite clear that Pakistan is being encouraged to go for nuclear weapons to pressurise India. It was logical for Government of India to protest against the Zia statement on Kashmir and describe it a calculated move to create alienation and tension between the two countries.

India-China relations, at present, can be said to be neutralising mischief and nothing more. Though both the Governments have expressed their adherence to peaceful settlement of the dispute, the fact that it is nowhere near a settlement

should be a matter of anxiety and concern for all. In the context of global forces and alliances at work in the policies of the sub-continent, it is sheer naivete and innocence to rely only on the good wishes of both sides. Recently some U.S. agencies, especially the U.S. press, have been circulating reports about amassing of weapons and armies by People's China on the border of India to create an impression that a conflict between the two countries is in the offing. These reports have been repudiated both by People's China and the Govt. of India—the latter saying that interested parties are trying to create tension between the two countries. This repudiation by both the Governments helps to stabilise the existing situation which of course requires further improvement.

The relations with Bangladesh have also deteriorated. The April C.C. report observed, "the dispute over Chakma refugees hounded out of Bangladesh by military operation threatens strained relations between the two countries". The Chakmas issue now threatens to become a permanent sore. There are more than 50 thousands of these unfortunate tribals ousted from their land by the forcible colonisation policy of Bangladesh authorities. Considering them as a liability, the Bangladesh authorities are unwilling to accept them back into the country. They, therefore, raise disputes about the number of refugees to be taken back. Refugees on their part demand maximum guarantee about life and livelihood which the authorities are unable to offer. They want them to accept their word that they will be safe and secure in Bangladesh. In the meanwhile none dare to move outside India into Bangladesh. Over and above this, the TNV terrorists sheltered by Bangladesh authorities raid Indian territory, murder people and go back for sanctuary in Bangladesh.

Recently there were wide protests in Bangladesh against the alleged killing of Bangladesh border personnel by India's BSF men, a charge which India totally denied. Here are the beginnings of a first rate crisis between the two countries. All the required actors are there for the scenario.

The refugees, the armed mercenary bands passing as "revolutionary fighters" fighting the cause of separatist Tripura, national feeling and religious animosity. Besides these conflicts and raids supply ample material to Ershad to divert the attention of the democratic forces challenging his arbitrary rule.

Sri Lanka Developments

The April meeting of the Central Committee had warned that the Government of India was contemplating an interventionist action in Sri Lanka which might lead to incalculable results. In June, the Government of India violated the air space of Sri Lanka and sent its aeroplanes to drop food relief to the Tamil fighters. It was certainly a violation of international law but strangely enough it was not only not denounced by the traditional traducers of India and her foreign policy, namely the U.K. and the USA, but to an extent was supported and appreciated in these countries. There was some confusion about our Party's stand on the air-dropping because our reservation and fears about a likely clash following such violations were not expressed in the official communique which announced the support of all political parties for the steps taken by the Government. The fact that all political parties came out in support of the step while our Party alone expressed its reservation, is significant.

Since the beginning of the conflict our Party has taken the stand that the demand for a separate independent Tamil State could not be supported by us, as it will mean partition of Sri Lanka and give an opportunity to the imperialists to penetrate Sri Lanka. However, we fully supported that justice should be done to the Tamils by proper devolution of powers within the framework of Sri Lanka's sovereignty and independence; we strongly protested against the attempt to seek a military solution and denounced the massacre of Tamils by the military forces of Sri Lanka. The Party, all the time, was of the opinion that prolongation of this conflict will not only lead to ill feeling and estrangement between the two

countries and the people but will also enable imperialism to intensify the situation and spread its influence in Sri Lanka endangering the security of both the countries.

The agreement that was recently signed between the Governments of India and Sri Lanka, if properly accepted by all and implemented, should settle the Tamil issue and restore the friendly relations between the people of the two countries. It recognises the existence of ethnic Tamil groups within the polity of Sri Lanka; it accepts the merger of northern and eastern districts, a demand that the Tamil militants had put forward as a primary condition for any settlement. It also says that the decision about the final merger will be taken by a referendum in the eastern district. The election to the new province will be held by December this year. Meanwhile discussions will be held on the question of devolution of powers within the framework of Sri Lankan sovereignty and independence. It has been also agreed that if there is any difficulty in the way of implementing the agreement and any immediate help is required India will lend its forces to see that the agreement is implemented. Tamil militants had earlier declared that they would refuse to surrender their arms to Sri Lankan army. It has now been agreed that the Indian armed forces be sent to Jaffna and arms would be surrendered to them.

It is reported that the agreement also ensures that Sri Lankan Government will not seek the help of agencies and Governments which are not friendly to India. And further that the Sri Lankan Government will not allow any naval force in its waters which may be a security risk for India. And further that the Sri Lankan Government will check and curb espionage activities centred around the Voice of America establishment operating from Sri Lankan soil.

This accord is now accepted with some reservations by all Tamil groups. The LTTE initially refused to accept it, calling it a betrayal. Later on the LTTE leader Prabhakaran seems to have expressed his satisfaction with the agreement after the explanation given by Rajiv Gandhi.

If the agreement is properly implemented by both sides it will pave the way of settling the Tamil issue peacefully and will begin the process of restoring normalcy in the relationship between the two countries. The existing bitterness and enmity is a very dangerous development which might have pushed certain Lankan elements into the arms of the USA. That is why the implementation of the accord is necessary to frustrate imperialist mischief between the two countries and protect the security of both.

It will be, however, naive to think that there will be no difficulties in the way of successful implementation of the terms of the accord. In the first place, if the LTTE refuses to accept it and refuses to surrender arms to Indian army which is agreed in the terms of the accord, the Indian army would have to take action against the militants. This is bound to lead to tremendous repercussions in Tamil Nadu and may end in transferring the Tamil problem from the soil of Sri Lanka to India.

Secondly, it is a fact that the accord faces opposition in Sri Lanka. It will not be correct to dispose of this opposition as the handiwork of a few extremist chauvinists unsupported by the mass of people. The riots in Colombo, the killings of people in police firing and finally the assault on Rajiv Gandhi, all speak of rousing nationalist passion against a wrong considered to be done to national unity. For the last three or four years, people of Sri Lanka have been repeatedly told that the Tamil movement was anti-national and intended to divide the country. All sections of people who feel for the unity of their country have been drawn into opposing the Tamils who have been described only as terrorists and separatists. Opposition was roused on the demand for the merger of the two provinces. The Government itself made concerted attacks on India, charging the latter for encouraging, financing and arming the separatist Tamil struggle. A large section of nationalist opinion in Sri Lanka therefore considers the agreement as total surrender to Tamil separatism under the pressure of Indian intimidation and

threat of intervention. The entire opposition from Sirimavo Bandarnaike to the Sinhalese Buddhist clergy is now in the field to oppose the accord. And the opposition is carried from inside Jayawardene Cabinet by no less a person than Prime Minister Premadasa. It would be therefore unrealistic to think that the accord will have smooth sailing. It will not be surprising if angry nationalist opinion join hands with pro-American elements in the Jayawardene Cabinet to bury the accord and create an impossible situation. As realists, while supporting the accord, we must reckon with the possibility of an adverse turn in the situation, endangering the interests of both countries.

Economic Situation

Recent months have seen further accentuation of the economic situation leading to spread of distress and outbursts of mass anger and organized protests. Notwithstanding official claims to have contained the inflation rate, prices of daily necessities are continuously rising making it impossible for the mass of people to maintain their living standards, forcing them to economise on food and other necessities of life. The consumer price index number continues to rise while the inadequate compensation against this price rise is only confined to certain strata of industrial workers and middle class employees, leaving the vast mass of the peasants, agricultural workers and workers in unorganized industries out of its purview. Over and above this, India's foreign debt obligations have risen rapidly and are creating an unstable situation regarding India's balance of payments position. A very substantial part of the export earnings is now already mortgaged to the payment of foreign debt. In the coming years the Government will be borrowing more from foreign sources which will increase the payments burden. It seems that the slightly concessional rates at which India has been successful in negotiating commercial loans will be no longer possible in view of uncertain political situation in India. At least this is what certain economic journals are forecasting.

Several important industries like the automobiles, scooters, and many others are facing a demand recession. The textile and jute industries are already in doldrums and the Government is unable to rescue this situation. In fact it seems that by its patronage for the production of synthetic fibres Government will create further difficulties for the jute industry. Large number of industrial concerns are unable to use their full productive capacity. A number of public sector industries are without orders because of Government's policy to accept global tenders. At the same time, thousands of small industrial concerns are either closed or declared sick and nearly 500 big concerns continue to be on the sick list.

The working class and the people are made victims of this industrial situation. To reduce wage bill and establish the 'competitive' character of Indian economy, the Government is encouraging a massive computerisation offensive in the service industry threatening the jobs of thousands of employees. The Government is also embarking upon a policy of curtailing the rights of the workers taking steps to reduce their wages and increasing workload in the name of linking wages with productivity. In the private sector there is large scale retrenchment, closures and lock-outs.

In the rural areas the offensive of the Government falls on the peasantry and agricultural workers. The minimum wage legislation is not implemented and the agricultural worker is left totally defenceless against the inflationary price rise. Against the fall in prices of certain commodities the peasantry is equally defenceless, with the Government accepting no responsibility to protect it against the vagaries of the market. In many states there are direct attempts to levy new imports on the peasantry such as rise in electricity rates. Several state governments are also resorting to coercive measures to force the destitute peasants to pay back his debts.

Mass actions are therefore taking place in several states against these measures of the Congress(I) Government. The strike rate that had gone down in the last two years is again

on the rise and the beleaguered Government has often to purchase peace by unwillingly conceding some of the demands of the workers. The workers of public sector had given a notice for an indefinite strike and the strike is being held in abeyance only because the Government has promised to virtually accept the main demands. The Government avoided a strike of postal workers only by making an eleventh hour concession. The university teachers have already started their all-India strike against the raw deal given to them. Outbursts of mass actions are simultaneously taking place in the rural areas. Several peasants from U.P. were killed in police firing because of their massive protest against rise in the electricity rates. The U.P. Government had to retreat to some extent after this protest. In Bihar, every two months there is a regular massacre of agricultural workers, Harijans, or backward section workers carried out by the landlords in alliance with the Congress(I) police. In Orissa, the callous Congress(I) Government refuses to admit that deaths are taking place due to starvation in the famine-stricken areas and declines to take any relief measure. While the Congress(I) party protests concern for the weaker sections, the Orissa Government carries on intensive measures against the Adivasis. In all Congress(I) states, in one way or the other, outbursts of mass anger are taking place in rural areas and they will go on increasing because of the widespread drought conditions.

In the midst of these difficult conditions created by Congress(I) policies, the three Left Front Governments continue to maintain their rapport with the masses and render them every relief that is possible and that is necessary. They also continue to take new measures to improve the situation for the common man and refuse to impose additional burdens on them.

In these four months there has been persistent pressure brought on the Government to move more quickly in the direction of its new economic policy and give more concessions. There was recently a demand from the foreign interests

body ASSOCHAM, that foreign companies owing 51 per cent equity capital should be given national treatment and have all the facilities and concession at their disposal which the indigenous concerns have. At present companies whose foreign equity partnership does not exceed 40 per cent are given national treatment. It was argued that the increase in equity holding and the Indian status would ensure flow of latest technology from abroad. This was a blatant demand to seek for foreign owned companies the status of Indian companies so as to avail themselves of all the measures the Government may take to protect the Indian economy and industry.

The Government committed to its new economic policy and a free flow of foreign capital however could not accept the demand in toto. At the time it argued that while it was opposed to a blanket demand of this type, it had never been rigid in implementation and allowed relaxations of the 40 per cent condition as need arose. Its case by case flexible approach should largely meet the demand of ASSOCHAM and the people should be prepared for further expansion of "indigenous treatment" to foreign capital.

It seems that Rajiv Government had prepared a blue-print of a new industrial policy fulfilling the deregulation demand of the World Bank. The World Bank report attacks India's licensing capacity. The new policy is reported to call for dismantling of the licensing system, relaxing controls on monopoly houses, giving more encouragement for foreign investment and import of new technology.

As a result of the proposed policy document only two to three hundred of the larger companies would for the time being be subjected to control. But what the World Bank and Rajiv have proposed the people have disposed. The loss of influence due to corruption scandals and the necessity to execute a left manoeuvre has forced the Government to defer the announcement of the new industrial policy.

While the World Bank is pressuring the Government, the U.S. Government is also intensifying its pressure. The

super-computer deal, deal for technology, help for an Indian combat aircraft and several other projects and proposals have run adrift. They are not moving because of the onerous and humiliating conditions accompanying them. The concessions of new economic policy, the promise of deregulation, liberalisation of trade, all these are not sufficient for the U.S. to release the super-computer and the combat air technology. The U.S. pressure on our economy and in other spheres continues to increase. The entire approach of securing U.S. help for defence and strategic technology has proved wrong and criminal.

National Political Developments

Though the corruption scandals in the Government dominated parliamentary proceedings and the press, the last four months witnessed many other political developments which were also of great importance. The Sri Lankan developments, the Ghising challenge, the intensified attacks of communal forces, strengthened activities of the divisive and secessionist forces in the North-East region and the exacerbating Punjab problem stared the nation in the face. Hidden behind these were the increased activities of the imperialist elements to short circuit the Indian Constitution and democracy by exploiting the Prime Minister-President differences.

These differences themselves, as pointed out in the report of April meeting of the C.C., were manifestations of the growing crisis of the parliamentary system. The April C.C. meeting observed in this connection, "all this should show that in spite of its parliamentary majority, faced with a critical situation in the country, unable to tackle any issue democratically, exposed to people's criticism for its total failure on almost all fronts the ruling party takes recourse to violating constitutional norms, to rule dictatorially."

The recurring failures, the electoral defeat in West Bengal and Kerala, and the shattering and humiliating defeat in Haryana began to affect the inner unity of the Congress(I), which was already witnessing growing dissidence. While

the discontent and inner fights were growing with accelerated speed in the states, there was a sudden outburst of crisis at the Centre, with removal of V.P. Singh from Finance Ministry and later on from the Defence Ministry, ending in his dismissal from the Government and finally expulsion from the ruling party. Within a few days of V.P. Singh's exit the Minister of State for Defence, Arun Singh, also resigned involving Rajiv under deeper clouds of suspicion.

In the last 40 years since independence, India has never witnessed such shocking developments concerning the Central Cabinet. They speak of the inner crisis of the Congress(I) party, of the loosing hold of Rajiv over ministerial colleagues and Congress leaders and a growing emboldened opposition inside the party. The dissidence and revolt have lowered the image of Rajiv Gandhi and invested the dissidents with the halo of martyrs for a good cause.

The revolt of V.P. Singh and others, if helped and supported by the dissidents in various States, will create a first rate inner party crisis in the Congress(I) exposing the isolation of Rajiv Gandhi and inability of the ruling party to carry on the burden of the administration. V.P. Singh and others, if they do not succumb to electoral opportunism and keep away from communal association with BJP, will play an important role in unleashing the democratic discontent and dissidence in the Congress(I) and lining up progressive nationalist elements with the democratic forces waging a battle against Congress(I) rule. The developments of last four months reveal the Congress(I) as a party daily going down in the estimate of the people and day by day loosing its unity and cohesion. The main bourgeois-landlord party is in a much more weakened position than before to withstand a united assault of popular movement and parties.

Punjab

The report adopted by the April C.C. meeting wrote about the 'turning point in Punjab' and observed: "Bourgeois politicians finally awakened and in a rare demonstration of

unity they are supporting the Barnala Government which has taken a stand against the diktat of Acting Head Priest of the Akal Takht and his efforts to oust him and seize the ministry for the supporters of Khalistan.

"It is really a battle between the elected representatives of people and religious authority which has placed its services at the disposal of the secessionists and foreign imperialists. It is a battle between religious fundamentalism which seeks to dominate Indian politics and secular forces to stand by the republican Constitution."

This bold stand by the Barnala Government led to rallying of all political parties including the Congress(I) on a common platform to politically fight the Khalistanis. This was an extremely important shift, from exclusive reliance on the law and order machinery to combat terrorism, to united political struggle to isolate them from the people. At long last the political parties were coming to the position long advocated by the CPI(M). Initially the development promised great prospect; public meetings and rallies were attended by enthusiastic crowds who responded to the call for national unity. If the process had gone for a length of time, the political weight of all parties and the growing appeal of national unity would have led to paralyzation of the terrorist activities as they would have been unable to calculate on the neutrality of the people.

But this was not to be. A treacherous blow was being prepared against the Barnala Government by Rajiv Gandhi and his Government whose immediate aim was to win the Haryana election by hook or by crook. Within a month of expressing high praise for the Barnala Ministry in the President's Address to Parliament, the Rajiv Cabinet suddenly dismissed the Ministry without assigning any convincing reason.

True, this Barnala Ministry suffered from many weaknesses. Some of its ministers were having a soft line towards the terrorists and some members were intimidated by them to interfere in the administrative affairs. Some individual members were also corrupt, but their corruption was

a flea-bite compared to the record of Congress(I) ministers. All these defects could not override the main reality that the Barnala Government and his party had supplied the link for the nationalist forces with the mass of Sikh peasants. Anybody who ignores this vital fact and concentrates on the deeds or misdeeds of individuals like Mr. Balwant Singh only sabotages the struggle against the terrorists. This is precisely what Rajiv Gandhi's treachery has done. By dismissing the Ministry he has completely sabotaged the growing popular resistance and the sense of unity that was developing after Barnala's firm stand against the Akal Takht diktat. Rajiv Gandhi, by dismissing Barnala, has bolstered the prestige of the Takht against the person who has taken bold secular stand for the national cause. Then if some of Rajiv's advisors have been in the direct pay of the CIA or the U.S. Government, they could not have done a worse damage to the situation. The step has further showed contempt for the electoral verdict which brought Barnala to power by openly defeating the Khalistanis.

Why this treachery, why this heinous crime? It repeats the same old sordid story of protecting the interests of the ruling Congress(I) at the expense of the nation. This monstrous coup against the elected ministry was brought about to woo the electorate in the neighbouring state of Haryana which was going to the polls next month. This was preceded by the Report of the Eradi Commission on distribution of waters between different states which promised more water for Haryana than previously agreed to. The full electoral programme of the Congress(I) for winning over the Haryana electorate appeared to be non-transference of Chandigarh to Punjab, new canal for conveying water to Haryana; more water for Haryana; Haryana's claims over Abohar and Fazilka; transfer of 70 thousand acres of land from Punjab to Haryana; dismissal of Barnala Government which was meant to convey the end of Rajiv-Longowal Accord, a reactionary demand made by Devi Lal.

The result is that the Punjab problem is once more reduced

to a law and order problem, sabotaging united efforts of all political parties to isolate the anti-national Khalistanis and rouse mass resistance against them.

The events following the dismissal of Barnala show that the terrorists who were feeling isolated are again emboldened to engage in new spectacular killings. In some cases popular intervention has started and terrorists were captured with the help of the people. The growing isolation of the terrorists from the people has led to the police getting better intelligence which indicated that popular sympathy for the terrorists was waning. Quite a few months back during Barnala's regime itself terrorists found that the killings of minority community members alone did not lead to the communal riots all over India as expected by them. The fact that they had to take to large scale killing of Sikhs expressed their need of retaliatory action, against growing Sikh opposition. They often concentrated their attack on those who exposed their activities to the administration. In recent months they have killed more Sikhs than Hindus. The attacks against the Sikhs announced a breach in the solid wall of Sikh support which they had enjoyed. However, even now the mass of Sikhs is still neutral and the tendency has increased after the dismissal of Barnala Government. Apart from the attacks on the CPI(M) and the CPI, the Akali Dal(L), Congress(I) and others fell victims to the assassins' bullet. This has led to further isolation of the terrorists. The murder of two of our young comrades and wiping off the families of the two CPI leaders has horrified the people and led to a wave of revulsion. Though, because of dismissal of the Barnala Government the process of rapid isolation has slowed down, still revulsion continues to increase in large sections of the people.

This has led to the degeneration of the terrorist groups some of them indulging in robberies and dacoities for private gains and some groups fighting each other and killing each other. This is the inevitable logic of the anarchist opportunist path.

If Press reports are to be believed, the robberies of the people have now created a sharp division among the terrorists and this has made Darshan Singh, Jathedar of Akal Takht, unacceptable to the terroristic clique. Press reports say that Darshan Singh has fallen apart from the militants because he is supported by the Babbar Khalsa group which has launched a movement against the collection of money from the pilgrims and visitors to Golden Temple by other militant factions headquartered there and putting up militant posters within the Temple complex.

The ghastly killings of bus passengers in Punjab and Haryana in the second week of July and earlier killings in Delhi constitute yet another desperate attempt of the terrorists, to plunge the country in communal riots. Nothing would have brought more success to them than a series of massacres of Sikhs all over India, rousing communal passions all over the country and forcing the Sikh population to migrate to Punjab. The BJP, the Janata and some other bourgeois opposition parties failed to see the danger and exploiting the passions roused by the massacres, gave a call for bandh. But despite several instances of rioting and retaliatory attacks the people remained peaceful and foiled the game of the national disruptors and imperialist destabilisers.

It will be entirely unrealistic to expect an immediate end to sudden terroristic attacks in the coming months. We are dealing here with an anti-national insurgency financed and armed from abroad. Its success lies in keeping the pot boiling and rousing passions to disrupt national unity. No administration can stop such attacks whatever its resources. They can be stopped when the administration is aided by a fully mobilized and alert people determined to crush the alien elements. This is where bourgeois political parties fail. Even now carrying out of full terms of accord, immediate release of Jodhpur detenus and restoration of Barnala Ministry can open the way for the political mobilization and intervention of the people of Punjab. The democratic forces must demand the return of the elected Ministry.

The CPI(M) and the CPI are campaigning for these demands at great risk to the lives of their leaders and members. The State-wide demonstrations organized by the CITU in Punjab which drew together tens of thousands of people from Sikh and Hindu communities, the enthusiasm with which the jathas were received and the readiness with which ordinary people offered financial help, are all clear indications that the masses will move if joint political efforts are made by all political parties. We must congratulate our Party members for the courageous fight they are putting up in the struggle against the divisive forces and express our appreciation of the efforts made by the CPI. The cowardly murders of our Party comrades, the killings of a young State Committee member and a DYFI leader and others show that the terrorists are concentrating on our comrades and leaders. The courageous fight carried on by our comrades and our Punjab State Committee in the face of this constant danger to their lives, the mass campaign they organized despite increase in these attacks, all demand admiration and constant support from all State Committees and units. The resistance must be fully popularised in all States to demonstrate how our Party concretely fights for national unity.

But the opportunism of some of the bourgeois Opposition parties is revealed here in a very gross form. While they exploit every instance of Congress(I)'s failure to defend national unity they do not pursue an honest path of fighting disruption. For electoral and other advantages they are prepared to join hands and conciliate the worst agencies of disruption. The BJP, for instance, demands that the administration should be handed over to the army or at least a security belt should be established. It does not want the return of Barnala's elected Ministry and functioning of the Constitution. The Janata Party leaders having overcome their embarrassment after Barnala's forthright stand against the Akal Takht are adopting the same line as the BJP, that is no return of Barnala, but they want talks to be opened with the Badal group which has been in active cooperation with the

Khalistani elements. The Lok Dal (B) leader Devi Lal demands scrapping of the entire Punjab accord, the same demand that is being made by the foreign financed elements. In addition, Devi Lal poses as if the matter is between two independent states of Punjab and Haryana and offers to settle the issue with the rival state across the table. And Rajiv Gandhi sends a Jain *muni* to seek negotiations with the Takht and seeks the intervention of two religious bigots to compromise Indian unity. Political bankruptcy and opportunism cannot go further. It is necessary to remember all this when people develop illusions about the potentiality of the bourgeois opposition parties in the struggle for democracy and against divisive forces and to understand that their anti-Congress signboard does not necessarily represent a correct attitude towards national problems. The Party and the Left forces will have to conduct a principled fight against the divisive forces overcoming the surrenderist policies of the Congress(I) and the opportunist vacillations and reactionary stand of the bourgeois opposition parties.

Haryana Elections

Who won the Haryana election? Who lost them? The Congress(I) lost the election and suffered a humiliating defeat. It had to pay the price of its enormous treacheries. Never did the party adopt such crude and vulgar tactics to win an election, the crude appeal to Haryana chauvinism and anti-Punjabi sentiments, the manipulations in relation to Hindi-speaking areas. The electorate refused these baits because of growing anger against Congress(I) rule, its corruption and other misdeeds. The Congress(I) pose to defend its interest after years of Bhajan Lal's rule was no longer credible. All the caste barriers were broken. Traditional animosities and estrangements were forgotten and united by single desire of defeating Congress(I), they inflicted the worst electoral defeat on the ruling party since the dawn of independence.

But the victory against the Congress(I) was not unalloyed victory on the basis of defence of national unity and a

democratic programme. In the preparatory stages of his campaign, before elections were announced, Devi Lal was concentrating his attack on the Punjab Accord, which our Party has accepted as a step to restore unity in Punjab. This was nothing but an appeal to Haryana Hindu chauvinism. This showed disregard to the dangerous national situation, the danger to the unity in Punjab and the challenge of foreign destabilisers.

During the election campaign, however, Devi Lal mainly concentrated on people's issues and exposures of Congress(I)'s anti-people policies in Haryana. He raised popular demands and some urgent demands of the peasantry like cancellation of debts. It was however not surprising in view of his opposition to the Punjab Accord that he should have alliance with the BJP and formed a coalition ministry with that party.

But the Haryana masses consider the election results as their victory, victory brought about by them and worked for by them. That of course is true. The Haryana masses enthusiastically worked to defeat the Congress(I) resisting all caste appeals, and they are proud of this overwhelming victory of theirs. Unfortunately they read their own aspirations, wishes and desires in this electoral success. A few concessions which they are bound to get at the hands of Devi Lal will foster these illusions for some time. But Devi Lal's MLAs and Ministers are not very different than the Congress(I) MLAs in their social behaviour and their regard for integrity and honesty. The disillusionment may spread rapidly and there is danger of its getting diverted into internecine channels. It is necessary for the Party to remain with the masses, to applaud their victory and defend their interests and gradually call for the fulfilment of the electoral promises so that the process of disappointment is not exploited by the Congress(I) but leads to the masses moving towards the CPI(M) and the Left. The approach to Devi Lal Government must be in terms of the consciousness and unity of the masses who desire to fight the Congress(I) and protect the democratic interests. While doing this persuasive propaganda must be carried on against Devi Lal's chauvinistic stand on the Punjab issue.

It is because of this understanding that our Party had to demarcate itself from Devi Lal and its alliance during the election and at the same time adopt a flexible stand. An inflexible stand leading to a third front confronting Devi Lal would have gone against the unity mood of the masses and their great desire to defeat the Congress(I). At the same time, joining hands with Devi Lal on common platforms there would have been surrender to opportunism. We had therefore to be content with a couple of seats to be able to carry on our own propaganda. But it should be remembered that just a few weeks before the election our comrades were in the forefront of the biggest strike of State Government employees for their demands. The strike continued for many days, paralysed the Bansi Lal administration and enabled us to emerge as a force interested in fighting against the Congress(I). This, together with the goodwill we have earned in the election, should enable us to discharge our tasks towards the people in a more effective way. Our prestige and influence have also increased because of our recent intervention in the communal riots following the bus massacre in Haryana. Our Party in Haryana has been intervening on issues of mass interests through its independent activities and that, together with our stand in the elections, has increased our capacity to intervene.

Darjeeling Developments

Our Party and Left Front Government in West Bengal had to bear the main burden of fighting the divisive Gorkhaland forces in the Darjeeling district. The crowding up of national developments coming one after another may make people forget the serious situation created by murder, arson and bandhs of the Gorkhaland agitators. It was clear now that a very large mass of Nepali population supported the agitation which was able to dislocate and disrupt transport and economic activities repeatedly. The agitation had roused the national feelings of the majority of the Nepalis. The law and order problem created by this constant agitation could

not be tackled without relying on constant help from the Centre. More and more police companies were required, all the more so because agitators were now getting sophisticated weapons.

It is of course true that no amount of help from the Centre would have led to any result had our Ministry and our Party not followed a firm correct policy towards the question, had they not expressed immense feeling of solidarity and oneness with the Nepali people and had our devoted cadres not carried on the fight at a great risk to themselves. The C.C. honours the memories of all those who laid down their lives in this grim struggle to defend unity, defend the Left Front Ministry and defend our Party. Now there are talks in the offing after Ghising had called off his perpetual bandh. If the Government of India listens to our voice and adopts a correct posture towards the genuine demands of the Gorkha people and if it is able to persuade Ghising to take a reasonable stand then it will be possible for us to evolve an acceptable framework of regional autonomy and settle the issue in consonance with accepted principles of democracy and the need of strengthening national unity.

Counter Developments

The great enthusiasm created by the two election victories in Kerala and West Bengal was to a certain extent counteracted by the assault of communal riots, gruesome Meerut riots, the Maliana massacre, the recurrent Ahmedabad riots, the persecution of religious and linguistic minority in Assam and frontal attacks against tribals through mass eviction under the AGP regime. That regime is further planning to evict tens of lakhs of Indian citizens from Assam by demanding evidence of citizenship from residents who have been there for generations.

It is of course unrealistic to expect a lull in the attack of communal and secessionist forces in the near future. They form an important instrument of destabilization used by

imperialist agencies and internal reactionaries. Our Party must expect in the immediate future further intensive attacks of these forces to disrupt the common democratic movement, the national consciousness and shatter the will of the Indian people. These are no longer riots of earlier period, a temporary outburst of communal consciousness but a deliberate continued offensive of the forces of political reaction. The earlier period of occasional riots, a period of comparative civil peace has ended. These new outbursts of secessionist and communal forces are becoming a part of the daily life of our people. This is a kind of civil war waged against the forces safeguarding Indian unity.

The policies pursued by the Congress(I), the treatment of minorities, their merciless suppression during riots, and the bleak economic outlook that faces the lower orders from all sections constitute fertile ground for these movements. They do the job of disrupting the common movement against the capitalist path, against the Congress(I) rule.

In this changing situation the fight for unity against communalism and divisive forces does not end with the exposure of the misdeeds of Congress(I) administration, of the exposure of the BJP and other communal organizations. As in Punjab, Tripura, Assam, and Darjeeling, one of the urgent tasks before the CPI(M) and the Left parties is to develop the capability of directly intervening against these forces and counteracting them. In many places such intervention does take place in various forms. But generally it does not go beyond rescuing some people and saving their lives. A more vigorous intervention is necessary but for that popular support has to be created. Here comes the weakness of many of our mass organizations including the trade unions. In centres where we have got strong influence the trade union mass under our control often gets dead and inert during the communal frenzy leaving the field open to the mischief-mongers. If the riots remain an affair between the Government and communalists they will never end. The agitation and propaganda of the Party and the mass organizations has to be

channelised in the direction of organizing this intervention. We should not be content with the exposure of the Government, the Congress(I) and the administration which often play an important role in inciting communal violence.

The Central Committee denounces the role of Hindu fundamentalists in fanning the communal conflict. It condemns the partisan attitude of the Congress(I) administration on many occasions during the riots. It is also conscious of the fact that the Muslim minority is suffering under a number of grievances and injustices. But all this cannot be an alibi for the Muslim fundamentalists who are now equally guilty of rousing communalism, exploiting the sense of injustice prevailing among the minority masses. By their activities the Muslim fundamentalists do the biggest disservice to the minority community when they detach it from the common fight of all democratic and exploited sections against the present regime. Only a successful common struggle against the bourgeois-landlord regime will secure justice for the Muslim minority.

Struggle for Wider Unity

Understanding the great desire for united popular resistance to Congress(I) policies following the West Bengal and Kerala victories, the Party through Comrade Jyoti Basu took the initiative to call a conference of Chief Ministers of Opposition parties. However, at the instance of some C.M.s invitation was extended to others who had not attended earlier conferences. The Conference met on April 25 and its deliberations and conclusions gave a proper expression to the urge for unity felt by the people. The Communique issued by the Conference said: "The meeting expresses its concern over the recent disclosures on allegedly illegal accumulation of wealth abroad and deals related to defence items. The way to resolve this problem is to take Parliament and the people into confidence and organize probe in such a thorough manner that will be deemed genuinely satisfactory." The meeting took note of the disillusionment of the common

people about the economic policies of the Central Government. It said: ". . . the problems of inequality, unemployment and inflation have become more accentuated over the years. Land reforms have been ignored. There has been a general failure to absorb working force adequately in the production structure, in agriculture and industry, resulting in fall of purchasing power of the common people.

"Purchasing power of the people got eroded by the continuing inflation. Here the Centre's deliberate decisions on deficit financing and to increase the administered prices of essential raw materials such as coal, steel and petroleum products and also of food items have acted as significant factors behind this inflationary spiral."

The meeting called for alternative approach to production planning. It said, it should begin with land reform and then support the working farmers with the provision of other non-land inputs. Every effort should be made in agriculture and industry to absorb as far as possible the working population so that there is corresponding generation of purchasing power of the common people.

"Some social control is necessary in the field of marketing and public distribution of essential commodities. This control is required to provide the cultivator with remunerative price and also to protect the interests of consumers against the machinations of middlemen." The statement further calls for re-ordering of Centre-State relations in terms agreed in the Srinagar Conference of Opposition parties. Certain problems of immediate importance to the State Governments were also stressed and their solution demanded."

The Chief Ministers' Conference showed agreement on many important and urgent issues facing the mass of our people. The demands put forward were within the framework of the Calcutta Conclave demands. The reiteration of agreement reached at Srinagar was also important and served to remind the Sarkaria Commission that the opposition parties were united and firm in their demand for a radical revision of Centre-State relations in favour of the latter.

Though the communique of the Conference gave no call of immediate action, the statement served to strengthen the unity of secular opposition parties raising expectations of the people. The virtual reiteration and re-affirmation of the demands made by the Calcutta Conclave after a prolonged period of inaction was politically important and served to emphasise that the intervening period did not affect the understanding arrived at earlier conferences between the opposition parties. The meeting served the intended purpose and was considered as an assurance to the people that the urge for unity and common action was being attended to.

Naturally a broad understanding among the Chief Ministers representing several parties was bound to miss some very important points and developments. This was so in the case of the Conference. What was missing can be seen when we compare the content of the Communique with Jyoti Basu's speech in the Conference. Comrade Jyoti Basu, while referring to all the points raised in the Communique, also raised some additional questions of policy. He says: "Deviation from another such long cherished goal is reflected in terms of recent policy shift in the role of public sector in India's plans and economic developments. Hard evidence indicates that the growth of these public sector industries and in a more generalised frame also public sector infrastructure facilities, such as irrigation, transport, etc., have in fact acted as a significantly helpful factor for industrial and agricultural activities in India. While on the basis of this experience the policy should have been one of expanding the scope of public sector, of improving its efficiency by more effective involvement of the workers in the management and ensuring that the benefit of this sector can reach the common man, the policy recently adopted by the Central Government is in fact one of relative contraction of the scope of this sector and its employment generating potential. We know that the private sector also has its important role to play. But we cannot agree to its growth, particularly in the sphere of commanding heights of the economy at the expense of public sector.

"This entire approach of the Congress(I) and the Centre towards production and pricing has been away from the aspirations of the vast majority of the common people. There is thus an inherent tendency in this approach to shut the democratic participation of the people out from the process of planning and to centralise economic power and powers of decision making in the hands of Central Government. The trend of centralization in the Centre-State economic relationship is in our opinion an expression of inherent overall centralizing tendency.

"When such attempts are made to concentrate powers in the hands of Central Government, then the common people in different States turn to lose the feeling of participation in the process of planning. When this feeling is lost and also the problem of unemployment because of the wrong choice of strategy is aggravated, divisive forces in the name of religious fanaticism, casteism, obscurantism get encouraged threatening the basis of unity and integrity of the country. We have to oppose all these divisive forces in unequivocal terms. We have to build a strong and united India. For this the economic base of each of the State is to be strengthened."

The speech further expresses concern over illegal accumulation of wealth abroad and says: "We are also concerned because imperialist powers may make use of this situation." Then it calls for taking the Parliament and the people into confidence.

It is interesting to note therefore that in the Communique there is no reference to the public sector policy of the Government, no call for fighting the divisive forces, and there is deletion of reference to imperialism contained in Jyoti Basu's statement in relation to the corruption scandals.

It was decided at this Conference that N.T. Rama Rao should convene the conference of opposition parties to carry forward the task of oppositional understanding and unity in action. The Communique calling for the conference said: "The meeting also took note of the suggestions of the Chief Ministers of

Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, Shri N.T. Rama Rao and Rama Krishna Hegde, for confederation of like-minded parties at the national level based on an agreed programme. The Chief Ministers suggested that the proposed meeting of the opposition parties should discuss this proposal in detail."

Now, N.T. Rama Rao in pursuance of this decision decided to call all kinds of opposition parties to the conference considering them as like-minded. Apart from the fact that we were ideologically and politically opposed to any confederation, even discussion on confederation with bourgeois Opposition parties, we were also resolutely opposed to expand the scope of the conference to include all kinds of parties of doubtful political hues. This would have led to dilution of Opposition unity. The earlier conferences and conclaves were confined to important parties with mass following and served the purpose of unity very well. A conglomeration of disparate parties which were likely to conflict on important issues of action and policy would have promoted more difference than unity.

This point was made clear by Com. E.M.S. in his letter dated 1st May to N.T. Rama Rao which said: "The four All-India conferences of Opposition parties held in 1983-84 made a good beginning. The consensus arrived at then, particularly in Srinagar (October 1983) and Calcutta (January 1984), laid the basis on which united campaigns and movements could have been developed. Unfortunately, however, the consensus could not be carried forward.

"The best course to be adopted now would be to take up where it was left at earlier all-India conferences—earnestly undertake a joint campaign on the points of agreement already arrived at. The point is to start joint campaign and movements on the commonly agreed platform of action.

"Considering the divergences on certain important issues of policy among the opposition parties, it will be counter-productive if an attempt is made to have a confederation as is suggested by you. What is required is a mechanism in which joint campaign and movements can be developed.

A Coordination Committee of concerned parties could be an appropriate mechanism."

But Shri N.T. Rama Rao took the decision to call a conference of a large number of political parties which were not participants in the earlier meetings. E.M.S. therefore had to tell him that the CPI(M) was unable to participate in the wider conference he was calling. E.M.S.'s letter dated 8th May said: "In my earlier letter dated 1st May 1987, I placed before you our ideas concerning all-parties conference. It now appears from your letter that you have not cared to consider our suggestions. Under the circumstances, and in view of the list of parties you have invited, our Party finds it impossible to participate in the conference."

This was a correct and forthright decision to oppose arbitrary and unilateral expansion of the conference and to foist it on us. We had never agreed to the list.

And which were the "like-minded parties", whom we were supposed to accept because Shri N.T. Rama Rao considered them to be like-minded? They included along with the parties which attended Srinagar and Calcutta meetings, among others: 1. Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Dal; 2. Manipur People's Party; 3. Naga National Democratic Party; 4. Gandhi Kamgar National Congress; 5. Jharkhand Party; 6. Jharkhand Mukti Morcha; 7. National Democratic Party, Kerala; 8. Tripura State Congress for Democracy; 9. Tamil Nadu Congress(K); 10. All Parties Hill Conference; 11. Assam Gana Parishad; 12. Sikkim Sangram Parishad; 13. Hill State People's Democratic Party; and last but not the least, Socialist Unity Centre, Calcutta (the permanent vilifier of the Left Front Ministry).

This was the assorted selection made for our cooperation and in collaboration with which we were to launch serious agitations against the Congress(I) Government.

It would have been downright opportunism to associate ourselves with such a combination in a conference and the P.B. had no hesitation in deciding that our Party would not participate in such a gathering. This was regarded by some

panicky elements as disregarding the call for Oppositional unity. They fell victim to the bourgeois Press propaganda which charged us with blowing unity. Perhaps they were not aware that the SUCI had an honourable place in this conference. After seeing this exhaustive list of invitees none in the Party can suggest that we should have agreed to participate and hold parleys with others. It was obvious that some parties wanted to swamp the conference with a large number of political parties of doubtful political loyalty.

Therefore there was sharp division between the CPI(M), the Left parties and N.T. Rama Rao, leading us to declare that we could not be a party to this conference. Such conflicts and sharp differences frightened some people who think that the struggle for unity and action must proceed without difference and conflict of opinion. On the other hand such conflicts and differences are inevitable when different class parties are endeavouring to reach common agreement on immediate issues or issues of policy. The struggle for common understanding between the secular Opposition parties and Left parties has both aspects—unity and struggle. Unless this is grasped differences will lead to panic and yielding to the erroneous line of the other parties. Sometimes on this or that issue parting of the ways takes place but that cannot be long term or permanent. The need for common action arises from the objective situation itself, and the Party never forgets it. It again and again resumes the struggle for common understanding. The appearance of sharp differences from time to time is, as has been pointed out, inevitable. And they must be regarded as part of the struggle for unity itself.

The CPI(M) of course attaches great importance to Left parties' understanding with the secular Opposition parties in the immediate struggle against the Congress(I). The importance of the secular Opposition parties follows from their growing contradiction with the ruling party as a result of the crisis of the system and from their wide influence over large sections of the masses.

The Political Resolution of the Calcutta Congress observes : "The election once more reveals that the mass of the electorate is divided between the various bourgeois-landlord parties. The opposition bourgeois parties, though routed at the polls because of the extra-ordinary circumstances under which the elections were fought, commanded a big percentage of vote. In two States notwithstanding the all-India swing in favour of the Congress(I), they were able to win a big majority in the elections."

The Vijaywada Congress pointed to the intensification of contradiction between the ruling party and the bourgeois opposition parties. The Calcutta Congress resolution observed : "With an immediate prospect of elections not being there some leaders of the opposition parties are taking a conciliatory attitude to the Congress(I) and the Central Government. The latter is also trying to win some opposition parties by talking about national consensus, consultation with Opposition parties, etc. The aim is to isolate the Left.

"The limitations of these parties regarding foreign policy, awareness about the imperialist danger, etc., have already been noted. The recently announced economic policy of the Government which our Party is determined to oppose and defeat evokes response from them.

"Nonetheless on the important question of Central-State relations, on the question of high prices, and taxation on the people, on the question of democratic rights and liberties they defend the people. The strong protest lodged by these parties against Rajiv Gandhi's justification of the Emergency shows that they are alive to the situation and of the manipulation of the ruling party."

This has been our understanding and the Party has been working on it knowing the limitations of these parties and not attaching imaginary revolutionary virtues to them. The Party has experienced that their enthusiasm for mass action waxes with the nearness of the elections. E.M.S. in his letter to Shri Rama Rao also pointed out that the demands framed in the Calcutta Conference led to some initial actions

but further progress could not be registered. E.M.S. asked Shri Rama Rao to restart agitation on these demands even now.

After our refusal to join the conference of "like-minded parties" Shri Rama Rao agreed to call a meeting of the parties which had attended the earlier meetings. The May 14-15 meeting was attended by all these parties. The only new entrants were the two sections of the Lok Dal. The proceedings of the meeting took note of the concrete questions before the people and passed resolutions on some important questions. Immediate attention was required to the question of Presidential election. It was necessary to mobilize the full force of secular opposition to support a common candidate though there was no prospect for winning the election. E.M.S. had suggested to NTR that priority should be given to this question. The decision of the meeting to evolve a common approach and the appointment of a committee of three, consisting of Rama Rao, Chandra Shekhar and E.M.S., strengthened the sense of Opposition unity and consolidated the urge for common understanding. The all-parties meeting condemned the dismissal of Barnala Government and charged the Government with blatant abuse of Article 356 for narrow political ends and with deliberate sabotage to the developing political unity in Punjab against the Khalistani elements. The resolution observed : "It was at the initiative of some of our parties that the Prime Minister and the ruling party agreed for a joint political offensive against fundamentalists and secessionist groups in Punjab. It was only as late as 14th of April, 1987, on the Jallianwala Bagh day, that a massive rally was held in Amritsar where a senior member of Union Cabinet gave full-throated supported to the Barnala Government. In less than a month the Government of India made a volte-face and pre-emptorily dismissed the same Government." The meeting condemned in a forthright manner the expulsion of ten DMK MLAs from the Tamil Nadu Assembly as undemocratic and unconstitutional. The meeting further decided on a mass campaign against governmental corruption and called on all non-Congress(I) democratic parties and the people to involve

themselves in mass campaign to combat corruption in high places and in support of a comprehensive parliamentary probe into the defence deals. The meeting also passed resolution on the Tamil struggle in Sri Lanka. While the resolution expressed sympathy for the Tamil fighters and condemned the repressive measures taken against them by the Jayawardene Government, it virtually declared its lack of faith in negotiations with Sri Lankan Government and called for interventionist measures by Government of India. It said recent events in Sri Lanka have raised basic question even on the utility of on-going dialogue because of intense and callous insensitivity displayed by President Jayawardene and his Government. India cannot sit still when a genocide takes place in Sri Lanka.

"The meeting of the non-Congress(I) parties demands an immediate end to the killing of ethnic Tamil minority in Sri Lanka. The meeting also demands urgent and effective steps by the Government of India to prevail upon Sri Lankan Government to end the senseless violence against a section of its own population, etc."

These were dangerous formulations supporting Indian intervention in Sri Lanka which would have led to incalculable results. In fact a few days after the meeting the Government of India air dropped food supplies to the fighting Tamils violating the air space of Sri Lanka. Naturally these parties supported the stand of the Government of India after they passed this resolution. It was an error on the part of our Party's representatives to have overlooked this wrong chauvinistic and one-sided outlook.

On the whole it can be said that the all-parties meeting held in May carried forward the sense of unity, of action, and raised new expectations.

However, there were certain shortcomings which were obvious. When the meeting took place large sections of our masses were already fighting against the effect of Rajiv Gandhi's economic policy. There were massive strikes, there were peasant outbursts, there were firings on peasantry killing

many people. There were massacres in rural areas of Bihar organized by landlord goondas. But the meeting did not take note of these developments and did not call for any protest action against the imposed sufferings of the masses and the police repression. The call for action came only in relation to corruption. Corruption of course had become a big political issue of national importance in the tussle between the Government and the opposition. But it was wrong to totally ignore the burning issues facing the people and refrain from giving a call to demand redress of people's grievances. This was because a number of opposition parties thought that the corruption issue by itself could be used to dislodge the Government.

Following the May meeting sharp differences developed on the question of Presidential elections and they were utilized by the bourgeois press to slander our Party. The poisonous propaganda of press also influenced some well wishers and Party members who in the beginning thought that our line on Presidential election was disruptive of oppositional unity.

Initially there was complete understanding on the question of Presidential election. It was unanimously decided in the May meeting to appoint a committee consisting of N.T. Rama Rao, Chandra Shekhar and E.M.S. Namboodiripad to evolve a common approach regarding the choice for the office of the President. Because of the overwhelming votes of Congress(I) in the Parliament there was no possibility of winning the election unless massive defection took place from the ruling party camp of which there were no signs. It was therefore decided by the 3-man committee that the candidate should be one who is able to mobilize maximum Opposition votes and besides one who can inspire confidence among the people by his anti-communal secular outlook and progressive views on the Constitution, democratic rights and national unity. The search for such a candidate led to the unanimous choice of Justice Krishna Iyer and the committee asked Com. E.M.S. to persuade an unwilling

Krishna Iyer to enter the fight. E.M.S. was successful in persuading Krishna Iyer after assuring him that he was the unanimous choice of the 3-man committee.

But unfortunately this common approach and understanding did not last. The bourgeois Opposition parties suddenly changed their stand, broke the common understanding and with newly found zeal suddenly sponsored the candidature of Zail Singh. Instead of conveying to the representatives of the parliamentary and legislative parties assembled in Delhi on 24th June and unanimous decision of the 3-man committee it was decided to first gather the opinion of the MPs and the MLAs on the choice of candidate.

The opportunity was used by the members of Janata, Telugu Desam and Congress(S) parties to vociferously support the candidature of Zail Singh. The representatives of these parties—Telugu Desam, Janata and Congress(S)—without consulting the CPI(M) and other Left parties, independently approached Zail Singh asking him to contest the election and promised support of their parties to him. Our Party had to dissociate itself from this unprincipled opportunism disruptive of Opposition unity. A meeting of the Left parties was convened and it was immediately decided to withdraw from participation in the deliberations of the opposition parties meeting and put up a separate candidate with Left parties' support. Shri N.T. Rama Rao was informed of the decision and the decision was conveyed to the press also.

In the meanwhile Zail Singh told his enthusiastic supporters from the bourgeois opposition parties that he had no intention to seek re-election. With this rebuff the Opposition parties returned to the common unanimous choice of Shri Krishna Iyer and Opposition unity on this important question of Presidential election was maintained. It would have been a big setback to the struggle for Opposition unity if the Opposition had continued to be divided during the Presidential election.

The campaign for Presidential election saw the non-Congress Opposition parties working together with one mind

and organizing the election tours of Justice Krishna Iyer with utmost political attention. A meeting of Opposition parties was called to decide the details of campaigning for each State and responsibilities were fixed and the parties in the States were to see that the campaigning was effective. For one whole month Opposition parties were busy organizing this election campaign which created great enthusiasm among the people because of the progressive democratic views propounded by Krishna Iyer and because of the unity of Opposition parties supporting him.

The campaign served to strengthen the feeling and urge for Opposition understanding and unity though its effect was to some extent marred by the vicious propaganda carried on by a section of bourgeois press charging that the CPI(M) had saved Rajiv Gandhi by not supporting Zail Singh's candidature.

The Polit Bureau's refusal to support Zail Singh, its refusal to succumb to the pressure tactics of bourgeois parties' leaders is fully endorsed by the entire Party as was seen during the discussions of the Central Committee. Immediately of course there were panicky reactions from certain members.

The differences during the Presidential election once again show that a struggle for understanding with the bourgeois parties is not always a smooth process. The two different approaches are bound to clash on many occasions and neither side may find advisable to compromise on some issues. And yet the process of coming together on other issues must continue. Our Party's rejection of Zail Singh led to vitriolic campaign against us accusing us of helping Rajiv Gandhi out of a critical situation. Every kind of fabrication was used to make out a case against us. It was propagated that we are taking a soft line towards Rajiv Gandhi because of the CPSU. Articles written in the Soviet *New Times* supporting Rajiv Gandhi were quoted as evidence though the fabricators knew very well that the CPI(M) stood on its own line whatever may be the understanding of other Communist

parties on the Indian situation. It was circulated that if Zail Singh contested the election there would have been massive defection from the Congress(I) camp ensuring his victory and the exit of Rajiv Gandhi Government. But Zail Singh knew better. He knew he was not so popular with Congress(I) MPs as was propagated by the unscrupulous section of bourgeois press. Anti-Communism was roused by the press in every possible way. Traditional distortions of history were repeated to smear the Communist movement. But the strangest thing was that instead of understanding this as a class propaganda against the Party some Party members initially were misled and confused by it. It must be remembered that whenever our Party refuses to tail behind the bourgeois parties their press has always unleashed this kind of slander against us.

However even now all do not understand the real reason behind this venomous propaganda. It was unleashed because we succeeded in torpedoing the plot of certain reactionary elements and a section of bourgeois press who were supporting Zail Singh because he claimed that he had inherent powers under the Constitution to dismiss the Ministry backed by the majority in the Parliament. Their game was to egg on Zail Singh by promising Opposition support and wide defection from the Congress. The demand for resignation of Rajiv Gandhi which now appeared prominently in the bourgeois press was not an appeal to the democratic mass but a covert appeal to Zail Singh to go ahead and assert the Presidential supremacy over the elected Parliament.

Zail Singh had leaked to the Press that he had consulted constitutional experts who upheld his inherent right to dismiss a Ministry enjoying majority in the Parliament. He publicly announced that he had a right to dismiss such Ministry and call for fresh elections.

The Polit Bureau in its earlier statements had warned the President not to listen to those who were advising him to organize a coup against the Constitution by claiming illegal powers. But till the last Zail Singh continued toying with

the ideas. The entire campaign for Zail Singh's re-election was intended to goad him into this coupist action. The firm stand of the CPI(M) against the coup and Zail's candidature torpedoed the plans sponsored⁷² by a section of bourgeois press. Hence the venomous propaganda.

When the corruption scandals first burst forth, the CPI(M) declared that the Rajiv Government has lost its image and no self-respecting person would continue to be in office after the disclosure of these scandals. This was a demand for the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi long before the political atmosphere had hotted up. The CPI(M) maintained this stand during the days when the Zail Singh controversy was on. In the Parliament the Party took initiative to move a vote of no-confidence but it could not be done because a no-confidence motion is not permitted during the budget session. The entire period preceding the Presidential election was a period of struggle between us and reactionaries who were bent upon organizing a coup against the Constitution. However, immediately after the election the Party should have come out with a forthright demand for Rajiv's resignation and campaign based on certain urgent demands of the people. It should not have waited till the eve of C.C. meeting.

The preceding four months reveal the differences between the approach of the Opposition parties and the CPI(M) and Left parties on immediate questions of importance. These months were full of spontaneous and organized mass agitations, angry actions of the basic masses against the misdeeds of Rajiv Government and the ruinous consequences of its economic policy. They witnessed cruel firing on agitating peasants and massacres of peasants and agricultural workers in Bihar, big strikes of employees and workers, agitations of students and youths in a growing powerful movement against feudal inequalities and atrocities.

Simultaneously, as if to counter this growing activity of the masses, there were some gruesome communal riots, the Meerut, Ahmedabad and Maliana massacres, oppression of minorities in Assam and wild attacks against Nepal-speaking

citizens in some North-Eastern states. Lurking behind many of these agitations was the hand of imperialism to unleash disintegrating forces. But the bourgeois Opposition parties and the press devoted almost exclusive attention to corruption. It gave some importance to communal riots but for the rest it concealed the growing grim reality from the people.

On the other hand, the CPI(M) and Left forces, while fighting the battle against corruption in the forum of Parliament, never forgot the masses whose activities alone can change the existing reality. They did not confine themselves only to parliamentary activities or to corruption but joined the masses where they were fighting.

Conclusion

The four months since the April meeting saw no respite for the mass of our people from the acute economic conditions engendered by Rajiv Gandhi's economic policy. Notwithstanding official claims to have contained inflation, prices of daily necessities are continuously rising, making it impossible for the mass of people to meet their urgent needs and forcing them to economise on food and other necessities of life.

As if all this was not enough the country is faced with an unprecedented drought extending over a major part of the country. Millions of our peasants and agricultural workers are exposed to starvation and death because of this. The Government's efforts to meet the situation with mere heroic words will only endanger the lives of lakhs of our people. The drought which is unprecedented for nearly a century cannot be tackled by the administration single handed. It requires the combined efforts of all political parties and mass organizations.

The administration which is effortless with its traditional incompetence, callousness and corruption, will be unable to meet the situation and deaths. It seems that the Central Government seeks to bolster its waning credibility by announcing relief measures and by talking about a fight against

the drought on war-footing. Such callous use of a national calamity must be strongly condemned and denounced.

In the next few weeks drought will be a major political question and all Left and democratic parties and Opposition parties will have to devote their utmost attention to saving the peasantry. It is quite clear that the rural masses have no real chance of battling against this great calamity if the Rajiv Gandhi Government remains in power and is allowed to handle relief operations.

Mass actions are taking place in several states against the policies of Congress(I) Government. The CPI(M) must head these mass actions and ensure that the full forces of Left and democratic forces rallies behind them. It is these basic actions of the peoples that will help in changing the correlation of class forces obtaining at present. The developments of last four months show that Rajiv Gandhi Government has become a Government of national disintegration, incompetence, and utter callousness towards democratic and parliamentary norms. Perhaps in the last four months it has piled up more anti-people and anti-national crimes than in the last two years of its existence. The dismissal of Barnala Government when it was taking a stand against the bigotry of High Priest of the Akal Takht was not an attack on the elective principles but a criminal misdeed against the fight for the national unity.

The thorough incompetence of Rajiv Gandhi and his Government to meet the rising communal challenge is seen in the happenings in the course of the Meerut riots, the recurring riots in Ahmedabad and several other places and finally the horrible massacres at Maliana-Hashimpura by the Congress(I) Government's PAC. This incompetence is an extremely dangerous development when the foreign forces of destabilization are utilizing and financing these very communal agencies to destroy the feeling of national unity and create separatism in different sections. A government which cannot control the communal situation can be described only as a government of disintegration.

Because of this incompetence the rabid communal forces from both sides are getting more and more emboldened to organize mass riots. The conspiracies have to be fought by the intervention of the Left and democratic parties and of all patriotic elements who should have the courage to fight the communalists in the midst of riots. The defence of national unity against divisive and communal forces cannot be left to the bankrupt Rajiv Government.

As if all this was not sufficient, Rajiv Gandhi Government has added one more crime to condemn this Government as a government of dishonesty and corruption. The corruption scandals involving the Government and persons nearest to Rajiv have naturally become a great national concern because they involve defence purchases, security of India and the safety of our army personnel. The removal of V.P. Singh and later on his dismissal, the enforced resignation of Amitabh Bachchan and the protest resignation of Arun Singh, all have completely damaged the image of Rajiv Gandhi and his Government. The mighty discontentment among the people, the great struggle they are waging against their economic sufferings and the strong belief of the people that the Government is corrupt, are all manifestation of the withdrawal of the earlier confidence placed by the people in the Congress(I) party. The Haryana election in a spectacular way confirmed that the mass of people are eager to formally withdraw the mandate given in the earlier elections. It is therefore necessary that the CPI(M) and the Left and democratic forces concentrate on leading the actions of the fighting mass and centralise their protest for the demand for resignation of Rajiv Gandhi and a new poll.

The anger of the masses and their growing consciousness makes it clear that there will be tremendous response to this call for resignation and for a fresh poll.

But it would be wrong or overestimating the situation to raise the slogan of an alternative government, which means a viable and real alternative to Congress(I). This can only be brought about by the peoples' struggles led by the Left

and democratic parties and forces, and which can be raised in the midst of a quite different political situation and a different correlation of class forces. It has got great revolutionary potentiality when it is raised at a proper time, otherwise it will become a reformist slogan creating illusions among the people.

"In the present circumstances, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) demands the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi Government, and a fresh poll so that people can have a government of their choice and confidence."

As the C.C. resolution notes : "The Central Committee is of the opinion that only a government which is secular in outlook, wedded to fight communalism, determined to fight authoritarianism, protect democracy and eliminate all corruption, which stands for proper Centre-State relations, stands for a policy of non-alignment and preservation of world peace, protects national unity against imperialist forces of destabilisation and agrees to guarantee remunerative prices for the peasants and give immediate relief to the people from high prices, unemployment and inadequate wage, will be acceptable to the people to meet their needs."

The fight to oust Rajiv Gandhi and secure a new poll requires the broadest understanding and unity of all Opposition and secular parties, unity between these and Left and democratic forces. It is a gigantic battle for people's unity against notorious regime which should be carried on by all the forces prepared to take a stand against the present regime.

The CPI(M) and the Left parties will continue to struggle to broaden Opposition unity in a principled manner. And at the same time they must realise that the masses will reap the real benefit from this struggle to the extent that the Left and democratic forces increase their strength during this course, to the extent that the strength of these forces to influence and shape the political developments increases rapidly.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) is of the opinion that all the Left, democratic and secular Opposition parties should launch an all-India agitation to demand the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi and a new poll. This must be accompanied by the demand charter contained in the C.C. Resolution.

Resolution Adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) in its Meeting Held on August 7-10, 1987*

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) expresses deep concern over the widespread drought conditions affecting tens of millions of our people. It also expresses its concern over the acute flood situation in many States.

The Central Committee warns the Central Government that the distress following this drought, which is unprecedented for nearly a century, cannot be combated by the administration single-handedly. It requires the combined efforts of all political parties and mass organizations. The administration's efforts with its traditional incompetence, callousness and corruption will lead to untold miseries and deaths.

Rajiv Government's Ruinous Policies

The Central Committee considered developments since its last meeting in April, and came to the conclusion that the Rajiv Government is leading the country to ruin, disunity and disorder with accelerated speed. Everything which it touches leads to increased miseries, disruption of national unity, enabling the forces of destabilization to attack the country with greater vigour.

Worsening of Economic Conditions

The four months since the April meeting saw no respite for the mass of our people from the acute economic conditions engendered by Rajiv Gandhi's policy. Notwithstanding

*Published in a booklet in October 1987.

official claims that we have contained inflation rates, prices of daily necessities are continuously rising, making it impossible for the mass of the people to meet their urgent needs and forcing them to economise on food and other necessities of life. This incessant price-rise affects the rural mass which has to bear the main burden of the Government's deficit financing and inflationary policies. The compensation against the price-rise which itself is inadequate, is confined only to certain strata of industrial workers and middle class employees, leaving the vast mass of the peasants, agricultural workers, and workers in unorganized industries out of its purview. India's rural areas have become a powder magazine of discontent, explosions taking place in widely scattered areas but showing a greater tendency to co-ordination.

Rajiv Gandhi's new economic policy has brought no relief to any section of the economy. India's debt payments have increased rapidly, and growingly a substantial mass of exports is being mortgaged towards these payments. The expectations that increased exports will provide relief have also been belied. The new economic policy of opening Indian industry to international competition is ruining industry after industry, creating problems of unemployment, sickness, closures and lock-outs.

The textile policy announced with great fanfare by the Government of India has proclaimed its total failure in recent months with the widespread closures of powerlooms in a number of States. The Central Government's policy of encouraging the production of synthetic fibre leads to increasing closures and sickness in the jute industry.

The havoc done to the income of the rural and urban masses has led to under-utilization of the productive capacity in many industries. Not satisfied with this, the Government with its policy of introducing competitiveness intends to immediately unleash a computerization drive in the service industries, threatening the jobs of middle class employees.

To implement these policies, it is embarking upon new

anti-working class legislation to curb the growth of working class organizations and restrict their right to strike. In the last few months the Central Government and the Congress(I) State Governments have invariably used the ESMA and NSA against working class strikes, while in rural areas they have resorted to brutal firings, illegal police raids and beating and torture of the common people.

Widespread Mass Protests

Mass actions are, therefore, taking place in several States against these policies of the Congress(I) Government. Widespread peasant agitations suddenly develop into a huge force sometimes forcing the Government to retreat, but more often getting crushed under repression and police firing. The peasant mass are protesting against the loans recovery programme of the Government; they protest against the rise in electricity rates; they protest against high prices for the things which they purchase, and the low prices for their produce. The struggle of agricultural workers is often mercilessly attacked by the landlords in collusion with the Congress(I) police, and the Congress(I)-ruled States see the most bizarre massacres of innocent people. Side by side, the strike wave which up to some extent had gone down, is again rising, challenging the policies of the Government.

The CPI(M) calls upon all Left and democratic forces, and all those opposed to the policies of the Congress(I), to understand the great significance of the spontaneous mass struggles developing all over the country, in different forms and different shapes. To co-ordinate and centralize these struggles, to decisively lead them and to develop a common political consciousness for them, constitutes an urgent and immediate task of all those who want to see the end of the Rajiv regime. The CPI(M) calls upon all its units and Party members to identify themselves with this spontaneous movement of the masses which is far wider and larger than the organized movement of protest.

A Government of National Disintegration

Taking into consideration the immediate political developments in the last four months, the Central Committee considers that the Rajiv Gandhi Government has become a government of national disintegration, incompetence and utter callousness towards democratic and parliamentary norms. Perhaps in the last four months it has piled up more crimes than in the last two years of its existence.

The dismissal of the Barnala Government when it was taking a secular stand against the bigotry in the High Priests of the Akal Takht, was not only an attack on the election principle but a criminal misdeed against the fight for national unity. Barnala's dismissal meant disorganization of the political forces in Punjab which on a secular basis were coming together to fight and isolate the Khalistani terrorists. Barnala's stand against the Akal Takht to a great extent drew the line between the secular and religious forces, enabling the former to forge ahead. But Rajiv Gandhi stabbed the struggle in the back to win an electoral advantage in the Haryana elections. Once again Rajiv and the Congress(I) subordinated the interests of national unity to their electoral interests, and did not refrain from playing one community against another.

Communal Menace Increases

The thorough incompetence of Rajiv Gandhi and his Government, and its callousness to the ever rising communal challenge, is seen in the happenings in the course of Meerut riots, the recurring riots in Ahmedabad and several other places, and finally the horrible massacre at Maliana-Hashimpura by the Congress(I) Government's PAC.

This incompetence, callousness, and sometimes even responsibility for the communal situation and riots, is an extremely dangerous development when the foreign forces of destabilization are utilizing and financing these very communal agencies to erode the feeling of national unity and create separatism in different sections. The Government which

cannot control the situation can be described only as a government of national disintegration.

The failure of the Congress(I) Governments should not provide an alibi for the rabid communal elements—Hindu and Muslim fundamentalists—who are out for the job of dividing the people. These elements objectively act as agents of imperialism and constitute a source of danger to Indian unity. While the Congress(I) Governments may compromise with them, the democratic and patriotic forces must wage a relentless struggle to isolate them from the people and defeat them.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) warns that unless there is constant and popular intervention, the country is likely to see more and more of these riots, reminding us of the happenings of the partition days. They are no longer the earlier riots arising out of some temporary emotional feelings, but have become a conscious device of internal reactionaries and foreign destabilizers to undermine Indian unity.

Positive Intervention to Counter Destabilization

In these circumstances it is not enough to expose the Congress(I) and its Government, but it is necessary to defeat its policies by positive intervention. In these circumstances it will be suicidal to underrate the foreign destabilization challenge just because Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress(I) Government want to exploit it for their opportunist ends. In the context of what is happening in many parts of the country, in Punjab, in the north-eastern States, and during the communal riots, it will be an act of betrayal of national interest if any one professing a radical air pooh-poohs the existence of this challenge. It will be doing a direct service to the U.S. imperialists, in the name of radical postures.

The divisive challenge is now getting intensified in the north-eastern areas where genuine tribal problems, problems of backwardness, a new awareness of identity, are all being exploited by reactionary missionaries and imperialist agencies,

to create a rift between the Indian democratic movement and the people of the area.

Only in Tripura, where the CPI(M) successfully leads the common democratic movement, is the unity of the tribals and non tribals maintained, and the sense of national unity preserved.

The record of the Rajiv Government in these four months, in relation to these divisive forces, is once again a record of failure, conciliation and compromise. The iniquitous Assam Accord is delivering blow after blow against the minorities, against tribals and Indian citizens. But the Central Government stands paralysed before this organized force of disruption. Only in relation to the GNLf agitation is the Rajiv Government now belatedly trying to settle the issue in consultation with the West Bengal Government on the basis of terms suggested by the latter for a democratic solution of the problem.

Corruption : Betrayal of Country

As if all these crimes are not sufficient, the Rajiv Gandhi Government has added one more crime which has condemned his Government as a government of dishonesty and corruption. The corruption scandals involving the Government and the persons nearest to Rajiv, have naturally become a great national concern because they involve defence purchases, the security of India and the safety of our army personnel. The Bofors, the submarine and other scandals have proved far more dangerous than the ordinary looting of foreign exchange by black-marketeers and persons surrounding the Prime Minister.

For months now the Rajiv Government has not only been under a cloud in the eyes of the people, it is in the dock unable to answer a single allegation. The removal of V.P. Singh, and later on his dismissal, the enforced resignation of Amitabh Bachchan, a close friend of the Prime Minister, the protest resignation of Arun Singh, all have completely damaged the image of Rajiv Gandhi, his Government and

his party. No previous Government, whatever its crime, has created such suspicion in the minds of the people that Government personnel are betraying the defence of the country and accumulating filthy lucre. In the minds of the lakhs of people, Rajiv Gandhi and his Government are accused of this crime and they have lost all right to run the Government.

Resign : Hold Fresh Poll

The overwhelming majority of the Congress(I) party in the Lok Sabha is no longer the reflection of the earlier mandate given to Rajiv Gandhi. The discontent among the people, the mighty struggles that they are waging against the corruption scandals and the strong belief among the people that the Government is corrupt, all are manifestations of the withdrawal of the earlier confidence. The Haryana elections in a spectacular way confirmed that the mass of the people are eager to formally withdraw the mandate given in the earlier election. The Central Committee of the CPI(M), therefore, demands the resignation of the Rajiv Gandhi Government and calls for a fresh mandate from the Indian people.

The Central Committee is of the opinion that only a Government which is secular in outlook, wedded to fight communalism, determined to fight authoritarianism, protect democracy and eliminate all corruption; which stands for proper Centre-State relations; stands for a policy of non-alignment and preservation of world peace; protects Indian unity against imperialist forces of destabilization; and agrees to guarantee remunerative prices for the peasants and give immediate relief to the people from high prices, unemployment and inadequate wages, will be acceptable to the people to meet their needs.

Forge Unity of Secular Opposition Forces

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) calls upon all the Left and democratic parties to take counsel to organize agitations for demanding the resignation of the Rajiv Government and a new poll.

The battle is certainly not an easy one because the very fissiparous tendencies which are flowering under the Rajiv regime, are capable of disrupting the popular unity against the Congress(I). But the great mass struggles that are breaking out, if they are properly channelised, are capable of defeating the divisive tendencies and forging the unity of the people.

But the fight to oust the Rajiv regime requires the broadest understanding and unity of all secular Opposition parties, unity between these and the Left and democratic forces. It is a gigantic battle for people's unity against a notorious regime which should be carried on by mobilizing all the forces prepared to take a stand against the present regime. The Chief Ministers' Conference and the meeting of Opposition parties have together played a very important role in projecting and initiating this vital Opposition unity and the good work done has to be continued in the coming days so that the full force of the people is brought into action.

Already the effect of Opposition unity is being felt inside the Congress(I) ranks, as it is enabling more and more people, though at present in small numbers, to voice their protest against Governmental corruption and take up issues of national unity. Such dissidence objectively helps the forces of unity and therefore has to be welcomed. The Central Committee of the CPI(M) calls upon all Congressmen who are opposed to corruption and other facets of the Rajiv regime to take a bold stand and join the popular forces to demand a new Government for the people. For once they must give prior consideration to the interests of the nation and the country than to the narrow interests of their own party.

Campaign for Democratic Demands

The CPI(M) proposes to all Left, democratic and secular Opposition parties to launch an agitation to demand the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi and a new poll. This call is to be put forward along with the demands enumerated in the Srinagar and Calcutta Opposition parties' meetings in 1983-84, and

other immediate demands. These taken together will be as follows:

1. Strengthen the foreign policy of non-alignment.
2. Defence of secularism; fight against all forms of communalism; defence of national unity by struggle against divisive forces.
3. Thoroughly investigate and eliminate corruption in high places. Stop illegal flow of funds abroad and unearth black money.
4. Strengthen autonomy of States to strike proper balance between the powers of the Centre and the States so that unity of the country is strengthened.
Restructuring of Centre-State relations with necessary amendments to the Constitution to prevent misuse of the role of Governor and Article 365; for ensuring the legitimate share of national resources to the States, by modifying existing financial arrangements between the Centre and the States.
5. The Union Government should guarantee adequate supply of essential commodities to the consumers at reasonable prices by drastically curbing the profits of wholesalers and organizing a comprehensive network of the public distribution system. This calls for changing the priorities of production in favour of mass consumption goods needed by the poor and middle classes, and for subsidized supply of such commodities as major foodgrains, edible oils, salt, sugar, domestic coal, kerosene, common cloth, paper, life-saving drugs, match boxes, etc. Excise levies on all such goods need to be drastically reduced and their movements given top priority.
6. Remunerative prices be ensured for agricultural produce by adequate purchases through State agencies.
7. A total restructuring of economic policies with a view to increasing the production of mass consumption goods and expanding employment opportunities for all sections, including small artisans and craftsmen; and protection of traditional industries.

8. The food-for-work programme be revived and expanded.
9. The right to work be included as one of the fundamental rights in the Constitution.
10. Right to education.
11. The existing land reform legislations be speedily implemented after plugging the loopholes, and immediate assent be accorded to land reform Bills passed by State Legislatures.
12. Ensure cheap credit and supply of farm inputs to the peasantry.
13. Enforce minimum wages to farm workers and initiate other measures to improve the living and working conditions of the rural people.
14. Urgent drought relief measures with full use of the foodgrains stock in the affected areas.
15. The anti-labour policies of the Union Government be reversed and obnoxious measures such as the NSA and the ESMA be scrapped; the demands formulated by the National Campaign Committee of the Trade Unions be accepted and effective steps be taken to prevent industrial closures and lock-outs.
16. The national policy of economic self-reliance be restored; fiscal, monetary and investment policies which encourage the big monopoly houses and multinational corporations at the expense of the interests of the poor and the working classes be abandoned.
17. Energetic measures be introduced to put an end to the continuing economic injustice and physical attacks on the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, religious minorities, women and other weaker sections of the society.

The Central Committee calls upon all the Party units to campaign for the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi and for the holding of a fresh poll.

Resolution on Drought*

**Adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M)
in its meeting held on August 7-10, 1987**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expressed its concern and anxiety at the severe drought conditions prevailing in large parts of the country. The severity and extent of the drought due to failure of rains is unprecedented in this century—25 out of the 35 meteorological subdivisions in the country have been affected by the failure of the monsoon. Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana, U.P., Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Maharashtra, have all been burdened by drought-affected areas.

The drought has led to the destruction of the kharif crops, scarcity of drinking water, lack of fodder for cattle, worsening of the employment situation in the rural areas. Widespread starvation and famine conditions will result from this failure of the rains. Colossal suffering faces the rural poor if urgent and timely measures are not taken.

The Government of India has not displayed this urgency or taken the magnitude of the task seriously. It continues to rely on the administrative channels which are corrupt and inefficient. After forty years of independence, only about 27 per cent of the cultivable land is irrigated and the rest depends on the monsoon. Further there is a big gap between the irrigation potential available and its utilisation. The situation should lead to a radical recasting of Government policies

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, August 23, 1987.

giving due priority to utilising all water resources in a scientific manner for agriculture.

The Government of India with the assistance of the State Government should undertake the following steps on a war-footing:

1. Immediate release of Central Assistance as asked for by the State Governments.
2. Immediate release of foodgrains from bufferstocks to feed the people in the affected areas.
3. Supply of drinking water to the affected villages.
4. Ensured uninterrupted supply of power for agricultural operations.
5. Commencement of Food-for-Work programmes for agricultural workers and poor peasants in the affected areas.
6. Ensured adequate supply of fodder at controlled rates.
7. Supply of adequate stocks of essential commodities to be distributed through a strengthened public distribution system.
8. Liberal loans and advances for peasants for sowing the new crop; remission of debts of the peasants and agricultural labourers in the drought-affected areas.
9. Adequate deployment of medical staff and medicines to meet the outbreak of diseases, epidemics, and malnutrition in the affected areas.

The national calamity can be tackled properly only if the Government takes the assistance of all political parties and mass organizations to organize relief on a war-footing.

The Central Committee calls upon all its units to actively work to build a united movement for these demands and to render immediate relief to the suffering people.

Polit Bureau Condemns Assassination Attempt on President Jayawardene of Sri Lanka*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) condemns the assassination attempt on President Jayawardene and his Cabinet colleagues. This attempt comes at a time when steps to implement the India-Sri Lanka agreement are underway.

Any attempt to disrupt the agreement will benefit the imperialist circles which are interested in seeing that no agreement between the two Governments, free from foreign interference, gets implemented successfully.

The Polit Bureau hopes that all concerned will continue to work sincerely for the implementation of the provisions of the agreement, which will be in the interests of the people of Sri Lanka and India.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, August 23, 1987.

On University and College Teachers' Struggle*

Statement dated September 6, 1987, issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)

The College and University teachers all over India had launched a country-wide strike from August 4, 1987, for resisting the imposition of the Government's proposed scheme of pay revision, promotional avenues and other anti-teacher provisions under the New Education Policy. It was a struggle unprecedented in its wide unity and intensity.

It is unfortunate that this united struggle has now been divided because of the settlement arrived at between the Ministry of Human Resource Development and the AIFUCTO leadership. The secretariat of the AIFUCTO took this decision undemocratically, without consulting the National Executive. The agreement does not fulfil the legitimate demands of the teachers who are waging a determined struggle. The agreement fails to meet the demands of the teachers on various counts.

Moreover, the agreement erodes the hard-won gains of certain sections of the teachers in the sphere of promotional avenues. In view of all this, the CPI(M) considers the agreement to be a let-down of the fighting teachers and a setback to their united struggle.

The P.B. fully shares the anxiety of the teachers to preserve their unity and repudiate the agreement. It is confident that they will work out democratically the future course of action for safeguarding their rights.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, September 13, 1987.

On Vaccine Action Programme Concluded Between the Government of India and the Government of USA*

**Protest statement dated September 3, 1987 issued
by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly protests against the Vaccine Action Programme concluded between the Governments of India and the United States of America. This Agreement gravely undermines India's sovereignty and independence, and poses a dangerous threat to the health of its citizens.

Vaccines are a sensitive entity because they act on, and interfere with, the immunity system of living organisms. Even an accidental release of a virus can cause epidemics and death to millions of people. No research on vaccines can be carried out without stringent standards for safety. India does not have such standards or norms as yet for testing bio-technological products. Many Western countries, including the USA, have such norms and precisely to bypass these, the Third World countries are utilized to conduct research on serious vaccines which have harmful consequences. Last year, the USA was caught testing a harmful vaccine in Argentina and had to be thrown out.

Such experiments will have a dangerous impact on existing immunity patterns of Indians and would lead to very harmful consequences. Further, knowledge of immunity patterns of the Indians will expose our country to the diabolical biological warfare designs of the USA. Once this information is there the USA can release a virus which will cause millions of deaths in our country. Given the overall

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, September 13, 1987.

imperialist designs against our country, such information in their hands will further jeopardize our sovereignty and integrity. It is all the more reprehensible that this Agreement was concluded with Rajiv Gandhi's sanction.

This Agreement is also in fragrant violation of the Patents Act of 1970 and will have profoundly negative consequences for India's position against the Paris Convention of Patent Laws.

Given this background, the conclusion of this Agreement is a blatant anti-national act and must be immediately scrapped.

Polit Bureau on Developments in Punjab*

Desperate Move by Priests Denounced

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) issued the following statement on developments in Punjab on September 10, 1987:

The statement issued by four priests from the precincts of Golden Temple yesterday poses a direct threat to the unity and integrity of the country. The priests have called upon the Sikhs to lend the militant youth (the Sikh separatists) their "whole-hearted support" in their struggle for "breaking the shackles of slavery". They also announced the amalgamation of the 16 "militant" groups and a new programme to be announced shortly for the fulfilment of their objective. They have not spared any of the Akali Dals which, according to them, have become irrelevant, and have called upon the Sikhs to accept the leadership of "Sikh militants". They have denounced even Darshan Singh, Head Priest of Akal Takht, as having "fled the battlefield".

The Polit Bureau considers this as a desperate move taken at the behest of imperialists in a bid to give moral boost to the Sikh extremists, whose criminal and anti-national activities have isolated them from the people, and who have been put on the run. They cannot cow down the people by such announcements and threats. Their efforts to create panic amongst the minority community will be unitedly foiled by all patriotic people.

This announcement is also a clear warning to both the

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, September 20, 1987

Akali Dals that because of mixing up of politics with religion, the initiative is passing into the hands of Sikh extremists and even the SGPC has become a spectator without any authority and control.

The Polit Bureau appeals to the people of Punjab, especially the Sikh masses, to stand unitedly to oppose these anti-national activities, not to allow the use of Gurudwaras for nefarious activities, oppose extremism and separatism, and defend the unity of the country as the apple of their eye. It appeals to all political parties in the country and the State to denounce this move and play an active part in arousing the patriotic sentiments of the Punjabi people.

The Polit Bureau holds the Central Government responsible for the continuous deterioration in the situation in Punjab leading to the insecurity among the people of Punjab and the minority community in the country. The Central Government should draw some lessons from the past experience that only administrative measures are not going to succeed in fighting the extremists and separatists. Political initiative is necessary to activize the people against them. The loss of credibility for not implementing the Punjab Accord is being used by the extremists to neutralize the masses in this fight.

The Polit Bureau calls upon the Central Government to give up its narrow partisan attitude, abandon its policy of drift and find a solution to the Punjab tangle from the outlook of broad national interest.

Polit Bureau Flayed Congress(I)'s Alliance with TUJS*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) issued the following statement to the Press on September 16, 1987:

The decision of the Congress(I) to once again electorally ally with the TUJS, which is openly supporting the separatist TNP in Tripura, clearly reveals that the ruling party is prepared to unite and combine with anybody, including anti-national elements, against the Left forces, which are championing the cause of our country's unity and integrity. The Left forces, particularly the CPI(M), are today engaged in a bitter battle against all communal and separatist forces all over the country. The Congress(I) seems to have learnt nothing from the lessons of Kerala where the people have unequivocally rejected its alliance with communal and divisive forces.

This once again demonstrates the petty partisan interests of the Congress(I) which places the interests of its party at hustings above the unity and integrity of our country. Instead of strengthening the struggle against communal and separatist forces which are tearing asunder the social fabric that unites our country, the Congress(I) is aiding and abetting these forces and their nefarious designs.

This attitude of the Congress(I) further reflects its lack of political courage and capacity to face the CPI(M)-led Left Front on the basis of issues and alternative policies in the forthcoming Assembly elections in Tripura.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, September 27, 1987.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) congratulates the people of Tripura for heroically safeguarding the unity and integrity of our country by courageously fighting the anti-national forces. It is confident that they will give a fitting rebuff to these opportunistic and bankrupt Congress(I) policies.

On the Developments in Sri Lanka*

Statement dated September 26, 1987, issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its concern over the deteriorating situation in Sri Lanka. The main responsibility for this rests with the LTTE.

The Accord signed by Rajiv Gandhi and Jayawardene marked a breakthrough in the relations of tensions between the two major ethnic groups in the island country. It was of significance not only for peace in the island but also for friendly relations between the two neighbouring countries of India and Sri Lanka and generally for peace in the whole region. It is well-known that imperialism headed by the United States was doing everything possible to incite the two ethnic groups in Sri Lanka against each other and worsening the relations between India and Sri Lanka. The Rajiv-Jayawardene Accord made a positive contribution to the solution of the internal problem in Sri Lanka as well as the relations between India and Sri Lanka.

The presence and activities of Indian Peace-Keeping Force in the northern and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka was of key importance in the implementation of the Accord. It was, therefore, welcomed by the people of Sri Lanka as well as of India. It was an assurance that surrender of arms by the Tamil militants will not prejudice their cause. But now LTTE has taken to murderous violence against rival groups forcing the intervention of the Peace-Keeping Force. Along with this, the LTTE resorts to protest acts against the Peace-Keeping

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 4, 1987.

Force to secure for itself a dominant, almost exclusive position in the Administrative Council set-up envisaged in the Accord. If they persist in this, they would be responsible for the sabotage of the Accord.

The LTTE does occupy an important position among the various Tamil groups whose unity among themselves and cooperation with the Peace-Keeping Force are important in the implementation of the Accord. While it is, therefore, legitimate for it to desire its due share in the Administrative Council set-up, the LTTE should, in its turn, recognize the legitimacy of the desires of other Tamil groups instead of seeking their physical elimination. It is not understandable how that organization can resort to an attitude of hostility to the Indian Peace-Keeping Force and to bargain with the Indian authorities for a dominant position in the administrative set-up envisaged in the Accord.

The Polit Bureau hopes that better counsel will prevail upon the LTTE and that the Peace-Keeping Force, the Indian High Commission in Sri Lanka and the Government of India will be able to arrest the deteriorating situation in the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka.

Glorification of *Sati* Assailed*

Statement dated September 29, 1987, issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expressed its abhorrence at the statements of some Rajasthan leaders of Janata Party and Bharatiya Janata Party threatening the Government with dire consequences if the *Sati* temple is not allowed to be built in Deorala village. This glorification of an evil practice which is now a crime under Indian law, demands denunciation from all secular forces. It also demands drastic disciplinary action by their respective party leaders. But will they do it?

It is futile to expect that the Rajasthan Government will move quickly to meet this anti-national challenge. Instead of taking action, it is calling for additional legislation. And Rajiv Gandhi who did not take note of the *Sati* crime till yesterday also does not seem to be eager to offend those who are glorifying this crime against womanhood. Some of the speeches reported seem to be directed towards sowing disaffection in India's armed forces. Whether the Government does anything or not, the patriotic and progressive forces must rally to defeat this rabid offensive of revivalist reaction.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 4, 1987.

On the Second Coup in Fiji*

Statement dated September 26, 1987, issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is shocked at the seizure of power by the military in Fiji once again. This second coup, coming after a compromise formula, shows that the military is totally opposed to any form of democratic rule in this island country. This is clearly an attempt to reduce this country to a military dictatorship which would dovetail with the overall U.S. military strategy in the Pacific. Further, it is an attempt to foist the rule of the minority over the majority and in the process causing long-term tensions between the Fijians of Indian origin and Malenisian origin.

The stamp of 'U.S. covert action' is clearly visible on these developments. Restoration of democratic rule would have adversely affected U.S. designs of having nuclear military base in the island country. The democratically elected Government of Bavadra had earlier declared its allegiance to a non-aligned foreign policy. The condemnable British action which virtually supported the first coup, has only strengthened the military and Col. Rabuka. The British (whose authority continues through the Governor General), while today mouthing concern, are actually acting as the agent of USA and its military designs. Imperialists' military designs are playing havoc with the peace-loving Fijians and denying them elementary freedom.

The Polit Bureau, while expressing its solidarity with the

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 4, 1987.

On the Second Coup in Fiji 219

people of Fiji in their struggle to restore democracy, hopes that unity of the democratic forces is strengthened, which is the surest way to defeat the imperialists' game to reduce this country to a U.S. military base.

Polit Bureau Communique*

Issued following its meeting in New Delhi on
October 10–11, 1987

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) met on October 10–11, 1987, in New Delhi. It issued the following communique to the Press :

On Sri Lanka Developments

The Polit Bureau noted with deep concern the latest developments in Sri Lanka. The Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement which could have provided a basis for the solution of the ethnic question within the framework of Sri Lanka, is endangered by the outbreak of killings and retaliatory violence.

It is clear that reactionary forces on both sides—the Sinhalese and Tamils—are working to sabotage the implementation of the Agreement. The recent mass killings initiated by the LTTE have led to a serious situation for the Indian Peace Keeping Force and for all those who wish to see a permanent solution to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. The Sri Lankan Government has also contributed to the worsening of the situation by its intransigent attitude towards the Tamil militants. The Polit Bureau considered it essential that all efforts be made to rally the Tamil people in northern and eastern Sri Lanka in support of the Accord and ensure that all the steps of the Agreement are fully implemented. Only this will ensure that imperialist agencies do not succeed in wrecking the Accord.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 18, 1987.

Step Up Mass Campaigns

The Polit Bureau called on all Party members and friends of the Party to make a big success of the two all-India campaigns being unleashed by the Left parties in co-operation with other secular Opposition parties—against communalism and separatism which will be inaugurated on October 12 at a Convention to be held in Delhi, and the campaign for realization of the pressing demands of the people to be organized on the initiative of the Left-led mass organizations. Both these campaigns are vital links in the chain of the national political campaign for securing the resignation of the Rajiv Gandhi Government to be followed by mid-term elections.

The importance of the campaign against communalism and separatism is sharply underlined by the growth of communalism, revivalism and fundamentalism of various kinds. The ruling Congress party and some sections of the leadership of the bourgeois Opposition parties are in various ways fostering the growth of these evil forces.

The murder of an 18-year-old widow under the cover of observing *Sati* in Deorala which was openly tolerated, encouraged and assisted by the Congress Government of Rajasthan and important leaders of the Janata Party and the BJP, is an instance in point. The role played by the leaders of the ruling and some of the bourgeois Opposition parties who openly supported the obscurantist organizers of this dastardly act, deserve the sharpest condemnation. It was this that helped the rally of tens of thousands of people to defy the anti-*Sati* Ordinance, belatedly and reluctantly issued by the Government of Rajasthan.

This, however, is only one of the many instances which show that fundamentalism and revivalism of the majority community has become bold enough to go on the offensive. At the same time, the fundamentalism and revivalism of the minority communities are also active and directly encouraged by the ruling party and sections of the leadership of bourgeois Opposition parties. This was seen in the way in which the ruling party and some leaders of non-Left Opposition

parties used such questions as the Muslim Women's Bill. It is, therefore, necessary that secular elements in all parties are mobilized in a sustained campaign against fundamentalism and communalism of all hues.

Defend People's Rights

The campaign for realization of the urgent demands of the people concerning their day-to-day life, to which a shape has been given by the meeting of Left-led mass organizations held on October 11 in New Delhi, is of topical importance in view of the daily deteriorating conditions of the common people's life. These are the results of the class policies pursued by the Congress Government at the Centre, compounded by the widespread drought together with floods in certain areas.

The rise in the prices of essential commodities which is a natural consequence of the class policies of the Congress Government, has been multiplied by such measures of the Government as the increase in the price of rice distributed through the ration and fair price shops. The Left-led and other mass organizations have been carrying on agitations and struggles on this and several other issues. What is now proposed is to give them an organized all-India character which will no doubt be integrated with the general political demand for the Rajiv Government's resignation and mid-term elections to the Lok Sabha.

Danger of Debt Trap

The Polit Bureau noted further that not only is the Government putting heavier and heavier burdens on the mass of the working people, but the general policies of the Congress Government are causing irreparable damage to the national economy. Unable to find resources internally by a correct policy of taxing the rich, the Government is increasingly depending not only for planned development but even for meeting current expenditure on foreign loans. Repayments of the loans contracted and interest on them are mounting

year by year, so that like a large number of Third World countries, India too is rapidly falling in the debt trap set by such imperialist agencies as the World Bank, the IMF and private multinational banks.

The Polit Bureau, therefore, directed all Party members, together with comrades and friends of all the other Left and democratic parties to warn the people against the danger threatening the country.

Big Mass Mobilization

The Polit Bureau expressed satisfaction that the campaigns undertaken jointly by the Kisan Sabha and the Agricultural Workers' Union as well as by the DYFI and the SFI, were great successes. These were the two country-wide mass campaigns witnessed in August and September in which several lakhs of rural poor, and urban and rural youth participated. The demands raised and the magnificent mobilization witnessed in them would strengthen the all-India campaigns for which the Left parties have taken initiative. The Polit Bureau expressed the hope that all secular Opposition forces will participate in these campaigns.

Widen Campaign for Government's Resignation

The campaigns undertaken by the CPI(M) and other Left parties have strengthened the general political campaign against the corrupt and authoritarian rule of the Rajiv Gandhi Government and the disruptive and anti-national activities of the RSS, the Islamic fundamentalists, the Sikh separatists, etc. The Polit Bureau noted that the Central Committee's call for a campaign for the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi and fresh elections has met with wide response among the people. It reiterated that this campaign must be continued involving wider sections.

Two Lines for Opposition Unity

During this period two lines have been advocated for the unity of the Opposition forces. The first was the struggle for the unity of the Left and secular Opposition forces for which

the Left parties have been fighting. The second has been the efforts to forge Opposition unity dominated by communal and separatist forces as advocated by the BJP and some other sections of the leadership of bourgeois Opposition parties. The Polit Bureau noted some success achieved by the first approach. It, however, expressed the opinion that the struggle has to continue.

The RSS leader Deoras's *Vijayadashmi* speech clearly indicates that Hindu communalism is banking on the political and electoral opportunism of the ruling party to form a link between it and the ruling party. The forces of secular Opposition should, therefore, be extremely vigilant against the attempts of communalists of all hues to put pressure on the ruling party.

On Punjab

The Polit Bureau took serious note of the formation of the Khalistan Council in Punjab. This action is an open challenge to national unity by the imperialist backed extremists. The Polit Bureau demanded of the Government effective measures to check the danger through a combination of political and administrative measures. The Left parties in Punjab have been carrying on a consistent struggle against the extremists in co-operation with other Opposition parties as well as with the Government. It was the narrow partisan approach of the ruling party to the problem that obstructed the full mobilization of all the secular forces in the State for isolating and politically defeating the extremists. The restoration of the elected Government led by Barnala will help the political mobilization to isolate the secessionists.

Congress(I) Tactics in Left-led States

Reviewing some of the recent developments in West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala, the Polit Bureau noted the unscrupulous manner in which the State units of the Congress(I) and the Central Government have been behaving towards the elected Governments of these States.

In West Bengal, the President of the Provincial Congress Committee, who is at the same time a Minister of State at the Centre, has been spearheading a movement on "Rawdon Square", a non-issue—a so-called "park" where there is no park.

Similarly in Kerala, the measures taken against those who, under the benign protection of the earlier Congress-led UDF Government, were running unauthorized liquor shops, were opposed under the false charges that they were meant to open new liquor shops.

In both cases, after a few days of agitation with the help of the monopoly Press the agitators had to withdraw from the scene.

In Tripura on the other hand, the Central Government itself is trying to use the so-called "Loan Melas" to make partisan use of the Central authority against the Government and the people of the State. If the "Loan Melas" were seriously meant to help the rural poor, these should have been organized in co-operation with the State Government and not over its head; furthermore, these should have been organized either long before or after the elections and not on the eve of it. The Chief Minister has drawn the attention of the Central Government to these aspects but the latter persists in unilaterally organizing "Loan Melas" on the eve of the elections.

The Polit Bureau noted that the Congress is still continuing its electoral alliance with the TUJS which, in its turn, is creating problems of law and order. It is, however, to be hoped that seeing how the Left Front and its Government have been serving the people and maintaining the unity of the tribals and the non-tribals in the State, the electorate in the State would once again repose its confidence in it.

Soviet Proposals for Peace

The Polit Bureau took note of the initiatives taken by CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev, through his *Pravda* article of September 17 entitled "Reality and Guarantees for a Secure

World", followed by various other pronouncements, and extended its full support to them. It further expressed satisfaction at the agreement in principle arrived at between the leaders of the USSR and the USA on the short and intermediate range missiles. This would give confidence to the fighters for peace throughout the world that the organization of the war preparations can be put on the defensive. It should, however, be realized that influential ruling circles in the U.S. and other capitalist powers are out to wreck all proposals made to ensure world peace. It, therefore, called for continuing and further strengthening the peace movement in our country.

70th Anniversary of October Revolution

The Polit Bureau greeted the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution which falls on November 7. All Party units are called upon to observe this significant event in a befitting manner.

Polit Bureau Warns Against Increasing U.S. Pressure*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) issued the following statement to the Press on October 10, 1987 :

Disturbing Developments in Indo-U.S. Relations

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) warns the people to keep a vigilant eye on the developments connected with the Prime Minister's visit to the USA. The Polit Bureau fears that in view of the economic plight of the country, U.S. diplomacy may inveigle the Prime Minister into agreements inimical to national interests, during the proposed visit.

The Polit Bureau notes that despite massive American mobilization of U.S. naval power in the Persian Gulf and aggressive moves of the USA against the Third World countries, the Rajiv Government has observed a calculated and steady silence. This is totally inconsistent with India's role as a leading member of the non-aligned movement.

Negotiations on Defence Equipment

The policy of yielding under pressure is now extended to matters concerning India's defence. No previous Government had ever entered into negotiations with the U.S. in matters concerning defence equipment. It is obvious that such a course is suicidal when the USA is pouring sophisticated arms into Pakistan to intimidate India. Latest Press

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 18, 1987.

reports indicate that the Rajiv Government continues its negotiations with the USA in connection with the Light Combat Aircraft and is likely to accept conditions derogatory to Indian sovereignty.

U.S. Supercomputer Terms Accepted

The USA has now forced India to accept a less sophisticated computer than what India requested for weather forecasting. The Government has not published the conditions contained in the deal. It is obvious that the USA would not have parted with the computer unless stringent safeguards were accepted by India.

Vaccine Agreement

Three other developments must cause grave concern and anger to the Indian people and call for their protest. Progressive Indian opinion has already condemned the Indo-U.S. vaccine agreement which undermines India's sovereignty and poses a danger to the health of Indian citizens.

U.S. Trained Bureaucrats

Following this comes the report that Indian administrative and police officers will be sent to the USA, to Harvard University and other institutions to get training in American expertise in administration under a new scheme. From the exposure of the USA and other agencies, the people know that this training is based on violation of Constitutional law, cheating of the elected authority and suspicion and lack of confidence in the people, all of whom are treated as enemies of the administration and social order. Further, a dangerous plan has been hatched in consultation with the American agencies for the National Management Scheme. Under this plan, courses for training top all-India Central and defence officials as well as public sector executives are being designed by U.S. experts. The purpose of the above steps is to "train the trainers", i.e. to provide U.S. training for the personnel who will conduct the training courses sponsored

by the Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions. The sinister scheme will subvert the administrative and police apparatus of the country.

Intelligence Collaboration

And lastly it has already announced that there was collaboration between India and the USA to combat terrorism, that is, collaboration at the intelligence level. This is putting trust in an agency which is sustaining terrorism in Punjab. This growing collaboration with the USA on matters vital to the country, the scope it gives to the U.S. agencies to penetrate our administration and public life, is a dangerous development and must be put an end to.

The Polit Bureau appeals to all democratic and anti-imperialist forces to be alert and ensure that the country's interests are not sacrificed in any negotiations with the U.S. Government.

Defeat Nefarious Game in Punjab*

Call Given by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) issued the following statement dated October 8, 1987, to the Press :

The announcement from the precincts of the Golden Temple of the setting up of a "Khalistan Council" has been made by the Panthic Committee. Its aim is the formation of Khalistan which is a direct challenge to the unity of the country and a serious effort to destabilize the country at the behest of the imperialists. This declaration is a clear warning to all patriotic people that unless they rouse the people against these anti-national forces, we will be faced with very dangerous consequences. The plan of the extremists seems to be the formation of the "Government of Khalistan" from the Akal Takht, arouse religious sentiments, make it an emigre government and internationalize the issue.

The Government of India, by relying only on administrative measures and being self-satisfied over its handling of the Punjab problem is playing with fire and allowing the extremists to mislead the people. It has no policy direction in dealing with the Punjab issue except the use of force.

The SGPC and UAD even now fail to pick up courage to clear the Sikh shrines of the anti-national elements who are killing innocent people and trying to dismember our country.

The Polit Bureau appeals to all patriotic forces in the

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 18, 1987.

country to realize this danger and raise their voice in fighting it out.

It further appeals to the Sikh masses who have a glorious tradition of fighting for the unity of the Punjabi people and freedom of the country, to get awakened to this danger and force the SGPC to flush out all extremists from the Gurudwaras and defeat their nefarious game.

The Polit Bureau calls upon the Government of India to give up its opportunist policy on Punjab. It must take political steps which can enable it to fight the extremists, isolate them and restore peace in Punjab.

Polit Bureau on Developments in Sri Lanka*

The Polit Bureau issued the following statement dated October 8, 1987 to the Press on October 8 :

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep concern over the happening in Sri Lanka which threaten to sabotage the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement and plunge Sri Lanka into a fresh period of mass killings and reprisals.

The Polit Bureau had earlier welcomed the Accord and opined that if honestly implemented by all parties concerned it will provide justice to the Tamils, protect the independence and sovereignty of Sri Lanka and restore the earlier friendship between the two countries and the two people. It had also warned that the imperialists and their agencies were conspiring to defeat the Accord so that Sri Lanka becomes completely dependent on their help to solve its internal problems. Recent happenings clearly show that reactionary agencies are working from both sides, the Tamils and Sinhalese, to torpedo the Accord, the LTTE sharing greater responsibility for this state of affairs. Step by step it has gone back on its words, put forward new conditions and has now openly repudiated the Accord charging India with betrayal. Its insane killings of innocent Sinhalese will go down as a barbaric act. Its murder of the Sinhalese held captive by it has created feelings of revulsion and anger among all those who

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 18, 1987.

have been supporting the just demands of the Sri Lankan Tamils.

The Sri Lankan Government and its military forces are also responsible for complicating the situation. The capture of Tamil leaders and the decision to transfer them to Colombo under the custody of the military authorities despite the protests of the Government of India, was an act of grave provocation. It led to the suicide of 12 prisoners to stoke the already inflamed feelings of the Tamils and bringing grist to the mill of the LTTE.

The Peace Keeping Force of the Government of India has an unenviable task to perform. It will be a great tragedy if it is forced to operate as a mere law and order agency. That will play into the hands of the imperialist agencies who are out to see the end of the Accord and discredit India both among the Tamils and Sinhalese. India's peace keeping role cannot be fulfilled unless popular opinion in Tamil areas rallies behind the Accord. All well-wishers of Sri Lankan Tamils should even now appeal to the LTTE to give up its repudiation, join in implementing the Accord and get ready for the forthcoming elections when the people will give their final verdict.

Disciplinary Action Against CPI(M) Members in AIFUCTO Leadership*

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

The Polit Bureau in its meeting on October 10–11, 1987, has decided to suspend K.K. Theckedath for a period of one year from Party membership. The Polit Bureau also decided to suspend Satyasadhan Chakraborty for a period of six months. This action has been taken by the Polit Bureau in view of the role played by these two comrades in the leadership of the All India Federation of University and College Teachers' Organizations in arriving at an agreement with the Government of India to end the all-India strike which went against the common interests of the teachers and damaged the unity of the teachers' movement.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 18, 1987.

70th Anniversary of Great October Revolution*

**Greetings of the Central Committee of the CPI(M)
to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the
Working Class and the People of the Soviet Union**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) sends its revolutionary greetings to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the working class and the people of the Soviet Union, on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

The seven decades following this grand and historic achievement of the working class and the people of the Soviet Union, have been years of explosive developments and transformatory changes in the world situation and alignment of class forces.

These mighty changes are directly or indirectly related to the Socialist achievements of the Soviet people, their concern for world revolutionary processes, concern for the liberation of enslaved nations, which formed an integral part of the Leninist proletarian outlook and their capacity for heroism and military skill in the fight against the common enemy of democracy, peace and Socialism.

They are the great victories of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of Marxism-Leninism and the Marxist-Leninist party and its leading role. Without constant reliance on Marxism-Leninism and the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist party it would not have been possible to achieve such world-shaking successes in such a short time. All succeeding revolutions are indebted to these Leninist successes and all fighting

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, November 1, 1987.

people have drawn inspiration from them in their struggle for national liberation and Socialism.

The victory of the Soviet Union in the Anti-Fascist War was the biggest event in world history after the October Revolution. It set in a long process of changing the balance of class forces in the world, it ensured the success of the Socialist revolutions in Eastern Europe; it facilitated the success of the great Chinese revolution; it gave a blow to the old colonial system, enabling India, among others, to secure her independence; it led to successful revolutions in Korea and Vietnam, and finally the open defeat of the U.S. imperialist armies in Vietnam; the revolution in Cuba; and many countries taking the path of democracy and liberation. The Socialist camp now extends over one-third of the world, and the rest is engaged in a battle with the capitalist imperialist order.

The post-war economic successes and strength of the Soviet Union in contrast to the crisis, recession and unemployment in the leading capitalist countries, again asserts the supremacy of the Socialist system. The incapacity of the capitalist countries to utilize the achievements of the industrial and technological revolution in the interests of society is demonstrated by the rising number of unemployed in these countries. The people once again see that Socialist society is free from crisis and unemployment and is securing the full benefit of technological development for the common man. They also see the imperialists and capitalists spending billions of dollars on destructive weapons to keep their economy going, and the Soviet Union demanding an end to such spending to accelerate its economic development. In contrast to the decline in capitalist recovery, the Soviet Union foresees a period of rapid economic development, as visualised in its 15-year programme adopted by the 27th Congress of the CPSU in 1986.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU opened a new perspective for socialist development, for deepening of socialist democracy, for mastering all the achievements of modern

science and radically raising the economic, material and cultural level of the working class and people of the Soviet Union. The 15-year Plan adopted by the Congress, provides for doubling national income and industrial output. "As a result the economic potential that will be created in the course of 15 years, will be equal to what has been accumulated throughout all the previous years of Soviet power, and a long stride forward will be taken in building the material and technical basis of Communism."

The achievements of the Soviet Union and the Socialist camp have strengthened the capacity of many newly liberated countries to resist imperialist pressures and protect the independence of their economies. India, in particular, has been a big beneficiary of the increased strength of Socialism in the world economy. India's public sector industries, strategic industries in the public sector, have been mostly built with Soviet help and aid from other Socialist countries. Without it India would have found it impossible to rear its economy and protect its freedom.

The Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship Peace and Cooperation seals the growing friendship between the two countries, ensures India's security and contributes to the maintenance of peace in the sub-continent which the USA threatens to disturb with its pouring in of sophisticated arms into Pakistan. The Indo-Soviet Treaty reveals the will and capacity of the Soviet Union to protect peace and the freedom of other States. The Delhi Declaration 1986, the Indo-Soviet Declaration on Peace expresses the identity of views of the two countries on the vital question of war and peace, and contributes to the strengthening of the world movement for peace and the struggle of the non-aligned countries to keep themselves away from all militarist and other alliances.

In the post-war decades, Soviet intervention in world affairs has been to protect the freedom and independence of nations. Whether at the UNO or outside, whether it is the Arab nations or Nicaragua, Mozambique or Angola, the voice of

the Soviet Union has always been raised in favour of freedom and against U.S. aggression.

The victorious proletarian Socialist State resumed its fight against war and for securing a firm foundation for world peace, on the morrow of the conclusion of the Second World War.

Firmly pursuing the policy of peaceful co-existence, spear-heading the world struggle for peace, the Soviet Union put forward proposal after proposal to curb and halt the nuclear race and finally destroy all nuclear weapons.

The Soviet Union declared a unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests, hoping that the USA would follow suit and it would be a beginning to curb the arms race. But instead, the USA Administration announced its destructive Star Wars project, a project for nuclear offensive against the Soviet Union.

The recent understanding arrived at on the removal of medium and short-range missiles from Europe, has again raised hopes, but it is difficult to believe that new snags will not be created by the imperialists who are bent upon securing nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union, with the aim of global domination.

The consistent fight of the Soviet Union to avoid a nuclear war is highly appreciated by the people and the working class of all countries. It has strengthened the world peace movement which day by day is becoming a powerful factor in shaping the foreign policies of nations. The fight against war is in the best spirit of proletarian internationalism. It has become a fight for the existence of humanity for the right to live of all people, irrespective of national frontiers.

The Central Committee wishes further successes in Socialist advance and in the struggle for peace to the CPSU and the Soviet people.

May the 15-year programme lead the Soviet people to new heights of economic advance.

May it strengthen the struggle for world peace.

Polit Bureau Condemns Congress(I)-TUJS Violence*

Statement dated October 29, 1987 issued to Press

The Congress(I), since October 23, has set out on a campaign of violence and terror against the CPI(M) and the Left Front in Tripura. The large-scale violence perpetrated by Congress(I)-TUJS men and anti-socials mobilized by them has not been fully reported in the Press outside Tripura. Details gathered from all centres in Tripura show that systematic and frenzied attacks have taken place involving murderous assaults of the CPI(M) and Left Front activists, burning of hundreds of houses and offices and destruction of property. The attacks have taken place in Belonia sub-division, Udaipur town, Kailashar, Khowai town and suburbs, Agartala suburbs, Kathalia and many other places. The houses of Ministers, CPI(M) leaders and Party and mass organization offices have been the targets of arson and destruction. In these murderous attacks two CPI(M) activists, Rajendra Shil of Bankar and Jadu Gopal Majumdar of Santirbazar (both in Belonia sub-division) have died in hospital due to the injuries sustained. Lethal arms, bombs and arson have been the weapons used by these gangs of thugs.

The reign of terror on October 23 and 24 by the Congress(I)-TUJS men follows the total exposure of their plans to hold loan melas on the eve of the Assembly elections to try and influence the electorate. These loan melas initiated by the Central Government were a blatantly partisan move whereby only supporters of the Congress(I) were to get loans instead

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, November 8, 1987.

of the genuinely needy. Failing to achieve its nefarious plan to distribute largesse to its supporters, the Congress(I) utilized the preoccupation of the police and security forces with the recent killing of 29 innocent people by the TNV, to gather notorious anti-social elements and launch the attacks. The Government had already declared that in view of the TNV terrorist threat, it would not be able to deploy police around the 160 bank branches earmarked for the loan melas. The Congress(I) has embarked on this dangerous path of fomenting bloodshed and arson as it is failing to get popular support for the forthcoming elections. The resort to corrupt practices such as loan melas and physical attacks are disturbing signs of the sinister plans of the Congress(I) to vitiate the election atmosphere in the State. The CPI(M) calls upon all Opposition parties and democratic forces to denounce these Congress(I) tactics and demand that the ruling party at the Centre stop indulging in corrupt, anti-democratic practices.

Attempt on Out-of-Court Settlement for Bhopal Gas Victims*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated October 30, 1987 condemning this move

There are disturbing reports to indicate that the Government of India is negotiating an out-of-court settlement with the Union Carbide Corporation of the USA on the Bhopal case. The basis for the settlement is no different to what was rightly rejected by the Government two years back. The amount being discussed is of the order of 500 million dollars, the major part of it being paid over a long period which will further reduce its real value. In fact the amount proposed is well within Carbide's insurance cover which would allow Carbide to emerge virtually unscathed after perpetrating the worst ever industrial disaster.

The proposed settlement is a betrayal of the five lakh Bhopal victims as the money available will be in small amounts and not even sufficient to cover the basic medical needs. This betrayal is further compounded by Government's callous attitude to the Bhopal victims. Interim relief has been scanty and attempts at rehabilitation of the surviving victims almost non-existent. The Government has not even made a minimal attempt to expedite the judicial process and now seeks to compromise with Carbide.

Apart from denying real justice to the Bhopal victims the above compromise will allow Carbide to claim that their liability under law was never established and they have only given as "charity" the above compensation. The Bhopal case would have developed the principle of multinational liabilities

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, November 8, 1987.

which is precisely what Carbide, the U.S. multinationals, and their mentor the U.S. Government do not want. The U.S. Commerce Department is on record in asking the Government of India to reach an out-of-court settlement with Carbide. The Government of India with its new found softness for the USA is seeking to do precisely this at the cost of the Bhopal victims.

Instead of reaching such a dishonourable compromise the Indian authorities should pursue the case against Union Carbide vigorously and ask for interim compensation from the Bhopal Court. It is only vital that Carbide be made to accept that they are guilty of an industrial crime which left more than 2,000 dead and thousands maimed.

CPI(M)'s Greetings to Japanese Communist Party*

Given below is the text of the greetings from the Central Committee, CPI(M), to the Eighteenth Congress of the Japanese Communist Party. CCM Prakash Karat, attended the Congress, November 25-29, on behalf of the CPI(M) :

On the important occasion of the Eighteenth Congress of the Japanese Communist Party, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its warm fraternal greetings and good wishes to the delegates and leadership of the JCP. The Congress is being held in the year when you are celebrating the 65th anniversary of the foundation of the JCP. It is an occasion on which you will sum up the past experiences of the advanced contingent of the Japanese working people and chalk out the future tasks for the progress of the movement for democracy and Socialism in Japan.

The Japanese Communist Party's history of six and a half decades is distinguished by its courageous and unrelenting stand against the rise of fascism and in defence of the interests of the working class. As the sole Party which remained unbowed under the fascist-militarist onslaught, the JCP set an example in internationalism and patriotism. The JCP in post-war Japan gathered the best militants to struggle for a Japan which is free from militarism and class exploitation.

The JCP with nearly half a million members and around

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 6, 1987.

six million supporters, is wielding growing influence in Japanese politics. Through *Akahata* it reaches three million and several hundred thousand readers. By its commitment to the cause of the working people, the JCP has developed a unique sphere of influence in Japanese society.

As in the pre-war years, now in the eighties the JCP stands in the forefront of the Japanese people's struggle for peace and against militarism. The JCP has been the most consistent fighter against the Japanese-U.S. security pact. This military alliance, which goes against the Japanese people's deeply cherished desire for peace, places Japan in a reactionary role in the Asia-Pacific region. In leading the battle against this alliance and exposing its diabolic implications, the JCP has emerged as the most consistent force which can mobilize the broadest sections for the conversion of Japan into a non-aligned country, free of nuclear weapons.

The Reagan Administration and the LDP Government have drawn Japan into the vortex of the feverish arms race. Growing militarization, the integration of military strategy between the U.S., Japan and South Korea, and finally the Japanese participation in SDI have been the results of this reactionary alliance. The JCP is waging a relentless battle for an end to this state of affairs.

Representing as it does the aspirations of the people who have experienced the horrors of nuclear war, the JCP has powerfully intervened in the international forums to advocate elimination of all nuclear weapons. Its advocacy of total nuclear disarmament has contributed in shaping progressive world public opinion. The sincere efforts of the Soviet Union, the Socialist countries and the peace loving forces world-wide have forced the Reagan Administration to take some steps with regard to Europe.

Today when the Soviet-U.S. Summit talks are to be held in Washington, presaging the treaty on abolition of intermediate and short-range missiles in Europe, all peace-loving forces see this as the first step in the protracted struggle for

elimination of all nuclear weapons. More wide-ranging efforts are required to build up the world-wide movement for peace. The Hiroshima-Nagasaki Appeal is being signed by tens of millions all over the world. The CPI(M) appreciates the devoted efforts of your Party in the fight for peace.

Being one of the biggest Communist Parties in the advanced capitalist countries, the fight against exploitation by the big monopolists and State power has made steady progress. We are happy to note that your Party registered advances in the recent elections. We wish you success in forging the progressive united front.

In India, the CPI(M) is keenly following your activities. Your struggle against imperialist domination and big business has direct lessons for our movement. India is also an Asian country pursuing the capitalist path of development. The CPI(M), as the major Left force in India, is striving to strengthen the peace movement and to rebuff the imperialist offensive within the country and in our neighbourhood. While struggling against class exploitation and advancing the class struggle, the CPI(M) is also waging the battle to keep our country united and non-aligned. Our Party is advancing, fighting the policies of the Government and the U.S. backed divisive forces. It is engaged in the task of uniting all the Left and democratic forces.

In this context, we appreciate your Party's solidarity and support to the CPI(M) and the principled positions adopted by the JCP on relations with fraternal parties.

We cherish the close ties between our two Parties. The Central Committee of the CPI(M) conveys its felicitations to the Eighteenth JCP Congress and to all the delegates, the advanced fighters for peace, democracy and Socialism in Japan.

CPI(M) Hails Struggle of African National Congress*

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) greets the international conference, Peoples of the World for Democracy in South Africa, being held in Arusha, Tanzania, on December 1 to 4, 1987.

General Secretary E.M.S. Namboodiripad, in a message has stated: "The CPI(M), as one of the forces which has stood side by side with the ANC in its struggle against apartheid, today joins hands with the ANC and with the people of South Africa not only to oppose racism but also to uphold and advance the perspective of a democratic South Africa. The struggle of the people of South Africa is the common struggle of all the people of the world who value human dignity and freedom."

The CPI(M) which was invited to attend this conference regretted its inability to attend due to unavoidable reasons and preoccupation with its programme here.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 6, 1987.

CPI(M)'s Greetings to Yemeni People*

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) greets the Peoples' Democratic Republic of Yemen on the occasion of its independence day which falls on November 20. Socialist Yemen continues to inspire the people of Asia in the struggle for a just society based on the principles of Socialism. While greeting the people of Yemen the CPI(M) reiterates its bonds of friendship with the Yemeni Socialist Party on this occasion.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 6, 1987.

CPI(M)'s Greetings to the People of Yugoslavia*

The CPI(M) greets the people of Yugoslavia on the 44th anniversary of the proclamation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. On this occasion the CPI(M) reiterates its bonds of friendship with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and between the people of both the countries who are fighting today inseparably in the struggle for world peace and non-alignment.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 6, 1987.

Polit Bureau on Emergency in Bangladesh*

**Statement dated November 28, 1987
issued to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly condemns the clamping of Emergency rule in Bangladesh. Unable to carry on his rule, faced with the growing popular opposition from the people of Bangladesh, the military ruler has imposed this Emergency rule, clamping curfew in major cities and resorting to all available measures of repression.

The Polit Bureau extends its complete solidarity with the fighting people of Bangladesh in their struggle against the military rule and for the restoration of democracy.

The Polit Bureau notes with satisfaction that all sections of the people, workers, peasants, intellectuals and professionals, etc., have come out unitedly in a big way to challenge the terror regime and the clamping of Emergency.

The Polit Bureau demands that the Emergency and other repressive measures be immediately withdrawn, those arrested be released, and the united will of the people of Bangladesh for an end to the military rule and restoration of democracy be immediately accepted.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 6, 1987.

Publish Ambedkar's Work Uncensored*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) demanded in a statement dated November 27, 1987 issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) associates itself with the countrywide protest against the Maharashtra Government's deletion of certain portions in Dr. Ambedkar's book and demands that the entire book should be published as in original, as agreed upon earlier. Every one has the right to have his work published uncensored and the Indian people are entitled to read it in uncensored form. The author in his life-time had made great contributions towards the building of a modern India. It is shameful that the Congress Government of Maharashtra is succumbing to obscurantist elements with a view to appeasing them.

The Polit Bureau appeals to all secular democratic forces to join the protest against this pampering of obscurantism by the ruling party and the State Government.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 6, 1987.

On Attempt to Postpone Tripura Elections*

**Statement dated November 27, 1987, issued by the
Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly protests against the reported attempts of the Election Commission to postpone the State Assembly elections in Tripura to the end of January 1988. This goes against the earlier commitment given by the Commission to the State Government to conduct the elections on December 27. The argument that the election in Tripura is to be held along with Meghalaya, has no validity. In reality, it is nothing but a surrender before the Executive, undermining the independent character of the Election Commission as provided in the Constitution. The Tripura State Government has already protested against this move.

- The Polit Bureau demands that the Election Commission adheres to the provisions of the Constitution, act in accordance with the recommendations of the State Government and does not succumb to the diktats of the Executive, and announce the holding of elections on December 27 as earlier agreed upon.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 6, 1987.

Homage to Comrade P. Ramamurti*

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep sense of grief over the passing away of Comrade P. Ramamurti, who for a long time was a member of the Central Committee and the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), a pioneer of the Communist movement and a founder of the Communist Party in Tamil Nadu. Born in 1908, Comrade P.R. jumped into the national struggle for liberation and soon became an outstanding personality in the activities of the Indian National Congress in Tamil Nadu. Inspired by the call of Socialism, he first joined the Congress Socialist Party and subsequently the Communist Party.

He was one of the founders of the Party in Tamil Nadu and led it for over five decades. His versatile talent and his grasp of Marxism-Leninism soon pushed him to the forefront of the Communist movement and he was elected to the Central Committee and the Secretariat of the united Party. Comrade P.R. took a prominent part in the fight against revisionism and was elected to the Central Committee and the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M). During the liberation struggle and subsequently, Comrade P.R. was in jail several times. He spent eight years in jail and five years in underground activity. There was no activity of the Party which P.R. did not touch and in which he did not earn distinction. Comrade P.R. was a mass leader, builder of the trade union movement,

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 20, 1987.

powerful orator and brilliant parliamentarian, effective journalist, writer of agitational pamphlets and ideological documents. For years he was the General Secretary of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions and contributed to the rapid progress of the organization. He wrote his book on the Dravidian movement which earned the appreciation of all and showed how he could write with the clarity of Marxist thought till the end.

Comrade P.R. was the towering figure in our movement and our Party. Loved by the masses and the cadres, Comrade P.R. continued to work for the Party despite ill-health. He was a strong source of inspiration to all who came in contact with him. It is given to only a few to render such a life of outstanding service to Communism, the Party, the people and the working class. The Party dips its red banner in his homage.

The Polit Bureau sends its condolences to his wife and daughters.

Polit Bureau Reviews Recent Developments in its Meeting held on December 10–11, 1987*

The two-day meeting of the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) which concluded on the 11th, reviewed the recent international and national developments. A detailed report will be made to the Central Committee which meets in Calcutta from January 4 to 7, 1987.

INF Agreement Welcomed

The Polit Bureau hailed the Washington summit agreement between General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan on the INF. The agreement arrived at will enormously strengthen the world-wide movement for the elimination of nuclear arms and preservation of world peace.

It is, however, necessary to note that this is only the first step in the protracted struggle for elimination of nuclear weapons, a goal to which U.S. imperialism is not reconciled, as seen in the Reagan Administration's determination to pursue "Star Wars". It is therefore essential that the movement for world peace and against nuclear war be further strengthened. The Polit Bureau appeals to all its units, progressive mass organizations and democratic forces to take the Washington agreement as the starting point for enhancing the scope of the peace movement in India.

Historic December 9 Rally

The Polit Bureau greeted the lakhs of people from all parts

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 20, 1987.

of India who came to Delhi braving all hardships and the severe cold to participate in the December 9 rally. This massive assembly of determined men and women showed the depth of discontent in the country. It was the successful culmination of the month-long *jathas* which traversed the length and breadth of India. The hundreds of big mass meetings and the still larger numbers of wayside reception meetings organized in the course of these *jathas*, brought crores of people into action against the anti-democratic and corrupt Rajiv Gandhi Government, against the caste, communal and other divisive forces acting in collaboration with imperialism to create conditions of destabilization in the country. The response received from the people on the demands raised by the *jathas*, for drought and flood relief, for curbing price rise, for minimum wages and land reforms, for equal rights for women, against unemployment and corruption in high places, etc., show how the Rajiv Government has lost the confidence of the people. That is why the focus became the demand for the resignation of the Rajiv Government and the holding of fresh elections. While thanking the Party members and greeting the comrades and friends of other Left parties for their enthusiastic work in making the programme a complete success, the Polit Bureau appealed to all secular forces to co-operate with the Left parties and the mass organizations led by them, in developing a powerful movement on the basis of the demands formulated by the Central Campaign Committee of mass organizations which organized the *Bharat Jatha* and the Delhi Rally.

United Move by Left & Secular Forces

Although the initiative for this programme, as well as for the earlier October 12 Convention against Communalism and Separatism, was taken by the Left parties and the mass organizations led by them, the issues taken up by them are of great importance for all the secular, democratic forces in the country. While the Congress Government at the Centre and in several States heaps misery on the common people

and increases the danger of destabilization by imperialism and disruption by internal forces of disruption, the activities of the caste, communal and other divisive forces are posing a serious threat to national unity and security. The Rajiv Government's opportunistic attitude to communalism and separatism encourages these forces. No one who has the interests of national unity, secular democracy and improvement in the living and working conditions of the people at heart can fail to co-operate with the movement launched in the October 12 Convention against communalism and the November-December programme of *Bharat Jatha* and the December 9 rally.

Make Bharat Bandh Call a Success

The Polit Bureau noted with satisfaction that several secular Opposition parties and groups have realized the need for unity between them and the Left against those forces which are trying to disrupt national unity. The Polit Bureau noted as a positive development the coming together of the Janata, Jan Morcha, Congress(S) and the Lok Dal(A), on a platform in which the struggle for national unity occupies a prominent place. The Polit Bureau is happy to note that the secular Opposition parties have appreciated the efforts of the Left in the recent campaigns and expressed their readiness to join hands to take forward the campaigns initiated by the October 12 Convention and the December 9 Rally. It hopes that all the secular parties will work with the Left to make the Bharat Bandh call, given at the December 9 rally for the resignation of the Rajiv Gandhi Government, a big success.

Fairfax Issue : Collapse of Administration

The Polit Bureau considered the Report of the Thakkar-Natarajan Commission and its findings on the circumstances which led to the engagement of the Fairfax Company for purposes of investigation. Fairfax, as is known, is notorious for its connections with the CIA and the FBI. It reveals the shocking state of affairs that prevails in the Central

Government. It denotes a collapse of governmental norms and bankruptcy of an administration where the bureaucrats can be remote-controlled by big business houses and become prey to foreign agencies. There can be no more damning evidence of the security risks involved in the functioning of the entire Government set-up, which poses a grave threat to national unity.

The Polit Bureau noted that all these were taking place at a time when sensitive information is being collected for the CIA by those who are connected with the administration in our country. As has been revealed by Bob Woodward, the author of the book *Veil the Secret Wars of CIA 1981-87*, a senior official in the Indian Government was a CIA agent. The former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had in fact been furious at the activities of a spy in her midst. Taking place in this context, as the engagement of Fairfax for investigation deals did, it shows the enormity of the danger posed by the functioning of the Government now.

Release Sarkaria Report

The Sarkaria Commission Report on Centre-State Relations was submitted to the Central Government some weeks ago. The Centre has not released this Report nor placed it in Parliament. The Polit Bureau demands that the Report be immediately released so that it can be publicly debated.

The Congress(I) Government and the Prime Minister continue to treat the State Governments with contempt and encroach on their powers and rights in a cavalier fashion. The recent instance of summoning all the district magistrates from the States for a conference with the Prime Minister, clearly demonstrates this approach. The district officers are under the jurisdiction of the State Governments and the Centre has breached their authority in holding such a conference.

Punjab

The Polit Bureau noted that the Punjab situation continues to be serious with the extremists continuing their anti-national

activities. The Polit Bureau strongly criticized the Central Government for its failure to take any political step which can help in isolating the separatist elements. The Government should immediately release the innocent persons who are detained in Jodhpur jail.

Sri Lanka Situation

The people are feeling concerned at the situation which has developed due to the LTTE's hostility to the India-Sri Lanka Agreement. The mounting casualties are causing deep anxiety. The Polit Bureau shares this concern at the turn of events. The antagonistic attitude of LTTE towards the Indian Peace Keeping Force is making the implementation of the Agreement difficult. The Central Government must come out with the facts before the people as to how far they are able to rally the Tamils in Sri Lanka in support of the peace keeping operations. The Jayawardene Government has not fulfilled the promise to devolve adequate powers to the Provincial Councils in the amendment to the Constitution. The Indian Government has the responsibility to see that the genuine interests of the Tamil minorities are safeguarded within the scope of the Agreement. Only when this is done can the full cooperation of the Tamil people in northern and eastern Sri Lanka be ensured to implement the terms of the Agreement.

Tripura Elections

The Polit Bureau heard reports on the work of the Party and the Left Front in Tripura where elections are due, for which the Party and the Left Front are preparing themselves. The Polit Bureau denounced the Election Commission for rejecting the time-table fixed by the State Government. This is nothing but following the dictates of the Central Government.

Support Tripura Left Front

The Polit Bureau noted further that as earlier in other non-Congress-led States, the Prime Minister and his Government

are making partisan use of their authority to attack the Left Front Government of Tripura on the eve of elections. The notorious Loan Melas were sought to be organized in the State, bypassing the State Government and its request that they be postponed till after the elections. Congress(I) men ran amok when public protests took place against the holding of the melas and six CPI(M) members and supporters were killed in violent attacks. Efforts to foment violence continue. The Congress(I) has decided to continue its dangerous and unprincipled alliance with the TUJS which has been conniving with the secessionist TNV. This alliance is a danger to national unity. The ten-year record of the Left Front Government of Tripura is a unique one. It has, unlike in the rest of the north-east, by its work mobilized the mass of the tribal people in the defence of national unity and communal amity, while safeguarding their basic rights. The dedicated and exemplary record of service to the toiling people in the State will see the people of Tripura return the Left Front Government for a third term with a still bigger majority. The Polit Bureau appealed to all the Party members and supporters of the Left and secular cause to extend their full support to the Left Front in Tripura in the forthcoming Assembly Elections.

Communique on CPI(M) Delegation's Visit to Soviet Union*

Anatoly Dobrynin, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with a delegation from the Communist Party of India (Marxist) led by E.M.S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary of its Central Committee. The delegation is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

During the conversation, which passed off in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and comradely frankness, information was exchanged on a number of aspects of activities by the CPSU and the CPI(M). Pressing problems of the present-day world situation and some issues of the international Communist and working class movement were also taken up.

Dobrynin spoke about the revolutionary updating of all aspects of life in Soviet society and the processes of democratisation and glasnost (openness) gathering momentum in the USSR.

He dwelt particularly on the results of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the United States, stressing that the Soviet Union would continue to make consistent efforts to carry out a package of measures towards a safer, nuclear-free world.

Namboodiripad spoke highly of the INF Treaty signed in Washington and paving the way to complete elimination of nuclear armouries on this planet, and end to the arms race,

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 3, 1988.

lower international tension, and a real climate of trust and mutual understanding in state-to-state relations.

The interlocutors agreed that Soviet-Indian cooperation was an important factor for peace and stability not only in Asia, but in the world as a whole. They pointed to the pressing need to promote the principles of the Delhi Declaration in international practice.

The festivals of the Soviet Union in India and of India in the USSR are of much significance to further strengthening friendly Soviet-Indian relations and effectively bringing the people of the two countries closer together.

The leaders of the CPI(M) briefed Dobrynin on the situation in India and the campaign by working people for their rights.

Dobrynin stressed that the USSR was for a strong and united India playing an ever greater international role.

The sides voiced a high opinion of the meeting of representatives of parties and movements in Moscow during the festivities marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, which had marked the start of broad-based dialogue in the name of removing the threat of war and solving other cardinal universal problems.

Members of the Political Bureau of the CPI(M) Central Committee, Samar Mukherjee and Harkishan Singh Surjeet took part in the meeting as well.

BJP-RSS Design to Foment Communal Trouble in Kerala*

**E.M.S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary of CPI(M),
issued the following statement to Press on
December 26, 1987**

The stance adopted by the BJP in Kerala and its endorsement by its all-India President L.K. Advani, makes it amply clear that the BJP has decided to make the Left-led Governments targets for attack. It seeks to disrupt the combination of the Left and secular forces which routed the Congress(I) and the communal forces in the Assembly elections in Kerala.

Advani knows very well the role played by the BJP and RSS in Kerala. He himself makes no distinction between the two. For quite some years the RSS has been active in Kerala trying to foment communal tensions and terrorize the minorities. It may be recalled that as early as 1971, after the Tellicherry riots, the Justice Vithaythil Commission indicted the RSS-Jana Sangh men for their role in "rousing" communal feelings. The anger of the BJP and the RSS against the Communists is precisely due to our determined defence of the rights of the minorities.

The BJP president has confirmed in his recent Press conference, that temples are being used to hold RSS *shakhas* and drills with lathis. The BJP-RSS is shamelessly utilizing religious places of worship for political propaganda, and spreading hatred against the minority communities. It is these activities that create tensions and conflicts in Kerala. The BJP president who decries the use of Gurudwaras in Punjab by extremists, brazenly defends the use of Hindu temples in Kerala for para-military drills and communal propaganda by

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 3, 1988.

the RSS and his partymen. The RSS-BJP is seeking to convert many temples in Central Travancore into centres of reactionary organization and communal propaganda.

Advani has mentioned the situation in Pandalam. We can also cite instances of how the BJP-RSS is misusing places of worship. In the Mahadevar temple in Pandalam, the Managing Committee decided by an overwhelming majority to disallow RSS *shakha* drills in the temple premises. This was opposed by the president of the committee who is an RSS man. The RSS in defiance continued to hold *shakhas*. The secretary of the committee resigned in protest at the RSS activities. Around two years ago the nature of the RSS-BJP got similarly exposed in the case of the Thripperumthura temple in Chennithala. Here a gang-up of the RSS-NDP-Congress(I) men took place to prevent a Harijan woman from bathing in the temple tank. This temple is the family temple of the Chennithala family to which a Congress(I) MLA and former Minister belongs. It was thrown open to all castes after the temple entry movement. Yet the reactionary upper-caste combination created this ugly incident.

Such is the role of the BJP-RSS in Kerala. Now after Balasaheb Deoras's statement that the RSS has no difference with the Congress(I) except for its policy of "appeasing the minorities", it looks as if the BJP unit in Kerala with the blessings of the all-India leadership, has decided to join hands with the Congress(I) in the forthcoming panchayat and local bodies elections.

Every attack on the minorities, every attempt to spread communal poison is resisted and will be resisted firmly by the CPI(M) and all the Left and secular forces in Kerala. The CPI(M) is confident that the disruptive game of the BJP-RSS will be totally rejected by the enlightened and politically conscious people of Kerala.

Polit Bureau Opposes Steel Price Hike*

**Statement dated December 25, 1987, issued in
New Delhi**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly denounces the sudden steep hike in steel prices coming into effect from today. This 15 per cent on the average increase in the price of steel, following closely the hikes in the prices of edible oil, coal and sugar, will have a multiplier inflationary effect imposing fresh burdens on groaning consumers.

The CPI(M) had warned on December 23, that the administrative hike in the prices of edible oil, coal and sugar were only the beginning of a series of hikes. Hikes in petroleum and power prices appear imminent. The Government with its bankrupt economic policy and financial management, is resorting to these hikes as pre-budget measures to reduce the yawning budget deficit. These measures, however, will only compound the economic mismanagement and heap further miseries on the people.

The CPI(M) demands the immediate withdrawal of these hikes and calls upon the people to raise their voice against this fresh attack on their livelihood.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 3, 1988.

Polit Bureau Condoles MGR's Death*

Statement issued on December 24, 1987

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) mourns the passing away of Mr. M.G. Ramachandran, Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and founder-leader of the AIADMK.

In his death, the State of Tamil Nadu has lost an eminent leader who was immensely popular with the Tamil people. He won their electoral support in successive elections and served for almost a decade as Chief Minister of the State.

The Polit Bureau conveys its condolences to his wife, family members and his colleagues in the AIADMK.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 3, 1988.

Demand for NTR's Resignation Politically Motivated*

**Statement dated January 4, 1988 issued by the
Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)**

The findings of the Andhra Pradesh High Court that there is *prima facie* evidence of irregularities against the Andhra Chief Minister on seven counts, will come in handy to those who were from the outset ill-disposed towards the NTR Ministry. No doubt that the charges are of such a nature as will cause concern.

The CPI(M) has always advocated strict standards of probity and purity in the administration. Its M.P.s took a prominent part in exposing and unravelling the Bofors scandal.

The Polit Bureau takes note of the fact that the final decision of the High Court is yet to come. It also notes that the Court refused to grant the petition for the Central Government to enquire into the 'misdeeds' of Rama Rao. The Polit Bureau will express its final opinion only after the final judgement of the High Court.

The Polit Bureau thinks that to demand the resignation of NTR at this stage only displays a desire to score a political point rather than any genuine concern for high standards of probity in public administration.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 10, 1988.
'NTR' was N.T. Rama Rao, Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.

Bring Fighting Millions into Sweeping Action for Bharat Bandh*

Communique issued by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) following its meeting held in Calcutta on January 4-7, 1988

Historic December 9, 1987 Rally

The Central Committee noted that the five months since its last meeting in August had seen the campaign for the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi make steady progress. The month-long Bharat Jathas and the historic December 9 Rally by the Left parties, were the biggest popular demonstrations for the Rajiv Government's resignation. Lakhs of peasants, workers, women, students and youth came out with a powerful resolve to end the present state of affairs.

This has helped to galvanize the atmosphere and to vastly expand the movement for Rajiv Gandhi's resignation and the holding of fresh elections. It has also served to isolate the BJP which seeks to carry on its divisive activity masquerading as an ally of the Opposition. The stage has been set for the call for a Bharat Bandh by all the Left and secular Opposition parties. This will be a mighty expression of the people's desire for the resignation of the Rajiv Gandhi Government and for holding fresh elections.

The December 9 Rally and the *jatha* programmes were preceded by the independent activities of the CPI(M)-led mass organizations, such as the week-long satyagraha programme of the Kisan Sabha and Agricultural Workers' Union, which saw lakhs of peasants and agricultural labourers courting arrest for their demands throughout the country. This was followed by

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 17, 1988.

the massive rally of youth and students in Delhi on September 23. The united initiative of the Left parties led to the Delhi Convention against Communalism and Separatism, which saw the participation of leaders of various secular Opposition parties and prominent intellectuals. All these have strengthened the process of coming together of the Left and secular Opposition parties to struggle for the immediate demands of the people, defend national unity and focus on the demand for the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi and a fresh mandate.

Cong(I) Offensive against Left Governments

The Central Committee noted that the Left and secular Opposition parties have been carrying out their programmes facing stiff resistance from the ruling Congress party. Rocked as it is by intense factionalism within its organization, and widespread discontent among the people, the leaders of the ruling party are determined to bar the Opposition, particularly the Left, in its advance towards unity. The Prime Minister's authoritarian threat to dismiss any elected Government which he considers 'anti-national', the call for violence against the CPI(M) and the Left Front Government in West Bengal by Ghani Khan Choudhury, the continuing attack of the TNV extremists on the peaceful citizens of Tripura which has the direct support of the TUJS which is allied with the Congress, the discrimination shown by the Central Government on the question of financial accommodation to the LDF Government in Kerala, the use of 'Loan Melas' over the head of the State Government of Tripura for bribing the voters—all these show the brazen manner in which the Congress Government at the Centre attacks the Left-led Governments.

The other non-Congress State Governments are also not exempt from this attack. Every non-Congress Chief Minister has to overcome innumerable hurdles put in his way by the Central Government. All the more is this true of the financial situations which the State Governments are facing. That was why West Bengal Chief Minister Jyoti Basu's

initiative concerning the Ninth Finance Commission, was responded to by most of the non-Congress Chief Ministers. The Central Committee hopes that the deliberations in Bangalore on January 11, will help the mobilization of the people at large against the hostile position adopted by the Central Government towards the State Governments.

Economy : Surrender to Pressure

The Central Committee expressed its concern at the deteriorating condition of the Central and State finances and the worsening terms of external trade and the foreign exchange situation. The steep rise in prices of all essential commodities is aggravated by the drought. Foodgrains production is estimated by the Government to be less by 15 million tonnes this year. The danger of recession looming ahead on the industrial front, will further worsen the employment situation. The major responsibility for this deplorable economic condition lies on the shoulders of the Congress(I) Government which is pursuing a policy of surrendering to the pressures of the World Bank and IMF. More and more, the economy is being thrown open to multinationals, and reliance on foreign credit is posing a real threat to the independence of the Indian economy. The recent demand of the World Bank to privatize the steel industry and for outright devaluation of the rupee, are manifestations of this brazen pressure from the imperialist financial agencies. Already the value of the rupee is being continuously eroded by linking it to the basket of foreign currencies.

The worst drought in recent times has led to mass distress in the rural areas. The much publicized drought relief measures have made no impact, due to large-scale corruption in bureaucratic circles and amongst ruling party functionaries. The price spiral is being fuelled by double digit inflation and the people are at the mercy of unscrupulous traders and black-marketeers due to the Centre's refusal to strengthen the public distribution system. The Central Committee appeals to all its units to launch struggles to mobi-

lize the people and launch struggles for relief to the peasantry and expansion of the public distribution system.

BJP's Disruptive Role

The Central Committee observed that the BJP has now come out in its true rightist and reactionary colours. Faced with growing isolation in view of the firm position adopted by the CPI(M) and Left parties to defeat its manoeuvre to divide the Opposition and whip up communalism, the BJP has launched a virulent anti-Communist campaign. This outburst cannot hide its disruptive and sectarian nature. It has made the LDF Government and CPI(M) in Kerala its main target of attack. Thus it seeks to cover up the RSS misuse of temples in the State for *shakhas*. It is now joining hands with the Congress(I) in the forthcoming local elections in the State.

The danger posed by the BJP-RSS and other forces acting on the basis of narrow religious, caste and communal interests, should not be underestimated. The Central Committee expressed serious concern at the aggressive Hindu chauvinistic activities of the Shiv Sena in Maharashtra and the countrywide communal propaganda by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Jamait-e-Islami and other similar communal outfits. The Central Committee called upon all the Left and secular forces who stand for the national unity, to firmly resist these forces.

The Central Committee reiterated the well-known position of the CPI(M) that there is a basis for ethnic groups inhabiting a particular State, but having their own socio-cultural identity, to have autonomy within the State. No doubt the tribal and ethnic minorities face serious exploitation. To ensure their defence, among other steps it is necessary that they be given regional autonomy within particular States in appropriate cases.

Punjab

The Central Committee expressed its deep concern at the continuing deterioration of the situation in Punjab. There is a spurt in the killings of innocent people at the hands of the

extremists. The use of the United Akali Dal platform for raising the demand of Khalistan at the Fatehgarh Sahib in the last week of December should be an eye opener to all.

The Central Committee demanded that the Central Government give up the policy of drift and reliance on purely administrative measures which has proved an utter failure. It should come forward with a political solution by ordering the release of the Jodhpur detenus, punishing those who have been found responsible for the Delhi killings in 1984, and finding a solution to the water and territorial disputes, including Chandigarh, on the basis of the Punjab Accord. These steps will go a long way in mobilizing the people and isolating the extremists. The Central Committee decided to approach other political parties to organize a country-wide campaign for the solution of the Punjab problem, which has a direct bearing on national unity.

On Darjeeling Developments

The hopes for a settlement which will bring peace to the hill areas of Darjeeling district and meet the genuine grievances of the Nepali-speaking people, are yet to fructify, despite the best efforts of the Left Front Government.

The terms for such an agreement were arrived at between the Centre and the State Government. The GNLFF leadership having agreed to the terms, went back on its word. Instead, the GNLFF has launched a campaign of violence, arson, killings, severely disrupting economic life in the district. The State Government has had no option but to take measures to see that the writ of the administration runs in the district, and the life and security of citizens is ensured.

The Central Committee hopes that the GNLFF leadership will see reason, stop the violence and arrive at an amicable agreement.

Sri Lanka

The Central Committee expressed concern over the recent developments in Sri Lanka. Reports of killing on both sides

are causing anxiety to all sections of the people. The LTTE in going back on the Accord, is only helping the plans of the enemies of the two countries. The Central Committee feels unless the peace keeping operations are accompanied by growing support of the civilian Tamil population, the IPKF will find itself in an unenviable position and even the Accord may be jeopardized.

The Jayawardene Government on its part will help the forces supporting the Accord, if it enacts the legislation for the merger of the northern and eastern areas speedily. The LTTE by its attacks on the Tamil Muslims, is disrupting the unity of the Tamils and creating obstructions in the way of merger.

INF Treaty : Significant Step for Peace

The Washington summit has led to the treaty between the USSR and USA eliminating medium and shorter range missiles. This is a historic agreement to eliminate an entire category of nuclear weapons. It is thus a first step in the protracted struggle to eliminate all nuclear weapons on earth. The entire peace-loving forces hail this agreement and the Central Committee calls upon all progressive sections in India to step up efforts to further strengthen the peace movement. It must be remembered that U.S. imperialism and reactionary circles in NATO are determined to continue with the Star Wars programme. The full weight of world public opinion must be brought to bear upon further progress to eliminate weapons of mass destruction.

The Central Committee heard the report of the delegation which attended the 70th Anniversary Celebrations in the Soviet Union and the subsequent Party delegation which held discussions with the CPSU. The Central Committee endorsed the work of the delegation.

The Central Committee was informed about the decisions taken by the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of China and noted the measures being taken for the strengthening of Socialism, modernization of the economy and for the expansion of Socialist democracy.

West Bengal and Kerala Panchayat Elections

The Central Committee heard reports regarding the preparations for the elections to the panchayats and local bodies in Kerala on January 23, and the panchayat elections to be held in West Bengal on February 28. These elections are part of the ongoing political struggle between the Left-led forces on the one hand, and the Congress(I) and the divisive forces on the other. The Central Committee hopes that all Party members, together with the other Left and democratic forces, will pool their resources to ensure a big victory against the Congress(I) and its allies.

Ensure Victory for Left Front in Tripura

The Assembly elections to be held in Tripura on February 2 will be an important battle for the defence of national unity and for safeguarding the interests of the tribal and non-tribal people who wish to live in peace and communal amity. The CPI(M) and the Left Front in Tripura go to the polls after a remarkable record of service to the people, and as the staunch defender of tribal and non-tribal unity. The Congress(I) in its desperation has resorted to the unscrupulous attempt to hold Loan Melas on the eve of the elections to bribe the voters. Failing in this endeavour, it has unleashed violent attacks on the CPI(M) cadres and supporters. The CPI(M) has continuously mobilized the people to preserve communal unity in the face of the barbarous killing of innocent civilians by the TNV.

The Central Committee appeals to all sections of people in Tripura, to all patriotic and democratic sections to rally firmly behind the Left Front in the State and give a crushing defeat to the Congress(I)-TUIJS alliance.

Make Bharat Bandh a Mighty Success

The Central Committee called upon all its Party units and members working in the mass organizations to prepare wholeheartedly and devote their full energies to make the proposed Bharat Bandh call a mighty success. They should

approach all secular and democratic sections to seek their co-operation in mobilizing the people. Such a sweeping action will bring the fighting millions of the working people into action on their immediate demands. This, when carried through successfully, will be a vital link in the ongoing struggle to defeat the Rajiv Gandhi Government.

Political Report Adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) in its Meeting Held in Calcutta on January 4-7, 1988*

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

70th Anniversary of October Revolution

The five months since our last meeting have witnessed many important international developments. The 70th anniversary of the October Revolution served to fasten attention on the big achievements of the Soviet Union and reassert the supremacy of the socialist system as a superior social system free from class exploitation and inequalities.

The 70th anniversary was an outstanding event reminding the working class of the rich heritage of Marxism-Leninism, its transformatory potential and the truth of its doctrine. It also reminded the world of the spirit of proletarian internationalism and the struggle for peace which inevitably follows from it. It reminded the working class that Lenin's decree on peace adopted by the Soviet Government, introduced the concept of equality and fraternity in international relations, an era for a continuous struggle for peace.

Our Party's delegation which visited Moscow on this occasion, has submitted its report on the talks with leaders of other parties. Our delegation expressed its reservations and differences on many formulations made by other parties during their speeches on the occasion of the celebration of the anniversary. Our comrades again visited the Soviet Union to discuss our reactions on the speech of Comrade Gorbachev.

*Published as a booklet in February 1988.

INF Treaty

The signing of the agreement between the USA and the USSR on the elimination of medium and shorter range nuclear missiles was an important event hailed by the progressive forces all over the world. This is the first time an agreement was reached on the outright destruction of nuclear weapons. Though the shorter range and medium range missiles represent only three to five per cent of the total nuclear arsenals, still the agreement is an important step forward in the struggle to avoid a nuclear war. The struggle is no doubt beset with difficulties, considering what imperialism is, and considering that a nuclear arsenal is part of the foreign policy of the USA, and there is no sign or change in this aggressive policy of world domination. The Third World and non-nuclear countries have to reckon with this truth. Reagan, besides, has refused to give up the Star Wars Project, a project for nuclear offensive. He almost boasted about it when he justified the signing of the agreement. The agreement is the result of persistent Soviet efforts to reduce nuclear armaments, efforts which have the backing of the powerful world peace movement. American public opinion also has contributed to the signing of the accord. At Reykjavik, Reagan had refused to sign a similar agreement. But this time with the Soviet side removing all difficulties in the way of verification, it could not be evaded. No doubt there are certain circles in the USA which regard it as a virtual betrayal of U.S. foreign policy interests. The position of our Party is that every such agreement which obstructs the nuclear race, which encourages the trend for peaceful coexistence is welcome and should not lead us to believe that they indicate either a change in the character of imperialists or a change in its ambition for global domination.

Thirteenth Congress of CPC

The second big event of the period was the Thirteenth Party Congress of the Communist Party of China. The Communist Party of China and the people of China are locked in a

grim battle to overcome the backwardness of the Chinese economy and take the country to a thriving socialist economy. In this connection the report of Zhao Zhiyang makes many important formulations some of which are extremely novel.

The first is regarding the primary stage of Chinese socialism. Zhao's report says :

“Our Party has already made a clear and definite statement on this question. China is now in the primary stage of socialism. There are two aspects to the thesis. First, the Chinese society is already a socialist society. We must persevere in socialism and never deviate from it. Second, Chinese society is still in its primary stage. We must proceed from this reality and not jump over this stage. Under the specific historical conditions of contemporary China, to believe the Chinese people cannot take this socialist road without going to the stage of fully developed capitalism is to take a mechanistic position on the question of development of the revolution, and that is the major cognitive root of right mistakes. On the other hand, to believe that it is possible to jump over the primary stage of revolution in which the productive forces are to be highly developed is to take a utopian position on the question and that is the cognitive root of Left mistakes.

“How do things stand in China, now that socialism has been developing here for more than three decades? On the one hand a socialist economic system based on public ownership has been installed, a socialist political system of people's democratic dictatorship has been established. The guiding role of Marxism in the realm of ideology has been affirmed. The system of exploitation and exploiting classes has been abolished. . . The backwardness of the productive forces determines the following aspects of the relations of production : socialization of production which is essential for expanding public ownership is still at a very low level, the commodity economy and domestic market are only beginning to develop, the natural economy and semi-natural economy constitute a considerable proportion of the whole; and the

socialist economic system is not matured and well-developed. In the realm of superstructure a number of economic and cultural conditions that are necessary if we are to promote a high degree of socialist democracy, are far from ripe, and decadent feudal and capitalist ideology of the small producer, the force of habit still have widespread influence in society and often corrode Party cadres and public servants. All this shows that we still have a long way to go before we can advance beyond the primary stage of socialism."

The report also deals with certain weaknesses in the functioning of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the functioning of the Party. Zhao's report calls for separating Party and government :

"But one long-standing problem has not yet been solved : the lack of demarcation between the functions of the Party and those of the government and the substitution of the Party for the government. Unless this problem is solved Party leadership cannot be smoothly carried out. Therefore, the key to reforming the political situation is the separation of the Party and the government."

This of course does not mean abandoning the leadership of the Party. The Communist Party must function as the leading force guiding the affairs of the socialist state and the society but it cannot replace other organs. That in fact hampers the Party playing a leading and persuasive role, obstructs the initiative of the class and the people and their participation in running the government.

Concrete measures are suggested to achieve this objective. One measure is to establish a system of public service. Public servants in the professional work categories will have to pass a statutory examination in open competition. This will remove the patronage exercised by Party agencies at present. It will also ensure efficiency in public administration. The public servant in political affairs, however, will be recommended by the Party.

Then there is the reform of the system of government. It

is proposed by Zhao that laws should be enacted covering the Press, publication, association, assembly and procession, and to establish a people's appeal system so as to guarantee the citizens' rights and freedom as stipulated by the Constitution. In relation to elections also the need has been felt to improve the system so that elections reflect the real will of the people and enthuse the people to participate in them.

Zhao's report and the main decisions of the Thirteenth Congress of the CPC are directed to solving the immediate economic problems facing China.

Stock Exchange Crisis : Basic Causes

The third important development was the stock exchange crisis of October this year. The August C.C. report had noted the warning of the World Bank saying that the global economic recovery that began in 1983 continued to slow down and that unless governments took action economic stagnation, if not declined, lay ahead. The same warning was given by the OECD. The situation was thus rapidly deteriorating and yet everyone was shocked by the stock exchange collapse of October 19. The crash and its sequel underlined the instability of the capitalist system, the inner contradictions of the big countries and their inability to cope with the problems of the system. Now there are speculations that the system will face recession in the near future. The bankers and financiers and industrialists are putting on a brave face and belittling the possibility of recession. But facts point otherwise.

The American economy had shattered all previous records by entering, in October, upon the 59th month of continuous expansion and nobody thought that the end was in sight. The unemployment rate was reduced to 5.9 per cent, the lowest since 1979, and indications of economic growth were there. And then suddenly came the stock exchange crash affecting the entire capitalist world, leading to huge losses, and uncovering the soft belly of the economy. Hasty measures are being taken but they do not seem to affect the

downward trend. Economists are pinning down American budget deficits, higher interest rates, fall in dollar's value, and the systematic policy pursued by the USA government, as the source of the present uncertainties. But this leaves the basic causes out of sight. They are the domination of monopolies over the governments of the advanced capitalist countries, the emergence of state monopoly capitalism under which the state intervenes in the economy to protect the monopolists, the emergence of a military-industrial complex, mainly in the USA, which for its own selfish interests demands huge expenditure on military and destructive weapons, the increased strength of the multinationals which introduces a further element of anarchy in the international situation; the accentuation of the market crisis because of one third of the world going socialist and out of the orbit of imperialist exploitation, the impediments in the way of uninhibited looting of the backward countries following the collapse of the old colonial system, in spite of the fact that many of these countries have been caught in the debt trap.

The immediate cause was of course the U.S. policy of compelling its allies to share its burdens while keeping itself free to run up huge deficit budgets to bolster the claims of the military-industrial complex on the national exchequer, in pursuit of its foreign policy of aggression and global domination.

The Louvre accord signed on behalf of the big seven powers in February 1987, committed the signatories to maintain the dollar exchange rate by means of currency intervention, which meant massive purchase of dollars by the central banks of Japan, FRG, Britain and others. It is estimated that the costs to these countries of supporting the dollar ran to 90 billion dollars by September. The end had to come to this costly support to run deficit budgets and invade the markets of other countries and attract their capital. The expressed unwillingness of the FRG to finance these operations any more, accompanied by the U.S. threat to depreciate the dollar, further led to the crash.

The way the crisis developed, and the conditions precedent to it, revealed very sharp contradictions among the capitalist powers. The partners insist that the USA should either reduce its deficit budgets drastically or scale down its military expenditure. Both these measures will affect the dominant position of the USA. The U.S. administration fears that cut in government spending may unleash a slump. Government orders are necessary for a considerable number of industrial plants. The U.S. banks are already under strain and many have gone bankrupt. Ten per cent of America's 15,000 banks are facing severe difficulties. Nearly 200 already collapsed last year. Financiers and economists agree that if the foreign trade balance of the USA does not improve, the position of the dollar will get even worse. The allies of the USA are urging it to cut its Federal budget deficit and stimulate its economy by a reduction of the lending rate which may result in a quick outflow of private capital and further weaken the dollar. Thus the U.S. economy is hemmed in from all sides. Its partners, though chafing at U.S. practice, are unable to take any drastic steps which upset the U.S. economy. They have to sail together with the USA, and sailing together means facing a worsening situation and preparing for a crisis.

Sri Lankan Developments

There is every cause for concern over recent developments in connection with Sri Lanka. The IPKF is still engaged in an armed battle with the LTTE. The repudiation of the accord by the LTTE and a substantial section of the Sri Lankan people, is transferring the initiative into the hands of pro-American elements and facilitating the game of US imperialism to intervene and influence the policies of Sri Lanka. It seems that some ultra-Left forces, some opposition parties and the LTTE are all combining to blow up the accord to seize the lost initiative for the imperialists. Jayawardane's party is virtually split and his government is also split. Prime Minister Premadasa and others have taken

an openly hostile attitude towards India and the Peace Keeping Force which was sent to Sri Lanka at the request of Sri Lankan government. Premadasa did not shrink from attacking India at an international gathering while the Sri Lankan President praises India for the work it was doing.

It is clear that India and the Peace Keeping Force underestimated the situation. It was not contemplated at all that the disarming of LTTE would lead to blood-shed and prolonged armed conflict. The repudiation by the LTTE has precisely led to such a situation. Daily reports of killings on both sides create a feeling of revulsion among the people. The IPKF operates under very difficult circumstances and is forced to restrain itself for fear of civilian casualties and is getting the worst from both sides though it is valiantly fighting to save the accord and the friendship between the two people and the two countries.

While the negative features appear to be overwhelming, positive features are developing very slowly. In the first place, the mass of Tamil people is reacting favourably to the IPKF operations but only very slowly and with extreme caution. The inevitable civilian casualties often prevent it from appreciating the role of the IPKF. Its decisive support will change the situation entirely, leading to the political isolation of the LTTE and the success of the accord. But there is yet no sign of this. It is not yet known whether any political steps are being taken by India to aid the IPKF. There are reports that the LTTE is getting disintegrated and surrenders from its ranks are taking place. It is also reported that other political armed groups which were being liquidated by the LTTE are picking up courage to organize themselves. These are good signs but it is a race against time. It cannot be won with the existing rate of progress. Any attempt to hold on to the situation relying on the IPKF alone will be suicidal and such advice and outlook have to be outrightly rejected.

The Sri Lanka government, after some delay, has taken some steps which normally would have mollified the

situation to some extent. The ground is being cleared for holding elections in the eastern and northern areas. A Bill has been passed for devolution of powers to the provinces. If this is accompanied by a clear declaration assuring the merger of the two Tamil areas, the situation may improve to some extent. But everything depends on how the main mass of Tamil people reacts to these developments and how far the LTTE, which is still committed to an independent state, is isolated from the people.

The Government of India must take more political and diplomatic initiatives to make the Jayawardane government implement fully the provisions of the accord. Failure to implement the accord will be a big disaster for the Tamil people who will be now left at the mercy of Israeli mercenaries or Pakistani forces and exposed to genocidal operations. It will be a big diplomatic defeat for the progressive forces in the two states and pave the way for the success of pro-American elements in Sri Lanka starting the process of erosion of its independence.

The situation is complicated further by the demise of Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M.G. Ramachandran. He was able to restrain the extreme manifestations of chauvinism on the Sri Lankan issue and acted as a brake on the opportunistic policies of the DMK. Our Party which has been waging a principled fight against chauvinism on this issue will be facing a very trying situation.

Bangladesh

As in India, the masses in neighbouring countries also are being activated under the impact of the dismal economic situation and suppression of democratic rights. An unprecedented struggle is now being waged in Bangladesh against the arbitrary and dictatorial rule of General Ershad with the demand that he should quit his post as President and order new elections under a caretaker government. The agitations have been going on now for months and the united front of several parties has repeatedly called for

widespread bandhs, hartals, strikes and boycott of legislatures. These have succeeded in paralysing the functioning of the government.

Bangladesh did not have such continuous mass agitations despite Martial Law restrictions and after the withdrawal of Martial Law, severe restrictions on freedom of the Press and freedom of strikes. Ershad was compelled to dissolve the Parliament where he had a rigged majority. But this did not satisfy the determined people and the leading parties. He resorted to mass arrests and also arrested all the important leaders of the parties including the two leading women, and finally he declared Emergency prescribing barbarous punishments for those participating in agitations. But to no avail. students, youth and wide sections of the masses continue to participate in the agitations, and every time the call for bandh receives wider and wider response. It seems that under the pressure of popular agitations Ershad's military machine itself will crack, opening the way to popular triumph.

Perhaps in this agitation no party, except the Jamait-e-Islami which is not a part of the front, makes an orthodox or religious appeal. The traditions of the earlier fight and struggle dating from the British days, the traditions of earlier peasant struggles and the struggle against Pakistani rule, all seem to have combined to give a secular democratic content to the great movement, isolating those who concentrate on religious appeal.

It appears that Ershad's reactionary patrons from abroad also see that he will not be able to hold the situation and therefore are advising him for some kind of democratic reform. But the people and the opposition will have nothing to do with Ershad. It is, however, not known how far the basic demands of the masses form part of the agitation, and how far the Left forces linked to the downtrodden masses are asserting themselves and shaping the nation-wide agitations. In any case it seems clear that if the alliance of parties succeeds in uniting wider and wider sections, Ershad will have to resign.

Who will benefit from this, whether another alternative from the ruling clique will come or whether the real representatives of the agitations will be in power, is a question which will be decided in the near future. But the Bangladesh development shows that like the Indian masses, the masses all over the sub-continent are feeling the inequality of the present system and are joining hands to get a democratic deal for themselves. Our Party expresses deep sympathy and support for this great struggle of the Bangladesh people and hopes that it will end in a real victory for the fighting masses ensuring their democratic rights.

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

Internal Economic Situation

The year closed with increased miseries and privations for the people. The effects of drought are now making themselves felt with the central government's inability to meet the minimum demands for relief. The corruption in the administration adds to the trials of the people. There are widespread protests in Bihar and elsewhere against the failure of relief operations and diversion of funds to satisfy the corruption lust of officials and their Congress patrons. Unless there is widespread popular intervention the peasants and agricultural workers will be subject to outright starvation leading to deaths. The drought has accentuated the already deteriorated economic situation.

It seems that both the government and the RBI underestimate the magnitude of the effects which will inevitably follow from the drought conditions. It is now clear that the rabi crop also will be far below normal as the northern areas of the country have received insufficient rainfall, some hardly having a few showers. The total food shortage may be more than 25 to 30 million tonnes, compared with the earlier targetted production and at least 20 million tonnes less than the previous years. This will mean not only scarcity and starvation but unbearable rise in prices inflicting starvation even on those who may have part-time jobs.

The economy was in bad shape and the last five months have seen growing deterioration affecting all parts. The OECD in its *Economic Outlook* published on December 22 warned :

“The world economy will stand down in 1988 and 1989 in the wake of the recent turbulence in the stock and exchange markets, adversely affecting the export revenue of developing countries.”

India which has to rely more and more on its exports and which boasts of its recent export spurt, will be affected at a vital point.

But even without a world crisis, the Indian economy has been undergoing all the pangs and distress of a crisis of its own and there is no prospect of relief. The Reserve Bank Report on Currency and Finance (1986-87) released last week forecasts a setback in real growth in gross domestic production during 1987-88. According to it, foodgrains production is expected to be lower by 10 to 15 million tonnes in 1987-88 compared with last year. (The shortage in terms of the fixed targets is much more.) The growth of industrial production in 1987-88 could be somewhat lower than in the previous two years notwithstanding the continuous talks by Rajiv and others about rapid increase in the growth rate of industrial production. Perhaps the RBI estimates that industrial production will be somewhat less than the previous two years is an optimistic statement. The report underlines the fact that the industrial sector is dependent on growth in agriculture both for raw material required for its production and for demand for industrial products such as textiles and sugar.

The likely total collapse of the purchasing power over wide areas affected by drought and flood may affect several industries indirectly connected with the rural purchasing power and may bring about a drastic reduction in industrial production.

The claim that the economy is on the upgrade and industrial production is climbing at a higher rate of growth is not really tenable. Current statistics do show that the industrial

sector has attained a growth rate of 12.6 per cent in the first four months of the current year after averaging a growth rate of 8.5 per cent in the preceding three years. But the fact is that part of this increase is statistical because of the increased coverage and inclusion of output of the smaller sector. Besides several industries are sick, have unused capacity and are locking up huge funds.

The RBI report points out "the Indian textile industry has achieved the dubious distinction of crossing Rs. 1,000 crore mark in locked up funds in sick units. The next highest quantum of fund, totalling Rs. 788 crore, has been frozen in 175 units in the engineering and electrical industry at June end 1986; the jute industry has 43 sick units with an outstanding bank credit of Rs. 160 crore as in June 1986, the iron and steel industry has 38 sick units with an outstanding bank credit of Rs. 166 crore as in June 1986."

This should dispel all complacency about the industrial situation spread by Rajiv's claim, and the propaganda by his cabinet colleagues. Criticising these claims, an editorial of *The Economic Times* says :

"The machinery producers are not exactly hopeful about prospects of growth and profitability. In contrast to the boom in the last few years, the automobile industry looks somewhat subdued. Alongside, the makers of consumer goods are beginning to get worried about rising stocks. No less disconcerting is the possibility of a stagnation in public investment."

This, however, does not mean that the process of concentration of capital and wealth in the hands of a few top monopolists has abated. On the other hand, it has intensified. The Minister of State for Industrial Development told the Lok Sabha in its last session that the assets of 20 top industrial houses in the country increased by 18.7 per cent and 29.5 per cent during 1984 and 1985 respectively over the preceding years. The assets of top monopoly houses increased from Rs. 13,103 crore in 1983 to Rs. 15,488 crore in 1984 and to Rs. 20,136 crore in 1985. Between two years the

assets have increased by more than 50 per cent. One can now understand why the World Bank and foreign banks are praising the Indian government for prudent management of the economy.

The management of the economy by the Congress(I) Central Government has resulted in an inflationary price spiral inflicting destitution and misery on millions of people affected by drought, floods and unemployment. The officially announced increases in the price of coal, sugar, etc., have added to the inflationary process which has been working havoc with the budgets and purchasing power of the common man. The piling up of huge taxation burdens have added to the woes of the people eroding further the demands for many goods.

According to the Central Statistical Organization's survey, as many as 18 cities of India are already in the grip of double digit inflation, which is likely to be the phenomena all over the country soon. The Consumer Price Index for industrial workers has risen from 594 in April 1985 to 691 in April 1987 and further to 750 in October 1987. What this means to the common man at the lowest rung of the economic ladder is seen from the following—pulses have gone up by 15.7 per cent in the first eight months of 1987-88 (last year there was a fall of 10 per cent); edible oils are higher by 30.5 per cent (there was a rise of 28 per cent in the corresponding period of last year), cereals have gone up by 5.8 per cent over a rise of 6.5 per cent last year, and fruits and vegetables have risen by 2.6 per cent over a rise of 22.8 per cent last year.

Along with the rise in prices, the growers of commercial crops like cotton and jute are being ruined because of the encouragement given to the use of synthetic fibres. While the purchase price of cereals rises, the selling price of cotton and jute simultaneously comes down. And the grower of foodgrains also does not get a proper remunerative price.

But there is no end to this process of fleecing the common man and upsetting the market and demand for industrial

products. The government, unable to remedy the inefficiency of the economy, has relied more and more on deficit financing which has broken all records. The Rajiv government which asked the Reserve Bank to stop all payments to the Kerala government for an overdraft of Rs. 25 crore, goes in for thousands of crores of deficit financing to cover its bankruptcy.

The RBI report warns that exports will have to play a major role in the efforts to steady the economy. In view of the faster rise in the imports and absence of export growth in the first year of the 7th Plan, "exports in the subsequent three years would have to rise at a higher rate than the annual rate of 6.8 per cent stipulated in the plan documents". But exports are likely to be adversely affected in view of the economic situation in the advanced capitalist countries as observed by the recent OECD report.

The World Bank in its confidential report, not only suggests privatization of the public sector concerns, but also calls for the devaluation of the rupee to promote exports. The report says that India must devalue the rupee against leading currencies and introduce sweeping changes to boost exports to avoid serious setbacks to economic growth and the balance of payments position.

Devaluation will not only lead to increase in prices, it will also increase the burden of foreign debt service which already claims 20 per cent of the export earnings. More than two decades back Indira Gandhi was forced to devalue the rupee under World Bank pressure. Today the economy is in a worse condition and the government will not be able to resist the pressure for long.

The heavy resort to market borrowings and deficit financing is revealed by the figures in relation to the 7th Plan. Market borrowings in the first three years of the plan are estimated at Rs. 23,000 crore as against the plan target of Rs. 30,000 crore. The deficit finance target of Rs. 14,000 crore has already been exceeded by Rs. 4,400 crore.

This raises the question whether the 7th Plan will have

a holiday for want of resources to finance it. If that happens and public investment is curtailed it will lead to serious disturbances in the economy. The government, therefore, will be forced to continue the rake's progress more and more, resorting to deficit financing, mortgaging the economy to those who have money to spare, mortgaging the fate of the poor to those who have accumulated money power.

Not that no remedy is there. One reason for the crunch in resources is the inability of many public sector units to contribute their share to the financing of the plan. It is of course not true that they are contributing nothing. They are contributing hundreds of crores of rupees through excise, taxations, etc. Yet it is true that many concerns could be run more efficiently and made to contribute much more to finance the plan. This can be done if the government trusts the working class and introduces a scheme of workers' participation in management based on equal rights and authority for both managers and workers. The workers, together with officers, if allowed equal authority, can increase the efficiency of the public sector. But the government relying on the bureaucracy, is opposed to the introduction of any genuine scheme of workers' participation. It announces fake schemes for international consumption.

Instead of taking this step, Rajiv Gandhi from time to time indicts the public sector and virtually demands its liquidation. When he faces public reaction to his tirade, he again assures the people that the public sector will continue to play its role and assume commanding heights in the economy. He is only preparing the people to absorb the shock of privatization of the public sector.

The World Bank is increasingly pressuring the government to liquidate the public sector. The Bank knows that the Indian economy is not in a position to reject its pressure and demands at present. In fact Rajiv Gandhi, in his recent tirade, was only voicing the Bank demand for the liquidation of the public sector, posing as a defender of the poor and have-nots. The latest confidential report of the Bank on

the steel industry urges partial privatization for the public sector steel industry, in the name of restoring the health of steel mills in the public sector. The Bank report calls for willingness on the part of the government to hand over management responsibility to a private group for a substantially less than 50 per cent share ownership by the private firm. The shrewd bankers, however, understand that such direct privatization may not be immediately possible and therefore caution that the political climate is not ripe for such a move even for the present government "which is far more market-oriented than any of its predecessors".

Rajiv and others are in the meanwhile to prepare the country for this grave treacherous event by denigrating the public sector among the people. The latest advice of the World Bank shows that it has now started intervening in the conduct of individual industries, the beginning of the process of taking over.

Earlier, the Government of India had already decided to foist a consultative agency managed by NRI firms on the public sector concerns. This is one step short of directly asking U.S. experts to advise and manage the conduct of the public sector.

Reliance on seeking western expertise and western technical aid is increasing under World Bank pressure. No previous government ever tried to enter into any negotiation with the U.S. in matters concerning defence, equipment and technology, but Rajiv Gandhi did attempt to strike such a deal. His U.S. tour perhaps raised false hopes that the U.S. government would readily transfer high technology for the light combat aircraft. But this is not the end of the tale.

Recently it was reported in the Press that Indian administrative officers and police officials will be sent to America to Harvard University and other places to train themselves in American expertise. From the exposure of the CIA and other agencies, we fully know what American expertise consists of. It is based on evasion of constitutional laws, cheating the elected authorities, and lack of confidence in the people,

all of whom are treated as enemies of the social order and administration. The training schools for these Indian administrators in the USA will be nurseries for training an anti-democratic, anti-people administration.

Another dangerous programme is being hatched in consultation with the same Harvard University so that American expertise can penetrate all-India central and defence services as well as executives of public sector and private sector organizations. This intensive 15-months' programme is sponsored by the Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievance and Pensions, and is called the National Management Programme. This is one more step to put the public sector concerns under American expertise.

In the meanwhile the process of facilitating the entry of foreign capital at the expense of indigenous concerns and technology continues, now under the excuse that the government and its departments and concerns have no finances. The bankruptcy of the government to finance even ordinary expenditure, is now used by foreign multinationals to capture Indian contracts and projects.

The following from a well-known daily is significant :

"Indigenous technology is being sidetracked in favour of foreign multinationals in the 200 crore rupees modernization programme. The National Airport Authority of India (NAAI) has point-blank refused to offer to an Indian consortium of public sector undertakings to update the Delhi and Bombay airports, on the plea that it does not have finances for the project. The authorities have stated that foreign companies are prepared to supply both the equipments and money for the modernization of the programme."

The Department of Electronics opposes the deal. But the NAAI has grasped the spirit of Rajiv's policy and understood the government's financial difficulties and it will succeed in carrying through the deal.

The multinationals are given special facilities as shown by the deal with the International Bata Company. "Foreign tie-up by large companies like Bata and Carona are attractive

for the export potential they offer. In this connection it is indeed surprising that export obligation of five per cent on Bata, a multinational, is likely to be reduced to 2.5 per cent."

The ONGC deal with the Canadian company tells the same tale. The Canadian company has bagged a contract for exploration and exploitation of oil in the Krishna-Godavari basin. The terms of agreement say that if oil is discovered the ONGC will have an option to participate in the discovery to the extent of 40 per cent and receive its corresponding share. The company will share crude oil with the government after it has recovered its cost. The oil produced will be sold to the government on international prices.

These facts reveal how the perilous condition of the economy is forcing the government to yield more and more to the World Bank and multinationals' pressure, and endanger the self-reliance and independence of our economy. This is the most dangerous aspect of the present crisis of the economy.

Faced with the critical economic situation, to divert attention from the inevitable additional burdens on the people, the Rajiv government is again talking about strengthening the anti-poverty programmes. These programmes are often a prelude to widespread attack on some sections while they hold alluring prospects to others. The cabinet at Sariska has decided to adopt this device. First, it calls upon the state governments not to resort to populist measures, that is, not to adopt welfare measures, unemployment benefits, etc., so as not to disrupt the process of resource mobilization.

Secondly, the question of food subsidies was discussed and it was agreed that they should be limited so as not to cause an adverse impact on resource mobilization. The meaning is clear, and the sections affected also can be seen. In addition, there is the usual talk about controlling non-plan expenditure, which mostly means curtailing DA, allowances, salaries and wages of Central Government and state government employees and others. These are the expenditures to be curtailed.

To placate the rural masses and prepare for the elections the anti-poverty programme is to be resurrected. Though there is some mention of land reforms, the Congress(I) has no will for it and for land distribution, considering that it cannot win elections in the rural areas without the support of the landlords.

The Congress promise of land reforms does not attract the rural mass any more. Therefore, a new slogan is to be given. Now there is a promise of housing for all, and a Bill is on the anvil to deceive the people. There is no doubt that housing conditions have deteriorated in the last few years and there is dearth of rural and urban housing alike. The Congress(I) seeks to catch the people's eye and vote, by holding out the prospect of better housing. The Congress(I) may announce a new job scheme and also increase in reservation percentage, taking the wind out of the sails of those who are only concentrating on reservation.

It will, however, be wrong to belittle the effect of Congress(I) promises and ignore them in the fight against Rajiv's government. While revealing the truth about these promises, the Left and democratic forces must popularise the concrete demands raised at the December 9 rally and mobilize the people around them. Those Opposition parties who ignore these issues will be doing harm to themselves, and rendering an indirect service to the Congress(I). The present struggle is a gigantic battle for uniting people irrespective of caste and religion, and not simply an occasion for appealing to a section of the people. This should not be forgotten.

National Political Situation

The five months since our last meeting in August 1987, are full of initiatives by our Party and Left forces in national developments and their positive intervention to turn the developing popular discontent against the Congress(I) policies to the advantage of the democratic forces, preventing its diversion into reactionary and divisive channels. The picture today is very different from that facing us at the last meeting.

The August Political Report observed in this connection :

“The preceding four months revealed the difference between the approach of the Opposition parties and the CPI(M) and Left parties on the immediate questions of importance. These months were full of spontaneous and organized mass agitations, angry actions of the basic masses against the misdeeds of Rajiv government, and the ruinous consequences of its economic policy. They witnessed cruel firing on agitating farmers and massacres of peasants and agricultural workers in Bihar, big strikes of employees and workers, agitations of students and youth, and a growing powerful movement against feudal inequalities and atrocities.

“Simultaneously, as if to counter the growing activities of the masses, there were some gruesome communal riots, the Meerut, Ahmedabad and Maliana massacres, oppression of minorities in Assam, and wild attacks against Nepali-speaking citizens in some north-eastern states. Lurking behind all these agitations was the hand of imperialism to unleash disintegrating forces. But the bourgeois Opposition parties and the Press devoted almost exclusive attention to corruption. It gave some importance to communal riots but, for the rest, it concealed the growing reality from the people.

“On the other hand, the CPI(M) and the Left parties while fighting the battle against corruption in the forum of Parliament, never forgot that mass activities alone can change the existing reality. They did not confine themselves only to parliamentary activities or corruption, but joined the masses where they were fighting.”

There was a tendency to underestimate the importance of mass struggle and fasten attention on the parliamentary exposure of corruption. The Party warned against it and took initiative through a number of mass agitations to develop mass action.

Unprecedented Initiative by Party and Left Forces

The last five months of the Party's activities are full of initiative in this direction, the development of the initiative

of the mass organizations and putting before the vast sections of the fighting masses, the political understanding of the Party, the unvarnished truth of the present-day political reality. While mobilizing the masses against the policy of the Rajiv government, the Party in cooperation with Left forces simultaneously exposed and opposed the communal forces represented by Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communalism, and the political parties spreading the communal poison, like the BJP, Muslim League, and focussed before the people the task of defending national unity. Never before since independence was there such a massive appeal and mobilization by the Left forces headed by our Party to fight communal and divisive forces and link the fight for national unity with people's fight for democratic advance and expansion of democratic rights for better living conditions. Linking the demands for democratic advance with national unity, the Party and the Left forces demand immediate resignation of Rajiv Gandhi. This was something qualitatively different from the demand for resignation on the Bofors issue. This is the change that has been introduced in the political situation by the activities of the Party and the united Left forces.

During the last few months the CPI(M) and the Left forces have emerged as the most consistent champion of national unity and made a deep impression on the patriotic forces concerned with the growing attacks of divisive agencies. The bourgeois parties are afraid of calling a spade of spade. Their vacillations in the fight against communalism, especially Hindu communalism, are well known and make them incapable of consistently leading the fight for national unity.

Struggle between Two Lines

These months, therefore, saw a sharpened conflict between the two lines—the line of combining with communal forces and parties which oppose Rajiv, and the line of opposing Rajiv with the combination of Left parties and secular

Opposition parties and isolating the communal forces. The initiative of the Left forces, the sharpening reaction among patriotic sections against communal and divisive forces and the consistent fight of the CPI(M) and Left against communal forces led to some rethinking among those who thought only of electoral alliances and saw nothing wrong in joining with the BJP.

All this led to a certain isolation of the BJP and the communal forces which had launched an offensive against our Party during the Presidential election campaign, charging us with acting at the behest of the CPSU to protect the Rajiv government. The BJP which earlier covered its antagonism towards class issues and Communists by raising anti-Congress slogans, had now to come out openly against the Communists and directly reveal its anti-democratic class character. The BJP's frustration and anger are easy to understand. At Surajkund it organized a coup against the Left forces with the help of Devi Lal, and was able to gather all Opposition parties hoping to form a front with them and isolate the Left. But the coup failed. Alliance with the BJP brought ridicule on Devi Lal. The gathering could not appoint a viable committee to implement the decisions taken. In the end the three Chief Ministers of Haryana, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh were asked to function as the committee. One of the Chief Ministers declared that he was not aware of the formation of the committee and had gone to Surajkund only in his individual capacity. The attempt to form an anti-Left front in the name of an all-embracing front to defeat Rajiv Gandhi failed. In fact it was an attempt to form a rightist conservative front against Rajiv.

This happened because other forces were at work. Nationalist and patriotic opinion was taking a firm stand against communal forces. The Opposition parties which had gone to Surajkund started realizing this and therefore were not willing to make a firm commitment for an understanding with the BJP. Some participants could see the lack of mass drive and punch behind the combination, because of lack of Left

support. The more shrewd among them could realize that it would be easy for Rajiv and the Congress(I) to describe the combination as a rightist offensive.

The independent activity of the CPI(M) and the Left forces which were wedded to a principled programme and action sharpened the understanding. The Left parties unitedly decided to boycott the Surajkund show with its BJP-Chandraswami dip in the holy lake. Its united stand deflated the importance of the meeting and this was expressed in the way the Press ridiculed its claim to represent progressive forces.

On the same day as the Surajkund meeting there was a huge DYFI/SFI rally in the capital. Youth from all parts of India gathered in the rally to voice their demands. Their demands and their denunciation of the divisive forces, backed by the record of fighting these forces in Punjab, Darjeeling and Assam at the cost of many precious lives, stood in sharp contrast with the Surajkund confabulations in collaboration with the RSS party.

The ground was being prepared in the earlier months by growing mass struggles.

The Political Resolution passed by the Central Committee in August last had noted this and called upon all Party units to identify themselves with the developing mass struggles. The Resolution said :

“The CPI(M) calls upon all Left and democratic forces, and all those opposed to the policy of the Congress(I), to understand the great significance of the mass struggles developing all over the country in different forms and different shapes. To coordinate and centralize these struggles, to decisively lead them, to develop a common political consciousness for them, constitutes an urgent and immediate task of all those who want to see the end of the Rajiv regime. The CPI(M) calls upon all its units and Party members to identify themselves with the spontaneous movement of the masses which is far wider than the organized movement of protests.”

Independent Actions

It is in this period of rising spontaneous discontent that the Party undertook several actions through its mass organizations, that the Left forces united to give massive expression to this discontent resulting in a tremendous rally of masses around the Left appeal. The independent actions of the CPI(M) and the Left forces consist of : the mighty Jail Bharo movement organized by the AIKS and the AIAWU; the massive all-India rally of the DYFI/SFI; the anti-communal conference in Delhi; the huge Left parties' demonstration in Nagpur on November 12; the human chain organized in Kerala involving millions of people; the massive mobilizations in West Bengal and Kerala on several policy issues and in repudiation of the slanders spread by Congress(I); the mobilization of masses in Tripura against Congress(I) goondaism and attempts to bribe the electorate through the Loan Melas; the agitation in UP of the Krantikari Morcha consisting of several parties; the innumerable strikes, agitations and conferences organized by the CITU and the united actions of the NCC; the agitations of the SFI, DYFI and AIDWA; and finally the unprecedented mobilization throughout the country for more than three weeks in preparation for the historic December 9 rally in New Delhi.

The rally was the fruit of the united efforts of all Left parties and their mass organizations, prominently the mass organizations of the CPI(M) and the CPI. The preparatory *jathas* churned the large rural areas of India for three weeks, with millions listening to the demands for resignation of Rajiv Gandhi and the other urgent demands, right to work, national unity, remunerative prices, women's rights, etc. The rally on December 9 was an unprecedented one, not because of its numbers only, but also because of its political content and the fact that it was a miniature representation of all sections that are components of the people's democratic front, and also because it demonstrated the capacity of the Left parties to rally the mass in support of its platform of action. While the bourgeois Opposition parties were only harping

on Bofors and other corruption issues, while they were unwilling to take the challenge of communalism especially Hindu communalism—the RSS and the BJP—the Party and its mass organizations were in the field taking vital issues concerning the masses and putting before them the great importance of raising a continuous fight against the divisive forces. The opposition to Rajiv's policies and the demand for resignation were combined with defence of national unity. The pace was already set by the sacrifices of our comrades in Punjab, martyrs from both the CPI(M) and CPI, the sacrifices of our comrades in Assam and Darjeeling which gave the Left an exceptional place in the fight for national unity.

Magnificent “Human Chain” for Unity

A new record was established by the DYFI on the 40th anniversary of Independence Day. The DYFI in Kerala organized on that day a *Human Chain* extending nearly 700 kms in defence of national unity. One million pairs of hands stood together in defence of national unity in the state of Kerala where communal politics runs rampant. Old freedom fighters, poets, novelists, intellectuals, all were deeply impressed by this determination to defend national unity. It served to expose the mean pedestal on which the politics of Congress(I) and its allies stood. At the same time it opened the eyes of the Opposition parties.

Biggest-Ever Peasant Action

The *Jail Bharo* programme of the AIKS and the AIAWU was another step to rouse the masses to our platform. The decision to launch a struggle on the basis of peasants' demands was jointly taken by the Central Council of the AIKS and the Working Committee of the AIAWU. This is the biggest joint demonstration of the two sections ever held in India. The preparations for this struggle started from May 1987 and the mass of peasant and agricultural workers were approached through hundreds of meetings and conventions.

It was estimated at first that one and a half million peasants

and agricultural workers would participate in the movement. The call coincided with the wide spontaneous upsurge among the masses noted by the Central Committee in its August Resolution, and the estimate of participation proved to be wrong. In the course of the week 3.85 million peasants and agricultural workers participated in the struggle, using different forms of protests such as demonstrations, dharnas and satyagraha. The number of participants in West Bengal reached 30 lakhs, in Kerala 1.50 lakhs, Andhra Pradesh distinguished itself by the participation of 3.28 lakh agricultural workers and peasants, including 60,000 women. Tens of thousands from many other states participated in the demonstrations and satyagraha from 25 districts of UP, more than 50,000 courted and half of them were arrested. Never before had the AIKS and the AIAWU succeeded in mobilizing such huge numbers in so many states. The grand protest of the peasantry and agricultural workers was blacked out by the bourgeois Press. The government knew that the masses were in action and the CPI(M) was heading them.

The significance of this mobilization could not win the attention of the political parties which were in the field of cashing in on the discontent arising from the corruption scandals of the Rajiv government, but afraid of touching the issues concerning the peasantry for fear of offending the rural vested interests and landlords.

It should be noted that the campaign was not confined to the immediate demands. Besides exposure of the corruption scandals, the demonstrators exposed the game of the separatist and divisive forces to disrupt the movement of peasants and agricultural workers. They called for unity and common understanding between the agricultural workers', peasants' and workers' organizations to oust the Congress(I) from power and defend national unity.

Surajkund Manoeuvre Fails

While lakhs of peasants and agricultural workers were getting prepared to challenge the anti-people policies of the Rajiv

government and demand his immediate resignation and a mid-term election, while the CPI(M) and the Left forces were activating the masses to mobilize their full strength to defeat Rajiv's policies and isolate the disruptive forces, the BJP was manoeuvring to get several parties in its net and create a breach between the CPI(M) and Left parties and Opposition secular parties. It inveigled Devi Lal who called a meeting of Opposition parties which included the BJP and the notorious UAD, supporters of Khalistani aspirations. The CPI(M) and the Left parties refused to join this reactionary combination which was supposed to lead the fight against the Rajiv government. Unfortunately all bourgeois Opposition parties fell victim to this manoeuvre which seemed to succeed with the participation of the Janata, V.P. Singh, Congress(S), Telugu Desam, etc., and the combination talked of defending national unity in cooperation with the BJP and the UAD.

The double talk of the meeting could be seen from the following resolution that it passed :

"Today thus the unity and integrity of India are in danger as never before since independence. The year 1986-87 will also be remembered for the worst ever communal and caste riots in living memory. Hundreds of innocent lives have been lost in Meerut. Gandhiji's Gujarat has been in the throes of communal conflict for a long time. In Bihar, every now and then there is a brutal and bloody casteist carnage."

And the sponsors of the resolution were going to defend national unity and fight riots with the aid of the communal BJP, RSS and the notorious UAD. The utter hypocrisy of this claim was seen by the Press representatives who ridiculed Devi Lal and others who addressed them. The other parties soon realized the incongruous and embarrassing position and staged a retreat virtually disassociating themselves from the alliance.

The importance of fighting communal forces was more and more being recognized by wider circles which also desired an end to the Rajiv regime. Many in the Congress(I) also were awakening to the danger posed by the communal forces. The Left forces and Left parties were in the forefront

combining the fight against Rajiv Gandhi with the fight for isolating the communal forces.

The contrast between the outlook of the Left and the CPI(M), on the one hand and the other Opposition parties, was demonstrated on the same day as the Surajkund meeting, when the SFI/DYFI held a magnificent rally of more than a lakh of people in New Delhi on September 23. The two months' long campaign across the length and breadth of the country, culminated in the biggest ever demonstration of the youth and students held in New Delhi. Attempts were made by officialdom to stop the youth from reaching Delhi. But the march could not be prevented and the flow could not be restricted. The rally condemned the economic policy of the Rajiv Gandhi government, focussed attention on the problem of unemployment, demanded jobs and education for all and further said communal polarization in the recent past had reached dangerous and tragic proportions. The government was surrendering before the anti-national divisive forces.

The resolution of the rally said :

"The all-round difficulties that confront us today cannot be tackled by the people if the Rajiv government stays in power. Therefore in the best interests of the people and the country, this rally reflecting the indignation of our countrymen, demands the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi and the holding of mid-term elections. Only a fresh mandate will give the people a chance to squarely face the challenges and elect a government which can reverse growing unemployment, curtailment of education, attacks on unity and democracy, and growing corruption in high places. This rally pledges to carry forward this struggle in mobilizing millions of young men and women in this battle of facing the challenges to the country and ushering in a situation where jobs for all and education for all will be the concrete reality."

Firm Stand against Communalism and Separatism

The National Convention against Communalism and Separatism called by the Left parties and a number of prominent

patriotic individuals in October gave a rebuff to BJP and its allies, and called upon secular Opposition parties to understand the developing reality and the grave danger of national disintegration. During all these days when our Party was engaged in its independent mass activities, it kept in constant touch with the Left parties. The decision not to participate in the Surajkund Mela was taken unanimously at a meeting of the Left parties. The parties also took a decision to call a national convention against communalism under their auspices and invited the cooperation of patriotic individuals. The step was considered necessary to mobilize the patriotic anti-communal forces and also to overcome the vacillations of those who were taking a dubious position towards the BJP and the RSS, i.e., those who were prepared to turn a blind eye to the machinations and the disruptive activities of Hindu communalism.

The convention was a big success. It drew attention from all over India. It was prominently featured in the Press and served the immediate objective. Here, under the sponsorship of Left parties there was no attempt to cover up the BJP. The Declaration of the convention moved by Comrade Jyoti Basu said :

“Never since independence has this nation been confronted with such a grave threat to its unity and integrity as it is today. Secular and democratic values are in peril. The forces of communalism and separatism have been on the rampage and religious fundamentalism has launched vicious attacks on the great traditions of secularism and democracy that have come down to us from our struggle for independence.

“Communalism has reached a dangerous stage. The very basis of our secular Constitution is being subverted. The RSS-BJP’s new front organization, the Viswa Hindu Parishad, is demanding that India be declared a Hindu state, and that minorities should adjust themselves to such a condition. The Jamait-e-Islami is demanding an independent theocratic state. The forces of Sikh fundamentalism have openly come out with the slogan of a separate Khalistan. In such a situation the struggle against the forces of communalism and casteism

and separatism which is necessary not only to build the unity of the democratic masses but also to defend the unity of the country has become an integral part of the fight against the present government whose policies have been a contributory factor in the growth of these forces."

The representatives of the Congress(S), Jan Morcha, TDP, H.N. Bahuguna (Lok Dal-B), Brahm Prakash (Janata) and others participated in the convention and endorsed the Declaration. The prominent leaders of public opinion in Delhi and elsewhere lent their full support to it. There were some who would have liked not to mention the BJP, but they could not withdraw their support. The convention was a big political step to isolate the BJP and its friends, a step in the direction of bringing together secular Opposition parties and Left parties.

In these months, the Krantikari Morcha of UP was organizing big mass meetings all over the state. The Morcha consists of the Janata, Congress(S), Lok Dal(B) led by Mulayam Singh, and Left parties. The BJP and communal parties have no place in it. In October it held a meeting in Lucknow which was considered to be the biggest meeting in the city in recent times. It was addressed by H.N. Bahuguna, president of Lok Dal(B), Chandrasekhar, Janata president, EMS, Surjeet, and others.

Throughout this period the CITU, its trade unions and federations were holding conferences/conventions and agitations in all of which, apart from the immediate issues, the importance of the fight for national unity, the fight against divisive forces was stressed and the demand for Rajiv's resignation was raised. Inspired by the sacrifices of the comrades in Punjab, Assam and Darjeeling, the working class under the CITU was carrying forward the battle against divisive forces and demanding the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi. The Working Committee of the CITU which met in Chandigarh at the beginning of December, the conferences of the Electricity Workers' Federation of India (EEFI), the All India Conference of the Coal Workers Federation, all raised these important demands. The huge rally at Chandigarh at the

time of the meeting of the CITU Working Committee, spoke of the success we have secured in maintaining class unity in Punjab and fighting communalism.

The Left parties meeting decided on further action after the anti-communal convention. It decided to have a demonstration and huge morcha of Left parties in Nagpur, during the Maharashtra Assembly session in November. It turned out to be a huge rally, the biggest organized by the four Left parties in the state. Comrade Surjeet addressed the rally. For years the state had not seen such big joint activity. It again served to emphasize the independent strength of the Left and its position among the people. This demonstration, besides, was essential because reactionary forces were also organizing their demonstration during the Assembly session. The Maratha caste organizations had planned a protest against the publication of Ambedkar's book containing remarks on the *Ramayana*, etc. Our demonstration on political and economic demands and its strength acted as a rebuff to the reactionaries.

In Kerala, West Bengal and Tripura, our Party was locked in a continuous battle against Congress(I) slander machinations, conspiracies and murder campaigns. In Kerala there was a direct fight against the Congress(I) with its communal allies. In Tripura, there was a direct fight against TNV forces supported by the TUJS which was in alliance with the Congress(I).

Historic December 9 Rally

Recognizing the growing response of the people, the Left parties decided to organize a huge rally of the masses following all their mass organizations. The decision was taken to draw in mass organizations for organizing *jathas* to march to Delhi. A charter of demands was framed and it included the demand for immediate resignation of Rajiv Gandhi and fresh elections. The marchers were to start from all state capitals and pass through the rural areas propagating the demands. The main reliance for the Delhi rally was placed on mobilization from the Hindi-speaking areas.

The unprecedented campaign churned the rural areas and led to tremendous mass enthusiasm. The united call of the Left parties, especially of the CPI(M) and the CPI, had a special appeal, activizing large sections who hitherto were perhaps only sympathetic. And this wide response to class demands, along with demand for Rajiv's resignation, had a salutary effect on the bourgeois Opposition parties, which had earlier seen the Bofors and Fairfax scandals as the only weapon with which to fight the Rajiv government.

The unprecedented rally, estimated at a million, a rally of poor men and women, from Adivasi, Harijan, Muslim peasants and agricultural workers, women, students, youth and industrial workers, took the capital by storm. The demonstrators carried the banner for defending national unity, along with banners announcing other demands—jobs for all, remunerative prices, equal treatment for women, resignation of Rajiv Gandhi.

It was the biggest demonstration the capital had seen in defence of national unity, in defence of the rights of the people. It was the biggest demonstration the country had seen demanding the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi.

The government, the Press, all political parties had to recognize the unique character of the demonstration, its political importance in the present situation and, above all, the strength of the Left parties. It virtually became an announcement that the Left had become a vital force in the country's politics, and all-India issues concerning elections or mass agitations could not be solved without the cooperation of the Left. It was also an announcement that forces from among the people were rising to accept the challenge of communalism and divisive forces, and those compromising with them would be compromising their integrity in the eyes of the people. It was also a warning to the Congress(I) that it had to face growingly the challenge of the grass-root masses, and not of those who only spoke in their name but in reality evaded issues concerning them.

The Left parties and their mass organizations gave a united

call at the rally to organize a complete Bharat Bandh in support of their demands, including the demand of the immediate resignation of the Rajiv Gandhi government and holding of fresh elections. The date was to be decided in consultation with the Opposition secular parties. The stage was thus set for bringing in the widest sections of the masses in the fight for fresh elections for the ousting of Rajiv Gandhi.

This demonstration of the independent strength of the Left forces was bound to affect the political understanding of a number of Opposition parties. Their former vacillations between the BJP and the Left and their ambivalent attitude, their refusal to condemn the BJP openly, all were bound to be affected, and this did happen. In fact, after our earlier movement, the process had already started. The Surajkund boycott by the Left forces had already put them in an embarrassing position.

It cannot be said that all these are firm commitments and that there will be no vacillations, no opportunist combinations in future. Bourgeois politics is bourgeois politics, after all. But there is no doubt that through our independent mass actions, the demonstration of Left strength, we have created a favourable basis for the advance of the democratic movement in the struggle against the Rajiv government; that we have for the present foiled the effort of the BJP to smuggle itself into the Opposition camp, and checked the inclination of the bourgeois Opposition parties to ignore the challenge of Hindu communalism. In the struggle of the two alternative alliances, we have secured some success, and the importance of the success must be understood.

RSS Exposed

Obviously the BJP feels defeated and has opened an offensive against the CPI(M) and the Communists. It has now come out openly saying that it will fight the Communists with the same zeal that it is fighting the Rajiv government. It has further said that all its efforts are directed towards ensuring that the Left forces do not get any influence in

shaping Central Government policies. In fact, earlier, the RSS, which is the real force behind the BJP, had made an offer to the Congress for an understanding and virtual alliance. The statement of RSS chief Balasaheb Deoras that there is no alternative to the Rajiv Gandhi government, was not just an innocent expression to describe the present situation, but an effort to seek some kind of understanding with the Congress(I), in view of its likely exclusion from the secular Opposition parties allying with the Left. In earlier years also the RSS had made similar offer to the Congress. Perhaps this time the RSS chief thought that the time was more propitious, because of the inclination of the Congress(I) party to carry favour with orthodox Hindu sentiments, as is seen in connection with Ramjanmabhoomi episode. The claim of the BJP to be an inveterate fighter against the Congress(I) is thus exposed.

Battle of the Two Lines

In the struggle for Rajiv's resignation, against the policies of the Rajiv government, the battle of the two lines must continue—the line of Opposition unity without any reference to the fight against divisive, communal and separatist forces, and the line of unity of the Left and Opposition secular forces to fight Rajiv and isolate the communal and divisive forces. The independent activity of our Party and the Left forces among the masses must increase many-fold, so that our aim of an understanding with the secular Opposition parties is achieved. Any relaxation of our independent activity, giving exclusive importance to broader activity, will prove suicidal. At the same time the Left forces must always seek to have outlets for broad political activities with Opposition parties whose influence cannot be underestimated. We must remember that the main mass of the Indian people is still divided among the various bourgeois-landlord parties, and therefore the importance of broader political activity in the fight against the Congress(I) misrule cannot be underestimated. But it would be wrong to restrain our mass

activity and tailor it to the restricted requirements of the bourgeois parties.

It is because of all these considerations that we have decided to organize the Bharat Bandh in cooperation with all secular Opposition parties. The date was not fixed at the December 9 rally in order to have consultations with the other Opposition parties. If all the Opposition parties agree to organize the Bandh along with us, on the basis of agreed demands, it will be a significant, even a decisive, contribution to the success of the struggle for Rajiv's resignation.

Conference of Chief Ministers

The meeting of Chief Ministers called by Jyoti Basu on December 15 at Calcutta was an important step to mobilize a number of Opposition parties on the question of Centre-state relations, the Finance Commission's terms of reference and the Sarkaria Commission report. The agreement reached there served to emphasize the common understanding of a number of non-Congress(I) ministries on the question of increased financial resources for the states, more autonomy for state governments and resistance to the Centre's growing encroachments on the powers of the states.

Our Party has consistently championed the demand for states' autonomy and more powers for states, and raised its voice against the growing concentration of powers in the hands of the Centre. Our viewpoint slowly began to be accepted by others who understood the harm done by increased powers in the hands of the Central Government. The formation of a number of non-Congress(I) ministries sharply posed the question of Centre-state relations as a question of democratic advance and unity of the Indian people. It also brought to public view the open discrimination practised by the Centre against the Left Front governments. The Srinagar Conference succeeded in developing a common understanding among all representatives of non-Congress(I) ministries. The conference called by Comrade Jyoti Basu carries forward this understanding, consolidates the forces of Opposition unity

and helps forward common activity of the Opposition and Left parties in the struggle for Rajiv's resignation.

It should be realized in this connection that the last five months have witnessed a new offensive by the Congress(I) party and the Central Government against the non-Congress(I) ministries. The more the united movement of the Left and secular Opposition parties gets hold of the people, the more the Congress(I) party and the government seeks to attack and denigrate the Opposition ministries. Shri Hegde, the Chief Minister of Karnataka, had to strongly protest against Rajiv Gandhi's untruthful propaganda directed towards undermining his personal integrity.

Untruthful statements and lies have become a common stock of Congress(I) propaganda in non-Congress(I) ruled states. A number of Central Congress(I) ministers accused Andhra Chief Minister of anti-national activities during the Zilla Parishad elections in Andhra. Later on Rajiv Gandhi came out with a statement threatening the dissolution of 'anti-national' state governments. The Congress(I) party in all these states raises all kinds of issues to confuse the public, disregarding all truths and facts.

Venomous Attack against the Left-led Governments

The venom of propaganda is concentrated on the three Left Front-ruled states. In Kerala, the communal and Congress(I) alliance backed by the BJP, the RSS and by the vitriolic Press, uses every excuse and every event to rouse sectional and communal feelings against the Left Front government. Every time the Left parties have to fully mobilize the people to beat back these attacks. The ruling party and the Central Government used the Reserve Bank of India mechanism to stop payments to the Kerala state government account under the plea of overdraft. This was nothing but a discriminatory measure deliberately taken not only to create difficulties for the Left Front government but also to rouse communal feelings among the Christian employees who were in need of their salaries on the eve of Christmas. Besides, the fact was

that this overdraft was caused by the actions and misdeeds of the earlier Congress(I) ministry, but the Left Front ministry was being penalised for it.

The incident showed that driven to desperation the Rajiv government will use any measure to create a critical situation for a Left-led ministry. In order to organize the state bureaucracy against the state government and instilling in it a loyalty only to the Central Government, Rajiv recently convened a conference of district collectors from various states without even consulting the state governments. Recently there was a proposal that in future all Central planning, and expenditure for that planning, should be done through a district collector which would really place the district collector as the Centre's nominee in the states.

The vicious propaganda against the Left Front ministry of West Bengal surpasses all records. The most wilful distortion of ordinary events is circulated by an obliging Press to defame the government, manifestly defamatory statements are made against CPI(M) leaders and ministers, and a slanderous offensive is launched against them all because the Congress(I) party in West Bengal is incapable of impressing the masses with any honest activity. The Prime Minister, whenever he goes to West Bengal, also repeats these slanders and the Congress(I) leaders mobilize anti-social elements to create a law and order problem. The victory of the Left Front in the Shyampukur by-election is a big rebuff to Congress(I) pretensions. The Left Front deserves congratulation from all Left and oppositional forces.

The situation is worse in Tripura where the Congress(I) party itself is creating a law and order problem by encouraging the TNV activities. In recent times so many houses have been burnt, so many persons have been attacked by Congress(I) followers. Now in view of the coming elections which the Congress(I) knows it will lose, the local Congress(I) unit has taken to widespread disturbances of law and order asking the Central Government to impose President's rule. Simultaneously, in order to be able to win the election they

try to organize Loan Melas advancing money from the nationalized banks to their own people and those who can be tempted to vote for them. Applications of our people not certified by Congress(I) leaders are not entertained. Never before, anywhere, were Loan Melas used for such openly partisan and disgusting operations.

Perhaps the same crude methods were adopted in Karnataka. The Bangalore correspondent of the magazine *Commerce* writes in the December 19 issue :

“The first week of December saw a series of Janata Party sponsored *satyagrahas* in front of nationalized banks in Bangalore to register its case that the Loan Melas had fallen into the hands of Congress(I) ‘*phudaris*’ nominated by Mr. Poojari for the enrolment of beneficiaries, and that in the process large segments of the needy beneficiaries outside the pale of the Congress(I) had been kept out of the accelerated programme of lending to the poor as part of the 20-point economic programme. In the view of the Janata Party, Mr. Poojari, who is also the president of the Karnataka Pradesh Congress(I) Committee, was using the Loan Melas to rehabilitate the electoral prospects of his party in the state where the Congress was ousted from power in the January 1983 state Assembly elections.”

Tripura

The Congress(I) party and the Central Government are playing an extremely provocative and anti-national role in Tripura where their ally, the TUJS, works in close collaboration with the TNV murderers coming from across the Bangladesh border. Instead of fighting these anti-national elements who are demanding expulsion of all Bengalis from Tripura, and who are working at the behest of a foreign agency, the Congress(I) party uses their activities to defame the Left Front ministry of Tripura and demands President's rule. This is nothing but direct support to anti-national insurgency. This degradation of the Congress(I) party in Tripura follows from its opportunism in exploiting anti-national agencies to

get into the ministerial gaddi. The support it gets from Rajiv Gandhi, other Congress(I) leaders and the Central Government, reveals the utter degeneration of the Congress(I) outlook and policies. This is one more instance of the incapacity of the ruling party to tackle the problem of secession.

Tripura is subjected to unscrupulous attacks which will greatly increase in view of the coming elections which the Congress(I) knows it will lose. The intention behind these attacks is to paralyse election activities and create an excuse for Presidential intervention. The Congress(I) even exploits the TNV activity for this purpose. The Tripura election is of crucial importance in the fight between the Left and Opposition forces and the Congress(I). The Congress(I) knows that one more election defeat will immensely strengthen the Left and Opposition forces and will have repercussions all over India. It is therefore determined to prevent a Left victory by all means at its disposal. It is therefore the task and duty of all Left and Opposition forces to expose the Congress(I) game in all states and contribute to the success of the Left Front in Tripura. The Tripura elections have now become an integral part of the big battle against Rajiv Gandhi and it has to be won. Our Party, the Left Front and the people of Tripura should know that the entire strength and Opposition force is backing them. All Party units all over the country must understand the supreme national political importance of the election battle in Tripura and contribute to the success of the Left Front.

Corrupt Extravagance

While the masses are moving towards greater cohesion and coordination in their struggle against the policies of the ruling party, while the Left and a number of Opposition parties are seized with the question of defending and maintaining the endangered national unity, the ruling party shows its complete bankruptcy in facing the critical problems before the country. Its inner unity is getting eroded and day by day it is getting incapable of acting as a united force pursuing

a common policy. It continues its efforts to cover up its corruption scandals and adds new ones in squandering public money. It manipulates its governmental position to obstruct and sabotage democratic processes, and with its growing isolation from the people it seeks compromise with the dark forces of feudal obscurantism, afraid of offending them.

Undeterred by the public indignation against the Bofors and submarine scandals, the Rajiv government continues to spend huge public funds on cabinet meetings at fancy places, on the Prime Minister's holidays with relatives, and if reports are true, on fantastic expenditure on items purchased for the Prime Minister's household. Huge taxes are laid on the people to meet the drought expenditure, the famished people are starved for want of funds and resources, foreign companies are preferred to Indian companies in allotting contracts for government projects, because the government needs credit having no funds. Yet the lavish expenditure of the Prime Minister's tours and establishment continues. His cabinet colleagues do not lag behind.

Accelerated Congress(I) Inner Conflict

The five months since August reveal an accelerated rate of Congress(I) disintegration and intensity of its inner conflicts. The shock given by V.P. Singh taught no lesson to Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress(I) high command. The same dictatorial methods of dealing with inner-party conflicts continue, leading to instability of Congress(I) ministries, lack of cohesion inside the party, and between the all-India and state committees of the Congress(I). Riven by unprincipled dissensions and corruption, the Congress(I) party is unable to hold its organizational elections. For more than a decade now there have been no elections, and at each level the party functions on the basis of dictatorially appointed leaders and committees. No wonder that almost all Congress(I) ministries are at loggerheads with Congress(I) MLAs. Bihar, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, U.P., M.P. are in change of Chief Ministers because of internal dissidence based on no principle

except that of seizing of power and patronage. Such a party is totally unfit to tackle the grave problems facing the nation. No wonder it abuses its governmental power to sabotage democratic process and shy away from the people's verdict by postponing elections as in Delhi, and the by-elections to the Lok Sabha. No wonder it is unable to tackle the secessionist challenge in Punjab, Darjeeling or Tripura.

Sati and Shiv Sena

The conservatism of the Congress(I) party, its refusal to take a frontal stand against religious obscurantism, its lack of courage to fight inhuman practices for fear of offending religious feelings, was seen on the question of the *sati* burning in Rajasthan. The Deorala incident not only branded the relatives of the unfortunate woman as common murderers, it also exposed the Rajasthan Congress(I) government and its ministers as cowards who dared not punish the woman's murderers. The Congress(I) leaders in Rajasthan for a long time took a dubious position and some of them even attempted to glorify the murder as observance of religious practice. But the Congress(I) leaders were not the only culprits. Some local leaders of the Janata, BJP and Lok Dal all shamefully bowed down before the clamour of religious fanatics and tried to glorify the incident. The Janata leader who justified the *sati* incident and glorified it, was not expelled from the party but was allowed to escape with an expression of regret.

Having disgraced itself and having refused to execute the ordinary law against the burning, the Rajasthan government tried to salvage its conscience and its public face by declaring an ordinance prescribing death penalty for all future *sati* burning. Now the Central Government has passed an Act which is condemned by all women's organizations as totally insufficient to meet the needs of the situation. This exposes the secular image of the Congress(I) party.

The Congress(I) party and its leaders bowed down before the indecent exhibition of feudal wealth and pomp displayed

on the occasion of the marriage ceremony of Madhavrao Scindia's daughter. Not one among the doughty and glib champions of socialism in the Congress(I) ranks had the guts to denounce the criminal waste of money and government expenditure when millions are already starving. It is difficult to find words to condemn the callousness of people who can organize such shows and enjoy them when the country is passing through the biggest famine since the end of the 19th century. A Congress leader who made a timid protest was silenced by the host of sycophants, other Congress leaders sought to cover the Railway Minister's misdeeds and Rajiv kept his calculated and deliberate silence.

But there are other exposures also. The Congress(I) ministry in Maharashtra its in, pursuit of cultivating the vote of upper caste Hindus and the major rural caste, decided to censor Dr. Ambedkar's writings and withdraw from publication his critical remarks on Ram and Krishna. This was done under the pressure of the rabid Shiv Sena, the BJP and the Maratha Maha Sangh, the caste organization of the Maratha communalists. This raised a storm among the followers of Ambedkar and the ministry's action was opposed by all progressive forces. The CPI(M) and the CPI protested against this reactionary step and the CPI(M) Polit Bureau issued a statement condemning this surrender to revivalist communal pressure.

On second thoughts, the ministry announced that a final decision was yet to be taken. But this opportunist attitude did not save the Congress(I) from being defeated in the Assembly by-election in Bombay at the hands of the rabid Shiv Sena, whose supporters carried on an open, uninhibited propaganda for Hindu raj and Hindu domination, charging the Congress(I) with pampering the minorities and betraying the Hindus. Not only was the Congress(I) defeated, the Janata Party candidate supported by the BJP was also routed. It seems the Janata candidate and leaders, in reply to the Shiv Sena propaganda, averred that they were genuine Hindus. But how could they match the extremely rabid propaganda of the Shiv Sena?

The BJP's mind was really with the Shiv Sena and the RSS cadre openly voted for the candidate of the Sena. The Congress(I) disgrace in the election will not result in an end of the abetment of opportunism, and the defence of secularism. In fact the party will go deeper into the mire of communal politics, and the RSS and Deoras are making overtures to the Congress(I). Deoras has stated that the RSS is prepared to support any party that stands for the Hindus. It is for the Congress(I) to be eligible for the RSS support.

Another aspect of the Shiv Sena victory in the Ville-Parle election must be grasped. It shows the unscrupulous character of the Congress(I) organization and its leaders. The Shiv Sena victory would not have been possible without the support of a section of Congress(I) men opposed to S.B. Chavan, the Chief Minister. It is this faction which enabled the Shiv Sena to secure a majority in the strategic Bombay corporation a couple of years back. Can such a party be trusted with power anywhere in the states or the Centre?

Thakkar-Natarajan (Fairfax) Commission

The Fairfax commission and its enquiry have become another scandal of the Rajiv regime in addition to bringing into ridicule the institution of the enquiry commission. It cannot be said that the two judges have enhanced the prestige of the institution or enhanced the faith of the people in the independence of the enquiry commission.

In the first place, the important problem of tackling those guilty of FERA violations and export of Indian money was totally evaded. This was done by the appointing authority itself which in fact denigrated the importance of the commission in the eyes of the people. Evading the main issue, the commission concentrated on the question of by whom and how the Fairfax agency was chosen. This was an attempt to find scapegoats to save the Prime Minister and his cabinet. For having denounced Fairfax in unmistakable terms and blaming V.P. Singh for the offence of choosing the agency,

it was necessary for the Prime Minister and the cabinet to plead ignorance and innocence. The commission went out of its way to supply the scapegoats and exonerated the Prime Minister. No one will take the finding of the commission seriously when it arraigns V.P. Singh without giving him a chance to have his say and answer the charge. The explanation given by the commission is absolutely childish and not worth of judges occupying high positions.

The commission has exonerated Rajiv Gandhi from the responsibility for calling a suspicious foreign agency to detect FERA violations. V.P. Singh has pointed out that he informed the Prime Minister about the appointment and that it continued for three months after the Prime Minister took charge of the Finance Ministry. It is clear that the ruling party utilized the machinery of the commission to escape the guilt of its ministry.

At the same time all those who justified the use of such an agency must be criticised. There must be a frank admission that an error of judgement was committed in sanctioning the appointment of this agency. Only those who fail to draw lessons from the public activities of the CIA will continue to treat such questions lightly. As Comrade E.M.S. pointed out in his article in the *People's Democracy* :

"The fact, however, remains that the commission has unravelled a state of affairs in the functioning of the government which should cause concern to everybody who values the security of India. For here is a case in which a sensitive investigation is entrusted to a body whose connection with imperialist espionage agencies is well known. Whatever the immediate objective with which this agency was entrusted with the job of investigation, the result is that this espionage establishment is getting a foothold in the sensitive areas of our political set-up."

The Polit Bureau of the Party had correctly observed in this connection that the commission "reveals a shocking state of affairs that prevails in the Central Government. It denotes a collapse of governmental norms and bankruptcy of an

administration where the bureaucrats can be remote-controlled by big business houses and become prey to foreign agencies. There can be no more damning evidence of the security risks involved in the functioning of the entire government set-up."

Punjab

While the mass movement is rising, the Rajiv government shows its utter incapacity to fight the divisive forces and restore normalcy. The mess that the government has created in Punjab after the dismissal of Barnala government is not being cleared. In a thorough-going opportunist manner the Central Government, advised by the opportunist Governor of Punjab, goes on pinning its hopes on one opportunist after another. Darshan Singh, Badal, one by one it tries to make use of them, and they all without exception, directly or indirectly, encourage the secessionist elements. To cover their surrender before secessionism they all talk of violence by the state and the terrorists. But they never denounce the terrorists as anti-national agents.

There is a total failure on the part of the ruling party to carry on meaningful political propaganda to isolate the Khalistani elements and appeal to the people. In fact there is a total failure on the part of all bourgeois parties to face the task of common appeal for national unity.

The Punjab situation, therefore, shows no sign of coming to normalcy. On the other hand the gurudwaras continue to be occupied by the armed terrorists and the government is forced to look on. This despite the fact that the terrorists no longer draw sympathy from the people, and the acts of murder and violence are born out of desperation to keep themselves alive. This is the proper time for launching a political offensive unitedly by all secular parties. But only the CPI(M) and CPI continue to fight for national unity, and are paying the price. The big rally at Chandigarh on December 3 where thousands gathered, showed how the working class and the trade unions have succeeded in keeping the unity of the

workers and fighting the attack of the secessionists. But the bankruptcy of the Congress(I) stands revealed and the fact is that it cannot take advantage of the present situation, so discredited is its name and such is its loss of credibility. Our Party firmly holds that Punjab can be normalized through a political solution—implementation of the Rajiv-Longowal accord, and political isolation of the Khalistanis.

Darjeeling

Worse is the situation in Darjeeling district with Ghising's followers resorting to unrestricted violence and killings. Ghising was called to have negotiations and was holding parleys with the Home Minister. While the negotiations were on, perhaps to influence them, his followers suddenly took to surprise attacks against the police forces and burning of a number of government establishments. What was new in the situation this time, was that the GNLF followers seem to be armed with sophisticated weapons. The plentiful supply of these weapons is reported to have come from across the border with Nepal. There is no reason to disbelieve this because the only place from which such sophisticated weapons could be supplied is Nepal itself. Remote control mines, other sophisticated weapons were all used in the recent killings. The situation, therefore, has become more serious and critical and the government had to take quick steps to meet it.

Earlier every effort was made to find a reasonable solution with the formation of a hill development authority, provision of ample powers for it and promise of financial aid to ensure that development really takes place. Ghising agreed with these proposals but went back on the agreement due to outside pressure with the result that today the government is face to face with an armed challenge. It is clear, however, that movements of this type cannot be reduced only to a law and order question. Every effort will have to be made, therefore, to isolate extremists from the common people, take political steps to ensure this while taking strict

measures against those who want to enforce secession through armed struggle. This is a matter of common concern not only for the people of Bengal, but for the whole of India and yet the Congress(I) party in Bengal is trying to exploit this issue to blame the Left Front ministry, thereby only helping the secessionist movement.

Strengthen Left Unity

The mass actions of the last five months, the constant consultation among Left parties, the common stand on issues like Surajkund and organization of the anti-communal convention, and finally the close cooperation in organizing the *jathas* and the political success of the December 9 rally, all have deeply strengthened the unity of Left parties and have raised big expectations among the radical-minded people and the masses. Any setback to Left unity is bound to adversely affect the political developments and undermine the prestige of the Left as a united force. It is necessary to further consolidate and strengthen Left unity and assert its growing mass strength among the people.

Differences are bound to arise during the course of joint work. These have to be negotiated. At the same time one must take note of certain harmful trends which may harm the common activities of the Left. There are certain elements which look upon all Opposition parties as reactionaries. They concentrate their fire on the mistakes and opportunism of some of these parties, which only helps the Congress(I). It disrupts the broad understanding in the fight against the Rajiv government and constitutes a special method of rendering service to Rajiv. Without strengthening Left unity, without increasing the strength of the Left forces and of our Party among the masses, we cannot hope to influence national politics in the direction favourable to the common man.

Build Broad Unity of Left and Secular Forces

But at the same time the strength of the united Left forces alone cannot achieve even its immediate objective in the

struggle against the Rajiv government; the secular Opposition parties and their following have a vital role to play in this struggle. All those who underestimate their role in the name of glorifying Left unity only disrupt the common movement.

We must remember the following from the August C.C. report :

"The fight to oust Rajiv Gandhi and secure a new poll requires the broadest understanding and unity of all opposition and secular parties, unity between these and Left and democratic forces. It is a gigantic battle for people's unity against the notorious regime, which should be carried on by all the forces prepared to take a stand against the present regime.

"The CPI(M) and the Left parties will continue to struggle to broaden opposition unity in a principled manner. And at the same time they must realize that the masses will reap the benefit from this struggle to the extent that the Left and democratic forces increase their strength during this course, to the extent that the strength of these forces to influence and shape the political developments increases rapidly."

Work for Democratic Outcome

The developments of the last five months show how the country is in ferment with a widespread upsurge of mass discontent. Face to face with the diverse issues that are raised, the Congress(I) party discloses its opportunism, its compromise with the forces of disruption, its retreat before religious fanaticism, its growing authoritarian conduct towards the people and Opposition parties, and its intensified attack against the Left Front ministries. In this developing upsurge, the forces of extreme reaction, the divisive and communal forces, forces of feudal and religious reaction, backed by imperialist agencies, are trying to push themselves forward exploiting the genuine discontent felt by the people.

Our Party and the Left are working for a democratic

outcome of the struggle—resignation of Rajiv Gandhi and isolation of the communal and pre-imperialist forces. While carrying on the immediate fight against the Rajiv Gandhi government, our Party popularizes all aspects of the struggle, defence of the policy of non-alignment, support to world peace, exposure of imperialist machinations and fight against internal reaction. It is only by remaining vigilant over all aspects of the present struggle that the Party and the Left can hope to guide the wider movement on consistently democratic lines.

Towards Bharat Bandh

The immediate task now is to consolidate the gains of the Left initiative, of the December 9 rally and strengthen Left unity, move forward to wider unity and understanding for united action among the Left and secular Opposition parties and overcome the vacillations of those who still have a soft corner for the BJP. All the energies of the Party and the Left must concentrate on making the December rally's call for Bharat Bandh a complete success, in cooperation with the Opposition parties. Its success will give a new turn to the political situation, a turn in the direction of the interests of the masses and immensely increase the strength of the Left and Opposition parties.

In the coming period, besides, the Party can never forget the all-important task of defending the Left Front ministries now under the intensified attacks of the Congress(I) and the BJP-RSS combine. The attack will be concentrated in Tripura to stall an election verdict against the Congress(I). The Party and the Left forces must consider the election in Tripura as of strategic national importance and do all they can to contribute to its success.

Halt Visits of U.S. Naval Ships*

Statement dated January 11, 1988, issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the Government of India for allowing U.S. naval ships to regularly visit Indian ports. Since 1986, five frigates and three destroyers of the U.S. Navy have visited the Bombay and Cochin ports. This category of naval ships generally carry tactical nuclear weapons. The Government of India has not made any effort to check whether nuclear weapons have been carried on these vessels. These ships have also come to Indian ports for the notorious "rest and recreation" of U.S. sailors.

The Government of India has admitted that U.S. naval ships have been making port calls to Indian ports. In an answer to Samar Mukherjee's question in Parliament in December 1987 the Ministry of Defence revealed that in the year 1987, seven U.S. naval ships visited Indian ports. It is reported in the Press that in the month of December two U.S. naval ships visited Cochin port. Further, the French aircraft carrier "Clemenceau" which normally carries nuclear warheads, also visited Bombay last week.

The Polit Bureau takes serious note of this disturbing development. It may be recalled that in 1986 in Parliament serious concern was expressed at U.S. naval ships visiting Karachi for "rest and recreation" facilities. The then External Affairs Minister had expressed the Indian Government's concern at this development.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 17, 1988.

The Rajiv Gandhi Government had made a serious departure from the long established policy of not granting regular port calls and rest and recreation facilities to the U.S. navy. In view of the nuclear build-up in the U.S. naval base of Diego Garcia and the Indian Ocean, the regular visits of U.S. naval ships to ports on our western coast are a grave threat to our country's independence and sovereignty. The Rajiv Government is responsible for this gross betrayal of national interests. The facilities accorded to the U.S. navy should also be seen in the background of Indian Government's silence and refusal to condemn the U.S. naval build-up in the Gulf area. It has also grave implications in view of the disturbed conditions of Sri Lanka.

The CPI(M) calls upon all patriotic and democratic sections to demand a full explanation from the Indian Government for the circumstances in which U.S. naval ships have been allowed to visit Indian ports. It should explain to the Indian people why, since 1984, host facilities are being given to U.S. naval ships. The CPI(M) denounces this surrender to U.S. imperialist pressure by the Rajiv Gandhi Government. It calls upon all sections of the people to launch vigorous protests to halt the visits of U.S. naval ships to Indian ports.

Polit Bureau on Kerala Local Elections*

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) greets the leaders and activists of the Left Democratic Front for its creditable performance in the recently-held elections to the three Corporations, 43 Municipalities and 999 Panchayats.

The BJP-Hindu Munnani combine which was a participant in the Assembly elections of March 23, had ceased to exist even by June 2 when by-elections had to take place in two constituencies. Though it had nominated candidates earlier and continued to be in the list of candidates for the June by-elections, they were withdrawn and the BJP worked for the UDF candidates. This continued in the just concluded local elections, the UDF having a by-no-means concealed understanding with the BJP.

Anti-Communist Malayalam papers and even the Cochin edition of *Indian Express* had given concrete facts to show how the two anti-Left Fronts of March last had combined to fight their common enemy. Nobody in Kerala would swallow the denial made in Delhi on the eve of the poll, or the claim made by BJP president Advani, that the BJP won a few seats in the Municipalities and a handful of whole Panchayats "fighting against the two adversaries—the UDF and the LDF". It was a pooling together of the entire strength of the UDF-BJP combine.

The Polit Bureau recalls that, in the March Assembly elections, the combined percentage of votes polled by the

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 31, 1988.

UDF was over 43 per cent and the BJP-Hindu Munnani over 6 per cent, while the votes polled by the LDF was 44 per cent. The new combination thus meant over 50 per cent of the votes polled, making it a much bigger force than the LDF. That the LDF could win two of the three Corporations, become the biggest force in the third and emerge as a bigger force in Panchayats shows that if the Congress and the BJP had not decided to pool their forces, they would have faced a far bigger reverse than in the Assembly elections. It goes to the credit of the LDF that the challenge was met.

It is irrational to compare the elections results of 1979 and the present one, as is attempted by some commentators. For the 1979 elections were taking place at a time when then UDF (which included the CPI, RSP, the Kerala Congress and the Antony Congress) was disintegrating. Though the UDF and its Government continued, many of its constituents were dissatisfied. The CPI(M) being the biggest force fighting the UDF, was able to make impressive gains because of the confused situation in the UDF.

Today, on the other hand, consolidation has taken place on both sides, all the caste and communal forces led by the Congress on the one side and all the Left and secular forces on the other. The consolidation of the Congress-led UDF and the BJP which was yet to take place at the time of March Assembly elections, has now been completed. Hence the intensity of the struggle out of which the LDF has come out with credit.

The Polit Bureau hopes that the LDF will persevere in the efforts to still further strengthen the struggle.

JCP-CPI(M) Joint Communiqué*

A Japanese Communist Party delegation led by Tetsuzo Fuwa, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee, visited India from January 14 to 20, 1988, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

The JCP delegation held talks with the CPI(M) delegation in a friendly and comradely atmosphere.

The talks were attended from the JCP delegation by Tetsuzo Fuwa, C.C. Vice-Chairman, Hiroshi Tachiki, Standing Presidium member and Chairman of the International Commission; Shoji Niihara, Presidium Member and Vice-Chairman of the International Commission; and Norio Okada, member of the International Commission; from the CPI(M) side, E.M.S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary; Polit Bureau members, B.T. Ranadive, Harkishan Singh Surjeet, Samar Mukherjee, who is also the leader of CPI(M) Parliamentary group, and Prakash Karat, member C.C.

During its stay in India, the JCP delegation visited factories, a village and other places in Calcutta and Midnapore in West Bengal State.

The JCP delegation was warmly received at receptions in Calcutta and Midnapore. The delegation expressed heartfelt thanks for the welcome.

In the talks between the JCP delegation and the CPI(M) delegation both sides explained to each other about the struggles in their respective countries in defence of the interests

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 31, 1988.

of the working class and other toiling people, and their international activities, and exchanged views on some problems of the international situation and of the world Communist movement.

Both sides respectively explained the struggle of the progressive forces in Japan for abrogation of the military alliance with the United States and for a truly independent, non-nuclear, non-aligned and neutral Japan, and the struggle of India's Left forces against the pressures of imperialism attempting to destabilize India by encouraging divisive and separatist forces, and to further strengthen the policy of non-alignment. Both parties confirmed that the essential task in the cause of peace in the world and Asia and the defence of sovereignty of all nations, is to develop solidarity with the struggles of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America against colonialism and neo-colonialism, and to achieve withdrawal of foreign troops and dismantling of foreign military bases from the territory of other countries as well as the dissolution of military blocs.

Both sides hailed the signing of the INF treaty as an effective step towards nuclear disarmament which materialized for the first time the elimination of nuclear weapons, though the treaty deals with only one class of the whole nuclear arsenals. At the same time, in order to get rid of the threat of nuclear war and ensure the security and survival of humanity, it is ever more important to go beyond this agreement and, taking seriously the adverse trends of the pro-nuclear forces, lay siege to and defeat these forces by the international movement and public opinion, so as to make further progress towards the prevention of nuclear war and the elimination of nuclear weapons.

To this end both sides set the elimination of nuclear weapons as a vital task, which is to be linked with the task for positive measures, including opposition to port-calls of nuclear weapons carrying warships, an important issue in the respective countries, and work harder for an international mobilization of ever broader anti-nuclear peace forces.

Both sides confirmed the importance of strict observance of universally accepted principles governing relationships between Communist and Workers' Parties in the world Communist movement : independence, equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Any violation of these principles must be overcome and eliminated. The tendency to praise the reactionary regimes and anti-Communist political parties—disregarding the conditions of the class struggle in these countries—is harmful to the revolutionary movement. Any violation of these principles constitutes deviation from the principles of Scientific Socialism.

The visit of the JCP delegation to India and the talks which were held between our two parties were of great significance in deepening mutual understanding and developing relations between our two parties. Both parties agreed on making efforts for further development of relations of friendship and solidarity between our two parties.

Homage to Frontier Gandhi*

Statement dated January 20, 1988, issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) mourns the passing away of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, a stalwart of the freedom struggle. His immense contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle will always be remembered by the people of the Indian sub-continent. He was a staunch upholder of secular values, who struggled to unite people of all communities and regions into a powerful united movement against imperialism. After independence, he continued to uphold these values in Pakistan for which he had to undergo prolonged persecution and suffering.

The democratic people in India and Pakistan will grieve at the loss of this courageous fighter for emancipation. The Polit Bureau conveys its sincere condolences to his son Wali Khan and other members of his family.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 31, 1988.

On Involving Army in Political Struggle*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated January 30, 1988, recording strong protest

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly condemns the Central Government decision to declare the entire State of Tripura a "disturbed area" on the eve of the elections. The Polit Bureau appeals to all democratic forces in the country to raise their voice of protest against the Prime Minister's attempts to involve the armed forces of the country in the political struggle in Tripura. Such a step, a farce on democratic norms and processes, will be disastrous for our country's democracy. This notification has come immediately after the P.M.'s provocative speech yesterday.

It should be recalled that the Central Government, through its Home Minister, had a few days ago entered into an agreement with the Tripura Government on the joint efforts to contain the TNV menace. The State Government has been earnestly co-operating with the Centre in implementing the agreement. Not even the worst enemies of the State Government can complain of any slackness on its part in implementing the agreement.

The Congress(I) leadership in the State as well as in the Centre, however, found that all their efforts through the continuous propagation of lies, the organization of 'Loan Melas' on the eve of election and other activities, are not yielding the expected results. On the other hand, the people of the State, if allowed to fully exercise their right to vote,

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 7, 1988

will return the Left Front with a bigger majority in the February 2 elections. Hence the final decision to intimidate the voters through the use of the Centre's military might.

This notification has directly encouraged the TNV and the TUJS-Congress(I) combine to mount vicious attacks on the Left Front and CPI(M) activists. Within hours of this declaration nine activists of the Left Front were killed in Sadar sub-division by the TUJS and Congress(I) workers in three separate incidents, while six more were murdered by the TNV in two attacks in the Kamalpur sub-division. It is thus clear that the P.M.'s Press Conference in the morning, and the notification of 'disturbed area' under the pretext of "finishing the TNV menace" was nothing but an instigation for violent attacks on the Left Front.

The Polit Bureau is confident that, undaunted by such attacks on the Left Front, the people will continue to come out in large numbers to express their protest against these actions of the Central Government and defeat their game. It hopes that they will show more determination to fight in the next two days before the polling, as well as on the polling day.

Congress Politics : A Barrage of Lies*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated January 29, 1988, exposing Congress Politics in Tripura

The Congress(I) in Tripura has unleashed a barrage of lies against the CPI(M) and the Left Front Government. It is being alleged by Congress(I) leaders and Central Ministers that the Left Front Government is soft towards the TNV terrorists. This slander will not sell among the people of Tripura. The CPI(M) has the proud record of unflinching opposition to the separatist TNV's terrorism. Hundreds of CPI(M) supporters have been killed in the past few years at the hands of these terrorist gangs.

The CPI(M) in Tripura has published a list of their leaders and members and supporters who have been murdered by the TNV. We have demanded that the Congress(I) publish a similar list of their men killed by the TNV. That they cannot do so is because the Congress(I) is in alliance with the TUJS whose cadre are openly conniving with the TNV terrorists.

It should be brought to the notice of the people in the whole country that since elections were announced, scores of Left Front and CPI(M) supporters have been butchered by the TNV, and in some places by the Congress(I)-TUJS men. Behind this lies a sinister conspiracy to vitiate the election atmosphere and terrorize the voters. Sixteen Left Front supporters were killed at three places last week—eight at Dhupicharra, near Salema on January 24 by the TNV; three at R.K. Nagar farm on January 25 by the

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 7, 1988.

Congress(I)-TUJS; five at Kalachara near Santibazar on January 25 by TNV, with TUJS conniving in scaring away people with lethal weapons.

Apart from this, a list is appended of the CPI(M) and Left Front supporters killed by the TNV, TUJS, Amra Bangalee, Congress(I) in the year 1987. They total 100.

Santosh Mohan Deb, Union Minister of State for Communications, camping in Tripura, is carrying on an inflammatory campaign asking the Congress(I) men to take the law into their own hands, and slandering the State police.

The Congress(I) leadership is playing a dangerous game in whipping up tensions in the State and encouraging the violent activities of its men and the TUJS. This will harm the cause of national unity and peace in Tripura.

The Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in his election campaign has slandered the Left Front Government, which is struggling to defend national unity, instead of extending co-operation to the State Government to fight the terrorist menace. The Polit Bureau is confident that the people of Tripura will defeat the Congress(I) moves to disrupt their unity and ensure a big victory for the Left Front.

On Tamil Nadu Developments*

**Statement dated January 29, 1988, issued by the
Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)**

The disgraceful happenings in the Tamil Nadu Assembly on January 28, clearly indicate that the faction of the AIADMK headed by Veerappan is prepared to go to any length to perpetuate itself as the minority Government of the State.

The Speaker of the Assembly, P.H. Pandian, has by his unprecedented "rulings" and his act of calling the police into the House, disregarded all elementary norms of parliamentary democracy and the Constitution.

The claim of the Opposition that Shrimathi Janaki's is a minority government has thus been fully confirmed. The Polit Bureau expects all Opposition parties to demand immediate steps to end this farce.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 7, 1988.

Polit Bureau on Tripura Elections*

**Statement dated February 4, 1988, issued in
New Delhi**

The Polit Bureau congratulates the people of Tripura on their brave and courageous fight against the manipulation of elections by the Congress(I) and the representatives of the Central Government. They have reposed their faith in the CPI(M) and the Left Front by their vote, more than 50 per cent having voted in favour of the Party and the Left Front. This has happened despite the fact that every effort was made to intimidate them by an organized campaign of slander and murder. In the few weeks preceding the elections the number of Party cadres and followers killed by TNV Congress(I) hoodlums and the TUJS exceeded a hundred.

The loss of majority by one seat should not lead to disappointment. The one seat majority secured by Congress(I) and its allies is neither a fair reflection of the people's will, nor was it attained by fair means. The Congress(I) resorted to openly dishonest means. Its followers surrounded the counting centres in many places and refused access to Left Front candidates and their representatives.

In a number of places the Returning Officers acted in an openly partisan way, refusing to accede to the demand of recounting made by the Left Front candidates when there was a difference of only seven to ten votes between them and the winning candidate. But the demands for recounting made by the Congress(I) candidate were readily accepted when the difference between the winning Left Front candidate and losing

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 14, 1988.

Congress(I) candidate exceeded 200. But for such manipulation and crude violation of election procedures, the Left Front would have marched to victory, though with a smaller margin.

Politically the Congress(I) has very little reason to be proud of this dubious victory because it was secured in alliance with the TUJS that worked in league with the TNV, and sympathises with the demand for driving out all non-tribals from the State.

The election results prove that the fears expressed by the Polit Bureau that the notification declaring Tripura State as a "disturbed area" was a manoeuvre to manipulate the election in favour of Congress(I), has come to be true. The increased TNV attacks in the weeks preceding the elections were planned to create a sense of terror and intimidate the voters. The Congress(I) exploited the atmosphere by sending the Army to appear as the protector of the people. This did influence a certain section to vote for the Congress(I) but even then they were not able to secure a majority without resorting to capturing counting centres and manipulating the election results.

The hoodlums were encouraged to do this because of the security and safety offered by the presence of the Central forces which were guided by Union Ministers.

The Tripura election once more reveals that the ruling party in its unscrupulousness will violate all Constitutional and democratic norms to remain in power. All democratic and Opposition forces must take this warning and condemn this authoritarian attack.

The Polit Bureau again congratulates the people of Tripura, the tribal and non-tribal masses who have stood together against the forces of disruption and for national unity, and our valiant Party cadres for their role in meeting the double challenge of the Congress(I) and the Rajiv Government. It warns all democratic forces that, maddened by this victory, the Congress(I) is likely to unleash repression against the people of Tripura and particularly our Party. It is the duty of all democratic oppositional and Left forces to warn the Congress(I) against revengeful and repressive actions in Tripura.

Soviet Move on Afghanistan Hailed by Polit Bureau*

Statement dated February 11, 1988 issued in New Delhi

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) welcomes the new initiative announced by the CPSU General Secretary, Mikhail Gorbachev regarding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

President Dr. Najibullah has repeatedly declared that Afghanistan would ask the Soviet Union to withdraw its limited contingents as soon as Pakistan guarantees that interference by the Mujahideen will be stopped. They have always taken this position in the Geneva talks. The new aspect of Gorbachev's initiative is the time table for withdrawal starting from May 15, 1988. The Afghan Government has always shown its desire to contribute to bringing peace in the region. The recent assertion of the United Nation's mediators that all the ground work for such an agreement has been completed, is welcome.

The Soviet Union's latest initiative is a significant contribution in its overall efforts aimed at reducing tension in various parts of the world. To us, in Asia, this proposal would help in creating a climate of peace and security. The Soviet leader's assertion that the withdrawal could begin earlier if an agreement is reached, is also very significant.

The CPI(M), however, warns the peace-loving people of the Asian continent to be vigilant against the efforts that imperialism may make in creating obstacles in reaching a final agreement in the Geneva talks to be held in March. The designs of U.S. imperialism must be frustrated and defeated so that peace

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 21, 1988.

is restored in this region and Afghanistan is able to exist as an independent non-aligned country.

It is worth noting that the Geneva agreement does not concern the internal structure of the Government in Afghanistan. The process of national reconciliation initiated by the PDPA is finding ever increasing acceptability and paving the way for a lasting solution to the Afghan problem.

The CPI(M) calls upon people of India to rally in support of this Soviet initiative, and for the signing of the Geneva agreement to ensure conditions for a lasting peace and easing of tension in our region.

Homage to Karpoori Thakur*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated February 17, 1988

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) mourns the death of Shri Karpoori Thakur, veteran freedom fighter and a prominent leader of the Socialist movement. He served as the Chief Minister of Bihar for three stints and was a national leader of the Lok Dal(B).

All through his political career Shri Karpoori Thakur displayed concern for the socially downtrodden sections of society and sought to voice their aspirations.

His death will create a void in the national political scene. The Polit Bureau sends its deep condolences to his family members.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 21, 1988

Vijaya Kumaranatunga's Murder*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemned it issuing a statement dated February 17, 1988

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep shock at the assassination of Vijaya Kumaranatunga, prominent leader of the Sri Lanka Mahajana Party and one of the founders of the recently formed Left Parties Alliance. It denounces the forces behind this foul act as enemies of the Sri Lankan people. This brutal murder is part of the conspiracy to disrupt ethnic peace and the unity of Sri Lanka.

Vijaya Kumaranatunga was a consistent advocate of the unity of the Sinhala and Tamil people, for conceding the just demands of the Tamil minority and a staunch defender of Sri Lanka's independence against imperialist manoeuvres. He supported the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord from this standpoint.

The assassination of this young and popular leader of the SLMP is aimed at striking a blow against the newly constituted United Socialist Alliance consisting of the four Left parties. In recent weeks, leaders and cadres of the Left parties have been targeted by the forces of extreme chauvinism and terrorism.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) deeply mourns the loss of Comrade Kumaranatunga and conveys its sincere condolence to his party, his wife, Chandrika Kumaranatunga and family members.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 21, 1988.

Greetings to Twelfth Congress of Communist Party of Spain*

Sent by E.M.S. Namboodiripad on behalf of the Central Committee of the CPI(M)

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its revolutionary and fraternal greetings to the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain.

The Communist Party of Spain is the proud inheritor of the glorious traditions and immortal fighting spirit of the Spanish working class and the people of Spain, in their fight against fascism and for a new social order. This role, best described by the immortal words of Comrade Dolores Ibarruri, "La Pasionaria", "*It is better to die fighting than to live on one's knees*", continues to inspire millions even to-day. On this occasion of your Twelfth Congress, we salute all of you who are carrying forward this tradition to meet the challenges of our times.

Your Twelfth Congress is being held at a crucial juncture in human history when the struggle for world peace and a world free from nuclear weapons has assumed qualitatively new dimensions with the signing of the recent agreement between the USSR and the USA on INF missiles. Undoubtedly, the initiative of the USSR and the peace forces the world over have made this possible. However, the task of achieving a lasting peace remains far from fulfilled. The peace forces all over the world in which the Communists

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 21, 1988. The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain was held on February 21-24, 1988.

have to play a significant role will have to strengthen themselves to carry forward this process with the utmost vigilance against imperialist designs. In this struggle both our Parties share a common task, and on this occasion we wish to reiterate our desire to strengthen the bonds of solidarity between our ranks.

The deepening crisis of the world capitalist economic system is imposing further burdens on the working class including the working class of Spain. Your Party has been playing a leading role in championing the struggle of the working people of Spain and we wish you all success in this.

We, in our country, are today engaged in a bitter struggle against the policies of the ruling classes which are imposing ever increasing burdens on the working class and the common people. The burdens of the world capitalist crisis are sought to be transferred to the people of the developing world including the shoulders of our people, whose economic conditions are daily deteriorating. In co-operation with other Left and democratic forces, the CPI(M) today is actively engaged in struggling against these policies.

The activities of imperialism and its agencies in India are today posing a serious threat to our country's independence and integrity. The CPI(M), championing the cause of our country's unity, is today in the midst of a bitter struggle against these forces which have been attempting to sow the seeds of discord between our people, and thus subserve the imperialist interests by destabilizing our country. Many comrades have been martyred in this struggle in recent years. The CPI(M) is engaged in the task of combining the struggle for world peace with the struggle of our people against the policies of our ruling classes, and with the struggle for defence of our country's unity and integrity.

The CPI(M) is confident that the deliberations of your Twelfth Congress will make a significant contribution to the advance of the class struggle in Spain, and will lead to the forging of a meaningful unity amongst the working people

in this struggle. The CPI(M) once again reiterates its desire to strengthen the bonds of friendship and co-operation between our two Parties, and expresses its solidarity with our comrades in Spain.

On Appointment of Governors*

Statement dated February 17, 1988, issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) to Press

It has been the past experience that the role of the Governors is misused by the Congress(I) for its partisan interests violating even the existing framework of the constitutional provisions. That is why the Sarkaria Commission on Centre-State relations has recommended that no functionary or active politician of the ruling party at the Centre should be sent as a Governor to a State which is governed by another party.

The just announced appointment of Governors to six States by the Central Government shows that it cares a hoot for the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission. The choice of the Kerala Governor who up to now has been a Central Minister and activist of Congress(I), shows the utter disregard of the ruling party at the Centre for democratic norms. Another objectionable feature is the appointment of the retired Intelligence Bureau Chief as the Governor of Haryana. The political appointment of a retired key functionary of a sensitive agency such as the I.B., is a dangerous step.

None of the Chief Ministers of the respective States were consulted on the choice of the Governors. The Union Home Minister's claim to have contacted them is meaningless, as the Chief Ministers were only telephoned and informed of the choice hours before the announcement.

The Polit Bureau strongly condemns these undemocratic

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 21, 1988.

methods. It appeals to all political parties and citizens to protest against the repeated violations of Centre-State relations by the Congress(I) Government and demand strict adherence to democratic norms in Centre-State relations.

Polit Bureau on Just Demands of Peasantry*

Issued statement dated February 17, 1988, in New Delhi

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemns the attitude of the U.P. Government and the Centre towards the demands of the peasantry in Western U.P. Instead of arriving at a settlement with the agitating farmers on their just demands, the Government has now embarked on a policy of repression. The justness of the demand for remunerative prices for the peasants was admitted by the Prime Minister himself when he lent his support to this demand while speaking at the Bharat Krishak Samaj session in Andhra recently.

Already 16 precious lives have been lost in the agitation. The Polit Bureau expresses its sympathy for the families who have suffered this loss. It demands that the U.P. Government immediately negotiate with the peasants to settle their problems.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 28, 1988.

Polit Bureau on Central Budget*

Statement dated March 1, 1988 issued in New Delhi

The Central Budget provides no real relief for the people suffering from spiralling price-rise, unemployment and growing industrial sickness. The huge deficit of Rs. 7,484 crore will lead to double digit inflation, adding to the sufferings of the people. The pretensions of giving relief to the people in the Budget are belied by the heavy taxation administered through the hike in rail, postal and communication charges, and the administered price hikes running to Rs. 3,000 crore on the eve of the Budget. The concessions on excise duties on some items is, therefore, make-believe and what is given with one hand is taken away with the other.

The Central Government poses the Budget to be rural oriented. In fact, except for the affluent sections in the rural areas, the Budget refuses to address the problems of the millions of the rural poor whose conditions have worsened due to the severe drought. All attempts to project concessions to the people are a deceptive ruse with elections in mind.

The Budget attempts to deceive the people by covering up the serious crisis in resource mobilization, by stating that the public sector will make up the gap in resources. This would only mean further doses of administered prices after the Budget exercise. The Budget cannot hide the fact that the country is ending up in a debt trap with mounting external and internal debt.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 6, 1988.

The Budget does not address itself to the real problems of the economy. There is no taking stock of the stark realities and providing genuine relief to the people. The economy and the conditions of the people are only going to be further aggravated by the impact of this Budget. The 1988-89 Budget is one more proof of the Congress(I) Government's pro-monopoly, landlord orientation.

On Panchayat Elections in West Bengal*

Statement dated March 1, 1988, issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) congratulates the people of West Bengal for giving a resounding victory to the Left Front and the CPI(M) in the Panchayat elections. The Left Front and the CPI(M) have won a magnificent victory. The rural masses have once again reiterated their confidence in the policies and activities of the Left Front Government, the Left-led Panchayats and Zilla Parishads. The election results declared so far go to show that the Left Front and the CPI(M) have improved their tally in the Gram Panchayats. They are also forging ahead for big victories in the Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads. The Congress(I) has suffered a rout and their position has got further weakened as compared to the last Panchayat elections.

This electoral verdict is a fitting rebuff to the vicious slander campaign conducted by the Congress(I) leadership and the vituperative threats against the Left Front Government and the CPI(M) in particular by the PCC(I) president Priyaranjan Das Munshi. The victory has come in the wake of the desperate Congress(I) efforts to make a dent in the elections in the aftermath of the Tripura elections and the failure of some of the partners in the Left Front to abide by the norms for seat adjustments. Despite some differences on seat allocations, the rural people have voted massively for the CPI(M) and the unity of the Left Front. The toiling

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 6, 1988.

people of the State have reposed their confidence in the Left Front and have decisively voiced their desire for the strengthening of Left unity and the vigorous implementation of the Left Front Government's policies.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) conveys its warm greetings to all the Party cadres and Left Front supporters who have made this remarkable victory possible. It is confident that the Left Front Government and all Left forces will continue to fulfil the mass aspirations and serve the interests of the rural masses.

Rail Price-Hikes Must Be Withdrawn*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) made the demand in a statement dated February 25, 1988, issued to Press

The Central Government has launched a savage attack on the people by the steep rise in railway passenger fare and freight charges. No category of railway passengers have been spared. An additional burden of Rs. 622 crore has been imposed on the people. The Railway budget shows the utter contempt of the Congress(I) Government towards the people suffering from the ravages of price-rise.

Along with these railway hikes the Central Government has announced unreasonable increases in postal and telecommunication charges amounting to Rs. 549 crore. Such an arbitrary announcement on the eve of the placing of the Budget in Parliament makes a farce of the whole Budget exercise. These burdens will further erode the meagre incomes of the common people by fuelling inflation and price-rise. It is a declaration of an economic onslaught on the people.

The economic policies being pursued by the Rajiv Gandhi Government have resulted in the new attack on the people's livelihood. The earlier announced administered price-hikes of steel and coal are now being given as justification for the increase in fare and freight charges. The Rajiv Government's policies have led to a situation where every few months new burdens are passed on to the people. Having led the economy into the vicious trap of a resource-crunch and mounting indebtedness, the Rajiv Government callously makes the people foot the bill for its pro-rich policies.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 6, 1988.

***Rail Price-Hikes Must Be Withdrawn* 355**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) severely condemns the new proposals and demands that these hikes be withdrawn. All sections of the people must unitedly protest these unconscionable measures. Resistance to these anti-people measures is urgently called for. The Polit Bureau calls upon all political parties and mass organizations to determinedly fight these policies. Opposition to these measures will be an important issue in the proposed Bharat Bandh protest action called for March 15, 1988.

Polit Bureau Denounces Slander by Tripura Home Minister*

Statement dated February 25, 1988, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) denounces the slander campaign being conducted by the Congress(I) Ministry against the CPI(M) in Tripura. The latest charge by the State Home Minister that "the CPI(M) is planning to finish off three Ministers including me", is a crude fabrication. The purpose of such lies is to prepare the ground for utilizing the notorious National Security Act which has been invoked in the State by the Congress(I) Government against the CPI(M) cadres.

An anti-Communist witch-hunt and terror has been launched against the CPI(M) and Left Front supporters in the State. The most heinous tactic is to label the CPI(M) cadres as accomplices of the TNV and fabricate cases against them. It is the CPI(M) and the Left Front which has firmly fought the TNV terrorists, for which hundreds of their cadres have laid down their lives. Now the Congress(I)-TUVS Government seeks to brand these fighters against terrorism and secessionism as collaborators with the TNV! The people of Tripura and the democratic sections in the country will not be taken in by this Goebbelsian propaganda of the Congress(I) Government. Such an attack by the Congress(I) Government will only weaken the fight against the separatist and terrorist forces.

The Polit Bureau calls upon all democratic forces and organizations to protest against these terror tactics of the Congress(I) in Tripura and express solidarity with the Left Front and the democratic movement in Tripura.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 6, 1988.

Polit Bureau Hails Bharat Bandh on March 15, 1988*

Statement dated March 15, 1988, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) hails the mighty Bharat Bandh against the Rajiv Gandhi Government which saw millions of people all over the country joining the powerful protest action. Braving large-scale arrests, lathi-charges, physical attacks by Congress(I) goondas and anti-socials, the working class, peasants, employees, women, students and youth have participated in abstaining from all normal activities. They have registered a massive vote of no-confidence against the Congress Government and its policies.

The three-day strike of public sector workers which began on March 14 has evoked a big response among the public sector workers, and all major public sector undertakings have been paralyzed along with the strike action of other sections of the working people. The one-week coal workers' strike also began today on March 15, 1988, and coal mines shut down all over the country. The Bandh has led to closure of tens of thousands of industrial units all over the country. The working class has unitedly taken up the challenge to strike against the socio-economic policies of the Government.

In most major cities and towns in Bihar, U.P., West Bengal, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Punjab, M.P., Rajasthan, Delhi and Gujarat, shops, public transport, offices, factories and educational

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 20, 1988.

institutions were closed and despite all efforts of the Congress(I) Governments very few people attended work or used public transport. In whole sectors of the Eastern Railway, South-Eastern Railway, Southern Railway and Western Railway, train services were paralyzed. Indian Airlines flights were severely curtailed due to strike action of the employees. Such has been the sweep and intensity of the Bandh that not a single train or bus moved in States like Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, and Kerala.

The Rajiv Gandhi Government unleashed severe repression against the Bandh supporters. Preventive detentions and arrests on the day of Bandh have touched 1,50,000. Among the thousands arrested from the CPI(M) were Nripen Chakraborty, Polit Bureau member of the CPI(M) and former Chief Minister of Tripura; Central Committee members Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi (Bihar State Secretary) and Shivaji Patnaik (Orissa State Secretary). Thousands of cadre have been arrested in Tamil Nadu, Bihar, Orissa, Maharashtra, U.P. and Delhi. Many leaders and activists of the other Opposition parties have also been arrested. In many centres, police attacked peaceful picketeers with brutal lathi-charges.

The people have shown by this united protest action at the call of the Left and secular Opposition parties their determination to fight the Government and its policies. The Polit Bureau salutes the tens of thousands who worked tirelessly to make this Bandh a success and calls upon all the secular Opposition and Left forces to redouble their efforts to further strengthen the united mass movement.

Homage to Punjab Martyrs*

Statement dated March 14, 1988 issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) pays homage to the three martyrs of the Party who were killed by the Khalistani extremists on the night of March 12 at Khilchian village in Amritsar district. They are Chanchal Singh and Iqbal Singh, who died on the spot, and the village Sarpanch, Gurdial Singh, who died in hospital the next day.

Within the last fortnight, five CPI(M) members and activists have been killed, including the above three comrades, in Amritsar district in the area around Chowk Mehta, the headquarters of the Damdami Taksal.

The Polit Bureau strongly criticizes the Punjab Government for its refusal, despite repeated requests, to provide protection, licences and supply of weapons to the cadre and activists of the CPI(M) who are in the forefront in the defence of national unity and fighting the Khalistani terrorists. The Government has also failed to take any action against the police officials on these areas who have failed to take adequate steps to maintain law and order.

It should be noted that such killings have been intensified after the release of the five "High Priests" and the Government's move to legitimize their positions. The CPI(M) demands that the Government take immediate steps to strengthen security in the worst affected areas and extend full co-operation to those patriotic and secular forces who are waging the grim battle against the extremists and for national unity in Punjab.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 20, 1988.

Grave Threat to Democratic Set-up*

Polit Bureau Opposed Amendment to the Constitution

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) issued the following statement dated March 13, 1988 :

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its strong opposition to the proposed amendment of the Constitution which seeks to widen the internal Emergency clause by including the threat of "internal disturbances" as a cause for invoking Emergency powers. It is this same clause which was misused by the Congress Government in 1975 to impose the hated Emergency rule. After the big mass resistance and defeat of the Congress in 1977, under the Janata Government the clause was amended so that only on the grounds of "armed rebellion", Emergency powers are applicable.

The Congress(I) Government is seeking to arm itself with this draconian power on the plea of Punjab. There are sufficiently strong laws in the statute book to deal with the terrorist threat in Punjab. On the one hand, the Congress(I) Government has freed the High Priests who are committed to Khalistan, on the other hand it seeks to use the terrorist threat to arm itself with a blatantly authoritarian measure. Nobody will be deceived by this policy.

This amendment has to be opposed resolutely as it poses a grave threat to the democratic set-up. The CPI(M) calls upon all Opposition parties to unitedly resist this amendment in Parliament and see that it is not passed.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 20, 1988.

Withdraw U.S. Troops from Honduras*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) made the demand in a statement dated March 19, 1988

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) denounces the Reagan Administration's aggressive move to threaten Nicaragua by air-lifting troops of the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division to Honduras. These war preparations are designed to assist the Contra forces which are illegally operating against Nicaragua from bases in the Honduras.

The Honduran regime, which is totally subordinate to the USA, has bombed the border areas of Nicaragua. This attack has taken place after the U.S. troops landed to escalate the reactionary war being waged by the Contras, so that a pretext can be found for U.S. intervention in Nicaragua. The Reagan Administration is out to sabotage the peace accord arrived at among the Central American States. The latest act has created a serious situation in the region.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) fully supports the stand taken by President Ortega and the Sandinista Government of Nicaragua, and calls upon all political parties and the Government of India to express their solidarity with the Government and people of Nicaragua and demand that U.S. troops be forthwith withdrawn from Honduras.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 27, 1988.

Polit Bureau Communiqué*

Issued following its meeting held on March 29–30, 1988

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) reviewed the situation following the March 15 Bandh, the situation in Tripura and the developments in West Bengal in connection with the Gorkhaland agitation. The Polit Bureau considered the Punjab situation, the developments connected with Sri Lanka and the difficulties created by the Congress(I) and the Centre in Kerala.

Sri Lanka : Implement Accord

Reviewing the Sri Lankan situation the Polit Bureau felt that the prolonged character of the peace-keeping operation, with its daily tale of clashes and killings, the loss of many innocent lives including the lives of the jawans of the Indian army, is creating grave concern among all sections of Indian people, including those who strongly feel that restoration of peace on the basis of the Accord is the only way out in the present situation.

The Polit Bureau found that the LTTE is not yet prepared to resume talks on the basis of acceptance of the Accord and restoration of peace, and is blocking the way to a settlement in the interests of the affected Tamil people and the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka. It demands unconditional negotiations, meaning, thereby, that it should be allowed to open the entire question of the Accord. The LTTE at the same time continues its murderous warfare against other Tamil groups and by its recent activities, threatens to alienate the Tamil Muslims who

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 10, 1988.

form 30 per cent of the population in the entire eastern province.

Nonetheless, the Polit Bureau is of the opinion that there should be no hesitation on the part of the Government of India to open talks with the LTTE on the basis of acceptance of the Accord and restoration of peace and surrender of arms. If this basis is accepted all recent happenings can be forgotten and steps taken to restore peace and the withdrawal of the Indian army from Sri Lanka. The Polit Bureau deprecates the efforts of irresponsible persons and parties to rouse chauvinism, exploiting the present situation and forgetting the designs of the imperialist powers in Sri Lanka and towards India.

Darjeeling : Battle to Save Unity

The Polit Bureau expresses its deep concern over the increased violence of GNLFF volunteers in the Darjeeling district. The use of sophisticated weapons and methods reveals the foreign sources of supply coming from a neighbouring country. This fact is noted by honest citizens of that country itself. Day by day, encouraged by supplies of weapons from abroad, the movement has assumed an openly secessionist trend leading to double-talk on the part of Ghising who is now mortally afraid of disowning his violent followers and their secessionist campaign. Ghising, therefore, does the usual trick common to all reactionaries, of equating the terror of secessionist followers with the counter-step taken by the forces of law and order to defeat secession and maintain the country's unity.

The Polit Bureau is firmly of the opinion that the present situation would not have arisen had Ghising not been led to believe that he could play between the Centre and the West Bengal State to secure advantage for himself. The Polit Bureau greets our fighting cadres in Darjeeling for waging a heroic battle to defeat the anti-national forces. It pays its homage to the memory of those who have fallen victim to the assassins' bullets defending the unity of the country. It also appreciates the high morale and sense of sacrifice of the jawans who are shedding their blood to protect the country's unity.

The Left Front Ministry has done everything possible to save the people from further suffering, meet the just demands of the people of the district and create new conditions for their development. The Hill Development Council Bill which will soon be placed before the West Bengal Assembly, should serve to rally all the Hill people and isolate those who have sold their conscience to foreign designers. The Polit Bureau hopes that good sense will prevail over Ghising and peace and normalcy be restored in Darjeeling on the basis of the settlement put forward by the State Government.

Punjab : Disgraceful Surrender

The Polit Bureau sharply condemns the Central Government for its surrenderist policy in Punjab before the forces of secession and partition. This prostration before the leaders of the extremists, the originators and inciters of Khalistan, constitutes the most shameful and disgraceful event since the achievement of Indian independence. No previous government has fallen so low, degraded itself so much, as the Rajiv Government, which in its avarice for power is prepared to sacrifice both the honour and integrity of the country. The results are there for all to see.

The violent attacks and murders are daily increasing; men, women and children are being butchered with impunity and the Government stands paralyzed before this offensive. Because of its bankrupt outlook and its selfishness, the ruling party is unable to utilize the present mood of the people which was seen in the united stand of the communities in the Holi festival when they refused to separate to oblige the terrorists to single out their victims. This great urge of the people, born out of the growing sense of concern for national unity, must be converted into a positive force checkmating and ultimately destroying all terrorist activities. The situation can then be quickly changed if steps are taken for uniting the people.

But the Rajiv Government is more afraid of the united activity of the people than of the activity of the terrorists. It has refused the CPI(M)'s suggestion to call an all-party meeting

to consider a way out of the present precarious situation, on the basis of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. It is clear that the Rajiv Government is trying to manipulate the present state of affairs with the elections in mind. The Centre should immediately release the Jodhpur detenus and put on trial those responsible for the Delhi killings in 1984. This will greatly facilitate the settlement of the Punjab problem.

59th Amendment : Build United Opposition

The Polit Bureau denounces the 59th Amendment Act as an infamous attack on the democratic liberties of the people. The Punjab situation does not require it. What is needed there is not restricting the liberties of the people but of the terrorists. It is apprehended that the excuse of the Emergency proclamation in Punjab may be used to prolong the existence of the present Parliament. The Polit Bureau calls upon all sections of people to carry on a big popular campaign against the 59th Amendment Act and make it impossible for the Government to use it.

Tripura : Wanton Repression

The Polit Bureau noted that just as in Punjab, so in Tripura too, efforts are being made to use the TNV terrorists against the forces of national unity. The Congress Chief Minister who was installed in office after the manipulated elections, held in the wake of the unilateral declaration of the whole State as a "disturbed area" and the deployment of the army, has gone on record that his Government is prepared to negotiate with the TNV. In Tripura, as in Punjab, the Congress and its Central and State Governments have to use anti-nationals and terrorists to fight the forces of national unity.

The Polit Bureau further denounces the large-scale repression unleashed against the CPI(M) and its followers in Tripura, the arrests, the criminal cases and the false charges of collaborating with the TNV. The Polit Bureau calls upon all State Committees of the CPI(M), and all Left parties and Opposition parties, to condemn this repression and demand

the withdrawal of all repressive measures in Tripura. The Polit Bureau congratulates the people of Tripura for the brave and courageous way in which they are facing this wanton repression. The Polit Bureau in particular expresses admiration for the people of the tribal areas who are the special victims of this vindictive terror.

Kerala Developments

The Left and Democratic Front in Kerala was fighting against heavy odds when it entered the arena of the panchayat polls in January. The Congress(I) led UDF had entered into electoral arrangements with the BJP, which, together with the Muslim League, the Kerala Congress and other caste parties which were already allied to the Front was expected to improve its record in the Assembly elections in March last. The leaders of the anti-Communist political parties and the media organs had actually "reported", immediately after the polls, that the LDF had failed in comparison with last year's Assembly elections. It was, however, shown, after the full results were known and the elections of Presidents were held, that the overwhelming majority of panchayats have come under the control of the LDF.

This growing support from the people has enabled the LDF and its Ministry to beat back several agitations launched by the UDF during the one year of the LDF in office. The Government could, therefore, observe the completion of one year in office with greater determination to serve the people. There are, however, serious obstacles in its way, like the precarious state of finances and the partisan use made of it by the Central Government.

Apart from the bankrupt state of finances both at the Centre as well as in all other States, the situation in Kerala is worsened by the fact that the Central Government went out of its way in helping the earlier UDF Government with loans and advances, demanding that all the loans given to that Government should now be paid back in monthly instalments by the present Government.

The LDF Government has also to overcome obstacles created by the new Governor who was, up to the time of her appointment, a Central Minister, and was unilaterally imposed on the State.

The Polit Bureau considers the conduct of the Kerala Governor against which the LDF correctly protested, as a blatant misuse of the Governor's post to serve the interests of the ruling Congress(I) at the Centre. The unprincipled coalition of the Congress(I), Muslim League and other casteist parties, is day-by-day exposing itself by its childish acts and so-called protests in the Legislature. The assault on the Speaker showed the low level to which the Opposition politics has fallen. The all-India Congress(I) which often glibly talks about protection of democratic norms and values, did not have a word of disapprobation against this unsavoury deed.

Discriminatory Attitude of Centre

The Polit Bureau condemned the non-co-operative attitude of the Central Government towards the industrial development of West Bengal. It has so far refused to give clearance for the Haldia Petro-Chemical Project. Similarly it is creating hurdles to the Bakreswar Power Plant Project to be set up under the auspices of the State Government. The Polit Bureau demands that the Centre give up its negative tactics and co-operate with the Left Front Government in this regard.

West Bengal Panchayats : Smashing Victory

The Polit Bureau congratulates the people of West Bengal for giving a smashing victory to the Left Front in the Panchayat elections despite inner stresses and strains. This smashing victory revealed the further isolation of the Congress(I), and exposed their charge of rigging. The Congress(I) brought into ridicule the Congress(I) in West Bengal which started with the talk of use of stenguns to win the elections, and has ended with charges of rigging which no one could believe in.

The developments connected with the Panchayat elections faced our Party in West Bengal with great difficulties. The

Polit Bureau congratulates our Party leadership for its principled stand, its adherence to the decisions of the Left Front, and its readiness to accommodate others during the elections. It is this principled stand that saved Left unity, enabled the people to give an unprecedented victory to the Left Front, and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Congress(I). The Polit Bureau is confident that the people of Bengal who have expressed faith in our Party and its line, will continue to stand by the Party, its line of Left unity, its line of fighting the Congress(I) regime and the ousting of Rajiv Gandhi.

March 15 Bandh : Carry Forward Gains

The Polit Bureau reviewed the March 15 Bandh campaign and felt satisfied that all the parties joined the Bandh to make it a big success. The great rally of the working class, the strike of the public sector workers, the response of the employees, traders and all other sections, all bespeak of the united efforts of several parties, a demonstration of the rapidly growing unity of the Indian people against the Rajiv Gandhi Government. The unity in the streets was accompanied by an effective demonstration of Opposition unity in Parliament against the enactment of the 59th Amendment Act which constitutes a strong threat to the fundamental rights of the people. The way in which all Opposition parties strove to save our people from the Congress(I) misdeeds deserves the praise of all.

The Polit Bureau is of the opinion that it is the immediate task of all Left and secular parties to further consolidate this unity, to carry forward the gains of March 15 and continue the struggle for the immediate resignation of the Rajiv Government. It is necessary that these parties should meet to chalk out a programme of agitational action.

In the preparation and success of the Bandh the Left parties played an important role. The Polit Bureau sends its greetings to our Party comrades and leaders and to the leaders and cadres of other parties for their contribution to the success of the Bandh and the building of unity.

Terrorist Attack on CPI MLA*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemns it issuing statement dated April 11, 1988, to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly condemns the heinous attempt made by the Khalistani terrorists to kill Comrade Harnam Singh, CPI MLA, in Haryana. In the cowardly attack on Harnam Singh's residence at Shahbad, the son, daughter-in-law and nephew of Harnam Singh were killed. His wife is also seriously injured.

This attack on the CPI legislator took place because the Communists are in the forefront in opposing the Khalistani terrorists. That such an attack could take place so brazenly outside Punjab, shows the gravity of the menace posed by the anti-national elements. All steps taken by the Central Government have failed to meet the challenge of terrorism and only aggravated the situation. The continuance of the present policies by the Centre will prove disastrous for Punjab and national unity.

The Polit Bureau conveys its sincere condolences to Comrade Harnam Singh and his family for the severe loss they have suffered. It calls upon all sections of people in Punjab and outside to maintain unity and foil the plans of the terrorists.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 17, 1988.

Polit Bureau Denounces PLO Leader's Assassination*

Statement dated April 17, 1988 issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) denounces the assassination of Khalil Al-Wazir (Abu Jihad), a senior leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, by an Israeli terrorist squad at Tunis.

The Israeli Zionist regime targetted the PLO leader in its murderous campaign in revenge for the heroic uprising of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza.

The Polit Bureau strongly condemns the brutal killings of 12 Arabs and Palestinians who were shot down for holding demonstrations against the killing of Abu Jihad. The Israeli terror will fail to cow down the fighters for liberation in the occupied territories. The Polit Bureau calls upon all sections of the Indian people to express their solidarity with the heroic struggle in the occupied territories and the PLO.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 24, 1988.

Polit Bureau on the Afghanistan Agreement*

**Statement dated April 15, 1988, issued to Press
Welcoming the Agreement**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) welcomes the agreement signed in Geneva by Pakistan and Afghanistan and guaranteed by USA and USSR to bring peace in Afghanistan. The bilateral agreement between Afghanistan and Pakistan on the principle of mutual relations enjoins on the two countries:

“(1) To respect the sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity, national unity, security and non-alignment of the other, (2) to refrain from threat or use of force in any form whatsoever so as not to violate the boundaries of each other to disrupt the political, social or economic order of the other, (3) to ensure that its territory is not used in any manner which would violate the sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity and national unity of the other, (4) to refrain from armed intervention, subversion, military occupation; (5) to prevent within its territory the training, equipping, financing and recruitment of mercenaries of whatever origin, for the purpose of hostile activities against the other; (6) to abstain from any defamatory campaign or hostile propaganda.”

It includes the return of refugees to Afghanistan and their settlement with equal rights enjoyed by the Afghan citizens.

The Soviet Union and USA have undertaken to refrain from any form of interference and intervention in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 24, 1988

Republic of Pakistan, and to respect the commitments contained in the bilateral agreement between Afghanistan and Pakistan on the principles of mutual relations, in particular non-interference and non-intervention. Finally it ensures the withdrawal of Soviet forces within nine months, starting from May 15. This agreement, if implemented in right earnest, can really go a long way in restoring peace in Afghanistan and removing a hotbed of conflict in the region.

The Soviet Union and the Government of Republic of Afghanistan by making this agreement possible through various measures, have shown their eagerness to restore peace. But the attitude of the U.S. Government and Pakistan, even after making clear-cut commitments in the agreement, raises doubts as to whether they will not try to sabotage it from within. President Reagan's insistence on continuing aid to the Mujahideens and President Zia-ul-Haq's reaction that he foresees trouble and turmoil in Afghanistan following the withdrawal of Soviet troops since no agreement on the interim government has been reached, raises doubts in the minds of the people. They will again make efforts to sabotage it.

The Polit Bureau is, however, sure that the people of Afghanistan, in unity with the people of Pakistan, supported by the peace-loving people in the whole region, will be able to see that the Accord is implemented in letter and spirit. They will have the full support of world public opinion. The declaration of some Mujahideen groups that the agreement is a "sell-out", also implies that the peace-loving forces the world over will have to continue the struggle and mobilize public opinion for the implementation of the Geneva Accord. In this context, the policy of National Reconciliation initiated by the Republic of Afghanistan, under the leadership of President Najibullah which is gaining more and more popularity and success, will undoubtedly contribute to make the Accord a success.

Polit Bureau Communiqué*

Issued following its meeting held on April 22-24, 1988

Reviewing the political developments since its last meeting in March, the Polit Bureau noted that the fresh revelations regarding high level corruption in the Bofors and the West German submarine deal have shattered the attempts at a cover-up by the Rajiv Government and the Chairman of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Ignoring the evidence available, the JPC is finalizing its report in a manner which confirms that the whole exercise is to shield the guilty. The stand of the Chairman of the JPC, Shankaranand, is truly extraordinary in refusing permission to a Committee member to append his dissenting note to the report.

Similarly, the Defence Ministry departmental enquiry which has concluded that no commission was paid for the purchase of the HDW submarines, is contrary to the facts available with the Government. It will be only seen as a crude attempt to suppress the truth.

The conduct of the Rajiv Government in these two instances of corruption and subversion in the defence sector of the country is itself a serious indictment of the ruling party and its leadership. The people of this country will not be deceived by their cynical postures and will only be satisfied when the full range of culprits are brought to book.

The Congress(I) Central Government is now increasingly resorting to open attacks on the parliamentary democratic system in face of its growing isolation from the people. Its

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 1, 1988.

special targets are the CPI(M) and Left-ruled States. In Tripura, the Congress(I) is out to strangle all democratic norms. The State continues under the disturbed area proclamation and the para-military forces are being used to repress and harass the CPI(M) and Left cadres. Thousands have been implicated in false cases and hundreds arrested. Beatings and tortures while in custody are a common occurrence. The tribal population is being terrorised by such methods and women are subjected to physical attacks. The latest attack on democracy is the rigging of the poll in the Fatikroy by-election which was made into a mockery by the intimidation and violence of the Congress(I) supporters.

West Bengal Congress(I) Disruption

After their rout in the Panchayat elections last month, the State Congress(I) does not seem able to learn any lesson. It has embarked on a disruptive and confrontationist path which shows the anti-democratic character of the party. Within the Assembly, its MLAs have repeatedly sought to disturb the proceedings. Outside the Assembly, Congressmen have resorted to throwing bombs into the Assembly compound. These are not isolated events. The PCC(I) President and Central Minister, Das Munshi, threatens 'guerilla war', invokes Central intervention, seeks to intimidate State Government officials and openly calls upon Congress supporters to create anarchy.

The Left Front Government, based on the massive support of the people, cannot be cowed down by these discredited politicians who have been rejected by the people time and again. The Polit Bureau warns the ruling party to desist from the course that it is pursuing in West Bengal and heed the wishes of the people of the State.

The imposition of the 59th Amendment of the Constitution and the intensified attacks on parliamentary democracy and civil liberties, portend a grave threat to the country in a period when divisive forces backed by imperialism are threatening the unity and integrity of the country.

Punjab

The grave situation in Punjab with the continuing rampage by the Khalistani terrorists, reveals the utter bankruptcy of the Rajiv Government in preserving the unity of the country. The policy of abjuring a political solution with the cooperation of all political parties, and banking on the extremists and their appointees, the High Priests, will only further worsen the situation. The Polit Bureau demands that the Centre immediately take steps to elicit the cooperation of the political parties on the Punjab problem, and take steps to create a climate for a political settlement based on the Rajiv-Longowal Accord by releasing the innocent Jodhpur detenus and bringing to trial all those responsible for the November 1984 killings in Delhi and other places.

Sri Lanka

The Polit Bureau expressed its concern at the continuing hostilities between the IPKF and the LTTE. Unless the LTTE gives up its intransigent attitude and pledges to implement the Accord, the interests of the Tamil people of Sri Lanka cannot be safeguarded. The Polit Bureau hopes that even at this juncture, the LTTE will give up its present hostile posture and come round to implementing the Accord. This will help in restoring peace and lay the basis for the withdrawal of the IPKF.

AICC(I) Session

The AICC(I) session, just concluded in Madras, reiterates the resolve of the Rajiv Government to pursue its pernicious economic policy which has resulted in acute misery for the vast majority of the Indian people. While, in a hypocritical formal manner, committing to preserve the public sector, Rajiv Gandhi has announced in categorical terms that the policy of economic liberalization will continue. He has also declared that foreign capital and multinationals will be given further facilities to penetrate the Indian economy. The record of the three and a half years of the Rajiv regime shows that

the big monopolists have thrived as never before. The U.S. multinationals and foreign capital are making greater inroads. The import liberalization policy is threatening the existence of sectors of Indian industry. Further, the indiscriminate import liberalization policy with respect to agricultural products such as rubber, copra, etc., is ruining lakhs of peasants and small producers. The commitment to self-reliance has now been given the go-by.

The political resolution of the AICC(I) boasts of the party's record in defence of national unity. Far from this, the disastrous policies of appeasing communal and divisive forces have reached a new record under the Rajiv regime. The people cannot forget how the Congress(I) deals with the vital question of national unity. It is this party which has an alliance with the Muslim League and other caste-communal forces in Kerala; it has a political alliance and sits in Government with the TUJS in Tripura, which encourages the secessionist-terrorist TNV in this sensitive border State; the Rajiv Government has accorded legitimacy to advocates of Khalistan by releasing the 'High Priests' and dealing with them directly. It is with this unsavoury and dangerous record that the AICC(I) now seeks to brand the Opposition as anti-national and supporters of the divisive forces. No amount of rhetoric by Rajiv Gandhi can conceal the disgraceful practice of the Congress(I) Government colluding with, and encouraging the forces of disunity.

The Prime Minister and the AICC(I) have chosen to launch a stereotyped attack on the Communists and the Left parties, in order to cover up its own dismal record. Faced with mounting mass protests and the leading role of the Left forces in focussing this discontent, the Congress(I) makes a futile bid to raise the bogey of a conspiracy between the 'Left and the Right'.

The AICC(I) session shows that except for election postures of slogans to remove unemployment and poverty, the people are in for the continuance of policies which spell their ruin and the worsening of their problems. The country

is in for an intensified phase of attacks on democracy as the Congress(I) is bent upon denying States' autonomy and wants to strengthen the autocratic powers of the Centre. This explains the absence of any reference to the Sarkaria Commission and the call to strengthen the Centre. Mirroring its anti-democratic posture towards the Opposition, the AICC(I) session gives no promise of holding internal organization elections which are long overdue.

C.C. Meeting

The Polit Bureau discussed the preparations for the forthcoming meeting of the Central Committee to be held from May 3 to 6, and finalised the agenda and documents for the same.

Central Committee Communiqué*

**Issued following its meeting in New Delhi
on May 3–6, 1988**

The Central Committee, reviewing the political developments since January, congratulated the people all over the country who in their millions joined the mighty protest action of Bharat Bandh on March 15. Braving large-scale repression, industrial workers, peasants, shopkeepers, students, women and middle-class employees participated in the Bandh which became a powerful expression of their anger against the Congress(I) Government's policies and their demand that Rajiv Gandhi resign and fresh elections be held.

The Bandh came as part of the sustained efforts by the Left and secular forces to mobilize the people against the anti-people policies of the Rajiv Gandhi Government, and created confidence in the people that the Rajiv Government could be ousted. It is essential that this process of mass actions be carried forward.

The Central Committee hailed the decision of the Left-oriented peasant and agricultural labour organizations to launch an all-India struggle on the demands of the peasants and agricultural workers, in the month of September. Preparations through conventions in the States are to begin shortly. The C.C. called upon all its units to lend its full support to this militant action programme which is designed to voice the demands of the millions of rural poor.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 15, 1988.

Government to Continue Attacks

The Rajiv Government is determined to continue the economic policies which are detrimental to the interests of the working people. The budget, while making a propaganda pitch at the rural masses, continued the policy of liberalization for the monopolists and foreign capital. Rajiv Gandhi in his AICC(I) speeches has declared his Government's intention to pursue the policy of privatization and wooing of foreign monopolists, while hypocritically stating his commitment to the public sector.

The country is now paying the price for the Rajiv Government's policies. While rising prices are eating into the hard-earned meagre wages of the working people, the series of administered price rises and hikes in rail and postal fares is further fuelling inflationary trends. Mounting debt, both external and internal, is aggravating the crisis. The indiscriminate import liberalization of agricultural commodities like rubber, copra, etc., is impoverishing lakhs of peasants and small growers.

The C.C. reiterated its total opposition to the basic orientation of the economic policies of the Rajiv Government. The fight for the reversal of these policies forms a major platform around which the fighting millions should be mobilized for struggles.

In this context, the C.C. greeted the public sector workers who went on a nation-wide three-day strike from March 14 to 16. It also congratulated the seven lakh coal workers who launched a one-week strike from March 15. These two powerful working class actions shook the Government of India and provided a big fillip to the Bharat Bandh action. The working class in action, the discontented peasantry going into struggles, and the growing united struggles of the employees, youth, students and women, all these are the guarantee of the defeat of Rajiv's economic policies.

The Cover-up of Scandals

The JPC report on the Bofors gun deal has given a clean chit to the Government and come out with the predictable

finding that no commissions or kick-backs been paid to anyone. The conduct of the Committee, its Chairman and the Government, has convinced no-one. It has been seen as a crude attempt to blur the evidence and cover up the actual culprits. The suspicious way the cover-up has been assisted by the Rajiv Government only lends credence to the charges that important persons are involved in the corruption.

Similarly the Defence Ministry enquiry into the West German submarine deal has refused to take the facts available into consideration. It has failed to answer the points raised by V.P. Singh. Both these exercises raise serious doubts as to the Government's intentions, and the people are not going to be satisfied till those who are guilty of endangering the country's security are exposed and punished.

Attack on Democracy

The recent period is a grim warning to those who are committed to democracy and democratic institutions. Rajiv Gandhi launched a monstrous attack on democracy and with one stroke in Tripura put the cherished democratic values in peril. The diabolical use of the 'disturbed areas' proclamation and the deployment of the army in the State of Tripura three days before the State assembly polls, has few parallels in the Congress(I)'s authoritarian record. Cynically utilizing the TNV killings, while maintaining its electoral alliance with the TUJS, Rajiv Gandhi manipulated the elections in Tripura. This has been followed up by the blatant rigging of the Fatikroy by-election with the help of the State machinery. The extent to which Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress(I) have gone in Tripura foreshadows the danger to democracy in the whole country.

Resolutely Oppose 59th Amendment

The 59th Amendment to the Constitution is a clear warning that the Congress(I) is launching a new authoritarian attack.

This draconian Act has been justified on the basis of the worseing situation in Punjab. The responsibility for the

deteriorating situation lies in the encouragement to the terrorists, by the Centre's policy of releasing the Head Priests and banking on a deal with the Khalistanis. Rajiv Gandhi has armed himself with this Black Act which can be used to impose Emergency in Punjab, and bid for the electorate on the slogan of national unity.

However, his Punjab policy stands nakedly exposed for its criminal irresponsibility and for endangering the very unity of the country. Due to the vehement Opposition protests in Parliament, the 59th Amendment was modified to state that it will be confined to Punjab only. But under cover of such a proclamation of Emergency in Punjab, the relevant Constitutional provisions can be invoked to suspend the fundamental rights of citizens all over the country, and create Emergency-like conditions.

The 59th Amendment has to be resolutely opposed. It cheats the people while playing with fire in Punjab, and arms the Government with authoritarian Emergency powers to suppress the Opposition in the country. The C.C. decided to urgently take up the issue and approach all democratic and secular forces to unitedly fight for the scrapping of this threat to democracy.

AICC(I) session

The authoritarian tenor of the ruling party was very much evident in the recent AICC(I) Session. Speech after speech was a diatribe against the Opposition, with the Prime Minister himself setting the tone with a vicious attack on the Left. The sycophancy of Rajiv Gandhi and intolerance of dissent in AICC(I), presage growing attacks on the Opposition and particularly the CPI(M) and the Left forces.

Attack on Left

The principled opposition of the CPI(M) and the Left forces draws the special wrath of Rajiv and the ruling party. After the rape of democracy in Tripura to oust the Left Front Government, the Congress(I) has stepped up its offensive

against the West Bengal Left Front Government. It was routed in the March Panchayat elections when the CPI(M) and the Left Front improved its tally in the three-tier elections. Yet brazenly defying the people's verdict, the Congress(I) leaders threaten violence and encourage their followers to create anarchy in West Bengal. The Assembly proceedings were sought to be disrupted and bombs have been thrown into the Assembly premises.

Both the Left-led Governments of West Bengal and Kerala are grossly discriminated against. Long-pending projects, financial allocations, overdrafts—in all these matters, the Centre adopts a non-cooperative or confrontationist attitude.

Repression in Tripura

The post-election situation in Tripura is marked by brutal repression on the CPI(M) and Left activists. Thousands of false cases have been lodged, and all democratic norms flouted by the State Government. All-round attacks on CPI(M) bases and rape of tribal women by the para-military forces have taken place. The rigging of the Fatikroy elections makes a mockery of the democratic process.

The C.C. vehemently condemned the Congress(I)-TUJS Government's attitude to the Opposition and its slanderous efforts to implicate the CPI(M) with the TNV terrorists. The C.C. extended its staunch support to the Tripura unit of the Party which is facing this terror campaign unflinchingly. The attack on the CPI(M), which upholds the cause of tribal-non-tribal unity in Tripura, is a grave disservice to the cause of national unity.

The stepped-up offensive against all the non-Congress(I) Governments, the threat of the 59th Constitutional Amendment and the severe repression unleashed in Tripura against the CPI(M) cadres, are all serious warnings of the drive to authoritarianism and danger to democracy. Today it is Tripura which is under attack, tomorrow no part of the country will be spared. Similarly in the name of Punjab, an Emergency can be utilized to endanger democracy in the rest of the country.

The C.C. called upon all Party units to mobilize the people against the repression in Tripura. The Party will unitedly launch mass campaigns with all the Left and secular forces against the Congress(I) attack on democracy.

Situation in Darjeeling

The C.C. expressed its deep appreciation of the heroic fight being waged by the Party cadres and supporters in Darjeeling district to defend the unity of the working people. It paid tribute to the over twenty martyrs who have laid down their lives fighting the separatist forces in the hill areas, in the past four months.

The C.C. noted with satisfaction that the courageous and principled struggle waged by the Party, the CITU and other mass organizations, is leading to more and more people rallying to the cause of national unity against separatism. The bitter struggle waged in the tea gardens has led to the workers asserting their class unity. The progress in fighting the divisive forces registered a significant victory in the big May Day rally held in Darjeeling despite violent attacks on the workers.

The C.C. strongly condemned the noticeable silence of the Central Government spokesmen who did not speak a word against the brutal violence and arson unleashed by the GNLFF all through the forty-day bandh. This gave a tacit encouragement to the extremists and separatists. The C.C. endorsed the stand taken by the Left Front Government which is patiently pursuing all avenues to reach a political settlement which will fulfil the genuine demands of the Nepali-speaking people of the three hill sub-divisions.

Opposition Unity Moves

The C.C. noted that certain developments have taken place which are not in accordance with the people's desire for growing unity of the Left and secular forces. Internal differences, controversies over proposals for unity, and vacillations about the attitude towards communal forces in some

of the secular Opposition parties, have caused concern to all those who wish to see the emergence of the broadest fighting unity against the Rajiv Government. The C.C. hoped that the disputes and those differences which are unconnected with policy matters, would be settled quickly and the full energies of these parties devoted to meet the challenge of the Congress(I) attack on democracy.

Strengthen Left Unity

The united intervention of the Left parties provided a big fillip to the growing mass struggles and the Bharat Bandh. This unity has to be preserved and deepened. The C.C. reiterated its determination to overcome all obstacles and strive for the unity of the Left forces on a principled basis.

Party Congress

The Central Committee decided to convene the Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M), the supreme body of the Party, in the latter half of December, 1988, in Kerala. The Polit Bureau was authorised to work out the details for the preparations of the Congress.

Resolution on Certain Ideological Questions*

Adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) in its meeting held on May 3–6, 1988

(Pertaining to M.S. Gorbachev's Report on the 70th Anniversary of the October Revolution)

The 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution became a great international event. It served to focus attention on the great strides of socialist achievements in the Soviet Union in spite of the destruction during the anti-Nazi war. It served to re-assert the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system with its crisis and unemployment, its armed aggressions against other people and its drive towards nuclear war. The years since the Great October Revolution have revealed the essential difference between the two systems, the imperialist system with its war and aggression and the socialist system with its firm commitment to peace.

The continued existence and increased strength of the Soviet Union, the liberationist role it played in the anti-Nazi war in the midst of constant treachery and conspiracies of the Western imperialists, immensely strengthened the forces of world revolution, world forces of freedom, peace and socialism. The anti-Nazi victory and its follow-up of socialist revolutions and the collapse of the colonial system decisively shifted the world balance of forces in favour of the struggling people of the world, making it difficult for the biggest imperialist powers to secure easy victory for their aggressive designs. The protracted character of the struggle in Third World countries, the retreats and defeats inflicted

*Published in '*The Marxist*', theoretical journal of CPI(M), in April June 1988 issue. Also published as a booklet in July 1989.

on imperialism, testify to the growing power of world forces of progress and socialism.

The enormous strengthening of the economic power of the Soviet Union since the end of the anti-Nazi war and above all the defeat of imperialist attempts to secure nuclear supremacy over the USSR has further shifted the balance of forces in favour of the people. The present-day revolutionary movements, their successes, their protracted resistance, the resistance of governments of many newly liberated countries to imperialist attempts to trap them, and the non-aligned policies of the governments of countries like India are inconceivable without the strength of the socialist camp. At the head of these achievements stood the CPSU basing itself on Marxism-Leninism.

In these years the Soviet Union's struggle for peace has played a vital role in curbing the aggressive activities of the imperialist camp against socialist countries and the drive towards nuclear war. The repeated offers to stop the armaments race, the warning to the world against the consequences of a nuclear war, the unilateral declaration rejecting a first nuclear strike and the recent agreement to remove short and medium nuclear missiles from Europe have played a big role in isolating the imperialists and strengthening the world struggle for peace. Thanks to these concrete moves and the constant readiness to protect peace, imperialist propaganda about Soviet intentions got blunted and exposed and larger and larger sections of people in Europe and the USA understood the necessity of protecting and maintaining peace. This of course checked the imperialist moves for war preparations and was a good victory for the cause of the international proletarian movement in the world.

The struggle for peace waged by the Soviet Union in the post-war years has helped in a big way the advance of the forces of freedom, peace and socialism. Protected against wars, the working class and people of all countries were able to concentrate their attention on their internal contradictions and struggles. The growing alignment of the labour

movement in the advanced capitalist countries with the struggle for peace and the role played by the NAM strengthened the fight against nuclear war. The growing concern for peace among sections of ruling circles in imperialist countries also helps the cause of peace and the fight against nuclear war. In spite of these favourable factors there is no reason for complacency. The imperialists have not given up their designs and policies and a continuous and relentless struggle against the danger of nuclear war is necessary to protect humanity from destruction.

At the same time it should be remembered that the imperialists are not easily moved by public concern, moral considerations or concern for human values. They calculate everything on the basis of material gains and class prospects. The decisive check that was exercised on imperialist war-mongers was exercised by the Soviet Union's preparedness to face any nuclear attacks with dire consequences for the attackers. The achievement of nuclear parity between the Soviet Union and the USA was an effective weapon to prevent the outbreak of war. The knowledge the millions of people now share that there will be no victor in the nuclear war increased the urge and strength of the peace movement and further restricted the imperialist drive for war preparations.

While our Party acclaimed the great role of the Soviet Union at each of its Congress, while it applauded its fight for world peace, its decisive intervention to protect the Third World countries, it had also occasion to express differences on important ideological issues.

The report of Comrade Gorbachev on the occasion of the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution—the third part dealing with the international situation, “The October Revolution and Today's World”—contains estimates and formulations which are at variance with our Party's understanding. Our Party's delegation which attended the 70th Anniversary celebrations expressed to the CPSU leaders its reservations on the basic formulations made in the report. Subsequently our delegation once again visited Moscow to

discuss the differences but they could not be resolved. The Central Committee therefore has to take note of this divergence of views and inform the Party ranks about our stand in relation to the new thinking of the CPSU. The Central Committee discussed the report of Comrade Gorbachev and decided to issue the present document embodying the Party's views on the issues raised in the report, as they have a direct bearing on our movement.

Our Understanding

1957 and 1960 Conferences of Communist Parties

To be able to understand the real implications of Comrade Gorbachev's estimate of the world situation we must recapitulate our own understanding of the present-day world and the basis of this understanding. It will be remembered that our Party in its understanding of the post-war situation based itself on the statement issued by the Communist Parties' Conference in Moscow in 1957 and 1960. The 1957 Conference declared :

The main content of our epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism which was begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. The people of the colonial and dependent countries still languishing in slavery are intensifying the struggle for national liberation. The progress of socialism and the national liberation movement has greatly accelerated the disintegration of imperialism. With regard to the greater part of mankind, imperialism has lost its one-time domination. In the imperialist countries society is rocked by deep-going class contradictions and by antagonism between those countries while the working class is putting up increasing resistance to the policy of imperialism and the monopolies, is fighting for better conditions, democratic rights, for peace and socialism. While socialism is on the upgrade, imperialism is heading towards decline. The positions of imperialism have been greatly weakened as a result of the disintegration of the colonial system. In the

imperialist countries the contradictions between the productive forces and production relations have become acute. In many respects modern science and engineering are not being used in the interest of social progress for all mankind, because capitalism fetters and deforms the development of the productive forces of society. The world capitalist economy remains shaky and unstable. The relatively good economic activity still observed in a number of capitalist countries is due in large measure to the arms drive and other transient factors. However, the capitalist economy is bound to encounter deeper slumps and crisis. The temporary high business activities help to keep up the reformist illusions among part of the workers in the capitalist countries.

The 1960 gathering of representatives of Communists and Workers' Parties declared in their statement :

Our time whose content is transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Revolution, is a time of socialist revolutions and national liberation revolutions, a time of breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more people to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale.

It said further :

It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world 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 social transformation of society, that determine the main content, the main trend, the main features of the historical development of society. Whatever efforts imperialism makes it cannot stop the advance of history. A reliable basis has been provided for further decisive victories for socialism. The complete triumph of socialism is inevitable.

Gorbachev's presentation and his analysis of the present-day world situation run counter to this revolutionary understanding of the balance of class forces in the world. The Conference of Communist Parties took note of the fact that the balance of forces in the world had shifted in favour of the people and socialism and therefore all-round intensification of social contradictions of the period was inevitable. That is why the statement described the epoch as an epoch of transition to socialism and an epoch in which the main content of the present period was determined by the class struggle of the people and activities of the socialist camp. Gorbachev's presentation seeks to make a case for growing modification of the contradictions of the period, for avoiding confrontation between the people and imperialism and suggests ways in which the interests of the people and the working class can be reconciled with the interests of the imperialists and capitalists.

Party's Struggle Against Opportunism and Dogmatism

Basing on this international understanding which was at one time accepted by all parties, our Party continued to study the changes in the international situation and make its own analysis consistent with the character of the epoch. Remaining faithful to these declarations, our Party had to express sharp differences first with the CPSU and later on with the Communist Party of China (CPC). We took note of the contradictions of the present period and sharply differed from those who under one pretext or another would focus only on one of these contradictions, thereby leading to an erroneous outlook on the world situation and erroneous tactics and understanding. We also came to the conclusion that in different periods under different circumstances one or the other contradiction may become the focus of the world struggle and this has to be located and appropriate understanding and tactics are to be drawn. This however did not mean modification of other contradictions. It only meant that growing

intensification of one or more contradictions at different points of time.

The Burdwan Plenum of the Party held in April 1968 stated :

All Communists who are guided by the theory of scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism accept that in the present era there exist four fundamental social contradictions. They are the contradiction between the camp of the world socialism and capitalism; the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries; the contradiction between the imperialist states and the oppressed countries; and the contradiction among the different imperialist states and among the monopoly capitalist groups.

While stressing on the contradictions of our period, our Party emphasised that the principal contradiction of the epoch was between socialism and imperialism. At the same time it stressed that in a particular period one or the other contradiction may get more intensified and become the focal point for the time being.

Earlier, in the 1960s, our Party noted the sharpening of the contradiction between imperialism and the national liberation movement and stressed that it had become the focal point of world struggle. Later on with the passage of time and in a changed situation the Vijayawada Congress of our Party noted the sharpening of the contradiction between imperialism and socialism and the rise of nuclear war danger. The Vijayawada Political Resolution observed :

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

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

Our understanding of the developing contradictions led to differences with the CPSU and later on with the CPC. In the 1960s we differed with the CPSU because it underestimated, to the point of ignoring, the contradiction between national liberation movements and imperialism, which was becoming a focal point of resistance. The CPSU at that time concentrated only on the contradiction between socialism and imperialism.

At a larger stage we differed from the CPC which while recognizing the intensification of the contradiction between national liberation and imperialism began to growingly ignore the principal contradiction of our period, that is between imperialism and socialism. We all know the net result of this outlook.

In the successive Party Congress after the Burdwan Plenum, our Party reiterated its understanding of the present epoch and judged the developing international situation in the context of intensification of the four major contradictions of our period. It was never suggested in our analysis that any of these contradictions was getting modified opening the prospect of settling problems without class struggle and in mutual class interest.

Twelfth Party Congress and Contradictions

The Political Resolution of the Twelfth Party Congress stated :

The struggle for peace waged by the Warsaw Pact countries, with the support of the people of the world, together with the military preparedness of the Soviet Union which is determined to see that the existing military parity

is not upset in favour of imperialism, has so far acted as a strong deterrent against the nuclear war-mongers.

Referring to inter-imperialist contradictions the Resolution says :

In the situation created by the crisis, inter-imperialist contradictions are sharpening though they are not powerful enough to stop the U.S. drive towards the nuclear war. But the economic rivalries in the world market, the uneven technological development of the imperialist countries, the selfish economic policies pursued by the USA and finally, the USA's dictatorial demands on its partners for increased military expenditure are all leading to resistance on the part of its allies.

Regarding the contradictions in the advanced capitalist countries, the Congress Resolution says :

The crisis and its effects announced the failure of state monopoly capitalism to regulate the economy.....the identification of the state with the monopolists, with their industrial military complex, narrows its social base to the extreme, rendering possible wide mass movement embracing widely disparate economic strata. This is one of the reasons for the intensification of the struggle in the advanced capitalist countries.

In the contradiction between the imperialist and Third World countries, the Resolution observes :

The mounting debt load of Third World countries and the consequent dependence of many of their economies on the western world lead to an intense sharpening of the conflict between imperialism and these countries.....This is sharpening their conflict and intensifies the U.S. intervention in Latin America. The U.S. intervenes with arms and carried out a cowardly aggression against tiny Grenada two years back. It protects the murderous regime of El Salvador by supplying it with arms and money.

The Vijayawada Congress and earlier Congresses made similar analysis based on the contradictions of the period and the prospects of the epoch.

Twentyseventh Congress of the CPSU

It is interesting to note that the Twentyseventh Congress of the CPSU also confirmed the strengthening of the major contradictions of our period and made a world analysis based on them :

The first and most important group of contradictions in terms of humanity's future is connected with the relations between countries of the two systems, the two formations. These contradictions have a long history. Since the Great October Revolution in Russia and the split of the world on the social-class principle, fundamental differences have emerged both in the assessment of current affairs and in the views concerning the world's social perspective.

Capitalism regarded the birth of socialism as an "error" of history which must be "rectified". It was to be rectified at any cost, by any means, irrespective of law and morality; by armed intervention, economic blockade, subversive activity, sanctions and "punishments", or rejection of all cooperation. But nothing could interfere with the consolidation of the new system and its historical right to live.

The difficulty that the ruling classes of the capitalist world have in understanding the realities, the recurrence of attempts at resolving by force the whole group of contradictions dividing the two worlds are, of course, anything but accidental. The intrinsic mainsprings and socio-economic essence of imperialism prompt it to translate the competition of the two systems into the language of military confrontation. Owing to its social nature, imperialism ceaselessly gives rise to aggressive, adventurist policy.

Here we can speak of a whole complex of motives involved : the predatory appetites of the arms manufacturers

and the influential military-bureaucratic groups, the selfish interest of the monopolists in sources of raw materials and markets for their goods, the bourgeoisie's fear of the ongoing changes, and lastly, the attempts to resolve its own increasingly acute problems at socialism's expense.

Such attempts are especially typical of U.S. imperialism. It was nothing but imperial ideology and policy, the wish to create the most unfavourable external conditions for socialism and for the USSR that prompted the launching of the race of nuclear and other arms after 1945, just when the crushing defeat of fascism and militarism was, it would seem, offering a realistic opportunity for building a world without wars, and a mechanism of international cooperation—the United Nations—had been created for this purpose. But imperialism's nature asserted itself that time again.

Today too, the right wing of the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie regards the stoking up of international tensions as something that justified military spending, claims to global supremacy, interference in the affairs of other states, and an offensive against the interests and the rights of the American working people. No small role seems to be played by the idea of using tensions to put pressure on the allies, to make them absolutely obedient, to subordinate them to Washington's dictation.

In relation to the contradiction between capital and labour the political report of the Twentyseventh Congress of the CPSU says :

The contradictions between labour and capital are among the first to grow more acute. In the 1960s and 1970s, with the onset of a favourable economic situation, the working class and the working people managed to secure a certain improvement of their condition. But from the mid-1970s on, the proliferating economic crisis and an other technological modernization of production changed

the situation, and enabled capital to go on the counter-offensive, depriving the working people of a considerable part of their social gains. For a number of standard of living indicators, the working people were flung many years back. Unemployment has reached a post-war high. The condition of peasants and farmers is deteriorating visibly; some farms are going bankrupt, with their former owners joining the ranks of hired workers, while others become objectly dependent on large agricultural monopolies and banks. The social stratification is growing deeper and increasingly striking. In the United States, for example, one per cent of the wealthiest families, own riches that exceed by nearly 50 per cent the aggregate wealth of 80 per cent of all American families, which make up the lower part of the property pyramid.

In relation to the inter-imperialist contradictions the report observes :

The last decades of the century are marked by new outbreaks of inter-imperialist contradictions and the appearance of their new forms and tendencies. This group of capitalist contradictions has not been eliminated either by class affinity, the interest in uniting forces, by military, economic and political integration, or by the scientific and technological revolution. The latter has incontestably accelerated the internationalization of capitalist production, has given added impetus to the evening up of levels as well as to the leap-like development of capitalist countries. The competition that has grown more acute under the impact of scientific and technological progress, is affecting those who have dropped behind ever more mercilessly. The considerable complication of the conditions of capitalist reproduction, the diversity of crisis processes, and the intensification of international competition have made imperialist rivalry especially acute and bitter. The commercial and economic struggle on the world market is witnessing ever greater reliance on the power of national

state-monopoly capitalism, with the role of the bourgeois state becoming increasingly aggressive and egoistic.

In relation to the contradictions between imperialism and Third World countries the report says :

A new complex and changing set of contradictions has taken shape between imperialism, on the one hand, and the developing countries and people, on the other. The liberation of former colonies and semi-colonies was a strong political and ideological blow to the capitalist system. It has ceased to exist in the shape that it assumed in the 19th century and which extended into the first half of the 20th century. A slow, arduous, but irreversible process of socio-economic transformations is under way in the life of nations comprising the majority of mankind. This process, which has brought about not a few fundamental changes, has also encountered considerable difficulties.

By political manoeuvring, blandishments and blackmail, military threats and intimidation, and all too often by direct interference in the internal affairs of the newly free countries, capitalism has in many ways managed to sustain the earlier relationships of economic dependence. On this basis, imperialism managed to create and run the most refined system of neo-colonialist exploitation, and to tighten its hold on a considerable number of newly free states.

The consequences of this are tragic. The developing countries with a population of more than two billion, have, in effect, become a region of wholesale poverty. In the early 1980s, the per capita income in the newly free countries was on the whole less than 10 per cent than that of the developed capitalist states. And in the past thirty years, far from shrinking, the gap has grown wider. Nor is it a question of just comparative poverty. There is illiteracy, child mortality, and epidemics that afflict hundreds of millions of people.

Two Presentations

Comrade Gorbachev's report is significant for many reasons. In the first place it is based on assumptions which are at variance with the many formulations and estimates made by the CPSU in the analysis of the international situation made in the report of the Twentyseventh Congress of the CPSU. It puts forward a new concept of growing interdependence and integrated relations of the two worlds, the socialist and the imperialist.

Till now almost all Communist parties presented the world situation as an intensification of the contradiction of the present period, contradiction of the present world centering round the principal and basic contradiction between socialism and imperialism. The analysis flowing from this presentation led to growing emphasis on the importance of the class struggle in the advanced capitalist countries, growing mass resistance to imperialism in the Third World countries, apart from the resistance of masses of these countries to the policies pursued by their reactionary governments. In this analysis the struggle for peace also found a correct place as part of the growing class struggle against imperialism and capitalism, as an integral part of the struggle of masses to free themselves from capitalist and imperialist exploitation. The presentation did not miss attaching vital importance to the struggle for peace, struggle for elimination of nuclear weapons and the struggle for the removal of danger of nuclear war.

Peaceful Co-Existence

Gorbachev in his report talks about peaceful co-existence :

Naturally there have been changes in Lenin's concept of peaceful co-existence. At first it was needed above all to create a modicum of external conditions for the construction of a new society in the country of the socialist revolution. Continuing the class based policy of the victorious proletariat, peaceful co-existence subsequently became a condition for the survival of the entire human race especially in the nuclear age.

The CPI(M) has always upheld the Leninist policy of peaceful co-existence between countries belonging to different social systems. Marxist-Leninist parties regard peaceful co-existence as an essential part of the foreign policy of the socialist state. The Soviet Union by firmly advocating it has countered imperialist war propaganda and strengthened the world struggle for peace.

Peaceful co-existence between states of different social systems, however, does not mean a call for cessation of class struggle in capitalist and Third World countries. Our Party has fought against this opportunist interpretation in the past. The maintenance of peaceful co-existence has now assumed vital importance in the background of the danger of nuclear war. It has become an urgent necessity for all countries and all people.

The Main Thesis—

Inter-dependent and Integral World

The main thesis of the report is that we are now in the midst of a new stage of society each part of which cannot do without the other. It is an interdependent and integral world leading to modifications of earlier contradictions.

The report explains the new concept of Soviet foreign policy. What is this new concept? It is this new concept that is at the centre of the new outlook towards the world situation. It is a concept which ignores the intensification of class contradictions of the present period and suggests that they can be growingly modified in the interests of an integral and interdependent world and the interest of peace. "As you know this concept proceeds from the idea that for all the profound contradictions of the contemporary world, for all the radical differences among the countries that comprise it, it is inter-dependent and integral." Instead of a world divided by class contradictions you are presented with a world which is growingly getting integrated and interdependent. Even the socialist countries and the imperialist countries are getting inter-related and inter-dependent and integral.

What are the reasons for this inter-dependence and integral character?

The reasons for this include the internationalization of the world economic ties, the comprehensive scope for scientific and technological revolution, the essential novel role played by the mass media, the state of the earth's resources, the common environmental danger and the crying social problems of the developing world which affects us all. The main reason, however, is the problem of human survival. This problem is now with us because the development of nuclear weapons and the threatening prospects of their use have called into question the very existence of the human race.

Internationalization of economic ties which started since the expansion of capitalism has led to colonial conquests, enslavement of millions of people and their impoverishment. To present internationalization of economic life only as economic interdependence and to forget the intense class conflict inherent in it is unscientific. None can say that this internationalization of economic life takes place on terms of equality. Only the imperialist countries and exploiters can think of internationalization of economic life as interdependence, meaning thereby an opportunity for further exploitation.

The scientific and technological revolution does not simply unite the economic life, it is also a weapon of domination in the hands of advanced countries, a weapon of intensifying class struggle in capitalist countries. It should not be forgotten that under capitalism advance of science and technology is exploited in the interest of the ruling class and is accompanied by unemployment and worsening conditions for the working class leading to intensification of class struggle. The rapid development of technology in western countries has deepened and strengthened the backwardness of newly liberated countries. The advertized transfer of technology to the countries is not a charitable operation but

accompanied by conditions of collaboration which increase their dependence on the imperialists. It is known that transfer of technology is considered by USA as an instrument of its aggressive foreign policy.

Does the concern for the earth's resources or environment really draw the imperialist countries and their rulers into some common action for saving the world or are they increasingly grabbing the world's resources? Are the crying social problems of the Third World countries leading to integration on terms of equality, or, forcible integration of the underdeveloped countries through neo-colonialism? It is really astonishing to find that the crying problems of the Third World countries, which are problems of imperialist exploitation, are considered as evidence of growing integration of the world. But in the end all these reasons are given up and the report comes to the main point. It says : 'The main reason however is the problem of human survival'. It is now argued that even the imperialists want to recognize that we all interdependent and must live in cooperation with each other because of the fear of mutual destruction. With this argument other contradictions, social contradictions of the period are taken out of sight.

Intensification of Contradiction

It is argued that the main reason for the integral consciousness of the world is the problem of human survival. While the fear of mutual destruction does exist, the imperialists have not given up their war plans. On the other hand they are striving for nuclear superiority, for monopoly of more destructive weapons. Reagan's insistence on pursuing the Star War project which is a project of first strike offensive against the Soviet Union has no other meaning except this. The USA's reluctance to start nuclear war under present conditions is understood as due to common concern for humanity and concern over human destruction. But this is not correct. Nuclear aggression against the Soviet Union has been prevented because

there is fear of effective retaliation. The imperialists are seeking to disturb the existing parity and acquire nuclear superiority. It is at the same time true that the people of Europe and even USA are concerned with the possibility of destruction of the world, at least their own destruction, and strongly support the proposals for peace and nuclear disarmament. But this does not mean that the world has become integral and the contradiction between imperialism and socialism is getting modified. It only shows a tremendous intensification of the contradiction when both sides are ready with full nuclear arsenals. The capacity of the USSR and the socialist side to strike effectively at imperialism in case of war does not indicate modification of the contradictions.

In the present situation in which the U.S. imperialism is afraid of launching war, the U.S. imperialists are manoeuvring for a new advantageous position to solve the contradictions in their favour. It does not mean that the USA has given up all hope for nuclear superiority. It is no doubt true that the peace movement is getting steadily widened and sections of the ruling circles in imperialists countries are also expressing concern for peace. But it is erroneous to think that this has created an integral world.

No doubt if popular concern for peace grows and the peace movement makes gigantic progress it will be extremely difficult for imperialist circles to think of launching a nuclear war. But the decisive factor is the deterrent in the hands of the Soviet Union, the expression of class struggle and not the modification of contradictions.

It is wrong to raise hopes of permanent durable peace by attributing to the imperialists common concern to save humanity. It is equally erroneous to see priority for human values in the present world.

This does not mean that more favourable factors do not exist today to avoid nuclear war or that a nuclear war is inevitable. All that has to be understood is that the present favourable atmosphere can be made more favourable if the working class movement exercises its

vigilance over imperialist tactics and policies and continues to mobilize people from all continents for the purpose of defending peace.

Success in the struggle for elimination of nuclear weapons, for eliminating the danger of nuclear war will be a big triumph for the forces of peace, democracy and socialism enabling the people to avoid unnecessary destruction in their march forward. It will definitely further alter the balance of forces in the world in favour of the people. While every effort should be made to achieve this success it should be realised that it is hard to achieve it without persistent battle against the imperialists specially the policies of the USA in pursuance of war and global domination.

It should not be presented as if elimination of all nuclear weapons will automatically give quietus to the global ambitions of the USA and eliminate contradictions between socialist and imperialist, camps. The struggle to solve this contradiction will take different forms.

Laws of the Integral World

The report seeks to identify the laws which, amongst conflicting interests, modify the contradictions :

We are examining the theoretical aspects of the prospects of advancement towards durable peace. The new way of thinking has helped us to generally prove that a comprehensive system of international security in the context of disarmament is needed and possible. Now we must prove that the attainment of this goal is necessary and feasible. We must identify the laws governing the inter-action of the forces which through rivalry, contradictions and conflicting interests, can produce the desired effect. In this connection we should begin by posing some tough questions—of course tackling them from Leninist positions and using Leninist methodology.

The first question concerns the nature of imperialism. It

goes without saying that external factors cannot change the nature of a social system.

But given the current stage of world's development and the new level of its inter-dependence and integration is it possible to influence that nature and block its more dangerous manifestations? In other words can we be sure that the laws operating in the integral world in which universal human values have top priority will restrict the scope of the destructive effects produced by the operation of the egocentric laws which benefit only the ruling classes and are basic to the capitalist system.

This is a very strange question. Firstly we are told that we are existing in a new integral world; secondly that this world has its own laws operating in it; thirdly in this world universal human values have top priority; fourthly, the laws of this world, we are asked, can they not block the basic law of the capitalist system.

Firstly, there is only an assertion that there is a new integral world with modified contradictions but the statement runs in direct conflict with what is happening in the world. The feverish arms race, the class conflict in capitalist countries, the monstrous loot and attack on the freedom and economic independence of Third World countries display sharpened contradictions, splitting the world into opposite camps and not the integral character of the world. The basic laws of the capitalist society can be influenced or changed only if these conflicts are growingly solved in favour of the people forcing a retreat on the imperialists and the capitalists and not by modifying these contradictions; that is, not by perpetuating the enslavement of the people. One should not deceive oneself and imagine that the present world, the so-called new stage of integral world, has top priority for human values. It is further asked :

The question is concerned with the first one : Can capitalism get rid of militarism and function and develop in the economic sphere without it? Is it not a delusion

on our part to invite the West to draw and compare conversion programmes for switching economies over to civilian production?

Another question :

How realistic is our hope that this awareness of the terrible threat the world is facing, and we know that this awareness is making its way even into the higher echelons of the Western ruling elite (read imperialists) will become a part of practical policies? After all, however, forceful the arguments of commonsense, however well-developed the sense of responsibility, however powerful the instinct of self-preservation there are still things which must not be underestimated and which are determined by economic and consequently class based interests.

This is the reality. Class interests finally dominate and rule supreme. Now comes the question in a general form :

In other words, the question is whether capitalism can adapt itself to the conditions of a nuclear weapons free world, to the conditions of a new and equitable economic order, to the conditions in which the intellectual and moral values of the two world systems will be compared honestly.

This is another strange question, asking capitalism to accept an equitable order, an equitable order which goes against its interests. The meaning of this appeal is explained later on. It really means the working class and the Third World countries should settle with imperialists in mutual interest.

Central Idea—

Modification of Contradictions

Now we come to the central idea of new outlook of foreign policy. "The post-war period has witnessed an indepth modification of the contradictions that used to determine

the principal trends in the world's economy and politics. I refer above all to the trends that inevitably led to wars to world wars between capitalists themselves."

All these years a major part of the world Communist movement stressed that the character of the post-war epoch was a period of sharpening of the contradictions between imperialism and socialism, between capitalists and working class in advanced capitalist countries, between imperialism and the Third World and between imperialists themselves. But now a new stage is announced in which these contradictions are in a process of indepth modification.

This understanding is not in accordance with historical facts and current reality. The post-world war period starts with the close of the anti-Nazi victory in 1945. It saw the most gigantic developments in world history, the socialist revolutions in a number of European countries, the Great Chinese revolution, the emergence of socialism in one-third of the world, the victories of Vietnam, Korea, Cuba and the open defeat of U.S. imperialism at the hands of the brave people of Vietnam, the independence of India, the collapse of the colonial world. All these were manifestations of the highest level of class conflicts. To describe this period as a period of modification of contradictions is a travesty of facts. And in the recent period also U.S. interference has increased everywhere. India knows to her cost what the U.S. is doing in Pakistan to subvert Indian freedom. The Palestinian question, apartheid, the attack on Nicaragua, the invasion of Grenada, the widespread American military bases all over the world, the Iran-Iraq war, all show the real character of the present world. The massive working class struggles in European countries, increased unemployment, the rise of fascist influence in France and revanchist tones in West Germany also reveal the same trend in advanced capitalist countries. The Star Wars project of Reagan means the continuance of the arms race.

The report seeks to make the point that the fact that for forty years the imperialists have not gone to war against

each other shows that there is a modification of the intra-imperialist contradictions. But the reason that is given shows that the imperialists have to restrain themselves because they have to organize all their forces against the socialist camp :

Today the situation is different. It is not only the lesson of the past war but also the fear of *sapping its strength in the face of socialism*; by now a world system, that have prevented capitalism from allowing its 'internal' contradictions go to extremes. These contradictions began to evolve into a technological race against competitors and were dampened with the help of neo-colonialism. A kind of new 'peaceful' partitioning of the world was started with the rule Lenin identified—'according to capital', the big share going to whoever was the strongest and wealthiest at the moment. Some countries began to 'ease' tensions in the economies by rechannelising the resources into the military industrial complex under the pretext of 'Soviet threat'. The changes occurring within the technological and organizational infrastructure of capitalist economy also helped to clear contradictions and balance different interests.

The entire trend and argument of the passage is to show that capitalism of our days is becoming more and more peaceful—notwithstanding its feverish war preparations. Let us take one formulation after another. "It is not only the lessons of the past war but also the fear of sapping its strength in the face of socialism, by now a world system, that have prevented capitalism from allowing its internal contradictions go to extremes." This is certainly true in relation to the outbreak of war among imperialist powers. The report correctly states that war amongst imperialist powers has not broken out because of fear of sapping their strength in the face of socialism. What does this show? The intensification of the contradiction between imperialism and socialism and subordination of the intra-imperialist contradictions to the needs of the basic contradictions of our period.

No modification of contradictions because of changed integral world but imperialist efforts to solve the basic contradictions in their favour.

Take the next proposition which is intended to show that the contradictions of the capitalist society are being handled peacefully. "These contradictions began to evolve into a technological race against competitors and were dampened with the help of neo-colonialism. A kind of new 'peaceful' repartitioning of the world was started in line with the rule Lenin identified—'according to capital', the bigger share going to whoever was the strongest and wealthiest at the moment."

This again is a statement which does violence to reality. The four decades since the end of the war are full of armed struggles against imperialism and overthrow of imperialist powers in colonial countries. Besides, in recent years imperialists have been carrying on armed conflicts by proxy and war against newly liberated countries using their reactionary agents in various countries. In every country that has succeeded in maintaining its freedom during the last forty years the people had to shed their blood in profusion. India herself experienced two wars with Pakistan backed by U.S. imperialism. This does not speak of peaceful partition of the world. For to achieve this partition the imperialists used violence in various forms against each other. Secondly, is the process of partition 'peaceful' for those who have been partitioned among the imperialist powers? What is meant by these contradictions "were dampened with the help of neo-colonialism"? It means dividing the loot of Third World countries among themselves, the imperialists, for the time being, did not go to war against each other. They have temporarily solved their difficulties at the expense of the Third World countries. But how does this appear to those who are looted? Is it dampening their contradictions or intensify their contradictions with imperialism? It is not correct to ignore the Third World countries while discussing the 'dampening' of contradictions of capitalist society. This period has seen

sharpening of the contradictions between imperialism and Third World countries which is also a part of the contradictions of capitalist society.

Military Industrial Complex

Now the next proposition, "some countries began to 'ease' tensions within their economies by rechannelising resources into the military industrial complex on the pretext of Soviet threat". This is not a correct way of presenting the role and significance of the military industrial complex and its connection with the crisis and contradictions of capitalist society. The military industrial complex is the direct product of modern capitalism with its domination of monopoly and multinationals, showing that capitalism cannot exist without huge military production and expenditure, a menace and threat to socialism and freedom of Third World countries.

Its existence sharpens the contradictions of the present period including those among imperialist powers. It is wrong to present it as if some countries stumbled upon it to ease tensions within their economy and that stronger military power to counter the socialist camp and the allies was not a motive behind its appearance.

Anti-Nazi Alliance Recalled

Absence of war amongst imperialist powers during these post-war years is interpreted as modifications of contradictions. It is asked why should not the imperialist countries extend the same concession to socialist countries and declare for rejection of wars between the two camps. This is how it is argued. "Since an alliance between a socialist country and capitalist states proved possible in the past when the threat of fascism arose, does this not suggest a lesson for the present, for today's world which faces the threat of nuclear catastrophe, and the need to ensure safe nuclear power production and overcome the danger to environment."

Once again there is an appeal to forget class contradictions between the two worlds. It is not remembered that the

imperialists have avoided war against each other in order to preserve their strength and unity, against the socialist camp. This is the class reason for maintaining peace amongst themselves. How can they be asked to forget this class objective and persuaded to be peaceful towards all including Soviet Union and the socialist camp?

Secondly, the reference to anti-Nazi alliance—"an alliance between a socialist country and capitalist countries"—is not appropriate and misses the historical developments leading to the alliance. For years the Soviet Union and the international Communist movement were demanding collective security and anti-fascist alliance to check the Nazi advance. The two imperialist powers, Britain and France, not only refused to respond but were egging on Hitler to attack the Soviet Union to destroy or weaken it. They were holding out promises of help and encouraging Hitler's aggressive designs to reach the borders of the Soviet Union. The treacherous Munich pact which sold Czechoslovakia to Hitler was a direct promise of support to Hitler if he went East. The game did not succeed because Hitler knew the defence strength of the Soviet Union and understood that aggression against her would not be an easy affair. He decided to turn West to attack his weaker rivals before attacking the Soviet Union. It was only after the failure of their efforts to direct Hitler's attack against the USSR and their military rout, that the imperialists agreed to join in an alliance against Hitler's forces. Even during the days of the alliance they betrayed on several occasions. They refused to open the second front after repeated promises; they held treacherous negotiations with the Nazis for separate peace. Their aim was to ensure that their ally Soviet Union was weakened as much as possible so that it would take years for her to regain its earlier strength and in the meanwhile to use this predicament to their class advantage. Their predicament made it incumbent on them to render help to the Soviet Union and bring about Hitler's defeat. But they did not forget their class interests.

Capitalism without Militarism

The next point. Can a capitalist economy develop without militarisation? This brings to mind the 'economic miracle', in Japan, West Germany and Italy—although it is true when the 'miracle' came to an end they switched back to militarism again. But here one should examine the degree to which the switch was rooted in essential laws governing the operation of the contemporary monopoly capital and the role played by extraneous factors—the 'contagious example' of the U.S. military and industrial complex, the cold war, and its spirit, considerations of prestige, the need to have one's own 'mailed fist' to be able to talk to one's competitors in a commonly understood language and the desire to back one's economic invasion of Third World countries with power politics. Whatever the actual reason, there was a period when the modern capitalist economy developed rapidly in several countries where military spending was minimum. The relevant historical experience is available.

It is suggested that the switch from miracle to militarism was partly at least due to extraneous factors, that is, factors which have nothing to do with the law governing the operations of the contemporary monopoly capital, that is partly at least the switch was not inevitable and therefore capitalist development without militarisation is a distinct possibility.

But the so-called external factors which are cited are nothing but the product of the laws of the capitalist world, competition among big powers, readiness to arm oneself against socialist camp, readiness to invade the Third World, are all inevitable accompaniments of imperialism. It is futile to consider these factors as external to prove the possibility of capitalism without militarism.

The implied argument is that because the two countries after their defeat in the Second World War were prohibited from spending on military weapons and armaments, their progress produced a "miracle". The question is why did this

so-called "miracle" end and the two countries had to join in a coalition against the USSR. Their rapid progress following the destruction of their production potential—this progress was no doubt to a certain extent facilitated because of the ban on military expenditure—soon came into conflict with the interests of rival powers in the world market. The "miracle" came to an end and, in the language of Gorbachev, the two countries had 'to switch' to militarism like the rest of the imperialists and join the alliance of the imperialists against the Soviet Union. The laws of the capitalist world cannot be evaded.

In his report to the 27th Congress of the CPSU, Gorbachev correctly describes militarism as the ugliest and dangerous monster of the capitalist system, of the age of electronics, etc.

The facets and consequences of the scientific and technological revolution differ in different socio-political systems. Capitalism of the 1980s, the capitalism of the age of electronics and information science, computers and robots, is throwing more millions of people including young and educated people, out of jobs. Wealth and power are being increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few. Militarism is thriving on the arms race greatly, and also strives gradually to gain control over the political levers of power. It is becoming the ugliest and the most dangerous monster of the 20th century. Because of its efforts, the most advanced scientific and technical ideas are being converted into weapons of mass destruction.

Imperialists and Third World Countries

The report deals with the problem of the relations between the imperialist countries and Third World countries on the basis of its new analysis.

The neo-colonialist methods of using the resources of others, the arbitrary practices of the transnational corporations, the bondage of debt, debts that are nearing the million dollar mark and obviously cannot be repaid, also lead to an impasse. All this gives rise to acute problems

within the capitalist countries themselves too. The various speculations on this score are essentially aimed at making the Third World a kind of scape-goat and blaming it for the numerous difficulties—including declining living standards—in the major capitalist countries.

So far so good. How is the problem to be solved? It is said: "Inequitable trade remains a fact that will eventually culminate in an explosion. It appears that western leaders are beginning to understand that this outcome is a distinct possibility, but so far they have been merely trying to resort to various palliatives."

It seems the concept of an integrated world goes against an 'explosion', that is, against a revolt or total liberation of the Third World countries. It is now argued that some Western leaders are now sober enough to think of avoiding this explosion. It is said that it is in the interest of humanity and the inevitable law of the integral world that such explosion of Third World countries should be avoided.

Indeed the novelty of the international economic and political processes of our time has not been fully grasped and assimilated. Yet this will have to be done because the ongoing processes have the force of an objective law: There will either be a disaster or a joint quest for a new economic order which takes into account the interest of all on an equal basis. We see the way to establishing such an order in the implementation of the 'disarmament for development' concept.

Both the imperialists and the exploited Third World countries are to join in a common quest for solving the problem in the interest of both the imperialists and the Third World countries. And this idea is to be implemented through the formula of disarmament for development. It is further added:

Thus when looking for an answer to our third question too, we see that the situation does not seem to defy solution. In this area as well contradictions can be modified. But

this necessitates understanding reality and mapping out practical actions in the spirit of new thinking. And this, in turn, will facilitate the advance towards a more secure world. In a nutshell, here, as well, we are facing a historic choice dictated by the laws of largely interconnected and integral world.

The choice is that the Third World countries must tolerate the exploitation of the imperialist countries and should not think of creating a disaster by trying to liquidate the relations of exploitation. This is the logic of the integral and inter-dependent world.

Class Struggle in Advanced Capitalist Countries

In connection with the class struggle in the advanced capitalist countries, the contradictions between the working class and the capitalists of these countries, it is said that the masters of monopoly capital will make a choice in favour of demilitarization of the economy. It is argued:

The advanced forces of the working class movement are looking for ways to enhance its political awareness. They have to carry on their activities in a highly complicated and new and changing situation. The issues involved in safeguarding the economic rights and interests of the masses and indeed those related to the struggle for democracy including democracy in production have acquired a new meaning. For instance workers are sometimes offered a partnership but it is a partnership under which the sanctum of business is inaccessible to them and free election of the managerial personnel is out of the question.

This is good. But does this indicate a modification of the contradictions or a sharpening of the contradiction? Of course socialism is not mentioned anywhere in connection with the workers' struggle.

It is further said: "The working class has the potential to play a decisive role especially at abrupt turning points in

history." It is indicated that insane militarization may provide a motive to the working class to come into action, rally the people and take the mass resistance beyond the confines of economic demands. This also is good. But does it indicate modification of contradiction or sharpening of contradictions? But no, it is concluded that because of this possibility contradiction will be modified and the masters of monopoly capital will agree to give up militarism.

Therefore here too the ruling classes, the masters of monopoly capital, will have to make a choice. It is our belief and it is confirmed by science that at the present level of technology and organization of production, the reconversion and demilitarization of the economy are feasible. This would be tantamount to opting for peace.

It is of course possible that if the working class is able to rally the vast masses to defeat the policies of militarism it will succeed. But that will mean that the masters of monopoly will not remain in a position to decide policies of the state. This will be the real result of the so-called modification of the contradictions. But the speech seeks to convey that there will be readiness on the part of the masters of capital to meet the demand for demilitarization because of the laws of integral world.

It is interesting to note that while talking about the power of the working class the speech does not take into consideration the capitalist crisis, the monstrous unemployment, i.e., the main contradiction of capitalist society. It only concentrates on the question of peace and suggests that if the workers are able to devote exclusively to the peace struggle all other contradictions will either be completely eliminated or modified beyond recognition.

Decline of the National Liberation Movement

All these years Marxist-Leninists thought that in order to create a new world, a better world, breakdown of the imperialist order is essential. But the report argues in favour of preventing

a breakdown as if it is a disaster for the exploited people. It argues for adjusting imperialist exploitation in the name of balancing the interests between the exploiters and the exploited. It is asserted that the national liberation struggle is a declining force, at the same time notice is not taken of the huge and the mighty struggles that are shaking the Third World countries; struggles that are breaking out against the reactionary governments of the Third World and the agents of imperialism. It is the same outlook that is displayed when the CPSU argues that there is no alternative to the Rajiv Government in India and totally ignores the popular forces struggling against the present inequitable order. See how the vital force of social change in the Third World countries is disposed of.

The decline of the national liberation movement is a common phrase. However, what is apparently happening is that one concept is being replaced by another and the novelty of the situation is being ignored. As far as the impulse for liberation is concerned, the one that was present at the stage of the struggle for political independence is certainly waning and this is only natural. As far as the impulse essential for the new current stage of the Third World development it is only just beginning to be formed. One has to be aware of these and refrain from yielding to pessimism.

Ignoring Reality

It may appear that the report is doing justice to what is hapening in the Third World, but actually it is ignoring the realities. It states that the first phase of the national liberation movements is over. In a large number of countries this of course is correct but by saying that the next stage is only just beginning it is underestimating the struggle for the completion of the democratic revolution waged in the Third World countries, a completion whcih is necessary to go forward to socialism. In fact, for years now, for more than half a century, a major part of the Third World is engaged in constant struggle, firstly against imperialism and then against the compromising governments to carry forward the task of

the democratic revolution. This is a decisive struggle and its success will definitely change the balance of forces further in the world. But underestimating this struggle the report concerns itself only with the reactionary national governments while expressing its sympathy for the Third World.

In the report therefore while people's struggles are not given any importance, the international organizations of governments of many countries are boosted as the real representatives of the people. It is said:

An urge for national identity and independence makes itself increasingly felt in the organizations reflecting the processes of inter-state consideration among the developing countries. To a greater or lesser extent this is characteristic of all the organizations, and their number is not small—the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States, the ASEAN, the Organization of American States, the Latin American Economic System, the South Pacific Forum, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, and, especially, the Non-aligned Movement.

They represent a wide spectrum of conflicting interests, needs, aspirations, ideologies, claims, and prejudices typical of precisely this stage. Although they have already turned into a noticeable factor in world politics, none of them has yet fully revealed its potentialities. But their potentialities are colossal, and it is even hard to predict what they will yield in the next 50 years.

This ascribes an unrealistic revolutionary role to the compromising governments while drawing a screen on the struggles of the fighting people, and revolutionary forces.

Besides it is amazing to find that the Non-aligned Movement (NAM) is clubbed with an organization like the Islamic Conference. It only helps to give a false status to the reactionary organizations and creates confusion. The NAM with its role for peace and the non-alignment cannot be put on the same level as other organizations which neither

represent the people nor firmly support the struggle for peace, with some of them actually in the net of imperialist alliance.

Wrong Analysis

This analysis keeps the Third World masses out of the picture of international situation and helps the governments of these countries to strike a deal with imperialism in the name of equally balancing the interests of all. The analysis will result in giving a wrong direction to the international movement to ignore the mass struggles in the Third World countries, ignore parties including Communist Parties leading the struggles and consider the compromising governments of these countries as the sole representative of the people. This suits the thesis of modification of contradictions because some of these governments and their international organizations are ever ready to strike a deal with imperialists at the expense of their people and the world movement. The military Government of Pakistan is a typical representative of this tendency and policy.

Promise of Rapid Advance

The report outlines the great benefit that the Soviet Union will get out of its new understanding and as well as the benefit it will confer on the world. "Think for instance, of the vast potential for peaceful co-existence inherent in just the Soviet Union's *perestroika*. By making it possible for us to attain the world level in all major economic indicators, *perestroika* will enable our vast and wealthy country to become involved in the world division of labour and resources in a way never known before. Its great scientific, technological and production potential will become a far more substantial component of world economic relations. This will decisively broaden and strengthen the material base of the all-embracing system of peace and international security. And that, by the way, is another highly important aspect of *perestroika*, the place it is assigned in contemporary civilization."

If all that is expected here is really achieved it will be a

big stride forward in strengthening the socialist system, the struggle for peace and the process of the world revolutionary movement. In passing it should be noted that the reference to involvement in world division of labour is unfortunate. The present-day division of labour is heavily loaded against the Third World countries and is an expression of their backwardness and exploitation. However, it is a matter to be noted that here the speech does not forget the necessity of class struggle and manifestations of social contradictions. It says: "The class struggle and other manifestations of social contradictions will influence the objective processes favouring peace."

Everyone will agree with Gorbachev when he says: "As long as there is a danger of war, as long as the drive for social revanche remains the core of Western strategy and military programmes, we shall continue to do everything necessary to maintain our defence capability at a level ruling out imperialist military superiority over socialism." This is a welcome return to reality.

Conclusion

To sum up, the assessment of the international situation made in the third section "October Revolution and Today's World" in the anniversary report, goes against our understanding and is directly contradictory to it. It breaks with the accepted understanding in the Communist movement which recognizes the sharpening contradictions of the present world growing instability of the imperialist capitalist system, the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, the growing resistance of the Third World to imperialist exploitation, the rising power of the socialist camp and shift in the balance of forces in favour of socialism, the working class and the liberation movement. The report gives due recognition to the developing peace movement as an integral part of the world revolutionary process, to the vital role played by the Soviet Union in defending peace and the rapid growth of the peace movement which continues to reach wider and wider

sections often becoming a very powerful force in the advanced countries of the West.

It is a matter of great surprise that the report hardly takes note of the general crisis of capitalism which provides the soil for intensification of the class struggle and the contradictions. On the other hand, it is advocated that the imperialist system in its own interests will seek some compromise with the working class and the Third World countries. It is presented as if the imperialist system is entering upon a new period of stabilization and expansion and the revolutionary movement will have to be carried on in a low key. This understanding liquidates the understanding of the present epoch, its transitional character and prospects of the advance of the world movement.

This understanding is embodied in the formulations :

- (a) That with all the contradictions of the present period the post-war world has become inter-dependent and integral.
- (b) The main cause for inter-dependence is the common fear of mutual destruction.
- (c) The integral world is leading to in-depth modification of the contradictions of the present period.
- (d) This modification is seen in the fact that there has been no inter-imperialist war between the imperialist countries during the last forty years.
- (e) This absence of war amongst imperialist powers can be easily extended to the socialist countries in view of the fear of mutual destruction.
- (f) In regard to the situation in the advanced countries, the main attention should be concentrated on freeing capitalism from militarism. The other contradictions, crisis, unemployment, etc., either are not mentioned or separated from the struggle for peace. The intensified contradictions in the capitalist countries arising from technological advance, etc., are ignored or considered as getting modified.

- (g) It is said that the old contradictions which used to determine the world events have ceased to operate and the law of integral world modifying all contradictions is in operation.
- (h) Holding this opinion the report cites the 'miracle' of West Germany and Japan as an example to show that capitalism can exist without militarism. The end of the 'miracle' was according to it due partially at least to extraneous causes and not inevitable.
- (i) Regarding the Third World countries it is said that the original impulse of national liberation has ceased to exist, a new impulse is yet to come. This virtually rules out the masses of Third World countries playing a role in the world arena. It means that they are not at present supposed to play a role in fighting the imperialist stranglehold. It at the same time refuses to recognize the powerful mass movements shaking Third World countries, movements directed against reactionary rulers. Reliance is therefore placed on the Governments of these countries.
- (j) The contradiction between socialism and imperialism is identified with the question of nuclear war and it is contended that if nuclear war is avoided the contradictions will cease to exist.
- (k) The report correctly attaches vital importance to the struggle to avoid nuclear war and eliminate all nuclear weapons. But the struggle for peace is not considered as an integral part of the world struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

The report therefore makes a world assessment at variance with our understanding, virtually liquidating the contradictions of the period and acts as a damper on the world revolutionary movement. Our Party cannot accept its analysis, its argumentations and its conclusions.

Condolence Resolutions and Homage to Martyrs*

Adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) in its meeting held on May 3-5, 1988

(a) Com. Pham Hung

The Central Committee pays homage to the memory of Comrade Pham Hung Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and member of the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of Vietnam, who died on March 10, 1988. Comrade Hung was an outstanding leader of the Vietnamese people who played a prominent role in the national liberation struggle. He joined the Indo-chinese Communist Party in the year of its foundation in 1930. Sentenced to death by the French colonialists, his sentence was later commuted to hard labour for life.

After his release in 1945 when the Communist Party came to power in the north, he continued to occupy key positions in the national liberation struggle in the South. He served with distinction in high Government positions in North Vietnam, and later after victory, reunified Vietnam. In his death, the Vietnamese Party and people have lost a dedicated and mature leader.

The C.C. conveys its deep condolences to Comrade Hung's family and to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

(b) Com. Abhiram Debbarma

The Central Committee mourns the passing away of Comrade Abhiram Debbarma, member of the Secretariat of the Tripura

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 15, 1988.

State Committee of the CPI(M), who died on March 27, 1988. Joining the Party in the sixties, Comrade Debbarma made a notable contribution in building up the Party in the tribal areas of Tripura. He was also the General Secretary of the Upajati Ganamukti Parishad. Comrade Debbarma served as the Minister for Cooperation in the Left Front Government for two terms. In this capacity he played an important role in developing the cooperative institutions in the State and freeing the tribal and rural poor from the clutches of the moneylenders.

His service to the democratic movement and the tribal people will forever be remembered. The Central Committee conveys its heartfelt condolences to his family members.

(c) Com. Leila Sundarayya

The Central Committee expresses its deep grief at the passing away of Comrade Leila Sundarayya, who died on March 21, after a long illness. Working for the Party from the late thirties, she became a member in 1942 and worked as a wholetime at the Party headquarters in Bombay. From then onwards, Comrade Leila served the Party with total dedication and discharged many responsibilities. She married P. Sundarayya in 1943, and worked along with him for over four decades in the revolutionary movement. She spent six and half years underground during the Telangana struggle.

After the formation of the CPI(M), she discharged many tasks in the C.C. headquarters in Calcutta. She used her linguistic skills in many languages to translate progressive and Party literature. Even in her last days when stricken with illness, she continued to help with the editorial work of the Party daily in Vijayawada.

The C.C. deeply mourns the loss of this devoted comrade and conveys its sincere condolences to her relatives and fellow comrades.

(d) Com. Rim Chun Chu

The Central Committee mourns the passing away of Comrade Rim Chun Chu, Vice-President of the Democratic People's

Republic of Korea and member of the Polit Bureau of the Workers' Party of Korea. Comrade Chu was a veteran revolutionary leader who made an important contribution to the Korean liberation struggle and in the building of Socialism in Korea.

The C.C. conveys its heartfelt condolences to the family of Comrade Chu and to the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea.

(e) Homage to Martyrs

The Central Committee pays homage to the memory of the valiant comrades who have laid down their lives in the fight against the Khalistani separatists in Punjab in the past four months. The Party members who were killed by the terrorists are: Gurdeep Singh (Bhatike village), Surta Singh (Bulara village), Iqbal Singh and Chanchal Singh (Khilchian village), and Sucha Singh (Narli village), all of Amritsar district, and Ashwini Kumar (Jalandhar district).

The C.C. pays its homage to the comrades who were killed by the separatist forces in Darjeeling district during this period.

The sacrifice of these martyrs will forever inspire us to continue the fight in defence of national unity.

Peace in Haryana must be Maintained*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated May 9, 1988 to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) condemns the ghastly terroristic attack in Panipat where the anti-national extremists killed 13 innocent people and injured more than 21 while they were attending a marriage. This crime is a part of the nefarious game to extend the terrorist activities to the State of Haryana, so that as a back-lash, Sikhs start migrating to Punjab. The extremists hope to make use of this to further escalate their activities in Punjab.

The Polit Bureau appeals to the people of Haryana to foil their game by unitedly fighting against the extremists. The Gurudwaras in Haryana should not be allowed to be used for harbouring extremists so that peace is maintained in Haryana at all costs.

The Polit Bureau warns the Government of India that its policy of compromising with extremist elements has led to further aggravating the situation and has posed a serious threat to the unity of the country. It should stop hobnobbing with them and call an all-parties meeting in order to find a solution to the Punjab tangle so that peace may be restored in the long suffering State. The Polit Bureau appeals to all democratic and secular sections to force the Government to take the necessary urgent steps which can result in restoring law and order in Punjab where every citizen's life and property is endangered today.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 15, 1988.

Central Committee's Greetings to Polisario*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its warmest revolutionary greetings to the Polisario Front on the occasion of its Fifteenth Anniversary.

The formation of the Polisario Front on May 10, 1973, and the armed struggle launched under its leadership ten days later on May 20, 1973, has succeeded in liberating the people of Polisario and proclaiming the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic on February 27, 1976.

This historic event marks the most significant advance of the Saharawi people in their national liberation and emancipation from their colonial masters.

Imperialism, unable to accept the victories of the people, has, since the proclamation of the SADR, engaged in naked aggression against Saharawi people. The imperialist-backed Morocco regime, isolated from the people of the world, outlawed by the International Court of Justice, continues to flagrantly violate international opinion and the resolutions of the United Nations and the Organization of Arab Unity.

The events of recent years have clearly shown to the world that the Saharawi people, under the leadership of the Polisario Front, have not only repulsed Morocco's aggression but have secured significant victories. We salute the courageous Saharawi People's Liberation Army for these victories, and pay our homage to those martyrs who have

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 22, 1988.

inspired the freedom-loving people the world over with their slogan, "The entire homeland or martyrdom".

Under the most difficult of circumstances while facing external aggression and stoutly defending national independence, the SADR, the CPI(M) notes, has made steady progress in providing the Saharawi people with better living conditions, health and education.

On this historic occasion the CPI(M) conveys its fraternal revolutionary greetings to the courageous Saharawi people, the SPLA and all members of the Polisario Front. The CPI(M) reiterates its full support and solidarity to your struggle and its unflinching commitment to the success of your liberation.

The CPI(M) General Secretary E.M.S. Namboodiripad has gone to join the celebrations in connection with the Polisario anniversary, on behalf of the CPI(M).

CPI(M) High Power Delegation to China*

At the invitation of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China a five-member Central Committee delegation is proceeding to China for bilateral discussion on May 28, 1988. The delegation will remain in China for a period of two weeks and will have discussions with the leadership of the CPC. The delegation comprises of Harkishan Singh Surjeet, PBM; Jyoti Basu, PBM; Nripen Chakraborty, PBM; Buddhadev Bhattacharya, CCM; and Mangat Ram Pasla, CCM.

Separate delegations of Party cadres, Party MLAs and journalists will visit China at the invitation of the International Liaison Department of the C.C. of the CPC, during 1988.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 29, 1988.

Polit Bureau Condemns Execution of Fedaian Leader in Iran*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep indignation at the execution of Comrade Anoushirvan Lofti, prominent leader of the Organization of Iranian People's Fedaian (Majority) in an Iranian jail by the Khomeini regime. Comrade Lofti was an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Fedaian (Majority).

After five years' imprisonment and prolonged torture, Comrade Lofti was executed on May 27, 1988. Failing to break the will of this courageous revolutionary, the Islamic regime has committed another barbarous crime by murdering him.

The Polit Bureau pays its homage to the memory of Anoushirvan Lofti who has upheld the glorious traditions of the Iranian Communists. It appeals to all democratic and peace loving people to protest this inhuman execution. The CPI(M) demands that the Islamic regime immediately stop the execution of all political prisoners. The CPI(M) calls upon the Government of India, the United Nations and international public opinion to impress upon the Iranian regime that it should observe elementary human rights with regard to the political prisoners in its custody.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 5, 1988.

Ordinance on Misuse of Religious Places*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) issued the following statement dated May 27, 1988, about the Ordinance on the activities in religious places :

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) has been constantly warning about the growing activities of communal, divisive and separatist forces backed by imperialism to destabilize our country. The Party has also been criticizing the compromising attitude of the Central Government towards these forces. The result of these activities was growingly seen in what happened inside the Golden Temple recently. Not only did it pose a grave danger to the country's unity but also as to how the genuine faith of the people was exploited to violate the sanctity of the Harmandir Saheb. The extremists and separatists have been using the religious places for anti-national activities and this was camouflaged as the right of religious freedom.

With this background it has become necessary to put an end to such activities. Hence the Political Bureau welcomes the Ordinance issued by the Central Government.

The Ordinance bans the harbouring of any person accused or convicted of an offence under any law for the time being in force. It bans the storing of arms and ammunition. It also bans the carrying out of any activity prejudicial to the sovereignty, unity and integrity of the country and attempts

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 5, 1988.

to promote disharmony, or feelings of enmity, hatred or ill-will between different communities.

The Polit Bureau is of the opinion that the Ordinance will have its desired effect only if it is followed up by the propaganda of secular ideas and people are roused to observe these principles.

We support the idea behind the Ordinance that no religious place should be allowed to be used for anti-national political purposes and appeal to the Left and secular parties to mobilize the people against all these forces which are misusing these places to pursue their nefarious designs.

Polit Bureau's Call : Foil Congress(I) Manoeuvres*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) issued the following statement after its meeting on June 13-14, 1988 :

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) which concluded a two-day meeting on June 14, expressed great concern that, apprehensive of the impending defeat in the by-elections taking place on Thursday, the Congress leaders in the concerned States are preparing themselves for large-scale rigging. The Polit Bureau is confident that the people in these constituencies, particularly Allahabad, will give a rebuff to any effort at rigging, just as they, during the course of the election campaign, refused to fall prey to the ruling party's money power and blandishments. The Polit Bureau expressed the hope that all those who are interested in the defence of democracy will unitedly fight and defeat this game.

Tamil Nadu Elections

The Polit Bureau registered its strong protest against the reported move for the postponement of the Tamil Nadu elections which, normally speaking, should take place no later than the end of July. It expressed the hope that democratic public opinion in Tamil Nadu and outside

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 19, 1988.

would assert itself, forcing the authorities to abandon these movements.

Mass Rape in Tripura

The Polit Bureau expressed its strong sense of solidarity with the people of Tripura who are carrying on a determined struggle against the repressive measures adopted by the Congress(I)-TUJS usurper Government of that State. Shocking reports have appeared of the despicable gang-raping of tribal women by some men of the Assam Rifles. Left Front leaders of the State, including the former Deputy Chief Minister Dasarath Deb, have provided sufficient evidence to make any government, which claims to be democratic, order a judicial enquiry. The State Government, however, has arrogantly rejected the demand, pleading that a magisterial inquiry is proper in the case. This, despite the fact that the TUJS, a partner in the Government, has condemned the atrocities.

The Polit Bureau wants to make it clear that in view of what has been taking place in the State since the Congress(I)-TUJS Government assumed office, nothing less than a judicial inquiry would meet the needs of justice. The Polit Bureau calls on all lovers of democracy in and outside Tripura to extend their support to this demand.

Punjab Developments

The Central Government refuses to learn any lesson from the recent changes and happenings, refuses to rely on the new developing movement among the Sikh masses, and pursues its policies of supporting questionable elements. The clearing of the Golden Temple of terrorists and the response of the people to it showed that the Sikh peasant masses are turning with revulsion against the terrorists and are ready to respond to democratic steps and approaches.

Instead of capitalizing on it and creating a favourable atmosphere for political talks and settlement, the Punjab Governor took up cudgels on behalf of Jasbir Singh Rode and others, dismissed by the SGPC. The idea of reaching a

settlement on the Punjab problem through these individuals who have broken faith several times, is born out of a desire to secure advantages for the Congress(I).

The SGPC, on its part, while dismissing Rode and others, have apologised to the Sikh masses for allowing the misuse of the temple by the Khalistani militants. While its apology and its assurances are welcome they do not compensate for the criminal failure of the SGPC and its surrender to the terrorists all these months. Only time will show whether the assurance will be faithfully implemented by the SGPC.

Prime Minister's Pernicious Remarks

The Polit Bureau strongly condemns the Prime Minister's remarks in New York which defames the heroic fight being waged by the CPI(M) cadres in Darjeeling in defence of national unity. Rajiv Gandhi, during his recent visit to New York, publicly criticized the Left Front Government's handling of the GNLFF agitation. Moreover, he falsely accused the Chief Minister of worsening the situation by letting loose Marxist cadres. This pernicious remark by Rajiv Gandhi is a gross insult to those brave cadres of the CPI(M) who are risking their lives daily by opposing separatist violence in Darjeeling. It is shameful that while CPI(M) cadres are being barbarously beheaded, the Prime Minister, by his in-temperate remarks in a foreign country, lends encouragement to those very forces which are indulging in murder and arson.

Congress(I)-RSS Gang Up in Kerala

The Polit Bureau noted that the Congress(I)-led UDF has shamelessly joined hands with the RSS in unleashing violent attacks on the CPI(M) in Kerala. This campaign of physical attacks is supplemented by a political campaign launched by the Hindu sanyasis who in the name of rescuing Hindu temples from atheists, have launched a mass agitation against the LDF Government. The Polit Bureau is

confident that the common people and secular political forces will see through this game and stand firmly in defence of secular values, for which the LDF is fighting.

Developments in the Sub-Continent

The Polit Bureau congratulated the four-party Left alliance in Sri Lanka, the United Socialist Alliance, which has made creditable advance in the recently held provincial council elections. Facing terroristic attacks and assassinations, the Alliance, consisting of the Sri Lanka Communist Party, the Lanka Sama Samaj Party, the Sri Lanka Mahajana Party and the Nava Sama Samaj Party, has taken a principled and courageous stand in defence of the interests of the Sri Lankan people, the unity of the Sinhala and Tamil people, and support for the Accord.

The Polit Bureau conveyed its solidarity with the democratic forces in Bangladesh which are conducting a powerful protest movement against the Ershad regime's decision to declare Bangladesh an Islamic state. It condemns the repression let loose on the protesting masses.

The Polit Bureau condemned the recent action of President Zia in Pakistan who has done away with the pretence of democracy by dismissing the Prime Minister, the civilian government and the Assembly. Nobody believes President Zia's promise to hold elections democratically within three months. The Polit Bureau extends its solidarity with the democratic forces and the mass movement struggling to restore democracy in Pakistan.

Moscow Summit

Reviewing the recent international developments, the Polit Bureau noted that the Gorbachev-Reagan Summit has produced disappointing results. Coming in the background of the ratification of the treaty on shorter and medium range missiles, which raised high hopes among millions for further important advance to tackle the question of nuclear disarmament and lessen the danger of war, the discussions and

results of the meeting must be deemed to be a set-back to the people's expectations. The Summit provided a grand opportunity to the participants to assure unitedly a concerned world that the problem of nuclear war was getting under control and peace would be protected.

But the opportunity was lost notwithstanding the efforts of the Soviet Union to do everything to ensure further progress in tune with the demand of the millions from all countries. The rigid overpowering imperialist outlook of Reagan, representing U.S. ambitions for global domination, his reliance on nuclear force and the Star Wars project, created an impasse blocking all progress. The fact that Reagan even objected to the reference to peaceful co-existence in the joint communique speaks volumes about the U.S. attitude.

This makes it clear that the battle for enduring peace is a hard one demanding the united support and action of people of all countries. The results of the Summit should urge all peace fighters to redouble their efforts to save the world from the holocaust of a nuclear war.

Afghan Agreement

The Polit Bureau noted the hectic efforts made by the United States and Pakistan—two signatories to the Geneva Agreement on Afghanistan—to sabotage the agreement, to help the counter-revolutionary rebel forces to continue their attacks on the Government of Afghanistan and the withdrawing Soviet forces. These were the very forces which up to the last resisted the Geneva Agreement on Afghanistan. Defeated in this nefarious game, they are now trying to sabotage the implementation of the Agreement.

The Polit Bureau appreciated the forthright stand adopted by the Government of India on the Geneva Agreement on Afghanistan. It welcomed the speech delivered by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi at the United Nations, which reiterated the commitment of the Government and people of India to peace and nuclear disarmament.

Delegation to China

The Polit Bureau heard the report of the five-member Central Committee delegation which returned after the visit to China, where fraternal discussions took place with the leadership of the CPC. The Polit Bureau noted that the visit had further strengthened fraternal relations between the two parties.

Polit Bureau Condemns U.S. Crime Against Humanity*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) issued the following statement dated July 4, 1988 to the Press :

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep indignation and shock at the shooting down of an Iranian passenger plane by a U.S. warship in the Gulf, killing all 298 people on board.

This crime against humanity by the U.S. armed forces has come in the wake of the continuing arrogant display of forces in the Gulf area by the Reagan Administration. Under the pretext of protection of shipping in the area, the U.S. warships have been resorting to aggressive manoeuvres, thereby heightening tensions.

The Polit Bureau calls upon the Indian Government to come out categorically against the deployment of U.S. forces in the Gulf. The Government of India should support deployment of a United Nation's naval force in the area. It calls upon all sections of Indian people to condemn this act of international brigandage. The Polit Bureau expresses its heartfelt sympathies for the families of the innocent victims.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 10, 1988

Polit Bureau Hails Iran's Gesture*

Statement dated July 19, 1988, issued to Press in New Delhi

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) welcomes the decision of the Iranian Government to accept the U.N. Security Council resolution calling for a ceasefire of the Iran-Iraq war.

This significant decision will undoubtedly help in normalising the situation in the Gulf. Further steps will have to be taken to put an end to this senseless war which has already claimed the lives of over a million people. In this respect the U.N. and the NAM, to which both Iran and Iraq belong, will have to play an effective role in ensuring that peace in this area is achieved at the earliest.

This is the only way that the U.S. imperialist machinations in the Gulf can be defeated.

The U.S. imperialism and its allies, using the pretext of this war, had increased their military presence in the Gulf thereby further aggravating the tensions. The CPI(M) demands an immediate withdrawal of U.S. and its allies' naval forces from the Gulf.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 24, 1988.

Central Committee Communique*

Issued following its meeting held in New Delhi on August 8–10, 1988

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) held a three-day meeting in New Delhi from August 8 and surveyed the major political developments in the country since its last meeting.

Tamil Nadu and Nagaland : Centre's Authoritarianism

The Central Committee strongly condemned the totally unjustifiable and authoritarian actions of the Central Government in refusing to hold elections in Tamil Nadu in time and continuing President's Rule as well as dissolving the Nagaland Assembly, imposing President's Rule in that State. These actions show that the Congress(I) Government at the Centre is determined to put any State under President's Rule if the Congress(I) cannot capture or perpetuate its power.

The Committee protested against the fact that, although the by-election to the Lok Sabha in the Calicut constituency in Kerala was deferred on account of the monsoons, no date has yet been fixed for the election, although the monsoon is almost over.

Non-Congress(I) Governments : Congress(I) Offensive

The Central Committee further noted that, in all those States where the Congress(I) has been thrown out of power,

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, August 14, 1988.

its State units are running the non-Congress(I) Governments down. This is all the more so in those States where the non-Congress(I) Governments are headed by the Left parties. The vicious political offensive combined with violence launched by the Congress(I) Opposition both in West Bengal and Kerala—an offensive in which the Central Ministers including Prime Minister take active part—has become a normal feature in these two Left-led States. The Congress(I) Central leadership does not lag behind in attacking other non-Congress(I) Governments like those in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.

In Kerala, while the State Government is doing its utmost to run a public distribution system efficiently and has succeeded in keeping prices in check, the Central Government has failed in its duty by reducing the supply of foodgrains to the State. The result is that, in the lean months of June to August and on the eve of the national festival of the State, Onam, the price level has gone up for which the Kerala unit of the Congress(I) party is holding the State Government responsible. The continuing struggle on price issue launched by the State unit of the Congress(I) party reminds one of the notorious “liberation struggle” of the 50s. Add to this the fact that the Central Government is putting the financial squeeze on the State Government.

The Central Committee extended its full support to the mass campaign and the struggle on the five-point programme launched by the Left Front in West Bengal. The struggle opposes the continuing discrimination of the Centre towards the State and the authoritarian steps such as the 59th Constitutional Amendment enacted by the ruling party.

Resist Repression in Tripura

The Central Committee protested against the severe repression on the CPI(M) and its cadres in Tripura. All the democratically elected institutions such as the Panchayats and cooperatives have been dissolved. Efforts are being made by the State Government to scuttle the Autonomous District

Council. The Central Committee congratulated the members and friends of the Party who are boldly resisting these attacks, and keeping the banner of the toiling people aloft. The Central Committee is confident that the bold resistance put up by the comrades will rouse the consciousness of all democrats in the State and outside forcing the Congress-TUJS Government to reverse its policies.

Punjab

The Central Committee noted that the continuing attacks on peace-loving citizens by the Punjab extremists. The failure of the Central Government to take political initiatives after the Operation Black Thunder, has led to the extremists continuing their depredations. The Central Committee reiterated its view that, while administrative measures are necessary to curb the activities of the extremists, the problem in Punjab can be resolved only by political means. The Government should take such initiatives as will isolate the extremists and mobilize all sections of the people in bringing the State back to normalcy. The Central Committee appealed to all democratic and peace-loving sections in Punjab and outside to put pressure on the Government to put an end to its present opportunistic policy and start resolving the problem politically. The Central Committee also condemned the measures taken by the Punjab administration to curb the trade union movement utilizing the measures adopted to curb terrorism.

Settlement on Darjeeling

The Central Committee noted with satisfaction that, after protracted negotiations, the hurdles in the settlement of the Darjeeling issue have been removed. It hoped that the forthcoming signing of the Accord will be followed by a vigorous political drive for the unity of the Nepali-speaking people and the Bengalees in the Darjeeling area and by the successful working of the scheme of regional autonomy on which the agreement will be signed.

On Moves for Opposition Unity

The Central Committee welcomes the formation of the National Front as a step forward in forging Opposition unity to fight the Congress(I) in the coming elections. The step corresponds to the desire of the people who are awaiting the emergence of a reliable front to rally around to express their anger against the Congress(I) misrule. In the recent by-elections they expressed their alienation from the Congress(I) in a very decisive way by defeating the candidates of the ruling party. The CPI(M) has been urging secular Opposition parties to come together so that an alliance with the Left forces can oust the Rajiv Government from power. The CPI(M) notes the fact that as yet the Front has steered clear of communal parties like the BJP. However, the ambivalent statements of some leaders of the Front raise doubts whether the constituents will stick to this position and be successful in keeping their secular image intact. The tactic of wooing the Left while appealing to the communal and separatist forces will prove injurious and harmful to the cause of democracy and national unity.

In the formation of the Front, it cannot be ignored that certain regional constituents are demanding a heavy price for unity. The support to the Assam Accord which goes against the interests of the minorities and the opposition to the Sri Lanka Accord do not inspire confidence. The Front has adopted a 71-point programme and much depends on its popularization among the masses. It is to be noted that there is only a cryptic reference to the vital question of foreign policy and underestimation of the danger from imperialist machinations to our country. The emphasis on national unity and fight against communal elements will be appreciated by all and a lot will depend on how seriously the campaign on these issues is carried among the people.

Left Unity : Overcome Obstacles

The Left forces at this juncture have a crucial role to play in mobilizing the discontent against the Rajiv Government.

Their unity is essential to advance the unity of all the Left and secular Opposition forces. In this process, some of the Left parties are prone to vacillations and difficulties have arisen in strengthening unity. The Central Committee of the CPI(M) reiterated its resolve to overcome all obstacles to strengthening Left unity.

On Perspective Plan on Women

The Central Committee noted that the Congress(I) Government over the years has miserably failed to ameliorate the basic problems faced by women in the country—social inequality, discrimination and feudal prejudices. Now with an eye to the elections, the Government has announced National Perspective Plan for Women proclaiming ambitious goals without any increased allocation of resources. The fact that this plan was not discussed or debated with the women's organizations, exposes it as a propagandist stunt. The Government is afraid to debate the plan with the women's organizations lest its intentions be exposed.

September Kisan Struggle

The Central Committee heard reports on the preparation for the September struggle of kisans and agricultural labourers organized by the Coordination Committee of Left-led mass organizations. This struggle, together with the united struggle of trade union movement against the anti-worker legislation prepared by the Central Government and the struggle of the students, the youth, and the women, is an important part of the Opposition unity which is gradually emerging. The Central Committee, therefore, appealed to all those who strive to build Opposition unity to identify themselves with these struggles. The Central Committee called upon all Party units to fully support the September struggle sponsored by the Left-led peasant and agricultural workers organizations.

Party Congress Preparations

The Central Committee worked out the schedule for the Party conferences at all levels which is to precede the Party Congress in December. It will hold another meeting in the first week of October to prepare the draft resolution for the Party Congress which will be discussed in all Party units for two months beginning in the last week of October.

Condolence Resolutions and Homage to Martyrs*

**Adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M)
in its meeting held on August 8–10, 1988**

(a) Comrade Laxmidhar Biswal

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) pays homage to the memory of Comrade Laxmidhar Biswal, member of the CPI(M) Orissa State Committee, who died on May 8, 1988 at Roorkela. Comrade Laxmidhar Biswal joined the united Party in 1957 at Panihati in West Bengal where he was employed as a textile worker. After his return to Orissa he played an important role in organizing the working class in the industrial centre of Roorkela. He was the Vice-President of the Orissa State Committee of the CITU.

In his death the Party and trade union movement in Sundergarh district and Orissa suffered a big loss. The Central Committee conveys its deep condolence to his wife and family members.

(b) Comrade L.W. Panditha

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) mourns the death of Comrade L.W. Panditha, member of the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka and General Secretary of the Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions. Comrade Panditha was assassinated by agents of chauvinist forces on June 26, 1988. Comrade Panditha was an outstanding leader of the trade union movement in Sri Lanka and a courageous fighter for

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, August 21, 1988.

the unity of the Sinhala and Tamil people. A popular leader among the workers, he became a martyr for his unflinching opposition to chauvinism and for his defence of working class unity. His contribution to developing the Communist movement in Sri Lanka will always be remembered.

The Central Committee conveys its sympathy to the Central Committee of Communist Party of Sri Lanka at this grievous loss and sends its heartfelt condolences to Comrade Panditha's family.

(c) Martyrs in Punjab

The Central Committee pays homage to the memory of Comrade Harbans Singh Beeka, former CPI(M) MLA and leader of the Agricultural Workers Union in Jalandhar district. He was killed by the terrorists on May 13, 1988. Comrade Beeka began his revolutionary career in the student front in 1963. He played a prominent role in the struggle against the secessionists and terrorists.

The Central Committee pays tribute to Comrade Sucha Singh Narla, veteran CPI(M) cadre and popular peasant leader of Bhikhiwind area in Amritsar district, who was killed on April 30, 1988.

The Central Committee pays homage to the memory of Comrades Balwinder Singh and Kewal Singh, Party sympathisers in Jalandhar district who were killed on July 22, 1988.

Resolution on Recent Developments in USSR*

Adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) in its meeting held on August 8–10, 1988

The Central Committee fully appreciates the desire of the Party ranks and leaders to examine in detail the recent developments in the Soviet Union especially in connection with the discussions and resolutions of the Nineteenth Conference of the CPSU.

The bourgeois Press in our country and elsewhere, taking advantage of the confusion and helped by certain Soviet publications, has been carrying on a barrage of propaganda which has two objectives : (i) to make it appear as if all Socialist values are being replaced by values prevalent in the bourgeois world, (ii) to soften the will of our Party to come to its own judgement as we have been doing all these years. The Central Committee warns the ranks against falling victim to this propaganda.

The developments regarding internal policies in Socialist countries as the recent developments in the Soviet Union, have to be understood in the background of practical problems faced by the Communist Parties in running the Socialist economy and the Socialist State. This experience, in the first place, must be considered to be of great theoretical and practical importance to the world movement including ours which is committed to build a Socialist society in India. Having ascertained the facts we have to come to our own independent judgement whether the measures taken to counter

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, August 21, 1988. Also published in a booklet in July 1989.

adverse trends and developments fit in with our understanding of Marxism-Leninism or whether there is room for difference.

In its July 1986 session, the Central Committee had, in a general way, supported the decisions of the Twentyseventh Congress of the CPSU to expand Socialist democracy and restructure economic management. The necessity for the latter arose, as Comrade Gorbachev explained, out of a non-correspondence between development of productive forces and the existing relations of production, which meant the way Socialist society manages its economy. It meant that the existing stage of Socialist relations of production, the method of management was falling behind the needs of development of the productive forces. It was pointed out at that time that Soviet economic development had slowed down and there was stagnation in economic development. Our Central Committee, therefore, lent its support in a general way to restructuring of management relations. Since then and especially in the Nineteenth Conference of the CPSU, these questions have come in the form of concrete proposals and they deserve serious examination. The proposals now put forward are explained and recommended in the context of severe criticism of the past; sometimes leading to the total negation of the past. They relate to expansion of legal and democratic rights to Soviet citizens against arbitrary behaviour of the State officials; provisions like court protection to rights of individuals and independence of the judiciary; provisions which were not there in the earlier Constitution; activating the non-Party masses and organizations, trade unions, women's organizations, peasant cooperatives as live instruments of working class democracy; correct relationship between the Party and the State; freedom for plurality of opinion all-round; new proposals for overcoming the stagnation in the economy; proposals for overcoming the ethnic strains. There are also proposals for endorsing the new thinking in foreign policy and amendments to the Soviet Constitution to secure some of these objectives.

We have to examine the impact of the various proposals in the light of the Marxist-Leninist understanding. Initially we can state in a general way how we can approach these problems.

As a Party which takes its stand on Marxism-Leninism, we realize that advance of Socialism in any country must be accompanied by increased initiative of the masses both in running the economy and running the State. Lenin's statement "every cook must learn to govern" must be a growing reality. A concrete form of these initiatives in the various stages of development embrace larger and larger number of people. Measures which contribute to the conscious participation of the masses are welcome and should be supported. Measures which free citizens from unnecessary restrictions and provide healthy dialogue within the limits of Socialist society strengthen the society.

But it has to be understood and underlined sharply that all such measures will strengthen society if the guiding role of Marxism-Leninism is preserved and the role of the Party as a leading force of society, as vanguard of the working class, is ensured. Without these latter two conditions new measures would not realize the Socialist initiative of the masses and ensure their participation in running the State.

Here a correct attitude towards the past assumes great importance. The glorious achievements of the Soviet Union since the Revolution, overcoming the challenge of civil war, the travails of the NEP period, the building of Socialism, the defeat of imperialist policies to isolate the USSR and organize a combined war against it, the firm policy of peace, the glorious anti-Nazi victory and the sacrifices of the millions of the Soviet people, the persistent fight waged to avoid nuclear war and save the world from destruction, and the achievement of nuclear parity with the USA and the great working class Constitution, it is on this foundation that the new democratic reforms will have meaning.

An outlook which, while criticising the deformities, deviations and distortions of the past, ignores these

achievements, prejudices the future and delinks the new democratic reforms from past proletarian history. Such negative attitude towards the past while discussing the shortcomings, deviations and deformities of the earlier period, may distort the prospects. In relation to Stalin the CPI(M) had made its assessment. It is quite possible, however, that some comrades may be of the opinion that the assessment should be re-examined and they can raise the question during the course of discussion on these recent developments.

The CPI(M) adheres to the Leninist understanding of the role of the working class party as the vanguard of the class, and its leading role in organizing and building Socialism and the Socialist society. The CPI(M) is of the opinion that the Party cannot replace the class either in running the administration or the economy. The strength of the Party lies in its adherence to the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the working class, i.e., to lead the proletarian State. The CPI(M) therefore stands for removing all deviations from this concept and deformities. In criticizing the mistakes in the functioning of the Party it has to be remembered also that but for the guidance of the Party, the Soviet State would not have been able to remain in existence and secure victory for Socialist advance. The leading role of the Party and the working class has to be preserved. Concepts which undermine the role of the working class and equate it to the rest of society are harmful. While considering the rectification of the relationship between Party and the proletarian State, our Party should bear this fundamental understanding in mind.

The growth of bureaucracy, whether inside the Party or in the State, is a serious impediment and, if unchecked, becomes a danger. The experience of the Soviet Union shows that it can become a big danger to the growth of the Party and democracy. Measures undertaken against the growth of bureaucracy should ensure that the basic principle of democratic centralism is not violated in another direction but leads to its restoration in the Leninist form.

In relation to restructuring of the economy, the necessity

has arisen because of stagnation and non-correspondence between productive forces and relations of production. In fact it was stated at the Nineteenth Conference of the CPSU that the economy is in a stage of crisis and extensive and quick measures are necessary to restore it. There being no antagonistic classes in existence in Socialist society such non-correspondence is due to organizational failure to develop Socialist relations as required by the situation. This lag and deformities have to be cured. The measures adopted must be such as are able to strike at the roots of the present malady. It is clear that under a Socialist society while personal incentive is a must during the entire period of the first stage of Communism, progress cannot be sustained without an increasing social awareness and Socialist consciousness. Socialist consciousness must play a major role in restoring the correspondence between the productive forces and relations of production. All measures proposed to overcome the present difficult situation should be judged by applying this test in the long run.

So far as the understanding of the international situation is concerned the Central Committee recently adopted a document explaining our stand.

The Central Committee wants the members to adopt the scientific approach to the problems raised and not to dispose of any new proposals in an off-hand manner. The context has to be taken into consideration; the current problems have to be correctly understood and then it has to be decided whether the measures proposed to meet the immediate situation stand the test of Marxism-Leninism. This will lead to a fruitful discussion and enable us to reach our independent judgement.

Central Committee Condemns President's Rule in Nagaland*

Statement dated August 8, 1988, issued to Press

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly condemns the dissolution of the Nagaland Assembly and the imposition of President's Rule. Having lost its majority in the Assembly, the Central Congress(I) leadership tried its best to manipulate a majority. Failing to do so, despite the fact that the Opposition had a clear majority, the Governor has been used in the familiar authoritarian tactic of recommending President's Rule.

The Central Committee condemns the Congress(I) Centre for the misuse of the Article 356 of the Constitution and using the Governor's post to deprive the Nagaland people of their democratic rights. By this action the Rajiv Government has shown its contempt for democratic norms and disregarded even the Sarkaria Commission's recommendation that it is not the Governor's job to be convinced that a stable Government can be formed in a State.

The CPI(M) calls upon all democratic forces to unitedly protest this attack on democracy and the State's rights.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, August 14, 1988.

Polit Bureau on Relief Operations for Earthquake Victims*

Statement dated August 22, 1988 issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses deep sorrow at the loss of hundreds of lives in the earthquake which has affected Bihar and other parts of Eastern India and Nepal. This calamity has caused widespread damage in Bihar to houses and property. Thousands of families have lost their kith and kin and many have lost all in this terrible tragedy.

The Polit Bureau calls upon all its Party units in Bihar to mount relief operations. All Party units in the country should extend help to this effort. The Polit Bureau expects the Government of India to spare no effort to ensure that relief and rehabilitation measures are organized effectively to reach the people in distress in Bihar. Along with this, popular committees must be set up in the affected areas to supervise the relief work. This is essential as the Bihar State administration, known for its incompetence, cannot be relied upon to do the job by itself.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, August 28, 1988.

Polit Bureau Denounces Defamation Bill*

Statement dated August 31, 1988 issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) denounces the Congress(I) Government's move to enact a new Defamation Act. The haste with which the Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha and passed, overruling the Opposition members' legitimate objections, shows that the ruling party is afraid of the true implications of the Bill being made public. In the name of curbing defamatory publications, the provisions of the Bill make it clear that the Central Government is bent upon suppressing all exposure of wrong-doings by the ruling circles.

The context and the juncture in which this Bill has been surreptitiously introduced and sought to be hustled through, indicts the Congress(I) Government. Faced with a series of exposures beginning with the Bofors gun deal, the Bill is a blatant effort to muzzle the Press and intimidate anyone who wishes to expose corruption and violation of laws. The Bill, if enacted into law, will have far-reaching repercussions for democratic rights. It will be another step by the Rajiv Government to impose an authoritarian set-up.

The Polit Bureau calls upon all political parties and forces interested in the defence of democracy to unitedly oppose this dangerous piece of legislation. A strong protest movement must be launched to force the Government to withdraw the Bill.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, September 4, 1988.

Polit Bureau Demands : Cancel Licence to Pepsico*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly criticizes the Central Government for granting licence to the notorious U.S. multinational Pepsico to operate in Punjab.

The project proposes to set up a soft drink, fruit and vegetable processing unit, for which adequate and competent indigenous technology is available.

This sell-out decision allows for the first time the entry of multinational corporations into agro-based industries in India. A consequence of the process of liberalization under the new economic policy pursued by the Rajiv Government, this step will further mortgage the Indian economy to the multinational corporations. The further opening of the Indian economy for exploitation by multinational corporations, in tune with the recommendations of the World Bank and the IMF will impose more severe burdens on the Indian economy and people.

This decision has been taken despite the opposition by all patriotic forces. The CPI(M) demands that the Centre immediately rescind this grant of licence.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, September 25, 1988

Polit Bureau Hails Bandh in West Bengal*

Statement dated September 15, 1988, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau greets the people of West Bengal who have by their massive participation in the 24-hour bandh on September 14, 1988, lodged their protest in a united manner against the Rajiv Government's gross discrimination against the Left Front Government's efforts to develop the State. They have also registered their firm opposition to the authoritarian measures being imposed by the Central Government in the form of the 59th Constitutional Amendment and other black laws.

The Polit Bureau congratulates the Left Front and CPI(M) cadre for their success in mobilizing the people in this joint campaign for the past two months.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, September 25, 1988

Polit Bureau on Successful Tripura Bandh*

Statement dated September 15, 1988, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) warmly congratulates the people of Tripura who have in a big way participated in the 12-hour bandh on September 14, 1988. The bandh was called by the CPI(M) to protest against the police attack on Nripen Chakraborty and other picketeers in the kisan agitation. The people have responded determinedly by joining the bandh defying the semi-fascist violence unleashed by Congress(I) men and anti-socials mobilized by them to terrorize the people. The Congress(I) Chief Minister himself proclaimed that the bandh will be resisted by such tactics. It is a tribute that the bandh has been a good success in all parts of the State.

For this protest action, the democratic forces have had to face murder, arson and maiming of limbs. Momin Choudhury, a young activist of the Democratic Youth Federation of India, was killed by Congress(I) goondas in Agartala. Jitendra Sarkar and Bimal Sinha, MLAs and both members of the State Committee of the CPI(M), have been seriously injured by the anti-social gangs. Four Party offices in Sonamura, Halali, Mirza and Bisalgarh were ransacked, with the last mentioned office having been burnt down. Reports have come of other offices of the mass organizations which were either ransacked or burnt down. The Polit Bureau greets the CPI(M) cadre and supporters for their courageous behaviour.

The CPI(M) condemns these terror tactics resorted to

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, September 25, 1988.

with the active connivance of the State Government. The path adopted by the Congress(I) portends serious danger for democratic values in the country. The Polit Bureau appeals to all Opposition parties and citizens to protest this outrage perpetrated in Tripura by the ruling party against the Opposition.

Polit Bureau on Withdrawal of Defamation Bill*

Statement dated September 22, 1988, issued to Press

The withdrawal of the notorious Defamation Bill by the Government is a big victory for the united resistance put up by all sections of the people including the unanimous opposition by the Press. The Polit Bureau congratulates all sections of the people and the media which launched a determined campaign against the Bill.

This victory shows that the people of the country will not tolerate any authoritarian attack on basic democratic rights by the Congress(I) regime.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 2, 1988.

Central Committee's Greetings to the GDR*

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) extends its warm fraternal greetings to the people of the GDR and its collective leader, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, on the occasion of the 39th anniversary of the foundation of the German Democratic Republic.

The creation of a workers and peasants State, for the first time in history, on the German soil, was the true culmination of the glorious traditions of German revolutionaries beginning from Marx and Engels. The legacy of the generations of German revolutionaries, with their heroism, sacrifice and adherence to Marxism, has inspired the formation of a Socialist Germany. The SUPG, the proud inheritor of this legacy, is today discharging the historic responsibilities of building a developed Socialist society in GDR.

The economic achievements of the GDR, the establishment, consolidation and further improvement of Socialist production relations, have indeed vindicated the scientific understanding of Marxism regarding humanity's transition to Socialism. Having eliminated unemployment many years ago and with zero inflation, the significant strides made by the GDR in advancing labour productivity and material well-being consolidates the process of building advanced Socialism. The multifaceted development of the human being, the overriding aim of Socialism, is reflected in the high moral, educational and cultural standards of the people of the GDR.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 9, 1988

The CPI(M) congratulates the people of the GDR for their truly fantastic performance in the just concluded Seoul Olympics.

The strength of Socialist GDR is a bulwark preventing the militarization of the German soil today. Firmly adhering to the principle that the soil of Germany will not be the source of another war, the GDR has taken one initiative after another towards the elimination of nuclear weapons in the world and reduction of tensions in Europe. The most significant and unique conference for nuclear weapon free zones, held in Berlin this year, was a landmark in consolidating and advancing the peace forces in the world. Standing at the divide of capitalism and Socialism, the divide between the forces of war and peace, the GDR has taken many initiatives for a nuclear weapon free corridor and voiced the collective sentiments of the European people for a nuclear free Europe. The CPI(M) wishes the GDR further successes in its peace policies and initiatives.

The high degree of moral and material support extended by the GDR to the national liberation struggles and its solidarity with the people of Asia and Africa, are testimony to its sincere commitment to proletarian internationalism.

As a partner in the struggle for world peace, progress and Socialism, the CPI(M) which is committed to strengthening this movement, once again conveys its revolutionary greetings to the people of GDR and the SUPG, wishing them further successes in the building of Socialism and advancing our common cause for a world of peace.

Polit Bureau Condemns use of NSA in Tripura*

Statement dated October 7, 1988, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) denounces the arrest of important CPI(M) leaders under the National Security Act in Tripura. On October 6, Ranjan Roy, member of the State Committee of the CPI(M), Samir Chakraborty, President of the Tripura State Students' Federation of India, and Prem Singh Orang, leader of the Ganamukti Parishad and member of the Khowai District Committee of the Party, were arrested under the NSA. They have been lodged in the Agartala Central Jail. This reprehensible action by the Congress(I)-led Government of Tripura should be condemned by all.

The use of NSA against political leaders by the Congress(I)-led Government goes against the repeated assurances of the Rajiv Government that this notorious law will not be used against political workers. The CPI(M) calls upon all political parties, mass organizations and all persons concerned with democratic rights to strongly protest these arrests and demand the immediate release of the CPI(M) leaders.

The Polit Bureau warns the Congress(I) not to resort to such undemocratic and authoritarian measures to suppress the Opposition in Tripura.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 16, 1988

Central Committee Communique*

Issued following its meeting held on
October 2-6, 1988

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) had a five-day meeting from October 2-6, 1988, where the Draft Political Resolution for the Thirteenth Party Congress was finalized.

Discussing the international situation, the draft emphasises the enhanced strength of the Socialist camp, of the forces of peace, freedom and democracy in the years since the last Party Congress. This has made it possible to avoid nuclear war and save the world from destruction. It notes the growing resistance in the Third World countries to the imperialist attempts to subjugate their economy. It warns against misleading bourgeois propaganda which seeks to denigrate all Socialist achievements, misinterpreting the new developments taking place in a number of Socialist countries.

Discussing the situation in our country the draft notes that despite some vacillations, non-alignment continues to determine our foreign policy. It notes the growing trend towards one-party authoritarian rule and calls upon the people to oust the Rajiv Government in the coming elections. It calls upon Left and secular forces to come together to oust the Rajiv Government and isolate and defeat secessionist, communal and divisive forces. It calls upon the Left forces to develop mass struggles, strengthen Left unity and show greater initiative in organizing the struggle against the Rajiv Government.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 16, 1988

Victory over Defamation Bill

The Central Committee greeted the political parties, the media and the intelligentsia who unitedly rallied the entire people against the Defamation Bill which was an attack on the right of the media and the people to expose corruption in high places. The united resistance put up by all sections of the people have resulted in the withdrawal of the Bill, a big victory for the democratic forces. It shows that the people will not tolerate such attacks on their basic democratic rights. The Central Committee called upon all democratic forces to carry forward the struggle against other anti-democratic Bills such as the Trade Union and Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill and the Hospitals and Other Institutions Bill.

Efforts for Unity of Secular Opposition

The Central Committee noted the efforts being made to unite the secular Opposition parties. Such unity is urgently required to meet the aspirations of the people. The Central Committee reiterated the view that for such efforts to succeed the secular Opposition parties should adopt an uncompromising attitude to the divisive and communal forces and also stand by a programme of defending the rights of the common people.

Congress(I) Collaboration with Divisive Forces

The Central Committee noted that, far from severing all connections with communal and divisive forces, the leadership of the Congress(I) is persisting in its policy of wooing separatist forces with a view to remaining in power. The latest examples are (i) the recently exposed conspiracy between the TNV and the Congress(I) in Tripura for subverting the Left Front Government before the Assembly elections, and (ii) the declaration made by the Tamil Nadu Congress(I) leader, G.K. Moopanar, inviting the Muslim League in the State for an electoral alliance.

Settle Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid Dispute

The Central Committee expressed concern that the dispute over the Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid issue has not yet been settled. The delay in finding the solution which is desired by the peace-loving sections of both communities, will disrupt social life and communal harmony not only in Uttar Pradesh but in the whole country. All political parties should help in arriving at an amicable settlement of the dispute. The Central Committee strongly condemned the shameful spectacle of the beating up of Harijans by uppercaste Hindu fanatics for daring to enter the Nathdwara temple in Rajasthan. The Rajasthan Government has once again shown its cowardice by not taking firm action against the law-breakers.

The Central Committee noted with concern that the Punjab situation continues to defy solution, thanks to the lack of political will on the part of the Centre. The problem will be solved only if the Central Government ceases to use the issue in order to secure partisan advantage for the ruling party.

On West Bengal Left Front

The Central Committee heard reports about the anti-Left Front activities of West Bengal's PWD Minister, Jatin Chakraborty. The lying allegations made by him have been rightly rejected by the Chief Minister and the Party. The Central Committee authorized West Bengal State Secretariat of the Party to take appropriate steps to undo the damage done by Chakraborty.

The Central Committee heard reports from West Bengal and Kerala about the hostility shown by the Centre to the non-Congress(I) Governments in the two respective States. The rejection of West Bengal's demand concerning the Bakreswar Thermal Power Project is totally unjustifiable. So is the refusal to concede the legitimate demands of the Kerala Government concerning financial aid from the Centre. The Central Committee supported the Left Front's decision

to go ahead with the Bakreswar Project, which is vital for meeting the power requirement of the State in the future.

On Mass Struggles

The Central Committee heard reports of the all-India struggle undertaken in September jointly by the Left-led peasant and agricultural labour organizations. It noted the big success of the all-India action and greeted the twenty lakh peasants and agricultural workers who participated in the movement.

The Central Committee also congratulated the students who joined the all-India one-day strike on September 26, 1988 in a big way against the New Education Policy.

The Central Committee expressed its solidarity with the State Government employees of Bihar who are on strike.

On Flood Situation

The Central Committee expressed its deep sympathy for the thousands of families which have been badly affected by the serious floods in Assam and Bihar and more recently in Punjab, J & K, Himachal Pradesh and Haryana. This calamity has led to big loss of life and property. The Central Government has not taken any serious steps to render sufficient relief and assistance to the flood affected victims.

Prime Minister's Visit to China

The Central Committee noted that in recent years there has been an improvement in the relations between India and China. It hopes that the forthcoming visit to China by the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi will further improve relations. In this connection the Central Committee noted that elements who have sought to oppose the visit of the Prime Minister to China do not represent the general public opinion in the country which wishes to see friendly relations between the two big neighbours.

The Central Committee welcomed the recent proposal made by the CPSU General Secretary, Mikhail Gorbachev on September 16, 1988, for the demilitarisation and easing

of tensions in the Asia-Pacific region. The Central Committee noted that although it is several months since the Geneva Agreement on Afghanistan was signed and although the process of withdrawing the Soviet armed forces has been proceeding smoothly, Pakistan and the USA, which are parties to the Agreement, are doing everything to sabotage it. The Central Committee extended full support to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the USSR which are making every effort to safeguard the Agreement.

The Central Committee expressed solidarity with and extended full support to the democratic forces fighting in Pakistan for the restoration of democracy. It supported the democratic Opposition forces in Burma which too are fighting for restoration of democracy and ending one-party military rule.

Polit Bureau Congratulates the People of Chile for Rejecting Dictatorship in a Referendum*

Statement dated October 7, 1988, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau warmly congratulates the people of Chile who have with a decisive vote in the referendum rejected the dictator Pinochet's proposal to continue in power for another eight-year term. The fifteen-year fascist regime of Pinochet, with its bloody repression, has been rejected by the people through this referendum. While greeting the democratic and popular forces on this victory, the Polit Bureau wishes them further success in fighting the internal reactionaries backed by U.S. imperialism which will not take this defeat lying down.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 16, 1988.

Polit Bureau on Communal Riots in U.P.*

Statement dated October 12, 1988, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau expresses its deep concern at the outbreak of communal riots in Muzaffarnagar, Khatauli and Aligarh in Uttar Pradesh. The deterioration of the communal situation in the State over the continuing dispute over the Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid issue poses a serious danger. The U.P. Government has shown laxity in anticipating the developments in the light of the Babri Masjid Coordination Committee's call for a march to Ayodhya on October 14 and the counter-call for a bandh on October 8 by some organizations like the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. It is of vital importance that all sides exercise restraint and the disruptive forces be isolated.

The Polit Bureau regrets that the Central Government's efforts to bring about an amicable settlement have produced no results up to now. The full facts about the efforts should be placed before the people so that it can be understood which party is opposing a reasonable settlement. In the absence of a common understanding, the only way to end the dispute is to seek the verdict of the Court. In the meanwhile, all efforts should be made to avert conflict and bloodshed. Considering the tense situation and the counter-call of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, it will be advisable if the Babri Masjid Coordination Committee agrees to voluntarily postpone its march.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 16, 1988

The Polit Bureau condemns the reported move to organize a march to Jama Masjid in Delhi by the communal Bajrang Dal. This will only spread communal tensions. The Central Government must be alert to meet all eventualities and maintain peace. All political parties must cooperate in ensuring that an amicable settlement is reached on the controversy.

CPI(M) Condoles Armenian Tragedy*

On behalf of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the entire membership of the Party, we express our shock at the massive damage caused by the earthquake in Armenia and its adjoining regions. This calamity has resulted in the loss of thousands of lives and immense suffering. We are deeply grieved at this tragedy and convey our heartfelt sympathy to the families affected, and our solidarity with the Soviet people in meeting this disaster.

The Central Committee has contributed Rs. one lakh to the Prime Minister's Special Armenian Earthquake Relief Fund.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 18, 1988.

Polit Bureau Welcomes Gorbachev Proposals*

Statement dated December 8, 1988 issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) hails the proposals put by General Secretary of the CPSU, Gorbachev, before the United Nations General Assembly. These proposals once again reaffirm the sincerity of the Soviet Union in achieving a world of peace, free from nuclear weapons.

The unilateral proposals of reduction of Soviet armed troops by half a million, a substantial reduction in conventional armaments and withdrawal of troops from Eastern Europe, are of immense significance in the struggle for world peace and disarmament.

The CPI(M) considers the new Afghan initiatives as highly significant. Coming in the background of the continuous violation of the Geneva Accords by the United States, these proposals, linked to a ceasefire with the induction of the United Nations Peace Keeping Force, will go a long way in achieving peace and bringing stability to the region.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) considers as extremely important, the proposal of a 100-year moratorium on Third World debt. This echoes the feelings of the millions in the Third World who are groaning under economic misery and voices the concern raised in the forums of the Non-Aligned Movement and the U.N. earlier. The problem of the increasing gap between developing and developed countries requires to be resolved and the call for a summit of creditor and debtor nations to resolve the debt problem must be accepted.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 18, 1988.

These new initiatives, a continuation of the peace offensive launched by the USSR, will further strengthen the forces of peace the world over. While supporting these proposals, the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon the peace-loving forces to unleash a popular movement as a part of the overall struggle for the achievement of a nuclear weapon-free and peaceful world and force imperialism to accept these proposals.

Gruesome Massacre of CPI(M) Workers in Tripura*

Polit Bureau issued statement dated October 14, 1988, to Press recording condemnation

The Polit Bureau expresses its deep shock and indignation at the gruesome massacre of 16 CPI(M) leaders and cadre in Belonia sub-division of Tripura by Congress(I) men and anti-socials on October 12, 1988. Some CPI(M) activists are still missing. This mass murder of important CPI(M) leaders and workers, including Comrade Sridam Pal, member of the Autonomous District Council, has taken place with the connivance of the police and is a grave indictment of the Congress(I)-TUJS Ministry which has become infamous for its bloody repression.

The Polit Bureau refutes the version put out by the Tripura Government of the incident. This was not a clash between the two parties but a cold-blooded murderous attack with the premeditated aim of liquidating the CPI(M) cadre. For the past few months, Belonia sub-division in South Tripura district has been witnessing a reign of terror by Congress(I) hired anti-socials. It is in this background that on October 12, at 4 p.m. CPI(M) workers gathered at Birchandramanu to hoist the Party flag at the Party office. Present in the gathering were Sridam Pal, member of the Autonomous District Council, and Brajamohan Jamatia, MLA. Congress(I) men gathered in strength with lethal arms to attack the CPI(M) office and the assembled comrades. The attackers' targets were the ADC member and the Party MLA. The murderous attack and the bloodbath that followed, led to the killings of

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 23, 1988

the 16 CPI(M) cadre. The personal security officers attached to the ADC member, Comrade Sridam Pal, made a valiant effort to save him and lost their lives in the process. Comrade Brajamohan Jamatia, MLA, was injured and escaped death narrowly.

Tripura is in the grip today of Congress(I)-sponsored terror. Thousands of CPI(M) workers and their families are under constant threat of attack, murder and arson. The Home Minister, Samir Barman, openly incites his partymen to eliminate the CPI(M). The Government has invoked the National Security Act and four CPI(M) leaders have been detained. The Central Government and the Home Ministry, by their silence, give direct encouragement to this violence against the CPI(M) and the Left Front.

Chief Minister and Home Minister should resign

The Polit Bureau demands the resignation of Chief Minister, Sudhir Ranjan Majumdar, and the Home Minister, Samir Burman, as they are directly responsible for this state of affairs.

The Polit Bureau pays its homage to the memory of the courageous comrades of Belonia who have laid down their lives under the leadership of Comrade Sridam Pal in defence of the Party. It conveys its heartfelt condolences to all the members of the bereaved families.* The Polit Bureau condoles the death of the two personal security men who died while discharging their duty.

The Polit Bureau calls upon all the Party units in the country to immediately mobilize the people and launch powerful protests against this atrocity. It calls upon all political parties, all mass organizations and democratic forces to strongly condemn this massacre and demand the protection of elementary democratic rights in Tripura.

The Polit Bureau is confident that the Party and the democratic movement in Tripura will face this terror and onslaughts with determination and popular mobilization. The whole democratic opinion in the country will be behind them to face this challenge.

**ANNEXURE TO THE PRESS STATEMENT :
TERROR AND ATROCITIES IN BELONIA SUB-DIVISION
(UP TO AUGUST 25, 1988)**

* Four CPI(M) and mass organization cadre killed. They are:- 1) Manindra Debnath, Panchayat member, West Pilak Gaon Sabha, 2) Sadhan Debnath, Rajnagar Baisan, CPI(M) supporter, 3) Smt. Lalmati Bibi, activist of Ganatantrik Nari Samity, 4) Subir Paul Chittamara, CPI(M) supporter.

* More than 1500 leaders and activists of democratic movements are implicated in 170 framed up cases all over the sub-division.

* Nearly 40 workers are suffering inhuman tortures in police lock-up. More than 200 workers were imprisoned and many are still held in jails.

* More than 400 Party workers, students, and individuals were attacked and beaten up by Congress(I) rowdies.

* Taxes are being imposed on nearly 300 Party workers and supporters ranging from Rs. 500 to Rs. 15,000.

* Above three hundred workers are driven out of their homes and localities.

* Nearly 20 cases of physical torture, rape and molestation on women, and attempts to drag out women from their houses, with the intention of rape and molestation.

Amendment to the Party Constitution*

**Proposed by the Central Committee of the CPI(M)
to be moved in the Thirteenth Party Congress**

PROPOSAL :

In Article XV Clause 5 of the Party Constitution Add a new Sub-section

(a) The Central Committee shall elect a Secretariat from among its members. The number of members of the Secretariat shall be decided by the Central Committee. The Secretariat will, under the guidance of the Polit Bureau, look after the day-to-day work of the Party Centre and assist the Polit Bureau in the implementation of Central Committee decisions.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 23, 1988

Homage to Comrade Truong Chinh*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its profound grief at the death of Comrade Truong Chinh, veteran revolutionary leader of the Vietnam Communist Party. He was the former General Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam and former Chairman of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

From the inception of the Communist movement in Indochina, Comrade Truong Chinh was a prominent associate of Comrade Ho Chi Minh. He played a key role in the liberation movement which led to the August 1945 revolution which resulted in the formation of Socialist North Vietnam. After the arduous struggle against French colonialism and Japanese aggression, Comrade Truong Chinh devoted his energies to the struggle for liberation of South Vietnam and consolidation of Socialist construction in the North. His brilliant leadership capacities in the fight against U.S. imperialist aggression and in guiding the building of Socialism in reunified Vietnam constitute an important part of the history of the Vietnamese revolution. Since 1987, Comrade Truong Chinh was assisting the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam as an adviser.

In his passing away, the Vietnamese Party and people and the international proletarian movement have lost a

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 23, 1988

dedicated and able leader. The Central Committee pays its revolutionary homage to his memory and conveys its heartfelt condolences to the Vietnamese Communist Party and his family members.

Polit Bureau Supports Kisan Demands*

Statement dated October 20, 1988, issued to Press

The sit-in demonstration being conducted by thousands of kisans in the Boat Club grounds in New Delhi is an expression of the deep discontent of the peasantry all over the country who are affected by the agrarian crisis. The basic demand for remunerative prices of agricultural produce is a legitimate one. Recently the Left-led peasants organizations in the country conducted a country-wide protest action highlighting this demand among others. All political parties, including the Congress(I), have accepted the validity of adequate remunerative prices to the peasantry.

It is, therefore, surprising that the Central Government is refusing to arrive at a reasonable settlement on this issue. The Polit Bureau condemns the Prime Minister's stand that no talks can be held under pressure. The Polit Bureau wants that the legitimate demands of the demonstrators be settled immediately.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, November 6, 1988

These new initiatives, a continuation of the peace offensive launched by the USSR, will further strengthen the forces of peace the world over. While supporting these proposals, the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon the peace-loving forces to unleash a popular movement as a part of the overall struggle for the achievement of a nuclear weapon-free and peaceful world and force imperialism to accept these proposals.

Gruesome Massacre of CPI(M) Workers in Tripura*

Polit Bureau issued statement dated October 14, 1988, to Press recording condemnation

The Polit Bureau expresses its deep shock and indignation at the gruesome massacre of 16 CPI(M) leaders and cadre in Belonia sub-division of Tripura by Congress(I) men and anti-socials on October 12, 1988. Some CPI(M) activists are still missing. This mass murder of important CPI(M) leaders and workers, including Comrade Sridam Pal, member of the Autonomous District Council, has taken place with the connivance of the police and is a grave indictment of the Congress(I)-TUJS Ministry which has become infamous for its bloody repression.

The Polit Bureau refutes the version put out by the Tripura Government of the incident. This was not a clash between the two parties but a cold-blooded murderous attack with the premeditated aim of liquidating the CPI(M) cadre. For the past few months, Belonia sub-division in South Tripura district has been witnessing a reign of terror by Congress(I) hired anti-socials. It is in this background that on October 12, at 4 p.m. CPI(M) workers gathered at Birchandramanu to hoist the Party flag at the Party office. Present in the gathering were Sridam Pal, member of the Autonomous District Council, and Brajamohan Jamatia, MLA. Congress(I) men gathered in strength with lethal arms to attack the CPI(M) office and the assembled comrades. The attackers' targets were the ADC member and the Party MLA. The murderous attack and the bloodbath that followed, led to the killings of

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 23, 1988

the 16 CPI(M) cadre. The personal security officers attached to the ADC member, Comrade Sridam Pal, made a valiant effort to save him and lost their lives in the process. Comrade Brajamohan Jamatia, MLA, was injured and escaped death narrowly.

Tripura is in the grip today of Congress(I)-sponsored terror. Thousands of CPI(M) workers and their families are under constant threat of attack, murder and arson. The Home Minister, Samir Barman, openly incites his partymen to eliminate the CPI(M). The Government has invoked the National Security Act and four CPI(M) leaders have been detained. The Central Government and the Home Ministry, by their silence, give direct encouragement to this violence against the CPI(M) and the Left Front.

Chief Minister and Home Minister should resign

The Polit Bureau demands the resignation of Chief Minister, Sudhir Ranjan Majumdar, and the Home Minister, Samir Burman, as they are directly responsible for this state of affairs.

The Polit Bureau pays its homage to the memory of the courageous comrades of Belonia who have laid down their lives under the leadership of Comrade Sridam Pal in defence of the Party. It conveys its heartfelt condolences to all the members of the bereaved families.* The Polit Bureau condoles the death of the two personal security men who died while discharging their duty.

The Polit Bureau calls upon all the Party units in the country to immediately mobilize the people and launch powerful protests against this atrocity. It calls upon all political parties, all mass organizations and democratic forces to strongly condemn this massacre and demand the protection of elementary democratic rights in Tripura.

The Polit Bureau is confident that the Party and the democratic movement in Tripura will face this terror and onslaughts with determination and popular mobilization. The whole democratic opinion in the country will be behind them to face this challenge.

**ANNEXURE TO THE PRESS STATEMENT :
TERROR AND ATROCITIES IN BELONIA SUB-DIVISION
(UP TO AUGUST 25, 1988)**

* Four CPI(M) and mass organization cadre killed. They are:- 1) Manindra Debnath, Panchayat member, West Pilak Gaon Sabha, 2) Sadhan Debnath, Rajnagar Baisan, CPI(M) supporter, 3) Smt. Lalmati Bibi, activist of Ganatantrik Nari Samity, 4) Subir Paul Chittamara, CPI(M) supporter.

* More than 1500 leaders and activists of democratic movements are implicated in 170 framed up cases all over the sub-division.

* Nearly 40 workers are suffering inhuman tortures in police lock-up. More than 200 workers were imprisoned and many are still held in jails.

* More than 400 Party workers, students, and individuals were attacked and beaten up by Congress(I) rowdies.

* Taxes are being imposed on nearly 300 Party workers and supporters ranging from Rs. 500 to Rs. 15,000.

* Above three hundred workers are driven out of their homes and localities.

* Nearly 20 cases of physical torture, rape and molestation on women, and attempts to drag out women from their houses, with the intention of rape and molestation.

Amendment to the Party Constitution*

**Proposed by the Central Committee of the CPI(M)
to be moved in the Thirteenth Party Congress**

PROPOSAL :

In Article XV Clause 5 of the Party Constitution Add a new Sub-section

(a) The Central Committee shall elect a Secretariat from among its members. The number of members of the Secretariat shall be decided by the Central Committee. The Secretariat will, under the guidance of the Polit Bureau, look after the day-to-day work of the Party Centre and assist the Polit Bureau in the implementation of Central Committee decisions.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 23, 1988

Homage to Comrade Truong Chinh*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its profound grief at the death of Comrade Truong Chinh, veteran revolutionary leader of the Vietnam Communist Party. He was the former General Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam and former Chairman of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

From the inception of the Communist movement in Indochina, Comrade Truong Chinh was a prominent associate of Comrade Ho Chi Minh. He played a key role in the liberation movement which led to the August 1945 revolution which resulted in the formation of Socialist North Vietnam. After the arduous struggle against French colonialism and Japanese aggression, Comrade Truong Chinh devoted his energies to the struggle for liberation of South Vietnam and consolidation of Socialist construction in the North. His brilliant leadership capacities in the fight against U.S. imperialist aggression and in guiding the building of Socialism in reunified Vietnam constitute an important part of the history of the Vietnamese revolution. Since 1987, Comrade Truong Chinh was assisting the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam as an adviser.

In his passing away, the Vietnamese Party and people and the international proletarian movement have lost a

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 23, 1988

dedicated and able leader. The Central Committee pays its revolutionary homage to his memory and conveys its heartfelt condolences to the Vietnamese Communist Party and his family members.

Polit Bureau Supports Kisan Demands*

Statement dated October 20, 1988, issued to Press

The sit-in demonstration being conducted by thousands of kisans in the Boat Club grounds in New Delhi is an expression of the deep discontent of the peasantry all over the country who are affected by the agrarian crisis. The basic demand for remunerative prices of agricultural produce is a legitimate one. Recently the Left-led peasants organizations in the country conducted a country-wide protest action highlighting this demand among others. All political parties, including the Congress(I), have accepted the validity of adequate remunerative prices to the peasantry.

It is, therefore, surprising that the Central Government is refusing to arrive at a reasonable settlement on this issue. The Polit Bureau condemns the Prime Minister's stand that no talks can be held under pressure. The Polit Bureau wants that the legitimate demands of the demonstrators be settled immediately.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, November 6, 1988

Central Committee's Greetings to the USSR*

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) sends its revolutionary greetings to the CPSU and the working class and the people of the USSR on the occasion of the 71st Anniversary of the Great October Revolution. The year that has passed since the 70th Anniversary has witnessed a significant growth in the forces defending peace and opposing nuclear war. The persistent struggle waged by the Soviet Union in defence of peace, its concrete proposals to reduce the number of nuclear weapons, its commitment to work for the total elimination of all nuclear weapons have provided a big impetus to the world peace movement and created an atmosphere for dialogue for peace and avoidance of war.

The struggle for peace waged by the Soviet Union has played a vital role in strengthening the forces of peace, freedom, democracy and Socialism. As our Central Committee's document on Certain Ideological Questions says:

"The struggle for peace waged by the Soviet Union in the post-war years has helped in a big way the advance of the forces of freedom, peace and Socialism. Protected against war, the working class and people of all countries were able to concentrate their attention on their internal contradictions and struggles. The growing alignment of the labour movement in the advanced capitalist countries with the struggle for peace and the role played by the NAM, strengthened the fight against nuclear war. In spite of these favourable

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, November 6, 1988

factors, there is no reason for complacency. The imperialists have not given up their designs and policies and a continuous and relentless struggle against the danger of nuclear war is necessary to protect humanity from destruction."

The situation is still complicated. As Comrade Gorbachev says: "If one recalls international developments in recent years, perhaps everyone would agree that the situation in the world in 1987 was better than in 1986, while in 1988 it is better than in 1987.

"There are grounds for hope that 1989 will be better than the current year. I am saying this relying on well-known facts—the first steps in the field of nuclear disarmament and settlement of regional conflicts, and a certain easing of confrontation on the international scene as a whole.

"We have not yet passed the point beyond which it would be impossible to return to the former state of hostility, mutual distrust and feverish military build up.

"Consequences of such a return would be catastrophic. No one would dare say mankind can tempt fate infinitely. Quite probably we are now using one of the last chances to avert nuclear, ecological and other disasters threatening the international community.

"There are grounds for concern.

"The matter at issue is not only the activeness of extreme right-wing, reactionary forces which do not like the current development.

"A deficit of responsibility for the future, which makes itself felt in the policies of some of our Western partners and a desire to use the current situation for selfish interests ignoring possible baneful consequences for international cooperation, may prove even a more dangerous factor."

The world will remain ever grateful to the Soviet Union for its relentless struggle to save humanity from destructive war. Only a Socialist system and a Socialist State while compelled to take measures for its defence can think in terms of the interests of the entire humanity.

This great struggle for peace has to be carried on in the

midst of the intensified contradictions of our period, in the midst of the widening struggle in the Third World countries and the intense economic battles in capitalist countries generated by the crisis of capitalism. The peace struggle is vitally important and it is an integral part of the mighty world-wide struggle against imperialism for freedom, democracy and Socialism.

The CPI(M) is confident that the Soviet Union with its devotion to world peace, its relentless effort to save humanity from nuclear destruction will be able to score further successes in defence of peace.

The CPI(M) on its part will continue to strengthen the peace movement in India and endeavour to secure ever larger participation of the masses in the sacred task of defending world peace.

The year that has passed saw CPSU and the Soviet people battling against distortions in the functioning of the economy and the State. The 19th Conference of the Party in May this year nailed down the deformities and distortions, the growth of bureaucratism, the command-administrative methods, neglect of cost accounting in industrial concerns and lack of Socialist concern for production, efficiency and quality. This led to stagnation and created a very difficult situation. To combat bureaucratism steps are taken to delegate more managerial functions and powers to lower levels. To combat bureaucratism it was necessary to unleash initiative at the lower levels. The 19th Conference emphasised that "there must be unflagging compliance with Lenin's recommendations that under all circumstances, without exception, collective management must be accompanied by the precise definition of the personal responsibility of every individual for a precisely definite job."

The one-sided reports emanating from interested quarters about Soviet developments have created some confusion among the well-wishers of the Soviet Union in India. The working class of India understands that these temporary difficulties and economic stagnation have arisen after the Socialist society

had scored monumental achievements in earlier years. In these years the means of production were socialized, capitalist exploitation was abolished, unemployment was liquidated, right to work, health and education was established, the living conditions of the people were guaranteed under the Constitution of the working class State, the dictatorship of the proletariat. The capitalist system with its poverty, ignorance and unemployment could not dream of such achievements. It was because of these victories that the Soviet Union was able to build itself into a strong industrial State and was able to meet the military onslaughts of Hitler's hordes. The current difficulties come from the obstacles faced by the developing Socialist society in the course of its further progress, obstacles which can be removed only by effecting many radical changes in the management and democratisation of the economy. These difficulties have nothing in common with what is happening in capitalist societies where two antagonistic classes—the exploiting and the exploited—face each other and their economy is managed to protect the profiteering interests of the owning class.

The CPI(M) is confident that guided by Marxism-Leninism and the strength of the socialised means of production, the leading role of the property of the whole people, the Soviet people and the leadership of the CPSU will be able to overcome the present-day distortions and realize the full potentialities of the Socialist means of production combined with technological and scientific progress.

Things have already started improving. Yuri Maslyukov, Chairman of the State Planning Committee of the USSR speaking before the USSR Supreme Soviet, noted that this year has seen the beginning of a growing dynamism of the economy, and incipient increase in effectiveness of production as well as positive results in the speeding up of scientific and technological progress.

The 1989 plan provides for a rapid growth of group 'B' consumer goods gross products. The process of revitalisation of the Soviet economy has further picked up during the

nine months ending September 1988. According to the USSR State Committee for Statistics, production rates rose above all due to intensive factors; national income increased 4.7 per cent as against the corresponding period in the past year. Plan targets for profit and other revenues were overfulfilled. This was made possible thanks to the introduction of full cost accounting and self-financing. Industrial development was up by 4.5 per cent on a corresponding period last year and purchases of livestock products rose by 4 per cent. Production of consumer goods increased and plans of retail goods turnover were fulfilled. There was an increase in consumer goods (Group B) 5.4 per cent; means of production (Group A) 3.9 per cent. The entire increment in the output was made possible due to higher labour productivity with the total reduction in labour force. A million people were released from State enterprises and organizations of production branches as a result of the transition to the intensive methods of management and new terms of labour remuneration. About one-third retired on pensions and the rest were found jobs at other enterprises or organizations or switched to individual enterprises and cooperative ventures.

But the battle is not over. Negative features have been eliminated. The struggle to overcome stagnation has to be carried on and will be continued till all the vestiges of stagnation are overcome.

The 71st Anniversary sees the Soviet Union and its people embarking upon the widest possible expansion of Socialist democracy. The reform is necessary because a developing and developed Socialist system cannot function without the widest possible spread of democracy, widest possible participation of the masses in running the State and the economy. Such participation is unthinkable in a capitalist State where power is concentrated in the hands of a small class. It distinguishes proletarian democracy from bourgeois democracy.

This new expansion is rendered possible by the monumental

achievements of the earlier period, the achievements of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of proletarian democracy which was ushered in after the triumph of the October Revolution. The Great October Revolution introduced a qualitatively new type of State and a new type of democracy in the world. It had ushered in a new epoch in human history paving the way for emancipation of mankind from subjugation and exploitation. Today, the establishment of Socialism in one-third of the world and end to colonial domination in greater part of the world are the achievements obtained in the wake of the October Revolution.

Introducing the new reforms Comrade Gorbachev aptly observed in his speech to the 19th Conference : "We are beginning this work not on an unbroken ground, not from the scratch. We have behind us the unique experience of the world's first Socialist democracy. The forms and methods of governing engendered by Socialism have had a profound influence on the Socialist progress of mankind, and have become part of the contemporary political culture. It was in our country that the Government of the working people was born embodying a Republic of Soviets, workers' control, the right to work and other major social rights of the individuals and the equal rights of men and women, nations and nationalities. In other words we pioneered many of the democratic beginnings of the 20th century."

The sweep of the proposed reforms can be judged from the following from the Resolution of the 19th Conference:

"The Conference holds that the reform of the political system has to tackle the following tasks; give the utmost possible scope to our society's self-government and create conditions for the full functioning of the initiative displayed by individual citizens, representative Government bodies, party and public organizations and work collectives; secure necessary conditions for the further free development of every Soviet nation and nationality; for consolidating their friendship and equitable cooperation on the principle of internationalism; radically reinforce Socialist legality, law and

order, so as to rule out usurpation of power; efficiently combat bureaucratism and formalistic attitude and ensure reliable guarantees for the protection of citizens' civic rights and liberty and for the performance by the citizens of their obligations before society and the state; clearly delineate the functioning of the party and the Government bodies in consonance with the Leninist concept; the role played by the Communist Party and the political vanguard of the Soviets, and the role of the Soviet state as the entity organized by the popular power..... The election of district town, area, regional and territorial courts by superior Soviets of People's Deputies and the institution of longer term office for them must be one of the guarantees for the independence of the judiciary."

Such is the character of the new reforms whose implementation is expected to lead to widest participation of the millions in running the State and the economy.

The CPI(M) wishes success to this grand endeavour to expand Socialist democracy. It is confident that the Soviet economy will soon overcome its present stresses. It is further confident that the Soviet Union will continue to register further successes in the struggle for peace aided by the increased activities of the peace movement and people's struggle for freedom and Socialism.

Polit Bureau Condemns Kaithal Killings*

Statement dated November 2, 1988, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the heinous crime committed by the extremists on the innocent people of Kaithal, a sub-divisional town of Kurukshetra district in Haryana, leading to the loss of twenty-three lives and injuring many others.

This dastardly action of the extremists is aimed at disturbing the peace in Haryana and escalating their activities outside the State of Punjab. It shows the complete failure of the Government of India in tackling the problem of extremists, who have constantly refused to find a political solution to the Punjab tangle. In spite of two earlier provocations, the Government of Haryana was able to maintain peace.

We appeal to the people of Haryana belonging to both the communities not to give any shelter to the extremists anywhere, and to unitedly fight against their new manoeuvres. Nor should they allow any tension to be created between different communities living in the State.

We demand from the Government of India immediate steps to find a political solution to the Punjab tangle and not to hoodwink the people by announcements of the formation of committees. It should realise that the continuous activities of the extremists are not only creating tension among the different communities but also threatening the

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 4, 1988.

unity of the country. We express our full sympathy with the families of the deceased and appeal to the Government of Haryana to do everything to maintain peace.

Polit Bureau on Developments in Sri Lanka*

Statement dated November 22, 1988, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) is keenly interested in the outcome of the Presidential elections in Sri Lanka. These elections are of great importance not only for the people of Sri Lanka, but for the Indian people as well.

The ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka over the last few years has not only created a wedge between the Sinhalese and Tamil people, but has been threatening the unity of Sri Lanka itself. Earlier the Sri Lankan Government instead of accepting the genuine demand of the Sri Lankan Tamils for autonomy, had been using the repressive machinery of the State to suppress the people. At such a moment the Sri Lankan Accord between India and Sri Lanka provided the basis for the solution of the ethnic problem, and for restoration of peace in Sri Lanka. Unfortunately, on the one hand, the LTTE refused to cooperate in this effort and carried on its activities to torpedo the Accord; and on the other, the SLFP, along with the JVP, began arousing chauvinistic feelings among the Sinhalese people against the Accord. The JVP further intensified terrorist attacks with a view to forcing the Government to scuttle the Accord.

In this situation the formation of the United Socialist Alliance consisting of Left parties was a significant step forward. In spite of the murderous attacks by the JVP, and opposition to the election by the SLFP, people in large numbers

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 4, 1988

voted in favour of the United Socialist Alliance, thus expressing their desire for peace.

In the coming Presidential elections the UNP candidate Premadasa and the SLFP candidate Mrs. Bandaranaike, both of whom have been opposing the Accord, will again arouse chauvinistic feelings and this will vitiate the whole atmosphere.

In such a situation the decision of the Sri Lanka Mahajana Party to put up Ossie Abeygoonasekera as its candidate for the Presidential poll is the only way by which the forces working for the unity of the Sinhalese people and the Sri Lankan Tamils can be reforged, and the Accord allowed to work. This alone can help in restoring peace in Sri Lanka.

The results of the recent elections to the North Eastern Provincial Council bring great victory to the EPRLF, and the 80 per cent polling in non-Sinhalese areas shows that in spite of the hostility and call for boycott by the LTTE, the people have started asserting themselves, and are in support of the Accord. They want peace. This desire has to be further strengthened.

The Polit Bureau appeals to the Left and democratic forces of Sri Lanka to defeat the game of the Sri Lankan chauvinists of both hues, and make all efforts to forge the unity of the Sinhalese and Tamil people behind the candidature of Ossie Abeygoonasekera. Only thus will they be able to fulfil the pledge taken at martyr Vijaya Kumaranatunga's funeral and make the United Socialist Alliance a real alternative.

E. K. Nayanar Welcomes Delegates & Fraternal Guests*

Speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Thirteenth Congress of CPI(M), held at Trivandrum (now Thiruvananthapuram), Kerala, from December 27, 1988 to January 1, 1989

On behalf of the Reception Committee, all the working people, and on behalf of the Left and Democratic Government of Kerala, I extend to the delegates assembled here from all over the country a hearty welcome. I hope the deliberations to be carried on by you during the next four days will help the evolution of a line which will strengthen the political and organizational unity of the Party and its solidarity with other secular democratic forces.

I warmly welcome our guests from fraternal parties who are attending our Party Congress for the first time after we organized ourselves into the CPI(M). I earnestly hope that their presence here will enable them to have a clearer understanding of the situation in our country and of the Left and democratic movement here. Their presence here will enable our Party to have useful exchanges with our comrades from abroad which will further strengthen the ties of our Parties.

Comrades,

This is not the first time that Kerala is having the privilege of welcoming the delegates attending the Congress of our Party. The Fourth Congress held at a time when the Party had not been divided into two, was held at Palghat in 1956. Again in 1968, when the Party was split into two, ours the CPI(M), held its Congress at Cochin. All our comrades

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 22, 1989

are happy that once again now they have the privilege of hosting this, the Thirteenth Congress of our Party.

Neither the Fourth nor the Eighth Congress held in Kerala, however, had the privilege of welcoming guests from fraternal parties. Their presence here for the first time in any Congress after we reorganized ourselves into the CPI(M), is a matter of inspiration for us; we are seeing here the coming together of several contingents of the world Communist movement, which although differing on several questions, is acting together on common issues.

Comrades, may I draw your attention to the fact that, though geographically distant from the centres of political movement in the country, Kerala, for decades, has been making its modest contribution to all-India politics. Though lagging behind several other parts of the country in joining the mainstream of the political movement for freedom, and as part of the organized working class and its political party, it soon caught up with the rest of the country when the working class organized itself as an independent class. As early as in 1938, the heroic working class of Alleppy in the then State of Travancore went on a political general strike. Ever since, the working class in the then States of Travancore and Cochin, as well as in the Malabar part, has in an organized way fought for its own immediate demands as well as for the political demands of the States' people in Travancore and Cochin and of the British Indian province.

This led in 1946 to the peasant struggles in the Malabar part and working class struggles all over the State. The heroic Punnapra-Vayalar struggle of 1946 came next in importance only to Telangana, among the innumerable struggles which constituted the post-war revolutionary upsurge in the country. The result was that by the time of the first General Elections (1952), the Communist Party of India came out as a serious challenge to the Party of the ruling class, the Congress. This process got further strengthened in 1957 when Kerala gave the whole country the first Communist ministry headed by Comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad.

Comrades,

Our Party had to fight continuously on many fronts, ideological, political and tactical. First inside the undivided CPI, then between the two parties which arose out of the split, against the Left-sectarian Naxalites in the CPI(M) and finally against the advocates of electoral alliance with the divisive communal forces of the Muslim and Christian communities. It was this last that culminated in the electoral victory of March 1987 and the formation of the Left and Democratic Government.

The present Left Democratic Front Government has been in existence for 21 months. Like the earlier Communist or Communist-led Governments, it has done the maximum possible in serving the common people in the State under the severe constraints inherent in the undemocratic provisions of the Indian Constitution and the anti-people policies of the central Congress Government. Equally important is the fact that while running the Government in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution—and facing the hostility of the Central Government, our Party has been engaged in serious political-organizational work of organizing the common people and leading their struggles. This combination of the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary activities helped the rapid expansion of the influence and consolidation of the working class and its revolutionary class allies, and the unification of the radical and secular democratic forces in the State.

The work turned out by our Party for half a century has made a humble contribution to the development of the Left, secular and radical democratic process throughout the country. Without going into the performance of the first Communist Government and subsequent coalition governments and the serious efforts at uniting the Left and democratic forces in various stages of history, I may be permitted to mention the furious struggles that we had to wage against the advocates of an electoral united front with the communal forces as the only reliable method of defeating the Congress(I) in

the state. The electoral victory of March 1987 showed that uncompromising struggle against the communal and divisive forces is not a hindrance but will help the process of defeating the ruling Congress party. This has been one of the factors contributing to the emergence, at the all-India level, of the Janata Dal and the National Front in which communalist and reactionary parties like the BJP have no place. The unity of Left and secular Opposition parties that is in the process of formation will be a factor which will further strengthen the movement here.

May I, in the end, assure you that we are doing our best under the severe limitations imposed by circumstances, to make your stay in Trivandrum comfortable. If there are any lapses, I would request you to bear with us for the next six days. I hope the deliberations in these days and the final day's rally will help further strengthen our Party and the Government in Kerala and outside.

**E.M.S. Namboodiripad opens the
Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M) held
at Trivandrum (now Thiruvananthapuram)
from December 27, 1988 to January 1, 1989***

Dear Comrades from fraternal parties, delegates and friends,
I have the honour and privilege of declaring the proceedings of the Thirteenth Congress open.

This is a unique occasion in the history of our Party. For the first time since we reorganized ourselves as the CPI(M) in 1964, we have the opportunity of welcoming the delegates of our fraternal parties. This shows that a new period is opening in the relations between our Party and the comrades from most of the fraternal parties in the world Communist movement.

Furthermore, conflicts in the international movement lasting for a quarter century, are giving way to united actions for peace, freedom, democracy and Socialism, even while the different contingents of the international movement have their respective views on important issues. This is what our Party has always been working for. I am confident that the presence here of our guests from fraternal parties will help to further strengthen unity and solidarity in the international movement, on the basis of a common commitment to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, as well as complete equality among the various contingents of the international movement.

Present here are 648 delegates and 50 observers, elected either at State Conferences or at the Conferences of units directly working under the Central Committee, and including

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 22, 1989.

64 members of the Central Committee who are ex-officio delegates. They are bringing to the deliberations of this Congress the valuable experience of mass and political struggles conducted for three years since the Twelfth Congress, in implementation of the political line worked out at the Twelfth Congress. I express the hope of the Central Committee that the contributions they will be making at the Congress will enrich the documents presented by the Central Committee.

The three years that have elapsed since our Twelfth Congress have seen momentous changes in the international political situation. The organized working class, its creation, the Socialist community and the international Communist movement, have made big advances. The magnificent world-wide response to the initiatives taken by the leaders of the Socialist countries with regard to the preservation of peace and the elimination and destruction of nuclear arms; the positive measures adopted towards solving regional conflicts in various parts of the world which would positively help the people's struggle for freedom, democracy and social advance; the restructuring of the economy, polity and the socio-cultural set-up in the Socialist countries so as to make Socialism more efficient in its economic construction and management, more democratic in its political functioning—these are the positive developments which give room for satisfaction. They show that, far from going back to capitalism as is alleged by opponents, Socialism is registering improvements in its internal economy and polity while playing its legitimate role as the foremost champion of world peace. Let me take this opportunity to express the hope that the initiatives taken in this direction will further strengthen the Socialist system which will become more acceptable to the friends of Socialism in the capitalist world.

The changes that have taken place in the world arena and the conscious work turned out by the Communists and other patriotic forces in our country have made it possible to make the relations between our Government and the governments

of Socialist countries—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and People's Republic of China in particular—closer and more cooperative. The two visits of the Soviet Party General Secretary Comrade Gorbachev, the Delhi Declaration that our Prime Minister signed with him during his first visit, and the pronouncements made by the two leaders on the occasion of Comrade Gorbachev's second visit have further strengthened the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

In relation to China, our Prime Minister's recent visit to that country, the Joint Communiqué issued at the end of the visit and the setting up of a Joint Committee to prepare for the solution of the border dispute, have been the first positive steps towards restoration of the relations between the two countries to Panchsheel and Hindi-Chini-Bhai Bhai. We, who worked even in the worst of times for a peaceful settlement of the dispute between the two countries through negotiations, have particular reason to be happy and satisfied.

The strengthening of Indo-Soviet relations and the steps towards restoration of India's relations with China are not matters affecting the three countries alone. They strengthen the cooperation between the Socialist and non-aligned worlds, facilitating further victories for the revolutionary forces in their struggle against imperialism. We are reminded of the forecast made by Lenin that the cooperation of Russia, China and India would be a factor favourable to peace and progress in the world.

Our country's relations with the non-aligned countries have always been and continue to be particularly warm and fraternal. The continuing cooperation between our government and the governments of non-aligned countries guarantees further progress in the struggle against imperialism and its drive towards war.

Coming to the domestic scene, the three years since the Twelfth Congress, have been a period of unprecedented upsurge of mass activities and struggles against the Congress(I) Government's policies. Many of them were led by our

Party or its Leftist allies; others were led by us or other Left or democratic parties allied to us; still others broke out spontaneously or were fought under the leadership of non-party personalities. Whatever the nature of the leadership provided, the struggles have been actively participated in by the workers, peasants and agricultural labourers or other sections of working people including the students, youth and women, cutting across political barriers. Many of these struggles were fought primarily for securing immediate partial demands but they greatly helped the advance of the democratic movement. This period has seen a big challenge from communal and divisive forces, threatening the unity of the country. Our Party endeavours to bring about the unity of the Left and secular Opposition parties to fight and isolate these reactionary forces while striving to oust the Congress(I).

The electoral victories of our Party and its Left allies in the West Bengal and Kerala Assembly elections, and our relentless struggle for national unity, have further increased the strength of our Party and its Left allies to influence the political developments in the country.

In a year's time our country will witness a crucial political battle—the elections to the Ninth Lok Sabha. Ranged against one another in that battle will be the Congress(I) which will try to be voted back to power, and a combination of Left and secular parties in which our Party and its Left allies will play a vital role. There will also be the BJP, and other communal forces trying to intervene in the elections. The combination of Left and secular forces will make a serious bid to oust the Congress(I) and isolate the communal and divisive forces. This Congress will naturally devote itself to the political and organizational problems connected with this important aspect of national politics.

It is more than a decade since our Party at its Tenth Congress worked out the political line of forging the unity of the Left and democratic forces, and at the same time developing a broader forum of struggle against authoritarianism

in defence of democracy. It was realised then that for such a political line to be put into practice, our Party should develop itself into a mass revolutionary Party of the working class. A special plenum held at the end of 1978 outlined the ideological and organizational tasks to be discharged with a view to developing such a revolutionary party. This Congress will examine how far the political and organizational tasks laid down a decade ago have been carried out.

I may in the meantime point out that while the political struggles waged since the Tenth Congress have helped the projection of the Left and democratic forces, and developing relations of cooperation with secular Opposition forces, our work of expanding the organization to new areas and consolidation in our old bases, has helped the process envisaged a decade ago. I am sure that discussions at this Congress will help us solve the problems that have arisen in the course of the work.

Let me in the end once again express the hope that the deliberations of this Congress will enrich our understanding and strengthen our movement in India and make our relations with fraternal parties still closer.

Condolence Resolutions*

Adopted by the Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M) held at Trivandrum (now Thiruvananthapuram) from December 27, 1988 to January 1, 1989

(a) On Foreign Comrades

The Thirteenth Congress pays homage to *Comrade Le Duan*, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam, dedicated fighter against imperialism and outstanding revolutionary, whose services to the Vietnamese revolution and building of Socialism will always be remembered.

The Congress pays homage to the memory of *Comrade Marshal Yeh Jianying*, outstanding leader of the Communist Party of China, veteran revolutionary and a Commander of the People's Liberation Army.

The Congress mourns the passing away of *Comrade Pham Hung*, Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and member of the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of Vietnam, who played a prominent role in the liberation struggle for reunification and Socialist construction in Vietnam.

The Congress mourns the death of *Comrade Moses Mabhida*, General Secretary of the South African Communist Party, and staunch fighter for the liberation of South Africa.

The Congress pays homage to the memory of *Comrade V.M. Molotov*, veteran Bolshevik leader and Soviet statesman.

The Congress pays homage to *Comrade L. B. Panditha* and *Comrade Vijayananthan*, members of the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, who were killed by

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 22, 1989.

terrorists because of their principled defence of Sinhala-Tamil unity.

The Congress pays homage to *Abu Jahid*, leader of the PLO and valiant fighter of Palestinian liberation who was martyred by Zionist agents.

The Congress pays homage to the memory of Vijaya Kumaranatunga, courageous leader of the Sri Lanka Mahajana Party and the alliance of Left parties in Sri Lanka, who was assassinated by chauvinist extremists.

The Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M) dips the red banner in salute, in memory of the valiant Communists all over the world who have been martyred in struggles by the class enemies. The Congress pays homage to the memory of those Communist leaders who passed away during this period and records with appreciation their services to the cause of world Communism.

The Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M) salutes the heroic fighters across the world, who have laid down their lives in the national liberation struggles, while defending their freedom and sovereignty against imperialism and in the struggles for social transformation.

(b) On Comrade P. Ramamurthi

The Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M) expresses its profound grief at the passing away of Comrade P. Ramamurthi, an outstanding leader of the CPI(M) and the working class movement. His political career spanned six decades. Comrade P.R., as a young student, plunged into the national independence struggle and by his brilliant and dedicated work occupied a prominent place in the Tamil Nadu Congress. Influenced by Socialist ideas, he became a leader of the Congress Socialist Party and in 1936 became a member of the Communist Party.

His profound grasp of Marxism-Leninism and his manifold talents shaped him into a front-ranking leader of the Communist Party. He was one of the founders of the Party in Tamil Nadu. He was elected to the Central Committee

and the Political Bureau of the united CPI. He played a prominent role in the fight against revisionism and, at the Seventh Congress in 1964, he was elected to the Central Committee and the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M). He continued in these positions till 1985.

As the General Secretary of the CITU, since its inception in 1970, and up to 1984, Comrade P.R. played a valuable role in the development of the trade union movement and in building the CITU.

Comrade Ramamurthi's remarkable talents as trade union organiser, eloquent speaker, skilled parliamentarian and writer, were directed towards strengthening the Communist movement in the country.

In his death, the CPI(M) and the Left movement have lost a unique leader. The Congress conveys its heartfelt condolences to his family members.

(c) Homage to Martyrs

The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) pays its revolutionary homage to the brave martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the cause of national unity, in defence of the Party, the working class and democratic movements over the last three years.

The Congress gratefully records its high appreciation of the valour displayed by those who laid down their lives in the bitter struggle for national unity in Punjab, Tripura and Darjeeling district of West Bengal. In all, 35 members and supporters of the Party in Punjab were killed by the Khalistani terrorists, for their unyielding and courageous resistance to the imperialist backed secessionist forces.

In Tripura 353 CPI(M) cadres and supporters were martyred in the grim struggle against TNV terrorism and the attacks launched by the Congress(I), TUJS and Amra Bangali men; 214 of the comrades were killed directly by the TNV terrorist gangs, while 128 comrades died at the hands of the Congress(I)-TUJS men.

In Darjeeling, 98 comrades were killed in the period of

the GNLF terror. All these were Nepali speaking comrades, many of them were tea-garden workers. Eighteen comrades in the adjacent Jalpaiguri district became martyrs, being killed by the GNLF. The supreme sacrifice of these comrades enabled the Party to uphold the banner of working class unity and rebuff separatism.

The Congress is proud of these martyrs and eternally grateful to them for their unflinching devotion to national unity and the cause of working class unity. Their memory will always be cherished by the Party.

The Congress pays its homage to the 44 members and activists of the mass organizations in Kerala who were killed in the last three years. They laid down their lives fighting the RSS terror and by defending the democratic movement against attacks by the Congress(I).

The Congress pays homage to the 154 martyrs in West Bengal (other than in Darjeeling district) who sacrificed their lives for the Party and the democratic movement. They were killed by Congress(I) men and class enemies.

The Congress pays homage to the 35 martyrs of the Party in Andhra Pradesh who died due to the murderous attacks by Naxalites, Congress(I), CPI and landlords' goondas.

The Congress pays tribute to the memory of the 11 comrades in Bihar who were killed by landlord gangs and hired anti-socials of the class enemy. The Congress pays its homage to the three women martyrs who were shot dead by the police in a struggle in Bhagalpur district.

The Congress pays tribute to the memory of three martyrs in Maharashtra, all Adivasi comrades, who were killed in police firing in two separate incidents in Nasik district.

The Congress salutes the martyrs of the Party and the mass organisations who sacrificed their lives in defence of the Party and the democratic movement in Assam, Rajasthan and other States.

The Thirteenth Congress dips the red banner in memory of these glorious martyrs. Their supreme sacrifice will forever inspire us to advance the revolutionary movement further.

The Congress pledges to carry forward their struggle and cherish the outstanding example set by them for the Party. The Congress conveys its heartfelt condolences and expresses its warm solidarity with the families of the martyred comrades.

(d) On Comrade Santimoy Ghosh

The Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M) deeply mourns the death of Comrade Santimoy Ghosh, member of the Central Committee of the Party and General Secretary of the All India Kisan Sabha. An outstanding leader of the peasant movement, Comrade Ghosh joined the peasant movement in Jessore (now in Bangladesh) in his student days. Comrade Ghosh spent four years in jail during the struggle against British imperialism. He joined the Party in 1937. After independence also, he spent eight years in prison.

Comrade Santimoy Ghosh was a member of the Secretariat of the West Bengal State Committee of the CPI(M) for eight years till his death. He made an invaluable contribution in strengthening the Left movement in the State. Comrade Santimoy Ghosh played a key role in the development of the powerful and militant kisan movement of West Bengal. He was the Secretary of the West Bengal Kisan Sabha for a long period.

The Thirteenth Congress pays its revolutionary homage to this veteran peasant leader and dedicated Communist. It conveys its heartfelt condolences to his family members.

(e) On Comrade Nrisingha Chakraborty

The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) deeply mourns the death of Comrade Nrisingha Chakraborty, member of the Central Committee of the CPI(M) and Secretary of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions.

He began his political career as a railway worker and rose from the ranks to become an important leader of the railway trade union movement and the CITU. He joined the Party in 1952 and worked tirelessly to impart revolutionary consciousness to the working class.

He was elected to the Central Committee of the Party in 1978, and discharged his responsibilities in the Party and trade union movement with the utmost devotion. He will always be remembered for his valuable contribution in developing the militant railway trade union movement. The Congress pays its revolutionary homage to the memory of Comrade Nrisingha Chakraborty and conveys its sincere condolences to his family members.

(f) On Comrade Krishnapada Ghosh

The Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M) pays its homage to the memory of Comrade Krishnapada Ghosh, a veteran leader of the CPI(M) and a prominent organiser of the Communist movement in West Bengal. He played an important role in building the trade union movement and in developing the Calcutta District Committee of the Party, of which he was the Secretary for a long time. Comrade Ghosh was a member of the West Bengal State Committee from its inception, and a member of the State Secretariat. He was a member of the Central Committee of the Party from 1972 to 1985.

(g) On Other Comrades

The Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M) pays tribute to the memory of *Comrade Chanan Singh Dhoot*, member of the Punjab State Committee of the CPI(M) and veteran peasant leader, who was killed by the Khalistani extremists. He joined the party in 1935 and spent many years in jail before and after independence. The Congress pays its homage to the memory of *Comrade Deepak Dhavan*, member of the Punjab State Committee of the Party, who became a martyr at the hands of the extremists.

The Congress mourns the passing away of *Comrade Chandubhai Patel*, former member of the Central Committee of the CPI(M). The Congress pays its homage to *Comrade V.P. Chinthan*, member of the Tamil Nadu State Committee of the CPI(M) and prominent leader of the working class in the State. The Congress pays its homage to the memory of

Comrade Rajinder Singh Sarinh, member of the Secretariat of the Punjab State Committee of the Party. The Congress pays homage to *Comrade Anandi Singh*, member of the Bihar State Committee of the CPI(M), who was killed by landlords' goondas.

The Congress pays its homage to the memory of *Comrade Bhola Bose*, member of the West Bengal State Committee of the CPI(M) and member of the Calcutta District Committee Secretariat. The Congress mourns the passing away of *Comrade Abhirama Debbarma*, member of the Secretariat of the Tripura State Committee of the CPI(M). The Congress mourns the death of *Comrade Leela Sundarayya*, devoted Party comrade of five decades standing. The Congress mourns the passing away of *Comrade Veerabadran, Ardanari, Natarajan and Ghanasambandan*, members of the Tamil Nadu State Committee of the Party, who died in the period since the last Party Congress. The Congress mourns the death of *Comrade Laxmidhar Biswal*, member of the Orissa State Committee of the CPI(M). The Congress pays its homage to the memory of *Comrade Ashwini Raj*, member of the State Committee of West Bengal. The Congress mourns the death of *Comrade Piara Singh Basi*, Secretary of the Association of Indian Communists in Canada.

The Congress mourns the passing away of *Comrade L.N. Malhotra*, member of the State Committee of Madhya Pradesh.

The Congress pays homage to the memory of *Comrade D.S. Vaidya*, veteran Communist leader from Maharashtra, a former member of the united Party's Central Committee, and dedicated trade union leader.

Political Resolution Adopted by the Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M) held at Trivandrum (now Thiruvananthapuram) from December 27, 1988 to January 1, 1989*

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Introductory

1.1 The last three years since our Calcutta Party Congress have witnessed favourable changes in the international situation—changes favouring the forces of freedom, democracy, peace and Socialism. The incessant struggle for peace waged by the Soviet Union and supported by other Socialist and non-aligned countries and the world peace movement has created more favourable conditions for peace and enhanced opposition to imperialist designs. The mass struggles of the period in several countries, the sacrifices made, all have served to shift the balance of world forces further in favour of the people. The new economic plans of Socialist countries to modernize and advance their economies have again asserted the superiority of the Socialist system over the capitalist system which continues to face setbacks and crisis.

Capitalist Economy

1.2 The capitalist economy is still in the process of recovery. The recovery from the crisis which started in 1983 proved to be of longer duration than expected. According to Mr. Camdessus, Managing Director, IMF, “despite the stock market reversal of last October, it continues to expand at a moderate rate. The industrial countries are currently in the sixth

*Published as a booklet in March 1989.

year of upswing. And inflation in these countries has been brought down to 3 per cent from double digit rates at the beginning of the decade. In the developing world, per capita real GDP, after a setback in 1981-83 has resumed growing. And last year for the first time in many years export earnings in these countries taken together grew faster than debt." (May 1988)

1.3 But uncertainty continues. The fear is that the trend towards protectionism and trade bilateralism can disturb the growth of world trade, output and employment.

1.4 The Report of the IMF for the financial year ending April 1988, also says that global economic developments in the period under review were somewhat mixed. It noted that world output and trade had continued to expand with inflation remaining low. Real output in the industrial countries, the report said, expanded by over 3 per cent in 1987, significantly higher than in 1986.

1.5 Notwithstanding the satisfaction and confidence expressed in these reports, the fact is that the economic advance in these countries has started slowing down after reaching the peak in 1984. The growth rate of GDP in the industrialized countries was 4.8 in 1984, 3.0 in 1985, 2.7 in 1986 and 3 per cent in 1987.

1.6 Besides, as the speech of the Managing Director of the IMF points out, the uncertainties are also there and any upset may take place. This was seen last year in October, 1987. The American economy has surpassed all previous records by entering, in October, upon the 59th month of continuous expansion and nobody thought that the end was in sight. Unemployment was reduced to 5.9 per cent, the lowest since 1979. Indications of future economic growth were there. And then suddenly came the October Stock Exchange crash affecting the entire capitalist world, leading to huge economic losses and uncovering the soft belly of the capitalist economy. Economists pin-pointed American budgets, higher interest rates, fall in the value of the dollar and the policy pursued by the American Government, as the source of the crash and the ensuing uncertainty.

1.7 Of course, the basic causes were lost sight of. They are the domination of monopolies and multinationals over the Governments of advanced capitalist countries, the existence of State monopoly capitalism under which the State intervenes in the economy to protect the monopolists, the emergence of the military-industrial complex, which for its own selfish interests demands a huge expenditure on military and destructive weapons, the increased strength of the multinationals which introduces a further element of anarchy in the international situation, the accentuation of the market crisis because of one-third of the world going Socialist and out of the orbit of imperialist exploitation, the impediments in the way of uninhibited looting of backward countries following the collapse of the old colonial system, in spite of the fact that many of these countries had been caught in the debt-trap.

1.8 The point is that despite optimistic forecasts, the stability of the economy is affected by the inner rivalries of the contending partners and their manoeuvres against each other. The USA's partners insist that the USA should either reduce its deficit budget drastically or scale down its military expenditure. Both these measures affect the dominant position of the USA. The U.S. administration fears that a cut in Government spending may unleash a slump. Government orders are necessary for a considerable number of industrial plants. It seems last year some kind of relief was obtained by the USA by making Japan and West Germany share part of its burden.

1.9 Besides, the so-called upswing is accompanied by increased unemployment and high unemployment rate. Even when production increases, the capitalist society is unable to reach the low unemployment rate of earlier years. Since 1984, the rate of unemployment in the seven major capitalist countries has been 7.6 per cent in 1984, 7.4 per cent in 1985 and 7.4 per cent in 1986, whereas in 1980 the rate was 5.6 per cent and in 1981 it was 6.5 per cent.

1.10 This so-called upswing is achieved at the expense of

the Third World countries, i.e., by transferring the burden of the crisis to their shoulders, increasing their indebtedness, exploiting them through adverse terms of trade causing collapse of prices of primary commodities and holding them to ransom. By 1987, the external debt of all developing countries rose to 936 billion dollars. For all developing countries, the ratio of total debt to GNP rose from 36 per cent in 1985 to 39 per cent in 1986, and the ratio of total debt to export goods and services from 147 to 172 per cent according to the Bank of International Settlement. It says that even the ratio between interest payment and export proceeds rose last year despite the declining dollar interest rate which, it said, cut service cost by over 4 billion dollars in 1986.

1.11 Protectionism in industrial countries, lower commodity prices for export, especially of raw materials, of developing countries have brought about this perilous situation. According to Correa, former UNCTAD Secretary-General, by last year the prices of commodities in developing countries fell to the level that prevailed in the great depression of the 1930s.

1.12 The havoc done to the living standards of the people in the Third World countries and their development is registered in the World Bank staff paper entitled "Short term outlook for the developing countries in International Economy". It says: "In the current decade many developing countries have lost the gains of the previous 20 years of development. The picture is particularly bleak in sub-Saharan Africa." In other States per capita investment has fallen to the level of 15 years ago and per capita consumption and imports are lower than in the 1970s.

1.13 This is how the world capitalist economy passes its burden on to the developing countries to ensure a minimal growth rate for the capitalist countries. Obviously the Third World countries, some of whom are already caught in a debt-trap, will be continuously victimized to ease the burden of crisis for the advanced capitalist countries. This process cannot go on forever. These countries will be forced to revolt

and liberate themselves from their unequal economic ties with the western capitalist world.

Socialist Economy

1.14 While the capitalist countries are experiencing a crawling recovery accompanied by increased unemployment, the Socialist countries, where the right to work is guaranteed and unemployment does not exist, are looking forward to quick economic progress in the coming years. The average annual rates of national income growth planned for the years 1986-1990 reveal the difference between the capitalist and Socialist countries.

1.15 The *USSR* in its 13th Five Year Plan (1986-90) has planned an increase in the national income used for consumption and accumulation by 19-22 per cent. In the same period industrial output is to increase by 21-24 per cent. Labour productivity is to be raised in industry by 23-25 per cent and real per capita incomes are to increase by 13-15 per cent.

The *German Democratic Republic* during the current five-year period plans to increase national income by 24-26 per cent. In the sector accountable to the industrial ministries, the target figure for the growth of net output and labour productivity is 39-51 per cent. Real per capita incomes are to rise by 20-23 per cent.

Czechoslovakia in its 8th Five Year Plan during this period envisages a 3.5 per cent annual growth rate. *Cuba* planned a 5 per cent annual average rate in national income during this five-year period.

Bulgaria in its 9th Plan between 1986 and 1990 planned a 22-25 per cent increase in national income. The production of goods, agricultural commodities included, and provision of services to the people to increase by 20-24 per cent.

China having already doubled its GNP over the 1980 figure has targetted a 2.7 times increase in GNP over the 1980 figure by 1992, thereby laying the ground for quadrupling the country's 1980 GNP by the end of this century.

The *Democratic People's Republic of Korea* is now in the

second year of its seven-year plan (1987-93). In 1986, on the eve of the new plan, national income per head was 2,400 dollars and the industrial output was 474 times more than it was in 1946. By 1974 the tax system was abolished. All citizens are assured of work, free education and medical care.

1.16 The Communist Party of China at its last Party Congress examined in detail the existing stage of its development, the backlog of backwardness which still continues, and has decided to overcome all obstacles and difficulties which hampered a rapid development of the productive forces. As inheritor of a backward economy it has to enter on several transitional steps and compromises before all means of production are socialized and the full force of Socialist production is unleashed. At the same time during the last three years it has registered further progress in building the economy of the country and clearing obstacles for further progress.

1.17 However, world attention is now rivetted on the economic reforms introduced in the Soviet Union and developments taking place since the Twentyseventh Congress of the CPSU. The August Resolution of the Central Committee has given the guidelines as to how to judge these developments in terms of Marxism-Leninism.

Both at the Congress and at the 19th Conference of the Party, the Party leadership announced that there was a certain amount of stagnation in the economy which has to be immediately overcome and which called for urgent measures. It may be mentioned in passing that the Vijayawada Congress of our Party had noticed the declining growth rate in some Socialist countries. It said, "Nonetheless the Socialist countries also face some difficulties in the recent period and their rate of growth slowed down to a certain extent. This seems to be due to the fact that they are forced to divert a substantial part of their resources for defence purposes in view of the imperialist war preparations and also perhaps due to the recessionary business conditions in countries with whom they have developed new trade relations.

But they continue to add substantially to be national income and industrial production." However, it seems that the malady was somewhat deeper than what was understood by us at that time. The CPSU leadership has frankly told the people that the difficulties are arising from inefficient management, bureaucratism and other distortions. These difficulties, it must be understood, are coming after huge achievements in the earlier period and they must be understood as shortcomings arising from lack of adjustments to new requirements.

1.18 The Central Committee motions at the 19th Conference of the CPSU described the situation in the following words :

"The years of stagnation led the country to the brink of economic crisis. The extensive wasteful way of running the economy has exhausted itself. The stimulation and technical level of the economy do not conform to modern requirements. Command administration methods of management become a serious brake. Production, efficiency and living standards ceased to grow. Many social questions were neglected. The finances of the country were seriously disrupted and the sense of responsibility of personnel and labour discipline slackened.

"The Party has been faced with the difficult task of taking the country out of the doldrums and putting development at the service of the people and working out and implementing the set of long term measures to speed the scientific and technical advance towards leading positions in these spheres."

1.19 To meet this situation immediate measures were taken after the Twentyseventh Party Congress and the decision was taken to restructure the economy. There were immediate results. The Central Committee's motions to the Nineteenth Conference says : "And still positive changes are taking place. The main thing is that we have been able to halt the growth of negative forces that threatened to grow into a crisis situation, to reverse the trend and create certain pre-requisites for a steady advance."

In 1987 the entire increment in national income was obtained through greater labour productivity. Average monthly wages of industrial and office workers went up by 6 per cent and there was a large improvement in the social sphere.

In 1988 wages kept growing faster than the productivity of labour. The population has a vast amount of money that is not backed by a sufficient amount of goods. The situation had led to a budget deficit which had been concealed for a long time and which was recognized officially recently. However, for the first time since 1981 the national income growth rate topped the 3.6-mark to reach 4.4 per cent, according to latest Soviet statistics. In the social sphere, housing construction has registered remarkable progress with a provision of 2.2 million apartments which can accommodate 11 million people.

1.20 Steps are being taken to meet the difficulties which emerged from earlier distortions and lack of increase in managerial efficiency and consciousness towards social production. The fact is that the difficulties of Socialist countries, unlike the crisis of capitalism are not inherent to the system but arise from the violation of the laws of Socialist development. It is therefore possible for Socialist societies to overcome their difficulties and make rapid progress. This is because the means of production are owned and controlled by society. There are no antagonistic contradictions in a Socialist society and it is always possible to plan out production to realize the full potentialities of the productive forces.

Sharpened Contradictions

1.21 The Central Committee has already made a detailed analysis of the international situation in its ideological document of May, 1988, which continues to guide the Party. The years since our last Party Congress have witnessed the sharpening of contradictions of the present period, with imperialist attempts to solve them in their favour often frustrated by the resistance of the people and the policies of the Socialist world headed by the USSR. There is a significant

change in the balance of world forces with the forces of peace, freedom, democracy and Socialism advancing and getting strengthened to meet the challenge to peace. The mass peace movements in the advanced capitalist countries and the relentless struggles in the Third World countries, have unleashed forces which imperialism is unable to vanquish or control. The fighting people of the world are in a much better position to meet the challenge of the imperialist world. The growing understanding between the USSR and the People's China, the two biggest countries of Socialism, further strengthens the working class and the progressive forces.

1.22 The sharpening of the contradictions between the imperialist and Socialist camp was witnessed in the continuous endeavour of the USA to secure nuclear superiority over the USSR. For this purpose, every genuine proposal made by the USSR for peace, for limitation of nuclear armaments, was resisted and when forced to accept, the acceptance is hedged with so many conditions. The agreement to remove Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe was widely acclaimed all over the world and especially in Europe. It was the first time that an agreement was reached for the elimination of any section of nuclear weapons. At the same time, it is a fact that the agreement includes only a small part of nuclear weapons, only 4-5 per cent. And weapons of far bigger destructive capacity are being piled up. Many hurdles like spot verification and some others are now overcome and joint teams of the two countries are in each other's territory to verify implementation of the agreements already reached.

1.23 But the USA refuses to abandon its quest for nuclear superiority. It refuses to give up its SDI project, which in reality is a project for sudden attack and aggression. On two occasions, the Soviet leaders warned the USA that it would not get superiority in nuclear power over the USSR.

1.24 Besides in every corner of the globe, the U.S. Government opposes democratic and Socialist forces and tries to narrow the circle of those who are sympathetic and friendly

to the Socialist camp. The systematic and unscrupulous campaign against the Non-Aligned Movement, the pressure against countries like India whose non-alignment tilts the balance in favour of peace and the Socialist camp, the attempt to bolster anti-democratic and anti-Socialist dictatorships in the countries of the Third World are nothing but part of the struggle against the Socialist camp, a struggle to isolate it from other parts of the world.

1.25 At the same time, the situation is not the same as it was some years ago. The U.S. imperialism is being cornered by the forces of peace headed by the USSR, and its capacity to deceive the people about its security concerns has eroded. Its promises of a quick decisive war stand exposed. The world and the people of all countries now are more informed about the dangers of nuclear war and the U.S. role in promoting it.

1.26 In recent years, the Soviet Union's struggle for peace has played a vital role in curbing the aggressive activities of the imperialist camp against the Socialist countries and the drive for nuclear war. The repeated offers to stop the armaments race, the warning to the world against the consequences of a nuclear war, the unilateral declaration rejecting the first nuclear strike and the recent agreement to remove short and medium-range missiles from Europe have played a big role in isolating U.S. imperialism and strengthening the struggle for peace. Thanks to these, larger and larger sections of the people in Europe and the USA understood the necessity of maintaining peace.

1.27 The developing world opinion in favour of peace was expressed in 1986 in three important developments. They were the Soviet proposals for a nuclear-free world, the Reykjavik Summit and the joint Indo-Soviet Declaration. The Delhi Declaration expressed the will of the non-aligned nations to co-operate with the Socialist world for peace and freedom and to check aggression and war. It assured the support of the people of India for the cause of peace and support for the USSR's struggle to rid the world of nuclear weapons.

1.28 Among the notable developments in relation to the defence of peace in the period were the decision of the Labour Party of Great Britain to stand for the removal of U.S. nuclear weapons from British soil and unilateral nuclear disarmament of Britain; the joint proposal of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the West German Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on the establishment of a Central European Zone, free from chemical weapons and a nuclear free corridor along the borders of the three countries. The decision of the Danish Parliament to prohibit the entry of nuclear-laden ships to its ports despite Denmark's NATO membership and the mass anti-nuclear campaign in Japan are important developments.

1.29 The struggle for peace waged by the Soviet Union has helped in a big way the advance of the forces of freedom, peace and Socialism. The workers and people of all countries were able to concentrate their attention on their internal contradictions and struggles. The growing alignment of the labour movement in the advanced capitalist countries with the struggle for peace and the role played by the NAM strengthened the fight against nuclear war.

1.30 At the same time it should be remembered that the imperialists are not easily moved by public concern, moral considerations or concerns for human values. They calculate everything on the basis of material gains and class prospects. The decisive check that was exercised over imperialist warmongers was exercised by the Soviet Union's preparedness to face any nuclear attacks with dire consequences for the attackers. The achievement of nuclear parity between the Soviet Union and the USA was an effective weapon to prevent the outbreak of war. The knowledge, that millions of people now share, that there will be no victor in a nuclear war, increased the urge and strength of the peace movement and further restricted the imperialist drive for war preparations.

1.31 Today the fight against nuclear war has become a major international concern for the international working class movement. In the general struggle of the people of the

world for freedom, peace, democracy and Socialism, the struggle against nuclear war occupies a vital position. It has become an integral part of the world working class movement for freedom and Socialism. The massive strength of the world movement for peace backed by Socialist and non-aligned countries has opened the possibility of averting nuclear war and saving mankind from nuclear destruction.

1.32 The qualitative difference between the two social systems now more and more centres on the question of reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons, elimination of war. The Soviet Union's persistence for negotiations for peace, making new proposals continually has put the other side on the defensive, exposing its policies. The danger of war remains but the Soviet initiatives backed by the people of all countries provide the basis for the complete isolation of the anti-peace policies of imperialism.

Contradictions between the Capitalists and the Working Class

1.33 The contradiction between the working class and the capitalist class in advanced capitalist countries gets intensified though because of the misdirection of the working class movement by some political parties, it does not go beyond economic struggles through strikes which are often widespread. In the first place, unemployment continues to increase during recession as well as during the upswing workers have no respite. The advanced countries have no less than 30 million unemployed to announce the 'stability and justice' of their system. The general crisis of capitalism accentuated by huge military spending by subjugation of the economy to the needs of the military industrial complex and monopoly domination of the State and rapid technological changes has become a scourge for the working class of these countries. Profits from neo-colonialist exploitation of Third World countries enable the ruling classes to keep a narrow section of the workers satisfied and manoeuvre against the working class. Naturally therefore, there are constant attacks

on trade union rights and the earlier gains of the working class and welfare measures.

1.34 The Thatcher Government of Britain has launched a series of attacks against the workers' rights and benefits. The State's Social Security Programme has been scuttled. Trade union rights are attacked; solidarity strikes are banned. Trade unions which overstep the new restrictions are threatened with financial sanctions and there is increased use of force and violence in dealing with working class strikes and actions. Lock-outs, closures of enterprises are used to cow down the workers. All the while unemployment goes on increasing.

1.35 The Federal Republic of Germany, whose rapid advance once stunned people, is now afflicted with unemployment as much as any other capitalist country.

1.36 The working class has resisted these attacks with militant strikes. In Great Britain, in 1986 the number of mandays lost in strikes rose to 2 million, in 1987 the figure increased to 3.5 million. The early months of 1988 saw a big strike wave involving nurses, miners and industrial workers. The survey made by the World Federation of Trade Unions examined 258 big strikes spread over America, Europe and Asia and found that 45.7 per cent of the strikes were for wages, 29.8 per cent for jobs, 11.6 per cent for trade union freedom and 8.9 per cent against austerity measures. This is the reality about the recovery of capitalist economy and class struggle in the advanced capitalist countries.

1.37 The class struggle expresses directly in the struggle to defend jobs, wages, living conditions and fight against growing unemployment. In Britain it is combined with the demand for unilateral nuclear disarmament. In other countries millions are directly involved to protect themselves against the growing attacks of the capitalists while demanding reduction in the military budgets of their Governments.

1.38 The reformist leaderships of some parties continue to enchain the working class to economic struggle. Large sections of workers often vote for parties of capitalism like

the Conservative Party in Great Britain. The accentuation of the economic situation and the helplessness of the reformist parties before the capitalist onslaught drives a section of the younger generation towards questionable parties and in some countries fascist influence is increasing in this section.

Contradictions Amongst Imperialist Powers

1.39 The way the capitalist economy is moving under the inner contradictions among the major partners shows the intensified rivalry among the imperialist countries. It is true that while struggling to score over each other in the race for markets and profits none seeks at present to solve the problem by means of a war against his rival. This is not due to the pacifist nature of some modern imperialist rulers. The reason is well put in the following words of Gorbachev : "Today the situation is different. It is not only the lesson of the past war but also the fear of sapping its strength in the face of Socialism, by now a world Socialist system." It is in the interest of the class unity of the imperialists against Socialism to prevent their rivalry from breaking out into a war. This also speaks of intensified contradiction between the two camps.

1.40 The fact is that with the rise of Japan and West Germany and the formation of the EEC, contradictions among the imperialist powers have very much sharpened. The partners question U.S. domination, its dictates and often refuse to accept U.S. directions on military expenditure or military movements or on trimming their economies to the needs of U.S. supremacy over the world economy.

1.41 The Venice meeting of the USA, France, FRG, Britain, Canada, Italy and Japan, in 1987, was an attempt to develop a co-ordinated policy towards the economic questions faced by the fraternity of exploiters. But because of their rivalries nothing tangible could result from the conference. Venice also discussed U.S. aggressive designs in the Persian Gulf. On the eve of the meeting the Pentagon had informed the participants that the U.S. had sent a naval force to the area.

But Italy opposed the U.S. plan for intervention and called for an end to the Iran-Iraq war. Nakasone and Kohl told Reagan that their intervention would violate the Constitutions of their respective countries. Britain refused to send her minesweepers to the area. The Netherlands refused U.S. requests for naval help in the Gulf.

1.42 Such skirmishes both in political and economic matters continue to take place though in the end the dominating influence of U.S. imperialism is able to carry the day. There are obvious differences on the question of nuclear disarmament and the response to the Soviet proposals among the allies of the USA. Inside the USA itself there are differences on the question. A small section disagrees with the proposed line of Reagan. At the same time the entire imperialist camp tries to move unitedly to contend, corner and cordon off the Socialist countries.

Intensification of Contradictions between Imperialism and the Third World Countries

1.43 The years that have passed have witnessed intensified contradictions between U.S. imperialism and the Third World countries, the increased U.S. attempt to dominate the world. The role of imperialism is well put in the following words: "By political manoeuvring, blandishment and blackmail, military threats and intimidation and all too often by direct interference in the internal affairs of the newly-free countries, capitalism has in many ways managed to sustain the earlier relationship of economic dependence. On this basis, imperialism has managed to create and run the most refined system of neo-colonialist exploitation and to tighten its hold on a considerable number of newly-free countries." (Gorbachev)

1.44 The increased indebtedness of the Third World countries and the debt-trap in which some of them have been caught, reveal the success of neo-colonialist manoeuvres. But the imperialists do not confine themselves only to economic measures. The years since our last Party Congress have witnessed aggressive U.S. attacks and military

interventions against Third World countries. The outrageous attacks and aggression against Libya shocked world opinion; progressive forces all over the world denounced Reagan and U.S. imperialism. The U.S. intervention in the Iran-Iraq war was another outrageous act. The U.S. mobilized its naval force and the force of its allies to control the movements in the Gulf in the name of protecting its oil supply, though Gulf supply of oil formed only 4-5 per cent of the total U.S. requirements. The U.S. continued its hostile activity against Iran and recently shot down a civilian plane. It supports the counter-revolutionary and mercenary forces of UNITA in Angola and seeks through negotiations a place in the Government for its mercenaries. It carries on its aggressive designs against Nicaragua and helps the counter-revolutionaries in El Salvador. The U.S. has earned worldwide denunciation for its brazen support to the racist regime of Botha which refuses to release Nelson Mandela despite worldwide demand for his freedom. The great and courageous fight carried on by the people of South Africa against apartheid would have been successful long ago but for the treacherous support extended by U.S. imperialism and the British Government to the Botha regime. The two powers have continuously sabotaged the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa for which a call was given by the UNO. In spite of all this the struggle of the people of South Africa against imperialism and the racist regime continues to gather strength and attract worldwide attention. This open support to South Africa encourages it to hold on to Namibia and to fight the liberation movement headed by SWAPO.

The USA is the main inspirer to Israeli aggression against the Palestinians and the Arab world. It is firmly determined to deny justice to the Palestinians and create a permanent conflict between Palestinians and Israel. The PNC had declared the Gaza Strip and West Bank as the sovereign state of the Palestine people with Jerusalem as its capital. The PNC has also recognized the existence of Israel. This new initiative of the PNC is being torpedoed by the USA.

The USA refused a visa to Yasar Arafat to attend the U.N. General Assembly which the whole world condemned.

1.45 The USA openly violates the Geneva Accord on Afghanistan and continues armed help to the 'Mujahideen' based in Pakistan, while the Soviet Union is withdrawing its armed forces in accordance with the terms of the Accord. The USA stations forty thousand troops and nuclear weapons in South Korea and continues to carry out provocative military exercises against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The USA also openly announces that it will continue armed help to the Angolan counter-revolutionaries even if an agreement is reached for restoring peace to that country. It is known that U.S. machinations were responsible for the breakdown of talks between the Nicaraguan Government and the Contra rebels. In relation to Polisario, the U.S. continues to support the Moroccan Government to suppress the freedom fighters. And finally, the U.S. administration had taken the outrageous decision asking the Palestinian delegation at the UNO to quit the USA though the delegation is accepted as an observer by the UNO.

1.46 Besides its general hostility to the democratic movement and its fear of Socialism, it supports reactionary military dictatorships in Third World countries. Its support to the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile is open and unashamed. It supported the military dictatorship in Pakistan and continues to support the military regime in Bangladesh and pours arms into Pakistan to create trouble between India and that country. Tension between neighbours, support to the dictators, all are part of a plan for global domination and subjugation of Third World countries. The last three years since our Party Congress have witnessed an immense intensification and ramifications of this contradiction.

1.47 All this shows that the masses in the Third World countries and their political parties must be ever vigilant and alert in fighting the imperialist designs.

1.48 Discussion on contradictions in international documents generally avoids all references to the massive popular

movements that are developing in the Third World countries. These movements are challenging the reactionary rule of the exploiting classes as in India and fighting those Governments which compromise with imperialism and endanger the economic independence of the country. They are in the forefront of the battle against imperialism, its neo-colonial manoeuvres and its designs to re-enslave the Third World countries. These mighty struggles have now become a very important part of the world movement against imperialism for freedom, democracy, peace and Socialism. The successful fight put up by the people of Pakistan against the American supported military dictatorship and the fight of the people of Bangladesh against its dictatorship and the fight of the progressive forces in Sri Lanka against imperialist designs to disintegrate their country; the struggle waged by the revolutionary forces in the Philippines to remove the U.S. military bases and imperialist backed reaction deserve international recognition. Similar fights are going on in Africa and many other countries. The people of Burma are now engaged in a heroic fight against one-party rule to secure democratic rights for themselves. Our Party considers them as an integral part of the world revolutionary movement and must render every help to them in this common struggle.

1.49 Our current struggle in India has to be carried on in the background of the great achievements of Socialism and the peace forces and the more favourable balance of world forces for the advance of the forces representing freedom, democracy, national liberation and Socialism.

NATIONAL SITUATION

2.1 The years since our last Party Congress have witnessed a growing instability of the economic order established after independence. It has imposed tremendous misery on all sections of the toiling people and unleashed spontaneous mass discontent extending all over the country. The discontent is often diverted into wrong channels although the objective causes are everywhere the same. Never before was there

such synchronization of agrarian and industrial crisis in India, bringing the rural and urban masses into a simultaneous confrontation with the bourgeois-landlord Government and the bourgeois-landlord order.

2.2 These developments and the tasks they set before our Party are to be understood as arising from the crisis of the bourgeois-landlord order of a newly liberated country.

2.3 The developments in our country in the last three years have brought to the forefront the urgent task of ousting the Rajiv Government from power to enable the country to have a government of its choice, a government responsive to the demands of the people and the problem of maintaining the unity and integrity of the country.

2.4 The situation implies intensification of all the contradictions mentioned in the Calcutta Party Congress Resolution, and at the same time indicates a certain change in the correlation of forces under which the new battle for ousting the Congress(I) from power and defending national unity, is to be carried on. The Calcutta Congress Resolution had said : "The immediate struggle against the authoritarian danger cannot be divorced from the struggle to defend national unity, independence of the economy, the struggle to defend and strengthen the foreign policy of non-alignment, and the struggle against imperialist plans of destabilization. Our immediate tactics are to be related to our strategic objective of People's Democracy."

Changes Since Last Congress

2.5 The new changes consist of the following :

Compared to the situation at the Calcutta Congress the ruling party now stands far more isolated from the people as was clearly revealed in the recent Lok Sabha and previous assembly elections and the falsification of elections in Tripura. Its measure of isolation was further seen in the unanimous protest of all political parties and the entire Press against the notorious Defamation Bill which forced it to retreat.

2.6 The policies pursued by the Rajiv Government are

leading to an outburst of spontaneous mass discontent. The discontent does not as yet show signs of rallying around the all-India Opposition secular parties. The CPI(M) and the Left forces where they have taken the initiative, have been able to marshal big forces for demonstrations and protest. Considering the all India ramifications of the growing discontent, the CPI(M) and the Left have been able to organize only a small part of this ever increasing mass protest. In West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala, the CPI(M) together with the Left parties headed the discontent.

2.7 The discontent in the rest of the country is for the most part unled and often misdirected by reactionary agencies. Only in Haryana and the three Southern States of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka is this discontent rallied round Opposition parties. In the North-Eastern region, local parties head the discontent. But in the major part of India, notwithstanding the results of recent by-elections, the indignation of the masses has yet to settle around the Opposition or Left parties.

2.8 But if the several secular Opposition parties join together, create the sense of a stable alternative centre and provide an assurance to sections, who were hitherto the voting blocs of the Congress(I), there is every chance of the Congress(I) being defeated in the next elections. This is a new feature which was not there at the last Party Congress. The Opposition bourgeois parties did not have this prospect before them. In the last three years the equation between the ruling party and the bourgeois-landlord Opposition parties has changed. The present position definitely accentuates the contradiction between the ruling party and the Opposition bourgeois parties.

2.9 Another change to be noted is the increased strength of the CPI(M) and the Left forces. It is this strength that enables the CPI(M) and the Left forces to influence, to a certain measure, the developments in national politics, carry on the fight against the divisive, separatist and communal forces and at the same time maintain a growing understanding

with Opposition secular parties for the isolation and ousting of the Congress(I).

2.10 Another new development is that the imperialists have succeeded in establishing firmer influence over the Governments of some neighbouring countries who seek to create hostile feelings among their people towards India. It will be suicidal if this particular change is foregotten when we carry on our struggle. Because those who are getting increased influence in these countries are quite capable of using the growing hostility to prejudice, sabotage or defeat our struggle.

2.11 Another feature is that of the repeated use of the army for purposes of maintaining civil order. The constant use of the army shows the inability of the Government to maintain law and order by conventional methods. The intensification of the anti-Government discontent is getting further intensified and its sweep is so wide that it goes beyond the control of the civil authorities.

2.12 The period that the country is passing through is not just a period of Rajiv's maladministration. It is a period of growing authoritarianism, violation of constitutional norms and subversion of democratic rights.

Sharpened Contradictions Between The People And The Ruling Party

Crisis of the Economy

2.13 During the last three years there has been a steady increase in the number of foreign collaboration agreements including those with multinationals, private commercial borrowings and increased external debt, all making the Indian economy more and more vulnerable to imperialist pressures. As per official figures the number of proposals for foreign collaborations approved were 1024 for 1985, 957 for 1986 and 853 for 1987. The Indian Press also gives figures showing that more foreign collaboration deals were sanctioned in the first half of 1988 than in the whole of

1987 with Japan and West Germany. The policy of opening India to foreign multinationals is being pursued with accelerated speed exposing the people to devastating exploitation. There is also increasing penetration of multinationals in the field of agriculture, mainly as suppliers of inputs. The recently announced decision to liberalize seed imports opens another area to the multinationals. It will make our agriculture, which, with all its limitations can today stand on its own legs, totally dependent on the multinationals. The story is the same in fertilizers, drugs and fine chemicals, in electronics and communications. The science and technology capabilities which the country has slowly built up are threatened with collapse.

2.14 The crisis of the capitalist path of the Indian economy has imposed unbearable misery on the Indian masses, misery worse than that experienced in capitalist countries during the transition period to capitalism and the process of primary accumulation. The latest developments pose the near certainty of a foreign debt-trap unless the present rake's progress is stopped or controlled. India's external debt has been increasing at a phenomenal rate. According to the OECD figures it had reached 43 billion dollars, and at the end of the current year it is estimated to reach 60 billion dollars. According to official figures, as on March 31, 1987, the total external indebtedness was Rs. 54,817 crore in respect of Government loans and commercial borrowings. Every year sees increased foreign borrowings. Authorisation by the Aid India Consortium which was little over four billion dollars in 1985-86, the first year of the Seventh Plan, increased to 4.5 billion dollars in 1987-88 and to 6.3 billion dollars in 1988-89. Private investment flows which were negligible a few years back climbed to as much as three billion dollars in 1986-87. The ratio of debt service payments to exports has already increased from 13.6 per cent in 1984-85 to 24 per cent in 1987-88, and is a warning that the country is on the border line of debt-trap. If this trend is unchecked, the process of new borrowings to pay off old borrowings, will

start landing the country into endless trouble and dependence. In fact, even now 50 per cent of the new foreign loans are used for repayment, and the net inflow is less than the new borrowings. This is the inevitable result of the capitalist path howsoever one may try to soften its effects by and from the Socialist countries.

2.15 The balance of payments situation might have been more acute, but for the remittances sent by Indian expatriates, which amount to more than Rs. 3,000 crore a year. The worsening balance of payments position, foreign debt and the debt-service ratio situation mark the failure of the imports liberalization policy, accepted under World Bank pressure, and of the various measures undertaken to facilitate private indigenous and foreign investment, import of technology to strengthen the competitive capacity of Indian industry in the world market and the advertised export drive. Imports have increased more rapidly than exports, they have failed to add to the export capacity of the country. The net result is increased debt load and destabilization of certain indigenous industries and balance of payments difficulties.

2.16 The World Bank and the Government of India have been congratulating themselves on the continuous increase in exports which is supposed to have saved a very bad situation. But they do not tell about the sacrifices imposed on the Indian people for this dubious advance. For exports promotion, subsidies of hundreds of crores of rupees are being given and these are filched from the people through various devices like administered prices and indirect taxation. Apart from this, the people are made to pay through a growing devaluation of the rupee, deliberate devaluation of their earnings, which leads to a rise in prices. In the twelve-month period ending June this year the average effective exchange rate of the rupee against the major currencies (the export trade weighted rate) has declined by some 12 per cent. The value of the rupee is now reduced to 12 paise (base 1960). Sometime back one of Rajiv's Cabinet Ministers estimated it at 12 paise compared to 98 paise in 1961.

He said that because of this, 70 per cent of our population was living below the poverty line. But simultaneously the big monopolists and big industrialists and landed interests continue to gather huge wealth and economic resources in their hands. According to official figures the assets of 20 monopoly houses increased by more than 50 per cent in recent years. The process of polarization of wealth at one end, and misery at the other got accentuated during the crisis years. It is clear that while some industries are being ruined by the Rajiv Government's import liberalization policy and invitation to multinationals, some monopolists and others are eager to take advantage of the situation and collaborate with foreign multinationals.

2.17 This assures good rupee prices for our exports and yet the increase in exports claimed is mainly statistical. The official growth figures relate to the growth in a devalued rupee value of exports. When we come to major export growth by reference to volume the picture changes. The claims of 20 per cent growth are replaced by a mere growth of five per cent in volume.

2.18 This entire process of export promotion to pay off the debt burdens, the consequent imposition of burdens on the people, even destabilization of some Indian industries, and the removal of one control after another against foreign capital, has got accentuated since the last Party Congress and bespeaks of an economy getting caught in the grip of Western financiers.

2.19 Side by side, the public sector built with the aid of the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries, which offered a base for building an independent economy, is being liquidated. A number of State Governments have expressed their readiness to sell their holdings in State concerns to private parties, and some have transferred them even to well-known foreign monopoly concerns. The World Bank in its latest report on India's steel industry, has called for transfer of public sector plants to private hands. And notwithstanding the repeated assertions of Rajiv and his colleagues that the

public sector will continue to have a dominant place in the Indian economy, moves are afoot for new proposals to transfer public sector concerns, including those connected with Defence Departments, to private hands. The synchronization of the industrial crisis with the drought and agrarian crisis, has increased closures, lockouts and they continue to remain at a high level. In the case of the textile industry, the plight of the NTC mills highlights the effects of drought and agrarian developments, on the consumer goods industry producing daily necessities of life.

2.20 Today 1057 big and medium concerns and 1,60,585 small industrial concerns continue to remain sick. Very few of them are considered viable and thousands of crores of rupees remain locked in debts due to them. All this together has thrown lakhs of working people out of jobs adding to the registered unemployment which now exceeds three crores. The rural unemployment is estimated to range between five and seven crores. But the attack on employment continues through introduction of computers and other sophisticated devices. Besides, the Government under the pressure of the World Bank is preparing to close a number of NTC mills and disentangle itself from other taken-over concerns. All this further contracts the market and aggravates the crisis conditions.

2.21 During the last three years, apart from devaluation of the rupee, the people have had to face an additional burden of taxation running into thousands of crores of rupees, leading to a continuous rise in prices. There is a continuous process of transfer of wealth from the poorer sections to the richer sections and the Government, through these devices. Characteristic evidence of this is the increased interest payment on internal debt which now amounts to a huge figure. This means the transfer of so much money to debt owners, mostly coming from the affluent classes.

Brunt of Crisis Borne by People

2.22 This process of one sided transfer of the burden of the crisis can be seen from the following. Those who are thrown

out in lakhs from the factories, and the more than three crores who are on the unemployment registers, are not provided with any unemployment relief. Only in the two States of West Bengal and Kerala, and perhaps one or two more States, does a small section of the unemployed get some symbolic relief. The rest have to face outright starvation or live on the charity of others. For the vast mass of city workers in unorganized industry there is no scheme of compensation against the rising costs of living, or any other social benefit or right, including security of jobs. For the huge mass of agricultural workers there is neither work nor the protection of all India legislations to guarantee a minimum wage. Even where such legislations exist at the State level these are seldom implemented. Those demanding such minimum wages are often subjected to atrocities of all kinds. And the peasant producer is continuously made a debtor through unfair prices and unequal trade. Peasant indebtedness has increased and with higher rates of interest the peasant has to part with a larger share of his produce to his creditors. The institutions created to provide rural credit serve only the landlords and the rural rich. The floods and drought, results of faulty planning in many cases and the failure to extend irrigation add to the misery of the peasant, increasing his debt burden.

2.23 Taking the index of all crop production foodgrains and non-foodgrains (using 1969-70=100 as base) we find that this index had reached 156.4 in 1983-84, stood at 154.6 in 1984-85, 161.7 in 1985-86, 152.6 in 1986-87 before dipping sharply in the drought year 1987-88. The drought came on top of a negative trend in foodgrains production, and a stagnant trend in all crop production, in the post 1983-84 period. A serious agrarian crisis is in evidence, the implications of which for the economy should not be underestimated. The most remarkable aspect of the crisis, however, is not even this. It consists in the fact that notwithstanding the series of comparatively poor harvests after 1983-84, the Government had accumulated 23 million tonnes of foodgrain stocks out of domestic procurement. In other words there is

not enough purchasing power in the hands of the poor to absorb a foodgrain output of the order that we have been witnessing in the post-1983-84 period. While output continues to remain low, demand continues to remain lower still on account of limited purchasing power, especially in rural areas over vast parts of the country. This is the secret of the burgeoning food stocks during the drought period.

2.24 This lack of purchasing power is accentuated by the continuous adverse terms of trade which is no longer a mere result of market operations, but has become an instrument of official policy. The agrarian crisis does not appear only as a declining trend in growth but also as a drastic depreciation of the earnings and purchasing power of the peasantry and the agricultural workers. The total effect of these developments is increased pauperisation, landlessness, growth in the number of agricultural workers and their increased unemployment and low wages, below even the legally provided level.

2.25 The adverse terms of trade have directly sharpened the contradiction not only between the rural masses and the bourgeois-landlord Government but also between the two partners in the alliance—the landlords and the bourgeoisie.

2.26 The entire process of transferring the burdens of the crisis is leading to widespread movements of peasants against official policies. These movements are led by the Left forces in many places, and they are channelizing the discontent on basic demands of land reforms and land distribution. The September 1987 and 1988 agitations were high watermarks for the agrarian protest.

2.27 The consumer price index number for industrial workers stood at 772 for April-June 1988 which is 9.8 per cent higher compared to the corresponding figure for the previous year: for the previous two years the rates of inflation were 8.0 per cent and 8.5 per cent respectively. The April-June foodgrains prices in 1988 were 19.4 per cent higher than for the corresponding months of 1987. This is how the authorities are managing inflation and congratulating

themselves. And if the huge deficit financing and the crooked practice of the bourgeois-landlord Government have not led to runaway inflation, this is due to the most unscrupulous use of economic and political power against the peasants and agricultural workers, who have been forced to go hungry to create a semblance of inflation-control in the cities.

2.28 The agrarian crisis is accompanied by intense industrial crisis, notwithstanding claims of increased industrial growth rate made by the Government. The textile, handloom and jute industries are getting ruined, tens of thousands are out of a job. Maintaining industrial growth at a reasonably high level during a period of severe drought, also indicates that a large section of such industries do not cater to the needs of the rural masses, and thus, this sharp decline in rural purchasing power does not affect them. This also sets a limit to the potential for industrial growth as the market is restricted to the upper strata of the urban population and the rural rich. The handloom and powerloom workers have never witnessed such depressing days, and the ruin of the traditional industries like coir, etc., continues. Official policies, with their emphasis on modernization, computerization, etc., only accentuate the crisis. Thus the aggravation of contradictions will continue, and the working class and the urban areas are becoming big battlefields for class action. Their ranks have now been joined by the technical intelligentsia, public sector officials and the patriotic executives who are opposed both to the attacks on living standards and the liquidation of the public sector. Some of the affected sections of Indian employers are inclined to take a joint stand along with the workers, against the depredations of foreign capital. Indian drug companies in particular are feeling the onslaught of the competition of the foreign multinationals and are supporting the demand for measures to put restrictions on their operations.

2.29 Witnessing the rising temper of the working class and the increasing opposition from the urban areas the Rajiv Gandhi Government has prepared new anti-trade union

legislation to prohibit strikes, prevent the rise of militant trade unions and virtually abolish all collective bargaining. It has already introduced legislation banning strikes in hospitals, etc. Besides, the National Security Act and the ESMA are often freely used against trade union leaders and workers.

2.30 There is a growing collapse of the solvency of the Government whose expenditure far exceeds its revenue income and which is increasingly depending on monstrous deficit financing to continue its operations. The overall budget deficit which ran usually between Rs. 2,000 crore and Rs. 3,000 crore in the early '80s, reached a record of Rs. 9,233 crore (Revised Estimate) in 1986-87. In 1987-88, it was expected to be Rs. 6,080 crore and the current year budget places it at not less than Rs. 7,484 crore, a figure which is bound to be exceeded by at least 30 per cent.

2.31 As if all this were not enough, the crisis is further accentuated by the enforced increase in defence expenditure, enforced because of the U.S. Administration's deliberate policy of pouring in arms into Pakistan and forcing India to divert more resources for defence. This is a deliberate plan to accentuate the difficulties and the crisis of the Indian economy. Defence outlay has increased from 2.85 per cent of GDP in 1980-81, to 4.04 per cent in 1987-88. The increasing expenditure of police and para-military forces further strains the budget.

2.32 Domestic borrowings freely resorted to in recent years now amount to Rs. 99,500 crore. Interest payments both external and internal account for 17 per cent of the budget expenditure. The total budgeted figure for interest payments in 1988-89 is Rs. 14,100 crore.

2.33 The budgets of the State Governments are also under strain and have become unmanageable.

2.34 Such is the crisis of the economy which is aggravating the contradictions and calling forth wide peasant agitations and outbursts. And these will now increase both in cities and the villages because with the disappearance of the so-called surplus stocks, food prices are likely to be affected

by speculative trading. The Government unable to control the effect will put the economy into a new turmoil.

Authoritarian Attack

2.35 The 59th Constitution Amendment Act which hangs the sword of Emergency over the country; the proposed Defamation Bill which was intended to extinguish all freedom of criticism and exposure of corrupt Ministers, the Government, and officials; the rule by Ordinances in States, the use of the National Security Act against mass movements; the falsification of elections in Tripura and the terror regime established there with attack on the rights of tribals and the legality of trade unions, speak of the continuing trend towards authoritarianism of the Rajiv Government. With the growing maturity of the crisis of the system, parliamentary democracy, and the people's rights under it, are being incessantly attacked.

2.36 The Rajiv Government arbitrarily postpones elections where it runs the risk of outright defeat, as in the case of elections to the Delhi Metropolitan Council. It prolongs Presidential Rule in Tamil Nadu waiting for a favourable opportunity for itself to fight the elections. Again it arbitrarily dismisses the Assembly to prevent an Opposition party Ministry from taking office when the Congress(I) party loses its majority as in Nagaland. In Mizoram and Meghalaya it resorts to similar tactics and arbitrarily intervenes through the Governor to dismiss an unwanted Ministry.

2.37 Deeply affected by corruption, jobbery and nepotism, the administration has become a curse for the common people. In India today under the bourgeois-landlord rule, an ordinary individual has hardly any chance when pitted against the criminal gangsters and police. The stories of rape by policemen and murders in police stations continue to multiply. Crimes against women are increasing day by day. Barring transfer or temporary suspension of guilty officers hardly anything is done. It is a common complaint in the capital of India that officers in charge of police stations often refuse to register

complaints against criminals or persons with social pull, and leave the ordinary citizen totally defenceless against intimidators and the encroachment on citizen's rights. The bastis, the slums of big cities, the localities in the periphery of big towns, are directly ruled by groups of anti-socials in league with the police. This parallel government functions openly and the people live in terror of anti-socials. In all Congress(I)-ruled States, honest and bold journalists and correspondents who expose the police or the criminals run the risk of a threat to their lives. Every effort is made to subordinate the judiciary to the executive to meet the needs of the ruling party.

2.38 In rural areas the Harijans and Adivasis are subjected to terror and murderous attacks by dacoits, police and landlord goondas. Gang rape of women by any of these agencies often takes place and the Government does not do anything. In the cities the working class struggles are often subjected to all kinds of repression. The high-handedness of the police in the capital led to widespread protest by lawyers which finally culminated in an unprecedented strike of lawyers all over India.

2.39 Despite these onslaughts, the popular resistance continues to expand drawing larger and larger sections into struggles. The big demonstrations, rallies, strikes and bandhs despite repression and police firing, continue to increase and the Government is often forced to retreat or withhold its repressive measures. The united protest against the Defamation Bill forced the Rajiv Government to announce the virtual withdrawal of the measure. The united protest of all trade unions has forced the Government to postpone consideration of anti-trade union bills.

2.40 At the same time it should be realized that in spite of its many misdeeds and its recent reverses in elections, the Congress(I) party continues to have a big mass base even in States where non-Congress(I) Ministries are functioning. Its all-India mass influence and strength should not be underestimated and the degree of its isolation should not be exaggerated. It is, besides, capable of winning over sections

who are now alienated from it. All this makes the election battle against the Congress(I) an arduous struggle requiring for its success combination of all anti-authoritarian forces and the maximum mobilization of the masses. Divisions in the secular Opposition parties and underestimation of the mass pull of the Congress(I) will only help the ruling party. At the same time it will be difficult for the Congress(I) to defeat a combination of Left and secular forces provided they make a bid for the masses in all seriousness.

Contradictions with Imperialism

Foreign Policy

2.41 During the years since the last Party Congress the Indian Government has maintained the foreign policy of non-alignment.

2.42 The Rajiv Government continues to take a correct position on Afghanistan, calling for political settlement and implementation of the Geneva Accord. The Government continues to support the fighting people of Kampuchea and the role of Vietnamese troops in that country, and refuses to conciliate with the allies of Pol Pot. It takes a forthright stand on the question of apartheid, offers aid to frontline States, demands effective sanctions and calls for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela. It continues its support to the cause of the Palestinians, to Angola, Western Sahara and Nicaragua. It took a correct position on the prolonged Iran-Iraq war and threw its weight in favour of an early end to the war.

2.43 India's foreign policy is strengthened by the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Peace and Cooperation which enables India to safeguard her security. The Soviet help in matters of security and defence, economic co-operation and provision of rupee payments, all are of great help in sustaining the policy of non-alignment. India's support for peace, her endorsement of the Soviet proposals for reduction of nuclear weapons, strengthens the world struggle for peace and helps to tilt the balance in favour of the forces opposed

to war. The Indo-Soviet Joint Delhi Declaration and the subsequent six-nation call for a time-bound programme for reduction of nuclear weapons served to emphasize India's adherence to the cause of non-alignment and peace.

2.44 Despite economic pressures of the World Bank and the effect of the economic policies pursued, India's policy of non-alignment and friendship with Socialist countries continues. This is because, side by side with the pressures, there is also a sharpened contradiction with imperialism due to its continuous arming of Pakistan, and its support to the latter's plan for developing nuclear weapons. These, together with the interests of the ruling classes in peace, development of foreign trade and economic activities abroad, enables continuation of the non-aligned policy.

2.45 There were of course strong U.S. pressures against non-alignment during this period. The U.S. is making every effort to change the existing relationship between India and the USSR in the matter of arms supplies and make India dependent on the West. This was the purpose behind the negotiations that were opened two years ago between the defence authorities of India and the USA. It is also known that the Government of India had agreed to send administrative and police officials to Harvard University and other institutions for training in American expertise. Under pressure of economic events Rajiv is forced to dispense with a forthright stand against U.S. misdeeds and intervention.

2.46 It is noted that when Western navies invaded the Persian Gulf last year India, which had repeatedly demanded that the Indian Ocean should be free from foreign naval presence, did not raise its voice in protest.

India-China Relations

2.47 These years also saw a better and more congenial atmosphere in India-China relations though on some occasions the border question continued to cloud the relations. The Government's decision to grant statehood to Arunachal

Pradesh and subsequent developments with statements and counter-statements from both sides, created uncertainties, but soon progress towards better understanding was made possible by steps taken by both sides. This has created anxiety in U.S. imperialist circles which require suspicion, estrangement and hostility among nations of the Third World to pursue their objective of world domination. It is, therefore, not surprising that reports should appear in the U.S. Press, attributed to Pentagon circles, saying that People's China may use force against India to settle the border dispute. The American lobby in India following the indications from its pay-masters, could inveigle a number of Indians to press on the Government of India not to accept Chinese sovereignty over Tibet and secure for it the status of a buffer State.

2.48 But the efforts of this lobby to whip up tension between the two countries received a rebuff with Rajiv Gandhi's visit to People's China in December. The reiteration of the five principles of international conduct by both sides, and the appointment of a committee to settle the border dispute as expeditiously as possible have opened the prospects of normalization of relations, and restoration of the former friendship between the two countries.

Sri Lanka

2.49 When there was a possibility of Sri Lanka becoming increasingly dependent on the West through foreign mercenary forces and the Sri Lankan Government required Indian help for solving the ethnic problem, the Government of India sent its forces to help the Sri Lankan authorities. Public opinion in India was also calling upon the Government of India to intervene and save the Tamils from the repressive measures of the Jayawardene Government. The foreign mercenaries patronized by reactionary imperialist Governments had to retreat. But for the direct help to Sri Lanka, the imperialists would have succeeded in their plan. This would have endangered the security of both India and Sri Lanka. The Accord reached between the two Governments assures

India that Sri Lankan waters and the Trincomalee harbour will not be allowed to be used to endanger India's security.

2.50 Of course the imperialists counter this help to Sri Lanka by increased aid to the militant secessionists to prolong the conflict. This has been used by the reactionary forces in that country to rouse national chauvinism and create feelings of hostility towards the Indian people. Imperialism is gaining its ends with the aid of this reactionary propaganda.

2.51 At the same time, it has to be realized that both in Sri Lanka and India there are apprehensions about the role of the IPKF in Sri Lanka. Many people feel that it is fighting only the Tamils. In these circumstances, now that the provincial elections in the Northern and Eastern areas of Sri Lanka are over, it is advisable to begin the phased withdrawal of the IPKF from there.

Pakistan

2.52 The U.S. Government is pouring arms worth billions of rupees into Pakistan, forcing India also to spend huge amounts to keep her defence capacity unimpaired. The U.S. imperialists are encouraging Pakistan to produce a nuclear bomb so that India is forced to sign the unequal Non-Proliferation Treaty. They have helped Pakistan to train and finance the Khalistani terrorists. The Siachen dispute and Kashmir have been sources of friction and tension between the erstwhile military dictatorship of Pakistan and India. At the same time the call for peace, understanding and friendship between the two countries has to be pursued. It is to be noted that the Government of India is virtually silent on U.S. misdeeds towards India, perhaps under the economic pressure of the World Bank. It satisfies itself by pinning down the junior partner of the conspiracy. But it is unfortunate that the bourgeois Opposition parties should show total indifference towards imperialist manoeuvres and provocative anti-India Acts.

2.53 Recent developments in Pakistan are of great importance. The people of Pakistan who were groaning under the

military dictatorship of Zia, have at last secured an election victory for the anti-dictatorial and democratic forces. The installation of Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister strengthens the democratic forces and movement in Pakistan though the challenge of reaction continues to be strong. The statement of Benazir Bhutto regarding India-Pakistan relations, the reference to the Simla Pact and other developments, are indications that the earlier atmosphere of tension between the two countries is likely to be relaxed and a feeling of friendship and solidarity developed on both sides.

Bangladesh

2.54 India's relationship with another neighbour, Bangladesh, is also not without strains. The country is ruled by another military dictator who is riding rough-shod over democracy, and to protect his reactionary regime, is taking shelter behind Islamization of the State. This is no wonder, because the development budget of his Government has to completely rely on help from Western countries which are calling the political tune. The secular forces in the country, however, are protesting against Islamization and demanding its withdrawal, women are protesting against the threat to their elementary freedoms. The setting up of SAARC has not relieved the situation as the mainsprings of the action of some member countries are controlled by the needs of their opportunist policies.

2.55 However, recent months have witnessed popular upsurges in these countries against the autocratic rule and for democratic rights. In Burma people have risen demanding restoration of democracy. In Bangladesh people are struggling against the military despotism and the Islamization drive. Even in Pakistan, following Zia's death, the movement for democratic rights is gathering strength. These movements in the cause of democracy can thwart imperialist designs and must be given all support.

2.56 In these circumstances non-alignment, friendship and solidarity between the people of neighbouring countries,

and alliance with the forces of world peace and Socialist countries constitute the only guarantee to ward off the provocations of imperialist policy.

2.57 The task of the CPI(M) extends beyond the defence of non-alignment. It has to make a positive contribution in defence of world peace, expose the source of world tension and also the danger of nuclear war. The importance of the fight against nuclear war is underestimated in our country and the struggle for peace itself is confined to narrow channels. This lacuna has to be overcome immediately, and the masses are to be involved in the defence of peace and the policy of non-alignment. The Party further exposes the talk of two super powers indulged in by the bourgeois circles. The Party exposes the U.S. moves for the Star Wars project and exposes the US imperialist's aggressive plans. It supports the peace proposals of the USSR. It unmasks the U.S. ambitions and moves for global domination, exposes the imperialist powers, patronage for the racist regime of South Africa, their alliance with Israel and the machinations to divide the Arab world and deny justice to the Palestinians, and their support to the reactionary regime in South Korea. It exposes the U.S. violation of the Afghan Accord and its continued supply of arms to the Mujahideens. The Party exposes imperialist intervention wherever it takes place. It lends its full support to the people of Nicaragua, Chile, El Salvador, Palestine, Namibia, Western Sahara and others fighting U.S. imperialism. The Party works for developing warm relations between India and People's China and for strengthening the bonds of friendship between India and all Socialist countries. The defence of non-alignment means the defence of an independent foreign policy, defence of the country against imperialist machinations and pressures on our foreign policy. It is part of our struggle against imperialism and must be urgently pursued. Underestimation of the importance of our foreign policy plays into the hands of imperialism.

Attack of Secessionists and Divisive Forces and Congress(I) Policy

2.58 While united mass discontent and mass struggles are developing to resist the anti-people of the Congress(I) and its authoritarianism, the democratic movement also witnessed a growing attack of the divisive, secessionist and communal forces to disrupt the common movement. They are directly or indirectly used by imperialist agencies to promote their objective of destabilizing and disintegrating India.

2.59 The situation in Kashmir today is extremely serious. Day by day the effrontery and challenge of the open pro-Pakistani forces is increasing and Farooq Abdullah is hard put to it to control and counter them. Rajiv and his advisors must share responsibility for the situation in Kashmir. It is they who clubbed with G.M. Shah, a notorious communalist and enabled him to form a Government in Kashmir. The result was that Kashmir saw unprecedented communal riots and a tremendous rise in pro-Pakistani agitations. The Assam Accord has not solved the problem of secessionist agitation in the State. The extremists continue their subversive and secessionist activities. Under the AGP Government the minorities are oppressed and threatened and citizenship of thousands of Indians is being challenged.

2.60 The same is the situation in some other States of the north-eastern region. In some of these States the Congress(I), instead of countering the secessionists, is joining hands with them of issues such as the "foreigners question". The temporary accords struck with local parties are collapsing and leading to a critical situation. In some States a crisis has been engineered by the opportunism of the Union Government. The dissolution of the Nagaland Assembly and imposition of President's Rule have evoked feelings of want of confidence and hostility towards the Centre and strengthened the separatist forces. In Mizoram also a similar situation has developed. The Congress(I) party, unable to build abiding unity of the people, trusts only accords at the top, and relies on the law and order machinery, all of which fails

to assure a feeling of equality to the people of the constituent States in the area.

2.61 How the Rajiv Government conciliates and even allies with the divisive forces to gain advantage for itself is revealed by its secret accord with the TNV in connection with the Tripura Assembly elections. The Congress(I) appealed to the electorate promising to end the TNV menace. No one knew that it was already working in league with the TNV, and the latter's murderous campaign on the eve of the elections was carried on with the indulgence of the Congress(I).

2.62 Nowhere else does the ruling party's total incapacity to work for and maintain national unity stand so exposed as in Punjab. The Rajiv Government broke the Punjab Accord, an honest implementation of which would have resulted in creating a strong basis for normalizing the situation in the State. The Accord was broken to protect the narrow interest of the Congress(I). Today in spite of the growing isolation of the Khalistanis from the people, the ruling party is unable to move in any way to establish normalcy and the spirit of national unity. In its disgusting hunt for agents and stooges, it tries to strike a deal with one or other section of the extremists, or with one or other opportunist section of the Akali groups, leaving the masses outside its calculations. The result is that the menace of terrorism still continues in Punjab and there does not seem to be an end in sight. The Central Government committed a big crime against the country and indulged in sheer unscrupulousness when they dismissed the Barnala Ministry which was taking a stand against Akali fanaticism. This nefarious step was taken to influence the Haryana elections in favour of the Congress(I). In effect it was an appeal to Hindu communal sentiment and a betrayal of the spirit of national unity.

Menace of Communal and Fundamentalist Forces

2.63 The Congress(I) opportunism of conciliating the forces of orthodoxy, both Hindu and Muslim, encourages the designs of communal forces and the hold of obscurantism on the

masses. Rajiv Gandhi's Government took an ambivalent position on the *Sati* issue and refused to bring to book those who, like the Puri Sankaracharya, justify *Sati* and untouchability. The State Government of Rajasthan refused to protect the democratic rights of Harijans and surrendered before Hindu orthodoxy, and the Central Government prostrated itself before Muslim orthodoxy to overrule the Supreme Court Judgement in the Shah Bano case, leaving the Muslim women to the mercy of obscurantist religious fanatics.

2.64 The sudden opening of the disputed Ramjanmabhoomi temple leading to communal tension and strife in Uttar Pradesh, the recurring communal riots in Ahmedabad and other places, the Meerut riots and the Maliana massacre by the PAC are manifestations of the deteriorating communal situation and Congress(I) opportunism. They at the same time reveal the incompetence of the Congress(I) Government to protect national unity. The communal riots of the present period are unlike the riots of the earlier period which generally arose out of some temporary emotional feelings but now they are a conscious device of internal reactionary and foreign destabilizers to undermine Indian unity.

2.65 These agencies are now endeavouring to widen their scope and directly strike at the Left forces. They are intent on organizing disturbances in West Bengal where the CPI(M) and the Left forces have been successful in maintaining communal unity and preventing the spread of communal poison. The Muslim League, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and other Hindu communal forces are now very active in West Bengal rousing communal feelings.

2.66 In these circumstances it is not enough to expose the Congress(I) and its Government, decry their partisan role during riots or their conciliatory attitude to communal pressures but it is necessary to positively intervene among the people and mobilize them against this policy, against the riots and failure to protect the minorities during the riots.

2.67 In fighting the divisive and communal forces the CPI(M) must keep in mind certain important factors.

The secessionist movement in several places was able to draw in wide sections of the people utilizing many of their just and genuine grievances. The Party recognizes these two aspects of the movement and while fighting the secessionist trend it endeavours to defend genuine demands of the people as in the case of the Gorkhaland agitation.

2.68 The memorandum of the CPI(M) on national integration (1973) observed : "The minority Muslim community in our country, denied in practice employment opportunities, eliminated from many Government services, educationally backward, the Urdu language cold-shouldered, the right to use it and develop it denied, feels like a hunted community. They are also continuously in the grip of their own reactionary communal leaders who are interested in keeping them in outmoded traditions and obscurantist practices, all under the garb of religion. They do not allow the mass of Muslim people to make common cause with the toilers from the majority community, and wage a common battle for common economic and democratic demands.

2.69 Part of the Muslim communal problem is directly related to unequal conditions in which the Muslim community is placed, notwithstanding the proclamation of equality of citizens under the Constitution. It is a question of defence of the basic rights of the minority which the bourgeois-landlord Government continuously violates.

2.70 Unless the Party of the working class and the Left forces put themselves in the forefront of the battle against the communal challenge by their deeds and words, and they prove themselves capable of defending the rights of the minorities and forging unity during critical times, this challenge cannot be met. The bourgeois Opposition parties and their leaders suffer from lack of clear understanding. They often resort to manoeuvres which exacerbate and complicate the situation.

2.71 The Party opposes and exposes the reactionary character of Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christian fundamentalist propaganda exposes its anti-national character and its disruptive effect. It exposes the communal propaganda of the

BJP, RSS and Vishwa Hindu Parishad. It exposes the communal appeal of the Jamat-e-Islami and the Muslim League which plays an equally disruptive role. In the name of defending the interests of the Muslim minority, the League keeps Muslim masses away from the common struggle and helps the vested interests. But it should be noted that part of the appeal of Muslim communalism is due to the inferior treatment given to the Muslim minority in our country.

Imperialist-Funded Agencies

2.72 The voluntary organizations funded by Western agencies and the flow of funds to these organizations have grown alarmingly in the past three years. The Rajiv Government under the constant pressure of the World Bank is officially collaborating with these agencies and handing over crores of rupees to them for developmental plans under the Seventh Plan. Increasingly isolated from the people, and unable to rely on the Congress(I) party because of its paralyzing dissensions the Rajiv Government is hoping to utilize these organizations for rural development. The penetration of these foreign funded agencies is another avenue for imperialist pressure and subversion.

Centre-State Relations Aggravation of Nationality Question

2.73 The aggravation of Centre-State relations in recent years is the expression of the acuteness of the nationality question in the country. The problem of nationality in India can be practically solved if the various nationality constituents of the country are accorded equal opportunities for development and equal status in running the country. This is not possible under the capitalist path which is necessarily based on uneven development of regions, subjecting many areas to enforced backwardness. This has led to growing discontent and alienation of large sections.

2.74 The administration has resorted to growing encroachments of the rights of the States and their economic powers

and resources. The process of concentration of power in the hands of the Centre extending over many years is resulting in secessionist movements in the border States and rousing powerful regional feelings in many others. The ruling party at the Centre makes blatant use of centrally appointed Governors to interfere in the State's administration, obstruct its functioning and overrule the decisions of the elected majority. Besides, Governors to suit the interests of the ruling party arbitrarily declare breakdown of the Constitution and recommend dissolution of the Assembly. The Governors often undertake to decide whether any party in the State legislature has a majority in the Assembly instead of allowing the House to decide it.

2.75 The acute nationality crisis is expressed in the growing exacerbation of Centre-State relations. Distortions in Centre-State relations is evident from the following. The total loan repayment liability of State Governments in any one year is found to be much in excess of the quantum of plan assistance for the year from the Centre. Unless immediate relief from this debt burden is made available the States will find it extremely difficult to proceed with any development activity. The financial resources of the States are inelastic and slender and the States have to meet the heavy responsibilities regarding development and welfare measures. Tax revenue sources and market borrowings are concentrated in the hands of the Centre—only 30 per cent of revenue resources and 15 per cent of market borrowings are allotted to the States. The device of administered prices is used to deprive the States of their legitimate share in the Centre's taxation proceeds. The manner in which foreign credit is passed on by the Central Government for any project in the State is highly objectionable. Rajiv Gandhi's recent meetings with District Collectors, bypassing the State Governments, the glib talk of district planning and panchayat decentralization are attempts to take direct charge of economic administration and development work in the hands of the Centre. It constitutes an authoritarian attack against the States'

powers and autonomy. In these circumstances it is all the more necessary that Article 370(c) of the Constitution which deals with the special status of Kashmir should be protected against all encroachments by the Central Government and assaults from reactionaries.

2.76 The Left-led Ministries and non-Congress(I) Ministries have a long list of complaints against the Centre. They range from discrimination in the matter of sanctioning industrial projects, deliberate withholding of sanction for viable projects, financial discrimination using the financial lever to create difficulties for these Ministries, to even cutting off food supplies at a crucial time to prejudice the people against the Left-led Governments. The continuation of freight equalization policy is hitting the economy of eastern States viz., Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa, hard. The demand that this policy should be made applicable to all the industrial raw materials throughout the country has not been accepted so far leading to discriminatory treatment to the eastern States. The Sarkaria Commission appointed by the Central Government discovered many violations of rules and accepted norms in the existing Centre-State relations. It made suggestions to improve the present situation but there is no likelihood of the Centre accepting any control on its powers and privileges.

2.77 This conflict recently took an unprecedented turn. The entire Left Front MLAs and Ministers except the Chief Minister from West Bengal held a dharna in the capital protesting against the treatment meted out to the State and vetoing viable and agreed projects. It was followed by similar dharnas of Andhra Pradesh TDP MLAs and Ministers along with CPI(M) and Janata MLAs, against the refusal to sanction projects which have been hanging fire for many years. This was followed by similar protests of Kerala MLAs, and Ministers in New Delhi against the discriminatory treatment meted out to that State.

2.78 When the representatives of the States are forced to demonstrate in the streets of the capital to carry out their

electoral promises, it reveals the acute state of the nationality crisis.

2.79 At the same time a warning is necessary. Where the Left-led Governments do not exist, the one sided Centre-State relations are used as a cover for the failure of the Ministry concerned and often for rousing local chauvinism for purposes of electoral gain. Such use in effect adds to the separatist and secessionist propaganda and helps in disrupting national unity. The Left and democratic forces should be aware of this and lay stress on the general democratic and common basis of their demand for change in the Centre-State relations.

Undemocratic Education Policy

2.80 It is known that in the name of improving the quality of education and taking the country to the computer age, education is being made more selective, confined to a narrow elitist and socially wellplaced section, leaving the mass of the people to their fate. The education policy is being tuned to the needs of the owners of new sophisticated industry which requires a regular supply of highly trained personnel. This is being guaranteed through the new policy—Navodaya schools, centres of excellence, etc. This leads directly to the abandonment of the concrete target for the attainment of mass literacy, the neglect of primary education and to a growing denial of higher education to the poorer sections of the society. The accreditation councils scheme for accreditation and assessment for maintaining and raising the quality of institutions of higher learning, is an instrument for complete overhauling of the higher education system to the detriment and disadvantage of the teachers, students, and the spread of higher education to economically ill-placed sections of society. It is an instrument to ensure that only those coming from better-off families have the benefits of higher education, only those who can afford to pay the exorbitant fees levied by autonomous colleges can hope to reach these institutions. The authoritarian approach to education is manifest in the arbitrary removal of the Vice-Chancellors of Bihar universities at one stroke.

2.81 The World Bank pressure to cut down all measures of social relief and subsidies is manifest in the new education policy of the Rajiv Government. The new policy must be fought with the aid of all democratic forces. The all India college and university teachers strike in 1987, and the one-day strike of students in September 1988, demonstrate that the teachers and students are already in the field to resist this attack on educational rights.

Culture and Mass Media

2.82 The crisis of the bourgeois-landlord system and the increased offensive of the feudal forces has had serious repercussions for the socio-cultural life in the country. The distortions in the field of education, cultural and other intellectual pursuits, are leading to the undermining of democratic culture. A sizeable section of the intelligentsia, influenced by the ideology of the decaying capitalist order, is unable to vigorously combat the resurgence of irrational and unscientific ideas and even falls prey to it. The ruling party, as well as a section of the bourgeois Opposition leadership, are not averse to utilizing the obscurantist and medieval ideas to buttress their electoral base. The ruling party has been pandering to what is most backward in our culture. Due to the intolerant attitude of the ruling party, freedom of expression is seriously jeopardized. The Government controlled media, radio and television, as well as the monopoly-controlled Press are blatantly utilized to propagate decadent antediluvian, obscurantist and revivalist ideas. The official mass media is being blatantly used by the Congress(I) for its partisan purposes. Also at work are imperialist agencies which are aggressively propagating anti-scientific and anti-democratic ideas amongst the intelligentsia of the country. There is a subtle attempt on the part of some of these agencies to harness the bourgeois radical trends and divert them in anti-democratic channels by decrying the achievements of modern science and technology.

2.83 All this seriously hampers the growth of the democratic

struggle of the people. As against the reactionary trends in the intellectual and cultural life of the country, there is also a definite trend of a positively democratic nature. A large section of writers, artists in various fields and scientists and technologists are engaging themselves in combating the obscurantist ideas and adopting democratic positions. Their role in the struggle for creating a democratic and secular culture is of immense value.

2.84 This enjoins upon the Party to wage a persistent struggle against the decadent and obscurantist trends in culture, in unity with all those who adopt a progressive democratic position.

Party's Role in Defending National Unity

2.85 While taking note of the fight against divisive and secessionist forces our Party can be proud that it has been in the forefront of the battle against the secessionists and divisive forces. The Party pays homage to the memory of the innumerable cadres, workers, peasants, students, youth, women who have fallen in this battle to defend national unity. In the secessionist Assam agitation and the continuing struggle in Punjab against the terrorist Khalistanis, and the struggle in Darjeeling against armed attacks of the GNLF, our Party, trade unions, kisan, youth and students and women cadres have played a glorious role sacrificing their lives and facing the brutal terror of the anti-national elements. In Punjab every few days we lose valuable cadres targetted by the terrorist assassins. It was, and is so in Darjeeling, where brave tea-garden workers and our other comrades put up a courageous fight, and it was and is so in Tripura where our comrades have to face the murderous attack of the TNV. The Party highly appreciates the courage and loyalty of the families and relatives of our martyrs who continue to serve the cause of national unity undaunted by the murders. All this has raised the prestige of the CPI(M) as a consistent and courageous fighter in the cause of national unity and enhanced its political weight among the people. That the

working class party should be in the forefront of the struggle is no accident. It is the responsibility that history puts on its shoulders. In Punjab CPI cadres are also fighting a courageous battle for unity and a large number of them have lost their lives in this grim battle.

2.86 The way in which our Party and the Left Front Government of West Bengal faced the separatist challenge of the GNLf and brought the agitation to a close made a remarkable contribution in the struggle for national unity. It understood the two aspects of the movement, the backwardness of the areas and the genuine demands of the people and the exploitation of these demands for disruptive purposes by those who were raising secessionist sentiments. The Party and its cadre therefore embarked upon a political campaign among the masses. They faced the terrorist attacks undauntedly and 108 Nepali comrades sacrificed their lives by heroically opposing them. At the same time the Government tackled, through the law and order machinery, those who were out for mischief. This demarcation between the agitated mass and the disruptive leadership was the only way in which the GNLf could be fought and unity could be maintained. It is to be noted that no other political party including the Congress(I) intervened through its cadres to educate and pacify the mass that was being misled. They refused to carry on political and ideological battle against the GNLf challenge.

2.87 In the beginning, the GNLf agitation of Ghising was encouraged and supported by Congress(I) elements and no less a person than Rajiv Gandhi certified him to be a good nationalist. Every effort was made in the beginning to exploit this disruptive agitation to create opinion against the Left Front Government, and the Congress(I) party in West Bengal often voiced the slanders about repression circulated by the secessionist agitators. Better counsels prevailed in the Central Government which later on decided to work in co-operation with the Left Front Government to settle the issue. The settlement of this agitation has not only raised high the prestige of the Left Front Government but has also

indicated how these movements can be tackled in the interests of maintaining the unity of the country.

Women

2.88 The period since the last Congress has witnessed further advance in the organized women's movement. The new awakening and spirit of resistance to women's oppression is bringing women's organizations together to wage a fight against feudal customs and oppression. *Sati* burning, dowry crimes and criminal offences against women of the down-trodden rural masses, Harijans and Adivasis. Attempts to perpetuate the inferior status of Muslim women in the name of religion are resisted. Discrimination against working women in matters of jobs, promotions and equal pay is being exposed and fought. The common stand of several women's organizations in exposing the inadequacies of the National Perspective Plan of the Government and its exaggerated claims manifest greater cohesion and maturity of the movement.

The Anti-Caste Movements

2.89 The struggle to defeat the Congress(I) in the next elections, and the struggle to build the Left and democratic front, both require earnest efforts to mobilize all sections of the downtrodden masses. Large sections from these masses often stand alienated from the democratic and working class movement, and are swayed by sectional leadership which diverts their discontent and anger into narrow channels. The period since our last Congress has witnessed a new militant awakening among these sections—the Adivasis, Harijans and backward classes. It is necessary to make all efforts to draw this new awakening to the common struggle, developing a correct attitude and tactics towards their organization.

2.90 Successive Congress Governments have attempted to rally these sections, tempting them with the provision of reservation of jobs in Government services. This was also a device to bypass the question of land reforms and redistribution of land. The job reservation policy, continued over a

number of years has led to the creation of a thin strata of the educated, interested only in jobs, while the main mass continues to languish in misery. Now both the discontent of the educated section and the growing misery of the uneducated mass is bursting forth in militant protest and action. These protests against social discrimination, caste tyranny, police repression, are at present carried out under the leadership of their caste leaders. They represent the anti-feudal, anti-landlord discontent of these agrarian masses.

2.91 On rare occasions some of these agitations co-operate with our Kisan Sabha and Left forces on the question of land for the landless or protest against atrocities. But by and large their leaders take a sectarian, even hostile, attitude towards the common struggle. It is necessary to break this alienation by taking a proper attitude towards these organizations' understanding, the objective role they are playing. The point is that this section represents the most downtrodden section of agrarian India and the Kisan Sabha and the Party cannot avoid their common responsibility towards them. The Party, the democratic movement and class organizations, should lend support to their struggle against caste tyranny and repression, and enable them and their organizations to join the common struggle. There cannot be a successful agrarian revolution without these sections playing a leading role in the struggle.

Adivasi Movement

2.92 Another section of downtrodden masses which stands apart from the common movement is that of the Adivasis. Except in Tripura, the movement of the Adivasis is controlled by organizations which pursue a policy of keeping the downtrodden sections away from the common democratic movement.

2.93 Our Party has taken note of the special conditions under which the Adivasis continue to exist after 40 years of independence, and have also understood the character of the new awakening among them. However, a lot of endeavour has to be made to secure their confidence and meet some of the demands that have been justifiably raised by the movement.

In Tripura, under the leadership of our Party and the Left Front Government, the tribal people succeeded in securing an Autonomous District Council under the Sixth Schedule. This has helped to create a feeling of security among the tribals and forge unity among the non-tribals and tribals. The Tripura experience can be utilized to maintain national unity and prevent the growth of disruptive and secessionist forces among the tribals. In view of the growing unrest among the various linguistic groups of tribals for a separate State of their own, and the forces of disruption and reaction taking advantage of such a feeling, it is the right time for all concerned to carefully examine whether the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India can be extended to areas where there is a preponderance of the tribal population, in order to provide this "Regional Autonomy" enshrined in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India. This may help to create a favourable climate for drawing more and more tribal masses into the struggle against secessionist, disruptive and communal forces for strengthening democracy, secularism and ethnic harmony.

The Push and Pull between the Bourgeoisie and the Landlords

2.94 The Political Resolution of the Twelfth Party Congress mentioned the push and pull between the bourgeoisie and the landlords. The push and pull between the two partners of the alliance takes various forms. In the first place, landlord lobbies have succeeded in organizing big demonstrations of peasants demanding a change in the price for the peasants' produce. This of course is a just demand but, while taking the lead, the landlords are presenting themselves as peasants and using the latter to bring pressure on the bourgeois-landlord Government to safeguard their interests. Secondly, they have tried to draw the peasants' support for their demand for cancellation of electricity charges. In Uttar Pradesh they have utilized the plight of the small peasants who urgently need such cancellation, for their own ends. Thirdly, they are using the urgent demand for the cancellation of small peasants' debt

to cooperatives for demanding for themselves freedom from repayment of their loans. They also demand in the name of the peasants, withdrawal of the land ceiling and minimum wage legislation Acts. The landlord lobby seeks to use the peasant vote to bolster its own interests.

2.95 The powerful landlord lobby is able to evade agricultural income tax and deprive the State exchequer of huge sums. Neither the Congress(I) State Governments, nor the Central Government dares touch these powerful landed interests for fear of offending them.

2.96 The intensification of this conflict leads to the acceleration of the agrarian crisis. The landlord lobby prevents the implementation of measures of relief for the rural mass. Above all it prevents enactment of all-India legislation for minimum wage for agricultural workers, and implementation of existing wage legislation in favour of the agricultural workers in States. In effect, it obstructs measures the bourgeois-landlord Government wants to take to expand the market in the rural areas. One of the main slogans of the landlord lobby is that the unity of the rural people should not be disturbed. It charges the kisan organizations with disrupting the unity of the rural people, meaning thereby that no distinction should be made between a landlord and a capitalist farmer on the one hand, and the peasant and agricultural worker, on the other. Obstructed in raising resources from the accumulated coffers of the landlords, the bourgeois Government has to saddle the rural areas with heavier tax burdens.

2.97 The conflict inside the alliance and the conflict of the landlord lobbies among themselves undermines the Congress(I) organization, faith in its stability, and opens up opportunities for other political parties to mobilize the people in the struggle against the Congress(I) rule.

Corruption at High Levels

2.98 The corruption scandals of the Rajiv regime have not only shocked the people but also supplied a new element in the denigration of the Congress(I) party and its rule. These

scandals relating to defence equipment like Bofors, and the Submarine deal raised valid doubts about the honesty and integrity of the Government personnel in relation to the country's defence and integrity. It was the biggest shock which enlightened opinion had had since independence. The result is that public opinion holds the Government and its Ministers guilty and all the gimmicks that the Government did to prove its innocence through the Parliament Enquiry Committee have failed to establish confidence in the regime's integrity.

Inner Conflicts Inside the Congress(I)

2.99 During the last three years inner-party conflicts inside the Congress(I) organization have further increased. Pursuit of authoritarian practices in the Government is accompanied by authoritarian practices in the organization itself. Organizational elections have not been held for 19 years. The leadership is afraid to face the rank and file's verdict.

2.100 Dictatorial methods of dealing with inner-party conflicts continue, leading to instability of Congress(I) ministries, lack of cohesion inside the party and between the all-India and State Committees of the organization. Almost all Congress(I) ministries are at loggerheads with Congress(I) State Committees. Congress(I) MLAs are divided into fighting factions. Because of this the ministries in several States were recently changed to suit the convenience of factional groupings.

2.101 A ruling party which is divided, which is incapable of acting with one will, is a danger to a country challenged by so many hostile forces and faced with so many divisive attacks. The sooner its Government is removed from power and replaced by a Government of people's choice, the better for the country and its freedom.

Intensification of the Contradictions with the Non-Congress(I) Ministries

2.102 The sharpening contradictions between the ruling party and the bourgeois Opposition parties is also witnessed in the Congress(I) activities and propaganda against the

non-Congress(I) ministries led by the bourgeois Opposition parties. The more the united movement of the Left and secular Opposition parties increases its hold over the people, the more the Congress(I) units in the States and the all-India party attack the non-Congress(I) ministries. Verbal propaganda and slanders and false statements of Central Ministers apart, the Congress(I) units in the States have started recently organizing fake mass campaigns against the ministries. Now they suddenly profess deep concern for the grievances of the people, concern over corruption, etc. But the people see through this game and the slanders get poor response. The Left and secular forces must counter the Congress(I) propaganda and defend these ministries against Congress(I) slanders.

Need for Understanding with Bourgeois Opposition Parties

2.103 The Political Resolution of the Calcutta Congress observed : "The elections once more revealed that the main mass of the Indian people is divided between the various bourgeois-landlord parties. The Opposition bourgeois parties though routed at the polls because of the extraordinary circumstances under which the elections were fought, carried a big percentage of the vote. In two States, notwithstanding the all-India swing in favour of the Congress(I), they were able to win a majority in the elections."

2.104 Since the last Party Congress, while endeavouring to build a broad understanding with these parties, the Party's effort has been to see that they eschew compromise with communal forces and stand firmly with the Left forces to combat all communal and divisive forces. But the leadership of many of these parties favour an understanding with the BJP in order to secure electoral gains. At the same time there are elements and forces which want to take a stand with the Left forces and would therefore, like to eschew all understanding with reactionary parties. This has led to the emergence of two lines—the line of the Left and that of the

bourgeois parties—on how to achieve the unity of the forces opposed to the Congress(I). These two outlooks often clash with each other but the final outcome will be determined by the pressure of the mass movement and mass consciousness.

2.105 In the immediate struggle to dislodge the Rajiv Government from power, the Party attaches great importance to an understanding with these parties. That is why in its Resolution of August 17, 1987 the Central Committee observed : “But the fight to oust the Rajiv regime requires the broadest understanding and unity of all secular Opposition parties, unity between these and the Left and democratic forces. It is a gigantic battle for people’s unity against the notorious regime which should be carried on by mobilizing all the forces prepared to take a stand against the present regime.”

2.106 There have been constant endeavours on our part to bring about understanding with these parties. Constant dialogue, meetings of non-Congress(I) Chief Ministers and co-operation on the floor of the Parliament, all served to isolate the Congress(I) and create a growing understanding between us and these parties, and a growing feeling of unity among the people. There were occasions also when sharp differences were revealed as during the last Presidential elections when the CPI(M) and the Left parties had decided to put up an independent candidate of their own. The differences, however, were later on squared and the Opposition was able to put up a common candidate.

2.107 For a long time, these parties were swayed by the idea of forging an understanding for purposes of elections, with all parties irrespective of their communal and reactionary views. However, the stand of the Left forces that they will co-operate and render full support only to parties with a secular image and parties which take a firm stand against all communal elements, created some impression, and the earlier idea of inviting all parties in their combination including the BJP was gradually dropped. It has to be remarked that the National Front of several parties which has been formed does not include the BJP as its constituent. To

that extent it is a welcome development born out of the struggle between the two lines of how to unite against the Congress(I) regime. Our Party has therefore welcomed the formation of the National Front as a step forward.

2.108 In relation to the National Front our Party has also criticized the conciliatory attitudes and concessions made to regional parties and the cryptic reference to non-alignment. Both these show that in an effort to get maximum electoral advantage the leaders of these parties have declined to give priority to all-India national interests and decided to compromise on important issues. The programme of the National Front particularly suffers from a total underestimation of the imperialist designs against our country and refuses to take a firm stand on the basic principles which should guide a foreign policy of non-alignment.

2.109 The leadership of secular bourgeois opposition parties, who draw their rural support from the same lobbies as the Congress(I) is lukewarm towards the struggle of the rural masses for implementation of agrarian reforms and minimum wages. In places it even opposes these struggles. Where the parties are in power in the States, their Governments are reluctant to implement agrarian reforms. While not relaxing the struggle of the peasant masses for these reforms, we have to pursue the struggle for drawing the Opposition parties into the common fight to oust the authoritarian Rajiv Government.

2.110 The struggle for an understanding with secular Opposition parties constitutes today an essential part of the struggle against the Rajiv regime and its success is necessary to defeat the Congress(I) in the coming elections.

Increased Influence of the Left

2.111 The increased influence of the CPI(M) and the Left forces is the result of our Party's courageous fight for national unity risking precious lives in the struggle. It is further the result of the performance of our Left Front Governments of West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura in the service of the common people. The defeat of the Congress(I) in the

West Bengal and Kerala Assembly elections further enhanced the prestige of the Party and the Left forces as a reliable force combating the Congress(I) rule. And finally the increased mass activity of the Party and its mass organizations in cooperation with the Left parties has played a very big role in enhancing the capacity of the Left forces to influence Indian developments.

2.112 While the spontaneous mass discontent was developing, the organized activity of the masses was also increasing. Between 1985 and 1987 the number of workers going on strike increased from 8,79,000 to 14,94,000 and the mandays lost from 11.4 million to 14.5 million. The CITU, its trade unions, the central organizations of other Left parties, the National Campaign Committee and industrial federations have been unitedly working to guide the working class struggles. The unity of the trade union movement continues to expand under the National Campaign Committee where the CITU plays a very important part. The State Government employees have waged many heroic battles for wage revision and other demands. The strike of the Bihar NGOs which lasted for 75 days before its successful termination, was the high watermark of the resistance of this section of the employees to the Congress(I) policy of passing the burden of the crisis on to the people. Equally striking is the progress of organized kisan and agricultural workers' activities. Since the Jubilee Session of the AIKS there has been constant agitation and activity, *Jail Bhara* and other forms of protests and demonstrations in cooperation with the Left parties, culminating in the December 9 Rally and finally the biggest kisan, agricultural workers action of September 1988.

2.113 The spectacular rise in the membership of the SFI and DYFI is the result of widespread mass actions, and the students protest strike of September 26, 1988 underlined the massive strength of the organized movement. The all-India strike of university and college teachers was another high watermark of resistance in which the Party played an important role. The women's organization and movement are also

registering rapid advance. The formation of the AIDWA, its growing activity and joint actions with other women's organizations have served to give a cohesive and common outlook to the movement as a whole. An important result of this was the joint stand of several women's organizations on the Central Government's National Perspective Plan For Women exposing its false claims and inadequacies and giving a critical analysis of the present day conditions concerning women.

2.114 In all these mass activities our Party and our mass organizations were in the thick of the struggle taking the initiative, cooperating with other mass organizations, Left parties, and overcoming hesitations and vacillations from several quarters. On several occasions our Party and its mass organizations had to bear the main responsibility to give a push to mass activity. It is because of this incessant mass activity on every front, including the fight against divisive forces, that our Party and Left forces are able to intervene on national issues and have a say in dealing with them. Increased mass activity of the Party and the Left forces must play a key role in enhancing the capacity of the Left forces to influence national politics.

Intensification of the Contradiction between the Ruling Party and the Left

2.115 In the general acceleration of the class conflict, the unification of the forces opposing the Congress(I) Government and the increasing weight of the Left forces in national politics, the role played by the Left-led Governments cannot be underestimated. By their defence of popular interests, their close links with the people, their extreme sensitivity to the woes and distress of the common man and their manifest readiness to do everything possible under the Constitution to protect the interests of the people, these Governments continue to rally larger and larger sections around the Left forces, both in their States and outside. The Left-led Governments have to function under the

serious constraints of the crisis and the hostility of the Central Government.

2.116 In West Bengal the continuous struggle to open a new avenues of employment for the people despite the Centre's discrimination, the concrete steps suggested to overcome the effects of closures and lockouts, the ready help rendered to the workers of all sections for immediate relief and the struggle against vested interests, the protection of the civil liberties of the people, the refusal to resort to any extraordinary measure despite the provocations of the Congress(I), the elections and the rule of the Panchayats, assurance to the peasantry against any arbitrary demands, the way in which the Gorkhaland problem was settled, and the stability of the Government—all these tremendously enhanced the prestige of the CPI(M) and the Left forces.

2.117 In Tripura, the special measures taken for the protection of the tribals, the setting up of the Autonomous District Council for tribal areas under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution, the provision for jobs for all weaker sections and the growing understanding between tribals and non-tribals continue to protect and increase the mass base of the CPI(M). This advance was achieved in the face of relentless attacks by the TNV and despite the Congress(I) machinations and conspiracies. The Congress(I) had to resort to terror and falsification of election results to steal into power.

2.118 In Kerala, the LDF Government was from the beginning under attack and every effort was made to block its functioning. But the ministry functioning under difficult circumstances with financial difficulties created by the Centre, shortage of food supplies, and other obstacles, was able to tide over the difficulties supported widely by the people and earned the goodwill of the masses. Taking many measures to protect the collapsing traditional industries, fighting the effects of the Central Government policy on exports from the State and meeting the provocative acts of the Congress(I) Opposition on the basis of accepted democratic

norms, the ministry has consolidated the hold of the Left forces over the common people.

2.119 The attack of the Congress(I) and Central Government is directed against the Left ministries which form advance outposts of the Indian democratic struggle. The fraudulent way in which the Congress(I) installed itself in power in Tripura falsifying election results and the terror regime it has launched in the small State since the election, show that the Rajiv Government is prepared to resort to any authoritarian measure to put its party in power. The intensity of the class struggle can be seen from the fact that the election was preceded by terror, by the use of TNV elements to create an atmosphere of murder, and by the intimidating presence of the para-military forces, and was followed by gang rapes of women and other atrocities. The induction of the army on the eve of the election without the knowledge of the State Ministry was a crude piece of chicanery worthy of Latin American dictators. And the war continues even now with hundreds forced to leave the State because of the lawless anarchy launched by anti-socials working in collusion with Congress(I).

2.120 If direct violence and use of para-military forces is used in Tripura to bring back the Congress(I) to power in Kerala, every kind of alliance and propaganda weapon is used to slander the Left Democratic Front Ministry led by the CPI(M). This is accompanied by the direct steps of the Central Government to create economic difficulties for the Ministry in the matter of food supply and financial obligations. The alliance of the Congress(I) and the Muslim League and the Catholic communalists backed by the RSS dominated BJP and the hostile Press, uses every event to rouse sectarian and communal feelings against the Left Front Government. But for the consistent mobilization of secular and democratic forces by the parties of the Left Democratic Front, the communal forces would have got the upperhand. The unscrupulous behaviour towards our Kerala Ministry continues and everyday Kerala sees agitations which are designed to spread communal feelings and animosities.

2.121 In West Bengal, the Congress(I) party organization again shows no scruples in circulating slanders and inventing fake issues for mass agitations. The increased influence and popularity of the Left Front Government in handling and settling the Gorkhaland agitation has isolated the Congress(I); its role during the critical days when national unity had to be defended was that of a neutral spectator. To overcome its isolation from the people the Congress(I) organizes agitations expressing concern for people's issues and demands. But generally the sole purpose behind it is to create conflict and law and order problems for the Left Front Government. Irresponsible charges and allegations are made against CPI(M) leaders of the Ministry, charges so absurd that some members of the Congress(I) themselves had to repudiate them. Rajiv Gandhi often joins in this game of irresponsible accusations. Last time when he was visiting the USA he told the Press that the Gorkhaland agitation was prolonged because of the unhelpful and intransigent attitude of the CPI(M). But since it is now realized that scandalous words and curses will not affect the Left Front Government, some Congress(I) leaders are openly inciting their followers to violence. A Congress(I) demonstration before the assembly had hurled powerful bombs on one occasion. During the Panchayat elections when the Congress(I) had no hope of winning many Panchayats, some Congress(I) leaders raised the false cry of intimidation and some of them called upon their followers to collect arms. This call for violent confrontation bespeaks of the heightened contradictions between the Left and the Congress(I).

Left Unity

2.122 It is obvious that in the present critical situation, when the threat of national disintegration is developing and the Opposition parties are unable to work out a bold plan to swing the masses to oust the Congress(I) party from power, Left unity and unity of the Left forces has to play a critical and vital role. The CPI(M) has to discharge its responsibil-

ity as a leading force of the Left, its responsibility as a party of the working class. As the Calcutta Congress observed : "The main task of fighting against the authoritarian drive of the ruling party, while meeting all the challenges to the nation, devolves on the Party and the Left forces. The Left and democratic front cannot be growingly built without the growing unity of the Left forces and without their capacity to launch massive united struggles against the authoritarian regime, its policy of suppression of democracy, its economic policies endangering the independence of the economy and the unbearable burden being imposed on the masses." Today when the Left has improved its influence in shaping national developments and has shown its capacity to launch independent mass actions, any rift in Left unity will have disruptive consequences and be a gift to the Congress(I). The people more and more look towards the Left and the CPI(M) as a reliable bastion of their fight against the Congress(I) rule.

2.123 It is a matter of satisfaction that during the years since the Twelfth Party Congress the cooperation and common activities of the Left forces have consistently increased. The constant cooperation among the Left parties in the Parliament, their joint approach to other parties in the Parliament, their firm and strong stand during the Presidential elections demarcating them from the opportunist stand of the Opposition parties, their united opposition to the communal forces and rejection of alliance with them, the organization of the anti-communal convention, their joint victory in Kerala and West Bengal elections, joint martyrdom in Punjab, their joint independent mass actions through trade unions and Kisan Sabhas, the 9th December Rally, the Bharat Bandh of 15th March, the innumerable trade union struggles and activities through the National Campaign Committee and other trade union federations of employees and public sector workers, joint activities of women's organizations and the mighty September campaign of peasants and agricultural workers—all have consolidated Left unity and enhanced

its prestige. All this has created a strong urge for uniting all the secular forces ranged against the Congress(I) regime forcing the reactionaries and communalists on the retreat.

2.124 This success has to be carried forward if the people's urge to depose the Congress(I) from power is to be realized. The CPI(M) considers Left unity and its further strengthening a matter of vital importance for immediate success against the Congress(I) and above all for building the Left and democratic front which is the only viable alternative to the present rule. The building of the Left and democratic front is not possible without the increased growth of Left forces and their unity.

2.125 While the narration of the common activities of the CPI(M) and the Left should lead to satisfaction, one cannot turn a blind eye to the fissiparous tendencies, to the weaknesses and even irresponsible behaviour of some Left parties which seem to revel in creating tensions. Such behaviour renders definite service to the Congress(I) whose falling prestige demands dissensions among its opponents. During the Panchayat elections in West Bengal, the CPI(M) was attacked by leaders of one party as social fascists, to the great delight of the Congress(I). Another partner in West Bengal makes it a point to come out with disruptive and fabricated charges. The CPI(M) cadres are maligned by another partner while all of them are participants in running the Left Front ministry. It is amazing that these organizations do not disown such malicious campaigns.

2.126 The usual complaint is of course the false charge of big brotherly attitude of the CPI(M). These parties and their leaders must take more seriously the question of protecting and strengthening Left unity. Otherwise they will be helping the Congress(I) in West Bengal to run down the Left Front and its ministry.

2.127 More serious is the situation in Andhra Pradesh, where the CPI State Council follows a line which is in direct contradiction with the line their Party follows in the rest of the country. The central leadership of the CPI generally

supports the line of isolating the Congress(I) and cooperating with the secular bourgeois parties while fighting the communal BJP. It has welcomed the formation of the National Front which has the TDP as the constituent and N.T. Rama Rao as its Chairman. But in Andhra Pradesh the State party concentrates attacks on the TDP Ministry, demands its resignation and directly or indirectly helps the Congress(I) in that State. And in pursuing its line it permits itself to indulge in violent and physical clashes with the CPI(M). This is nothing but disrupting the unity developing against the Congress(I) and rendering direct service to the ruling party. The Central CPI gives freedom to its Andhra unit to pursue its disruptive activity. In reality the Andhra unit continues the CPI's old line of looking upon all bourgeois Opposition parties as reactionary in comparison with the Congress(I). This is a dangerous trend which should be taken care of. Further in Assam, the CPI unit adopted the opportunist line of fully supporting the Assam Accord and supports the AGP Government in demanding its implementation even when it is against the interests of the minorities in the State.

2.128 It is obvious that while pursuing the objective of understanding with secular Opposition parties for isolating and defeating the Congress(I), the CPI(M) and the Left parties continue to defend the interests of the common man and where they come into conflict with the practice of the opposition non-Congress(I) Ministries, with the policies of these bourgeois Opposition parties, we criticize and oppose them. All anti-people, anti-democratic measures are to be opposed. All this however is done within the framework of maintaining the understanding with the Opposition party on the one hand, and the unity of the toiling masses on the other. But there can be no tailing behind any bourgeois party or ministry in the name of joint opposition to the Congress(I).

2.129 It is relevant to recall what the Twelfth Party Congress Resolution had to say on differences inside the Left and how to tackle them. "The Left parties represent various

viewpoints on matters of political importance and often have different assessments of the immediate political situation, of political parties, which often lead to divergence on tactical moves. Besides, as regards the class character of the Indian State, understanding of the revolutionary process and the stage of the revolution and its class needs, they widely differ. Joint actions on certain issues against the Congress(I) regime do not remove these differences which often affect current political activities.

2.130 "To overcome these difficulties and forge a united front without adversely affecting the course of the revolutionary movement requires patience and a firm and principled stand on basic policies. This also demands an ideological struggle and political debate from time to time against the erroneous position, estimates and tactics of some of these parties.

2.131 "For the CPI(M), forging and strengthening of Left unity is a crucial task and it must bend all its efforts to uphold the cause of unity, to repair the damages unthinkingly done by others and refrain from adopting anything but a principled attitude towards the question." The minimum that our Party expects of others is to carry out agreements and the line once they are jointly accepted and not allow lower units to go against them.

Naxalites

2.132 Some political parties consider the various Naxalite groups as part of the Left movement and some Left parties are showing a tendency to treat them as such. This, however, is a mistake. The Naxalite groups continue their activities in many places though some of them are forced to change their tactics and stand on some issues. Some of these groups have recently started legal activities and are trying to build trade unions and kisan organizations. Some have also entered the electoral field. By and large their activities and appeal adversely affect the growth of the Left forces and objectively they play a disruptive role. Their hostility towards the CPI(M) has not abated. Some of these groups in

the name of fighting the Congress(I) rule support and ally with divisive and secessionist forces. They are intensely hostile to the CPI(M)-led Governments. In Andhra, they carry on physical attacks on the CPI(M) cadres. These groups are intensely anti-Soviet. The Party must continue to fight their ideology and politics.

Concrete Conditions

2.133 It will be appropriate to recapitulate the concrete conditions under which we have to discharge our immediate tasks while working for the objective of our class' alternative.

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

Opportunistic forces use the situation for divisive purposes.

- (ix) The isolation of the Congress(I) is creating conditions for its electoral defeat but the class limitation of the bourgeois Opposition parties and their opportunist attitude to the BJP hinder the process of consolidating the anti-Congress(I) secular and democratic forces.
- (x) The CPI(M) and the Left forces have increased their influence in national politics. This calls for strengthening Left unity without which there is every possibility of a major part of the mass discontent petering out or being exploited by reactionary forces.
- (xi) A mass upsurge is fast developing all over the country. It is the task of the Left and the CPI(M) to guide and centralize it to change the correlation of class forces.
- (xii) It is only by intervening in the present situation, by defeating the Congress(I) in the next elections and frustrating all attempts of the communalists and pro-imperialist forces that the revolutionary forces can march ahead and strengthen the struggle for Left and democratic unity.
- (xiii) The Party must play its role by its initiative and unifying capacity.

Immediate Tasks

2.134 It is under these conditions that the Party has to discharge its immediate tasks and link them with the struggle for a Left and democratic front. The immediate task is to secure the ousting of the Rajiv Government in the coming elections while protecting the unity and integrity of the country against the divisive designs of imperialism and the secessionist and communal forces. There can be no compromise with these forces and popular victory in the elections must result in their rejection and repudiation. It is necessary therefore to mobilize all the bourgeois Opposition secular forces and the Left forces for a common fight against this Government of national disintegration and authoritarian attacks.

2.135 It is necessary to continue to strengthen Left unity and increase its weight in national politics by increased mass activities among all sections of the people.

2.136 It is necessary to increase the political activities of the Party, its activities to fight the destabilization designs of imperialism, communalist and secessionist forces, in defence of non-aligned foreign policy and overcome the weakness of bourgeois Opposition parties in this respect. It is necessary to popularize the achievements of the Left Front Governments and defend them against the attacks of the ruling party. It is further necessary to strengthen our independent mass activities in defence of the interests of the common man, strengthen the unity and activities of the mass organizations and promote growing unity in action with mass organizations belonging to other Left parties. This all-sided struggle is to be linked to the struggle to build up the Left and democratic front.

Struggle for Left and Democratic Front

2.137 This great effort to mobilize all the secular and progressive forces to oust the Rajiv Government, isolate the communalists and save national unity from the destabilizing designs of the imperialists constitutes an integral part of the Party's struggle for building a Left and democratic front. It is through this widening effort of the Party to build a common front in the immediate struggle that the Party and the Left forces will be able to change existing correlation of forces, and gradually place themselves at the head of the developing discontent. The Political Resolution of the Jullundhar Congress laid down as the foremost task of the Party to bring about a radical realignment of the political forces in the country, realignment that brings into existence a nation-wide front of Left and democratic forces which constitutes the only alternative to the bourgeois-landlord combinations. The Resolution of the Jullundhar Congress said, "to change the existing political relationship and bring

about a viable alternative force to lead the masses must be the constant aim of the political activities of the Party. The emergence of such a broad Left and democratic front will strengthen the revolutionary forces which alone can extricate the country from the long drawn-out political and economic crisis that has been steadily intensifying."

2.138 The struggle led by our Party, the performance of our Left Front Governments, the joint activities of the Left forces—all are steadily creating ground for a change in the correlation of class forces.

2.139 The front of Left and democratic forces is to be an instrument of achieving the People's Democratic Front, an instrument of mobilizing those classes and sections which during the course of revolutionary struggle become part of the People's Democratic Front. The CPI(M) is committed to struggle for the People's Democratic Front led by the working class, a front whose two main pillars are the peasants and agricultural workers, and the working class. There can be no escape from the misery of the capitalist path, the enslavement of the bourgeois-landlord rule except through a People's Democratic Revolution. The programme and the activities of the Left and democratic front are to be an instrument to build the People's Democratic Front.

2.140 The full programme of the Left and democratic front is at present a propaganda programme around which the advanced sections of the masses rally.

2.141 It is necessary to work out a proper programme for immediate actions of the Left and democratic forces. While propagating for the basic demands, it should contain demands for immediate agitation and action. An effective programme for this purpose must necessarily consist of the following :

- (1) Fight against the authoritarian drive, defence of democratic rights and their expansion; withdrawal of repressive legislations; withdrawal of the proposed trade and industrial disputes bills.
- (2) Defence of Left Front Governments; restructuring of Centre-State relations—more powers to the States.

- (3) Opposition to the Rajiv Government's economic policy; fight for the independence of the economy; fight against massacre of jobs in the name of promoting advanced technology.
- (4) Immediate nationalization of the jute and textile industries; take over and nationalization of closed concerns.
- (5) Against high prices, high taxation, for state trading in foodgrains.
- (6) Implementation of land reform and distribution of land; enactment of comprehensive central legislation to protect the rights of agricultural workers in relation to wage, living conditions and social benefits.
- (7) Urgent measures to provide employment opportunities, unemployment benefit to the unemployed.
- (8) Fight against divisive, separatist and communal forces.
- (9) Fight against atrocities and crimes against women; for equal rights and implementation of legal and constitutional rights for them.
- (10) To strive for universal primary education and eradication of illiteracy and for free, education up to secondary level and to fight against the elitist and anti-people essence of the new education policy.
- (11) Electoral reforms, proportional representation; right to vote for all above 18 years of age.
- (12) Defence of non-alignment, world peace, support to the struggle of the people of the neighbouring countries for democratic rights.

2.142 In addition, the programme should include the following demands from the charter adopted by the Calcutta Conclave : guarantee by the Union Government of adequate supply of essential commodities at reasonable prices; remunerative prices to be ensured for agricultural produce by adequate purchases through State agencies; increased production of consumption goods and expanding employment opportunities for all sections including small artisans and craftsmen; revival and expansion of the food-for-work pro-

gramme; right to work to be included as one of the fundamental rights in the Constitution; speedy implementation of existing land reforms and immediate assent to Land Reform Bills passed by State Legislatures; supply of cheap credit and inputs to the peasants; enforcement of minimum wages to farm workers and measures to improve their living conditions; reversal of anti-labour policies of the Union Government; withdrawal of the NSA, ESMA; acceptance of the demands formulated by the National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions and effective steps to prevent closures and lock-outs; restoration of the national policy of economic self-reliance, and fiscal, monetary and investment policies which encourage the big monopoly houses and multinational corporations to be abandoned; measures to end economic injustices and physical attacks on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, religious minorities, women and other weaker sections of society.

The Party

2.143 The Party takes its stand on proletarian internationalism, partisanship of the Socialist camp and unrelenting opposition to the impereialist camp and its ambitions of global domination.

2.144 The Party continues to uphold its understanding of the world situation based on the central contradiction of our time—the camp of Socialism versus the camp of imperialism. The developments of recent years have further shifted the balance against imperialism in favour of the forces standing for Socialism, democracy, national liberation and peace.

2.145 The CPI(M) upholds the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leading role of the Party and the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. The CPI(M) is the Party of the working class. It protects its proletarian character by continuously recruiting conscious workers into the Party and educating them in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism so that they are equipped to discharge their role inside the Party.

2.146 The Party lends its full support to the fight for peace waged by the world peace forces. It highly appreciates and fully supports the proposals of the USSR for reducing and finally eliminating nuclear weapons. The Party firmly opposes all forms of imperialist intervention to suppress the national liberation movements and expresses its unwavering solidarity with the liberation struggles.

2.147 The increase in the political influence of the Party with the strength of the mass organizations led by it exceeding 22 million, imposes a very heavy ideological and organizational responsibility on the Party. The situation demands that the Party, its leaders and ranks firmly uphold the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

2.148 Notwithstanding the widespread mass activities of our mass organizations and the Party, the organizational spread of our Party is moving at a very slow pace. The major part of our membership is concentrated in three or four States with a greater part of India having a slender membership. The last three years have witnessed only marginal growth in some States. Considering the mass activity that has been constantly increasing there is no reason for this lag except an attitude of negligence and indifference towards new recruitment and Party building. All claims to lead the battle against the capitalist path will turn hollow if a massive Party relying on widespread membership in all States, able to have its detachments functioning in every sphere of national and social life, and with wide ramifications of ties with all sections of people is not rapidly organized. Only such a Party basing itself on Marxism-Leninism will be able to play a leading role in the battle for People's Democracy. To growingly build such a Party worthy of the cause which it upholds, worthy of the sacrifices of our cadres and of our people, constitutes an urgent task and all units must seriously undertake it.

2.149 The CPI(M) calls upon all progressive forces, the entire Indian people to realize the dangerous situation confronting our country. Our democratic rights are under attack

under the authoritarian drive; the self-reliance and independence of our economy is being endangered; national unity is under constant attack; the secessionist, divisive and communal forces are rallying to bury national unity; imperialism is resorting to interventionist devices to destabilize our country and change its policy of non-alignment.

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

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

Political-Organizational Report*

Adopted by the Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M), held at Trivandrum (now Thiruvananthapuram) from December 27, 1988 to January 1, 1989

PART-I

Political-Organizational Report

The three years since the Twelfth Party Congress have been years of momentous developments in the international arena. The forces of peace, democracy and Socialism have gained an edge over the forces of war and aggression.

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

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

This change in the situation and the victories of the world

*Published as a booklet in July 1989.

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

The declaration that the Soviet Union would never be the first to use nuclear weapons, and a similar declaration by China, showed to the people of the world that whereas the Socialist countries stand for peace, it is imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, which is driving the world towards war. It was due to the initiatives of the Soviet Union and the campaign launched by the world forces fighting for peace, that the three summits between the USA and the USSR could take place.

The 19th Party Conference of the CPSU held on June 28, 1988, taking note of the changes in favour of peace, rightly warned that while the threat of war has been forestalled, it does not contradict the conclusion that the threat of war has yet to be removed, and no illusions are to be harboured on this score. A proper understanding is required while taking note of the changed correlation of forces. It has to be understood that while a situation has been created where nuclear war can be averted, in order to defeat the imperialist manoeuvres the struggle for peace has to be further strengthened.

But the situation still remains complicated; as Comrade

Gorbachev put it 'if one reads international developments in recent years perhaps everyone would agree that the situation in the world in 1987 was better than in 1986, while 1989 will be better than the current year. I am saying this relying on well-known facts, the first step in the field of nuclear disarmament and settlement of regional conflicts and certain easing of confrontations on the international scene as a whole. We have not yet passed the point beyond which it would be impossible to return to the former state of hostility, mutual distrust and feverish military build up. . . The matter at issue is not only the activeness of extreme right-wing, reactionary forces which do not like this current development.'

'A deficit of responsibility for the future, which makes itself felt in the policies of some of our Western partners, and a desire to use the current situation for selfish interests ignoring possible baneful consequences for international cooperation, may prove an even more dangerous factor.' (Emphasis added)

This reality must always be borne in mind while strengthening the struggle for peace. In early 1988, Gorbachev had to deliver another warning. Warning the USA about the SDI Project in his NBC interview he said, 'Well, it is really hard to say what the Soviet Union is not doing; Soviet Union is practically doing everything that the United States is doing. I will say we are engaged in basic research which relates to those aspects which are covered by SDI in the United States. But we will not build an SDI. We will not deploy SDI and we call upon the U.S. to act similarly. If the Americans fail to heed this call we will find a response that will be ten to a hundred times cheaper, but then the guilt, blame will be with the Americans, with the U.S. Administration (*International Affairs* No. 4, 1988).

The Central Committee in its documents on ideological differences reasserted its understanding of the sharpening of the major contradictions in the international world, expressed its differences with the formulations made in the third section of Gorbachev's speech on the occasion of the

70th Anniversary of the October Revolution, the section entitled 'October Revolution and Today's World'. After dealing with the contradictions of the present period, their intensification and examining the new estimates made on the contradictions by Gorbachev, the document says: 'To sum up, the assessment of the international situation made in the third section "October Revolution and Today's World" in the anniversary report goes against our Party's understanding and it is directly contradictory to it. It breaks with the accepted understanding in the Communist movement which recognizes the sharpening contradictions of the present world, the growing intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, the growing instability of the imperialist capitalist system, the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, the growing resistance of the Third World to imperialist exploitation, the rising power of the socialist camp and shift in the balance of forces in favour of socialism, the working class and the liberation movement. The report gives due recognition to the developing peace movement as an integral part of the world revolutionary process, to the vital role played by the Soviet Union in defending peace and the rapid growth of the peace movement which continues to reach wider and wider sections often becoming a very powerful force in the advanced countries of the West.

'It is a matter of great surprise that the report hardly takes note of the general crisis of capitalism which provides the soil for intensification of the class struggle and the contradictions. On the other hand, it is advocated that the imperialist system in its own interests will seek some compromise with the working class and the Third World countries. It is presented as if the imperialist system is entering upon a new period of stabilization and expansion and the revolutionary movement will have to be carried on in a low key. This understanding liquidates the understanding of the present epoch, its transitional character and prospects of the advance of the world movement.'

Intensified Liberation Struggles

The intensified struggles of Third World countries against American imperialism are euphemistically described as regional conflicts. They are made to appear as if they are conflicts between some Third World countries eliminating the imperialist role of incitement and aggression. These struggles, whether against apartheid or the freedom of Namibia, Angola, Palestine and taking place in the background of the favourable changes in the balance of world forces, have been immensely intensified in recent years, and do whatever it could, imperialism was unable to settle them through force. Today, because of the persistent struggle and sacrifice of the people concerned, helped by the forces of peace, freedom and socialism, imperialism and its agencies are often forced to talk about dialogue and agreement though they have absolutely no intention of really reaching an abiding agreement based on the democratic rights of the people concerned. What importance they attach to agreements and accords is seen from their complete violation of the Accord on Afghanistan. Forced to sign some of these agreements imperialists and reactionaries are trying to sabotage them.

Another significant development is an upsurge in different countries against apartheid and racism, against military rule and various forms of dictatorship. The struggle of the South African people against apartheid has assumed new proportions. There is a powerful world-wide demand for the release of Nelson Mandela and world-wide support for the fighting people of South Africa against racism and apartheid. This period witnessed the historic uprising in the Western Bank and Gaza Strip by the Palestinian people which has created a new situation. The King of Jordan had to agree to an independent Palestine State on the West Bank, and the PNC declared the formation of an independent state on the West Bank and Gaza Strip with Jerusalem as its capital. It also decided to form a Government-in-exile.

The fascist Pinochet dictatorship in Chile was forced to hold a referendum in which the people voted in favour of

democracy, defying the machinery of repression and terror. Pinochet is still manoeuvring to by-pass the determined will of the people.

Recently Burma has seen another big upsurge against one-party rule of the army and General Ne Win, and the mass movement demands the formation of a democratic government through elections.

The people of Bangladesh have been participating in big struggles for restoration of democracy.

The people of Pakistan, through a prolonged struggle against the military regime and for restoration of democracy, have secured a big victory. After eleven years of struggle a popular Government headed by Ms. Benazir Bhutto has been installed.

But all this should not lead us to complacency. Though forced to retreat time and again, imperialism resorts to new manoeuvres to perpetuate its exploitation and to bar the way to social changes in the developing countries.

On Contradictions

We have explained at length our position on fundamental contradictions in the political resolution. They are getting aggravated and we do not want to repeat what has been stated there. We want to make it clear that we do not agree with those who say that the fundamental contradictions are being modified, with the logic that perhaps without eliminating them a solution could be found. This is against the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism and has been explained in the May 1988 Central Committee Resolution. It is very clear that all the four fundamental contradictions are getting intensified. They have been dealt with above, on the question of war and peace.

The U.S., U.K. and West German Governments continue to support the racist regime of South Africa which is out to maintain the odious apartheid regime and which is constantly defying the U.N. Resolution on Namibian independence. Even after the agreement on the withdrawal of Cuban

troops from Angola within 27 months, they try to link up this question with that of Namibian independence. World imperialism is making all efforts at trying to dilute the content of U.N. Resolution No. 435 by reducing the strength of the U.N. Peace Keeping forces. The Non-Aligned Movement, the progressive forces the world over are correctly demanding the strict implementation of this Resolution so that free and fair elections are held during Namibia's transition to independence and not allowing the South African forces to interfere. The Moroccan regime backed by U.S. imperialism is still not prepared to implement the U.N. Resolution on Independence on Western Sahara. (Subsequently the King of Morocco met with the President of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic and started negotiations to end the conflict. This is a major victory for the Polisario fighters.) The U.S. imperialists are encouraging the Contras not to come to a settlement with the Government of Nicaragua, which is faced with the constant aggression and disruption of peaceful life. Nicaragua fights on to preserve its independence in difficult conditions. (The Summit of the Central American Presidents held after the Party Congress, in February 1989, has been an event of immense significance and a victory for the revolutionary forces in the region. The agreement to stop all military aid to the Contras and to rehabilitate them accompanied by the general elections in Nicaragua which were already due to be held in 1990 has been a severe blow to U.S. imperialist designs in the region.)

The USA is determined to prevent any progress in talks for lessening tension in the Korean Peninsula for reunification of the Korean nation. Its troops and nuclear stockpiles in South Korea are a serious menace to peace in that region. Imperialism even now does not hesitate to intervene in the internal affairs of any country to perpetuate reactionary regimes throttling the democratic rights of the people. It lends its support to dictatorial and military regimes, whose main job is to brutally suppress the democratic movement in those countries. The Government of the People's Republic of

Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people have fought off all attempts to destabilize the country by the imperialist backed intervention from the Thailand border. They are making progress towards setting up of a government of national reconciliation.

With this policy of creating tensions in different regions the Asian Pacific region has become a danger spot where, in the Philippines, South Korea, Indian and Pacific Oceans and Pakistan, imperialism continues to strengthen its bases with nuclear weapons. It thwarts the holding of the Conference on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace despite the U.N. Resolution of 1971. The USA continues to strengthen its military base in Diego Garcia in total disregard of the legitimate demand of Mauritius for the return of the Islands. All these pose a grave threat to peace. But the healthy manifestation of the people asserting their will everywhere can be seen. On the demand for Korean unification, on the withdrawal of U.S. bases from the Philippines, Diego Garcia and other places, for creation of zones of peace—all these demands are gathering wider and wider popular support. The people are no more willing to tolerate military and dictatorial regimes.

The Second World War started as a conflict between imperialist powers—an expression of the acute contradictions between imperialist powers. But the change in the balance of class forces after the victory of the Soviet Union in the anti-fascist war and the emergence of the United States of America as the dominant power among the imperialists, prevented the inter-imperialist contradictions taking an extreme form. As Gorbachev puts it in his 70th Anniversary speech: 'Today the situation is different, it is not only the lesson of the past, but also the fear of sapping its own strength in the face of Socialism, by now a world system, that has prevented capitalism from allowing its internal contradictions to go to extremes.'

Our document correctly points out the significance of this. It says : 'The report correctly states that war among

imperialist powers has not broken out because of fear of sapping their strength in the face of socialism. What does this show? The intensification of contradiction between imperialism and socialism and subordination of intra-imperialist contradictions to the needs of the basic contradictions of our period.' (Central Committee Resolution 'On Certain Ideological Questions')

Inter-imperialist contradictions not only get expressed in trade and currency wars, but very often take the form of organizing and encouraging armed local conflicts among Third World countries whom they want to be their clients. In the last few decades scores of such conflicts have been organized to ensure each its share of neo-colonialist exploitation. Consequently arms trade has become a rich source of profit for all imperialist powers.

In relation to the Third World countries, after the success of the national liberation movements and collapse of the old colonial order, it has become very difficult for the imperialists to establish direct rule over Third World countries, or directly intervene militarily to subjugate new territories, though there are instances of direct military intervention as in Grenada and Libya. But today, along with the methods of neo-colonialist exploitation, debt-burden, robbery through trade, etc., imperialism uses insurgency against democratic regimes, support reactionary classes, military help to dictatorial regimes, to keep in check the revolt against exploitation and domination. The intervention in Afghanistan, the support to Israel and South Africa, the pouring in of arms to Pakistan, the support to Khalistanis, are all methods of indirect armed intervention in one form or another. The latter methods are used when the exploited in a country are no longer content to accept their status as objects of neo-colonial exploitation. It is because of this that in several countries the people have to carry on a prolonged armed struggle against imperialist agencies.

Therefore it is not a question of modification of contradictions.

Revolutionary Movements and the Role of the World Communist Movement

The Resolution of the Twelfth Congress had stated : 'While correctly assigning importance to the policy of non-alignment of the governments of these countries, some Communist parties and Socialist countries underestimate the importance of the people's struggle in Third World countries and concentrate their attention only on the ruling governments. This does great harm to the anti-imperialist struggle when the people of these countries are forging ahead decisively to wage an irreconcilable fight. Today the contradictions between the people and imperialism have sharpened beyond measure, and it will be thoroughly disruptive to underestimate the importance of the people's struggle for democracy freedom and economic advance in these countries.'

This tendency still persists and compromises the position of the Socialist countries and the world Communist movement in the eyes of the people. While it is necessary to strengthen relations between the Socialist countries and the governments of the newly liberated countries which are playing an important role in the struggle for peace, it is also to be realized that only the strengthening of the working class and the democratic movements in these countries can guarantee success in the struggle against imperialism. It is necessary for the world Communist movement to express solidarity with the working class and other toiling people struggling in their countries in defence of their interests and for social advance.

Our Role in Peace Movement

In the report of the Twelfth Congress we had pointed out the weakness of the peace movement in our country and the necessity to overcome the lag. During the last three years we have succeeded to a great extent in broadening the base of our peace movement and mobilizing the people behind it. Since our people have not gone through the horrifying experience of the devastating effects of the two world wars which most of the European countries have, and have had

no experience of a nuclear bomb as the Japanese have, our people are not conscious of the danger threatening the entire humanity, including ourselves. Nor are the political parties of the country in general—ruling or the Opposition, except the Left—interested in making the people aware of the threat of war against which they have to fight along with their brethren in several other countries. The peace movement, therefore, is weaker here than in other countries. It is for us, along with other Left and democratic forces, to develop a powerful peace movement. This is all the more necessary because of India's important role in world affairs. It must be understood that if India does not take a firm position in support of the forces of peace, the correlation of forces in the world changes, which would be very detrimental to the world struggles for peace in which we are very much interested. In order to see that India takes a consistent position we have to take the issue of peace to the mass of our people, especially the working class, peasants, youth, students, women, intelligentsia and others.

During the last three years our Party took certain initiatives to bring together many political parties, individuals and mass organizations on a common platform on the issue of world peace. These efforts culminated in the successful holding of a mass meeting in November 1986, on the eve of Comrade Gorbachev's visit and the signing of the Delhi Declaration. A National Campaign Committee was also set up with the aim of actively uniting the people of our country in the struggle for world peace. However, some of the constituents did not show sufficient interest in carrying the process forward. We therefore had to fall on our independent initiative.

The Party and the mass organizations have taken up the task of mobilizing the people on the issue of world peace and anti-imperialism. The observation of the World Peace Day on September 1 all over the country, the observance of the world peace wave as a part of the international campaign on October 24, 1987, the observance of Hiroshima, Nagasaki days, the big solidarity campaigns organized in

support of the Nicaraguan Revolution and the substantial monetary help given to them, the subsequent big campaigns demanding the release of Nelson Mandela, the highlight of which was the massive rally in Calcutta on September 1, 1988, which combined the slogan of fight for world peace with the struggle against imperialism focussing the struggle of South African people and the release of Nelson Mandela, are some of the actions in which our Party and the mass organizations led by it played an important role.

Meanwhile, after prolonged discussions with the CPI we arrived at an agreement to make the AIPSO as broadbased as possible embracing different political parties, mass organizations, groups and individuals and ensuring its democratic functioning. We have been working in the AIPSO since April 1987. Having done this at the all-India level and begun functioning in some States, our Party is striving to be fully involved with the building and development of the movement around AIPSO. We played an important part in making the 7th Congress of the AIPSO which was held in Delhi from November 24 to 28, 1988, a success. Our leadership actively participated in the conference not only on the organizational side, but on the political side as well. Comrade Jyoti Basu was specially asked to address the concluding session, Comrades EMS and Surjeet delivered speeches in the Conference and Comrades Sitaram and Surjeet participated in the preparation of all the documents.

The importance of developing the peace movement in the country cannot be underestimated since neither the ruling party is interested in taking this issue to the masses, nor are the bourgeois Opposition parties in general interested in the struggle for peace and non-alignment, since that is subscribed to by the ruling party. It is, therefore, the task for our Party and its Leftist allies, along with such other political forces as are prepared to cooperate, to involve all the fighting organizations of the working people in building a powerful peace movement.

World Communist Movement

Another important development in the international sphere is the growing unity of the international Communist movement and the improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and China, the two big Socialist countries. There is a common approach on the question of nuclear war. The Soviet Union and China both have declared that they will not be the first to use nuclear weapons. Both stand for elimination of nuclear weapons and for disarmament. This has strengthened the forces of peace very much and enhanced the role of the socialist countries in world affairs.

There have been sharp differences inside the movement based on ideological perception and deviations. Sometimes they led to conflicts also. These were partly due to a different concrete situation faced by several parties, and partly to certain lapses of ideological perception and adherence. Sometimes the search for concrete application led to abandonment of the basic outlook. But in spite of this the world Communist movement, as a whole, continues to discharge its responsibility towards the vital question of world peace, the fight against nuclear war and against the depredations of imperialism. Besides, in recent years, the old barriers are being removed. Bilateral discussions are being held among Communist parties to come to a common understanding of the complicated world situation and the concrete problems faced by each party in its country. These developments create grounds for strengthening Communist unity.

Fortyfive years back when the International was dissolved in 1943, it was clearly stated that the period when the international Communist movement used to be guided from one centre is gone. Since the movement has developed, the national units of the Communist movement are facing entirely different problems and they cannot be guided from one centre. Subsequently some efforts were made to revive some centres in one form or the other such as the setting up of the Cominform. Later international conferences were convened with a view to arriving at a common document by

not only making assessments of the international situation, but also the situation in different countries and regions. These efforts later on had to be abandoned since centralized guidance and binding decisions are no more possible for all the Communist parties.

This does not mean that the pooling of experiences of various contingents of the Communist movement are not to be undertaken, or that bilateral discussion and collective exchanges and common political action is not to be undertaken. In fact, it is necessary to have bilateral, multilateral, regional and collective exchanges, which are very important in the changing world situation. These have to take place on the basis of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism which alone can enable the Communist parties to discharge their national and international responsibilities. undoubtedly the new relationship between the Communist parties which is being talked about is based on the recognition of various Communist parties, non-interference in each other's affairs and equality, with no party enjoying the monopoly of truth. It is for the fraternal party in the individual country concerned to take decisions on the line to be adopted in that country. But this envisaged adherence to be fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism which binds all the Communist parties, the various contingents into one movement—the world Communist movement. The independence and equality of different parties does not mean their independence from the science of scientific socialism, the fundamental ideology on the basis of which Communist parties are formed.

Our Party will continue to struggle for the unity of the Communist movement based on the principles of proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism.

PART-II

National Developments

The Twelfth Congress of our Party had observed :

‘The developments of the last four years show that these contradictions have assumed a still sharper form, they are

assuming new manifestations, and some entirely new problems and responsibilities have arisen. Without taking into consideration the totality of the situation, the Party will not be in a position to provide correct guidelines for its activities.

'1. In spite of the loss of influence after the parliamentary elections, the ruling party under Rajiv Gandhi rouses hope among wide sections that something new is happening. The Punjab Accord, the Assam settlement and the promises of a new clean administration are accepted by large sections as a Congress(I) attempt to strike a new path.

'2. The political crisis of the system expresses itself in the drive towards authoritarianism. The economic crisis leading to the Emergence of the new economic policy imposing new burdens on the people and compromising the interests of the country, sharpens the conflict between the people and the ruling party and the bourgeois-landlord government, which the ruling party will try to solve by strengthening authoritarianism in the Government. The party and the people will be faced with increased reliance on authoritarian measures in the drive for one-party rule.

'3. The fight against the danger of one-party rule takes place when national unity is under constant attack; when it is being endangered by the compromising policies of the ruling party, by the opportunist attitude of the bourgeois opposition parties and directly assailed by imperialists and secessionist elements.

'4. The contradiction with imperialism has sharpened and has taken an interventionist form. The conspiracy to dismember India is no longer concealed. But neither the ruling party nor the bourgeois Opposition parties expose this and warn the people.

'5. While adult franchise and the right to vote continue, and India continues to have parliamentary democracy, its basis is being rapidly undermined by complete mal administration at the bottom. Parliamentary and democratic norms are rapidly collapsing in the day-to-day administration.

'6. The fruits of compromise with feudal conditions are

being fully reaped. Not only have the challenges of religious fundamentalism intensified, but the toilers are being divided and set into hostile warring camps on the question of reservation. Instead of a common class movement against unemployment, we are getting a fratricidal struggle over jobs. The problem of maintaining working class and toilers' unity is becoming acute.

'7. The authoritarian drive necessarily leads to greater concentration of power at the Centre. The attack against democratic rights and the sharpened conflict over Centre-State relations sharpens the contradictions between the ruling and the oppositional bourgeois parties.

'8. The non-aligned foreign policy of the country cannot be taken for granted. At present it is almost exclusively dependent on the will of the ruling party. Inside the Congress(I) all are not closely committed to it. The pro-West influence is not negligible. Many do not share the hatred of imperialism born out of the freedom struggle. The bourgeois Opposition parties are mostly opposed to the present policy of non-alignment and would prefer a tilt in the Western direction. The masses are virtually disarmed in relation to the question of foreign policy. The new economic policy must inevitably pressurize the Government in the direction of the West and one big safeguard against imperialist influence and penetration may be endangered.

'9. The conflict between the ruling party and the Left is sharpening and the Left Front Governments are under constant attack.

'10. The struggle against the growing authoritarian danger is to be carried on in the context of the totality of these conditions all of which are parts of the system. This is all the more so since the present stage of revolution in our country is anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly. The immediate struggle against the authoritarian danger cannot be divorced from the struggle to defend national unity, independence of the economy, the struggle to defend and strengthen the foreign policy of non-alignment and the struggle

against imperialist plans of destabilization. Our immediate tactics are to be related to our strategic objective of People's Democracy.'

The three years since the Calcutta Congress have proved the correctness of the analysis and the warnings. It has, however, to be added that the assaults of the feudal and secessionist forces has developed a ferocious offensive, which was foreseen earlier and its impact and meaning are not fully understood by the people. The rapid deterioration of the economic situation has not only imposed misery on the people. Official policies to meet it compromise and endanger Indian industry and threaten the independence of our economy. The heavy price which the people have to pay has resulted in a mighty outburst of mass anger which the Central Committee noted earlier and called upon our units to mobilize.

The Calcutta Party Congress had warned against the growing intervention of imperialism and its agencies against our country. The contradiction between the Indian people and imperialism expressed itself in the growing economic pressures of the World Bank, pressures against our foreign policy, and direct support to the secessionist and communal forces to destabilize the Indian polity. The Party understood that the bourgeois Opposition parties generally turn a blind eye to these developments, considering them as the headache of the ruling party. Our Party, ever vigilant against imperialist conspiracies, exposes them and warns the people against the coming dangers.

It is because of this that our Party has been foremost in exposing the dangerous course of Rajiv Gandhi's economic policy.

As early as July 1986 the Central Committee warned that Rajiv Gandhi's new economic policy was leading to liquidation of the public sector with the implementation of the Arjun Sengupta Committee Report. Simultaneously this policy opened India to the blast of foreign competition followed by open discrimination against Indian capital and the public sector in accepting bids for new projects, and distribution of

orders and contracts connected with the huge projects of the Government of India. There was so much discrimination in favour of certain foreign concerns, that the Union Industry Minister had to write a letter to the Petroleum Minister to safeguard the interests of indigenous concerns. The letter said that in the interests of developing indigenous capacity for the future gas pipe line project, BHEL should be given due consideration in the execution of the project so that its technical capacity gets established. This was followed by the protest from a big business paper which wrote editorially : 'The Union government's policy of favouring firms and non-resident Indians at the expense of the Indian exchequer has gone berserk. Though Indian project exports have already achieved substantial proportions no major or medium industrial enterprise can be launched in the country unless it is feathered by foreign collaboration. In the public sector the authorities routinely indulge in repetitive imports of the technology without batting an eyelid. Over-imports of steel, fertilizers, kits for TV sets or other electronic equipment from time to time are a scandal. Non-resident Indians are being offered, for years, higher interest rates for their bank deposits than the citizen at home, apart from preferment of a host of scarce assets ranging from popular stocks and shares to scooters.'

But the process of yielding to the pressures continued and the Central Committee protested against the continuation of this policy of granting concessions to foreign capital at the expense of Indian industry. To woo foreign capital the Prime Minister announced in his speech before the 29th Congress of the International Chambers of Commerce, rationalization of India's tax system i.e., more concessions to big capitalists, Indian and foreign, at the expense of the Indian people, and accelerated demolition of the system of controls and duties. He said, 'This will be a continuous process and we believe once we have touched a particular area and rationalized the system in that area, whether it is the controls, the excise duties, the custom duties, the taxation system, the local system,

then we should not tamper with that—and we will try to maintain that in the coming years.'

The same compromising policy was further seen in relation to the import of technology. In the earlier years it was India's policy to purchase technology outright from foreign sources, master it and through indigenous research further develop it. Indigenous research prevented permanent dependence on foreign suppliers. But the Central Committee Resolution of April, 1987, pointed out this simple safeguard no longer suits the immediate interests of the new economic policy. It does not suit the interests of foreign suppliers and some big Indian businessmen.

The result is that World Bank pressure on and management of the Indian economy is daily increasing, growingly calling for liquidation of the public sector, its privatization and removal of controls. The Central Committee Report January 4-7, 1988, observed in this connection:

'The World Bank is increasingly pressurizing the Government to liquidate the public sector. The Bank knows that the Indian economy is not in a position to reject its pressure and demands at present. In fact, Rajiv Gandhi in his recent tirade, was only voicing the Bank demand for the liquidation of the public sector, posing as a defender of the poor and the have-nots. The latest confidential report of the Bank on the steel industry urges partial privatization of the public sector steel industry in the name of restoring the health of steel mills in the public sector. The Bank report calls for willingness on the part of the Government to hand over management responsibility to a private group for a substantially less than 50 per cent share ownership by the private firm. The shrewd bankers, however, understand that such direct privatization may not be immediately possible and therefore caution that the political climate is not ripe for such a move, even for the present government, "which is far more market-oriented than any of its predecessors".'

Only our Party and the Central Committee have been constantly warning the people against this dangerous economic

development, calling upon the working class and the masses to understand the danger to economic self-reliance, and to fight back official policies. Trade unions in which our Party members and leaders are working, were successful in organizing an all-India public sector workers' strike to protest against the denigration of the public sector, and calling upon the Government to reverse its policies. While all our trade unions and our mass organizations are constantly referring to this danger, it cannot be said that the masses have fully grasped the significance of the perilous course pursued by the Rajiv Gandhi Government. Our Party has to redouble its efforts to see that the masses and all patriotic organizations are able to exercise their powerful strength to bring about a change in the official policies pursued by the Rajiv Government.

The entire burden of this economic policy falls on the common people, the workers, the peasants, the middle classes, the agricultural workers, a large section of whom are being growingly reduced to destitution. The Central Committee Resolution of August 1987 observed:

'Notwithstanding official claims to have contained the inflation rate, prices of daily necessities are continuously rising making it impossible for the mass of people to maintain their living standards, forcing them to economize on food and other necessities of life. The consumer price index number continues to rise, while the inadequate compensation against this price rise is only confined to certain strata of industrial workers and middle class employees, leaving the vast mass of the peasants, agricultural workers and workers in unorganized industries out of its purview. Over and above this, India's foreign debt obligations have risen rapidly and are creating an unstable situation regarding India's balance of payments position. A very substantial part of the export earnings is now already mortgaged to the payment of foreign debt. In the coming years the Government will be borrowing more from foreign sources which will increase the payment burden. It seems that the slightly concessional

rates at which India has been successful in negotiating commercial loans will be no longer possible in view of the uncertain political situation in India. At least this is what certain economic journals are forecasting.'

Several important industries like automobiles, scooters, and many others are facing a demand of recession. The textile and jute industries are already in the doldrums, and the Government is unable to rectify this situation.

The working class and the people are made victims of this industrial situation. To reduce the wage bill and establish the 'competitive' character of Indian economy, the Government is encouraging a massive computerization offensive in the services industries threatening the jobs of thousands of employees. The Government is also embarking upon a policy of curtailing the rights of the workers, taking steps to reduce their wages with productivity. In the private sector there is large-scale retrenchment, closures and lock-outs.

In the rural areas the offensive of the Government falls on the peasantry and agricultural workers. The minimum wage legislation is not implemented and the agricultural worker is left totally defenceless against the inflationary price rise. Against the fall in prices of certain commodities the peasantry is equally defenceless, with the Government accepting no responsibility to protect it against the vagaries of the market. In many states there are direct attempts to levy new imposts on the peasantry such as rise in electricity rates. Several State Governments are also resorting to coercive measures to force the destitute peasant to pay back his debts.

Spontaneous mass actions are therefore taking place all over India, against these measures of the Congress(I) Government. The CPI(M) and Left parties were able to organize one of the biggest rallies of peasants, agricultural workers and industrial workers on December 9, 1987, demanding a change in these policies and the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi. Since then, this massive discontent, where it is guided by the CPI(M) and the Left, is offering a strong democratic challenge to the Congress(I). But where the leadership of the

Left parties is lacking, there is every danger of this discontent being channelized or being guided into reactionary channels. The failure of the secular bourgeois opposition parties to mobilize this discontent for a common fight against the Congress(I), is weakening the democratic movement.

The Central Committee also took note of the dangerous development in connection with defence research. The Central Committee noted in its July 1986 Resolution:

'An extraordinary development, unlike anything in the past relates to the talks between the USA and India on matters connected with defence research and exchange of a number of delegations for this purpose. During the last year a number of steps have been taken by the Government of India to seek cooperation with the U.S. for defence research and development. A team of Indian scientists led by the Scientific Adviser to the Raksha Mantri (Defence Minister) visited the U.S. for two weeks during August, 1985, to discuss the feasibilities of cooperation with the USA for defence research and development.

'Prior to this, India was visited by U.S. Under-Secretary of State for Defence Policies, Fred Ickle, who visited the defence laboratories for research in Bangalore and Hyderabad. This was followed by the visit in January this year of a team led by Robert Dean, U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary for Politico-Military Affairs. This delegation was also allowed to visit important defence establishments. Another military delegation following Dean, announced that as a result of the Memorandum of Understanding reached between the two countries, sale of hi-tech equipment, mainly computers, has increased from 500 million dollars in 1984 to 1.3 billion dollars in 1985.

'Recently, another 30-member team led by U.S. Deputy Under-Secretary of Defence for International Programmes and Technology, Mr. Talbot Lindstrom, visited India and met senior Indian defence officials, including the Scientific Adviser to the Defence Minister, and visited defence production sites. The main purpose of the visit was to explore

possibilities for collaborating with India on the Light Combat Aircraft project and the Arjun battle tank project.

'These are ominous developments because they are connected with defence research. No previous government had trodden this path and opened India's defence research to the scrutiny of U.S. experts.'

The Central Committee, January 1988, Resolution states :

'It was reported in the Press that Indian administrative officers and police officials will be sent to America, to Harvard University and other places, to train themselves in American expertise. From the exposure of the CIA and other agencies, we fully know what American expertise consists of. It is based on evasion of constitutional laws, cheating the elected authorities, and lack of confidence in the people, all of whom are treated as enemies of the social order and administration. The training schools for these Indian administrators in the USA will be nurseries for training an anti-democratic, anti-people administration.'

Under the guidance of the Central Committee, the Party and the State Committees are engaged in the consistent exposure of all aspects of economic policies and warning to the people against American penetration in the defence industry and influx of foreign capital and multinationals in our economy.

Authoritarian Drive

The Calcutta Congress had warned against the growing authoritarian drive of the Rajiv Government. The three years since the Calcutta Congress have witnessed the unfolding of the authoritarian offensive against the people, invading their democratic rights. In the first place the rights of ordinary citizens, their liberty and security of life, are being reduced to a farce. They have no protection against police terror or the terror of anti-socials. Police stations under the Congress(I) regime have become agencies of terror and oppression against the common people. Rape and death in police custody have become common occurrences. Freedom is given to landlord

gangs to raid the house of Harijans and Adivasis and terrorize them. In mass struggles anti-trade union laws are fully used, and strikers are accused under fabricated charges. Strikes are illegalized, the Anti-terrorist Act is used against trade unions. The terror in Tripura, the use of the army to influence the election results, the rape of women, and the falsification of the election results, constitute a high watermark of the authoritarian drive. The ESMA, NSA, and Disturbed Areas Act, are used to meet the discontent of the masses, groaning under the weight of massive unemployment and misery. The 59th Amendment Act hangs the sword of Emergency over the people. The attempt to muzzle the Press through the Defamation Act was repulsed only with the united might of the Press, the people and all Opposition parties.

At the same time unconstitutional means are resorted to, to disturb the functioning of the non-Congress(I) governments. In a blatant way the centrally-appointed Governors are used to override decisions of elected Assemblies or the recommendations of Ministries. The Central Government concentrates all its venom against the Left Front Governments of Kerala and West Bengal. Our Party has repeatedly protested against the blatant misuse of Central power to obstruct and sabotage West Bengal projects of development. Nothing could be more scandalous than the sabotage of the Bakreshwar Thermal Power and Haldia Petroleum projects by the Central Government. This is part of its intensified attack against the CPI(M) and the Left.

The venom of propaganda is concentrated on the Left Front-ruled States. In Kerala, the communal and Congress(I) alliance backed by the BJP, the RSS and by the vitriolic Press, uses every excuse and every event to rouse sectional and communal feelings against the Left Front Government. Every time the Left parties have to fully mobilize the people to beat back these attacks. The ruling party and the Central Government used the Reserve Bank of India mechanism to stop payments to the Kerala State Government account under the plea of overdraft. This was nothing but a discriminatory

measure deliberately taken not only to create difficulties for the Left Front Government, but also to rouse communal feelings among the Christian employees who were in need of their salaries on the eve of Christmas. In fact this over-draft was caused by the actions and misdeeds of the earlier Congress(I) ministry but the Left Front Ministry was being penalized for it.

The Party in the Forefront of the Fight for National Unity

In the three years since the Calcutta Congress the destabilizing conspiracies of imperialism have increased. There has been a constant and unprecedented attack of communal forces—forces of Hindu-Muslim-Sikh fundamentalism—on the unity of the country. As has been repeatedly pointed out in the Central Committee documents, these are no ordinary communal riots and conflicts, but conflicts deliberately engineered with financial aid from abroad to break Indian unity. This is nothing but an attack of the old anti-national feudal forces and feudal ideology, held in check during the course of the anti-imperialist movement, an attack of the most conservative forces in Indian society. The criminal opportunism of the Congress(I) helps these forces, as the Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid episode shows. The Congress(I) often allies with these forces to secure election advantage.

In this situation the main burden of warning and mobilizing the people against the rise of these conservative forces falls on our Party and the Left forces. Our Party has been playing a very important role in mobilizing public opinion to isolate these forces. Their isolation in the last Kerala elections and the formation of electoral combinations of secular and Left parties to defeat the Congress(I) was welcomed by patriotic opinion. The spotless record of the Left forces and the Left Front Governments in defeating the reactionaries in West Bengal, and keeping the state free from communal outbursts, was another important victory. Everywhere our Party wages a relentless struggle to defeat the communal

disruptors, and exposes both Hindu and Muslim fundamentalism while defending the rights of the Muslim minority. It is no accident that only the Party of the working class, and its Left allies, are able to see the danger, while the bourgeois Opposition parties take a neutral attitude to this challenge to national unity. In fighting this menace of communal disruption our Party is really fighting the challenge of feudal reaction and carrying out its responsibility towards defeating of these forces, which is an essential part of the People's Democratic Revolution.

In fighting the challenge of Muslim fundamentalism, our Party understands that part of the appeal of fundamentalism is due to the fact that the Muslim minority in our country does not enjoy either a sense of security, or a sense of equality, and there is in many respects obvious discrimination against them. All this follows from the incapacity of a bourgeois-landlord regime of a newly-liberated country to ensure the guaranteed fundamental right of a religious minority. Our Party recognizes that a successful fight against Islamic fundamentalism cannot be carried out without the relentless defence of the basic rights of the Muslim minority, and without our mass intervention when, during the riots, they are made the targets of murderous attacks. It is because of our continuous intervention in earlier years in West Bengal and elsewhere, that we have in that State secured the confidence of the minority.

The fight for national unity and carrying out our anti-feudal responsibility, demands that no quarter should be given to these forces out of opportunist electoral considerations. Organizations like the BJP and the RSS which, while mouthing some nationalist slogans, carry on a line of hatred and animosity against the Muslim minority, cannot be considered as allies in any democratic movement to oust the Congress(I). It is known that what the RSS and BJP preach is a Hindu theocratic state, which will definitely alienate the entire non-Hindu mass and create permanent barriers inside the country. Parties and people who are not thinking in terms of

social transformation, and who are averse to understanding the prevailing situation in class terms do not flinch from allying with anybody in an electoral conflict. But our Party, which considers the electoral struggle itself as part of the class struggle to change the balance of class forces, cannot take an opportunist attitude towards manifestations of communal chauvinists like that of the RSS and the BJP. It is because of this that our Party has been trying to impress the secular Opposition bourgeois parties to exclude all alliance with the communal parties in the fight against the Congress(I) rule. Consistent and militant national unity cannot be forged on the basis of compromise with such communal and feudal forces. That is why our Party has been trying to develop greater and greater understanding between the Left parties and the secular Opposition parties with a view to defeating the Congress(I) and isolating the dark forces of communal reaction. In the last three years this has been our consistent stand and our consistent advice to all forces which care for national unity and stand for the advance of democracy. And there is no doubt that our line has impressed large sections of the people, and sometimes creates waverings even in the opportunist circles who want to make a bee-line for alliance with communal forces.

In relation to the secessionist challenge, again our Party, from the beginning, has been in the forefront of the struggle against it. The way in which our Party in West Bengal managed to deal with the secessionist movement in Darjeeling district, intervened with the masses to defeat the extremists, and finally persuaded the movement's top leaders to agree to a solution which protects national unity, is appreciated by all patriotic circles. More than 100 of our working class fighters from the tea gardens had to sacrifice their lives to ensure this result. They continue to uphold the banner of working class and national unity in the midst of all mercenary gangs and the feelings of alienation among large sections of the masses. It is again no accident that no other Party, whether the Congress(I) or any other party, was courageous enough

to intervene and save the situation, and bring the mass movement on to the path of common understanding and a common feeling of unity. This was because our Party understood the dual character of the movement, and understood that there were genuine grievances which were utilized by a few secessionist elements.

However, the recent election results in Darjeeling, not entirely unexpected, show that the call in the name of ethnic identity has exercised a powerful appeal over the mass of people, though they had been won over to give up secessionist demands. This calls for serious thought in reviewing our understanding regarding such ethnic and tribal problems.

The Party in these years continued the fight against the separatists in Assam, fighting the chauvinist anti-minority and anti-tribal policy of the AGP Government. It is unfortunate that the CPI in Assam often acts in support of the ruling party. The CPI(M) stand, however, is supported by the Congress(S). Once again the CPI(M) cadres had to make immense sacrifices to uphold the banner of national unity. The courageous fight carried on by our Tripura comrades to maintain the unity of the tribals and Bengalees constitutes another landmark. It is now realized that the Congress(I) was working in collusion with the TNV terrorists, financed from Bangladesh, to break up this unity, and was encouraging the campaign of murder and loot by these people. The CPI(M) and its cadres once again bore the brunt of this terror and attack and succeeded in keeping the tribals in the mainstream of national life. And finally in Punjab, the last three years have been years of continuous struggle by us against Khalistani secessionists. Nearly a hundred of our comrades and employees had to sacrifice their lives, inspiring thousands to stand by national unity. The only other Party sharing with us the burden of fighting the secessionists is the CPI, all others relying only on administrative measures.

While our cadres in the field continued their relentless struggle for national unity, the Central Committee made every

effort to mobilize political parties and the democratic forces to end the impasse in Punjab. But its efforts were sabotaged and defeated by the criminal opportunism of the ruling party. The Central Committee repeatedly called for the implementation of the Longowal Accord which would have pacified the situation, leading to the isolation of the Khalistanis and the fanatical Akal Takht. If such demands as transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab, release of the Jodhpur detenus and the distribution of canal waters had been met, the terrorists would have been put on the run. The Central Committee also closely watched the changing situation in Punjab and asked all political parties and the Government to support Barnala in his resistance to the Akal Takht. But the opportunist Rajiv Government which praised Barnala in the Presidential Address, suddenly dissolved his ministry and helped the forces of Sikh separatism.

The Report adopted by the April 1987 Central Committee meeting wrote about the turning point in Punjab and observed: 'Bourgeois politicians have finally awakened, and in a rare demonstration of unity they are supporting the Barnala Government which has taken a stand against the diktat of the Acting Head Priest of the Akal Takht and his efforts to oust him and seize the ministry for the supporters of Khalistan.

'It is really a battle between the elected representatives of the people, and religious authority, which has placed its services at the disposal of the secessionists and foreign imperialists. It is a battle between religious fundamentalism, which seeks to dominate Indian politics, and secular forces, to stand by the republican constitution.'

The bold stand by the Barnala Government led to rallying of all political parties including the Congress(I), on a common platform to politically fight the Khalistanis. This was an extremely important shift from exclusive reliance on the law and order machinery to combat terrorism to united political struggle to isolate the terrorists from the people. At long last the political parties were coming to the position long advocated by the CPI(M). Initially, the development

promised great prospects; public meetings and rallies were attended by enthusiastic crowds who responded to the call for national unity. If the process had gone on for a length of time, the political weight of all parties and growing appeal of national unity would have led to paralysation of the terrorist activities, as they would have been unable to count on the neutrality of the people.

But this was not to be. A treacherous blow was being prepared against the Barnala Government by Rajiv Gandhi and his Government whose immediate aim was to win the Haryana elections by hook or by crook. Within a month of expressing high praise for the Barnala Ministry in the President's Address to Parliament, the Rajiv Cabinet suddenly dismissed the Ministry without assigning any convincing reason.

Why this treachery; why this heinous crime? It repeats the same old sordid story of protecting the interests of the ruling Congress(I) at the expense of the nation. This monstrous coup against the elected Ministry was brought about to woo the electorate in the neighbouring state of Haryana which was going to the polls the following month. This was preceded by the Report of the Eradi Commission on distribution of waters between different states, which promised more water for Haryana than previously agreed to. The full electoral programme of the Congress(I) for winning over the Haryana electorate appeared to be non-transference of Chandigarh to Punjab, a new canal for conveying water to Haryana; more water for Haryana; Haryana's claims over Abohar and Fazilka; transfer of 70,000 acres of land from Punjab to Haryana; dismissal of the Barnala Government which was meant to convey the end of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord, a reactionary demand made by Devi Lal.

The result was that the Punjab problem was once more reduced to a law and order problem, sabotaging the united efforts of all political parties to isolate the anti-national Khalistanis and rouse mass resistance against them. The events following the dismissal of Barnala showed that the terrorists

who were feeling isolated, were again emboldened to engage in new spectacular killings.

The August 1987, Resolution added:

'The dismissal of the Barnala Government when it was taking a secular stand against the bigotry of the High Priests of the Akal Takht, was not only an attack on the election principle but a criminal misdeed against the fight for national unity. Barnala's dismissal meant disorganization of the political forces in Punjab which were coming together on a secular basis to fight and isolate the Khalistani terrorists. Barnala's stand against the Akal Takht to a great extent drew the line between the secular and religious forces, enabling the former to forge ahead. But Rajiv Gandhi stabbed the struggle in the back to win an electoral advantage in the Haryana elections. Once again Rajiv and the Congress(I) subordinated the interests of national unity to their electoral interests, and did not refrain from playing one community against another.'

It is obvious that the subsequent degeneration of Barnala could have been prevented had he been propped up in his resistance to the reactionary demands of the Akal Takht.

Demand for Rajiv's Resignation

The Calcutta Congress did not raise the demand for the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi; on the contrary, the Congress warned that though the ruling party was losing its support the illusions about the Congress(I) and Rajiv Gandhi, and the massive majority in the Lok Sabha, still remain in the minds of the people.

Developments since the Calcutta Congress have rapidly changed the situation. The massive misery of the people as a consequence of the economic policies of the Rajiv Government, the challenge of divisive forces and the repressive measures of the Congress(I) Government, accompanied by the inner dissensions inside the Congress(I) and events like the resignation of V.P. Singh have led to the growing isolation of the ruling party. The Kerala and West Bengal

Assembly elections, the rout of the Congress(I) in Haryana, the result of several by-elections—all underline the rapid erosion of the Congress(I) among the people. And finally the corruption scandal which surrounds the Government and Rajiv Gandhi, their exposure in Parliament, the prevarications and lies resorted to by the ruling party, the refusal to face an impartial committee, the attacks undertaken in connection with the Fairfax Commission, made the demand for resignation an urgent national issue.

The August 1987 Resolution of the Central Committee, calling for the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi observed:

'As if all these crimes are not sufficient, the Rajiv Gandhi Government has added one more crime which has condemned his Government as a Government of dishonesty and corruption. The corruption scandals involving the Government and the persons nearest to Rajiv, have naturally become a great natural concern because they involve defence purchases, the security of India and the safety of our army personnel. The Bofors, the submarine and other scandals have proved far more dangerous than the ordinary looting of foreign exchange by blackmarketeers and persons surrounding the Prime Minister.

'For months now the Rajiv Government has not only been under a cloud in the eyes of the people, it is in the dock unable to answer a single allegation. The removal of V.P. Singh, and later on his dismissal, the enforced resignation of Amitabh Bachchan, a close friend of the Prime Minister, the protest resignation of Arun Singh, all have completely damaged the image of Rajiv Gandhi, his Government and his party. No previous Government, whatever its crime, has created such suspicion in the minds of the people that Government personnel are betraying the defence of the country and accumulating filthy lucre. In the minds of lakhs of people, Rajiv Gandhi and his Government are accused of this crime and they have lost all right to run the Government.'

The Report of the August Central Committee, at the same time observed that the Party should have come out with a forthright demand for Rajiv's resignation immediately after

the Presidential elections, and should not have waited till the eve of the Central Committee meeting.

It is necessary here to understand the dangerous situation which was developing during the days of the Presidential election, and the way in which the Party had to fight the bourgeois Opposition parties which were working with us to defeat the Congress(I) nominee for the President's post.

Initially there was complete understanding on the question of the Presidential candidate. It was unanimously decided in the May meeting of Opposition parties, to appoint a committee consisting of N.T. Rama Rao, Chandra Shekhar and E.M.S. Namboodiripad, to evolve a common approach regarding the choice of candidate for the office of the President. Because of the overwhelming votes of the Congress(I) in Parliament there was no possibility of winning the election unless massive defection took place from the ruling party camp, of which there were no signs. It was, therefore, decided by the three-man committee that the candidate should be one who would be able to mobilize maximum Opposition votes, and besides, one who could inspire confidence among the people by his anti-communal, secular outlook and progressive views on the Constitution, democratic rights and national unity. The search for such a candidate led to the unanimous choice of Justice Krishna Iyer, and the committee asked Comrade EMS to persuade an unwilling Krishna Iyer to enter the fight. EMS was successful in persuading Krishna Iyer after assuring him that he was the unanimous choice of the three-man committee.

But, unfortunately, this common approach and understanding did not last. The bourgeois Opposition parties suddenly changed their stand, broke the common understanding, and with newly found zeal, suddenly sponsored the candidature of Zail Singh. Instead of conveying to the representatives of the Parliamentary and legislative parties assembled in Delhi on June 24 the unanimous decision of the three-man committee, it was decided to first gather the opinion of the MPs' and the MLAs on the choice of candidate.

The opportunity was used by the members of Janata, Telugu Desam and Congress(S) parties to vociferously support the candidature of Zail Singh. The representatives of these parties—the Telugu Desam, Janata, Congress(S)—without consulting the CPI(M) and other Left parties, independently approached Zail Singh asking him to contest the election, and promised the support of their parties to him. Our Party had to dissociate itself from this unprincipled opportunism, disruptive of oppositional unity. A meeting of the Left parties was convened and it was immediately decided to withdraw from participation in the deliberations of the Opposition parties meeting, and put up a separate candidate with the Left parties' support. Shri N.T. Rama Rao was informed of the decision and the decision was conveyed to the Press also.

Meanwhile Zail Singh told his enthusiastic supporters from the bourgeois Opposition parties that he had no intention of seeking re-election. With this rebuff, the Opposition parties returned to the common unanimous choice of Shri Krishna Iyer, and Opposition unity on this important question of the Presidential election was maintained. It would have been a big setback to the struggle for Opposition unity if the Opposition had continued to be divided during the Presidential elections.

The entire bourgeois Press concentrated a venomous propaganda against us for not supporting Zail Singh. The Central Committee Report observed (August 1987):

"However, even now, all do not understand the real reason behind this venomous propaganda. It was unleashed because we succeeded in torpedoing the plot of certain reactionary elements and a section of the bourgeois Press who were supporting Zail Singh, because he claimed that he had inherent powers under the Constitution to dismiss a Ministry backed by the majority in Parliament. Their game was to egg on Zail Singh by promising Opposition support and wide defection from the Congress. The demand for the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi, which now appeared prominently in the bourgeois Press, was not an appeal to

the democratic mass but a covert appeal to Zail Singh to go ahead and assert Presidential supremacy over the elected Parliament.

“Zail Singh had leaked to the Press that he had consulted Constitutional experts who upheld his inherent right to dismiss a Ministry enjoying a majority in Parliament. He publicly announced that he had a right to dismiss such a Ministry and call for fresh elections.”

In this period the Party could not raise the slogan of Rajiv's resignation. It had to wait till the elections were over. However it need not have waited till the August meeting.

Building of Broader Unity

The growing isolation of the Congress(I) opened up the prospect of ousting it in the coming elections. It was obvious that with the existing stage of mass consciousness, the result could be achieved only with the help of secular bourgeois Opposition parties which are likely to gain a major part of the growing discontent with the Congress(I).

The Jullundhar Congress of our Party had very correctly observed that the main mass of the Indian people were divided between several bourgeois parties. Though the strength of the Left forces has increased in recent years, the influence of bourgeois parties continues to remain over the major mass of the people taking India as a whole. It was therefore necessary for the Party to ensure that a broad secular electoral front developed along with these parties. Our Party fully understands the limitations under which we have to work, the limitations of the consciousness of these parties. Our Party therefore had to estimate each development connected with these parties with great care. The Haryana elections resulted in a big rout of the Congress(I) and it was welcomed by all. But our Party noted some unsavoury reactionary features connected with this victory.

The victory against the Congress(I) was not an unalloyed victory, on the basis of defence of national unity and a democratic programme. In the preparatory stages of his

campaign, before elections were announced, Devi Lal was concentrating his attack on the Punjab Accord, which our Party has accepted as a step towards restoring unity in Punjab. This was nothing but an appeal to Haryana Hindu chauvinism. This showed disregard for the dangerous national situation, the danger to the unity in Punjab and the challenge of foreign destabilizers.

During the election campaign, however, Devi Lal mainly concentrated on people's issues and exposure of the Congress(I)'s anti-people policies in Haryana. He raised popular demands and some urgent demands of the peasantry like cancellation of debts. It was however not surprising, in view of his opposition to the Punjab Accord, that he should have had an alliance with the BJP, and later formed a coalition ministry with that party.

The Central Committee, in spite of some of these limitations, directed its efforts to ensure that the Opposition bourgeois parties came together, eschew alliance with the communal parties like the BJP, and join hands with the Left parties to ensure a common electoral victory against the Congress. The August 1987, Central Committee Resolution stated:

'But the fight to oust the Rajiv Regime requires the broadest understanding and unity of all secular Opposition parties, unity between these and the Left and democratic forces. It is a gigantic battle for people's unity against a notorious regime, which should be carried out by mobilizing all the forces prepared to take a stand against the present regime. The Chief Ministers' Conference and the meeting of Opposition parties have together played a very important role in projecting and initiating this vital Opposition unity, and the good work done has to be continued in the coming days so that the full force of the people is brought into action.'

However, our Party has to keep its principled political line while forging broader unity. The Calcutta Congress had observed on Opposition bourgeois parties :

'The limitations of these parties regarding foreign policy, awareness of the imperialist danger, etc., have already been

noted. The recently announced economic policy of the Government which our Party is determined to oppose and defeat evokes no response from them.'

The struggle to forge these understandings often meets with difficulties. Our Party refused to attend a meeting suddenly called by N.T. Rama Rao to which all kinds of elements were invited. Though our refusal to attend the meeting created some misunderstanding, it finally led to a broader understanding on how to ensure cooperation between the Left and the Opposition parties. An important part in consolidating on a common understanding was played by the May 14-15, 1987, meeting which was attended by all parties which had participated in earlier meetings. The decision of the meeting to evolve a common approach and the appointment of a committee of three (including Comrade EMS) strengthened the sense of Opposition unity and consolidated the urge for common understanding. The meeting condemned the dismissal of the Barnala Government and passed many important resolutions.

The August Report of the Central Committee at the same time noted some obvious shortcomings :

'However, there were certain shortcomings which were obvious. When the (May 14-15) meeting took place large sections of our masses were already fighting against the effect of Rajiv Gandhi's economic policy. There were massive strikes, there were peasant outbursts, there were firings on peasantry killing many people. There were massacres in the rural areas of Bihar organized by landlord goondas. But the meeting did not take note of these developments and did not call for any protest action against the imposed sufferings of the masses and police repression. The call for action came only in relation to corruption. Corruption, of course, had become a big political issue of national importance in the tussle between the Government and the Opposition. But it was wrong to totally ignore the burning issues facing the people and refrain from giving a call to demand redress of people's grievances. This was because a number of Opposition

parties thought that the corruption issue by itself could be used to dislodge the Government.

'Following this meeting sharp differences were developed during the Presidential elections; when these were settled there was effective cooperation for the Opposition candidate in the election.

'Efforts to consolidate Opposition unity were also made through a Conference of Chief Ministers called by Comrade Jyoti Basu on April 25, 1987. Its deliberations and conclusions gave a proper expression to the urge for unity expressed by the people.

'The purchasing power of the people had got eroded by the continuing inflation. Here the Centre's deliberate decisions on deficit financing, and the increase in administered prices of essential raw materials such as coal, steel and petroleum products, and also of food items, have acted as significant factor behind this inflationary spiral.'

The meeting called for an alternative approach to production planning. It said it should begin with land reform and then support the working farmers with the provision of other no-land outputs. Every effort should be made in agriculture and industry to absorb as far as possible the working population, so that there is a corresponding generation of purchasing power of the common people.

All the while the Central Committee was continuously warning these parties against joining with BJP or any other communal party. The Central Committee was concentrating on the BJP because it was the most likely party to be invited by these parties for joining hands. To some extent our warning had an effect, and till now in their organizational effort to unite Opposition parties, the BJP does not find a place. The National Front does not include any communal party. The BJP is pouring venom against our Party for these developments and also promising retaliation against those who refuse to join hands with it.

All this has led to a certain isolation of the BJP and the communal forces which had launched an offensive against

our Party during the Presidential election campaign, charging us with acting at the behest of the CPSU to protect the Rajiv Government. The BJP which earlier covered its antagonism towards class issues and Communists by raising anti-Congress(I) slogans had now to come out openly against the Communists and directly reveal its anti-democratic class character. The BJP's frustration and anger are easy to understand. At Surajkund it had tried to organize a coup against the Left forces with the help of Devi Lal, and had been able to gather all Opposition parties hoping to form a front with them and isolate the Left. But the coup failed. Alliance with the BJP brought ridicule on Devi Lal. The gathering could not appoint a viable committee to implement the decisions taken. In the end the A.P. Chief Minister declared that he was not aware of the formation of the committee and had gone to Surajkund only in his individual capacity. The attempt to form an anti-Left front in the name of an all-embracing front to defeat Rajiv Gandhi failed. In fact it was an attempt to form a rightist conservative front against Rajiv.

The failure was because other forces were at work. Nationalist and patriotic opinion was taking a firm stand against communal forces. The Opposition parties which had gone to Surajkund, started realizing this and therefore were not willing to make a firm commitment for an understanding with the BJP. Some participants could see the lack of mass drive and punch behind the combination, because of lack of Left support. The more shrewd among them could realize that it would be easy for Rajiv and the Congress(I) to describe the combination as a rightist offensive.

The independent activity of the CPI(M) and the Left forces which were wedded to a principled programme and action sharpened the understanding. The Left parties unitedly decided to boycott the Surajkund show with its BJP-Chandraswami dip in the holy lake. Its united stand deflated the importance of the meeting and this was expressed in the way the Press ridiculed its claim to represent progressive forces.

On the same day as the Surajkund meeting, there was a huge DYFI/SFI rally in the capital. Youth from all parts of India had gathered in the rally to voice their demands. Their demands and their denunciation of the divisive forces, backed by the record of fighting these forces in Punjab, Darjeeling and Assam at the cost of many precious lives, stood in sharp contrast to the Surajkund confabulations in collaboration with the RSS party.

The Central Committee has been supporting all genuine efforts of the secular Opposition parties to come together. It welcomed the merger of several parties into one party, the Janata Dal, and above all the formation of the National Front comprising several parties all over India. At the same time it has criticized the ambivalent position of several leaders who seek to join hands with the BJP, while calling on the CPI(M) and the Left to support them. The Central Committee in its Resolution on the National Front has also criticized the cryptic reference to foreign policy in the policy statement of the Front, an outlook which ignores the vital importance of non-alignment and anti-imperialism for the independence and progress of our country.

The Central Committee has also expressed disappointment that these parties are yet unable to end the wranglings and move forward to take up the issues agitating the masses. Their ideas that emphasize on corruption alone will secure a victory for them is an illusion which they must shed. The Central Committee feels that their common inaction till now has lost them much of the initiative they got after V.P. Singh's big election victory. But the people's urge for unity will prevail and overcome their vacillations.

Developing Mass Struggle

These political developments of the last three years have to be seen against the background of growing mass struggles led by the Party-led mass organizations and united actions. For had it not been for the leadership given to these mass struggles, Left politics would not have been able to make its

influence felt on the national political scene. We are therefore giving below a brief summary of these struggles.

Working Class

The first big all-India mass action in which the working class played a leading role was the all-India bandh call given by the Opposition parties and the National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions, in February, 1986. The increase in prices of essential commodities announced by the Government, and the budget hikes led to massive opposition. West Bengal and Tripura held bandhs on February 11, Delhi city had a successful bandh on February 10, and this was followed by the rest of the country on February 26, in which the working class participated in a big way through strike actions.

The Rajiv Government's systematic attacks on the public sector and its privatization drive also met with the united resistance of the public sector workers. Two million workers in central public undertakings, banking and insurance, went on a one-day strike on January 21, on a 14-point charter of demands. Their main opposition was to the curtailment of the public sector and entry of multinationals in this sector.

The public sector workers went on a historic three-day strike from March 14 to 16, in 1988. Demanding interim relief, full neutralization of D.A. and other demands, the call of the Committee of Public Sector Trade Unions met with enthusiastic response. Despite the massive propaganda barrage by the Government media against the strike, an estimated fifteen lakh workers downed tools. This was for the first time that the public sector workers went on a three-day strike. This massive strike action closed down all major enterprises in centres like Bangalore, Hyderabad, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, and Kerala. Coinciding with the March 15 nation-wide bandh called by the Left and secular Opposition parties, the countrywide protest action saw the working class spearheading the struggle.

The coal mine workers also came into action with their one-week strike from March 15 to 20. In this significant strike struggle, five lakh workers joined. Called by all the central trade unions, except the INTUC, the strike saw new sections joining the struggle and the fighting mood of the workers saw them defying all threats including the promulgation of ESMA.

In all these countrywide actions, the CITU played a key role in mobilizing and conducting the strike actions.

The CITU during this period has paid special attention to the problem of the unemployed who are part of the working class deprived of jobs. While fighting against the offensive of closures, lock-outs and retrenchments, the CITU gave a call to its unions to highlight the demand of employment and champion the cause of the unemployed. A beginning was made with the campaigns in West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Tripura, Kerala, Assam and Maharashtra. West Bengal organized a big rally on this question in March 1987.

Andhra Pradesh and Assam also organized big rallies in cooperation with fraternal organizations like the DYFI and SFI. Along with the broad struggle for the right to work as a fundamental right, the CITU's efforts to mobilize the organized working class in support of their unemployed brethren helped widen the scope of the struggle against unemployment.

The CITU and its unions played an increasingly wider role in mobilizing workers to strengthen the peace movement and heighten anti-imperialist consciousness. September 1 has been observed every year as Peace Day by the CITU and other progressive trade unions. Hiroshima Day and Global Peace Wave were also observed in some states. The May Day Centenary was utilized for the peace campaign in a big way in almost all the states and lakhs of workers were drawn into the campaign.

A significant step highlighting the growing anti-imperialist and internationalist consciousness of the Indian working

class was the collection by coal mine workers and officers of nearly rupees one crore for the people of South Africa. This was in response to the call of the Indian Trade Union Committee against Apartheid.

The working class, organized under the banner of the CITU, made a glorious contribution to the defence of national unity and unity of the working people by standing firm against the attacks by divisive and separatist forces. The tea garden workers of Darjeeling district faced violent attacks and terror by the GNLFF which was trying to disrupt workers' unity. Scores of Nepali workers laid down their lives rather than succumb to the chauvinist onslaught.

Similarly in Punjab, the CITU and its unions have been in continuous action to safeguard the unity of the workers and fight off the Khalistani extremists. Big conventions and rallies have been organized, independently and along with the AITUC, to oppose the secessionists, and the working class in urban centres has by and large maintained its class unity due to the efforts of the Left-led unions.

Peasants and Agricultural Labourers

A week-long struggle in September 1987 was led by the All India Kisan Sabha and the All India Agricultural Workers' Union. The main issues taken up in this struggle were : (1) identification of land records and prevention of evictions; (2) remunerative prices for agricultural produce; (3) easing of the burden of taxation, electricity and transport charges; (4) Central legislation for agricultural labourers and effective implementation of minimum wages; and (5) effective measures to be taken to meet the unprecedented drought and floods.

During this week all over the country, 3.5 lakhs courted arrest, another 1.5 lakhs offered themselves for arrest, and more than 40 lakhs took part in various stages of the struggle. The movement helped to unite different sections of the peasants and foster unity between them and agricultural labourers. It mobilized the rural masses into struggle combating the communal, casteist and separatist forces. It also

helped the mobilization for the November *jathas* all over the country and the December rally at Delhi.

Following this, seven Left-led organizations of peasants and agricultural labourers decided to launch a movement in September 1988, in which the AIKS and the AIAWU played a leading role. More militant forms of action were adopted including *rasta-roko*, land occupation and *jail bharo*. The participation of peasants and agricultural labourers was really massive. Around twenty lakhs offered themselves for arrest and in all forty lakhs took part in the various stages of the struggle. In this struggle, there were police lathi-charges in 30 cases—15 of them in Bihar alone, eight in Orissa, three in Tripura and one each in Maharashtra, Assam, Madhya Pradesh and U.P. More than 3,000 were injured in these incidents. In Tripura, the police and anti-socials sought to intimidate the participants by large-scale violence and Nripen Chakraborty, former Chief Minister and Polit Bureau member of the Party, was also attacked.

This massive participation took place despite floods in some states and the earthquake in Bihar. It was characterized by the overwhelming majority of the participants being agricultural labourers and poor peasants. Women accounted for 30 per cent of the participants. A heartening feature of the struggle was the active solidarity of industrial workers which took the form of courting arrest in a number of industrial centres.

Apart from these two major all-India actions, the Kisan Sabha units in the states conducted many struggles against landlordism and state policies. In Assam, Andhra, Tamil Nadu and Madhya Pradesh struggles against eviction took place. In Rajasthan, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Gujarat struggles were launched against state policies, and for relief from drought, flood, etc. In West Bengal, Kerala, U.P., Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra various movements were led on the question of remunerative prices for agricultural commodities.

These struggles and campaigns amongst the peasantry

helped focus on the tremendous exploitation of the peasantry resulting from the deepening agrarian crisis, and mobilized wider section of the peasants in the struggle against the Rajiv Government and in defence of national unity.

The All India Agricultural Workers' Union undertook a number of activities to highlight the demands and problems of agricultural labourers. In July 1985, its call to agitate on the demand for Central legislation for agricultural workers was widely observed. In states like Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, Tripura, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu, *dharnas*, signature campaigns and court arrest programmes were conducted.

Another important programme was a week's observance to demand an end to atrocities against scheduled castes and tribes and agricultural workers, to be followed by demonstrations and public meetings at panchayat and village level by August 15; *dharnas* at block and taluk level at the end of August, and picketting of collectorates at the end of September. In Kerala 35 propaganda *jathas* covered the whole state and *satyagraha* was conducted at 2,604 centres in which 44,510 workers took part. Demonstrations before government offices were held on September 17 in Tamil Nadu. In Punjab a three-stage campaign and struggle took place on this issue which culminated in mass *dharnas* in September, in 11 districts out of the 12 in the State. In Tripura, district level rallies and a march to the Assembly took place. In Bihar, a one-day strike was observed which highlighted the Arwal killings as well.

The March 15 Bandh also, for the first time, saw stoppage of work in many rural areas. The participation of agricultural workers and landless peasants was significant in almost all the States. In Kerala, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Haryana, and in some others, they constituted the vast majority of the participants. These two struggles in September 1987 and 1988 definitely helped in bringing the agricultural workers and rural poor into the broad mass struggle against the Congress(I) Government's policies to a greater extent than ever before.

Youth

The major activities of the DYFI during this period related to the question of national unity and integrity. Scores of DYFI comrades became martyrs in the struggles in Darjeeling, Punjab, Tripura, Assam, Kerala and elsewhere. All State units participated in the all-India calls on this issue. The most impressive and massive action was the unprecedented Human Chain organized in Kerala, spanning the entire length of the State on August 15, 1987 in which three million people participated.

Lakhs of youth were mobilized during this period on issues of unemployment and against the new education policy. March 28, and September 15, each year were observed by the biggest ever rallies of youth and students in almost all State capitals. The culmination was the massive rally of September 23, 1987 at New Delhi.

In Kerala, an unprecedented struggle against unemployment was organized for 35 days in 1986, in which lakhs of youth participated, facing brutal lathi-charges in 65 places. Such was the response that DYFI membership increased more than three lakhs following the agitation. In Tamil Nadu about 25,000 youth went to jail in the struggle against unemployment.

The *Rail Roko* agitation against the new economic policy was remarkable in many parts of the country, particularly in West Bengal and Kerala. Rallies and *dharnas* were held before the TV/AIR stations all over the country against the biased and partisan coverage by these agencies.

Massive relief operations were also undertaken during this period by the DYFI in which thousands participated in relief work for the drought in Kalahandi, earthquake in Bihar, flood in Assam, Punjab and West Bengal. A nation-wide signature campaign against the Muslim Women's Bill was conducted and also a campaign against *Sati* after the Deorala incident.

In West Bengal the DYFI launched massive campaigns independently as well as jointly on the Centre's discrimination against West Bengal, particularly on the issue of the Haldia Petrochemical complex. On the issue of the Bakreshwar

Thermal Power Plant the DYFI along with the SFI organized blood donation camps to raise funds for the project in the face of the Central Government's refusal.

On the question of world peace, Hiroshima Day was observed by the youth across the country, and a signature campaign was conducted demanding the release of Nelson Mandela.

The DYFI played an important role in the *Bharat Jatha* in 1987 and lakhs of youth participated in the December 9 Rally.

Students

During this period a nation-wide campaign on the new education policy was initiated and conducted by the SFI, which saw many actions at the state and the local levels apart from being raised in the all-India actions.

In March 1988 in an effort to broaden the influence of the democratic student movement, the SFI organized a convention of elected students union representatives, hosted by the SFI-led JNU Students Union. Representatives of 72 students unions participated in this convention and adopted a charter of demands which forms the basis for a nation-wide campaign. The SFI now has units in 125 universities.

To popularize the programmes of the Left Front Governments and the independent role of the Left in the present political situation, the SFI conducted a week-long nation-wide campaign from March 9 to 16, 1987, on the eve of the Assembly elections in West Bengal and Kerala.

This campaign greatly helped in educating the student masses on the alternative policy approach of the Left.

In August-September, 1987, a nation-wide campaign highlighting the new education policy and staggering unemployment problem was conducted, linked up with the demand for resignation of the Rajiv Gandhi Government. This culminated in a big rally on September 23 at the Boat Club, New Delhi with the participation of around one lakh students and youth.

The SFI actively participated in the nation-wide *jathas* organized by the mass organizations led by the Left parties

and thousands of students participated in the historic December 9 Rally. In many places the campaign was conducted jointly by Left students' organizations.

Many local and State-level agitations were conducted by the SFI; its organization and cadres had to face the onslaught of reactionary forces, anti-social elements and the police at many places.

An event of historic significance has been the all-India students strike of September 26, 1988. Nearly two crore students participated in this call all over the country. This strike was preceded by consultation with Left and secular students' organizations which evolved an 18-point charter of demands focussing on the withdrawal of the new education policy and demanding the resignation of the Rajiv Gandhi Government. The Youth Congress(S), Yuva Janata, Youth Congress(J), Chhatra Janata, All-India Students' Bloc and the Yuva Lok Dal joined the action. The AISF, however, stayed out of this call despite all efforts and attempts by the SFI to make it join, on the plea that the demand for the withdrawal of the new education policy should not be linked with the demand for the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi Government.

Women

The AIDWA played a leading role in the struggle against the retrograde Muslim Women's Bill by which the Congress(I) Government sought to appease the Muslim fundamentalists. The countrywide campaign spearheaded by widespread mobilization in Kerala by the AIDWA unit, and culminating in the demonstration in Delhi in which a thousand Muslim women from all parts of the country participated, served to focus opposition to the reactionary Bill.

Similarly, the campaign, independently by AIDWA, and unitedly with other women's organizations, on the Deorala *Sati* incident helped to rally women and general democratic opinion against this barbarous custom. This combined with the broad-based struggle against dowry murders and atrocities on women, helped in bringing the issue of women's

oppression as a major question to be taken up by the democratic and secular forces.

In Tripura, the active role of tribal women in the democratic movement saw the heinous gang-rape of tribal women in Ujan Maidan by the men of the Assam Rifles. The protest movement against this atrocity by AIDWA highlighted the role of women in defending national unity. On Punjab also, the campaigns run by AIDWA projected the big fight being put up by the Left against the Khalistani conspiracy.

The AIDWA state units also conducted continuous struggles and campaigns in different forms against the price rise which badly affects women, tax hikes and unemployment. The response of women to the anti-price rise campaign was extremely positive and moved new sections of women into action. The mobilization of women against the Rajiv Government's policies and for its resignation saw a significant advance in the participation of women in the November 1987 *jatha* campaign and the December 9 Rally in Delhi. Notable was the two lakh strong rally held by the West Bengal unit in March 1988. Women activists of the AIDWA played a good role in making the March 15 bandh a success. In many areas they had to face police repression as in Delhi, Bihar, Assam and Haryana.

The AIDWA also played an important role in the successful joint intervention to counter the Draft National Perspective Plan for Women put forward by the Government and to present an alternative. This provided an effective weapon to expose the Government's effort to win the women's vote through such gimmicks.

The AIDWA took an important step to strengthen the peace movement by holding an All-India Women's Peace Convention in Calcutta, in June 1987, and the campaigns connected with it.

The above narration of major struggles and campaigns indicate the intense mass activity initiated by the CPI(M)-led mass organizations, and actions initiated by the Left unitedly. These, along with the independent activities of the

Party, have helped shape the enhanced Left intervention in national politics.

Left Governments and their Role

Within a few weeks of this Congress, the Left Front Government of West Bengal will be completing twelve years of its existence, and the LDF Government of Kerala, two years. The Left Front Government of Tripura completed ten years and was due to be elected for the third term, but was not because the Congress Government at the Centre inducted the army and declared the whole of the State as a 'Disturbed Area' just three days before the polling, to enable the Congress to manipulate the elections under army protection.

Unlike the other non-Congress(I) Governments, the Left-led Governments take due account of the severe restrictions under which they have to function; not only are the powers, given to the States under the Constitution, extremely limited, but even those powers which under the basic law of the land had been left with the States, were taken away by the Centre through successive enactments and executive measures. Furthermore, the class policies pursued by the Central Government have led the country's finances to such a bankrupt state that only limited measures can be taken by the Governments at the State level, to satisfy the desires and aspirations of the people who elected them.

Within these limitations, however, the Left Governments have done the maximum good possible to the people. Enactment of land reform legislations which curb the powers and privileges of landlords; enactment of laws concerning wages and living conditions of agricultural workers, extending democracy to the basic local units (Panchayats); regular elections to the Panchayats and other local bodies; setting up a network of functioning cooperatives and other development agencies; vigorous implementation of the IRDP and other schemes prepared by the Centre; organizing public distribution with a view to bringing down the prices of essential commodities; improving employer-employee relations through

the Labour Department; strict observance of the rule that the police should not interfere in labour disputes and other social movements—these are some of the activities undertaken by these governments which distinguish them from other governments. These have led to a minimum advance in the material living and working conditions of the labouring people.

Unlike other non-Congress(I) Governments again, the CPI(M)-led Governments do not confine themselves to giving material benefits to the common people. They explain to them the limitations under which the Government has to work, and the need to overcome these limitations by recasting the entire socio-economic and political system. The Governments thus help the fighting organizations of the working people to consolidate their militant unity on the basis of which alone the socio-economic and political system can be completely recast. In other words, the Governments become the political instruments of the struggle for the increasing unity of the people against the class policies of the bourgeois-landlord classes and their parties.

The Congress(I) cannot tolerate the existence and continued functioning of these Governments, and the emergence of a combination of Left and secular Opposition parties at the all-India level. The Congress(I) Government at the Centre therefore exercises its vast powers to put one obstacle after another before the CPI(M)-led State Governments. The most notorious example of this in recent months was the misuse of power to falsify the electoral verdict in Tripura (February 1988). The governmental leaders at the Centre conspired with the separatist TNV to organize a series of murders on the eve of the elections, creating the pretext for declaring the whole state a 'disturbed area' and then deploying the army in the name of 'curbing the TNV terrorists'. This was followed by organized rigging of the elections, particularly at the stage of counting, thereby ensuring an 'electoral victory' for the Congress(I), and the formation of a Congress(I)-TUJS Government. Following this the ruling party established a semi-fascist regime in the state launching

physical attacks and murders on the CPI(M) and Left Front activists. The final outcome was a 'political settlement' with the TNV to curb which, it had been claimed, the State had been declared a 'disturbed area' and the army deployed.

We pay our warm tribute to the courageous people of Tripura who stood their ground in facing these semi-fascist attacks. We are proud of the fact that, as in the earlier attacks, the CPI(M) and its friends in Tripura have braved the rigours of the semi-fascist terror regime. We also greet the democratic organizations and parties—in Tripura and outside—which raised voice of protest against this terror unleashed against the people and the Left Front of Tripura.

Against the Left Front Government of West Bengal and the LDF Government of Kerala too, the bourgeois-landlord ruling circles of the Congress(I) party had been launching attack after attack. Denying the legitimate demands of the people of the two States, the Central authorities are out to starve them, block the progress of their developmental activities. The negative and obstructionist attitude adopted by the Centre to such projects as the Bakreshwar Thermal Power Project and the Haldia Petrochemical Complex in West Bengal, industrial and power project in Kerala, the denial of financial accommodation to the Kerala Government by the Reserve Bank of India and other institutions controlled by the Centre—these have been supplemented by the Congress(I) organizations in the two states launching a number of anti-government struggles. Central Ministers (not excluding the Prime Minister himself) have turned themselves into the star campaigners of the opposition in the two states.

The Party should therefore continuously educate the people, not only about the limitations under which the Governments have to work, but also about the nakedly hostile attitude of the Central authorities towards the Left Front Governments. Through the Party-led and other mass organizations of the fighting people, and directly through the Party itself, campaigns should be unleashed exposing the anti-democratic way the Central Government deals with the Left-led Governments.

While thus running a campaign against the Central Government in defence of the Left and Left Democratic Governments of West Bengal and Kerala, the Party in the two States and on the national scale, should defend other non-Congress(I) Governments in States, which are under attack. For the Congress(I) Government's general policy is one of attacking all non-Congress(I) Governments, an important part of which is the attack on the Left-led Governments.

One important aspect of our work in these Governments should be continuous educational work in the entire Party, calculated to fight the growth of parliamentary illusions and of opportunism. Our Party has consistently held the view that while work in the parliamentary arena (including the formation of governments wherever possible) is an important weapon in the struggle for uniting the working class and democratic movement, the atmosphere of parliamentarism is likely to corrode the revolutionary consciousness of, and corrupt Party members. Constant vigilance against this should be maintained; the Party and the fighting organizations of the working people should never be subordinated to the government and the legislature; the latter on the other hand should be subordinated to the Party and the mass organizations.

Left Unity

The three-year period since the Twelfth Congress has undoubtedly witnessed the further cementing of the unity of Left parties. It was this that enabled us to forge relations of friendship and cooperation with other secular Opposition parties. The position today is that, while the Left has emerged as an independent political force operating on an all-India scale, a definite pro-Left trend has begun to develop in the rest of the secular opposition movement. Further progress along these lines is a necessary condition for advance along the lines of forging the unity of Left and secular democratic forces.

However there are certain developments in the relations between the Left parties which cause concern. In West Bengal, in the panchayat elections, despite the maximum efforts at

accommodation by the CPI(M), the Forward Bloc and RSP took their differences to the public and made slanderous accusations against the Party. Following this, Jatin Chakraborty, the RSP minister, sought to malign the Chief Minister. Such tactics help only the Congress(I) in their campaign to defame the Left Front. Our Party in West Bengal took a firm and correct stand in this regard to preserve the credibility and unity of the Front.

With regard to the CPI, its unit in Andhra Pradesh has adopted a posture of outright opposition to the Telugu Desam Party to the extent of refusing any united actions with it on agreed all-India issues. It has formed a so-called 'third front' in the state thereby rendering the Congress(I) assistance. The CPI continues to slander our Party and there have been instances of murderous attacks on our cadres. The line in Andhra by the CPI unit goes against the All-India CPI's understanding of uniting with the secular Opposition parties in the struggle against the Rajiv Government. Yet the CPI national leadership refuses to intervene to rectify the situation. In Assam, the CPI state unit is vociferously demanding implementation of the Assam Accord and refuses to demarcate from any anti-minority positions of the Government.

These negative aspects cannot be ignored. Our Party is firmly committed to the strengthening of Left unity. This unity is essential for Left and democratic unity and for forging understanding between Left and the secular Opposition forces. Any activity by any component of the Left which detracts from this declared goal has to be countered and struggled against. Keeping in view the big mass response to the Left initiatives in recent times, it becomes the common responsibility of all the parties of the Left to meet the aspirations of the people.

Tribal Problem

The three-year period since the Twelfth Congress has further underlined the importance of the tribal question in many parts of the country.

Our Party in Tripura has shown to the rest of the country

how the tribals and non-tribals can be made to live and work together, rather than remain at daggers drawn against each other. Tripura, in fact, is the only state in the North-Eastern region where, under the leadership of the CPI(M) and the Left Front, unity between the tribals and the non-tribals has been maintained and preserved.

This was made possible because our Party has taken the programmatic position that areas inhabited by the tribals or other sections of the people who have their own distinctive characteristics, should be allowed to have regional autonomy within the existing States. It was this that enabled our Party and the Left Front in Tripura to fight for and ultimately secure the tribal Autonomous District under Schedule VI of the Constitution. While conditions may vary from state to state, and the solution found in Tripura cannot be mechanically applied everywhere, the fact has to be noted that the tribal problem cannot be solved without fighting for and securing one or another type of regional autonomy.

This truth was underlined by the experience gained in relation to the hill areas of Darjeeling district. The GNLF movement arose originally on the basis of the demand for a separate State. Basing itself on the programmatic position, our Party resisted the formation of a separate Gorkha State for which the GNLF fought, but stood for regional autonomy for the hill areas of Darjeeling. The Central Government and the ruling party in the beginning opposed this on the ground that regional autonomy would be the thin end of the wedge leading ultimately to the separation of the area from the West Bengal State. The Centre however had, in the end, to agree to the idea of regional autonomy for which we have always stood.

What was done in the autonomous tribal district of Tripura or the autonomous hill areas of Darjeeling district may not be applicable to other areas where the tribals or any other sections with their distinct characteristics live. It is, however, obvious that nowhere can the problem be solved except

on the basis of the principle of autonomous district or area in an existing state.

PART-III

Organizational

The preceding pages show that there was, in the three-year period since the Twelfth Congress, an unprecedented upsurge of mass activities and struggles in which the Party has been engaged. Almost all parts of the country, all sections of the toiling people were brought into the arena of militant action. This has led to a new wave of development of mass organizations as well as of the ideological-political activities of the Party. The Party addressed itself to all questions affecting the political life of the country—Punjab, Tripura, Gorkhaland, Ramjanmabhoomi/Babri Masjid, Bofors and other instances of corruption in high places, Sri Lanka, several issues of foreign policy, etc. leading to the emergence of the Party's own distinct view on political problems.

The increase in the membership of the mass organizations, circulation of Party journals, etc., that followed this mass political activity has been projected in the tables and charts appended to this Report. It should, however, be self-critically acknowledged that the increase in the membership of the mass organizations has been disproportionately behind the movements and struggles led by the Party. Furthermore, the increase in the membership of the Party, the circulation of Party journals and publications and other forms of consolidating the developing mass movement have lagged behind the mass upsurge.

This illustrates the importance of the role of the Party as an organization in consolidating the development of the militant mass movement to which attention was drawn in the Report and Resolution on Organization adopted at the Salkia Plenum in 1978. The lag in implementing the directives given in the Salkia Report and the Resolution, was pointed out at the two (11th and the 12th) Congresses (Political-Organizational Reports). We have not succeeded in fully overcoming this lag.

Advances since Salkia

This is not to suggest that nothing has been done by way of implementing the Salkia directives. Efforts were made to apply them which have undoubtedly yielded some results. What has to be emphasized is that this is far less than what is possible and necessary. Let us therefore draw a balance-sheet of the positive and negative consequences of our work in implementing the Salkia directives.

The positive result of the implementation of the Salkia line during the last 10 years is that the Party units in various States are trying to consolidate their political position where they have already become fairly strong, and to start developing in the weaker areas. For example, the Party has consolidated its position in three states where it had already become the strongest political force—West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala. In some States like Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, it has improved its political position among the people and, through systematic organizational work, is transforming the growing political influence into an efficient Party organization. In the two States where our Party and the democratic movement as a whole have been facing the vicious offensive of the separatist and divisive forces—in Punjab and Assam, the Party has given a good account of itself, taking the brunt of attacks from the terrorists and holding aloft the banner of secularism and national unity. In all other States, including the vast Hindi-speaking belt, the Party has broken new ground, attracting more and more militants into the Party, thus laying the basis for advance in the future. We have, in the meanwhile, organized new units in such states as Jammu and Kashmir, Manipur, the Andamans. The situation today is that we have functioning units in all the states except four in the North-Eastern Region (Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Mizoram and Meghalaya) and Sikkim.

The progress in consolidating the Party in the old and the prospects for expansion into the new states and regions was made possible because the Party Centre—the Polit Bureau

and the Central Committee—has been collectively functioning and dealing with the current and basic problems facing the Party nationally and internationally. The political resolutions adopted at the Eleventh and Twelfth Congresses as well as the resolutions and statements adopted at the meetings of the Central Committee and the Polit Bureau, have helped the ideological-political unification of the Party. This consolidation and expansion can be carried forward only if the comrades and committees at all levels take the work of organization more seriously.

Mention, in this context, should be made of the role played by the Party during such important national political developments since the Salkia Plenum as the fall of the Janata Government in 1979, followed by the return to power of Indira Gandhi (1980), the need to reforge the links with other Opposition forces in the struggle against the Indira Congress regime, etc., going right up to such developments as the separatist movement in Assam, the separatist and terrorist movement and attacks in Punjab, the GNLF movement in Darjeeling, the eruption of communal tension and riots in various parts of the country, and more recently Sri Lanka, Darjeeling, etc. In relation to all these developments and problems, the Party concentrated its fire on authoritarianism and upheld national unity, combating all divisive forces. Self critically admitting the weakness of the peace movement in the country, steps were taken to overcome this weakness and broaden the movement. Contacts were established and strengthened with fraternal Parties and the Party made a more active partner in the international exchanges. It was this correct policy on the major national and international questions that helped the Party consolidate its position in strong areas and make a break-through in weaker areas.

In future too, the Party should rely on the current political line of fighting in defence of the interests of the masses, in defence of democracy and for the protection of national unity, and for world peace. State, district and local committees have to resist the temptation of orienting themselves to

narrow and purely parochial considerations, addressing themselves to the task of carrying out the all-India political line of the Party on international and national issues. The Party cannot either consolidate and strengthen its position in its strong areas, or make advances where the movement and the Party is weak, unless it bases itself firmly on the Party line of defence of the people's interests, of fighting for democracy and for national unity in India, and world peace internationally.

Struggle against Federalism

Important in this context is the struggle against what was nailed down in the Salkia documents as "federalism"—the tendency to look upon the state, the regional and the local considerations as crucial in Party work, and neglect the national and international tasks. To this political manifestation of federalism should be added its organizational manifestation which is that State units fail to report to, and seek directives from the Central Committee, while the district committees do not regularly report to and seek guidance from the State Committees. The Salkia documents had emphasized the importance of regular reporting from top to bottom, and vice-versa, on the basis of which alone an efficient party of the working class can function and discharge its responsibilities. Although there has been some improvement, the position is far from what it can and should be.

This is all the more important today when, thanks to the correct political line evolved in successive Party Congresses, and the serious efforts made to implement the organizational line laid down at Salkia, there has been a big increase in the number of Party members, as well as in the strength of the mass organizations led by the Party. The total Party membership which was 1,61,000 at the time of the Salkia Plenum, has gone up to 4,65,000—a three-fold increase. Similarly, the mass organizations led by the Party have seen an increase in membership from 48 lakhs (4.8 million) in 1978 to 223 lakhs (22.3 million) in 1987—a nearly 15-fold

increase. The break-up of the membership of all the mass organizations led by the Party shows :

	1978	in lakhs 1987
CITU	10	16
(as per annual returns filed)	(1 million)	(1.6 million)
AIKS	229	105
	(22.9 million)	(10.5 million)
AIAWU	9	14.3
	(0.9 million)	(1.43 million 1987-88)
DYFI	12.9	49.5
	(1.29 million 1980)	(4.95 million)
SFI	4.1	15.3
	(0.41 million)	(1.53 million)
AIDWA	12	22
	(1.2 million 1981)	(2.2 million)

The Question of Expansion

An important directive of the Salkia Plenum was the expansion of the Party into new areas, particularly the Hindi-speaking areas. It will therefore be interesting to look into the figures of increase in the membership in mass organizations led by our Party in these areas. They are as follows:

	Hindi-Speaking Areas	
	1977	1987
CITU	70,000	1 lakh (1986)
AIKS	1.3 lakh (1978)	5.95 lakhs
SFI	33,648 (1978)	1.1 lakhs
DYFI	73,700 (1980)	1.7 lakhs
AIAWU	18,400 (1982)	81,015
AIDWA	4,300 (1981)	23,238

The total membership increase of all the above organizations was 7.4 lakhs.

Party membership in the Hindi-speaking areas has been a modest increase from 14,000 in 1978, to 26,782 in 1987.

It will thus be seen that, in terms of growth in the membership of the mass organizations led by the Party, and in the membership of the Party itself, the Hindi-speaking areas have registered some progress. It should, however, be noted that there have been still greater increases in our traditionally strong areas as well – West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu:

in lakhs.			
West Bengal:	22.3		130
	(2.33 million)	to	(13 million)
Kerala:	10		46.8
	(1.00 million)	to	(4.68 million)
Andhra Pradesh:	3.2		12.1
	(0.32 million)	to	(1.21 million)
Tamil Nadu:	2.3		6.8
	(0.23 million)	to	(0.68 million)

The result is that the gap between the traditionally strong and the new areas is wider still, though there have been increases in both. The political significance of the increase in the new areas is that the process envisaged at Salkia has started, and that the increasing political cooperation between the Left and the secular democratic Opposition parties will create favourable conditions for the advance of the Left and democratic forces throughout the country, and steady progress in the Hindi region. The rate of this progress however is still behind the rate in the stronger areas. Furthermore, while the strong areas have substantially increased the circulation of their journals and publications, the new areas are lagging behind in this respect. The Hindi *Lok Lahar* published by the Party centre has a stagnant rate of circulation, while the Urdu *Lok Lahar* had to be stopped. The circulation of other language papers in the new areas is also not picking up. Thus in spite of

growing mass activities, the further advance of the Party in the weak areas is to be taken up seriously.

Mention should be made of the fact that, even in the areas of our traditional mass support such as West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala, the Left, even though it has become the major force, has not yet become the unchallenged political force. Judged by the voting figures, the LDF is even below 50 per cent in Kerala, while in West Bengal and Tripura the Left Front is hovering around 50 per cent.

This means that, while in the country as a whole our Party should so orient its political-organizational activities as to win over larger and larger sections of people, the basic political task even in the areas of our traditionally strong mass support should be to win over the bulk of the people, of whom almost 50 per cent is yet on the other side. In this connection, apart from the daily class and mass struggles, the 'human chain' and other programmes conducted in Kerala and West Bengal involving lakhs and lakhs of people, mobilized by the DYFI and other organizations are noteworthy. So also is the success attained in improving the production and circulation of the Party paper in the two states. These are activities which will help the Party in breaking through to new sections and erode the influence of the ruling class parties.

Problems of Growth

The figures of growth in the membership of the Party-led mass organizations as well as of the Party, show that the growth being registered has certain problems. While they have not yet taken the size of a developing crisis in the organization they are likely to create crisis situations if not properly (and in time) resolved. The understanding of, and steps to resolve these problems is then crucial to the further development of the Party.

The first problem which has been thrown up by the growth of the Party during this period is the comparatively low rate of growth in the membership of trade unions; while the

Kisan Sabha, the SFI, the DYFI and the AIDWA have had membership increases of 360 per cent, 273 per cent, 283 per cent, and 83 per cent respectively, the increase in the CITU is 60 per cent and the AIAWU 58 per cent.

This does not of course correctly reflect our strength in the trade union movement or imply that the capacity to lead the working class struggles is diminishing. As a matter of fact the CITU's influence in the all-India federations of employees and public sector unions has been growing. It is CITU that has come to be recognized as the most effective leader of the working class in struggle and initiating united actions. This latter phenomenon holds good both in the areas of our traditional mass support, as well as in the new areas. In West Bengal, Kerala and other relatively strong states, as well as in the Hindi-speaking areas, the CITU is developing into the most militant fighting organization of industrial workers and middle class employees.

This capacity to organize and lead the working class in struggles, however, has not been, and is not being reflected in the membership of the CITU, and in the consciousness of the trade union leadership at various levels to file the annual returns of membership promptly. It is obvious that our Party cannot develop itself into the revolutionary mass party of the working class unless this weakness is overcome.

Coming to the All India Kisan Sabha and All India Agricultural Workers' Union, it must be noted that the bulk of the agricultural workers in West Bengal is enrolled within the Kisan Sabha, and the figure there runs into millions. But at the same time there is insufficient emphasis on this front in many states. Further, the growth in their membership does not mean the development of a democratically functioning mass organization. The criticism made in the Salkia documents, as well as in the subsequent Central Committee resolutions on mass organizations, namely that the latter are not functioning autonomously but subordinate to the Party, is true to some extent of the Kisan Sabha and agricultural workers organization also, as much as, if not more than of any other mass organization.

Democratic functioning of the committees and general bodies of the mass organizations at various levels is not encouraged, the Party Committee of corresponding levels often taking decisions in the name of the mass organizations.

This has become an inborn habit of many of the comrades who lead these mass organizations. Party leadership at the Centre and at the State level, should undertake a systematic drive to make the mass organizations function in a genuinely democratic way. Conscious efforts should be made to develop a new style of work, namely, Party committees at various levels giving directions to Party fractions on major policy questions, but leaving the concrete working out of the details of policy and organization to the democratic process in the mass organizations themselves.

Youthful Composition

The age composition in the Party has changed rapidly. With the big expansion of membership in recent years, the new entrants from the younger generation of below 40 years of age, comprise the overwhelming majority in the Party. This is also seen in the number of students and youth flocking into their respective organizations and into the Party. They can be turned into a valuable asset for the Party, and the increase in the membership of the youth and student organizations is therefore a welcome development. So are the young entrants from the basic classes into the Party.

The figures available of age break-up of Party membership (40 years and below) in certain States indicates the dominant youth composition:

in Kerala, 76 per cent of total membership is 40 years and below;

in West Bengal it is 70 per cent;

Tamil Nadu, 70 per cent;

Andhra Pradesh, 40 per cent;

Maharashtra, 39 per cent;

Delhi, 68 per cent;

Jammu & Kashmir, 67 per cent.

Those up to 30 years of age in Tripura account for 29 per cent, and in Karnataka 40 per cent of the total membership.

This feature was reflected in the delegates attending the state conferences also, where on an average, 55 per cent of the delegates attending the conferences were below 40 years. Many younger comrades have been taken into the state and district committees this time.

This youthful influx, however, poses certain problems arising out of the relative political immaturity, and alien class ideology of those who join the Party. Only through an intensive course of ideological, political and organizational training can this vast reservoir be properly developed as members of the Party, and then promoted.

It should be realized that in the last one decade, from 1978 to 1988, the Party membership has increased from 1,61,000 to 4,65,000. This means that around 75 per cent of the present membership is of the post-1977 vintage. In most states, the post-1985 membership constitutes 30 to 40 per cent of the total membership. This underlines the big task before the Party committees to systematically educate this large number of youth on correct Marxist-Leninist lines. This work is still underestimated by the leading bodies. This should therefore be considered as a key task to be discharged by the Party.

Women in the Party

As regards the increase in the women's organization, it should be acknowledged that it is much less than what is possible. There are obviously innumerable hurdles to be crossed before women are drawn into the mass organization. Still more hurdles exist in the way of the active and militant members of the women's organization being drawn into the Party.

The Political-Organizational Report of the last Congress pointed out the necessity of special efforts to bring women into the Party. The Report had stated that the two big states, West Bengal and Kerala, had 5,000 and 3,810 women Party membership respectively, i.e., less than five per cent of the

total membership in these states. In Tripura, it was seven per cent of the membership.

An analysis of the 1988 Party membership shows that in West Bengal there are 6,279 women members and in Kerala 5,537 women members. While this is a slight increase in terms of numbers over the period, given the total increase in membership, the percentage in West Bengal works out to only 4 per cent and in Kerala 3.1 per cent. In Tripura, the women members are 990 and account for 8.7 per cent. The figures available for some other states are as follows: Tamil Nadu 1021 women (3 per cent), Andhra Pradesh 565 (2.5 per cent), Maharashtra 327 (7.1 per cent); Delhi 68 (8 per cent); Karnataka 325 (9 per cent); Madhya Pradesh 18 (2 per cent); Assam (except 2 districts) 682 (6.7 per cent).

The percentage of women comrades who are taken into leading positions in the Party committees is very low, even though it is slowly rising. Some improvement has been recorded in the district and local committees. At the state committee level after the recent conferences 29 women comrades have been elected to the various state committees, which is a slight increase over the previous position.

The AIDWA at present has an all-India membership of 2.27 million, while the total women Party membership all over India is only around sixteen thousand. Conscious efforts have to be made by the Party committees to enrol women into the Party. This is one of the important tasks before us in the coming days.

Class and Social Composition

The last Congress had also stressed the importance of building the Party among the socially discriminated sections such as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the Muslim minority. The bourgeois political parties try to utilize them by appealing to their sense of grievance and separatist instincts, to use them against the developing radical democratic movements. While we fight these efforts of the ruling classes to foster separatist consciousness amongst them, we have to

take up the issues which particularly affect them, mobilize the support of other sections of the democratic movement and thus draw these sections into the common movement.

At the last Congress there was no data available for these sections within the Party. This year some states have provided information on this aspect.

In West Bengal, Party members of Scheduled Caste origin are 17 per cent and of Scheduled Tribes 4 per cent.

Andhra Pradesh: SC-18 per cent, ST-7 per cent;

Maharashtra: SC-7.2 per cent, ST-38 per cent;

Tamil Nadu: SC-19.8 per cent;

Assam: SC-6.4 per cent, ST-12.3 per cent;

Karnataka: SC-11 per cent.

The exact figures for Tripura are not available but there is a significant proportion of tribal Party members in that State.

These figures for a few states show that there is a satisfactory representation of Scheduled Castes in most states while in Maharashtra, Assam and Tripura there is good representation of the Scheduled Tribes. But in states like Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh, states where there is a concentration of tribal population, there is insufficient work amongst this section. Overall, the representation of the Scheduled Tribes, keeping in view their all-India size, and their being the main contingent in the agricultural labour and rural poor, requires a big expansion.

As for the Muslim section, except in Assam and West Bengal (Jammu & Kashmir being an exception) where 17 per cent and 13 per cent respectively of Party members come from this background, their proportion in the Party is small. The only other state with a substantial number would be Kerala for which figures are not available. The small proportion of working people from the Muslim community joining the Party indicates a serious weakness. It is to be understood that the bulk of the Muslims in the North and other states come from the poorest sections, the artisans, the small craftsmen and poor peasants. They suffer from not only class exploitation but social discrimination. They constitute an

important section of the working people. Of course there are social barriers and religious prejudices which prevent their easy entry into the common movement. But the role of the Party is precisely this, the task of working out tactics to overcome the barriers and drawing them into the common movement and recruit the most militant and conscious elements into the Party. The Party committees have to be alert to this task and in addressing their work to the special problems faced by the minority community.

Special efforts should be made to recruit the class-conscious and militant elements from these sections into the Party and promote them to leading positions.

Working Class Composition

This raises the question of the class and social composition of Party members. In a country where the majority of the population comes from the non-proletarian strata, conscious efforts have to be made to draw into the Party the militant elements from the working class. It cannot be said that our Party committees are conscious of this task.

At present the working class composition in terms of the industrial proletariat and the agricultural labourers is weak. Figures available from some states are as follows:

Working Class:

West Bengal—	11.5 per cent;
Tripura—	10.5 per cent;
Assam—	11.2 per cent;
Maharashtra—	23.8 per cent;
Andhra Pradesh—	12 per cent.

Agricultural Workers:

West Bengal—	15.7 per cent;
Assam—	5.2 per cent;
Maharashtra—	21.8 per cent;
Andhra Pradesh—	31 per cent.

Many of the other States have lesser working class

composition. This indicates the necessity of serious attention to be paid to this aspect of Party membership. If we are to discharge the role of a working class party, the best elements from the working class and rural proletariat will have to be enrolled into the Party in a big way, and proper attention paid to their development and promotion.

Party Centre's Assistance to States

During this three-year period there have been occasions when the Central Committee had to render concrete assistance to some states on political or organizational questions.

In Kerala, for instance, the Twelfth Congress and the State Conference that preceded it had raised a serious political and organizational problem: a minority of the state secretariat, supported by small proportions of Party members in the districts, were in complete disagreement with the Party line, and had organized themselves into a distinct faction. They had to be fought politically and organizationally, ending in their complete isolation in the Party and among the people.

In doing this, the Polit Bureau gave practical help to the State leadership. The inner-Party campaign and the campaign run among the people with the participation of Comrade EMS and Comrade Balanandan gave powerful support to the state secretariat. That was how, when the important leaders of the faction had to be proceeded against, the entire Party rallied itself behind the political-tactical line of the Party.

This was put to a severe test during the March 1987 elections, when the faction that was thrown out set up slightly under 100 candidates with the open support of the monopoly Press and the Congress-led UDF. At this time too, the campaign run by the Party with the help of two Polit Bureau members supplemented the work done by the state leadership.

The assistance of the Polit Bureau and the Central Committee was required on another political organizational

question—the deep division within the Party concerning the energy policy to be pursued by the Government, which raised ideological disputes on ecology. It divided comrades working in the Sastra Sahitya Parishad and the Electricity Board Employees' Union. The Polit Bureau and the Central Committee had to adopt a document nailing down the ideological-political deviation on the energy question, and the organizational failings in dealing with it. This document was unanimously accepted by the Secretariat and the State Committee. The aftermath of this dispute, however, still remains to a small extent; the state leadership will have to take prompt steps to deal with it.

Questions concerning the collective functioning of the Secretariat were also raised in this three-year period. The Polit Bureau, in fact, had to call the entire Secretariat to Delhi and have one round of discussion. The functioning of the Secretariat has since then registered some improvement, though there is still room for further improvement.

For Punjab this whole three-year period was one of continuous tension and violence. The Polit Bureau therefore had to be in continuous touch with the developments in Punjab itself and at the Centre concerning its way of dealing with the problem. Although our intervention did not help in bringing any radical change in the situation, it enhanced the prestige of the Party very much, the Party firmly defending national unity. Our comrades and a wide circle of our supporters had to face the heavy onslaught of the armed terrorists, several having been murdered. The Punjab Committee had to be helped in organizing the comrades' self-defence. The Polit Bureau gave a call for funds to be collected for Punjab. The ready response of the comrades all over the country is seen in the collection of Rs. 16,43,310 (the bulk being collected in five months)—a remarkable show of solidarity with the fighting comrades and people of Punjab.

Comrades in Tripura have in the entire three-year period been facing the most acute problems of organized attacks by the TNV terrorists and the completely hostile attitude of the

Central Government and the state unit of the Congress(I). Armed attacks by the TNV terrorists, political agitation in the name of 'breakdown of law and order', organized by the state unit of the Congress(I) party, continued pressure and blackmail by the Central Government—all these were fully coordinated to form an orchestrated offensive. This culminated in the eve-of-the-poll declaration of the whole state as a 'disturbed area', the deployment of the army allegedly for 'curbing TNV terrorism', the manipulated election under cover of the army that was deployed, and in the end, after the Congress(I)-TUJS Government was installed in office, the signing of an Accord between the TNV and the Government. Nowhere was Central power used more nakedly than in this instance. The Party in Tripura required practical assistance from the Centre.

It was only after the election, when a self-critical review was made, that the weaknesses and failings of dealing with the situation in the state were revealed to the Party centre. The Polit Bureau helped the State Committee to make a self-critical review of the circumstances in which the Central Government and the Congress(I) party in the State could so organize elections and manipulate them as to falsify the verdict of the electorate. This intervention of the Party centre helped the resolution of differences that had cropped up in the State leadership over the review of the February 1988 elections. The Polit Bureau addressed a letter to all Party members explaining its assessment of the situation and problems which underlined the process of rigged elections.

The Polit Bureau in its letter to the Tripura comrades paid tribute to the courageous and dedicated work put in by the Party in the state and the record of the Left Front Government which enabled the Party to secure 51 per cent of the votes in the elections. This is no small achievement given the extremely difficult condition in which the elections were fought. This big mass support to the Party is the result of the ministry's work in protecting the rights of the tribal masses and the performance of the Autonomous District

Council formed after the protracted struggle. The Party and the Government accomplished a difficult task of maintaining Tribal-Bengali unity in the face of all provocations. It is also the result of our correct policies in favour of the oppressed sections of the people.

At the same time the letter pointed out some of the major defects in our understanding and work. The first weakness is that the Party in Tripura looked upon the elections as an ordinary election and not a serious political battle between the Congress(I) and the CPI(M) and the intensified offensive launched by the ruling party at the Centre against the Left-led Government including Tripura. This led to a sense of complacency. Therefore the declaration of the whole State as a 'Disturbed Area' and the deployment of the Army did not produce a sharp reaction required to meet the extraordinary situation. We were therefore unprepared to meet the goonda and illegal tactics adopted. Secondly, we underestimated the feelings of lack of security among large sections of the people especially the Bengalis in view of the stepped up terrorist violence by the TNV. We did not address ourselves sufficiently to this deep seated concern for security. Thirdly, the election experience when self-critically reviewed shows that there has been a tendency to rely on the ministry instead of relying on mass struggles and mass initiatives. Hence even the steps taken by the ministry to render help to the people did not sufficiently increase mass consciousness and mass participation. Independent mass activity and initiative of our mass organizations suffered because of this undue dependence on ministerial actions.

Finally with most of the Secretariat members being in the ministry and with practically the entire leadership fighting the elections as candidates the State centre failed to provide adequate guidance and coordination during the critical time after the deployment of the Army and the Congress(I) offensive.

Considering the grave situation facing the Party in the

State and the need of help from outside, a call was given for the collection of a Tripura Solidarity Fund. The amount collected has come to Rs. 8,21,473 so far, exclusive of collections made in West Bengal which were directly made available by the West Bengal State Committee to the Tripura State Committee.

A problem arose in the meantime in connection with the functioning of a particular mass organization and the comrades working in the same. The State leadership was not completely unified on it and therefore the Polit Bureau had to intervene.

Still another problem dealt with by the Party centre in this period concerns the hill areas of the Darjeeling district. The movement unleashed by the GNLF, the terroristic attacks on the Party and the Left Front by the GNLF, the initial reluctance of the Central Government to accept the democratic principle of regional autonomy for which our Party fought, all these created a difficult problem. The Party centre intervened, spending hours and weeks in finding a solution to this problem. Our efforts were in the end crowned with success when the Autonomous Regional Council was decided upon. The first election to the Council is over.

On the conflict in Sri Lanka our Party and the CPI are the only national parties which stood for the democratic solution of the problem based on the autonomy for the Tamil areas within the framework of Sri Lankan unity. All other Opposition parties were virtually opposed to this position. Among those who opposed it was the DMK in Tamil Nadu. The Party centre helped our comrades in taking the correct stand and fighting Sinhala chauvinism and Tamil separatism. This was the line which was accepted by the Left parties in India and Sri Lanka.

Along with the question of official language and medium of instruction, Sri Lanka constituted one issue on which we had to demarcate ourselves from the DMK, even while maintaining our relationship of cooperation with it

as a partner in the emerging opposition unity. We had sometimes to go in opposition to the DMK but maintained unity with it in the interest of the broader Opposition unity. The Party centre helped the Tamil Nadu Committee in working this out.

In Orissa this three-year period was marked by major advances in the class and mass movements and in the development of Opposition unity. The Party organization too has registered some progress.

Unfortunately, however, the tendency towards factionalism at the top, noted in the Political-Organizational Reports of previous Congresses still continues. The State Conference held at Bhubaneshwar in the second week of November showed how deep-rooted the malady is. The new Central Committee will have to take steps to remedy the situation.

An organizational question arose also in Gujarat where the Polit Bureau had to dissolve the Ahmedabad District Committee.

Major Shortcomings of the Party Centre

From this analysis of the organizational growth of the Party the conclusion emerges: while the collective functioning of the Polit Bureau and the Central Committee during the post-Salkia period has enabled the Party to unify itself on the major political problems it faces, it has not yet been able to fully cope with the multifarious tasks set out in the Salkia Plenum and the work of putting the correct political line evolved into practice at all levels of the Party. The Twelfth Congress of the Party in its Political-Organizational Report pointed out that 'the Party line is not properly understood or concretely applied. There is, in fact, a good deal of confusion on issues on which the Party has come to a conclusion after full inner-Party discussions, since the authoritative documents of the Party Congress and the Central Committee are not used for ideological work whose importance was emphasized in the Salkia Plenum and the following documents. What has been done by the Central Committee

and the State Committees by way of running schools, organizing systematic reporting from top to bottom and from bottom upwards, bringing out of journals and pamphlets, etc., is inadequate to meet the requirements of the situation.'

The reason for this inadequacy of the Party Centre is that, while the Salkia Plenum correctly understood and emphasized the importance of the Party Centre without which the Party cannot be built, there was no corresponding release of experienced comrades from developed states for the work at the Centre. The Twelfth Congress, for instance, had proposed the induction of a few comrades of the Central Committee to work 'as a sort of Secretariat' of the Central Committee. This, however, could not be carried out. This should be traced to two factors: (1) the unwillingness or inability of State Committees to release, and of the comrades themselves to be relieved, for Central work; (2) failure of the Polit Bureau itself to so organize the work of the newly drafted Central Committee members as to make them collectively work under the Polit Bureau.

It is therefore now proposed to so amend the Party Constitution as to provide for a Secretariat which will constitutionally function under the directions of the Polit Bureau. What this means is that the Secretariat constituted by the Central Committee will work under the guidance of the Polit Bureau and assist it in implementation of C.C. decisions at the Party Centre. This will lessen the burden of work of the Polit Bureau at present and enable it to concentrate on the major questions of policy and Party organization.

With such a mechanism being set up and working under the supervision of the Polit Bureau and with the induction of more Central Committee members for whole—or part-time work of fractions and sub-committees of mass fronts or for the work of running Party schools, preparing agitational and educational materials, etc., it will be possible for the Centre more efficiently to fulfil the two tasks assigned to it in the Salkia documents—organizing and centralizing the ideological struggle and streamlining the

organization. It should be possible to run more Central schools (in English and Hindi); bring out pamphlets and other publicity material on current and more basic questions; start and run an all-India news agency which will cater to the requirements of the provincial papers; pool and exchange the experience of running campaigns and struggles through the regular bringing out of a Party Letter; and, above all, keep the Party Centre in regular contact with the State Committees. Resistance of State Committees to release, and of the concerned comrades to be released, for Central work has been one of the major reasons why many of the correct decisions taken at Salkia and subsequently could not be carried out.

Reference may, in this context, be made to a proposal made at the Twelfth Congress that, instead of reviewing the political and organizational situation in States when Party Conferences are held once in three or four years, there should be more frequent reviews. The suggestion made then was to have annual reviews. Several State Committees took this proposal seriously and sent to the Central Committee their annual reviews, which however, could not be processed at the Centre because of the absence of a mechanism like the now-proposed Secretariat to do that work.

Party Papers and Journals

The Salkia Plenum had underlined the importance of stepping up Party propaganda and the ideological campaign in a big way. In this context it called for steps to ensure the effectiveness of Party journals as vehicles of the Party line and ideology. The Plenum had concertedly suggested: (a) meetings of editors of Party organs once a year at least, for discussions; (b) the Party Centre should bring out a theoretical and quarterly journal; (c) the Centre should immediately begin a Hindi weekly.

As is known, the Centre began publishing the Hindi *Lok Lahar* weekly in January, 1980 itself. The Centre also began publication of *The Marxist* as its theoretical quarterly

from 1983. While these two proposals of the Plenum were implemented, for a long time the regular meeting of Party editors could not be organized. The first instance of such a meeting was the one called after the Twelfth Congress in March 1986 which was convened by the Polit Bureau and attended by editors and representation of eight states dailies and weeklies and the Central papers. This exchange of opinions proved useful but it could not be followed up.

At the Party Centre, the two weeklies, *People's Democracy* and *Lok Lahar*, remain the main organs of the Party. The circulation of the two papers is given in the following table:

**Statewise Circulation of People's
Democracy & Lok Lahar**

States	People's Democracy		Lok Lahar	
	1985	1988	1985	1988
	October	October	October	October
Andhra Pradesh	840	997	5	12
Assam	766	810	34	45
Andamans	—	6	20	—
Bihar	588	574	3,454	2,818
Goa	9	13	1	—
Gujarat	31	30	120	110
Himachal Pradesh	70	68	373	442
Haryana	65	31	553	817
Jammu & Kashmir	58	101	45	57
Kerala	825	1,755	12	3
Karnataka	374	481	27	24
Madhya Pradesh	209	195	1,005	1,329
Maharashtra	552	700	516	580
Manipur	46	8	5	—
Meghalaya	12	30	—	—
Nagaland	10	—	—	—
Orissa	406	499	69	78
Punjab	429	479	393	447
Pondicherry	49	44	—	—

(Contd.)

States	People's Democracy		Lok Lahar	
	1985	1988	1985	1988
	October	October	October	October
Rajasthan	74	68	1,012	1,025
Sikkim	10	—	—	—
Tamil Nadu	1,629	1,648	2	1
Tripura	303	329	26	13
Uttar Pradesh	324	342	2,559	2,516
West Bengal	6,722	7,463	2,060	4,059
Delhi	522	477	909	905
Foreign	84	89	5	3
	15,007	17,237	13,206	15,284

Both papers have registered a slight increase as compared to the position in 1985. This is positive only in so much as it checks the trend of decline in circulation which was there between the Tenth Congress and the Twelfth Congress. But a study of the marginal all-India increase reveals that Kerala and West Bengal account for the major increase in the case of *People's Democracy*. This is followed by minor increases in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Orissa and Maharashtra. In the case of *Lok Lahar*, West Bengal accounts for the bulk of the increase (over 2,000). The Hindi-speaking states have a disappointing record where big states like Bihar and U.P. have registered a slight fall in circulation. Only in Haryana, M.P. and Himachal is there some increase. It is obvious from the figures that the expansion and push in circulation of *Lok Lahar* in the Hindi region has not taken place. In the light of the expanded mass influence and Party activities in the region, this failure shows the low consciousness and lack of priority that Party committees in this region exhibit towards Party propaganda, education and ideological work.

The Urdu *Lok Lahar* fortnightly which was being brought out from the Centre was finally stopped in 1987 after the low circulation no longer made it viable for publishing. The

purpose of bringing out the Urdu paper to reach out to the Muslim minority sections suffered a serious setback.

The Marxist has been coming out regularly during this period. While it is playing a useful role in educating the Party cadres on the political-ideological line of the Party, the circulation continues to be just over four thousand copies, with no increase.

Summing up the overall state of the Party papers from the Centre, the period since the last Party Congress has registered no significant advance on this front. The Party Centre has not been able to augment the staff for the weekly papers, neither has it been able to implement the proposal to set-up a Central news service for all the papers in the country. This situation is regrettable as the Party and its multifarious activities are growing. It reflects the continuing lag in strengthening the Party Centre.

Unless the Party committees take up a concerted drive to enrol subscribers and readers for the Central papers, the circulation cannot increase. Periodical campaigns and drives to increase must be taken up in the coming days, just as the one which took place in Kerala this year.

Party Papers in the States

A positive development of the period since the last Congress is the improvement in the two major dailies brought out by the West Bengal and Kerala State Committees, *Ganashakti* and *Deshabhimani*.

In West Bengal, the Party took the step to convert the *Ganashakti* from an evening daily, to a morning daily, from 1986. Along with this, major steps were taken to improve the content, quality of reporting and size of the paper. In a planned manner this was done with the necessary technological updating of switching to offset printing and photo-composing. The morning daily has made progress in becoming more readable to the average reader and in coverage of events. The circulation of *Ganashakti* which was 35,000 in 1985 when it was an evening daily has now crossed one

lakh in 1988. Its special issues have a sale of 2.5 lakhs. *Deshhitaishi* weekly has a circulation of 53,500.

In Kerala, *Deshabhimani* has also registered progress. Its size was increased to eight pages. A planned circulation drive undertaken by the State Committee led its circulation to reach 1,50,000 from the earlier 60,000 in 1985. It is now necessary to ensure that the impressive circulation achieved after the drive is sustained. Now the final stages for publishing the third edition from Trivandrum have been completed and this edition will begin on the eve of the Congress. The Party weekly *Chinta* has also registered a good increase in circulation from 30,000 (in 1985) to 65,000 at present. *Deshabhimani* (literary) weekly has a circulation of 25,000.

As for the other States, some progress has been registered in Tamil Nadu where the daily *Theekathir* has offset technology for the press. The circulation of the paper has recorded a modest increase from 7,134 in 1985, to 9,706 in 1988, after a drive by the Party.

In Tripura, the *Desherkatha* daily rose in circulation from 5,000 in 1985 to 10,500 in 1987. After the Assembly elections in February, 1988, the violent attacks on the Party by the Congress(I) have targetted the paper also. Despite all types of harassment and assaults on agents and distributors, the paper has maintained a circulation of 7,000.

The dailies in Andhra Pradesh and Punjab have not registered any increase in circulation. Most of the weekly papers from states like Maharashtra, Karnataka, Assam and Orissa are also marking time.

SOME ASPECTS OF SALKIA PLENUM IMPLEMENTATION

1. State Committee and Secretariat Functioning

The Plenum resolution had called for immediate steps to restore collective functioning at all levels, and stressed the necessity for regular meetings of the State Committees and the Secretariat. The guideline given was that the State Committees should normally meet in two months and the Secretariat

at least once a fortnight. There has been definite progress in this respect as information from States since the last Congress given below indicate :

State	Periodicity of Secretariat meetings	Periodicity of State Committee meetings	Are written reports by Sectt. Submitted in PC meetings?
1. West Bengal	120 (weekly)	20 (bimonthly)	Yes
2. Kerala	87 (fortnightly)	29 (bimonthly)	Yes
3. Andhra	44 (once in three weeks)	14 (once in nine weeks)	Yes
4. Punjab	— (fortnightly)	20 (bimonthly)	Yes
5. Tripura	127 (weekly)	26 (bimonthly)	Yes
6. Maharashtra	60 (fortnightly)	16 (bimonthly)	Yes
7. Karnataka	— (fortnightly)	22 (bimonthly)	
8. Delhi	— (fortnightly)	28 (bimonthly)	Yes
9. Madhya Pradesh	26 (once in seven weeks)	7 (once in four and half months)	Yes
10. Assam	— (monthly)	29 (bimonthly)	Yes
11. Tamil Nadu	49 (once in 3 weeks)	17 (bimonthly)	Yes
12. Himachal Pradesh	24 (once in seven weeks)	14 (once in nine weeks)	Yes

Only in Madhya Pradesh are the State Committee meetings held after long intervals. In this State and in Himachal, Secretariat meetings should be held more frequently.

From State reports, it is also clear that there is no im-

improvement in the functioning of the Rajsthan State Secretariat, as most of its members do not function from the Centre and the Secretariat only meets on the eve of the State Committee meetings.

As for written reports most of the State Committees are implementing this for their meetings. In some, as in Uttar Pradesh, the report is not collectively prepared by the Secretariat.

The practice of submitting written reports by the Secretariat to the State Committee meeting has also to be implemented in Rajasthan, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh.

2. Branch functioning

The Salkia Resolution had stated: "To activise every Party member to discharge his minimum responsibilities, it is necessary to tackle the question of efficient functioning of the primary unit—the Branch." In this sphere the progress has been patchy and the overall situation is still very unsatisfactory. The West Bengal State Committee reports that there are a total of 14,016 branches in the State. Out of these 60 per cent meet at least once a month. The rest are irregular. The main difficulty is in having trained branch secretaries who show initiative. In Kerala, there are 14,400 Branches and progress is reported in activising the Branches. A majority of the Branches meet once in two weeks. In Andhra Pradesh there are around 2,000 Branches. It is estimated that 21 per cent meet ten times a year and 23 per cent eight times a year, 33 per cent meet less than three times a year. In Tamil Nadu, there are 4,348 branches. Some improvement is noted in Branch functioning, with 50 per cent of branch Secretaries taking some initiative to carry out decisions of the higher committees. In Punjab, there are 1,200 Branches and one-third of them hold monthly meetings.

In Karnataka there are 396 Branches and it is reported about 50 per cent meet regularly though the periodicity is not mentioned. Of them 125 show a level of satisfactory activity. In Assam, there are a total of 1,133 Branches.

Of these only 200 can be said to be regular functioning units from all aspects. In Maharashtra, there are 291 Branches. The State Committee could only report that overall Branch functioning is very poor and in Bombay and Nagpur only 30 per cent of the Branches meet regularly. In Madhya Pradesh there are 86 Branches and only 23 per cent of them can be termed active. In Himachal Pradesh, out of the 109 Branches, 56 are active Branches in terms of meetings and activity. In Jammu and Kashmir, there are 40 Branches and 40 per cent function regularly.

These reports from eleven States indicate that in many of these, the majority of the Branches do not meet at least once a month and do not have a sufficient level of activities and initiative. Almost all the States pin down the main problem as lack of politically-equipped Branch Secretaries, with sufficient initiative. In this respect the training of Branch Secretaries and the holding of regular meetings of Branch Secretaries by the local committee/area committee, as suggested by the Salkia Resolution, is still not being implemented in many States. One of the States to give special attention to education of Branch Secretaries has been Andhra Pradesh.

The Party with thousands of members in each State, and foreseeing rapid expansion of its ranks, has to pay urgent attention to activating the Branches and training of the Branch Secretaries. Neglect of this task is affecting the revolutionary quality of the Party.

3. Party Education and Ideological Work

The Plenum Resolution had called for regular Party schools and stepping up the ideological work to educate the cadres and counter alien ideologies by ideological struggle. In the matter of Party education, a definite advance has been made in states like Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal and Maharashtra. The most comprehensive schooling has been undertaken in Andhra Pradesh, where a total of 22,215 Party members and sympathizers went through schools, from the State Committee-level to the Branch

Secretaries level. These included state-level mass front cadre schools for workers, kisans, agricultural labourers, youth, students and women. In Tamil Nadu, apart from a state-level school for 250 comrades, more than 3000 comrades participated in district schools for taluk and local committee comrades. State-level schools for youth, students, women and employees were also organized.

In West Bengal, a State Party education sub-committee has been working on this front. A State school for 700 leaders and organisers was held on the eve of the 1987 elections. Eleven district schools were held between 1986 and 1988. In 1988 Party education camps were organized on a zonal and local basis. Classes of the mass organization cadres were also held.

Kerala, Punjab, Tripura, Maharashtra and Himachal also held State schools and classes at lower levels. In Maharashtra altogether fifty district-level schools of Party and mass organizations were held during this period. In U.P., Rajasthan, one State-level school for cadres was held. And in Bihar and Delhi some schools for mass front cadres were organized though no State Party school was held.

There seems to be a greater awareness of the need for more systematic Party education in the States, and this was reflected in discussions in the recent Party Conference.

Since the last Party Congress some efforts have gone into expanding Party publications and using them for the ideological campaign. As per available information, West Bengal brought out 10 Party pamphlets, 4 election manifestos and 17 Party letters. Two to three lakh copies of each pamphlet, and 38,000 copies of each Party letter were printed. The NBA brought out other titles. In Kerala, 43 Party titles totalling 2.5 lakh copies were brought out, and 25 pamphlets for the election campaigns, 167 titles were published by Chinta Publishers, including republishing of 58 titles. Andhra Pradesh brought out 64 titles valued at Rs. 12.2 lakhs, Tamil Nadu brought out 38 titles totalling 5.25 lakhs and 9 Party letters. Punjab brought out 18 pamphlets in

80,000 copies. Karnataka brought out 20 titles, of 2000 copies each. Maharashtra published 7 titles totalling 29,000 copies.

Apart from Party publications, the mass organizations in these states have also brought out a number of publications. All these put together constitute some advance in the ideological work of the Party in the non-Hindi states. In the Hindi-speaking states, not much progress has been made in this respect. The Party Committee are yet to take up the drive for Party literature in an organized and systematic manner.

4. Party and Mass Organizations Relations

Since Salkia and the C.C. Resolution on Mass Organizations adopted in 1981, the struggle was initiated for a correct approach to the question of mass organizations and their democratic functioning. The task was to rectify the tendency to treat them as appendages of the Party, or the tendency of Party cadres functioning in these organizations to by-pass the Party. While there has been progress in the setting up of sub-committees and fraction committees in the states for the mass fronts, still in many states the State Conference reports reveal that two major weaknesses persist: (1) Many of these committees do not function properly nor submit reports to the State Committee concerned. Fraction committees are utilized only to discuss the panel for conferences. (2) There is still a strong deep-rooted trend to treat mass organizations as subsidiaries of the Party and to resist democratic functioning of its elected bodies.

In the latter case, it is found that in the weaker States in particular, at the district and lower levels, there is no distinction between the Party unit and mass organization unit. All norms of independent and democratic functioning of the mass organizations are violated. The practice of using the mass organizations as a Party platform, and adopting undemocratic methods of functioning, curbs the development of these organizations and harms the Party's long-term development. On the other hand, the Party leaders in the

mass organizations continue to function individualistically, by-passing the Party committee, sub-committees and fractions.

The main problem in rectifying this situation is the unchanged outlook and attitude of the leading Party cadres who work in these organizations. It is necessary that a continuous review and check-up of the work of Party cadres in mass organizations, in the light of Party policy, is made by the Party committees, alongside the education of Party cadres on this important subject.

Control Commission

The Central Committee after the Twelfth Congress elected a new Control Commission in March 1986, consisting of M.A. Rasul (Convener), K.N. Ravindranath and Shankar Dayal Tiwari. During this period the Commission has taken up six appeals against expulsions and one against suspension for a year. Five of these cases were gone into and disposed of with recommendations submitted to the Central Committee for approval. Two cases are still pending for investigation and disposal by the Commission.

After the 1985 State Party Conferences and the Party Congress, the following State Committees set up State Control Commissions: West Bengal, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh.

The Polit Bureau, on receipt of certain appeals by members against whom disciplinary action was taken by units below the State Committees, referred some of these cases to the concerned State Control Commissions for disposal.

Reviewing the work and experience of the Control Commissions, it is clear that the Commissions have to be strengthened and made more active so that the Constitutional objectives are fully met. At present, there is too much delay in deciding cases. The Central Committee while adopting the Rules under the Constitution in August, 1988, has set out the procedural rules and guidelines for the functioning of the Control Commission. Implementation of these rules with adequate and suitable personnel in the Commissions, both

at the Centre and the States, is necessary, in view of the steadily increasing number of Party members and Party committees, and the consequent rise in the cases pertaining to maintenance of Party discipline and disciplinary action.

Rules Under The Constitution

The Central Committee in its August 1988 meeting adopted a set of Rules under the Constitution to lay down further guidelines for Party organizational functioning. These Rules along with the Party Constitution, should form the basis for the day-to-day functioning of the organization.

Parliamentary Work

Since the last Congress there has been some improvement in the functioning of the Party MPs in both Houses of Parliament. The Parliamentary group's ability to project Party's policy and to raise vital issues affecting the interests of the working class, peasantry and other sections has also shown improvement. The major lapse in this period was the failure of the Lok Sabha leadership to effectively register our protest against the manipulations of elections in Tripura. This was criticised by the Polit Bureau. Later the Party could mobilise MPs of other opposition groups to send a delegation to Tripura to see the attacks on democratic rights taking place there. A Left MPs' delegation also visited Tripura earlier.

There has been also a better level of coordination in both Houses with the Left parties for projecting commonly agreed upon national issues. However, while the non-Left opposition has tended only to concentrate on corruption scandals which also generate Press publicity, our effort has been to also project the basic issues affecting the people, like unemployment, industrial sickness, remunerative prices for peasantry, problems of agricultural workers, women, etc. Much more has to be done in this respect to effectively project the Party's stand on national issues.

The weakness pointed out earlier in the functioning of our MPs persists. Many MPs still do not do the necessary

home work for effective participation in the parliamentary proceedings. There is a tendency still to remain absent from the session and to be more alive to state or local issues. The Parliamentary Party Committee should be able to review the work regularly so that weaknesses can be removed but so far such concrete reviews have not been done. Similar reviews should be undertaken of the work of the Parliamentary office.

In one respect where there was criticism that MPs are not generally available for all-India campaigns and intervention in struggles in States other than their own, there has been a distinct improvement. Many MPs participated in the November 1987 *Jatha* campaign. Some of the MPs have been regularly utilised for mass meetings, campaigns and struggles in states like Bihar, U.P., Orissa and so on. This participation of MPs in campaigns and intervention in struggles should be further strengthened.

International Contacts

Since the Twelfth Congress, our relations and interactions with fraternal parties have considerably grown.

During this period CPI(M) delegations participated in the Party Congresses of the CPSU, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Poland, Mongolia, Vietnam, Italy, France, Japan, Bangladesh and the PLO National Conference. Many of these Congresses were attended by us for the first time.

Party delegations visited China, Bulgaria, GDR, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. Comrades regularly went to the Soviet Union for rest and treatment. Reports of these delegations were considered by the Central Committee from time to time. These interactions have strengthened our relations with fraternal parties.

During this period two delegations from the International Liaison Department of the CPC, delegations of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Japanese Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Philippines visited India at our invitation.

Protocols of cooperation were signed between the CPI(M) and the CP of Czechoslovakia, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, and the Workers' Party of Korea. In accordance with the protocol, three students were sent to Czechoslovakia in 1987, for higher studies, and four in 1988.

Party delegations attended the 70th anniversary celebrations of the October Revolution and the meeting of Parties and Movements of Moscow in 1987. Following this, a Polit Bureau delegation had discussions with the CPSU on ideological issues. Party delegations participated in the meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties of the Asia Pacific region held in Mongolia, the 40th Anniversary of the DPRK, the International Symposium organized by the Japanese Communist Party, the 15th Anniversary of the Polisario, the 75th birthday celebrations of Kim-Il-Sung, the 30th anniversary of Moncada (Cuba) and the International Conference on Nuclear Weapon-free Zones in the GDR.

During this period, on various separate occasions, CPI(M) leaders met Comrades Gorbachev, Deng Xiaoping, leaders of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the French Communist Party.

Since the change in the structure of the AIPSO and our consequent participation in its work, many CPI(M) comrades were sent to attend various international conferences organized by the World Peace Council and the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization. Apart from these, comrades also attended the organizational meetings of these organizations and were included in delegations that visited various countries at the invitation of Peace and Solidarity Committees.

Report on the Trade Union Front

The Party's trade union activity has increased in a big way since our last Congress. Our comrades working in different unions and undertakings, have succeeded in carrying forward our Party's trade union line to new and very important sections whose organizations are not affiliated to the CITU.

Especially striking has been our advance among the public sector workers who with our participation, were able to organize an all-India public sector workers' strike in January 1987, to protest, among other things, against the new public sector policy of the Rajiv Gandhi Government. Besides registering advance in coal, steel, BHEL and many other industries our trade union activity and influence have increased among electricity workers, mercantile employees and several other middle-class employees, with banking and other organizations battling against reformist leadership which holds back the resistance of the employees and facilitates the computer offensive of the employers. Our recent advance among electricity workers with the formation of the Electricity Workers' Federation has to be specially mentioned as it has an importance of its own.

Growth of Trade Union Unity

The CITU and our entire trade union cadre working in various industries are implementing the Party line of trade union unity and have secured important successes for the working class overcoming the resistance of the vacillators and opponents. Now the occasions on which the INTUC leadership chooses to cooperate with us are more numerous than before though it shuns joint mass action on almost every occasion. But even here there are occasions when, over the heads of their leaders, their ranks join us in common mass actions. All other important central trade union organizations continue to work in the National Campaign Committee which enables us to press forward the task of building and consolidating trade union unity.

It has, however, been noted that we have not yet succeeded in expanding the National Campaign Committee and making a large number of industrial mass federations equal constituents of the Committee.

Such an expansion would have increased the appeal of the National Campaign Committee manifold. But other constituents including the AITUC hesitated and are afraid of

this expansion. In contrast to our suggestion of bringing in federations with a mass following, they suggest inclusion of small groups, some of them of a doubtful variety, to be included in the National Campaign Committee. This is doing great harm because by now there is an urgent need for wider expansion and implementation of our proposal of a confederation of all trade unions and federations. It is because of this failure that working class resistance to the attack of the crisis could not be effectively organized.

However, the struggle for trade union unity which has already united large sections of the working class, has to be strengthened and expanded.

It is the experience of last three years that for carrying out the decisions of the National Campaign Committee the CITU unions and our other unions have to take much greater initiative than before. Often our other allies are indifferent, slow in action, and sometimes they are too weak. This also underlines the importance of the independent activity of the CITU and our other unions. Sometimes there is a tendency to trail behind others, delay actions till others are ready when actions are urgently required. This tendency has to be fought. An outstanding example of CITU initiative and independent activity was the seven-day strike for a minimum wage organized by the Delhi CITU Committee. Any further delay in waiting for others would have meant loss of the initiative and the tempo among the workers. The success of the strike was outstanding for two reasons: (i) it was independent initiative displayed at the proper time, after efforts for united action had failed; and (ii) it was a very big mass action of workers in the unorganized sector, perhaps the biggest embracing several small industries.

The emergence of the Committee of Public Sector Trade Unions (CPSTU) and the wide response it has secured from all sections is both a tribute to the independent activity of our comrades as well as their earnest efforts at united action. This success was achieved after overcoming the resistance from other parties and organizations. Expansion of

our trade union influence demands immediate steps to consolidate the advance politically and ideologically, a task which has not yet started. The years since the Calcutta Congress have been years of intense economic crisis, lock-outs, closures and strikes. Never before since independence has the working class faced such a widespread attack against its living conditions, such massive retrenchment and unemployment. Two main industries—jute and cotton textiles—were seriously affected, while the total number of sick factories increased from 80,000 in earlier years, to 1,60,000. But the working class and the CITU carried on a brave and courageous struggle, the workers refused to surrender to the blackmail of lock-out and refused to accept retrenchment and lower conditions of work. These lock-outs went on for several months and yet the working class resistance could not be easily broken. It was however realized that while leading this heroic resistance, flexible tactics would have to be adopted on some occasions to settle the disputes. In its absence in some places the workers tired out after months of struggle and starvation, were tempted to sign agreements bypassing the union. But on the whole the CITU unions discharged their responsibility well by refusing to surrender workers' rights or mortgage their services for 'saving' the industry or accept any huge massacre of jobs.

The CITU leaders and workers have often to face barbarous repression in states like Himachal, Haryana and others. In Punjab under President's Rule, every obstacle was placed in the way of trade unions whose members were protecting workers' solidarity and unity, and fighting the secessionists. Their success in maintaining working class unity under the conditions obtaining in Punjab was an outstanding victory of the trade union movement of workers, Government employees and others, made possible by their class solidarity. Nothing can compare with the fight for class and national unity waged by the tea-garden workers of Darjeeling, more than 100 of whom sacrificed their lives for this noble cause. The grim struggle waged by the Tripura workers to keep

this unity in the midst of armed terror, raids on trade union offices and their determination to observe the all-India call for Bharat Bandh on March 15 once again underlined the fighting class consciousness created by the CITU, under the leadership of the Party.

Wider Political Issues

All our trade unions in greater or smaller measure, are vigilant against the attack of divisive forces and the communal challenges. They often intervene to fight it back on a number of occasions, though this is much less than what is required. There are states with large industrial centres and a working class population where our trade unions are not in a position to organize intervention and fight back the communalists and other divisive forces.

Our Party members in trade unions not only work for trade union unity but also propagate the Party's political line among the workers. The misdeeds of the Rajiv Government, the demand for its resignation, the opposition to the trade union Bills, the authoritarian attack on people's rights and the main features of the international situation form part of our agitation and propaganda activities.

At the same time there is much that needs to be done. In the first place the attention to the peace movement is of recent origin, and in the last two years international days for peace have been observed on a wider scale. At the same time very little attention is paid to popularizing India's foreign policy of non-alignment, though the Calcutta Congress called for its popularisation among the masses warning that the continuation of the policy of non-alignment should not be taken for granted. Peace, international developments, friendship with socialist countries and the policy of non-alignment demand much greater attention. The opposition inside the country and inside a section of the trade unions, to non-alignment and friendship with socialist countries, should not be underestimated. It should be noted that the National Campaign Committee has been able to give a call for opposition

to the nuclear war threat and to unite all sections for the peace struggle, because of the reactionary stand of some of its constituents. This great limitation of the National Campaign Committee because of its composition, should be relised and ways should be found to unite the working class for opposition to war and defence of peace and to expose to U.S. arms race and its "Star Wars" project.

Weaknesses of CITU

Taking our unions affiliated to the CITU and others it has to be noted they have not yet made a strenuous enough effort to break out of the old mould and address themselves to the new situation. They have all neglected redirecting the trade union movement on the lines given in "Party's Task on the Trade Union Front". First there is the continuous neglect of the temporarily employed workers, mostly young people. The increase in the number of temporary workers is a special device of the ruling classes and the employers, to pass on the main burden of the crisis to this section as they have hardly any protection against inflation nor any other rights. Mostly comprising young people with little ties with the organized trade union movement they become explosive material capable of being exploited by reactionaries. Failure to rally them confines the trade union membership to permanent workers, and keeps away this militant section from common activity.

This and some other factors have led to the stagnation in CITU membership, and even a fall in membership in some places though the CITU is heading struggles and its militant image continues to inspire the workers. Because of closures, lock-outs and retrenchment there is a certain fall of membership in the industries affected. At the Bombay Conference of the CITU in 1987, important unions had shown a decline in membership because of this.

This is not the only reason. The membership of the CITU unions could have grown if other measures had been taken. A number of unions, some of them among the best run, do

not make any special effort to reach workers beyond those who are already in the trade union fold. Even some of our biggest unions do not have membership exceeding 50 or 60 per cent of the strength of the workers in the industry. And there is no special effort made to overcome this situation.

The character of the special efforts required is also not understood, though it has been pointed out in Party documents. In the first place, a section of those who follow our union but do not become members consists of those who owe political allegiance to some other political parties. A special political approach is necessary to enable them to enrol as members of the union. Besides a large section consists of Harijans, Muslims and other oppressed sections who have their own problems of social inequality and feudal oppression. Unless these problems are looked into, it will not be easy for them to join the union. The facile conception that all will flock to the unions if the immediate economic interests are defended does not work because the working class itself is divided into so many sections.

The failure to link the trade unions with the cause of the unemployed is another weakness. There is refusal to understand the class importance of this link which unites the unemployed and the employed. Some steps have been taken in several states like West Bengal, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka to organize unemployment days and rallies. But this cannot be considered to be a constant policy struggle to lead the unemployed and unite the two sections.

A huge section of the working class is engaged in unorganized industries where the workers have no rights. Only the first initial steps have been taken in some states as West Bengal, Delhi and some others to organize this section. In the absence of this the trade union movement gets confined to permanent workers in big factories as partial movement.

Apart from the unorganized there has been very little effort to give due attention to the problems of working women, thousands of whom have already been retrenched without a word of protest from the organized trade union movement.

There is a constant complaint from working women who are Party members that CITU leaders in some states are not serious about the questions concerning working women. This indifference to working women was sharply nailed down by a working woman delegate (a beedi worker) at the Party conference of the Karnataka state, when she said, "we the women workers are required only for purposes of demonstration, and nothing else".

The only State Committee which seems to be taking this question seriously is the Tamil Nadu Committee of the CITU. And in the last year leaders of our employees' organization have started paying greater attention to this question.

Our trade union movement can acquire the character of a movement leading the entire class only when these weaknesses are removed.

The unifying role that the CITU and other unions have been playing, their earnest efforts to forge the widest possible unity and their independent activity have not only cemented working class unity but have also enhanced the prestige of the CITU and the Party. It is because of this that there was much wider participation of the working class on political issues like Rajiv Gandhi's resignation, the December 9 Rally, in support of the peasants, and the March 15 Bharat Bandh. In states like West Bengal and elsewhere consciousness about the working class responsibility towards the peasantry is also developing. But our movement, as a whole, has yet to get out of the confines of economism. Our recent actions, our successes, our new links with the working class mass, open new prospects for rapid development and influence and organization among the workers. These can be realized if our present weaknesses are overcome and we make an earnest effort to redirect our trade union activity on the lines given by the Party's document, "Tasks on the Trade Union Front".

Report on the Kisan Front (Summary)

The Calcutta Congress, having analysed the agrarian situation, pointed to some serious shortcomings and weaknesses

of functioning in AIKS which had persisted for a long time. It pointed to the failure of the organization to grow in the face of tremendous possibilities, the inability to consolidate the gains following a struggle, the absence of AIKS units even in some of the areas where Party units operate, failure to popularize the achievements of the Left Front governments, hesitation to popularize the demands of the agricultural labourers, and lack of concrete studies of agrarian situations at local levels. It also noted the decline of the AIKS organization in most states, both in terms of membership and in terms of lack of regularity in holding meetings, preparing reports, etc. It was felt that without rectifying these shortcomings, the potential that exists for the growth of the movement cannot be fully utilized.

Over the past three years efforts have been made to rectify these mistakes. Soon after Calcutta Congress, the Golden Jubilee Session of AIKS was held at Patna, which gave a call for an all India struggle, initiated discussion on a new statement of policy to replace the one adopted in the Cannanore session of AIKS 32 years ago, and finalized a new 12-point charter of demands, as also popularizing the major struggles of the past in the form of nine published documents. The 31 months following the Patna Conference have been ones of the most hectic periods in the annals of the Kisan movement of the country, which also witnessed a distinct improvement in the functioning of the organization.

Statement of Policy

The process of reassessment of the agrarian situation began with the Central Committee resolution of 1976 and the Varanasi session of AIKS in 1979, which came out with a new orientation. The Draft Statement of Policy, introduced in the Patna session of AIKS for discussion, and given final form in the Thane session of CKC in 1979 after intensive discussion, took account of the changes that had taken place in the agrarian sector since the country's independence, and incorporated the ideas outlined by the Varanasi session of AIKS.

After reviewing the land reform programmes of the Indian government, the Statement of Policy concluded : "These pitiful attempts of the bourgeoisie for the expansion of the market and for meeting the foodgrains requirements of the cities, are neither aimed at smashing the feudal and semi-feudal fetters on agrarian relations nor at unleashing the productive forces in a big way." Noting such land reform as attempts to create a "a new type of landlord" who produces surplus foodgrains by employing hired labour, it concluded that "these would not transform agriculture into a modern capitalist enterprise, but are intended only to modify and reform the earlier form of crude feudal exploitation, and thus superimpose on it capitalist forms and relations."

The Statement of Policy then examined the implications of such a change in agrarian relations for the peasant movement, particularly the fact that the pre-independence all-in peasant unity had been seriously disrupted by this, as a significant section of the peasants "are no longer moved by the seizure of landlords' land and its redistribution". As a consequence, the slogan of complete abolition of landlordism, while continuing to be "the central slogan of the agrarian revolution" has become one "on which we cannot go into immediate action today".

This does not mean that the issue of land is now relegated to the background. On the contrary, identification and seizure of ceiling-surplus land and benami land, rights of tenants on land from which attempts are being repeatedly made to evict them, rights of tribals on their land,—these are some of the issues on which many struggles have been fought all over the country, over the past three years. At the same time, emphasis has been laid on a variety of concrete day-to-day issues for immediate action, e.g., wages of agricultural labourers, rent, indebtedness, remunerative prices, input costs, etc. These are issues which affect all sections of the peasantry, and would help "to build the maximum unity of the peasantry, centering round the agricultural labourers and poor peasants, thereby isolating the narrow stratum of landlords".

Building Class Unity

While we are trying to build peasant unity on class lines, and are fighting for national integrity, the landlord lobbies are trying to splinter the peasants along narrow lines. Furthermore, in the name of avoiding 'party politics' they are trying to block off their supporters from the influence of the class-based organizations like ours, and are acting as a pressure group for extracting limited concessions, by mobilizing a large number of peasants. They are opposed to basic agrarian changes which alone can provide the lasting solution to the problems confronting the peasants. In the absence of our own movement in vast areas of the Indian countryside, these organizations have succeeded in playing on the genuine grievances of the rural masses. There are also explicit caste-based groups, e.g., BSP of Kanshiram, Vanniyar group in Tamil Nadu. Both Congress(I) and some bourgeois opposition parties are using caste appeals to mobilize the peasantry, to disrupt peasant unity. One of the major tasks of AIKS has been to expose these groups and their divisive orientation, and also to champion the cause of national integration.

United Action

A major criticism of the Tenth Party Congress, which was reiterated by the Varanasi session of AIKS, was that the "Kisan Sabha has made very little effort to pursue the line of united action and agitation with other organizations or groups, local or statewide, and has chosen to remain within its own shell". This shortcoming has been greatly rectified by the united nationwide struggles jointly sponsored with the other Left forces, during this period. Coordination committees were formed at all-India, and district levels, and joint conventions and Press conferences were organized in all but a few states, which helped to enhance common understanding among the partners in the struggle.

Another aspect of this issue was the relationship of the peasants with the agricultural labourers. Though from 1981 a separate organization for the latter was formed, in several

states both of these components operate within the same organization. In several discussions within the AIKS emphasis was given on the need to form separate organizations of the agricultural labourers wherever possible, in order to highlight their specific demands. At the same time, it was repeatedly emphasized that the organization of the agricultural labourers should be seen as an integral part of the agrarian movement of the country, and their unity with the peasants should be the cornerstone of the policy and functioning of AIKS. It was to underline this unity that the specific demand of the agricultural labourers for a central legislation was projected as a key demand of the peasant struggles in 1987 and 1988. Disputes between the two components at local levels are settled amicably, keeping in view the essential unity of interests between the two.

Membership

Over the past four years, the membership of AIKS has registered a very significant increase of 38 lakhs, and, with a membership of 1 crore five lakhs, AIKS is now by far the biggest mass organization in the country. Since 1977-78, when the membership was 23 lakhs, there has been almost a five-fold increase in membership; no doubt a very impressive achievement.

West Bengal continues to account for three-fourths of the total, and with Kerala, about 84 per cent of the membership, which indicates a highly skewed distribution of our organization over the country. At the same time, it is by no means insignificant that the membership in the remaining states has also increased from around 5 lakhs in 1977-78 to 17 lakhs in 1987-88, only 6 lakhs less than the aggregate membership of AIKS, including the two leading states in 1977-78. There have been large increases in Assam, Bihar, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra, and even some small states have made significant strides, while even in a state like Punjab, our comrades, facing Khalistani terror, have contributed to major increases in membership.

Apart from the unevenness in the distribution of our strength, the following points need to be noted :

(i) that even this increase in membership does not adequately reflect the influence that our Party and the Kisan movement carries in various states; in many states the scale of participation in the movement was far out of proportion to the membership that we could register.

(ii) that the less spectacular but highly important task of enrolling members is not viewed, as a high priority activity, is left to be undertaken at the very last moment, is not combined with other activities and movements, and is not seen as a regular year-round activity. Its importance in consolidating the gains made during a struggle and giving it an organizational shape tends to be minimized.

(iii) that our very large membership pales into insignificance when compared with the figures for the aggregate agricultural population in the country; and that in a large part of the country the absence of our organization creates the ground for penetration by casteist, communal and other divisive political influences.

Organization

The past three years have witnessed a considerable improvement in the functioning of our organization. All the four immediate targets outlined by the Calcutta Congress—to produce literature on current problems, to increase membership to eight million, to publish pamphlets on important struggles and to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of AIKS and hold meetings for this in at least 5000 villages—have been more than fulfilled, while several of the major weaknesses pointed out by the past three Party Congresses have been to a considerable extent rectified, as the following account would show.

There were regular meetings of the organization at the All India level. In the two and half years since the Patna Conference, 15 meetings of the office bearers, 7 meetings of CKC and 2 meetings of AIKC have been held, 21 bulletins

with state reports have been published, 43 circulars have been issued, while the central leaders have extensively toured the states. Each of the movements has been reviewed in detail, and published. In all 16 documents have been published including the ones on struggles brought out in the Golden Jubilee year and also the reports of various CKC sessions. Further, 35 articles on various aspects of the peasants' struggle have been published in *People's Democracy* and other journals, as well as detailed state reports on movements.

There has been corresponding improvement in the work at the State level. Reports from states come regularly, sales of documents have been regularized, and several of those have been printed in local languages, while some state units have attempted village-level surveys for examining agrarian change. Various struggles fought at the State level on a wide range of issues bear testimony to the growing alertness of the comrades to emerging issues. One Central Kisan School was organized for 110 Party comrades in Trivandrum in October 1987, following which several State-level classes were held. However, because of the demands made by the all India movement on the organization, this task did not get the priority it deserved. It should be taken up in full earnest soon after the Party Congress.

However, several lacunae persist. Firstly, there has been no marked improvement in the functioning of the units below the State level, and not enough has been done to activize the basic unit at the village level, in terms of regular meetings, campaigns and activities. Nor is there enough effort to involve the masses in the day-to-day functioning of the organization. The barrier between the leader and the masses still exists, though it has been narrowed to some extent in the course of the movement.

Secondly, work at the mass organizational level is not fully coordinated with the work of the relevant Party unit. At the all-India level not even a Party sub-committee for the kisan front was formed, where the major issues and tasks

could be collectively thought through, nor was there a proper monitoring of the functioning from the Party end. Responsibilities tended to be concentrated on the PBM in charge. Similar problems are also in evidence at the state level in many cases. There is also often the opposite, equally wrong, tendency of ignoring the separate existence of the mass organization, and the need to adhere to its norms and rules, while imposing the decisions made by the relevant Party unit on the latter. Both of these two tendencies need to be rectified.

Thirdly, still less than sufficient attention is given to the spontaneous struggles, which are initiated by the common people themselves against social oppression, injustice and discriminatory use of Governmental patronage when distributing funds allocated under IRDP, NREP or RLEGP, among others. There is a need to be more alert on these issues and to be more prompt in intervening during such spontaneous outbursts of discontent.

Lastly, the decision of the very second meeting of the Central Committee after the Calcutta Congress—to form a Committee on Agrarian Relations for undertaking an in-depth and comprehensive study of agrarian relations—could not be implemented. Though the committee was formed, it met only once, in January 1987, and there was no follow-up action. In view of the recommendations of the Salkia Plenum and the last three Party Congresses for such study, this was a serious failure. One of the priority tasks of the new Central Committee should be to revitalize and activate this Committee.

Agricultural Workers' Front—Organization

The AIAWU which was formed in 1981 and which held its first all India Conference in November, 1982 has in the past six years been able to set up units with State-level activity in eleven States. At the time of the first conference membership existed in eight States. Its membership has increased from 8.9 lakhs at the time of the Twelfth Congress to 14.5 lakhs

in 1987-88. While this shows some growth, much remains to be done to make it a truly effective all-India organization. It should be noted that Kerala and Andhra Pradesh together constitute 77 per cent of the total membership. Also the present AIAWU membership (which excludes a big chunk organized within West Bengal Kisan Sabha) constitutes only 2.3 per cent of the total population of agricultural workers in the country.

There are States like Tamil Nadu where vast possibilities exist if the organization is expanded outside the few districts in which at present it has a membership of one lakh. While States like Punjab and Tripura have faced special problems due to the political situation extant there, the same cannot be said of Haryana, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh or especially Bihar and U.P. where the organization has begun to take root. Developments in Maharashtra, Karnataka and Orissa show that there is no reason to leave these sections in the hands of the ruling classes or the casteist forces. Proper attention by the State Party Committees is necessary for building the Party amongst them and to draw this vital section into the movement for the agrarian revolution.

The functioning of the State centres of Kerala and Andhra Pradesh has improved. In Kerala, the organizational functioning has improved at the district level and also to an extent at the taluk/area level and in the majority of the districts even at the village level. Some improvement is there in the functioning of the State Committees of Punjab and Maharashtra with some organizational set up at the State-level. Though activities are being developed in Bihar and Orissa this is not much reflected in the organizational set up. Tamil Nadu has not been able to effect much improvement in its State-level organization.

The Twelfth Congress had noted: "The line adopted through various Party documents for this front has not become a part of the consciousness of the entire Party even today. A vigorous education campaign should be undertaken by the state

units in this respect. . . . It must be realized that no advance towards the agrarian revolution can be thought of without bringing the agricultural workers into our fold." This formulation is by and large still applicable today, though there is still hesitancy in some states in organizing agricultural workers separately and taking up their issues and conducting struggles. This attitude must go.

Along with an in-depth understanding of the Party line on the agrarian front, it is necessary to stress two aspects currently in this front. Firstly, the unity of the agricultural labourers and peasants must be fostered. Struggles on common demands and coordinating of the activities of the AIAWU and AIKS is essential. The decision to form coordinating committees of the two organizations at all levels has not been implemented at all places. Proper emphasis has to be given to this.

Secondly adequate attention has to be paid to training and developing cadres from this front. Here it is important to educate the Party cadres on the need to struggle against caste oppression and socially oppressive customs. Only this campaign will enthuse and rally militant sections from this class and draw them closer to the Party. Given the oppressed and backward conditions of the class, the militants from this section must be specially nurtured and developed.

There has been a slight improvement in the functioning of the all India Centre with the inclusion of one comrade functioning from the Centre as Joint Secretary and some progress has been made in taking up immediate issues, in sending circulars and propaganda materials. But steps to have a permanent functioning Centre have to be taken which can meet the needs of developing the organization at all levels. Augmenting the resources of the Centre, provision of wholetimers at the state and district levels by the Party State Committees and development of the village-level units are some of the priority talks on the organizational front.

REPORT ON THE YOUTH FRONT

Organization

The foundation Conference was held in 1980 with a membership of 15,49,270. By 1984 it reached nearly 30 lakhs and in 1987 it was 49,51,497. The enrolment for this year is to reach a target of 55 lakhs. The DYFI has thus become the largest democratic youth organization in the country.

In 1980 the DYFI was organized in 11 states. Today it has organized State Committees in 18 states and three organizing State Committees, with some contacts in two more states. There are over 30,000 primary units all over the country.

Though there is a rapid expansion in terms of membership an important weakness is the unevenness of this growth. Five states account for 93 per cent of the membership, whereas the Hindi-heartland including Gujarat, Maharashtra and Punjab, which have 50 per cent of the youth population of the country, contribute only 5 per cent of the membership. However, there is progress in all the states but the unevenness persists. In order to expand the organization's influence and in accordance with the objective situation of Indian society, the DYFI has decided to emphasize the importance of day-to-day multifarious and popular activities concerning the youth of the country. There has been improvement in this direction with various State Committees organizing sports and games competitions, literacy campaign, social work, relief activities, etc.

In the background of the situation in the country where a large number of youth are being diverted away from the democratic mainstream by divisive movements there has been an encouraging growth in the all-India consciousness of the DYFI membership. This has been reflected in the response to the all-India calls particularly on the issue of national unity.

Serious attention requires to be paid to the specific demands of scheduled castes, tribals, minorities and women's section of the youth. The weakness in enrolling women

members continues to persist. However, in Kerala 40 per cent of the membership is women, while in Tripura 40 per cent. In West Bengal following the young women's convention organized at various levels, around 15 per cent of the membership is women. However, the position in other states is dismal and there is an urgent need to overcome the constant failure to enrol women members.

Since the inception of DYFI the question of an all-India Centre was repeatedly discussed. Earlier there were five comrades working from the Centre. But since 1986 there are only three. One comrade is expected to join from West Bengal while another from Kerala is to be added. A full-time office secretary functions from the Centre. Considering the growing demands of the movement there is an urgent need to strengthen the DYFI Centre.

The all-India Centre publishes a bulletin "*Youth Stream*". It is however irregular. The circulation continues to remain low. Six States have their journals (West Bengal, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Bihar, Andhra and Punjab). The circulation of these also are not commensurate with the influence of the organization.

There is an urgent need to step up the ideological work amongst the DYFI membership. Since the 12th Congress of the Party no all-India schooling was organized. However, at the State level almost all States have held classes at the Party level. There is a need to organize an all-India school as well as a regional school in Hindi.

There is an improvement in the functioning of the Party level sub-committees and fractions in the states. However, this has to be streamlined and proper cadre policy has to be implemented. The Central Youth-Student Sub-Committee and the Party State Committees will have to take necessary steps in this direction.

Since the Twelfth Party Congress the international contacts have grown considerably. The DYFI is a full member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and is playing an important role in the organization of the 13th Festival of

Youth and Students to be held in Pvyongyang (DPRK) in 1989. The DYFI is one of the Coordinating Secretaries of the National Preparatory Committee for this Festival.

REPORT ON THE STUDENT FRONT

Organization

The SFI membership has grown from 4,12,471 at the time of its 4th Conference in 1979 at Patna to 12,11,500 in 1985 (at the 12th Party Congress), to 15,21,101 at the time of SFI's all-India Conference in 1986 to 15,28,919 in 1987. The membership enrollment for 1988 is continuing and the current trend shows that it should be around 18.5 lakhs.

During this period the SFI organization has gone through a phase of consolidation but has not expanded to the six states where it had not existed at the time of the 12th Congress, namely, Sikkim, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Nagaland and Meghalaya.

During this period the SFI was engaged in many independent as well as united activities and struggles and scored major victories. While this has helped the growth of the organization and its consolidation the lag between the influence and organizational strength continues. Effective steps to overcome them are being worked out at the level of the Student-Youth Sub-Committee under the guidance of the Party Centre and the Committees at the State-level under the guidance of the State Party Centre.

A comprehensive discussion was conducted on the state of the organization by the SFI for over six months in 1987, and on the basis of this a note on organization was prepared and adopted by the SFI CEC. The major thrust was to strengthen the organization at the grass-roots level, specifically the unit level functioning and the proper functioning of the committees at various levels, importantly the link between the Party and the mass organizations.

However, weaknesses with regard to ideological and political education continue to remain. *Student Struggle* is not being published with the regularity that is warranted. No central

level Party school has been organized during this period though at the state level such schools were organized. Eleven states West Bengal, Kerala, Tripura, Assam, Andhra, Orissa, Bihar, Maharashtra, U.P., Karnataka and Goa have their student journals though their circulation is not commensurate with our influence. Efforts are being made to revive the central Hindi organ at the earliest.

The functioning of the state-level Party sub-committees/fractions has improved but more attention is required to guide the student movement as well as a proper cadre policy. The Student-Youth Sub-Committee formed in the second half of 1988 will have to pay attention to this aspect.

The SFI Centre has three functionaries at the moment as against the four envisaged. One comrade from Kerala is yet to come. During this period the Centre has initiated some important activities such as the all-India convention of elected students' union representatives, the technical and medical students' conventions and the all-India strike conducted in September 1988. These have helped the growth of the SFI and its influence.

During this period international contacts have developed considerably. The SFI has been admitted as a full member of the International Union of Students after a prolonged battle since 1984.

WOMEN'S FRONT

Organization

Since the last Party Congress, the AIDWA has registered progress both at the level of its mass activities and capacity for intervention, as also in increase in membership. It can be stated that in facing the challenges before the women's movement in the last three years, the AIDWA has emerged as the front-ranking organization on an all-India scale, although compared to other women's organizations it was formed much later.

The membership of the AIDWA has increased from 12,77,282 to 22,72,227 between 1985 and 1987. The main

increase has been in West Bengal where both the scale of mass activities as well as the consolidation of the organization has progressed. In Kerala also membership has increased and there is considerable improvement in the development of the organization, particularly among the minority community. The other states where major increase has taken place are Andhra Pradesh, Tripura and Assam. In Tamil Nadu while there has not been any significant expansion, the improvement in the organizational consolidation is notable.

The all-India women's fraction committee in its report has pointed out an important weakness: "However, what is of great concern is that with the exception of Delhi, the increased activity and struggles in the Hindi-speaking states is not reflected in either the membership or organization which is only 23,000."

The development of the women's organization in the Hindi states suffers because of the backward social conditions and the insufficient attention paid by the respective Party committees to properly tackle the problems of developing the women's mass organization. The AIDWA Centre has taken the step to pay four wholetimers in the weaker states to assist them in having whole time cadres for this front. While there has been some improvement in the functioning of the AIDWA Centre, further steps are required to enhance its ability to take initiatives on all-India moves and give guidance to the states.

There has been progress registered in the propaganda and ideological work of the AIDWA. The Centre is bringing out a quarterly journal *Equality* in English regularly for the past one year. The Tamil Nadu Committee is bringing out a monthly bulletin with a circulation of 10,000; the Kerala Committee is bringing out a bi-monthly with a circulation of 35,000 and West Bengal brings out both a monthly and a bulletin with circulation of 7,000 and 25,000 respectively.

Despite the request of the all-India fraction, the Party Centre was not able to organize a Central Party school for leading women cadres in the past two years. This task needs

to be taken up in right earnest. At the AIDWA State-level however, most of the States have organized classes for educating the cadres in which Central office-bearers also participated.

Reviewing the period, it can be stated that there has been an advance in almost all the states up to the district level as far as attention given by the Party to developing the women's organization is concerned. There has been an improvement in the functioning of the women's fraction committees/sub-committees at the state level. During this period two more state fraction committees were constituted in Haryana and Rajasthan. However, it has been noted by the All-India Fraction Committee that in many states at the local committee and branch level sometimes the functioning of the mass organization is directly replaced by the Party and Party functionaries (even though they may be men) directly attend the committee meetings of mass organizations. In some of the weaker states this is happening even at the state level.

To further strengthen the democratic women's movement and step up enrolment of women in the Party and develop their political consciousness, it is necessary that women's issues become an integral part of the general campaign of the Party and not be left only to women activists or the women's organizations as is generally the practice at present.

The Party organization at the State and district levels should also pay due attention to development and deployment of women cadres keeping the needs of women's organization in mind and assisting women to become wholetimers. Their promotion to leading committees must also be given proper consideration.

The women's front in the coming days has to pay special attention to development in the Hindi region and raising the problems of rural women. The progress registered in independent activities and broadening united struggles should be maintained and stepped up with new initiatives.

The all-India women's fraction, in its report for the Congress preparations reviewing the work done has correctly noted :

"Given all the forces trying to divert the women's movement, in the background of the Rajiv Government's attempt to build a women's vote bank, it is clear that although we have definitely moved forward in the scope of our activities and efforts to build united struggles, we are far behind the needs of the situation. The large mass of women remain unorganized and out of the struggle launched by us or jointly. Given this reality, we have to vastly increase our activities. For this a big effort has to be made both by the Party and jointly with other mass organizations of other sections to take the movement forward and to counter these attacks."

LAWYERS' FRONT

Our comrades in the Legal Front have played an active role in the All India Lawyers Union (AILU) in mobilizing the members of legal profession on a broad range of democratic issues covering the Muslims Women's Act and the Shah Bano case, against the 59th Constitutional Amendment Act, the Defamation Bill and defence of democratic rights. During this period the AILU has expanded its activities to cover new areas like Andhra Pradesh, Kerala.

The Third Conference of the organization was held in June 1988. It is noteworthy that the AILU's programme is evoking a response even in areas where the democratic movement is weak.

The AILU has actively participated and led struggles all over the country. The unprecedented lawyers struggles included the three-month long strike by the Delhi lawyers in protest against police atrocities and Congress(I) goondaism.

The *Popular Jurist*, the bi-monthly journal of the AILU has played a significant role in popularizing the AILU and democratic ideas. However, its journal suffers from serious financial difficulties and earnest efforts must be made to strengthen its resources and circulation.

The Polit Bureau adopted a resolution in July 1987 providing the perspective and guidelines for work by Party comrades among lawyers. This should be the basis on which

they should work on this to advance the democratic lawyers' movement.

JANWADI LEKHAK SANGH

Comrades working in the Janwadi Lekhak Sangh have met from time to time to review their work and increase the activities of their organization with a view to broadening its base. The need for constant uninterrupted activities both at the Central and State level has been strongly urged in discussions. The intermittent functioning of the organization, irregularity in bringing out *Naya Path*, the quarterly organ of the organization, and lack of local initiative, all are obstructing the progress of the Sangh which has the potentiality of developing into a powerful organization in the immediate future. Part of the difficulties arise from lack of cohesive and common understanding of the problems before the Sangh and how they are to be tackled. The Sangh, by championing the cause of Urdu, has struck a powerful chord of sympathy and support among all lovers and writers of Urdu and it has helped it to reach larger and broader sections. The step taken by the organization to bring Hindi and Urdu writers together on a principled basis of fighting discrimination against Urdu is welcomed by the literary world and will serve to strengthen the fight against linguistic chauvinism.

Conclusion

The three-year period since the Twelfth Congress has been remarkable for the unprecedented development of mass struggles on a country-wide scale against the policies of the Rajiv Government, in many of which the Left parties have been playing a stronger role. Such Left-led all-India actions as the Bharat Jatha in November-December 1987 culminating in the Boat Club rally in Delhi on 9th December 1987, the country-wide kisan-agricultural workers struggle in September 1988, participated in by over two million, had their impact on national political scene and helped in mobilizing

the secular democratic opposition forces as seen in the participation in the Bharat Bandh of March 15, 1988. The focus of all these mass activities was to mobilize the people against the Congress(I) government's policies, to demand the ouster of the Rajiv Government and to isolate the communal and divisive forces. Never since Indian independence has there been such a wide united all-India mass mobilization for which the initiative was taken and the leadership supplied by the Left parties, which further strengthened the process of Left unity.

This period witnessed the growing intervention of the CPI(M) and the Left parties to rally all secular forces to build up a big struggle to remove the Rajiv Government and to fight the communal forces including the BJP. The Left parties took a firm stand for the unity of the Left and secular Opposition forces as opposed to the all-in unity for which the powerful news media and several influential Opposition leaders worked for day in and day out.

The consistent campaign run by the Left parties in this regard led to a situation when the formation of the National Front by some Opposition secular parties took place without the inclusion of the BJP in it. The Left parties have to continue the efforts to ensure a broad understanding between the Left and secular Opposition parties so that the Rajiv Government can be defeated and the BJP and other communal forces isolated.

These developments of the last three years make it obvious that our Party should strive to strengthen Left unity further and mobilize all the Opposition secular forces for a common fight against the Rajiv Government which represents national disintegration and authoritarian attacks. In this struggle the Party and the Left forces have to play an active role to combat communalism and other divisive forces as their intervention in the forthcoming general elections poses a serious threat.

The three-year period since the last Congress has seen further erosion of the positions occupied by the ruling

Congress(I) among the people. For the first time since 1967, there are non-Congress Governments in over half a dozen states comprising 25 crores of people. Together with the series of electoral defeats inflicted recently on the Congress(I), this puts on the agenda for action the question of removing the Congress(I) Government from Delhi without making alliance with the BJP and other communal forces.

This, however, depends on the further strengthening of the independent strength of the Party and the fighting class and mass organizations of the working people. While the Party membership has grown considerably in the last three years it still lags behind the growing influence of the Party among the people. The work of Party building and consolidating of our mass influence has to be stepped up in a big way. While the mass organizations have registered notable progress during this period they are still far from what they should be if they are to be in a position to play their vital role in the developing national politics. The entire Party should pay serious attention to implementing the correct relations between the Party and mass organizations to ensure their proper development. The Party has to pay priority attention to the requirement of Party members from the working class and systematic work to develop cadres from amongst them. There is to be planned recruitment of Party members from the class conscious sections of the fighting people and special attention to be paid to recruitment from the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, women and minorities. The Party committees must pay serious attention to the systematic re-education of the old and educating the new members of the Party. The Party has to step up in a big way its agitation and propaganda activities independently and through its publications. These and other tasks outlined in the Salkia Report and Resolutions on Organization adopted in 1978 should be carried out. This alone will guarantee steady advance in the radicalization of our national politics, further consolidation of the ties between the Party and the working class and the general mass of secular democratic forces.

Table Indicating State-wise Membership of Mass Organizations

Table—I

Sl. No.	State	CITU		AIKS		AIAWU	
		1984	1986	1984-85	1986-87	1984-85	1987-88
1.	Andhra Pradesh	43,641	65,849	1,60,900	2,30,000	2,70,391	4,83,963
2.	Assam	24,454	28,726	1,39,436	2,21,750	—	—
3.	Bihar	25,643	31,964	1,50,000	2,00,000	43,440	37,000
4.	Delhi	33,155	32,846	—	—	—	—
5.	Goa	2,893	3,273	—	—	—	—
6.	Gujarat	20,383	18,827	13,000	16,000	—	—
7.	Himachal Pradesh	4,401	5,438	7,000	10,000	—	—
8.	Haryana	2,455	4,239	4,104	14,006	400	—
9.	Jammu & Kashmir	—	—	16,000	20,000	—	—
10.	Karnataka	42,085	49,489	83,920	70,000	—	9,800
11.	Kerala	3,30,042	3,81,522	5,01,220	7,11,562	4,02,933	6,71,198
12.	Madhya Pradesh	12,818	16,624	—	14,000	—	—
13.	Maharashtra	35,674	32,653	48,000	56,000	15,460	28,150
14.	Manipur	—	—	260	750	—	—
15.	Orissa	26,754	42,508	18,248	39,620	—	13,500
16.	Punjab	28,815	24,859	90,000	1,23,350	57,575	66,000
17.	Rajasthan	15,943	14,828	25,060	40,508	—	—
18.	Tamil Nadu	1,13,017	1,20,468	68,000	1,65,000	73,280	1,00,000
19.	Tripura	6,882	17,667	67,657	1,05,500	30,940	35,000
20.	U.P.	10,053	10,867	76,000	1,32,000	10,000	44,015
21.	West Bengal	7,70,375	7,09,708	52,35,625	70,37,456	—	—
		15,49,483	16,12,355	67,14,430	92,07,502	9,04,419	14,88,626

Table Indicating State-wise Membership of Mass Organizations

Table—II

Sl. No.	State	DYFI		SFI		AIDWA	
		1984	1987	1984	1987	1984	1987
1.	Andhra Pradesh	1,12,888	2,00,063	64,575	1,09,000	30,000	1,05,000
2.	Assam	44,503	59,334	51,898	55,217	23,062	44,974
3.	Bihar	26,579	66,571	19,449	45,381	5,200	6,000
4.	Delhi	6,690	9,623	1,543	1,560	5,050	9,206
5.	Goa	—	—	991	1,817	—	—
6.	Gujarat	—	900	—	10,150	5,000	7,000
7.	Himachal Pradesh	14,286	10,055	8,974	10,800	—	881
8.	Haryana	5,062	19,620	7,792	4,873	—	2,539
9.	Jammu & Kashmir	100	220	—	100	—	—
10.	Karnataka	6,558	15,982	15,191	13,767	—	—
11.	Kerala	8,02,550	18,43,600	3,36,914	4,74,188	2,44,233	4,24,374
12.	Madhya Pradesh	8,175	6,400	19,142	18,487	760	2,350
13.	Maharashtra	5,925	31,274	50,380	52,882	26,000	24,374
14.	Manipur	—	1,015	—	970	—	—
15.	Orissa	2,058	14,220	10,089	12,000	—	3,887
16.	Punjab	24,766	29,661	20,473	9,916	—	4,000
17.	Rajasthan	—	27,411	9,200	21,350	984	2,262
18.	Tamil Nadu	65,104	1,44,135	16,017	32,553	70,488	83,750
19.	Tripura	50,000	1,11,500	24,058	51,596	43,609	93,000
20.	U.P.	20,000	30,784	10,754	9,347	—	—
21.	West Bengal	13,38,359	23,29,126	3,87,182	5,93,065	8,22,886	14,58,630
		25,33,603	49,51,494	10,54,622	15,29,019	12,77,272	22,77,227

Table of Party Membership

Sl. No.	State	1978 (At Salkia Plenum)	1985 (XII Congress)	1988
1.	Andhra Pradesh	9,500	18,660	23,307
2.	Assam	3,424	9,074	10,763
3.	Bihar	6,359	11,572	13,241
4.	Delhi	604	832	842
5.	Goa	—	70	70
6.	Gujarat	150	908	1,290
7.	Haryana	490	710	925
8.	Himachal Pradesh	206	621	864
9.	Jammu & Kashmir	—	295	577
10.	Karnataka	—	2,342	3,469
11.	Kerala	67,366	1,22,071	1,78,869
12.	Madhya Pradesh	651	628	721
13.	Maharashtra	2,647	4,472	4,860
14.	Manipur	150	173	157
15.	Orissa	1,303	2,869	3,282
16.	Punjab	4,519	7,305	8,884
17.	Rajasthan	1,339	2,232	2,908
18.	Tamil Nadu	10,795	27,053	33,153
19.	Tripura	3,971	11,414	14,367
20.	Uttar Pradesh	4,460	6,827	7,281
21.	West Bengal	43,342	1,36,980	1,55,243
22.	Andamans	—	46	103
23.	C.C. Staff	39	65	101
		<u>1,61,315</u>	<u>3,67,219</u>	<u>4,65,277</u>

All India Mass Organizations Membership

	1984	1987	
1.	CITU	15,49,483	16,12,355 (1986 figure)
2.	AIKS	67,14,430	92,07,502
3.	AIAWU	9,04,419	14,88,626
4.	DYFI	25,33,603	49,51,494
5.	SFI	10,54,622	15,29,019
6.	AIDWA	12,77,272	22,72,227
	<u>1,40,33,829</u>	<u>2,10,61,223</u>	

Resolutions Adopted by the Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M) held at Trivandrum (now Thiruvananthapuram) from December 27, 1988 to January 1, 1989*

(a) On Earthquake in Armenia

The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep grief at the enormous devastation caused by the earthquake in Armenia in the Soviet Union which resulted in the loss of over 50,000 lives. Cities have been flattened and whole families have been wiped out. This heart-rending tragedy has caused tremendous suffering to the people of Armenia.

This Congress notes with satisfaction that apart from the prompt steps taken by the Soviet Government, governments, organizations and individuals the world over have responded immediately to rush relief to the affected people.

The Thirteenth Congress conveys its heartfelt condolences to all the bereaved families which have suffered tragic losses, and expresses strong solidarity with the Soviet Government and people in facing this calamity. The Congress wishes them all speedy progress in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the quake-affected areas in Armenia.

(b) On Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad's Birth Centenary

The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) notes with great pleasure that the centenary year of the birth of Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad, one of the founders

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 22, 1989. Seventeen Resolutions, given here, are enumerated from (a) to (q).

of the Communist movement in India, falls in the year 1988-89.

Born on August 5, 1888 in Sandip, a small island off the Bay of Bengal (now in Bangladesh), Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad came to Calcutta as a young man, and straightaway joined the national struggle for independence during 1915-20, and began working among the working class.

Inspired by the Bolshevik Revolution in November 1917, he took the pioneering role in organizing the Communists in India, committed as he was to the goal of Socialist revolution led by the proletariat. A dedicated Marxist, superb organizer and an inspiring leader, Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad fought for his ideals with courage, facing repression and undergoing long periods of imprisonment.

A true Communist in every possible sense of the term, the way of life and functioning of 'Kakababu', as he was affectionately called by the Party comrades and sympathisers and many others, was a model for other Communists to follow. Fired by the ideology of the working class, he toured all over the country despite severe financial difficulties, often under semi-starved conditions and facing a great deal of hardship, in order to mobilize the peasantry and workers. Alarmed by his activities and influence among the masses, the British colonial government imprisoned him. He was subjected to two historic trials, the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case and Meerut Communist Conspiracy Case which are integral parts of the glorious history of the Communist movement in India. While in jail he contracted a serious disease, and was on the verge of death when he was released.

A founder of the Communist Party, Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad always upheld the principles of Marxism-Leninism and fought against both revisionist and sectarian trends inside the Party. His mission was to establish a Party of the working class which is politically and ideologically united. He particularly stressed on the publication of Marxist literature and Party papers and holding Party classes.

Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad was a member of the Central Committee from the time of the formation of the CPI(M) in 1964 till his death in 1973.

This Congress calls upon all the Party units to celebrate the birth centenary of Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad in a manner which befits his contribution in building the party in India. The centenary campaign will continue up to August 5, 1989. It calls upon the Party units to hold seminars and organize classes and publish Marxist literature to specially mark this occasion of the birth centenary of this great leader of the Indian masses.

(c) On Solidarity with the Palestinian People

The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)

- * Reiterates its complete support and recognition to the newly declared Palestinian State with East Jerusalem as its capital.

- * Greets the heroic Palestinian people who have been waging a courageous struggle for four decades for their homeland, and the right to self-determination, freedom and liberty. The unprecedented uprising in the Israeli occupied territories for over a year, carried on against the most vicious attack by Zionist troops, has galvanized world public opinion for the Palestinian cause and given strength to the struggle of the Palestinian people led by the PLO.

- * Condemns the decision of the United States of America of not granting a visa to Chairman Yasser Arafat to address the United Nations General Assembly session, and congratulates the world body for having given a rebuff to the USA by shifting the venue of the General Assembly to Geneva to enable Yasser Arafat to address it.

- * Notes with satisfaction that the USA has been forced by world public pressure and the heroic resistance of the Palestinian people, to agree to discuss with the PLO. This process should strengthen the process for the realization of the long standing demand for an international conference

with the participation of the PLO to resolve the problems in the Middle East.

- * Demands the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied territories, and the recognition to the independent Palestine State by all countries.

- * Calls upon the people of the world to put greater pressure on imperialism and Zionism to accede to the legitimate demands of the Palestinian people who have been denied their homeland by a gigantic imperialist fraud. The CPI(M) joins the forces the world over in reiterating its complete solidarity with the Palestinian cause and support to the Palestinian people's struggle under the leadership of the PLO to establish an independent Palestinian State.

(d) On Solidarity with the People of Nicaragua

The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)

- * Greeted the heroic Nicaraguan people for the relentless struggle they have been waging for over nine years in the defence of their revolution and their country's sovereignty. The USA has spared no effort at undermining this young republic and its independent non-aligned, anti-imperialist positions. All provocative actions, direct armed intervention using the territories of neighbouring countries, aiding of rebel Contras within the country in order to generate a civil war, have failed in the face of the united heroic resistance put up by the Nicaraguan people under the leadership of the FSLN.

- * Notes with satisfaction that the Nicaraguan Government and people have successfully rebuffed all imperialist intrigues. The initiatives for creating conditions of peace in Central America are being continuously thwarted by the USA. Efforts are still continuing to put the Central American peace plan into operation; and the world public opinion and the peace loving forces lend their complete support to these efforts.

- * Hails the efforts being made by the FSLN-led Government to restore peace in the country. Despite all these efforts,

the U.S.-supported Contras continuously refuse to accept these reasonable proposals.

- * Reiterates complete solidarity with the Nicaraguan people and their struggle to safeguard their revolution and the country's independence and sovereignty.

- * Reaffirms its commitment to further strengthen the solidarity campaigns within India and join the world-wide solidarity movement with Nicaragua.

(e) Towards a World of Peace

The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)

- * Notes with satisfaction the growing strength of the forces of peace, democracy and Socialism, the world over.

- * Hails the Soviet peace initiatives that have galvanized this peace movement and succeeded in forcing imperialism to come to the negotiating table. The historic INF Treaty marks an important stage in the struggle for elimination of nuclear weapons. The recent proposals made before the U.N. General Assembly, including unilateral reduction of armed forces by the USSR, are a continuation of the peace offensive unleashed by the USSR. The Delhi Declaration is an important step in the initiatives for world peace.

- * Extends support to the various peace initiatives like the nuclear weapons free zones concept advanced by the Berlin Conference, the nuclear corridor in Europe, a nuclear free Europe, de-nuclearization of the Asia-Pacific region, proposals for complete disarmament and ban on chemical weapons, etc. All these proposals are part and parcel of the overall struggle for a world of peace.

- * Notes with concern the refusal of U.S. imperialism to abandon its Star Wars programme defying world public opinion. Though being forced to negotiate, U.S. imperialism is resorting to new manoeuvres. The CPI(M) calls upon the peace movement and world public opinion to be vigilant against such imperialist designs.

- * Supports the initiatives being suggested for the easing

of tensions in the Asia-Pacific region which has today become crucial in the struggle for world peace.

- * Reiterates the resolve to strengthen the peace movement in India, strengthen the movement against imperialist military deployment in the Indian Ocean and against imperialist manoeuvres to disrupt the unity of the people of this region, and for peace, freedom, democracy and Socialism.

- * Demands the immediate convening of an international conference for declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, a proposal adopted by the world body but which has been sabotaged by the USA since 1971.

(f) On Repression in Iran

The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)

- * Strongly condemns the barbaric terror unleashed by the Khomeini regime against political prisoners in Iran. The Khomeini regime has embarked upon a policy of eliminating all political dissent in order to strengthen the medieval theocratic regime. Nearly six thousand political prisoners have been executed in recent months with the Communists being specially targetted. A large number of comrades of the Fedaiyan (Majority) and the Tudeh Party, jailed and tortured for years, have been executed.

- * Salutes the Iranian Communists and all patriots who have been martyred in this struggle. The people of Iran are determined to intensify the struggle against this regime which uses Muslim fundamentalism as an excuse to deny elementary liberty and freedom.

- * Is confident that the people of Iran, who had successfully fought against the terror of the Shah regime and ousted it, will surely succeed in unifying their ranks and strengthening their struggle against the Khomeini regime, and move forward towards freedom, democracy and Socialism.

- * Calls upon all progressive and democratic forces to raise their voice of protest and demonstrate their indignation condemning the barbaric repression.

(g) On Namibian Independence

The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)

- * Greets the heroic fighters of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, who have been growing from strength to strength in the struggle against the South African regime which has been illegally occupying their territory, defying world public opinion and United Nations decisions.

- * Notes the fact that their armed struggle and victories have forced imperialism and the apartheid regime to enter into dialogue and discussions for the independence of Namibia.

- * Salutes the Cuban international forces which have helped Angola in rebuffing South African designs to undermine its independence and against the imperialist-backed rebel UNITA forces.

- * Welcomes the recent developments on an agreement for the independence of Namibia. The recently concluded agreement demonstrates that the struggle of the people of Namibia has succeeded in forcing imperialism to accept its independence.

- * Condemns the move by the USA to reduce the strength of the U.N. transition force to be deployed in Namibia and calls for strict adherence to the Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibian independence.

- * Calls Upon the people of the world to be vigilant against the possible sabotage of this agreement by imperialism in the light of its continued support to the apartheid regime and to strengthen world public opinion for the complete independence of Namibia and freedom to its people.

- * Reiterates the moral and material solidarity with the Namibian people and the militant fighters of SWAPO. The CPI(M) is confident that a free independent Namibia will be a reality soon.

(h) On Support to Fighting People of South Africa

The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)

* Salutes the heroic and fighting people of South Africa who despite the reign of terror let loose against the freedom movement, continue to raise the banner of freedom and are making tremendous sacrifices to overthrow the hated apartheid system.

* Reiterates its demand and supports the universal call for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners and detainees in South Africa.

* Commends the worldwide mass actions around Mandela's 70th birth anniversary celebrations—actions which brought about a qualitatively new awareness and level in the freedom struggle on further isolating the regime of terror and brutality and its imperialist allies and supporters.

* Condemns the imperialist powers, particularly the United States, Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany for their continued support, both overt and covert, to the racist regime.

* Expresses its solidarity and support with the people of the Frontline States of Southern Africa for their steadfast opposition to apartheid and for supporting South Africa's freedom struggle.

* Demands an immediate end to all executions of freedom fighters, the release of all political prisoners and detainees, the lifting of the nearly thirty-six-month old state of Emergency, lifting the ban on the ANC and all democratic organizations including the South African Communist Party, which was imposed in 1950.

* Reiterates its moral and material solidarity with the people of South Africa and their vanguard movement, the ANC; with the militant youth, women's and trade union movements and with the hundreds and thousands of South African patriots who continue to battle against tremendous odds for national liberation and human dignity.

* Calls for the intensification of the world-wide campaign for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions and for the total isolation of the racist regime.

(i) Solidarity with the People in Struggle against Imperialism

The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)

* Expresses full solidarity with the people the world over in their struggle against imperialism. These struggles are today taking the shape of opposition against direct imperialist military intervention, its covert and overt actions at subverting the sovereignty of independent countries against neo-colonial exploitation and the debt crisis.

* Extends full support to and solidarity with the people and Government of Afghanistan in their struggle against imperialist designs in defence of their revolution and sovereignty. Imperialism, with impunity, has been violating the Geneva accords. The CPI(M) calls upon the people the world over the unitedly rise in defence of Afghanistan and its sovereignty. The CPI(M) extends its support to the process of national reconciliation which will unite and strengthen the popular forces within Afghanistan.

* Reiterates its solidarity with the militant fighters of the Saharwi Arab Democratic Republic under the leadership of the Polisario Front in their struggle in defence of their sovereignty and independence. The U.S. imperialist-backed Moroccan regime, defying world public opinion, refuses to implement the U.N. and OAU resolutions on the independence of the SADR. The CPI(M) greets the Saharwian people's struggle which, militarily and diplomatically, is growing from strength to strength.

* Expresses solidarity with the people of El Salvador in their struggle against the U.S.-backed regime of Duarte which, while ruthlessly repressing the people, is acting at the behest of U.S. imperialism in destabilising the situation in Central America. The CPI(M) reiterates its complete solidarity with the people of El Salvador led by the FMLN in their struggle against the oppressive regime. The CPI(M) expresses its support to the struggles of the Central American countries for the defence of their national independence, democracy and better life.

* Reiterates its support to the people of the Latin American countries who are today unitedly raising their voice against the imperialist-imposed debt burden and demanding the cancellation of these debts.

* Extends its solidarity with these people who are in the midst of struggles for democracy, freedom and social progress. The people of Chile will not tolerate the declared refusal of Pinochet to step down and the imperialist intrigues to perpetuate the dictatorial regime.

* Condemns the USA which in continuation of its earlier policy, has once again threatened to militarily attack and bomb Libya.

* Extends full support to the proposals and initiatives of the DPRK for the peaceful and independent reunification of the Korean people and nation. The CPI(M) hails and expresses solidarity with the people of South Korea, particularly the students, who braving ruthless attacks, are advancing in the struggle for democracy, unity and a better life.

* Reiterates its support and solidarity with the people of the Philippines who had successfully overthrown the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Marcos and installed a democratically elected government. The people of the Philippines are today engaged in a bitter struggle for the elimination of U.S. military bases from their territory and demand that radical land reforms be initiated by the Aquino regime which would bring relief to the vast mass of people.

* Extends its support to the people the world over who are in the midst of struggle for the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism, with the people of the islands in the Pacific, particularly in New Caledonia, for their genuine independence and democracy, and the people the world over who are struggling against imperialism, and for democracy.

(j) On Centre-State Relations

The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) notes with serious concern the deterioration in Centre-State relations in the country as a result of the

authoritarian and undemocratic approach of the Congress(I) Central Government towards Centre-State relations.

The Congress(I) Government has been increasingly making inroads into the existing powers and rights of the State Governments as part of its drive towards concentration of all powers in the hands of the Centre. The 59th Constitutional Amendment pushed through by the ruling party poses a serious danger to States' rights, and empowers the Government to impose Emergency through the backdoor. This authoritarian attitude exacerbates relations between the Centre and the States and if allowed to intensify, will harm national unity.

The steady erosion of the power and authority of the State Governments in the recent period is manifested in various fields. In particular, the financial resources of the State Governments are being systematically reduced by the increasing concentration of tax revenue sources and market borrowing facilities in the hands of the Central Government at the expense of the State Governments. Heavy restrictions are imposed on the quantum of Plan outlays of the State Governments. The State Governments are denied their due share of the enhanced revenues accruing from the utilization of the increase in the administered prices of the Union Government. The State Governments are left helpless in the matter of raising resources and making financial adjustments, by the financial and fiscal policies of the Centre. There are deliberate attempts by the Centre to discriminate against the Left-led Governments in terms of withholding of sanctions for even viable industrial projects, creation of special financial difficulties, refusal of overdrafts and even cutting off food supplies to these Governments at crucial times.

The role of the Governors who in most cases act as the agents of the Central Governments and the ruling party at the Centre, has been brought into sharp public focus in the recent period. In particular, by their blatantly unconstitutional actions and by their open partisan interference in State policies, the present Governors of Kerala and Andhra Pradesh

have highlighted the diabolical misuse of the post of Governors, at the behest of the ruling party at the Centre. The partisan role of the Governors in Mizoram, Nagaland, Tamil Nadu, etc., during times of political uncertainty in the State legislatures, also brings into focus one the major questions of Centre-State relations.

Another disturbing trend has emerged with the Prime Minister's meetings with the District Magistrates and Collectors over the head of the State Governments, a mechanism is sought to be set up in the name of decentralisation and under the guise of district planning, whereby the State Governments are bypassed. Instead of decentralising power to the State Governments in the name of Panchayati Raj, the Centre seeks to encroach on the rights of the States.

The Sarkaria Commission was appointed in the wake of the demand for restructuring Centre-State relations. The Report of the Commission which identified many of the aspects of the problem, however, failed to suggest basic steps to democratically restructure Centre-State relations. Even the limited measures suggested by the Commission to remove some distortions in the Centre-State relations have not been pursued, nor any action taken on these by the Central Government.

Our view has been that in a country like India, with such diversities in race, language and culture, national integration can be achieved and unity strengthened only through devolution of powers. A strong and unified India can only be one in which the democratic aspirations and distinctiveness of the people of the different States are respected and not treated with disdain. We are for strong States but on no account do we want a weak Centre. The concept of strong States is not necessarily in contradiction to that of a strong Centre once their respective spheres of authority are clearly demarcated.

For strengthening national unity and for preserving the legitimate authority of the Centre, it is necessary that the States are given their due share of powers. The current

authoritarian offensive by the Centre, the blatant misuse of the post of Governors, the discriminatory attitude to non-Congress(I) State Governments, are all contributing to the aggravation of Centre-State relations.

The Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M) warns the country about the serious consequences that are likely if the present worsening of the Centre-State relations is allowed to continue. Already the elected representatives of West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala Assemblies have been forced to go to Delhi to register their protest at the treatment meted out to these States on political considerations.

The Congress therefore considers restructuring of Centre-State relations as an urgent necessity for strengthening democracy, assuring equality of development to all the States and people of our country and for strengthening national unity. The Congress calls upon all the democratic forces in the country to unite and resist the drive towards centralisation, prevent further erosion of the powers of the States and work for a really democratic solution to the problem of Centre-State relations.

(k) In Defence of Muslim Minority

The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly condemns the recent attacks against the Muslim minority by the Hindu communalists in western U.P., Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and other states, resulting in the killings of a large number of Muslims. Cases of arson and loot, eviction of Muslim minorities from their residential localities have also occurred in these centres. The police have often remained silent spectators during communal riots. Instances of the police being infected by the communal virus and acting in a partisan manner are also well known.

Total failure of the Congress(I)-ruled Governments and the administration in giving legal protection to the Muslim minority and maintaining law and order, has been a regular phenomenon. Anti-social elements have never been punished

despite the carnage taking place in broad day-light in the presence of several hundreds of persons. This gives direct encouragement to the communal gangsters. As a result of this, the Muslim minority population in India is apprehensive and worried about its future. The job discrimination against Muslim minorities widely practised is further aggravating their plight.

This Congress congratulates the Governments of West Bengal and Kerala for preserving communal harmony in these States, for not allowing communal riots to occur despite provocation by the communal forces. The shining example of these States convincingly proves that if the State Governments are firm in fighting communal forces it is possible to ensure communal harmony in the States.

The Hindu fundamentalist forces led by the RSS, BJP, Viswa Hindu Parishad, Shiv Sena are incessantly propagating the theory that India is a Hindu State, and spreading hatred against the Muslim minority all over the country. The Congress(I) has betrayed secular values and on occasions joined hands with these Hindu fundamentalist forces.

The discrimination against the Urdu language is hampering its growth. Due importance is not given to this language and the U.P. Government has denied the status of a second official language to Urdu. This callous attitude of the Congress(I), along with the characterisation by the Hindu chauvinists that Urdu is the language of the Muslims, is responsible for the non-recognition of the language.

The Muslim fundamentalists, taking advantage of the propaganda of the Hindu communalists, have been trying to raise fundamentalist slogans among the Muslim minority and to keep them away from the Left and democratic movement in the country. This immensely harms the interests of the Muslim minority. The Congress(I) party joins hands with Muslim fundamentalists to gain electoral advantages. The passing of the Muslim Women's Bill in Parliament, denying rights to Muslim women, was an opportunist compromise by the Congress(I) with these fundamentalist forces.

The continuing dispute over the Ramjanmabhoomi/Babri Masjid issue in Ayodhya has vitiated communal relations in north India. On both sides, communalists are trying to rouse passions on the issue. The Party Congress demands that the dispute be forthwith referred for judicial verdict and the decision arrived at should be binding on all sides.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) assures the Muslim minority that it will do everything to safeguard their genuine interests. It calls upon the whole Party to actively mobilise the masses following it to directly intervene to stave off communal riots and protect the Muslim community from attacks.

The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) appeals to all the secular and democratic forces in the country to come forward in defence of the rights of the Muslim minority and protect them from the vile attacks of the communal forces and draw them into the common movement for democratic demands, so that the unity and integrity of the country is preserved.

(I) On Tripura Situation

The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has been shocked at the news of the dastardly attack on the Opposition members of the Legislative Assembly inside the Assembly precincts on December 30 when the Tripura Legislative Assembly commenced its session. The Opposition members had moved an adjournment motion against the semi-fascist terror of the Congress(I)-TUJS alliance Government.

The Congress calls upon the people irrespective of political affiliation, to raise their voice against this attempt to stifle the voice of the Opposition even inside the Assembly.

A cold-blooded campaign of terror has been unleashed to stifle the democratic opposition against the reactionary and anti-people policies of the new Government, which serves only the vested interests of the State. Fortyfive CPI(M) cadres and Left Front supporters have been brutally murdered.

Pre-planned mass killing of thirteen CPI(M) leaders and cadres, including men, took place in broad daylight in the presence of a section of the armed police, while those comrades attempted to hoist the Red Flag in the CPI(M) office at Birchandramanu of Belonia. Hundreds of cases were framed, and dozens of comrades in that connection were severely beaten up while in police custody with the purpose of extorting a confessionary statement. Even a section of the judiciary was used for that purpose. Dozens of CPI(M) offices have been burnt, looted, ransacked and forcibly occupied. Offices of the CITU and other mass organisations have not been spared. More than a thousand Party cadres had to leave their places under threat of murder and extortion of money. During the September agitation of the peasants and agricultural labourers, the former Chief Minister and Polit Bureau Member, Comrade Nripen Chakraborty was lathi-charged, seriously injured and had to be hospitalised, first at Agartala and then in Calcutta. Murderous attempts were made on Comrade Dashrath Deb, the former Deputy Chief Minister of the State and several other MLAs who had to be hospitalised. The atrocities did not stop there. Gang-rape by a section of the Assam Rifles on tribal mothers and sisters at Ujanmaidan of Khowai was not even condemned by the present Government. On the other hand, those who raised their voices against this heinous crime were called anti-nationals. Gang-rape of more than a dozen women supporters of the CPI(M) has also taken place at several places.

Teachers, Government employees, even a section of officers, did not escape attacks, arrests and humiliations. The Party organ was under severe attack making freedom of the Press a mockery.

Under cover of anti-Communism, the new alliance Government has destroyed, one after another, the elected panchayats, co-operative societies, societies formed by the unemployed tea garden workers, weavers, fishermen, milk producers, large-sized multipurpose co-operative societies, primary agricultural credit societies, and replaced them by

setting up nominated bodies of their own choice. This has led to an unbridled exploitation of the weaker sections by the money lenders, dishonest traders, middlemen and other intermediaries in the countryside with the help of the corrupt bureaucracy.

The biggest casualty of these attacks has been the backward exploited tribal minorities of the State, conspiracies are afoot to dissolve the Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council constituted under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. Day-to-day interference with its work, crippling of its autonomous rights have already created serious problems in the life of the tribal people. The constitutionally guaranteed rights and privileges, including reservation for scheduled tribes and scheduled castes with regard to jobs and promotions have virtually been abandoned.

These attacks on the vital interests of the tribal minorities endanger the unity of the tribals and Bengalis, the two major components of the population. The insistence of the new Government on the recognition of a non-tribal section of the people (Laskars) as a scheduled tribe of Tripura, indicates how the new Government is influenced by Bengali chauvinists. These disruptions offer fertile soil for widespread corrupt practices now evident at all levels of the Government including political levels. Crores of rupees, earlier budgeted for the welfare of the people, have been looted and squandered unscrupulously in violation of all financial norms and discipline.

The Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M) is happy to note that the people of Tripura, led by our Party have refused to be cowed down and have come out with a massive programme of democratic action, jointly with other partners of the Left Front. Democratic mass actions have begun at State, district and lower levels, demanding an end against curbing the right of expression to dissent, for restoration of democratic institutions including panchayats, etc., for protection of the tribal minorities, for non-partisan allocation of State funds under various schemes, for action against hoarders,

profiteers, etc. The Party expresses its solidarity with the fighting people of Tripura and calls for support from every corner of the country in their struggle.

(m) On Punjab Situation

The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) salutes the Party cadres and members of the Party in Punjab who are courageously fighting the Khalistani extremists and facing their terrorist attacks. The Congress expresses its deep concern at the continuing extremist activities and the loss of innocent lives due to their depredations.

The Congress(I) Central Government is responsible for the deterioration of the situation. It went back on the commitment to implement the Punjab Accord, thereby strengthening the hands of the extremists. It committed another gross act of betrayal by dismissing the Barnala Ministry whilst the Chief Minister was taking a stand against the extremists and fundamentalists, on the plea of the deteriorating law and order situation. In reality it was done with the Haryana elections in view. The claim of the Central Government is belied by the fact that the killing of innocent people has increased manifold and the people have started losing confidence in the administration. But the Central Government continues to treat the Punjab problem as a law and order issue, which exacerbates the situation.

It is a welcome sign that a majority of even the UAD leadership has begun demarcating from Khalistan and extremism, but still the various factions of the Akalis have yet to draw proper lessons as to what damage has been done by mixing up politics with religion. They still continue to use fundamentalism for their factional quarrels which has already done immense harm to the democratic secular fabric of the country as well as the Sikh community. They realise that they can win their genuine demands only if they must denounce separatism and extremism and defend national unity along with the democratic forces in the country.

The CPI(M) and the CPI have waged a consistent struggle

to rally all the forces for national unity and politically mobilise the people, braving all the hazards and at the risk to life for every comrade in the State. This role of the Party and the Left has enhanced the prestige of the Party on the national plane and highlighted the Party's role in defence of national unity.

The Congress noted that during the last one year, especially after Operation Black Thunder, the extremists and separatists have become more isolated and exposed, but the people's anger against the Central Government is equally strong due to its failure in solving the Punjab problem.

Instead of using the favourable situation, the Centre further discredited itself in the eyes of the secular and democratic sections by seeking an understanding with one section of the extremists.

The Congress notes that while the Central Government has armed itself with a number of laws to suppress terrorism, it is utilizing these against the trade union struggles and the movements of other working people. These are the very forces which are heroically fighting against the extremists.

The Congress demands of the Central Government an end to its dangerous policy. It should take immediate steps for the release of the innocent Jodhpur detenus languishing in prison for more than four years, put on trial all those involved in the Delhi riots and find a political solution within the framework of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord.

The Congress appeals to all the political parties to realise the full gravity of the situation which poses a grave threat to national unity. Their united intervention to rally the people in Punjab and the rest of the country is an urgent necessity.

(n) On Nepali Language

The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its strong support for the inclusion of the Nepali language in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution.

This will meet the just aspirations of millions of the Nepali-speaking Indian citizens for the recognition and development of their language.

The CPI(M) has consistently advocated the equality of all languages in India and proper steps for development of these national languages. The Congress deplores the continuing refusal of the Central Government to include the Nepali language in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution despite repeated demands.

The Congress appreciates the stand of the Left Front Government of West Bengal which has accorded official status to the Nepali language in the State and provided all facilities for its usage and development. The West Bengal Legislative Assembly has also adopted a unanimous resolution for the inclusion of the Nepali language in the Eighth Schedule. The Congress demands that the Nepali language be forthwith given due recognition as a national language and included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. It calls upon all the democratic forces to support this just demand of the Nepali-speaking people.

(o) In Defence of the Left-led Governments

The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) warmly greets the people of West Bengal and Kerala who have reposed their confidence in the Left Front Government in West Bengal and the Left Democratic Front Government in Kerala and enthusiastically supported the activities of these Governments.

The Left Front Government of West Bengal completes twelve years in office early next year. This is a unique record. The policies adopted by the Government in this period have been noteworthy in expanding the rights of the rural poor. The implementation of land reforms, registration of sharecroppers, minimum wages for agricultural labourers and the democratisation and active role of the elected panchayats have all brought about a new situation in the rural areas. The Left Front Government stands as an advanced outpost

for democracy in the country. Its record of defence of democratic rights and maintenance of communal amity in the face of provocations provides an inspiration for the people all over the country.

The Congress(I) Central Government, unable to win the political battle against the Left Front, has been resorting to a war of attrition, an economic blockade, to create economic difficulties and hamper the State Government's developmental plans. For many years now the Haldia Petrochemical Project has not been cleared by the Centre. Even the urgent necessity to augment power generation by the installation of the Bakreshwar thermal plant is sought to be sabotaged. Unable to block the proposal, it insisted on bringing the project under the NTPC. The problem of freight equalization, which puts the entire eastern region at a disadvantage, is not solved.

The Thirteenth Congress strongly condemns this discriminatory attitude of the Rajiv Government. It supports the Left Front Government's decision to go ahead with the Bakreshwar plant by mobilizing resources from the people through a mass campaign.

The second weapon being utilised by the Congress(I) is the campaign of slander and violence. Unable to come out with the truth about Bofors and other corruption scandals, the Congress(I) hopes to besmirch the Chief Minister and the Left Front Government with wild and defamatory charges. In this campaign it is assisted by some big business newspapers. The people of West Bengal have rejected this vile campaign with the contempt it deserves. The desperation of the Congress(I) to dislodge the Government has led it to resort to violent actions, and constant threats of violent actions are issued by the Congress(I) leaders.

The dangerous extent to which the Congress(I) can go was revealed in Tripura. Here the ten-year-old Left Front Government had a fine record of preserving tribal-Bengali unity and service to the people. The Congress(I) shamelessly endangered national unity by allying with the TUJS

and making unscrupulous use of the TNV terrorists on the eve of the elections. The Central Government declared the whole State a disturbed area and deployed the army to influence the elections.

In Kerala, consequent to the defeat of its bankrupt politics of encouraging communal and caste forces, the Congress(I) has embarked on dual tactics. From the Centre, the Government refused to extend assistance to the State Government to meet the difficult financial position inherited from the previous Congress(I) coalition Government. It stopped the overdrafts to the State. It refuses to accept the reasonable proposals of the LDF Government to mobilise internal resources through bonds and savings schemes. It sought to create disaffection among the people by creating a situation last December when, on the eve of Christmas, the State treasury was being put into a situation where it could not pay out salaries.

The State unit of the Congress(I) and its UDF allies are seeking some pretext or other to disturb the peaceful life in the State and then create a furore about law and order in the State. In this game, it does not hesitate to coordinate its disruptive activities with those of the RSS which has been perpetrating violent attacks on the CPI(M) cadre and its allies.

The LDF Government has, within the difficult financial constraints, established a creditable record. The public distribution system has been streamlined and has been able to provide essential commodities at fair prices in spite of the inflationary conditions in the market. Due to the endeavours of the Government, the Gwalior Rayon factory at Mavoor, which was closed for the past three years, has been reopened after an agreement with the management, thereby restoring the jobs of five thousand workers. The LDF Government is firm in its policy of maintaining communal harmony and defending the rights of the minorities.

The Left-led Governments of West Bengal and Kerala are the bastions in defence of the interests of the people and for safeguarding national unity. The settlement arrived at in

Darjeeling after a bitter struggle in defence of unity showed how problems of ethnic discontent should be handled within the overall framework of national unity. In Kerala, the line of opposition to caste-communal forces has galvanised the national secular forces.

As the authoritarian attack of the Rajiv Government grew, these Governments pledged to and put into practice the line of defence of democracy. Both these Governments have not resorted to the National Security Act or the ESMA to curb or dissent people's struggles. The State Assemblies of both these Governments passed a resolution opposing the Defamation Bill. The police in these two States are not utilized to intervene against the working people's struggles.

The performance and existence of the Left Front Government in West Bengal and the LDF in Kerala are an anchor and source of strength for the Left and democratic forces in the country. They are the rallying points for the secular forces combating the divisive forces threatening national unity. Their advance and achievements help the Party and the Left to project the Left and democratic alternative.

Propagating the achievements and records of these Governments is an effective weapon to expose the Rajiv Government's policies and project alternative policies. The defence of these Governments is a paramount task of the entire democratic movement of the country. The Thirteenth Congress calls upon the entire Party to mobilise the people all over the country to defend these Governments against the onslaught of the Centre and the Congress(I), and to propagate its policies and achievements amongst all sections of the people.

(p) On Prime Minister's Visit to China

The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) warmly welcomes the successful outcome of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit to the People's Republic of China.

The joint communique, the number of agreements for

cooperation on several issues, the common understanding to solve the border dispute peacefully, the reassertion of the Panchsheel principles by both sides, and the appointment of a joint committee to settle the border dispute, all constitute important steps to breakthrough the existing stalemate and restore the former understanding and friendly relations.

The CPI(M) which stood for the peaceful settlement of disputes between the two countries, even in the darkest days of Sino-Indian relations, feels specially satisfied that the two Governments have decided to do away with the earlier inhibitions and take steps to overcome the alienation of the earlier period.

The CPI(M) is of the firm opinion that restoration of friendly relations and cooperation in economic and other spheres will not only promote the interests of the two countries, but will have a profound influence on international developments, helping forward the forces fighting for peace, freedom and Socialism.

The CPI(M) warns that the old anti-China reactionary lobby in our country is again busy rousing national chauvinism and creating distrust between the people of the two countries, all of which serve only its imperialist masters abroad. There is no doubt that the people of India will be able to see through its game and rebuff it.

The CPI(M) expresses warm feelings for the working class and the people of China now engaged in building their economy and overcoming its stresses, and wishes them success. It sends them the old warm message of solidarity—"Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai".

(q) Solidarity with the People of India's Neighbourhood
The Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)

* Conveys its warm greetings and solidarity to the people of Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal and Burma, in their struggle against imperialism, the forces of internal reaction, for democracy and a better life.

* Hails the victory of the people of Pakistan for restoration of democracy after years of martial law and dictatorship. The people's upsurge against the imperialist backed military dictatorship has brought to an end the dictatorial regime with the successful holding of general elections. The CPI(M) extends its support to the struggle of the Pakistani people to break the stranglehold of imperialism and their efforts for forging unity between the various nationalities. The CPI(M) welcomes the Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's statements that relations between India and Pakistan should be on the basis of the Simla Agreement. This would help defeat imperialist manoeuvres and intrigues in this region.

* Congratulates the progressive and patriotic people of Sri Lanka in their struggle against imperialist manoeuvres for disrupting the unity of the country, and working for unity through autonomy for the Tamil-speaking population within the framework of a united Sri Lanka. The CPI(M) salutes the Left forces for the principled and consistent stand they have taken during this entire period for upholding the unity of the Sinhala-Tamil people. The successful holding of the recent elections have given a rebuff to the forces which are out to sabotage the process of restoration of normalcy in the island country and thus aid imperialist designs. The CPI(M) is confident that the people of Sri Lanka will be able to maintain their unity and strengthen the struggle against imperialism.

* Reiterates its support and solidarity with the people of Bangladesh in their struggle against the dictatorial military rule and for the restoration of democracy and civil liberties of its people. In a bid to consolidate the military regime Muslim fundamentalism has been invoked under the slogan of 'Islamization of Bangladesh'. The CPI(M) hails the big popular resistance that has arisen against this move and supports the struggle of the Bangladeshi people, especially the women and students, to maintain a secular character and for democracy.

* Extends its support to the people of Nepal who are

groaning under the rule of the monarchy. The facade of partyless democracy has not provided the people of Nepal with elementary human rights and civil liberties. The CPI(M) is confident that the people of Nepal will unite in the struggle for democracy and in defence of elementary human rights and freedom.

* Hails the unprecedented people's upsurge in Burma against the one-party army rule. The huge mass movement demanding the formation of a democratically elected government receives the complete support of the CPI(M).

* Reiterates its desire to evolve and strengthen a common front against imperialist designs in this region and assures the people of our neighbouring countries full support in these efforts and solidarity with their struggles.

Amendment to the Party Constitution of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)*

The following amendment to the Party Constitution was adopted by the Thirteenth Party Congress of the CPI(M) :

In Article XV Clause 5

Add a new sub-section :

(a) The Central Committee shall elect a Secretariat from among its members. The number of members of the Secretariat shall be decided by the Central Committee. The Secretariat will, under the guidance of the Polit Bureau, look after the day-to-day work of the Party Centre and assist the Polit Bureau in the implementation of Central Committee decisions.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 22, 1988.

Messages Sent to Thirteenth Party Congress of CPI(M) by Fraternal Parties and Organizations*

Message from PDP Afghanistan

The Central Committee and all members of the PDPA greet the holding of the Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M), to the Central Committee and all the members of the fraternal party and wish them success in the work of their Congress and implementation of its decisions and objectives. We are sure that the decisions of the present Congress will help elevate the authority of the CPI(M) in the national policy and expansion of the Left and democratic movement in India.

Comrades!

Holding of your Congress coincides with second anniversary of the proclamation of the policy of national reconciliation in Afghanistan. In the second year of its life, the policy of national reconciliation has turned from mere hope to reality in the most spheres it has brought about tangible results.

It is to be mentioned that latest proposals of the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan for holding an international conference under the auspices of the U.N. to consider the status of neutrality and demilitarisation of Afghanistan, the Resolution of the 43rd General Assembly of the U.N. and proposals of Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Chairman of the

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 22, 1989. Thirtyfive (35) Messages were received. Please refer Document under Appendix No. (viii) of this Volume.

Supreme Council of the Soviet Union, put forward at the 43rd General Assembly of the U.N. based on complete cease-fire effective everywhere as of January 1, 1989, the cessation of all offensive operations of shellings, linked to the stopping as of the same date, of any supplies of arms to all belligerents and sending to Kabul and other strategic centres of the country a contingent of the U.N. Peace-Keeping force, in fact, gave a new impetus to the policy of national reconciliation, elevated it to a higher level and roused greater hopes for the settlement of the crisis around Afghanistan.

At the end, while once again expressing warm and comradely greetings on the occasion of the holding of the Thirteenth Congress of your Party, we thank you for the fraternal solidarity you have so far extended to the just struggle of the people of Afghanistan for the normalization of peace, cessation of fratricide in the country and settlement of the crisis around Afghanistan.

Wish your ever further successes in carrying out your revolutionary duties.

Message from Socialist Party of Australia

On the occasion of your Thirteenth Congress I convey on behalf of the Central Committee, Socialist Party of Australia our warmest greetings and best wishes.

The decisions of your Congress will have an important bearing on the future successes of the struggling masses of India and will have wider significance and interest as the international Communist movement decides attitudes to the many complex problems which face us today in each country.

We have come to know your Party as a militant, revolutionary, anti-imperialist Party which puts the task of strengthening the peace movement and supporting all steps towards real disarmament and the settlement of international disputes and conflicts by peaceful means in the forefront of its work.

There is a dialectical connection between this task and the problems of national independence, development and democracy for the people of those countries which still suffer

from capitalist exploitation, grinding poverty, indebtedness, illiteracy and the other consequences of this exploitation.

While warmly welcoming the recent positive steps in settlement of regional disputes and the INF Treaty, we know from our own regional experience that the reactionary forces are continuing their military and naval expansion and are building ever new military installations using the most modern technology. The U.S. imperialists are doing everything to maintain their bases everywhere. Much remains to be done and there can be no illusions that imperialism has somehow transformed its nature and intentions.

We warmly welcome the advances made towards the unity of the Left and democratic forces of India. The long divisions among Communists in your country and in Australia have cost the whole movement dearly. We too are active in the process of discussions and common actions among the various Left organizations and we know how each step forward is welcomed by the people who look to the Left to provide effective leadership and an alternative economic, political, and social programme to that offered by the bourgeois and social democratic parties. In this process the Marxist-Leninist parties have an exceptional responsibility.

A fundamental task, as we see it is to uphold Marxist principles at all times, to base our work and struggles on its general truths which have a relevant application in all countries. Any departure from Marxism, any unnecessary speculation about its relevance or departure from class politics can only cause confusion and weaken our movement in the long run.

Please accept our greeting in the spirit of internationalism and solidarity which remain a cornerstone of the work of all Communists. We hope it marks a further step in the consolidation of close, comradely relations between our two parties.

Message from AKEL, Cyprus

Dear Comrades, the Central Committee of AKEL extends warm fraternal greetings and wishes to your Thirteenth Congress and wishes it great successes.

Expects it will contribute to unity of Indian Communists and progressive forces and benefit working people defending independence, unity, democracy, and progress of the fatherland and peace in the world.

DEMITRIS CHRISTOFIAS
General Secretary
C.C. AKEL

Message from VPK, Sweden (Telegram)

V.P.K. warmly greets Thirteenth CPI(M) Congress meeting at crucial moment worldwide struggle to eliminate nuclear weapons for disarmament and new international economic order.

We wish you every success in your relentless struggle to defend your country's national independence against imperialist manoeuvres, for a new social order.

Yours in solidarity

LARS WERNER,
Chairman.

Message from Communist Party of Bangladesh

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bangladesh takes great pleasure to send, on behalf of all Communists and toiling people of Bangladesh, the warmest revolutionary greetings to the Thirteenth Congress of your Party. We wish your Congress a great success.

Your Thirteenth Congress is being held at a time when certain significant positive developments have taken place in the international arena following the summits in Washington and Moscow.

However, imperialism and the forces of reaction have not stopped for a moment their attack on the struggles of people for national and social liberation.

In our region, the nefarious designs of imperialism, the hot spots perpetuated by it, seriously threaten the peace, security and stability of the countries of the region.

Ever deeper neo-colonialist exploitation, economic and political 'diktat', gravely impede the prospect of independent

national development and progress of many countries like those of ours.

Dear Comrades,

We are confident that the Thirteenth Congress of your Party will make a profound analysis of the obtaining national, regional and international situation and draw significant conclusions which will greatly contribute to further strengthening of the understanding and cohesion of the Left and democratic forces in India, create a new impetus to the struggles of the mass of working people and also in the struggle for peace, democracy and Socialism all over the world.

Dear Comrades,

The Communists of our two countries share a common heritage of fighting hand in hand against colonialism, for the national and social liberation of our people. The developments in the international arena and particularly in our region like the rise of fundamentalism, separatism, etc. speak of the growing need of great understanding, wider exchange of views and experience, and concerted efforts of all Communists and anti-imperialist forces. In this connection we reiterate our readiness for greater cooperation between our two Parties.

Dear Comrades,

In our country, we are carrying on our struggle, combining national and class tasks, under a very difficult and complex situation. Along with our efforts to forge a broad unity of all pro-independence forces in the struggle against autocratic rule, for democracy and democratic rights, our Party is also making serious efforts towards closer understanding and ultimate alliance of the Left forces.

Your support for and solidarity in our struggle is of immense significance for us.

Once again we wish your Congress a great success.

Long live Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Long live world peace.

Message from the CPSU

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union extends its cordial greetings to the delegates to the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

Your Congress has gathered at a turning point for the destinies of the world when responsibility of all socio-political forces operating in every country and on the world arena is increasingly growing. An active quest for ways to real disarmament, further relaxation of tensions and political settlement of regional conflicts is in progress.

Meanwhile, favourable processes in world development have not yet become irreversible. Hence, the unification of all progressive forces and the democratic public, the leaders of States both large and small, the non-aligned movement is acquiring special significance. On their part, the CPSU and the USSR will unremittingly work in the name of these noble goals.

The foreign policy of our country is organically bound with revolutionary innovation of all aspects of life of Soviet society. Perestroika, democratisation, and glasnost are designed to fully reveal the advantages of the Socialist system.

People in our country are well aware of the persistent struggle being waged by the Communist Party of India (Marxist) for the interests of the working people, and of its contribution to the cause of peace and international security, to the strengthening of Soviet-Indian friendship and cooperation.

We wish the Communist Party of India (Marxist) success in its struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

From Communist Party of China

On the occasion of the convening of the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China wishes to extend

warm congratulations to you and, through you, pay great respects to all the members of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

For a long time, the Communist Party of India (Marxist), which has a glorious history of struggles, has achieved gratifying successes in its unrelenting struggles to safeguard and strengthen India's independence, protect people's democratic rights, promote India's economic development and prosperity, improve people's conditions and living standards, support the national liberation movements, maintain world peace and strive for human progress. The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people highly appreciate the valuable contributions made by the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in safeguarding and developing Sino-Indian friendship.

The Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) have established a profound friendship by consistently helping and supporting each other in their common struggles for human progress and world peace. The further consolidation and development of this friendship in recent years has played a positive role in promoting the friendship between China and India and between the Chinese and Indian people, in maintaining peace in Asia and the rest of the world, and in advancing the cause of human progress. On the basis of the principles of independence, complete equality, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, the Communist Party of China wishes to work together with the Communist Party of India (Marxist) to further develop our traditional relations of friendship and co-operation, and to make active contributions to promoting the friendship between our two countries and two people.

We wish the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) complete success.

From Socialist Unity Party of Germany

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany sends you, the delegates to the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), most cordial

greetings and wishes the supreme forum of your Party the best of success in its deliberations in the interests of the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

The SED and the CPI(M) share common goals : peace, disarmament, international security and the right of people to decide for themselves the course of their social development. The GDR is convinced that the safeguarding of world peace, the most precious asset of all nations, is of crucial importance for the very survival of mankind and the resolution of all other issues facing humanity. Therefore, the GDR, together with the Soviet Union and all other States party to the Warsaw Treaty, favours constructive dialogue and works for concrete agreements in the spirit of peaceful co-existence in the age of unclear and space technology.

The commitment of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) to the best traditions of Indian foreign policy, to the ideal of a world free of nuclear weapons and violence, is highly appreciated. Launching a wide range of initiatives and actions, your Party has made a significant contribution towards defending your country's political independence and territorial integrity as well as the social interests of the working masses in India.

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is convinced that relations between the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) will continue to develop and intensify in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

From PPP, Guyana (Telegram)

Best wishes successful Congress. Confident Resolutions adopted will help strengthen advances for a Left and democratic alternative. Reaffirm our active support and solidarity your struggle for democracy and social progress.

From Communist Party of Vietnam

On behalf of the Communist Party, the working class and the people of Vietnam, we would like to convey our warmest

greetings to the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

Since its foundation, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has made important contributions to the cause of consolidating and safeguarding the national independence and unity, for the prosperity and social progress of beautiful India, actively contributing to the common struggle waged by the people in Asia and the world over for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

We are convinced that your Party will achieve greater and new victories in the noble revolutionary cause.

May the solidarity, friendship and cooperation between the two Parties and people ever be strengthened and developed.

We wish your Party Congress fine success.

From Communist Party of Nepal

First of all let us express our heartfelt thanks to the Communist Party of India (M) for your kind invitation to us to participate in this historic Thirteenth Congress of your Party. The Communist Party of India (M) constitutes the major Communist movement of India. We are all aware of its glorious role in the defence of world peace as well as its stout position on the questions of anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism. We will be stating an obvious historic fact that the Communist Party of India (M) persistently championed the cause of unity amongst the Socialist countries as well as in the international Communist movement. Time has proved the correctness of your positions. In international politics also you have followed a policy of not only defending the economic and political rights of the toiling masses of India—the workers and peasants—but you have proposed the People's Democratic Programme for the making of a new India. Because of all these national and international policies of the CPI(M), it has come to occupy a respected position both in this region as well as in the world. Comrades, let us state that we feel highly honoured

to congratulate this Party Congress of the CPI(M) with such a glorious record, We want again to express our heartfelt thanks on behalf of the Communist Party of Nepal.

Comrades, it will not be out of place if we state some of the experiences of our Party. Since its birth on September 15, 1949, our Party, except for a brief period of a year or two, had to function underground under the most despotic and repressive conditions. In spite of these conditions, our Party remained loyal to its people as well as the national interest. We will not be exaggerating if we say that the Communist Party of Nepal has, since its inception, been consistently fighting for the political and economic rights of the workers and peasants as well the exploited middle class and national bourgeoisie. In this sense we are pursuing a programme of a New Democratic Revolution in our country. Let us report to this Congress that this programme propagated by the late Comrade Puspala, the then General Secretary of our Party, is popular in our country. Since the Royal take-over in 1960, our Party has made the restoration of democracy in Nepal its main plank in political activities, and seeks unity not only with the Left forces, but with other democratic parties and groups also. We are confident that without the broadest unity and united struggle it will not be possible to restore democracy in the country. In the international arena we are for world peace and are opposed to imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism. We are for the unity of the world Communist movement and Socialist camp. Since the Royal take-over, our Party has been emphasising on democratic and Left unity. In these years this policy proposed by our Party is gaining approval not only amongst different Left groups, in democratic circles also, there is a growing realization that without democratic unity and united struggle, democracy cannot be restored in Nepal. We have been pursuing this broad policy for about three decades and we think this policy is still correct.

Comrades, let us say something about the Communist

movement of this region. The democratic movement of the South Asian region, in which Marxist-Leninist parties do have an important role, is facing the same enemy, externally the imperialists, and internally anti-democratic despotic medieval forces. Keeping this reality in view, we feel that there should be some sort of nearness and close and regular exchange of experiences amongst the Marxist-Leninist parties of this region. We think that this approach will be quite in the spirit of the idea of the unity of the world Communist movement. Hence we take this opportunity of extending our fraternal greetings and support to the Marxist-Leninist parties of this region. We also want to extend our support to the anti-imperialist movement as well as the movement for peace, democracy and progress in this region. We highly value the moral and other kinds of support which your Party has been rendering to our Party all these years. We are confident this spirit of international cooperation and help will also continue in the future.

We always cherish in our mind the warm hospitality and fraternal cooperation shown by your Party and the progressive and democratic-minded people of India to our leader the late Comrade Puspallal and other comrades, while in exile in your country. We hope this relation will be strengthened in the future.

Comrades, in the end we wish this historic Congress a great success in its revolutionary task.

Message from PRP of Kampuchea

On the solemn occasion of the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), on behalf of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and the entire Kampuchean people, we have great pleasure to convey to the leaders and Congress, our warmest and fraternal congratulations.

We are very glad to remark that together with Indian progressive forces and people, your Party has always struggled for independence, unity, territorial integrity and

development of the country. We highly appreciate the active contribution of the CPI(M) to the common struggle of the world's people in supporting the liberation movements, against the arms race, preventing nuclear war, for peace, security, stability and cooperation in the Indian Ocean region, and in the world at large.

Taking this occasion we would like to express the sentiment of sincere gratitude for the precious support of the CPI(M) and Indian people to the revolutionary cause of the Kampuchean people in the past, as well as the present struggle for a just and appropriate solution for a Kampuchea of independence, peace, stability and friendship, and for a South East Asia of peace, stability and cooperation.

Wishing you all further great victories in your noble struggle and cause and the Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M) a brilliant success.

May the bonds of solidarity and cooperation between our two Parties and people be constantly strengthened and developed.

Message from Lao People's Revolutionary Party

On the occasion of the opening of the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) at Trivandrum, on behalf of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, Party members, the Lao working people and Lao ethnics, the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party would like to convey the fraternal greetings and warmest congratulations to the Congress and through it to all the Party members, the working class and working people in India.

The Lao People's Revolutionary Party highly appreciates the active contribution of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in the political and social fields in the country. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) has resolutely carried out the struggle for national independence and prosperity of India and for the legitimate interests of the working class and working people of India. The contribution of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is the preservation of

peace and security in India as well as in the struggle for disarmament and elimination of nuclear weapons throughout Asia and the World.

The Lao People's Revolutionary Party is confident that the relations between our two parties will be developed and further strengthened. On this auspicious occasion, we wish the Congress of the CPI(M) brilliant successes and victories in their just cause.

May the relations of friendship and fraternal solidarity between the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and the CPI(M) based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, be further developed and strengthened.

**Message from Communist Party
of Peoples of Spain (Telegram)**

Our warm greetings on the occasion of the Thirteenth Party Congress. We support the struggle of the Indian Communists in defence of the workers' interests, for peace and Socialism. We wish you great success in your struggle. We hope to further strengthen relations between our parties.

With Communist greetings

JUAN RAMON,
General Secretary.

Message from League of Communists of Yugoslavia

On the occasion of the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) we send you comradely greetings and best wishes for its successful and fruitful work.

We are convinced that the decisions of the highest forum of your Party will contribute to the strengthening of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) as well as to the common efforts of the progressive democratic forces in India in the struggle for a better life, social progress, peaceful and independent development of the friendly people of India.

The traditionally close cooperation between the people of our two non-aligned countries represents the solid

foundation for the further development of friendship and understanding between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and other democratic forces of present-day India.

As we are not able to attend the Congress of your Party, we avail this opportunity to convey the readiness of League of Communists of Yugoslavia for further promoting the cooperation with the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in the interest of the people of both Yugoslavia and India, for safeguarding of peace, for free democratic development and for Socialism in the world.

Message from Communist Party of Sri Lanka

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, on behalf of all Sri Lankan Communists, conveys its warmest revolutionary greetings and best wishes to the Thirteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

We regard the Thirteenth Congress of your Party as another important event in the life of your Party, particularly in the background of a radical turn in the international situation and in the context of a complicated national situation.

We are deeply appreciative of the role played by the CPI(M) in mobilizing the secular and democratic forces to counter the vicious activities of the communal, fundamentalist, divisive and separatist forces backed by imperialism. Your struggle in the recent past against those forces in defence of internal peace, democracy and national unity at the cost of the precious lives of a large number of Party comrades, has earned you the admiration of the progressive forces of Sri Lanka. This has undoubtedly enhanced the prestige of your Party and the Left and Communist movement of India as a whole. We are also deeply conscious of the role played by your Party in strengthening the unity of the Left and democratic forces and also in intensifying the independent activities of the Left, enabling you to intervene and influence the political developments of the country.

We take this opportunity to express our profound

appreciation of the solidarity extended to us in our struggle for the cause of ethnic peace and national unity in Sri Lanka, and of the principled position taken by your Party on the issues affecting the friendly relations between our two countries.

We are happy to note that the fraternal relations between our two Parties, the CPI(M) and the CPSL, have been considerably strengthened during the past few years and we reiterate our confidence, determination, and wish to develop and consolidate them further, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

We express the hope that the deliberations of your Thirteenth National Congress will strengthen still further the influence of your Party in national affairs, contribute to the further unity of the Left, democratic and secular forces of India, and enhance the cohesion of the Communist movement in your country and on a regional and international scale.

With fraternal greetings!

Long live Thirteenth Congress of CPI(M)!

Long live fraternal relations between CPI(M) & CPSL!

Long live friendship between India & Sri Lanka!

Long live Marxism-Leninism and Proletarian Internationalism!

On Behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka

K. P. SILVA,
General Secretary.

Message from Communist Party of the Philippines

On behalf of the Central Committee and entire membership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, I wish to convey the warmest comradely greetings of revolutionary solidarity to you, to the Central Committee and entire membership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) on the occasion of its Thirteenth Congress.

We congratulate you for the achievements you have made since the last Congress. We are confident that through

democratic discussions in the current Congress, you can take stock of your strengths and weakness, tackle all important issues to the satisfaction of all delegates and your entire party, re-examine strategy and policies in accordance with new conditions, and clarify the tasks to strengthen your ranks ideologically, politically and organisationally.

We support your initiative to strengthen the unity of all Left and democratic forces in your country, resolutely defend Left Front Governments against the attacks of the ruling party and step up your efforts to build a People's Democratic Front that will unite and lead all the oppressed and exploited classes of the Indian society in the march towards national unity, independence, democracy and Socialism.

We salute you for your commitment to extend full support to the national liberation movements, the newly-liberated countries and the Socialist countries, and to expose imperialist intervention wherever it takes place. We highly value your participation in the struggle for world peace; and your efforts to help build the unity of the international Communist movement and uphold the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

We take this opportunity to express our gratitude for your support for the Filipino people in the struggle for national liberation and democracy against U.S. imperialism and the local reactionaries, now represented by the Aquino ruling clique.

We are confident that our fraternal relations will flourish as we struggle to pursue the revolutionary cause and confront common enemies; and as we support each other in our struggles to achieve national independence, democracy, Socialism and peace in our respective countries.

We wish you the utmost success both in the current Congress and in the consequent implementation of your strategic programme and all related decisions.

Comradely yours,

ARMANDO LIWANAG
Chairman

Message from Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party of the Hungarian Communists we send our comradely greetings to the participants of the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and to all members of your Party.

The Hungarian Communists follow with great attention the persistent struggle waged by the members of your Party in the defence of the interests of the toiling people, for social justice and progress, to repel the separatist and communal endeavours.

We highly appreciate your resolute stance for strengthening international security and world peace.

The members of your Party can count on the solidarity of the Hungarian Communist, in the future as well.

We do hope that the developing contacts between our parties can contribute to the strengthening of the ties of friendship between the two people.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, we wish much success to the Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

Message from Japanese Communist Party

The Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party extends its cordial greetings of solidarity to all the delegates and Party members on the occasion of the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) being held in Trivandrum, capital of Kerala, one of the lighthouses of the cause of political change in India since the establishment of the Communist-led State Government in 1957.

We hope that this Congress will be a new springboard for greater success in the struggle of the CPI(M); to further develop your strong positions of political change in Kerala, West Bengal and other States; to struggle against the savage authoritarian and repressive policies of the Central Government which serves monopoly capital and big landlords; to extend and strengthen the influence of the Party all over

India; and to fight the pressure of imperialism which seeks to destabilize India, for the prevention of nuclear war and the elimination of nuclear weapons, for the defence and development of the non-aligned policy and for the establishment of a just and democratic New International Economic Order.

On the same land of Asia, and in the similarly political climate, both the Japanese Communist Party and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) have vigorously struggled to defend the rights and livelihood of the workers, peasants and the working people, in spite of the vicious barbarous repression by reactionary forces. Both Parties are working together in the capitalist countries of Asia that, stand on an independent position, hoist high the banner of scientific socialism. The Japanese Communists have welcomed your advance in the election, mass struggles and activities of the progressive State Governments as their own, and have been greatly encouraged.

The relationship between the Japanese Communist Party and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has developed rapidly in recent years; the JCP delegation headed by Vice Chairman Tetsuzo Fuwa visited India in January this year to hold talks with the CPI(M) delegation headed by General Secretary E.M.S. Namboodiripad. The Joint Communique issued to conclude the visit, is of great significance. And now we are very happy to send our first delegation to your Party Congress.

The Japanese Communist Party has struggled stubbornly and stoutheartedly in the pre-war time against the dark rule of the Tenno (Emperor) system and in the post-war period against the rule of U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital. Today it has become a political force with nearly half a million Party members, three million readers of the Party organ paper, 44 members in both Houses of Parliament and over 3900 local assembly members.

The present task of our Party is to abolish the Japan-U.S. military alliance and the San Francisco Treaty which

subordinate Japan, a highly developed monopoly capitalist country, to U.S. imperialism in all fields of military, politics and economy and to establish an independent, non-nuclear, non-aligned, neutral and democratic Japan. At this moment, of urgent importance is the struggle against an introduction of an unfair tax system which is aimed at providing resources for an extensive military buildup at the cost of the people's life, and for the defence of democracy from manoeuvres to make Tenno a Head of State, taking advantage of his serious condition and probable imperial succession.

The Japanese Communist Party assumes a very important role in the current situation when the anti-Communist Opposition parties, including the Socialist Party, have degenerated to approve the Japan-U.S. military alliance and to exclude the Japanese Communist Party, thus complementing the ruling Liberal Democratic Party. People's criticism of the corruption and plutocracy involving the Opposition parties, except Communist, is growing stronger and the JCP has a greater role to play as the only clean party without any dirty relationship with the financial circles. So much so the reactionary forces try to hold us down with all available means. But we are resolutely fighting them.

Despite the signing of the Treaty to eliminate intermediate range nuclear forces (INF), role-backers are being intensified by the forces clinging to nuclear weapons with the theory of "nuclear deterrence". Though Japan is the only nuclear victim country, the LDP government is internationally playing a role of flag-waving, of clinging to nuclear weapons. On the other hand, as we are paying serious attention, there appears in a parts of the world peace forces a big distortion which argues for "superiority of universal human values" so that the people's urgent struggle for peace should be curbed.

The Japanese Communist Party is striving at home and abroad under the conviction that it is decisive to develop the people's struggle in order to advance the task of the prevention of nuclear war and the elimination of nuclear weapons, the

urgent and vital tasks for all humankind, and the defence and improvement of people's life.

We sincerely hope that relations of friendship and solidarity between the JCP and the CPI(M) will be vigorously developed, on the basis of principles of independence, equality and non-interference into each other's internal affairs, through cooperation on the common tasks, such as elimination of nuclear weapons, abolition of military blocs, advance of non-aligned policy, defence of sovereignty of every nation and establishment of a New International Economic Order.

Message from Workers' Party of Ethiopia

The Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WEPE) on behalf of all revolutionaries and working people of Ethiopia and on its own behalf, would like to seize this opportunity to express its warm congratulations on this auspicious occasion when you would hold the historic Thirteenth Congress of your Party. The period in which your Congress is taking place is very significant in as much as one can witness major achievements on the strengthening of the maintenance of the peace and security of the world. However, the economic disparity between the developed and developing countries of the world which is not yet eradicated, the debt burden and the wide range of natural disorders still demand conscious response. Hence it is our conviction that the Thirteenth Congress deliberations and resolutions will have direct bearing on your internal problems. It will, in assessing the international situation, consider recommendations that will facilitate a better system of international security. The maintenance of world peace will be rather incomplete without paying due regard to the problems of the Third World. Finally, we wish your Congress success in its outcome and your great nation, social progress and prosperity.

Message from Sri Lanka Mahajana Party

The Central Committee of the Sri Lanka Mahajana (People's) Party sends its most warm and fraternal greetings and

well-wishes to the Thirteenth Congress of your Party to be held at Trivandrum, from December 27th, 1988 to January 1st 1989.

The SLMP has always recognised that your Party eschews ethnic and national chauvinism, and is dedicated to strengthening peace, and supporting liberation struggles both in India and overseas. The SLMP also values the position of the CPI(M) in the world Communist movement, and the intellectual and ideological strength of your Party leadership and cadres.

The SLMP appreciates the strategic combination of electoral and extra-parliamentary mass struggles through which the CPI(M) has achieved its important victories, and the exemplary administration of the States in which the CPI(M) has wrested executive power. We wish your Party every success in its attempt to unite the working masses of India into a truly democratic Socialist, strong and united nation.

The Central Committee of the SLMP also expresses the Party's gratitude for the genuine concern the CPI(M) has shown regarding national unity in Sri Lanka, the correctness of your stand regarding the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka and the highly important role your Party is playing in preserving friendly bilateral relations between the two sovereign States, Sri Lanka and India. May the CPI(M) continue to prosper, and may the close and fraternal ties between the CPI(M) and the SLMP increase in strength in the years to come.

Fraternally Yours

Y. P. DE SILVA
General Secretary, S.L.M.P.

Message from South African Communist Party

The Central Committee and all Communists of South Africa send warm fraternal greetings to the Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M). We wish you all success in your deliberations and in your endeavours to defend the interests of the workers and peasants in India.

It is our common responsibility to promote the prospects for world peace and the reduction in international tension. The peace policies of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries have made a great contribution to lessening international tension and reducing the risk of a nuclear catastrophe.

However, the forces of racism, reaction and imperialism are still sowing the seeds of death and destruction in many parts of Asia, the Middle East, Latin America and Africa. In racist South Africa mass terror and mass repression have been intensified but our struggle will continue. The underground structures of the ANC and SACP are better organised and growing in strength and the combat actions of our people's army *Umkhonto We Sizwe* have increased. For us armed struggle remains central to our strategy and tactics.

The Botha regime still holds Nelson Mandela its prisoner. The international community should do all it can to secure the unconditional release of Mandela and all political prisoners and detainees.

Although Pretoria has signalled its readiness to implement U.N. Resolution 435 and grant independence to Namibia, it will seek to sabotage the very agreements it has signed. Increased international pressure is essential to ensure that the apartheid regime fulfills all the obligations and commitments of Resolution 435. In expressing complete solidarity with SWAPO, pressure on South Africa must be intensified.

India was the first country in the world to impose sanctions on the South African regime. Since independence the people and Government of India have proved to be one of the most constant and treasured allies of our people and the revolutionary alliance led by the ANC. We call upon all our friends and allies to renew the demand for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions by the U.N. Security Council.

Apartheid must go!

It must go!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live world peace!

Message from Workers' Party of Korea

The Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea warmly congratulates the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and extends, through the Congress, comradesly greetings to the entire members of your Party.

We are convinced that the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) will sum up the successes achieved by all your Party members in the past and set new tasks of struggle, and thus mark an important occasion in the implementation of your just cause to further consolidate the Party and realize Socialism.

Believing that the favourably developing relations of friendship and cooperation between our two Parties will be further strengthened and developed on the principle of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, we take this occasion to sincerely wish your Party great success in its future work for the implementation of the resolutions of the Congress.

Message from SWAPO

On behalf of the Central Committee of SWAPO of Namibia, of the President of SWAPO, Comrade Sam Nujoma, and the oppressed but fighting Namibian masses and myself. I would like to extend heartfelt congratulations, salutations and best wishes to the Central Committee and the Secretary of CPI(M) on the occasion of the Thirteenth Congress which is scheduled to be held on 27th December, 1988. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) has already written a long history of struggle for the well-being of the Indian working people and has made a big mark on the thinking of the Indian people in general in their on-going struggle to overcome backwardness in the spheres of politics and the economy, and to make India count among the speedily advancing nations of today.

We are quite sure that the experiences your Party has accumulated over many and arduous years of struggle have not only steeled the will of the people to advance to new heights with greater confidence, but have also equipped the

Party with abilities to respond to any new situation with tactical flexibility as conditions may require.

The SWAPO of Namibia is on the verge of scoring the final victory as we look forward to the implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 435 during the course of 1989.

Yes, exactly because of the certainty of our victory, the forces in South Africa and beyond that are opposed to genuine decolonisation of Namibia, are preparing with increased feverishness to strengthen the South African area of machinations to render the coming elections unfair and not free. Such is the basis of the attempt to reduce the military component by more than half. We, therefore, hope that your Congress will add its voice to the international outcry in opposition to tampering with Resolution 435 in favour of the apartheid regime.

However, we do not intend to over-burden the deliberations of your Congress with our concerns. May I therefore, once again renew the expression of our best wishes to the Thirteenth Party Congress in its deliberations which should end in a resounding success.

Message from PFLP

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and of myself congratulate you for the convening of the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

I am confident that your Congress will be able to adopt all necessary resolutions which will guarantee the development of your struggle on the domestic, regional and international levels.

On this occasion, allow me, dear comrades, to thank you for your principled support for the nationalist rights of the Palestinian people, in particular the rights of return, self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian State under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Today under the impact of the uprising (Intifada) our

people are marching resolutely to achieve our goal of freedom and independence. Today, more than any other day, our people are looking forward to your ongoing support.

Finally, I trust that the friendship between the people of India and Palestine will be enhanced and that the relation between our two parties will be consolidated.

In struggle

GEORGE HABASH

General Secretary of the PFLP

Message from Sandinista National Liberation Front

The National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and its members wish to express, through you, our sincere desires of success in the realization of the Thirteenth Congress of the Party to be held in the city of Trivandrum, capital of the State of Kerala, between 27th December and the 1st of January, 1989.

The friendship and solidarity that you have expressed with the Sandinista National Liberation Front and the Nicaraguan Revolution encourages us to carry on working for our right to be independent, and to defend ourselves from the aggressive designs of the Government of the United States of America that aim to plunge our victorious people into the darkness of illiteracy and Somocist dictatorship.

We are also sure that the attainment of the objectives planned in your Congress will be expression of the desire of your members and a product of the arduous work of your leaders, which is why the result will contribute in the future to the strengthening of the political and ideological task envisaged by you.

Reiterating our gratitude and revolutionary friendship, I salute your fraternally.

FREE HOMELAND OR DEATH

JULIO LOPEZ CAMPOS,

**Chief of the Department of International Relations of
Sandinista National Liberation Front**

Message from Polisario Front

At the time your Party is preparing to hold the Thirteenth ordinary session, I would like to extend to you, on behalf of the Polisario Front and on my own behalf, my warmest greetings and sincere wishes for the great success of your Congress.

I am convinced that the decisions that your Congress is surely going to take will benefit not only the political, economic and social developments in your friendly country, but will also strengthen the ties of friendship and solidarity which strongly link the Indian and the Sahrawi people and our two organizations.

To conclude, I wish once again that the sessions of your Congress will be crowned with success.

Greetings from Communist Party of Cuba

Greeting the Thirteenth Congress, Omar Iser Mojena, Member, C.C. Communist Party of Cuba stated:

We would like to convey the most fraternal greetings and solidarity of the Communist Party of Cuba and the Cuban people to our dear comrades of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) who are now holding their Congress.....

We deeply admire the revolutionary and patriotic traditions of the Indian Communists who unselfishly struggled for independence and are now waging the battle for their reaffirmation and the defence of national sovereignty.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) has been and is a staunch champion of the fairest and noblest causes of the workers and a consistent fighter for the well-being and happiness of its people.

Along its fruitful history, the CPI(M) has raised aloft the banners of solidarity and friendship with those who struggle for the freedom and progress of the people. Particularly, our Revolution has received the most militant solidarity of the comrades of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), a position which we highly appreciate and are very thankful for.....

Let the relations between our two Parties be strengthened even more!

Long live the friendship between the people of India and the people of Cuba!

Homeland or Death

We shall overcome!

United Workers' Party of Poland

Greeting the Thirteenth Congress, Ms. Barbara Krupa Wojciechowska, Member of the C.C. Polish United Workers' Party stated:

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, its First Secretary, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski and all the Polish Communists, I have the honour to convey to you fraternal greetings and our best wishes for fruitful and good discussions at the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

It is with esteem and attention that we regard the accomplishments of the CPI(M), its tradition, struggle and sacrifice in its activities for the benefit of the working people and progressive future of your country.

With great attention we have studied the Congress materials as well as the report and addresses during the discussion which reviewed your activities in recent years....

We are convinced that the programme worked out during your Congress will be of good service to the working people of India and will bring a valuable contribution to the cause of proletarian internationalism, democracy and peace.

Long live the Communist Party of India (Marxist)!

Greetings from Communist Party of Romania

Greeting the Thirteenth Congress on behalf of the Romanian Communist Party, and its General Secretary, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Jon Sirbu, Secretary of the C.C. stated:

I have the pleasant mission to convey warm comradely greetings and our message of friendship and solidarity to

the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), to the Indian Communists.

The presence of our delegation at the proceedings of the Thirteenth Congress of your Party is an expression of good relations between our two Parties, between the Romanian and Indian people. The Romanian Communist Party, the working people in the Socialist Republic of Romania, follow with great interest your activity serving the promotion of the fundamental rights and interests of the popular masses, of their aspirations for the independent development of your country on the path of economic and social progress, for implementing all democratic targets of the Indian revolution, and for creating the prerequisites for the transition to Socialism...

May I express my conviction that the links of friendship and cooperation between our Parties, based on mutual esteem, trust and respect, will further develop, in the interest of the Romanian and Indian people and of the solidarity of all revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces in the common struggle against the imperialist policies and against war, for peace and social progress, for a better and more just world.

We sincerely wish you, dear comrades, full success in the proceedings of the Thirteenth Congress of your Party, in implementing the resolutions you are going to adopt.

Greetings from Communist Party of Bulgaria

Greeting the Thirteenth Congress, Krum Vassilev, Member of the C.C. Communist Party of Bulgaria stated:

I am pleased to discharge the mission of responsibility entrusted to me by the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and personally by the C.C. General Secretary, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, to convey to you—the delegates to the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)—and through you to all the members and numerous supporters of your Party, our most cordial comradely greetings and good wishes for successful and fruitful work.

The Communists and the working people in the People's Republic of Bulgaria have deep respect for the struggle of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in defence of the interests of the working class and all working people, against the encroachments of imperialism, neo-colonialism and the forces which wish to destroy the unity and the territorial integrity of India, for its struggle for consolidating the economy and raising the material well-being of the popular masses, for democracy and social progress....

We are confident that your Congress will play a great role in grasping profoundly the new realities in India and in the world and in finding creative solutions to the problems facing you, the Communists....

Allow me in conclusion to assure you, dear Comrades, on behalf of our Central Committee, that in the future we shall continue to do everything within our possibilities for the further progress in the relations between our Parties.

Greetings from Communist Party of France

Greeting the Thirteenth Congress, Jean Barriere, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, stated:

The Communist Party of France is happy to send you its warm greetings on the occasion of your Congress.

The fact that France is far from India does not prevent us from following with attention and sympathy the evolution of the situation in your country. We know that the conditions in which hundreds of millions of Indian peasants and workers have to live are particularly difficult and inhuman. We know also that India possesses great potential which would permit developing the conditions of life and work for the whole of its people, and that she remains very attached to its national independence and non-alignment.

We are following with great interest the struggle that Indian Communists are conducting for the amelioration of its workers, the development of its liberties, for democracy, the reinforcement of national independence and non-alignment,

peace and disarmament, for uniting all the progressive and democratic forces which are fighting for these objectives in your country.....

French Communists express their solidarity with your struggle and look upon the development of the relations between our two Parties with great pleasure....

Dear Comrades, in thanking you for your invitation permit me to transmit to you in the name of the French Communist Party our fraternal wishes for the success of your Congress.

Greetings from Communist Party of Italy

Greeting the Thirteenth Congress on behalf of the Communist Party of Italy, Ms. Marti Dassu, Director, Institute of International Politics, stated:

I wish to convey to the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) the warmest greetings of the Italian Communist Party.

The Italian Communist Party has followed with great attention and emotion the heroic struggle of the Indian people and of the Indian Communists for national independence, justice, social progress, democracy and the defence of peace....

On behalf of the C.C. of the Italian Communist Party, I thank you very much for this invitation and I wish the best success to your Party Congress.

Looking forward to seeing your delegation at our Congress that will be held next March. I thank you again very warmly.

Great success to your Party and to your Congress!

Greetings from PRP, Mongolia

Greeting the Thirteenth Congress, B. Baldoo, Member of the C.C. of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party stated:

Allow me first of all on behalf of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and all Communists and working people of our country, to convey

to you, delegates to the Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M), and through you to all members of your Party, Fraternal Greetings and many successes for the work of the Congress. We also express our sincere gratitude to the Central Committee of the CPI(M) and its leadership for the kind invitation to our delegation to attend your Party Congress.

Mongolian Communists are in solidarity with the struggle of the working class, peasantry and all democratic forces of your great country against imperialism and the dominance of monopoly, for defending the national interests of India, for peace, democracy and social progress.

Taking this opportunity of speaking from this high rostrum to you, comrades, we express once again our solidarity with the CPI(M) and sincerely rejoice and appreciate your tireless activities for defending the vital interests of the working class for carrying out transformations in the socio-economic life of the country and uniting all the democratic, progressive and Left forces, and your contribution to the struggle of the Asian people for free democratic development without external interference, for peace and disarmament.

We express our conviction that fraternal relations and international solidarity between our two Parties and the Communists of the two countries based on the theory of Marxism-Leninism will further develop and strengthen in the interests of our common struggle. In the future we will make every effort to further develop and strengthen those relations and our solidarity.

In conclusion, permit me to express my profound conviction that the Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M) will be a new step towards increasing its authority, consolidating the unity with the broad masses of the working people, with growing impact and reinforcing united actions.

May international solidarity between MPRP and CPI(M) and friendship and cooperation between Mongolian and Indian people strengthen still more!

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM!

LONG LIVE PEACE IN THE WORLD!

**Message from Organization of
Iranian People's Fedaian (Majority)**

The Central Committee of Organization of Iranian People's Fedaian (Majority) sends its red salute to the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and congratulates all comrades who are participating in this Congress, from our heart of our hearts, and through you, all members of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) for this important event in the history of our fraternal Party.

Honourable Comrades!

We appreciate the achievements of your Party during two Congresses and we are extremely happy at the enhanced prestige and influence of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) among the Indian peasants and people during recent years. The policy of achievement of the unity of Left and democratic forces of India which your Party is following consistently, proved its correctness, in principle as well as in practice. Your Party's antagonistic confrontation with the military programmes of imperialism in Indian Ocean and your decisive battle against imperialist policies regarding the strengthening of reaction and reactionary policies in India are always supported and noticed by our Organization. We strongly approve of your consistent policy in defence of democracy and social justice and your struggle on the path of Socialism. The belief of the Organization of Iranian People's Fedaian (Majority) is that this Congress will show the way for more victories for your Party and bring forth glad tidings in the fruitful process for Indian people.

Dear Comrades!

We express our sincere appreciation to you for having always and on every occasion shown your prompt and active support for our people's just struggle against the despotic and blindly anti-freedom Khomeini regime and also your decisive solidarity with the struggle of the Organization of Iranian People's Fedaian (Majority) and other progressive

forces of our country. We once again, from this rostrum of Thirteenth Congress of a fraternal party—the Communist Party of India (Marxist)—call upon people of a big nation like India and all mankind to do their best immediately to save the lives of the political prisoners of Iran and condemn the criminal regime which is ruling Iran.

Esteemed Comrades!

The C.C. of the Organization of Iranian People's Fedaian (Majority) in the name of all its members and supporters while congratulating again all of you who are participating in this important historical event, the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and, through you, all the Party activists, wish you big successes for your Congress and the fraternal Party.

- * To strengthen the Indo-Iranian Friendship.

- * To strengthen and solidify further the comradely relations of the Organization of Iranian People's Fedaian (Majority) and Communist Party of India (Marxist).

Report of the Credentials Committee*

**Presented to and Adopted by the
Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M)**

A three-member Credentials Committee was elected by the Thirteenth Congress, consisting of P.B. Rangnekar, Chittabrata Mazumdar and M. Dasan. The Report was presented to the Congress by Chittabrata Mazumdar.

The Thirteenth Congress elected us members of the Credentials Committee. We are submitting herewith our Report in this regard for adoption.

From the information available with the C.C. office, it is learnt that the total number of delegates and observers, as was decided by the C.C., was 648 and 50 respectively. Of the 65 C.C. members, Comrade Satwant Singh could not attend the Congress due to illness. Finally the C.C. office issued 643 delegate cards and 48 observer cards. We have received all 643 credentials forms from the delegates and 48 credentials forms from the observers.

The credentials of all the delegates have been found in order.

The detailed classification as revealed from these forms are being submitted below :

	<i>Delegate</i>	<i>Observer</i>
Sex		
Male	612	42
Female	31	6

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 22, 1989.

	<i>Delegate</i>	<i>Observer</i>
Education		
Up to Class V	46	2
Up to Class VIII	44	4
Up to Matric/Class X	148	5
Pre-Degree/Diploma	103	5
Graduate	170	16
Post-Graduate	129	16
No Formal Schooling	3	-
Party Life		
Before '42	82	1
Before '47	58	4
Before '64	229	5
Before '70	131	5
Before '77	117	13
1977 and After	26	20
Longest Party Life		
B. T. Ranadive-1928 (Delegate)	M. Udayam (A.P.)-1938 (Observer)	
Shortest Party Life		
N. Sukanya (Kerala)-1986 (Delegate)		
Indu Dhawan (Punjab)-1986 (Observer)		
Party Status		
P.B.M.	10	-
C.C.M.	54	-
S.C.M.	347	31
D.C.M.	166	2
Zonal Area C.M.	5	1
L.C.M.	5	1
Branch Member (Includes the Comrades working in units under C.C.)		
	54	13
Individual attached with S.C.	2	-

	<i>Delegate</i>	<i>Observer</i>
--	-----------------	-----------------

**Mass Organization
Status**

All India Office-Bearer	100	4
All India Committee Member	100	11
State Committee Member	300	26
District Committee Member	34	1
Below District Committee	3	—
Not Mentioned	106	—

**Entry into Party
Through**

Trade Union	164	10
Kisan Front	115	8
Agricultural Labour Front	17	1
Youth Front	36	2
Student Front	237	21
Mahila Front	9	2
Cultural Front	9	1
Others	56	3
Wholetimer	558	31
Non-Wholetimer	85	17

Working in

Party Organization	281	21
Trade Union	164	8
Kisan Sabha	115	7
Agricultural Labour	27	2
Middle Class Employee	6	2
Student	16	6
Youth	19	8
Mahila	22	5
Cultural	10	1
Others	50	3

	<i>Delegate</i>	<i>Observer</i>
Monthly Income		
Up to Rs. 500	185	21
Rs. 501 - 1000	274	12
Rs. 1001 - 2000	103	5
Rs. 2001 - 3000	33	4
Above 3000	36	6
Not Mentioned	12	-

Jail Life		
No Jail Life	146	16
Up to 1 Month	118	13
Up to 1 Year	109	12
Up to 2 Years	104	4
Up to 5 Years	106	-
Up to 10 Years	46	2
Above 10 Years	14	1

Maximum period of Jail

Nripen Chakraborty (Delegate) More than 20 Years

Sukumar Sengupta (W.B.) (Delegate) 19 Yrs. 9 Months

Chaudari Tejeswara Rao (A.P.) (Observer)

13 Years 10 Months and 2 Weeks

Underground Life		
No U.G. Experience	269	34
Up to 1 Month	42	2
Up to 1 Year	103	5
Up to 2 Years	106	2
Up to 5 Years	80	2
Up to 10 Years	39	-
Above 10 Years	4	-

	<i>Delegate</i>	<i>Observer</i>
--	-----------------	-----------------

Longest U.G. Experience (Delegates)

P.K. Chandranandan (Kerala) 13 Years 6 Months

E.K. Nayanar 11 Years

Har Sahai Singh (Observer) (U.P.) 3 Years

Marital Status

Married	553	43
Unmarried	90	5

Number of Children

Nil	66	3
1 Child	108	11
2 Children	160	15
More than 2 Children	219	14

Elected Position

M.P.	26	—
MLA/MLC	67	1
Minister	18	—
(Including 2 Chief Ministers)		
Corporation/Municipality	10	3
Zilla Parishad	11	—
Panchayat Samity	4	—
Gram Panchayat	6	—
Others	2	1

Now, we would like to refer to some significant information.

The average age of the PBMs is 75.3 years. The average age of the CCMs is 63.3 years. Among the CCMs, three are below 40 years.

Two women CCMs, Comrade Godavari Parulekar and Comrade Ahilya Rangnekar, had been jailed for eight years each.

Comrade Motilal Sharma, CCM, had been arrested the largest number of times, 38 times. Comrade Devendar Dhillon (Punjab) has suffered jail life for nine years at the age of 33.

In the end we express our thanks to the C.C. for having given effect to three of the four suggestions made by the previous Credentials Committees. Some minor modifications may be needed in the forms to remove some misunderstandings, etc., which may be attended to later by the new C.C. We also suggest that (a) present profession of the delegates/observers and (b) the number of Party Congress attended by the delegates/observers may also be included in the Credentials Forms.

We are also thankful to the C.C. office for their cooperation and services and to some delegates, who assisted us in the preparation of this report.

Signed : P. B. Rangnekar
Chittabrata Mazumdar
M. Dasan

The New Central Committee*

Elected by the Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M)

The Thirteenth Party Congress decided to constitute a seventy-member Central Committee. The Congress elected 66 members to the new Central Committee and kept four places vacant to be filled later. The names of the Central Committee members are as follows:

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. E.M.S. Namboodiripad | 20. Nurul Huda |
| 2. B.T. Ranadive | 21. Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi |
| 3. M. Basavapunnaiah | 22. Subodh Roy |
| 4. Harkishan Singh Surjeet | 23. Raghubir Singh Hooda |
| 5. Jyoti Basu | 24. Mohd. Yusuf Tarigami |
| 6. Samar Mukherjee | 25. P. Ramachandra Rao |
| 7. E. Balanandan | 26. E.K. Nayanar |
| 8. Nripen Chakraborty | 27. T.K. Ramakrishnan |
| 9. Saroj Mukherjee | 28. Susheela Gopalan |
| 10. V.S. Achuthanandan | 29. M.M. Lawrence |
| 11. A. Nallasivan | 30. K.N. Ravindranath |
| 12. L.B. Gangadhara Rao | 31. S. Ramachandran Pillai |
| 13. M. Hanumantha Rao | 32. Ahilya Rangnekar |
| 14. N. Prasada Rao | 33. Godavari Parulekar |
| 15. V. Narasimha Reddy | 34. Moti Lal Sharma |
| 16. Kortala Satyanarayana | 35. Satwant Singh |
| 17. Nandeshwar Talukdar | 36. G.S. Randhawa |
| 18. Achintya Bhattacharya | 37. Mangat Ram |
| 19. Hemen Das | 38. Hari Ram Chauhan |

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 22, 1989.

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 39. R. Umanath | 53. Sunil Moitra |
| 40. P.R. Parameswaran | 54. Anil Biswas |
| 41. P. Ramachandran | 55. Prakash Karat |
| 42. N. Sankaraiah | 56. M.K. Pandhe |
| 43. Dasrath Deb | 57. Sukomal Sen |
| 44. Manik Sarkar | 58. Hannan Mollah |
| 45. Shankar Dayal Tewari | 59. Sitaram Yechury |
| 46. Ram Sumer Yadav | 60. Biplab Dasgupta |
| 47. Manoranjan Roy | 61. Vimal Ranadive |
| 48. Benoy Chaudhury | 62. Kanak Mukherjee |
| 49. Prabhakar Sanzgiri | 63. Saifuddin Choudhury |
| 50. Biman Basu | 64. M.A. Baby |
| 51. Buddhadev Bhattacharya | 65. P.K. Kunjachan |
| 52. Mohd. Amin | 66. Jogender Sharma |

The newly elected Central Committee re-elected E.M.S. Namboodiripad as the General Secretary.

The Central Committee elected a Polit Bureau of twelve, and a Secretariat of five. The names are as follows.

Polit Bureau

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. E.M.S. Namboodiripad | 7. E. Balanandan |
| 2. B.T. Ranadive | 8. Nripen Chakraborty |
| 3. M. Basavapunnaiah | 9. Saroj Mukherjee |
| 4. Harkishan Singh Surjeet | 10. V.S. Achuthanandan |
| 5. Jyoti Basu | 11. A. Nallasivan |
| 6. Samar Mukherjee | 12. L.B. Gangadhara Rao |

Secretariat*

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Sunil Moitra | 3. P. Ramachandran |
| 2. S.R. Pillai | 4. Sitaram Yechury |
| 5. Prakash Karat | |

*Please refer to Documents under Item No. 132 and Item No. 144 of this Volume.

Appeal for Maintaining Communal Harmony in Punjab*

**Statement issued by CPI(M)
Punjab State Committee**

The Punjab State Committee of the CPI(M), meeting in Jullandhar on December 16, 1986, expressed its grave concern at the deteriorating situation in the State, which has been intensified by the continuing inhuman violence and particularly the dastardly killing of 22 bus passengers near Khudda by the Khalistani extremists on November 30. The Khudda massacre and the widespread repercussions in and outside Punjab created a grave tension and sense of insecurity among the minorities and roused communal passions. There was some violence against the minority in Delhi and the situation became more grave for the unity and integrity of India.

The State Committee feels that the massive response to the all-parties' bandh, and the lawyers' week-long strike to protest against the dastardly killings show that the anger against the anti-national forces is rising and it is this that constitutes the silver lining in the situation. The calls for bandhs along communal lines by the BJP and the activities of Hindu communalist organizations—the Hindu Shiv Sena and the Rashtrya Suraksha Samity—are adding fuel to the fire.

The State Committee feels that with the election of Gurcharan Singh Tohra as the SGPC Chief, supported by the Baba Dal, AISSF, and Damdami Taksal, and whose first announcement was on disbanding of the Task Force and condemning the flushing out of the extremists from the Golden

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 4, 1987.

Temple Complex by the Barnala Government, the people have become apprehensive that once again the Gurudwaras will become sanctuaries for the imperialist-supported extremists and separatists. The anti-Accord Badal faction, which is appeasing the anti-national elements in its lust for power, and the extremists became emboldened with the victory of Tohra. The State Committee is of the firm view that had the Akali Dal (L) led by Barnala roused the Sikh masses against the anti-national forces, separated religion from politics and not fallen into the trap of the so-called Panthic unity, this victory of Tohra would not have been there.

The State Committee considers that the continued policy of drift of the Central Government in implementing the Punjab Accord, is also a big contributory factor in worsening the situation. It is most unfortunate that the Punjab Pradesh Congress(I) leadership and the BJP, instead of rousing the people against the anti-national forces, do not make the necessary difference between Barnala and Balwant Singh, who are fighting extremists and stand for the unity and integrity of India, and the Badal-Tohra faction which is appeasing the extremists, demands the dismissal of the Barnala Ministry and putting the State under Presidential rule. Those who believe that Presidential rule is the solution, forget past experience and the fact that the Punjab problem is essentially a political one, and requires a political solution, along with firm administrative measures against these anti-national forces. The State Committee is of the firm view that the necessity of a political initiative to implement the Punjab Accord and rousing people's hatred against the Khalistanis in order to isolate them, has become more urgent than ever before. It is also unfortunate that the Congress(I), the BJP, and even the Akali Dal (L) do not realise the importance of an ideological, political, mass campaign against the anti-national forces.

The State Committee again urges upon the Central Government to give precedence to the interests of the unity and integrity of India and abandon its narrow partisan interests,

in order to take the political initiative for immediate implementation of the Punjab Accord in letter and spirit.

The State Committee appeals to all the political parties which stand for unity and integrity of the country, and the patriotic and secular forces to come forward to carry out joint ideological, political, mass campaign for isolating the anti-national forces and defeating the imperialist conspiracy to destabilize the country.

The State Committee calls upon the Punjabi people to maintain communal harmony and peace in this grave situation fraught with dangerous consequences for national unity, and exhorts its Party units to further intensify their current independent and joint campaigns against the anti-national forces.

The State Committee congratulates the working class for its successful strike on December 12 and PRTC employees for their earlier strike on November 19. It further condemns the recently sanctioned increased salaries and allowance to the Punjab Ministers and demands the withdrawal in bus fares and announcement of a minimum support price of Rs. 32 to 35 per quintal for sugarcane.

The State Committee calls upon the peasants and agricultural workers to participate fully in the mass rally and Peace March on December 24 being held at Sangrur on the occasion of Golden Jubilee State Conference of the Punjab Kisan Sabha, in defence of communal harmony, unity and integrity of India, and peasant demands.

Jyoti Basu Contradicts Zail Singh's Claim*

The following letter was addressed by Jyoti Basu, Chief Minister of West Bengal and member of the CPI(M) Polit Bureau, to the President of India, Giani Zail Singh, on July 21, 1987 :

On my return from abroad, I was surprised to read an interview you gave to the weekly *Sunday* dated July 19-25, in which it is stated that I had sent you a messenger to persuade you to stand for Presidential election for the second time. I had not sent any such messenger with any such request. Shri D. Bhattacharjee, a person known to me, informed me in Calcutta about his meeting with you. I told him that my view, along with that of my Party, has all along been that you should not stand for a second term. In fact I had the impression during my last meeting with you that you had no such desire. Comrade Harkishan Singh Surjeet also told me the same thing after meeting you. Before leaving for Delhi yesterday, I asked Shri Bhattacharjee whether he had given you the impression that he was acting as my emissary. He categorically denied it and named the person who had arranged the interview. I am sorry that a misunderstanding has been created in your mind. You know that I have had cordial relations with you and hold you in high esteem. On the eve of your relinquishing office, please accept my good wishes. I hope you will have occasion in the future to visit our State and be our guest.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 26, 1987.

Report on Historic Delhi Rally on December 9, 1987*

**People Demands Rajiv's Resignation rousing Call
for Bharat Bandh on March 15, 1988**

The great historic March to Parliament began early on the morning of December 9 at 9 a.m. from behind the walls of the Red Fort. In front was a five-metre board with its bold lettering on a blue background, in Hindi and English—**Rajiv Gandhi Must Resign. Order Mid-Term Polls.**

Leading what turned out to be the most mammoth procession, in a city of processions and demonstrations, were the leaders of the 24 mass organizations of the Left Parties, and behind them just a red mass – Red flags held high, shoulder to shoulder across the rows, which stretched to either side of the street, and down the columns. Bobbing up and down they formed waves as the marchers stepped forth.

They came in lakhs from all over India – from strife-torn, heroic Punjab, one lakh alone, embattled Tripura, where daily attacks by the extremists are taking a toll of CPI(M) cadres, sympathisers, activists of the mass organizations, as they go about their work, or on the innocent trip to the market. They came from equally distant Assam, with its own toll of martyrs, where shortsighted politicians are trying to drive a wedge between the people. They came from Jammu and Kashmir fighting to preserve its traditional communal harmony and the democratic anti-imperialist traditions of the freedom struggle. They came in torrents from

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 13, 1987.
Refer Documents under Item No. 74 and Item No. 94. of this Volume.

Bihar, from among the most wretched and downtrodden in a State where exploitation is the most inhuman and brutal.

From U.P., Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, areas where a new awakening is stirring the people's minds, from the west, Maharashtra, Gujarat, from the southern States in lakhs, from the advance outpost of West Bengal with a militancy and determination unmatched, they gathered in Delhi.

From Kanyakumari to Kashmir, from the banks of the Hooghly to the Bay of Cambay they came, men and women, moved by an anger and misery that can no longer be tolerated, determined to give expression not only to a desire for change, but to demand that change, a pledge of their understanding and readiness that struggle is the key and weapon to win what they desire.

Braving lathi-charges and disruption – thrown out of trains, again climbing into the next, unmindful of the discomfort, the cold – against which many had no means of protection – the shortage of food, they still came.

Between them, in vivid and unmistakable fashion they reflected the unity of India – a unity which is being forged, and can only be forged, in struggle – a revitalising on a different basis and a different level, of the unity that was tempered in fire of the anti-British, anti-imperialist freedom struggle.

Once again all distinctions of religion, caste, language, are being submerged and cast aside in the common struggle to safeguard our independence, defeat the plans of imperialism and bring about social and economic changes.

And, they have understood, that the first step toward this is bringing about the resignation of the present anti-people Government of Rajiv Gandhi and the holding of mid-term elections to usher in not only a fresh Government but an alternate programme and policies that will cater to the urgent basic needs of the millions of the disinherited and poor toilers of this country.

This victory will not come easily and only struggle will deepen, strengthen and sustain that unity which will imbue the people's will with unassailable strength.

It was a sight to see, this sea of India's humanity, heralded by its waves of red flags advancing down Rajpath, facing and confronting the symbol of the power miswielded against it – the imposing Rashtrapati Bhavan.

With deafening slogans, they covered the lawns of the Boat Club and stretched endlessly as far as the eye could see, to India Gate and beyond with the marchers still filling in, even after the rally had come to a close.

The rally began with the endorsing of the Presidium consisting of B.T. Ranadive. Indradeep Sinha. P.D. Paliwal and Tridib Chaudhury.

Significance of Left Unity

B.T. Ranadive on behalf of the CITU was the first to speak. He gave a clarion call for a Bharat Bandh if the Rajiv Gandhi Government was not prepared to call elections immediately. Even if this measure failed to make the Government hold fresh elections, then each and every Congress(I) M.P. should be gheraoed wherever he went. For now the question was as to who ruled the country, the corrupt Rajiv Gandhi Government or the people. In the coming months a strong Left and democratic movement should be built to fulfil this task and provide the alternative.

BTR had begun his speech by welcoming the treaty that had just been signed by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and US President Reagan, on the elimination of shorter range and intermediate nuclear missiles and said that it was a first step in the direction of world peace.

But in sharp contrast to this was the deep unrest among the toiling people of India over the rule of the Rajiv Gandhi Government. Over the last three years the very basis for the unity and independence of this country was being undermined, as could be seen in the secessionist tendencies rearing their head in Punjab, Assam and Darjeeling. At the same time the Government was not only capitulating to communalism, but even collaborating with it as was evidenced in the alliance of the Congress(I) with the Muslim League and

not taking a secular and strong stand on issues like the Babri Masjid affair.

BTR said that terrible drought was raging, but no worthwhile relief had been given to the peasantry. The 20-point programme was a useless one. Over the last three years, unemployment had risen three crores from just one to two crores and the monopolists were being allowed to continue profiteering rampantly. The educational policy had resulted only in higher illiteracy and in keeping the working class more uneducated. He demanded the right to work.

The Rajiv Gandhi Government's policies towards the toiling people were enshrined in three slogans: eat less, be clothed less and live less.

It was only the alliance of the workers and peasants that could remove this corrupt Government as only it had the strength to do so. The Left had already been successful in removing Congress(I) from power in the three States of West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura. The unity of the Left and people's unity around it are the only instruments by which the present Government can be removed. The Left, BTR reiterated, would show the way in this on a national basis with an alternative programme.

Addressing the mammoth gathering, Jatin Chakraborty of the UTUC underlined the fact that Rajiv Gandhi was the first Indian Prime Minister facing serious charges of corruption. Earlier, the Left forces had been fighting against the economic policies of Congress Prime Ministers but none of them had faced charges of corruption and bribery. He ended his speech by saying that the Indian people had just one demand – Rajiv Gandhi must resign, resign forthwith and seek a fresh mandate.

Indrajit Gupta of the AITUC told the audience that the fight against the corrupt Rajiv regime is on, outside as well as inside Parliament. He thanked MPs belonging to democratic and secular parties like the Janata, Telugu Desam and Congress(S) who had wholeheartedly supported the Left MPs who raised the demands of the people. He assured that, this

unity of Left and democratic forces inside Parliament was soon going to be seen in action in every nook and corner of the country.

He lambasted the Rajiv Government for its surrenderist attitude to the communal and separatist forces, calling it the worst kind of political opportunism. He reminded that this was just the first step in the direction of removing the inefficient regime and the battle had to be won by a combined strength of Left and democratic forces with the help of a Bharat Bandh and other programmes to follow.

Chitta Basu of the TUCC greeted the gathering by calling it a new chapter in the history of the Left and democratic movement. He said the working people of India had realised once and for all that there could be no justice for them under Congress rule which had to be replaced by a Government of the Left and democratic forces, pursuing alternate policies. He hailed the three Governments of West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura as the three stars of the Left and democratic movement in the country and exhorted the people to look to and be guided by them in their struggle for a new order.

Women fully Back Struggle

Kanak Mukherjee of the All India Democratic Women's Association underlined the fact that even the honour of Indian women was not safe under the Rajiv regime which had been capitulating to the communal and separatist forces, inimical to the interests of women. More and more women in India were coming to the women's organizations and increasingly joining the people's actions. She hailed this new awakening among Indian women and assured the fighting people on behalf of the Indian women that they would never find the women lagging behind in their just and relentless struggle.

Vimla Farooqi of the National Federation of Indian Women hailed the massive participation of women in the rally. She reminded the gathering that movements could be successful

only with the full participation of women, based on equal rights for women and men. She exhorted the men to recognise women's power and fight for their demands as well as against the atrocities on them.

Greetings From Left Front Government

Jyoti Basu greeted the mammoth gathering, calling it the biggest he had ever seen in Delhi, on behalf of himself, the Left Front Government and the people of that State.

Assailing the Rajiv regime he underlined the fact that out of seven elections that had taken place after its coming to power, the Congress under Rajiv had lost six, due to its anti-people policies. In Nagaland it could only win. Thanks to the money bags.

Jyoti Basu underlined the fact that out of 25 Indian States, Congress was in power in only 13. The Left forces had defeated the Congress(I) in three States and were now on a move to oust the Congress from the national scene with the combined strength of all Left, democratic and secular forces. The fight was already on, he declared, and was going to be followed up after the meeting by forging the widest possible unity and a chain of programmes.

Attacking the rampant corruption of the Rajiv regime, he underlined the fact that the corruption had placed a question mark on the very defence of our motherland. He reminded the audience that the fight against corruption and removal of a corrupt government could not be confined to a resolution or a demonstration. It had to be converted into a protracted fight till the demand for his resignation and seeking a fresh mandate was conceded.

Condemning the anti-people attitude of Congress(I) he said it considered the Indian people as a mass of illiterate persons while the Left forces always acknowledged them as a revolutionary force and reposed full confidence in them. The people, even in the Hindi region now, were placing their faith in the Left forces as was evident by their mighty presence, and hoped that this awakening would soon be converted into a mighty striking force.

He reminded the audience that separate and isolated efforts could not bear fruit and an all-out united effort was the only guarantee for its success. He exhorted the people to take from here the fighting spirit of the resolution and to implement it with all their might.

Congress Stands Self-Condemned

On behalf of the National Campaign Committee, Harkishan Singh Surjeet moved the resolution. Elaborating on the resolution, Comrade Surjeet explained why in the course of three years the massive mandate that Rajiv Gandhi had received has been dissipated. On all fronts the policies pursued by the Rajiv Gandhi Government have brought the country to a ruinous situation. The economic policies of this Government have fuelled inflation and led the economy into an unprecedented crisis. The Punjab imbroglio continues with the Government wanting to settle it by the use of force while clearly the need is for a political settlement. In Tripura, the ruling party is scared to face the electorate and has postponed elections with the connivance of a pliable Election Commission.

The Congress(I) is shamelessly aligning with the divisive force, the TUIJS, in that State. In Kerala, it aligned with all the communal and casteist forces against the Left and Democratic Front and lost the elections. It has even now not disentangled itself from these forces despite the recommendation of its own committee.

The electoral system has been totally distorted and there is incontrovertible evidence of corruption in defence deals. In such a situation, the people of this country have risen to demand Rajiv Gandhi's resignation. The Left movement leading this mass struggle has galvanised the entire country.

Left is the Lever

Surjeet pointed out that an unprincipled alliance of all and sundry would not be able to remove Rajiv Gandhi and it is only the principled unity of the Left and secular parties

which can act as the lever for the removal of Rajiv's corrupt Government. In this context, he also underlined the significance of the Left mobilization in shaping the country's politics.

Comrade Surjeet underscored the importance of the huge participation from Punjab which exceeded over a lakh. It clearly demonstrated that the Left is today the only force which can mobilize people from that State against separatist forces. Punjab is not lost to the extremists, as some people believe, he said.

Emphasising the significance of the call of the Bharat Bandh contained in the resolution, Surjeet said that this Bharat Bandh would paralyse the whole country as never before. He appealed to the secular parties to join this mass movement for the removal of Rajiv Gandhi's Government.

Seconding the resolution, on behalf of the National Campaign Committee, Homi Daji stressed the three points, i.e., Rajiv must resign and seek a fresh mandate; Left forces were much stronger in 1987 as compared to 1977; and we would not let the imperialists and the communal-separatist forces disrupt the unity and integrity of our country at any cost. We will defend our country with our blood, he concluded.

The resolution was put to vote and carried unanimously.

The Rally also mourned the death of a Comrade from Bihar, Giri, who died on his way to Delhi.

By another resolution the Rally hailed the signing of the INF agreement between CPSU General Secretary, Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

Resolution Adopted in Historic Delhi Rally held on December 9, 1987*

This massive gathering of one million people assembled here at the call of the Central Campaign Committee of 24 Mass Organizations at the initiative of the Left Parties, congratulates the toiling millions of the whole country who responded to their call for giving big receptions to the *jathas* at various places in different States. The issues raised by this campaign have found widespread support among all sections of the people. This platform has rallied large sections of the people behind the demand for the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi and a fresh mandate.

This rally fully endorses the following demands put forward by the National Campaign :

1. Give relief to those affected by drought and floods.
2. Check price-rise.
3. Guarantee minimum wages and implement land-reforms.
4. Guarantee remunerative prices to the peasants.
5. Jobs and education for all.
6. Reopen all closed mills and factories.
7. End atrocities on the weaker sections and women.
8. Ensure equal rights for women.
9. Guarantee democratic and trade union rights.
10. Firmly put down separatist and communal forces.
11. Introduce electoral reforms.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 13, 1987.
Refer Document under Appendix(iii) of this Volume.

12. Restructure Centre-State relations.
13. Curb corruption in high places.

Rajiv Gandhi Should Resign and Hold Fresh Elections

This National Campaign has galvanized the whole atmosphere and succeeded in creating a new upsurge in the whole country drawing into the campaign different sections of the toiling population, industrial workers, agricultural workers, peasants, students, youth, women and the intelligentsia. The response has shown that the Indian people, especially the toiling sections, are very much discontented due to the failure of the Central Government to solve the urgent problems facing them. The ruling classes are throwing the burden of the deepening crisis of the Indian economy on to their shoulders squeezing whatever meagre earnings they are having which itself is not sufficient to make both ends meet. The people have lost all hopes of any solution to the problems faced by them at the hands of the Central Government; they have expressed a total lack of confidence in the present Government.

People have shown awareness to fight the divisive and communal forces which are out to disrupt their unity and threaten the unity of the country. They want to isolate these forces and to defeat the game of imperialism which intends to destabilize the country. They have also shown determination to oppose any move which attacks their democratic right. They do not find any way out except a fresh mandate so that the people who are the supreme authority in the country can elect a Government of their choice.

The resignation of Rajiv Gandhi and fresh elections can be brought about successfully by forging the unity of all the Left and secular forces. This gathering appeals to all the secular forces to join hands with the Left in fulfilling the aspirations of the people.

This meeting in order to carry forward this struggle decided to give call for a one-day Bharat Bandh. The date will be fixed after consultation with other secular forces. We call

upon all our organizations to do their best to make this Bandh a complete success. This gathering authorises the Central Campaign Committee to chalk out the future programme of action independently as well as in cooperation with other secular Opposition parties which are wedded to the cause of world peace, anti-imperialism, non-alignment, against communal and divisive forces, against the ruinous economic policies of the Rajiv Government, for self-reliance and in defence of the interests of the masses. Further development of the country-wide mass movement is the only answer to the discredited rule of Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress(I). This gathering pledges that it will continue the fight till the goal of resignation of Rajiv Gandhi and a fresh mandate is achieved.

Left Parties Appeal for Common Mass Action*

The Left parties meeting on December 13, 1987, attended by E.M.S. Namboodiripad and Harkishan Singh Surjeet (CPI-M); C. Rajeswara Rao, Homi Daji, N.E. Balram (CPI); Chitta Basu and D.D. Shastri (Forward Bloc); Tridib Choudhury and Pratul Choudhury (RSP), issued the following communique.

The meeting of the Left parties reviewed the situation with special reference to the grand success of the December 9 Rally and its impact on the political situation in the country. The meeting greeted the toiling people who had converged on Delhi from all corners of the country. They raised their voice in defence of their interests and to demand the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi and for a fresh mandate. They came at the call of the mass organizations braving immense hardships including the severe cold, and endorsed the call for a Bharat Bandh. The meeting decided to contact other secular Opposition parties to seek their cooperation to make the Bharat Bandh successful and to work out concrete plans in this respect.

The meeting also appealed to the State units of the mass organizations and Left parties to coordinate their activities and carry on the campaign on the basis of the resolution adopted by the Rally, including local demands. This is necessary to consolidate the gains of the campaign and make the Bharat Bandh a total success.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 20, 1987.

Opposition Parties' Joint Call*

Statement issued by the leaders of the Opposition parties at a Press Conference on March 5, 1988 :

We, the representatives of various Opposition parties, express our deepest concern at the deterioration in the overall economy, political and social life of our country.

The economic condition of the people is continuously worsening with growing unemployment, poverty and hunger. The closure of thousands of factories and the denial of remunerative prices to the peasantry leads to deep distress. The continuous price-rise is further adding to the miseries of the people. There is no end to the atrocities against the weaker sections and women. Democratic rights and trade union rights are being curtailed.

The Prime Minister had the audacity to state that he would dismiss "anti-national" State Governments duly elected by the people, thus posing a grave threat to parliamentary democracy itself. Corruption in high places and the scandals following them have rocked the whole country. Not content with that, the Government is using the harmful practice of hikes in administered prices as a pre-budget exercise to throw the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the common people. Communal harmony is being threatened and the Government has failed to tackle any problem related to national unity.

All this has naturally aroused anger among all sections of

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 13, 1988.

the Indian people. They have come to the conclusion that Rajiv Gandhi has belied their hopes and thus lost the mandate to govern. They have expressed this feeling through public meetings, demonstrations, and various other forms of protest. The big response to the call of *Bharat Bachao* on February 23 throughout the country, in the form of rallies and demonstrations, endorsed the stand taken by us on January 21, 1988. All the Opposition political parties have raised the demand on the floor of Parliament and outside, that Rajiv Gandhi should resign.

Later developments have further vindicated the position taken by our parties on January 21, 1988. On the economic front the country has seen unprecedented hikes in the prices of essential commodities through administered price-hikes, the big increase in rail fares and freight, and increase in postal and communication tariff. The budget for the current year, attempting to create illusions of relief to the people, has left an unprecedented deficit of over Rs. 7,400 crore. Undoubtedly the burden of this will fall on the common man in terms of economic miseries, and there is no sign of relief from the heavy dose of inflation which is going to further increase in the coming year.

The authoritarian tendency of the present Government was clearly manifested in the manoeuvre to manipulate elections in Tripura by declaring the whole State as a disturbed area and handing over the State to the army only two days before the polling. In Meghalaya, the Congress(I) Government has been installed in a most undemocratic manner making a mockery of the people's verdict and throwing to the winds the anti-defection law. The most shocking has been the utter contempt recently shown to parliamentary norms in the Rajya Sabha.

The gang-rape of women by police personnel in Pararia in Bihar, and Bhumka in Assam, reflect the total breakdown and high-handedness of the law and order machinery in the country.

We consider that it is time now to give more organized shape to the demands of the people and their protests.

In this situation we appeal to the people of India to rally together as never before for the fulfilment of the following demands :

1. Strengthen national unity and take firm steps against communalism and separatism.
2. Investigate and eliminate corruption at high places.
3. Provide effective relief to drought and flood-affected people.
4. End atrocities against Scheduled Castes and Tribes, and women.
5. Protect the right of minorities and safeguard secular democratic values.
6. Equal rights for women; end the humiliating and barbarous practices against women as manifested in dowry deaths, *Sati*, etc.
7. Ensure remunerative prices for peasants' produce.
8. Minimum wages for agricultural labourers and implementation of land reforms.
9. Strengthen policy of self-reliance and stop attack on public sector.
10. Check price rise and administered price hikes, and strengthen public distribution system.
11. Open closed mills and factories.
12. Introduce basic electoral reforms to eliminate money power and rigging.
13. Provide education for all and eliminate illiteracy.
14. Provide employment for all.
15. Restructure Centre-State relations and stop encroachment on States' powers.

Removal of Rajiv Gandhi Government and Holding of Fresh Elections

We unitedly appeal to the people of this country to express their anger and anguish at the present state of affairs and abstain from all normal activity and grind the whole country to a halt on March 15 and make the Bharat Bandh an unprecedented success.

E.M.S. Namboodiripad, C. Rajeswara Rao,
Tridib Choudhury, Chitta Basu, Chandra Shekhar,
V.P. Singh, Ajit Singh, Sarat Chandra Sinha.

Take Categorical Stand Against Anti-National Forces*

**Harkishan Singh Surjeet's Open Letter to
Shiromoni Gurudwara Pravandak Committee
(SGPC)**

What happened in the Golden Temple from May 9 to 18 has shocked not only Punjabis, but all the patriotic and democratic-minded people of the country. Never since the formation of the SGPC has the Golden Temple been so desecrated and such heinous crimes committed in its precincts, as has been done now by the extremists. The question naturally arises in the minds of the people, including the Sikh community, whether the Sikh shrines can be so allowed to be used for anti-national activities, camouflaged under the right of religious freedom. Not only had the Golden Temple become the centre of activities for killing innocent people, extracting money, and molesting women, but these extremists also did not hesitate to violate the sanctity of the Harmandir Sahib while exploiting the genuine faith of the people.

Their entry into the sanctum of the Golden Temple in the last three days was meant to provoke the para-military forces to attack the Golden Temple so that the religious feelings of the people towards the holiest of Sikh shrines could be inflamed and made use of, though this ploy did not succeed. On the other hand, these very people who talked about Sikh rites and preached fundamentalism, did not hesitate to use this sacred place for easing themselves. The manner in which they surrendered and are revealing the atrocious crimes they have committed, contains a big lesson for all those who thought that the extremists were

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 5, 1988.

fighting for some principles, for a "sacred" cause, in defence of the Sikh community.

Although their action has isolated them from the mass of the people who, already, because of their activities outside, were developing a hatred against them, the SGPC and UAD leaders who claim to talk in the name of the Sikh religion, have not uttered a word of condemnation against these anti-national elements and criminals even when everybody has expressed satisfaction over the fact that Golden Temple Complex has been cleared of the Khalistani terrorists. On the contrary, the SGPC leadership vacillated even on the starting of Maryada in the Harmandir Sahib, although the same leaders tried to make a big issue of this, when they were shouting about the liberation of the Golden Temple, not from the Sikh extremists, but from the para-military forces. We are afraid we have doubts about even the genuineness of their feelings in this, because had they entered the Golden Temple as they claimed they wanted to, they would also have had to face the bullets of the extremists.

It is strange that even now when the people would like the SGPC to restore the traditions, adhered to since the formation of the SGPC in 1925, you are hesitating to come out with the assurance that the Golden Temple Complex will not be allowed to be used either for storing arms and ammunition, or for harbouring criminals. Your policy is thus only to further encourage the extremists and to allow them to regroup, in order to carry on their anti-national activities. You have no concern for the interests of the State, the country, or even the Sikh community, which today is living with a sense of fear, not only outside Punjab, but also inside. None are spared by the extremists, particularly those who refuse to yield to them.

Are you not aware that since the enactment of the Gurudwara Act in 1925, weapons have not been allowed to be taken inside the Golden Temple premises? All weapons were to be deposited outside, before entry. It was only in 1983, that the SGPC allowed Bhindranwale to take in arms

and build a fortress inside the Akal Takht, to challenge the authority of the Central Government as well as to threaten the unity of the country. The suggestions made at that time that Bhindranwale should be asked to move outside the Golden Temple and the Akal Takht, were rejected by the SGPC itself.

It was these extremists who murdered Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, who was carrying the message of unity after signing the Accord. The people of the whole State supported the Accord and rejected the call for boycott of the elections given by the extremists. The latter were subsequently flushed out from the Golden Temple.

Again the SGPC came to an understanding with them and not only allowed them to re-enter the Golden Temple, but even handed over the demolition and reconstruction of the Akal Takht to them, abrogating its own authority. It was this which emboldened the extremists to hold the "Sarbat Khalsa" on January 26, 1986. The Sarbat Khalsa denounced the authority of the SGPC, elected the Panthic Committee to guide the affairs of the Sikh Panth, denounced the existing High Priests and appointed new ones in their place, Jasbir Singh Rode being one of them.

When following this, another Sarbat Khalsa was held by the SGPC, the then High Priests of the Akal Takht, Kesgarh Sahib, as well, Badal and Tohra were party to the resolutions denouncing the earlier Sarbat Khalsa of the extremists, and took a pledge to restore the authority of the SGPC over the Golden Temple.

The SGPC then set up a task force and enforced its authority. However, as soon as the leadership of the SGPC again passed into the hands of the UAD, as a first step task force was dismissed. Again the extremists were allowed, this time not only to enter the Golden Temple but also to become its masters. The SGPC was forced to abdicate its authority, and now it was the extremists who controlled both the Golden Temple and also all the Gurudwaras in the State.

Is it not a fact that two of your most important functionaries,

Abinashi Singh, the Secretary of the SGPC, and Dr. Barar, were taken away and killed by the extremists? Even this did not alert you to the situation prevailing there though you did not dare to hold the meeting of the SGPC in your office. Perhaps for the first time in the history of the SGPC, the General Body meeting to elect office-bearers was held in Anandpur Sahib.

Thus it is not your writ, but the writ of the extremists, which has been running over these institutions. It is the tragedy of today's situation that the SGPC, which was the creation of the heroic struggle of the masses who fought not only against the Mahants who were at that time in control of the Gurudwaras, but also against the British imperialists, who were backing the Mahants, that the SGPC, is today playing into the hands of such elements who have neither the interests of the country at heart, nor that of the Sikhs. The present crisis about taking over management of the Golden Temple, is the result of this mess.

I do not agree with the Government's demanding that the SGPC should give some undertaking, but is it not your responsibility to assure the people that no one will be allowed to bring arms into the Golden Temple? Is it not your responsibility to see that the criminals and the anti-national elements do not get any protection inside the Golden Temple? Are you not aware that such things never happened before in the whole history of the Golden Temple? What is your difficulty in adopting a resolution that such have been the traditions of the Golden Temple, that they were broken after 1983, and the SGPC pledges to restore those traditions?

You can come forward with such a resolution, send it to the Government and publish it. It will give people the confidence that you, at least at this moment, after a lot of harm has been done, have realised that your responsibility is not to defend individuals, but the customs and traditions which have held the SGPC and its leadership in high esteem in the past.

You are a democratically elected committee, but you want to assert your authority without discharging your responsibility, which you have failed to do in the past. If you do not rise to the occasion and come out categorically against the anti-national forces and the extremists, who are taking a toll of innocent lives, and are interested only in destabilising the country at the behest of Pakistan and backed by imperialism, you will not be excused by the people. The quality of leadership lies not in cowardly surrender before such forces, whose activities result in defaming the Sikh community, but in fighting them.

I am appealing to you, even at this late hour to show the qualities of leadership and assure the people that you will do everything to protect the sanctity of the Golden Temple and other Sikh shrines, and not allow them to be used for such activities which are harmful to the country, the State and the Sikhs. If you do not act firmly, you will lose the authority which you acquired from the elections held many years back.

Names of Representatives of Foreign Fraternal Parties Which Participated in the Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M) at Trivandrum*

I. People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan

Najmuddin Kawyani, Member, Polit Bureau, Secretary, Central Committee, Chairman, International Department, PDPA, Member, National Assembly and Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee and President of the Commission on International Relations of the National Assembly.

Mohd. Yassin Bedar, Member, International Department, C.C., PDPA.

II. Communist Party of Bulgaria

Krum Vassilev, Member, Central Committee, Head of Department Dy. Chairman, Commission for Foreign Propaganda.

Anton Hristov, Member, Foreign Affairs Department.

III. Communist Party of China

Li Chengren, Dy. Head of International Liaison Dept. of C.C. of CPC.

Chen Chuange, Bureau Director, International Liaison Department.

Chen Yaan, Dy. Section Director, International Liaison Dept.

IV. Communist Party of Cuba

Omar Iser Mojena, Member, Central Committee.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 22, 1989. Refer Documents under Item No. 145 of this Volume.

V. Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

Rudolf Hagenbart, Member, C.C. Head of Department.

Karel Janout, Member, International Department.

VI. Communist Party of France

Jean Barriere, Member, Central Committee.

VII. Socialist Unity Party of Germany (GDR)

Manfred Banaschak, Member, Central Committee, Head of Department, Editor, Party Theoretical Organ—Einheit.

Andrej Reder, Member, International Department.

VIII. Communist Party of Italy

Ms. Marta Dassu, Director, Institute of International Politics.

IX. Japanese Communist Party

Saburo Uno (Alias Koken Kira), Member, Standing Presidium, Director, Social Science Inst., JCP.

Akira Sakaguchi, Member, International Department.

X. People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea

Sam Sun Doeun, Member, C.C., First Secretary. Kampuchean Youth Union.

Keo Chhea, Member, Commission for External Relations of C.C. PRPK.

XI. Workers' Party of Korea (DPRK)

Kim Yang Gon, Vice-Director, International Affairs Dept. of C.C.

Li Man Uk, Official, International Dept. of C.C.

XII. Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

B. Baldoo, Member, C.C., Director, Inst. of Social Sciences of MPRP.

Mrs. L. Manlajan, Officer, Foreign Relations Dept. MPRP.

XIII. Nepal Communist Party

Adhikari, General Secretary,
Balram Upadhyaya, PBM

XIV. Polish United Workers' Party

Ms. Barbara Krupa Wojciechowska, Member, C.C., Principal,
Medical Academy, Gdansk.

XV. Romanian Communist Party

Jon Sirbu, Secretary, C.C.

Marian Chirila, External Relations Section of C.C.

XVI. Communist Party of Soviet Union

G.V. Kolbin, Member, C.C., First Secretary, C.C. of C.P. of
Kazhakistan.

Dr. F.N. Yurlov, Head of Section, International Dept. of
CPSU.

A.M. Gulaiev, International Dept., CPSU.

XVII. Communist Party of Vietnam

Do Chinh, Member, C.C.

XVIII. OIPF Majority

A delegation was present.

NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES

a) African National Congress

Moosa Moolla, Chief Representative of Asia Mission.

b) SWAPO of Namibia

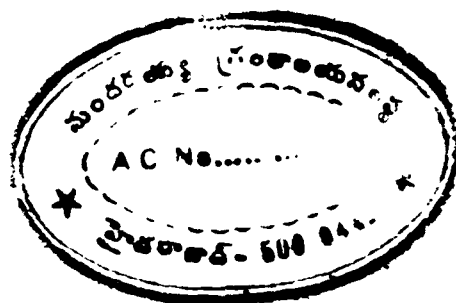
Tuliameni Kalomoh. Ambassador in India

c) PLO

Khaled-el-Sheik, Ambassador in India.

[The Central Committee of the CPI(M) decided to invite 21
fraternal Parties to send their representatives to the Thirteenth

Party Congress. Of these the 18 participated; the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia sent messages.]



Index

A

- Abdullah, Farooq 59, 103-04, 546
Abeyagoonasekara, Ossie 992
Advani, L.K. 262
Afghan Accord 545
African National Congress (ANC) 5, 246, 707
Agricultural Workers Union 223, 267, 299, 300, 624-6, 684-5
Ahmad, Muzaffar 700-02
AITUC (All India Trade Union Congress) 624
Akahata (Organ of Japanese Communist Party) 244
Akal Takht 17, 22, 37, 75-7, 165-6, 168-9, 191, 198, 211, 230, 610, 612, 790-91
Akali Dal/Akali Party 17-8, 29, 76, 211-2, 547
Akali Dal (Longowal) 17-8, 22, 167
All Assam Students Union 8
All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazagham (AIADMK) 9, 265, 337
All India Democratic Women's Association (AIDWA) 89, 98, 106, 566, 690-92
All India Federation of Univ. & College Teachers Orgn. 208, 234
All India Kisan Sabha (AIKS) 624-5, 677-8, 680-83
All India Lawyers Union (AILU) 693
All India Peace & Solidarity Orgn. (AIPSO) 593
All Parties Hill Conference 180
Amara Bangalee 336, 504
Ambedkar, B.R. 317
Anti-Sati Ordinance 221
Antony Congress 328
Aquino, (Ex President of Philippines) 709, 742
Arafat, Yasser 525, 702
Ardanari 508
Arjun Sengupta Committee 598
Arjun Sengupta Report 61
Assam Accord 443
Assam Gana Parishad (AGP) 8, 80, 173, 180, 546, 572, 609
Assocham 162
ASEAN (Association. of South East Asian Nations) 417
Aswini Kumar 424
Australian Labour Party 149
Autonomous District Council (Tripura) 475-6, 559
AWACS 72
Aziz, Abdel 26

B

- Babbar Khalsa Group 168
Babri Masjid 55, 90, 99, 466, 470, 714
Bachchan, Amitabh 192, 613

- Badal, Prakash Singh 320, 790
 Bahuguna, H.N. 305
 Bahujan Samaj Party (B.S.P) 680
 Baldoo, B. 756
 Bajrang Dal 471
 Bakreshwar Power Plant 367
 Bakreshwar Thermal Power Plant 466, 605, 720
 Bandarnaike, Sirimavo 67-8, 71, 159, 492
 Bansi Lal 133, 172
 Barman, Samir 476
 Barrier, Jean 755
 Barnala Ministry 547
 Barnala, Surjeet Singh 6, 15, 17-8, 22, 29-30, 49, 75-7, 133, 135, 165-9, 183, 191, 610-12, 618, 717, 770
 Basavapunnaiah, M. 114
 Basi, Piara Singh 508
 Basu, Jyoti 175, 177-8, 304, 310, 428, 593, 619, 772
 Beeka, Harbans Singh 447
 Bhajan Lal 170
 Bhutto, Benazir 544, 587, 724
 "Bharat Bandh" (15 March, 1988) 267, 273, 357, 674, 677, 695, 775, 777, 782, 784
 BHEL (Bharat Heavy Elec. Ltd.) 64, 599
 BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) 9, 29, 30, 75, 101, 104, 164, 168-9, 171, 174, 217, 262-3, 267, 270, 296-7, 300, 302, 304-06, 311, 316-7, 319, 324, 327-8, 366, 443, 496, 550, 563, 568, 572, 575, 605, 607-08, 617, 619-21, 695-6, 713, 770
 Bharat Jatha 255-6, 267
 Bharat Krishak Samaj 349
 Bhattacharya, Buddhadev 428
 Bhindranwale, Sant Jarnail Singh 789-90
 Bibi, Sm. Lalmati 477
 Bibi Chandramani 475
 Biswal, Dr. Laxmi Dhar 446
 Bofors 561, 613
 Bolshevik Revolution 701
 Border Security Force 155
 Botha 524
 Brahm, Prakash 305
 Brahman, Ratanlal 761
 Brar, (Dr.) 791
 British Labour Party 55
- C**
 Camdessus, (Mr.) 509
 Campos, Julio Lopez 751
 Canadian, Darshan Singh 116
 Ceausescu, Nicolae 753
 Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) 47, 56, 82, 151, 166, 256-7, 291, 604
 Centre of India Trade Union (CITU) 19, 89, 93, 98, 139, 169, 299, 305, 446, 504, 506, 565, 623-4, 672-5, 677, 715
 Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions 447
 Chakraborty, Jatin 466
 Chakraborty, Nripen 428, 458, 625, 715
 Chakraborty, Nrisingha 139, 506, 507
 Chakraborty, Samir 463
 Chakraborty, Satyasadhan 234
 Chandra Shekhar 37-8, 102, 183, 185, 305, 614
 Chavan, S.B. 318
 Chief Election Commissioner 13, 33, 36
 Chin, Truong 479
 Chintan, V.P. 118, 507
 Chowdhury, Momin 458
 Christofias, Demetris 730
 Chu, Rim Chin, (DPRK) 423-4
 Clemenceau (French Air-Craft Carrier) 325
 Cominform 594

- Committee of Public Sector Trade Union 672
- Communist Party of Bangladesh 730
- Communist Party of China 153, 272, 276, 279, 390, 428, 514, 732-3
- Communist Party of Cuba 1, 3, 752
- Communist Party of Czechoslovakia 54, 519
- Communist Party of France 755-6
- Communist Party of India (CPI) 40, 42, 45, 77, 88-9, 96, 114, 167, 169, 299-300, 328, 369, 495, 504-05, 556, 571-2, 609, 701, 717
- Communist Party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)] 1, 3-4, 7-8, 11-5, 17, 19-20, 22, 24, 26, 28-9, 31, 33-7, 39-45, 51, 55, 59, 75, 77, 80, 88-9, 92, 94, 96-8, 100, 102-3, 107, 109, 110-14, 116, 118-9, 121-2, 124-8, 130, 133, 135-6, 138-9, 141-2, 165, 167, 169, 171, 174, 180-81, 186-7, 189-95, 197, 199, 202, 205, 207-8, 211, 213, 215, 217, 223, 227, 230, 232, 235, 239-41, 245-52, 254, 260-61, 263-70, 273, 275, 295, 297-302, 308, 312, 317, 320, 323, 325, 327, 332-36, 338, 340-41, 343-6, 349, 352, 356-62, 370-71, 374, 381-2, 385, 399, 422-3, 425, 427-30, 434, 438-41, 443, 446-8, 453-6, 458, 463-4, 472-9, 481-2, 484-5, 488-9, 491, 493-5, 497, 503-04, 507, 528, 545, 548-9, 552, 555, 563-4, 567, 569-75, 577, 579-81, 602, 605, 609-11, 615, 620, 700, 702-04, 708-9, 712, 714-5, 717, 719, 721, 723, 726-7, 732-6, 738-41, 743-4, 746-7, 749, 752, 753-5, 757-9
- Communist Party of Italy 756
- Communist Party of Nepal 735-6
- Communist Party of Romania 753-4
- Communist Party of Soviet Union 2, 4, 11, 52, 187, 236, 238, 260, 272, 340, 386-8, 390, 394-5, 398-9, 416, 448-9, 452, 467, 484-5, 514-5, 620, 727, 732
- Communist Party of Spain 344, 739
- Communist Party of Sri Lanka 71, 446, 740-41
- Communist Party of Vietnam 734
- Congress(I), Indira Congress 5-6, 20, 33-6, 39-46, 48, 56-8, 75, 77, 80, 83-4, 88, 90-96, 98-103, 105, 121, 126-8, 133, 138, 160-61, 163-7, 169-72, 174-5, 178, 180-85, 188, 191-2, 197-8, 202, 213, 239-40, 257, 259, 263, 269, 273, 288, 294, 298, 301-2, 309-11, 314-7, 320, 323, 338-9, 347-8, 351-2, 354, 356, 358, 360-62, 366-8, 373, 374, 376, 380-83, 432, 434, 440-41, 443, 453, 455, 458-60, 463, 465, 477, 481, 495, 499-500, 505, 527-9, 538-40, 546-8, 550, 555, 557, 560-72, 574-5, 602, 604-06, 608, 610-17, 620, 626, 680, 695-6, 710, 712-4, 717, 720-22
- Congress(S) 58, 93, 96, 186, 256, 302, 305, 609, 615
- Congress Socialist Party 503
- Congress(I)-TUJS 475, 504
- Conservative Party of Great Britain 522
- D**
- Daji, Homi 114,
- Dasan, M 760
- Dassu, Marti 757
- Dean, Robert 603
- Deb, Dasarath 433, 715
- Deb, Santosh Mohan 336

Deb Barma, Abhiram 422, 508
 Debnath, Manindra 477
 Debnath, Sadhan 477
 Defamation Bill 538-9, 693
 Delhi Declaration (1986) 4, 12, 237, 541
 Democratic People's Republic of Korea 525
 Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) 42
 Democratic Youth Federation of India 89, 98, 106, 169, 223, 298-300, 303, 565, 621, 623, 688, 689
 Deoras, Balasaheb 263
 Devi Lal 133, 166, 170-72, 297, 302, 611, 617
 Dhawan, Deepak 119, 507
 Dhawan, Indu 761
 Dhoot, Chanan Singh 24-5, 28, 116, 507
 Diego Garcia 326, 589
 Dixit, J.N. 67
 Dobrynin 261
 Dravida Munnetra Kazagham (DMK) 183, 283
 Duan, Com. Le 502
 Duarte (US-Backed Regime) 708

E

E.P.R.L.F. 492
 "Economic Outlook" (Publication of OECD) 286
 Economic Times, The 287
 Eighth Congress of CPI(M) 494
 82nd Air Borne Division 361
 Electricity Workers Federation of India 305
 El Salvador 708
 Engels, Frederick 461
 "Equality" (Qly. Journal of AIDWA) 691
 Eradi Commission 166, 611
 Ershad, General 284, 435

Essential Service Maintenance Act 88, 197, 537, 579, 605, 623, 722
 European Economic Community (EEC) 522

F

F.S.L.N 703
 Fairfax Affair/Commission/Company 57, 256, 318, 613
 Farooqi, M. A. 114
 Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) of USA 256
 Fidel Castro 1
 59th Amendment Act of the Indian Constitution 367, 457, 538, 605, 693, 710
 Foreign Exchange Regulations Act (FERA) 318-9
 Forward Bloc 89
 Fuwa, Tetsuzo (Chairman of Delegation of Japanese Communist Party) 329, 744

G

Ganamukti Parishad 463
 Gandhi, Indira 74, 82
 Gandhi-Kamgar National Congress 180
 Gandhi, Rajiv 2, 4-5, 12, 14-5, 20, 45, 47-8, 56-9, 61-3, 66, 67, 74-5, 82-3, 85, 88-90, 100, 102, 133, 137-38, 154, 157-8, 162, 164-6, 170, 182, 184, 187-92, 193-6, 199-200, 215, 221, 223, 257, 267-8, 274, 289-91, 296-7, 299, 302, 305, 308-11, 314-5, 323, 326, 336, 368, 375-6, 380-81, 434, 436, 467, 596, 598, 600-02, 604, 610-13, 615-18, 620, 622, 626, 674, 693, 695, 718, 720, 722
 Gayetri Devi 124
 Geneva Accord 372, 540

- Ghanasambandan, (Com.) 508
 Ghani, Khan Chowdhury 268
 Ghising Subhas 7, 163, 173, 363-4
 Ghosh, Krishna Pada 507
 Ghosh, Santimoy 506
 "Glasnost" 732
 Global Peace Wave 623
 Golden Temple 38, 788-92
 Gorbachev, Mikhail Sergeivich 2, 4, 11-2, 31, 150, 254, 260, 275, 340, 385, 387-8, 399, 412, 419, 435, 449, 467, 473, 483, 487, 499, 522-3, 584-5, 587, 592, 727, 780
 Gorkha National Liberation Front 7, 49, 271, 321, 363, 382-3, 434, 505, 555-6, 624
 Gorkha League 42
 Gonaie, Md. Yakub 761
 Granthasala Sangham 35
 Great October Revolution 226, 235, 261, 275, 385, 394, 482, 487
 Gross Domestic Product (GDP) 510
 Gross National Product 512
 Gulshan, Hukam Chand 28, 116
 Gupta, Indrajit 114
- H**
 Habash, George 751
 Haldia Petrochemical Project 367, 605, 720
 Harvard University 604
 Hegde, Ramakrishna 179
 Hill Development Council 364
 Hill State People's Democratic Party 180
 "Hindi-Chini-Bhai Bhai" 723
 Hindu Munnani 101, 327
 Hiroshima Day 623
 Hiroshima-Nagasaki Appeal 245
 Hitler, Adolf 153, 410-11, 485
 "Hukumnama" 17-8, 22
 Hung, Com. Pham 422, 502
- Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party 743
- I**
 Ibarruri, Dolores 344
 Ickle, Fred 603
 Indian Express 327
 Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) 623
 Indian Peace-Keeping Force 272, 281-83, 375, 543
 Indo-China Relations 541
 Indo-Sri Lanka Accord 220, 343
 Indo-Soviet Treaty 237
 Indo-U.S. Vaccine Agreement 228
 International Monetary Fund (IMF) 2, 20, 269, 509-10
 INF Missiles 254, 260, 272, 330, 344, 704
 International Year of Peace 53
 Iranian People's Fedaiian 758-9
 Iyer, Krishna 137, 185-7, 614-5
- J**
 Jahid, Abu 503
 Jamait-e-Islami 270, 304, 550
 Jamatia, Braja Mohan 475
 Janaki Shrimathi 337
 Janata Dal 496, 621
 Janata Party 37, 75, 95-6, 105, 169, 186, 217, 221, 305, 313, 615
 Japanese Communist Party (JCP) 243-5, 329, 31, 743-6
 Janwadi Lekhak Sangh 694
 Jayawardene 50, 122-3, 130-32, 159, 184, 207, 544
 Jharkhand Mukti Morcha 180
 Jharkhand Party 180
 Jianying, Marshal Yeh 502
 Job Reservation Policy 558
 Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC) 373
 Jullundur Congress (CPI-M) 576, 616
 JVP (of Sri Lanka) 491

K

Kakababu (Muzaffar Ahmad) 701
 Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy (case) 701

Kanshiram 680

Karmakar, Dalip 81

Karat, Prakash 243, 329

Karunakaran, K. 35, 97, 98-99

Kerala Congress 96, 328

Khalil-Al-Wazir (Abu Zihad) 370

Khalistan Council 230

Khalistan Extremists (Terrorists) 24, 25, 28-9, 119, 125, 135, 165, 198, 717

Khan, Arif Mohd. 138

Khan, Khan Abdul Ghaffar (Frontier Gandhi) 332

Khan Wali 332

Khomeini, Ayatullah 705

Kirti Party 110

Kisan Sabha, AIKS (All India Kisan Sabha) 89, 94, 223, 267, 299, 300-01, 558, 565, 570

Kohl, Helmut 150, 523

Krantikari Morcha 299, 305

Kumaranatunga, Chandrika 343

Kumaranatunga, Vijaya 343, 492

L

La Pasionaria 344

Labour Party (British) 148-9, 519

Lanka Sama Samaj Party 435

Lao People's Revolutionary Party 738

Latin American Economic System 417

League of Arab States 417

League of Communists of Yugoslavia 739-40

Left & Democratic Front (LDF) 97-101, 126, 268 270, 327-8, 366-7, 434-5

Lenin V.I. 275, 399

LDP (Liberal Democratic Party of Japan) 244

Liberation Tiger of Tamil Elam (LTTE) 68, 70, 71, 131, 141, 157-8, 215-6, 220, 232-3, 258, 270, 273, 281-3, 362-3, 375, 491

Lindstrom, Talbot 603

Liwanag, Armando 742

Liwang Yang Yop 113

Lofti Anoushirvan 429

Lok Dal 40, 58, 96, 183, 316

Lok Dal (A) 256

Lok Dal (B) 133, 170, 305

Longowal, Harchand Singh 5, 15, 29, 166, 718

M

Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Dal 180

Majumder, Chittabrata 760

Majumder, Jadu Gopal 239

Majumder, Sudhir Ranjan 476

Malhotra, L.N. 508

Mandela, Nelson 524, 540, 586, 593, 707, 748

Manipur People's Party 180

Maratha Maha Sangh 317

Marcos (U.S. Backed Dictator of Philippines) 709

Marx, Karl 461

Maslyukov, Yuri 485

Meerut Communist Conspiracy 701

Minh, Ho Chi 479

Mobhida, Moses 502

Mojena, Omar Iser 752

Molotov, V.M. 502

Moopanar, G.K. 465

Mujahideen 340, 372, 545

Mukherjee, Samar 261, 325, 329

Muslim League 42, 96, 98-01, 296, 367, 548, 550, 568

N

Naga National Democratic Party 180

Najibullah 340, 372

Nakasone, Yusohiro 150, 523

Nallasivam, A. 118

- NAM (Non-Aligned Movement) 2, 11, 109, 287, 417, 439, 448, 473, 482, 518-19, 588
- Namboodiripad, E.M.S. 96, 113, 118, 136, 179-80, 182-3, 185-6, 246, 305, 329, 344, 427, 494, 497, 593, 614, 618, 744
- Narayanan, K.R. 16, 33
- Narla, Sucha Singh 447
- National Airport Authority of India (NAAI) 292
- National Coordination Committee of Railwaymen's struggle (NCCRS) 139
- National Democratic Party (Kerala) 180
- National Geographical Research Institute 64
- National Reconciliation 372
- National Security Act (NSA) 88, 197, 463, 476, 537-38, 579, 605
- National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) 81
- Natarajan 508
- NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) 272, 519
- Nava Sama Samaj Party 435
- Navodaya Schools 553
- Naxalites 121
- "Naya Path" (Organ of Janwadi Lekhak Sangh) 694
- Nayar Service Society 96
- NCC (National Campaign Committee) 4, 299, 565, 579, 592, 622, 672, 674-5
- NEP (New Economic Policy) 450
- "New Times" 187
- Nicaraguan Revolution 593
- Niihara, Shoji 329
- Ninth Finance Commission 269
- Nineteenth Party Conference of CPSU 583
- Non-Alignment Policy 597
- Non-Proliferation Treaty 543
- Norio Okada 329
- North-Eastern Provincial Council 492
- NTC (National Textiles Corporation) 533
- NTPC (National Thermal Power Corporation) 720
- Nujoma Sam 749
- O**
- October Revolution 585
- ONGC (Oil & Natural Gas Commission) 293
- Orang, Prem Singh 463
- Organization of African Unity 417
- Organization of American States 417
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) 143-44, 279, 286, 289, 530
- Organization of Iranian People's Fedaiyan (Majority) 429
- Organization of The Islamic Conference 417
- Ortega (Presidents of Nicaragua) 361
- P**
- PAC (Provincial Armed Constabulary) 127, 198, 548
- Pal, Sridam 475-76
- Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.) 107-09, 503, 702, 703, 750
- Palestinian National Council 107
- Panchsheel 499
- 'Panchsheel Principles' 723
- Panditha, L.W. 446, 502
- Pandiyani, P.H. 337
- Parthasarathi, G. 16, 74-75
- Pasla, Mangat Ram 428
- Patel, Chandubhai 507
- Patnaik, Shivaji 358
- Paul, Subir 477

- 'People's Democracy' 1, 4, 11, 13-5, 17, 19, 22, 24, 26, 28-9, 31, 33, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 116, 118-20, 122, 124-6, 130, 133, 135-6, 138-9, 141, 332-3, 335, 337-38, 340, 343, 475, 478-9, 481-2, 489, 491, 493, 497, 502, 580, 681, 700, 726-27, 760
 People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan 341
 People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea 737
 PEPSICO (U.S. Multinational) 456
 'Perestroika' 418-19, 732
 Pershing & Cruise Missiles 517
 Pillai, Balakrishna 98
 Pinochet, Augusto 586-87
 Polisario Front 27, 752
 Pol Pot 540
 Poojari, Janardan 313
 Popular Front for Liberation of Palestine 750
 "Popular Jurist" (Bi-monthly journal of AILU) 693
 PRP (Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party) 756-7
 Prabhakaran (leader, LTTE) 157
 Premadasa 159, 492
 Punnapra-Vyalar Struggle 494
 Puspallal 736-37
- R**
 Raghavan, M.V. 99
 Rajiv Government 538-42, 547-8, 550, 554, 556, 560, 563-4, 568, 574-6
 Rajiv-Jayawardene Accord 215
 Rajiv-Longowal Accord 77, 321, 365, 375, 610-11
 Ramachandran, M.G. 265, 283
 Ramjanmabhoomi 8, 309, 466, 470, 714
 Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid 606
- Ramamurthi, P. 252, 503-04
 Rama Rao, N.T. 178-83, 185-6, 266, 572, 614-5, 618
 Ramon, Juan 739
 Ranadive, B.T. 114, 329
 Randhwa, Gurcharan Singh 110
 Rangnekar, P.B. 760
 Rao, Narasimha 136-37
 Rathindran 33
 Rastriya Swayam Sevak Sangha (RSS) 223, 262-3, 270, 298, 300, 304, 309, 311, 323, 434, 505, 568, 607-08, 621, 713, 721
 Reagan, Ronald 11-2, 52, 150-52, 254, 276, 372, 402, 435, 523, 780
 Reddi, N. Rajasekhara 114
 Research & Analytical Wing (RAW) 90
 Revolutionary Communist Party of India (RCPI) 42
 Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP) 40, 42, 89, 96, 328
 Reykijavik Summit 31, 54
 Rebeiro, (DGP. of Punjab) 116
 Rode, Jasbir Singh 433
 Roy, Ranjan 463
- S**
 Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) 26-7, 426, 708
 Sahara People's Liberation Army (SPLA) 426
 Salt II Treaty 20
 Sandinista Government of Nicaragua 361
 Sandinista National Liberation Front 751
 Sarinh, Rajinder Singh 110-11, 508
 Sarkaria Commission 176, 257, 347, 377, 453, 552, 711
 Sati 548, 557
 Scindia, Madhab Rao 317
 SDI 11, 244, 584

- Second World War 589
 Seventh Congress of CPI(M) 504
 71, Point Programme 443
 Shah, Bano 548
 Shah Bano Judgement 98
 Shah, G.M. 103, 546
 Shahabuddin, Syed 59
 Shankaranand, V. 373
 Shil, Rajendra 239
 Shiv Sena 270, 317-18
 Shiromani Gurudwara Pravandhak
 Committee (SGPC) 6, 17, 212,
 230-31, 433-4, 788-91
 Sikh Militants 211
 Sikkim Sangram Parishad 180
 Silva, K.P. 741
 Silva, Y.P. De 747
 Simla Pact/Simla Agreement 545, 724
 Singh, Abinashi 791
 Singh, Anandi 508
 Singh, Arun 164, 192, 613
 Singh, Badhava 110
 Singh, Balawant 116-7, 166, 770
 Singh, Balwinder 447
 Singh, Chanchal 359, 424
 Singh, Charan 124
 Singh, Darshan 168, 211, 320
 Singh, Gurdeep 424
 Singh, Gurdial 359
 Singh, Harnam 369
 Singh, Har Sahai 761
 Singh, Iqbal 359, 424
 Singh, Kewal 447
 Singh, Satwant 760
 Singh, Sucha 424
 Singh, Surta 424
 Singh, V.P. 48, 57, 59, 138, 164, 192,
 302, 315, 319, 380, 612-3, 621
 Singh, Zail 82, 136, 186-9, 614-6
 Sirbu, Jon 753
 Socialist Unity Centre of India
 (SUCI) 42, 180-81
 Socialist Unity Party of Germany
 (SUPG) 54, 461, 462, 519, 733
 South African Communist Party
 (SACP) 747-8
 South Asian Association for
 Regional Cooperation 417, 544
 South Pacific Forum 417
 Special Armenian Earthquake Re-
 lief Fund 472
 Sri Lanka Accord 443
 Sri Lanka Communist Party 435
 Sri Lanka Federal Party 491
 Sri Lanka Mahajana Party 343, 435,
 492, 503, 746-47
 Stalin, J.V. 153, 450
 "Star Wars" 20, 31, 52-5, 152, 254,
 276, 436, 545, 675
 Student Federation of India (SFI)
 89, 98, 106, 223, 298-9, 303,
 621, 623, 689-90
 Sukanya, N. 761
 Sundarayya, Leila 423, 508
 Sundaryya, P. 423
 Surjeet, Harkishan Singh 114, 261,
 329, 428, 593, 772
 Surajkund Mela 304
 South-West African People's
 Organization (SWAPO) 524,
 706, 748-49
- T**
- Tachiki, Hiroshi 329
 Tamil Nadu Congress(K) 180
 Telegraph The 81, 91
 Telugu Desam 59, 104-05, 186, 302,
 305, 552, 572, 615
 Tenth Congress of CPI(M) 500-01,
 680
 Thakkar Committee 82
 Thakkar-Natarajan Commission 256
 Thatcher, Margaret 53, 148, 521
 Theckedath, K.K. 234
 Thirteenth Party Congress of
 CPI(M) 478, 493-4, 497, 502-07,
 582, 700, 702-6, 708-9, 712,

- 714, 716-20, 722-3, 726-33, 735, 737, 738-41, 743, 746-47, 749-60
- Tohra, Gurcharan Singh 790
- Trade Union & Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill 465
- Tripura National Volunteers (TNV) 6-7, 19, 128, 155, 213, 240, 259, 268, 273, 312-4, 333-6, 339, 356, 365, 380, 382, 465, 504, 547, 555, 567-8, 609
- Tripura State Congress for Democracy 180
- Tripura Upajati Juva Samity 6-7, 128, 213, 239, 259, 268, 313, 334-6, 338-9, 356, 380, 382, 433, 504, 714, 720
- TUJS-Congress(I) Combine 334, 336
- Third Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba 3
- Twelfth Congress of CPI(M) 498-99, 559, 571-2, 582, 591, 595, 598, 604, 612, 617, 673-4, 677-8, 684-5, 688, 694-5
- Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain 344
- 20- Point Programme 213
- Twentyninth Congress of International Chamber of Commerce 61
- Twentyseventh Congress of CPSU 11, 514
- "Tankhaiya" 22
- Task on the Trade Union Front 675, 677
- U**
- UNITA (Revolutionary Forces of Angola) 524, 706
- Union Carbide Corporation 241-42
- United Akali Dal 230, 271, 302, 789-90
- United Democratic Front (Kerala) 327-28, 367, 434
- United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) 81
- United Nations Organization (UNO) 237, 524-25
- UNO General Assembly 473
- United Nations Conference on Trade and Developments (UNCTAD) 145, 512
- United Nations Peace-Keeping Force 473, 588
- United Socialist Alliance 492
- Upajati Ganamukti Parishad 423
- V**
- Vaidya, D.S. 508
- Vassilev, Krum 754
- Veerabadran 508
- Veerappan, (leader of AIADMK) 337
- Venkateswaran 16, 75
- Vidyarathi, Ganesh Shankar 358
- Vijayananthan 502
- Vishwa Hindu Parisad 270, 304, 470, 548, 550, 713
- Vithaythil Commission (Justice) 262
- W**
- Werner, Lars 730
- West German Social Democratic Party 54
- Win, General Ne 587
- Wojciechowska, Barbara Krupa 753
- Wojciech, Jaruzelski 753
- Woodward, Bolo 257
- Workers' Party of Ethiopia 746
- Workers' Party of Korea 112, 749
- Workers' Party of Poland 753
- World Bank 20, 61, 144, 146, 162, 269, 279, 541, 544, 598, 600
- World Peace Day (1st September) 592

World Federation of Trade Unions
521

Y

Yechuri, Sitaram 593
Yemeni Socialist Party 247
"Youth Stream" 688

Z

Zail Singh-Rajiv Gandhi Controversy
85
Zhao Zhiyang 277-79
Zhikov, Todor -754
Zia-Ul-Haque, General 72-3, 154,
372
Zia-Ur-Rahaman 544

