

**COMMUNIST
PARTY
OF
INDIA
(MARXIST)**



**DRAFT POLITICAL
RESOLUTION**

**FOR THE ELEVENTH CONGRESS,
VIJAYAWADA, JANUARY 26-31, 1982**

(Adopted by the Central Committee at
its meeting in New Delhi, October 26-31, 1981)

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COMMUNIST
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LEFT POLITICAL
RESOLUTION
FOR THE ELEVENTH CONGRESS,
OTTAWA, JANUARY 26-31, 1987
Approved by the Central Committee at
Ottawa, New York, October 26-31, 1987

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*Draft Political Resolution for
Eleventh Party Congress*

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

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

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

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

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

Inflation had been officially declared enemy No. 1 at the second conference of the Big Seven held in Puerto Rico in 1976. Since then, at every meeting, the Summit leaders vow to fight inflation but they are unable to control it.

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

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

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

Group of countries	1961-73	1973-79	1980
All	5.1	3.1	1.9
Developed capitalist	5.0	2.7	1.5
Developing	6.0	5.2	5.0

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

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

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

After a feverish 9.8 per cent annual rate of expansion in the first quarter of 1981, the U. S. economy did not grow at all during the second quarter but declined. According to *Newsweek*: "New housing starts were off 14 per cent in May, personal income was growing sluggishly, industrial production was almost flat and retail sales grew by a pallid two per cent."

Unemployment in the capitalist countries has risen to 24 million and is expected to rise to 26 million in 1982. The USA has 7.8 million unemployed. The ten EEC countries have nine million jobless, 8.3 per cent of the labour force, West

Germany's share being 1.4 million, Britain—three million, Italy—two million and France—1.84 million. In Belgium 12.2 per cent, the Netherlands 8.5 per cent and Denmark 8.2 per cent of the labour force are unemployed.

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

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

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

WAGE EARNINGS

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

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

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

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

The U. S defence budget exceeded 100 billion dollars in 1976. By 1980 it reached 145 billion dollars. For 1982 it was set by Carter at 200 billion dollars and raised by Reagan to 227 billion dollars. For 1986 it will approach 400 billion dollars. In the period 1981-86, the USA has budgeted to spend 1500 billion dollars for military purposes. These burdens of military expenditure, in the midst of a fall in real wages and loss of

jobs, have intensified all the social contradictions in the capitalist countries.

SOCIALIST WORLD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The situation in Poland, however, is extremely grave.

Counter-revolutionary forces have arisen challenging the Socialist basis of the State and society. They are supported by the imperialists and all the reactionary forces of the capitalist society.

The situation is the result of violation of Leninist norms in relation to trade unions, bureaucratism inside the Polish United Workers' Party, faulty economic planning and voluntarism. The developments in Poland are, once again, a warning that the guiding role of the Party cannot be ensured without a close ear to the voice of the masses, without waging a determined struggle against bureaucracy inside the organisation and strict observance of Leninist norms in organisation.

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

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

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

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

Economic help from the Soviet Union is helping many newly liberated countries to steady their economies and, preserve their independence. Other Socialist countries are also rendering valuable aid to the underdeveloped countries. Precious Soviet help is being rendered to newly liberated countries to strengthen their defence capability against imperialism and beat off the attack of counter-revolution as in the case of

Angola, Ethiopia.

INTER-IMPERIALIST CONTRADICTIONS

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

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

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

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

CONTRADICTIONS IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

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

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

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

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

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

France, Italy, Canada, the FRG and Japan.

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

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

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

While the bourgeois Governments conspire to attack it, the working class turns to the Left. While Margaret Thatcher and her supporters are veering to the Right, the Labour Party is further veering to the Left. The mood of the masses was

revealed in the victory of the Socialist Party in the French elections. The USA had to swallow not only the victory of Mitterrand, but also the inclusion of the Communist Party of France in the Socialist Cabinet. For the last ten years, the USA has been intervening in Italy to exclude the powerful Communist Party of Italy from governmental positions. Mitterrand's Government is now engaged in a sweeping programme extending State control to about 40 per cent of industrial output. Eleven key industrial groups—which had more than 40 billion dollars sale last year—are to be nationalised. Besides the domestic companies, three largely foreign-owned companies are also on the list of nationalisation, two of them being the C.H. Honeywell Bull (47 per cent U.S.-owned) and ITT, France, a subsidiary of the New York-based International Telegraph and Telephone Corporation. In Greece, the Conservatives who have been in power traditionally, have been defeated by the Socialists.

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

SHARPENED CONTRADICTION WITH THE SOCIALIST CAMP

The crisis has sharpened the contradiction between the imperialist and Socialist camps. This is seen in the abandonment of detente by the U.S. imperialists and their serious war preparations. The Reagan administration resorts to bellicose propaganda demanding U.S. superiority in arms and stationing of Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe. It has embarked upon 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 counter-revolution in Poland is quite obvious and open.

WAR DANGER

The danger of war in place of detente and armament agree-

ment, is the new feature of the situation arising out of the present crisis. The proposal to deploy Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe is a direct threat to the USSR. These missiles with their range extending from 1000 to 2500 kilometres bring the European part of the USSR under the threat of direct attack from German soil. The FRG and Britain have supported the deployment of the missiles which increases the war danger. The FRG and Britain have acquiesced in the U.S. production of neutron warheads and increased armaments. France has approved Reagan's tough attitude towards the resumption of armament negotiations while keeping silent on the neutron bomb.

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

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

The world peace movement and the international struggle for peace waged by all progressive forces in the world and the weight of the non-aligned movement are powerful counter-factors to frustrate U.S. designs. The struggle for peace carried on by the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, together with their preparedness to meet the aggressive attacks of the

imperialists, constitutes a basic condition for preserving world peace. The proposals by the USSR to stop the nuclear arms race will find a response among progressive forces.

GLOBAL DOMINATION

The U.S. imperialists are simultaneously pursuing their plans for global domination using various agencies. In pursuing these plans they come into conflict with their Atlantic partners. All their partners do not necessarily adopt the same attitude as the USA towards Afghanistan or U.S. ambitions in the Arab Gulf or the policies it pursues in Latin America. France, for instance, is officially supporting the guerrillas in El Salvador and opposing the rule of the U.S.-supported dictator.

The proposal to extend the Atlantic Treaty to West Asia is not welcomed by many partners. Nor do all partners accept the USA's policy of supporting Israel against the Arabs.

The nations inhabiting the West Asian region are faced with direct war against Lebanon. And under direct instruction and incitement of the USA, Israel carried on a raid against Iraq to destroy its nuclear reactor.

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

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

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

SHARPENED CONTRADICTION BETWEEN IMPERIALISM AND THIRD WORLD

In the background of the capitalist crisis and the capitalist path pursued by Third World countries, the exploitation of

these countries by the imperialist Powers has increased, leading to the aggravation of the contradictions between them. The burden of debt has increased; the unfavourable terms of trade have added to the loot of these countries; the lack of guaranteed price for the produce of these countries makes them helplessly dependent on the Western capitalist countries. The penetration of transnationals leads to immense exploitation, aggravates the contradiction and leads to anti-imperialist outbursts.

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

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

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

The imperialists, simultaneously, have been pursuing their neo-colonialist strategy for social support in these countries. Utilising the reliance of the ruling classes in Third World

countries on economic aid, the neo-colonialists offer to help them in building their industries. The aim of the strategy is to seek collaboration with the local bourgeoisie for new openings for monopoly capital. Their aim is to transfer to these countries industries with outmoded technology which is profitable to them because of the cheap labour available in the Third World countries. Through these means the neo-colonialists seek to secure social support for themselves in these countries, while at the same time creating a feeling among the people that they are assisting the industrialisation of these countries. Imperialism has also been able to play on national animosities as seen in the Iraqi-Iranian conflict. But with the new aggressive moves, imperialism stands exposed in its real colours.

In their fight against loot and drain, the newly liberated countries have raised the demand for a New World Economic Order. It is a demand for greater resources at the expense of the imperialists, and for fair exchange. The Third World countries facing various challenges from imperialism in the field of foreign policy and alliances, keep to the non-aligned camp and frustrate the imperialist designs.

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

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

FOREIGN POLICY OF PEOPLE'S CHINA

The Jullundur Resolution had said : "The sharp divergence between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China

have been and are being utilised by the imperialists. The combined military and economic strength of the two would have been the biggest deterrent to the imperialist powers and would have been instrumental in bringing about changes in the world situation."

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

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

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

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

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

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

of imperialism.

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

The Jullundur Congress of our Party had occasion to note the weakness in the foreign policy outlook of the ruling parties in Socialist countries. It criticised them for ignoring the interests of the revolutionary forces in underdeveloped countries and placing reliance on the friendly Governments of these countries. The rulers of some of the underdeveloped countries who adopt reactionary policies at home and oppress their people are excessively praised in the Press of the Socialist countries; news about the oppression of the working class and the people in these countries hardly figure in it, the working class of the Socialist countries is kept in the dark about the struggles carried on by the people of these countries against their Governments, and no solidarity in the spirit of proletarian internationalism is expressed with these struggles of the people against their Governments for democracy and legitimate economic and political demands.

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

NATIONAL SITUATION

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

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

The defeat of the Janata Party and the return of Indira Gandhi to power have further accentuated the situation. The authoritarian party has come back to power and the confrontation between the authoritarian forces and the people takes place in changed circumstances. These include accentuation of the contradiction with imperialism and the Indian people; attack of internal divisive forces; intensified conflict between the ruling party and the opposition bourgeois-landlord parties; push and pull between the bourgeoisie and the landlords; and the increased strength of Left unity.

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

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

Among these are a more open and direct intervention of the Western imperialists in our economy and their capacity to dictate terms. There is also a certain pull and push among the bourgeois-landlord parties which creates an explosive situation.

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

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

The huge deficit financing of the Central Government is the main instrument of this policy.

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

The high prices imposed by oil monopolists, taking advantage of the price-increases made by the oil-producing countries, have contributed further to this process. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund agencies are also instrumental in accentuating the inflationary spiral, through their demands on the Indian Government to raise taxation levels, raise oil and fertiliser prices, and reduce people's consumption standards.

INCREASED DEPENDENCE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The IMF, in its negotiations over India's application for a loan of Rs. 5000 crore, is reported to have laid down stringent conditions similar to those prescribed by the World Bank.

This is clear from the usual packet of conditions prescribed to all countries of the Third World. They include abolition of

subsidies on articles distributed through the public distribution system to lower down the consumption standard of the masses. This is advised in the name of slashing Government expenditure. If implemented in full, these conditions will lead to a complete shutting down of the food-for-work programme. The IMF package also demands a say in the budget taxation proposals and control over the balance of payments position. The Government of India has also promised the IMF "a realistic policy in regard to exchange rates."

RESULTS OF PRESSURISATION

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

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

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

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

The Government has succumbed to the World Bank's demand to resort to commercial borrowings to finance the Sixth Plan and the Plan has provided for Rs. 4000 crore of commercial borrowings. For its loan of Rs. 500 crore for railway development, the World Bank, it was admitted in Parliament, has listed the following conditions: (1) annual revision of the freight structure, raise in passenger fares; (2) computerisation *with equipment supplied by the IBM*, one of the biggest multinationals; and (3) a longer tenure for the Railway Board.

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

The permission to expand production capacity by 25 per cent without licence, regularising of unauthorised capacity, the assurance that under the convertibility clause Government's holdings will not be raised above 40 per cent, the offer to 10 per cent export-oriented units that their foreign holdings will not be reduced to 40 per cent as per FERA, and the amendment of the MRTP Act to exclude exports for the purpose of determining the dominant unit are the measures taken to appease the pressure.

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

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

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

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

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

the drug multinationals.

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

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

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

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

THE CRISIS OF THE ECONOMY

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

From the start, the Sixth Plan is affected by the consequences of the crisis. Its targets became unattainable immediately after they were declared. The real size of the Plan is already

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

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

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

The exploitation of agricultural workers, in the absence of any genuine legislation to protect their wage standards has reached unprecedented limits.

The outburst of peasant anger was seen on the question of remunerative prices; official price-policies all these years consisted of exercising some control over urban cost of food by depriving the mass of peasants of fair price for their produce through manipulation of procurement purchases and other means. Now there is an outburst of discontent against it.

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

Sickness in industry grows. According to the Reserve Bank of India, at the end of June 1979, there were 345 large sick industrial units in which bank credit amounting to Rs. 1101.2 crore was locked up. This exceeds the value of the total investment in the public sector under the Department of Heavy Industry. According to returns received by the Reserve Bank from commercial banks, the number of sick units in the small-scale sector was as high as 20,326. The Economic Survey (1980-81) observed, "Industrial sickness involving both large-scale and small-scale industries is a matter of serious concern."

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

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

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

The most palpable manifestation of the crisis is the threat of mounting unemployment. There were 22.1 million unemployed at the end of the Fifth Plan, an official figure which is an underestimate. New entrants in the labour market will number 32 million, leaving a backlog of 24.2 million. In reality, the figure will be much higher, not less than 40 million, because the claim to find 30 million jobs cannot be substantiated.

ted. The number of educated jobless alone is expected to rise to 11.85 million in 1985.

Registered unemployment has grown at an annual rate of 10.6 per cent between 1974-74 and 1980-81. The growth between 1979-80 and 1980-81 is 13.3 per cent. (*Commerce*, August 22, 1981)

This rapidly deteriorating situation is further worsened by the growing collapse of housing in urban and rural areas.

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

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

Side by side with the crisis of the economy and the rising impoverishment grows concentration of capital in the hands of a few. Land concentration continues as before despite advertised measures of the Government. Three per cent of the holders own 26 per cent of the land. The public sector has been turned into a bureaucratically managed sector serving private capital, instead of controlling it with efficient management.

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

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

landlords, monopolists, multinationals and big traders.

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

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

CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES

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

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

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

These include accentuation of the contradiction between imperialism and the Indian people; attack of internal divisive forces; intensified conflict between the ruling party and the

opposition bourgeois-landlord parties; push and pull between the bourgeoisie and landlords; and the increased strength of Left unity.

CONTRADICTION WITH IMPERIALISM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

research and development to the inspection of the USA.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ATTITUDE TO PEOPLE'S CHINA

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

A victim of the theory of social-imperialism, of the understanding that the USSR is more dangerous than the USA, the

Government of People's China pursues a policy of isolating the USSR in this region and weakening the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation.

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

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

The CPI (M) has always called for friendly relations between India and China and welcomes all steps towards normalisation.

INDIRA GOVERNMENT'S FOREIGN POLICY

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

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

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

East Asia and other regions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FIGHT AGAINST OPPORTUNISM AND ANTI-SOVIETISM

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

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

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

LOSS OF CREDIBILITY

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

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

In West Bengal, the Congress shunned the municipal elections; participated in the Assembly by-elections without any degree of confidence and boycotted the Secondary Education Board elections. Its cry of boycott comes when it is sure of

losing the electoral contest. The isolation of the party hastens its efforts for a Presidential form of rule.

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

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

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

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

FEATURES OF ACUTE CRISIS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE DRIVE FOR DICTATORSHIP

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

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

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

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

Stealthily and slowly, the Government is intimidating the Press and introducing some kind of censorship of news. Its agencies and the ruling party attack Press exposures, hold out threats of reprisal to stop the voice of the Press. Courageous

correspondents and editors are attacked by hooligan hirelings of the ruling party (Orissa, Karnataka).

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

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

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

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

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

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

The ruling party directs its fire against the Judiciary, especially the Supreme Court, where a number of Judges uphold

democratic norms and defend the fundamental rights of the people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Presidential system that is advocated in opposition to the present parliamentary system is nothing but the embodiment of one-party rule, one-party dictatorship, and ultimately the personal dictatorship of the leader of the party. It will subordinate the Legislature, the Judiciary, the fundamental rights and liberties of the people and the freedom of Opposition parties to the will of the Executive. The working class and the people are vitally interested in preserving the present-day

liberties so that they can march forward and extend them.

ATTACKS AGAINST LEFT-LED MINISTRIES

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

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

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

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

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

The Centre misused its power and starved the two States of supplies of essential articles including food.

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

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

Along with these open campaigns, the Congress (I) Government at the Centre misused its powers to stall Presidential assent to a number of Bills passed by the Assemblies of the three States. In particular, now, there are 20 West Bengal

and four Kerala Bills awaiting assent for a long time, among them the all-important Land Reforms Amendment Bill of the West Bengal Government.

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

CONGRESS (I) DEFEATED

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE RESIGNATION OF THE KERALA MINISTRY

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

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

The coalition of several parties inflicted a defeat on the Congress (I) in the Assembly election 21 months ago and contributed to the struggle of the democratic forces against the forces of authoritarianism. But the class bias of these parties prevented them from identifying themselves with the policies and measures undertaken by the Ministry in the interests of the people, policies which were agreed to in the common electoral platform.

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

The propaganda of the Congress (S) directed against the functioning of the Home Department and the cry about the breakdown of law and order were in reality a demand that the police should be used to suppress the workers and the common people and to protect the vested interests.

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

BOURGEOIS OPPOSITION PARTIES AND ANTI-AUTHORITARIAN RESISTANCE

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

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

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

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

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

Notwithstanding the initial disarray of the Opposition parties with the return to power of Indira Gandhi, the urge for common opposition continued to increase and it was strengthened by the determined mass struggles that were breaking out.

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

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

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

The BJP poses itself as the alternative to the Congress (I), but the recent by-elections expose its claim to ridicule.

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

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

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

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

But some members of the convention began to show vacilla-

tions. The conservative leaders in many parties, Charan Singh, Chavan, were not keen on going along with the Left.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Not that individually they have not clashed with the CPI(M) and the Ministries headed by it. Their State constituents have repeatedly slandered the Party and indirectly helped the Congress(I) against the Left Front Ministry in West Bengal and the Coalition Ministry in Kerala, but their all-India units have refrained from endorsing such a stand. Now the Kerala unit

of the Congress(S) has walked out of the Kerala front and coalition and the AICC(S) has endorsed it. These parties show vacillations and a contradictory trend. The Congress(S) was a coalition partner in Kerala, while its West Bengal wing stands opposed to the Party.

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

The platform of broad resistance in today's condition consists of (1) opposition to the Presidential form of Government, (2) the fight against the plans to make the Judiciary totally subservient to the Executive, (3) against attacks on civil liberties and fundamental rights, (4) withdrawal of the NSA and ESMO, (5) deletion of the existing provision in the Constitution providing for preventive detention along with other demands put forward in the Jullundur Resolution.

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

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

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

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

The Party seized this link of growing discontent in several

States and, basing itself on it, was able to advance the task of involving several parties and their mass organisations.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF LEFT LED MINISTRIES

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

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

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

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

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

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

ment Bill which seeks to plug the loopholes which enabled the big landlords to circumvent the ceiling provision, is still awaiting Presidential assent. The Left Front Government's efficient implementation of the food-for-work programme has been widely acclaimed. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have received special attention from the Government in all matters including housing.

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

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

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

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

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

Under the Left Front Government, the burden on the

weaker sections of revenue and taxes and debts has been removed; education for children has been made free at all stages; the wage rates of daily labourers and agricultural workers have been enhanced and sufficient work has been provided to them under the food-for-work programme. The rural poor has been drawn into cooperatives and successful efforts are being made to eliminate the grip of the usurious moneylenders, dishonest traders and contractors on the rural areas.

ACTIVITIES IN THE STATES

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

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

recently, on the corruption of the Chief Minister. There have been huge rallies and protest strikes organised jointly by trade unions. The understanding between the Left forces is being strengthened with a closer understanding between the CPI (M), CPI and the Peasants' and Workers' Party.

In Karnataka, the Kisan Sabha organised big peasant struggles and the CITU has forged ahead struggling for joint actions and trade union unity.

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

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

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

er understanding between the Left and other parties. The Party and the mass organisations led by it sent the largest contingents to all the all-India marches.

The Party in Assam has been in the forefront in fighting the secessionist challenge and defending national unity against attacks inspired by U.S. agencies. Our comrades had to bear the brunt of the attack of the reactionaries. Many of them were maimed and murdered. But our Party continued to uphold the banner of national unity against the secessionists. The CPI(M) was able to secure the support of all the Left parties—the CPI, RSP, RCPI and others—and was able to offer united resistance to the reactionary leaders of the movement. The CPI(M) refused to join hands with the bourgeois Opposition parties—the Janata, Congress(U)—who in their fight against the Congress(I) were prepared to toe the line of the secessionists. At the same time, the CPI(M) prevented all efforts of the Congress(I) to run the Ministry.

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

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

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

In Gujarat, the CPI(M) valiantly fought against the mad anti-Harijan frenzy on the issue of reservation of jobs roused by the bourgeois parties. It opposed all bourgeois parties during the anti-reservation agitation and, in cooperation with the CPI and other forces and trade union leaders, strove to maintain class unity. The Party's help to the Harijans and its intervention on democratic and economic issues have given an impetus to its mass activities.

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

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

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

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

The situation was rendered difficult by the fact that neither the CPI(M) nor the Left forces put together (the CPI, RSP)

constituted a majority in the coalition.

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

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

In West Bengal, the Left alliance headed by the CPI(M) has scored one success after another, despite the assaults of the Congress(I). The Front had to function and discharge its task in face of the opposition, open or hidden, of the West Bengal sections of the bourgeois Opposition parties— the Janata, Congress(S), etc. The Congress(S) and Janata especially have been virulent in their attacks, often joining hands with the Congress(I).

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Party everywhere is steadily forging ahead to mobilise the Left and democratic forces and bolster broad resistance to authoritarian rule. Its activities draw anger and ire from the ruling party. Its successes in the three States and the electoral defeat it has inflicted on the Congress(I) in West Bengal are appreciated by wide sections of the people and help it to carry forward the task of fighting the authoritarian forces. Nonetheless, there is no cause for satisfaction. The weakness of the Party in several States prevents it from utilising the favourable situation for a big surge ahead. It is not always successful in overcoming the hurdles for broad resistance created by the bourgeois Opposition parties; of harnessing their conflict with the ruling party for the defence of democracy and checkmating the forces of authoritarianism. The Party's own mass following in several States is yet too small

to exercise influence on the activities of other parties. Because of this the followings of these parties, disappointed with their leaders, get inactive and depoliticalised instead of joining the Left and democratic forces. Also, though the Congress(I) is losing, large sections continue to flock to its banner.

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

THE RISING MASS STRUGGLES

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

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

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

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

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

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

To compensate for the loss due to new taxation and increase in the price of inputs, the landlords wanted a rise in

price for their agricultural produce—remunerative price for peasants.

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

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

In Karnataka, the CPI(M) continued the agitation after its withdrawal by the gentry. The peasants won several concessions including rise in prices for sugarcane, paddy, etc. The peasants developed new forms of struggle, Rasta Thodo, Rasta Roko, paralysing traffic communications.

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

This was the result of timely intervention of the Party in cooperation with other parties.

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

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

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

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

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

Trade union unity scored a big advance with the representative All-India Convention of Central Trade Unions and Federations in Bombay against price-rise and the anti-labour policies of the Government. The convention released big forces for united action. Conventions attended by hundreds have taken place in almost all States.

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

Statewide strikes against the ESMO and the anti-labour policies of the Central Government have taken place in Kerala, West Bengal and Tripura and other States have already announced dates for their action.

These joint mass actions will growingly place the initiative for anti-authoritarian resistance in the hands of the Left and radicalised forces of the working class.

DIVISIVE FORCES

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

The Gujarat anti-reservation agitation which led to the mobilisation of the masses in hostile camps, revealed the seriousness of the situation and the opportunism of bourgeois parties.

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

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

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

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

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

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

SCHEDULED TRIBES

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

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

The mischief these missions have done in the North-Eastern region is now seen in the dominant secessionist feelings in the area.

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

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

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

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

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

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

ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM—THIRD PRONG OF DIVISIVE ATTACK

The minorities problem, the question of minority separatism and communal amity, has changed its character after independence. It is now concerned with the problem of a discriminated and ill-treated minority under the bourgeois-landlord rule, notwithstanding constitutional proclamations.

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

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

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

The Muslim mass, because of its economic situation, the discrimination practised against it, and the influence of reac-

tionaries over it, is likely to be vulnerable to the appeal of Islamic fundamentalism which serves the interest of imperialism and international Muslim reaction.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HINDU CHAUVINISM

The RSS appeal to Hindu nationhood, behind which there are no genuine grievances, is a wanton communal appeal to divide the people. This Hindudom of the RSS exploits the traditional separation between the two communities to pit the Hindus against the Muslims, and oppress the latter. The Muslims are presented as foreigners and aliens, and attacks are directed against their integrity and common and equal treatment to them. The RSS is often responsible for conflicts on paltry religious issues, takes part in riots, directs the fury of Hindus against the Muslim minority. It is anti-democratic, anti-progressive-thought and, till recently, openly justified the iniquitous caste system as a corner-stone of Hindu religion. The RSS did its best to spread communalism in Kerala, it was responsible for the killing of several CPI (M) cadres and it slandered the coalition Ministry. Its role in the Jamshedpur riots was recently exposed by the official enquiry committee.

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

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

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

stand against progressive ideas and thoughts contributes to the strength of anti-national forces.

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

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

The imperialist agents are so emboldened that they hijack an Indian plane to Pakistan. The rot in consciousness is evidenced by the fact that they are not outright denounced by Akali leaders. The complicity of foreign hands in this attack is clear beyond doubt.

Imperialists also help with finance venal groups like the Anand Margis who can be used against the Left forces any day. The Amra Bengalees organised by the Anand Marg were used in Tripura and attempts were being made to use them in West Bengal.

In a situation in which the appeal of the CPI (M) is irresistibly increasing, when masses are getting radicalised and are prone to the appeal of the Left forces, when disappointment with all the bourgeois parties is growing, divisive attacks also come from those professing extreme 'Left' views. They are carefully prepared by imperialist agencies, by some Church agencies and every effort is made to rope in all groups who profess Leftism but who are opposed to the CPI (M). To gather these groups, these agencies organise seminars, start organisations—all with Left phraseology but with the aim of disrupting the growing strength of the CPI (M), disrupting the unity of the Left forces. The Naxalites, split into various groups, play the same reactionary role in the service of imperialism. They peddle talk about social-imperialism and their anti-Sovietism perfectly suits the ideological propaganda of the CIA and U. S. imperialism.

Carrying out the imperialist line, they further concentrate their fire against the CPI (M), its Ministries, its policies and act as the open disruptor of the movement.

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

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

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

UNITY OF THE LEFT FORCES

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

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

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

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

In Parliament, a Left Coordination Committee, including all the Left parties, is functioning now, meeting regularly and taking common decisions before approaching other Opposition

parties. In the States, Left parties—the CPI and CPI (M) mostly—move jointly on many issues in the Assemblies. The common political stand on issues like Assam, anti-Harijan atrocities, communal riots, secularism, defence of the economic and political rights of the people, issues of foreign policy, has impressed the people and raised the prestige of the Left in the national politics.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The struggle for Left and democratic unity was also a struggle to gather other democratic parties like the Akalis, DMK, AIADMK and such other parties. There have been some successes in harnessing these forces in the common struggle.

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

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

The AIADMK leader concentrates on his fight with the DMK and does not show much desire to take consistent anti-authoritarian positions. At the same time, reacting to the attacks being made on the AIADMK Government by Central Congress(I) leaders and Ministers, and also to preserve the image of a fighter for States' autonomy, the AIADMK Government takes an anti-Centre stand on certain issues. The AIADMK Government recently proposed an anti-labour Bill, which has been referred to a Select Committee. It seems the Government is prepared to extend cooperation to the Central Government's spirit enquiry commission which is an instance of wanton interference in the State's autonomy, while at the same time wanting the Commission appointed by it to continue its own enquiry.

THE LEFT AND DEMOCRATIC FRONT

—COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MARXIST)

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

In the immediate fight against authoritarianism, through

mass actions, the Party seeks to rally also the classes and interests that form the mainstay of the People's Democratic Front of the future.

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

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

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

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

widespread mass resistance to the authoritarian danger.

Simultaneously, it is necessary that they put forward a political and economic programme, distinctly and sharply opposed to the platforms and practices of the bourgeois-landlord parties, and by fighting for it, enable the masses to move away from the bourgeois-landlord parties and increasingly rally round an alternative leadership. The struggle for the building and realisation of the Left and Democratic Front starts in conditions in which neither the CPI(M), nor the working class, is accepted by others as the leading force. They are accepted as important partners and equal partners only. With the growth of the unity of these forces and struggle for the realisation of the programme put forward, the weight and influence of the working class will certainly increase. But this will be a far cry from the leadership of the working class which is achieved under a quite different correlation of forces.

MASS ORGANISATIONS AND MASS MOVEMENT

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

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

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

The Party and our advanced mass organisations should bear in mind that in the present situation, when the masses are in ferment, there is immense scope for expanding and broad-

dening our mass organisations. For us the meaning of mass is changing, with the added and complex responsibilities thrust on the Party and with the necessity of added mass sanctions to discharge them. The spectacular rise of West Bengal kisan membership to nearly four million reveals the opportunity open to the Party.

Without independent activity of the Party both on political and economic issues, neither the mass movement can be developed, nor the consciousness of the masses raised. To slacken such activity in the name of united front is to transform the Party into an appendage of other parties, and agree not to raise the consciousness of the masses beyond what is required by other parties. Mass organisations led by the Party must increase their independent activities among the masses and raise the level of their consciousness. Their independent activity must act as a lever for initiating joint mass actions and agitations with other organisations, embracing larger and larger sections of the people.

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

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

During the last four years, the strength of the agricultural workers' organisation has increased in many States, and the recent setting up of the All-India Agricultural Workers' Organi-

sation will further strengthen the movement. The increased organised mass membership among the peasants facilitates the task of pushing forward the Party's agrarian demands.

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

The trade union organisation all over the country have steadfastly carried on a fight for trade union unity. The CITU, its State Committees and its affiliated unions, all have determinedly pursued this course. Since the Jullundur Congress, CITU unions have waged prolonged strike struggles in defence of workers' interests. The workers and their unions have been facing barbarous repression at the hands of the police and the Government and open discrimination at the hands of the employers.

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

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

WOMEN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE PARTY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Party continues to pursue its independent line with its understanding of the world situation based on the major contradiction of our times—the camp of Socialism versus the camp of imperialism.

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

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

The task of a vanguard party can be discharged only by a well-built strong Party. The Party must strike deep roots among the masses and gain thousands of new adherents every

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

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

PARTY'S OBJECTIVE

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

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

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

This is the importance of its immediate tactical line.

THE PROGRAMME OF THE LEFT & DEMOCRATIC FRONT:

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

2. Fresh constitutional provisions to expand the powers of the States and guarantee their autonomy. Residuary powers should be with the States. Articles 356-360 of the Constitution to be deleted.

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

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

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

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

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

8. For nationalisation of Indian monopoly concerns.

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

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

11. For guaranteed fair wage for the agricultural labourers; pensions for aged agricultural workers; allotment of free house-sites for the agricultural labourers and poor peasants and the semi-proletariat and liberal provision for cheap credit and consumption loans; for adequate educational facilities for them.

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

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

14. For immediate introduction of free education up to the secondary stage in all States. Provision of hostel facilities and full scholarships for all needy students; special attention to the requirements of Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste students; right of students to be represented in academic bodies for thorough-going reforms.

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

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

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

18. Equal wage, status and opportunities for women.

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

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

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

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

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

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

They stand for consistent support to the Arab people in their struggle against Israeli aggression; for the rights of the Palestinians to have their own State; they lend full support to the freedom struggle of the Namibian and other African people against imperialism, apartheid and racial domination.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

can fight back this offensive.

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

And, finally, the challenge of imperialism to our foreign policy, the pressures to weaken the Indo-Soviet Treaty and relations with the Socialist camp, and the arming of Pakistan's military clique, have to be taken seriously. There is concentrated propaganda from parties like the BJP which act as the vociferous anti-Soviet, pro-U. S. lobby. The internal pressure against non-alignment was never so great. The struggle against it, as has been pointed out, is complicated by the stand of the People's Republic of China with its open support to the pouring of arms into Pakistan. The Party must work for the broadest mobilisation of all patriotic forces against the imperialist challenge.

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

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ERRATA

1. Page 15, line 4, add the word *radical* before changes.
2. Page 70, para 3 below the subheading "Party Objective", line 2 should read : Front, by popularising its programme *opposed to the programme* of all bourgeois parties. The italicised words have been left out by mistake.

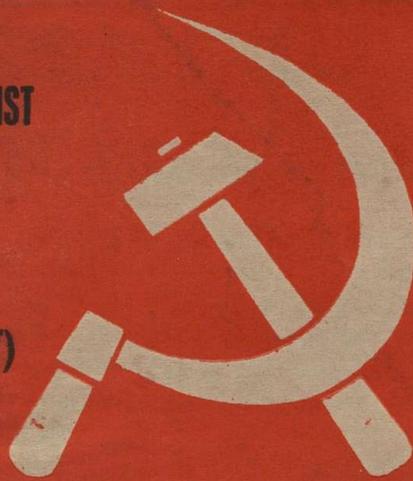
ERRATA

Page 12 line 4, add the word 'and' before 'pages'.
Page 20, para 2 below the sub-heading 'Party Objectives'.
Line 2 should read: 'front by popularising its programme'.
appeared in the programme of all bourgeois parties. The
italicised words have been left out by mistake.

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**COMMUNIST
PARTY
OF
INDIA
(MARXIST)**



**DRAFT POLITICAL
RESOLUTION**

**FOR THE ELEVENTH CONGRESS,
VIJAYAWADA, JANUARY 26-31, 1982**

(Adopted by the Central Committee at
its meeting in New Delhi, October 26-31, 1981)

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