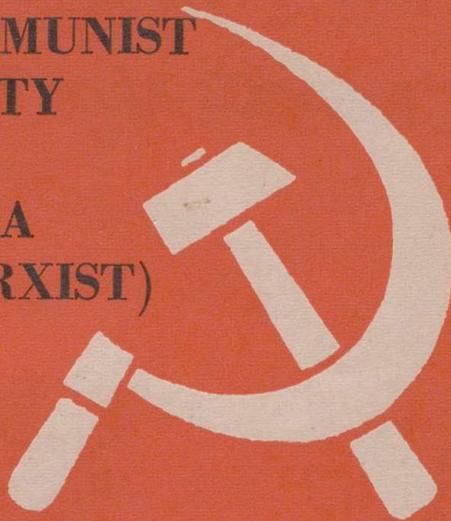


**COMMUNIST  
PARTY  
OF  
INDIA  
(MARXIST)**



**POLITICAL RESOLUTION**  
OF THE TWELFTH CONGRESS OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MARXIST)  
CALCUTTA, DECEMBER 25-30, 1985

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## INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

**T**HE Vijayawada Congress of the Party noted that world capitalism was engulfed in a crisis which was the worst since the 1930 crisis.

Not all the talk of the industrial and technological revolution rescuing capitalist society could protect it from the crisis, while the Socialist world continued to develop without crisis, emphasising the qualitative difference between the two systems.

By 1983 the capitalist world began to heave a sigh of relief claiming that it was getting out of the recession. But the pace of recovery was extremely feeble. The growth rate of GDP was estimated at only 2.2 per cent.

The recovery continued in 1984 and the year turned out somewhat better for the leading capitalist countries than expected earlier.

This much-advertised recovery was distributed unevenly though it came as a great relief to the capitalist spokesmen. But the most optimistic spokesmen were unable to maintain that the new year would be able to keep up the tempo of the previous one.

World Bank's President Clausen said in an interview with *Xinhua* on December 31, 1984, that the world economic recovery would continue in 1985 but it was not expected to go on rising as in 1984.

He estimated that in 1985 the growth rate of the gross national product of the United States would be less than in 1984, but that of

the other countries of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development would be greater.

## Recovery Slows Down

The first six months of 1985 have borne out Clausen's estimate. In almost all advanced countries the recovery has slowed down, intensifying all the problems.

According to the figures published in Rome by the Central Institute of Statistics, during the first half of the year, Italy's industrial output increased only by 1.1 per cent over the same period of last year. Exports rose by 12.4 per cent over the same period of last year, and imports increased by 22.5 per cent, leading to a foreign trade deficit of 5.7 billion dollars in the first half of the year. The number of unemployed increased by 12.5 per cent reaching 2.855 million, 0.137 million more than in the same period of last year, while the inflation rate remained at 8.7 per cent.

According to official figures released on August 19 by the Centre of Statistical Office, the gross domestic product of Britain rose by 0.6 per cent from April to June compared with a 1.5 per cent increase in the first quarter of the year. The underlined rate of growth was about 3 per cent. The GDP now stands at 4.5 per cent above its previous peak in 1979. However, industrial production has still not reached its pre-recession levels and manufacturing output remains below them.

The report of the OECD released in August in Paris forecast for France an average economic growth rate of 1.25 per cent annually in 1985-86 due to the domestic market demand; foreign demand would not grow enough to halt continuous decline in employment. In 1985, productive employment fell by 200 thousand compared with 240 thousand in 1984.

According to Government sources, the U.S. economy grew at a weak annual rate of 1.7 per cent from April to June this year. In the first quarter the economy grew only by 0.3 per cent; for the first half of the year the growth rate is only 1 per cent as against the first six months' growth rate of 8.6 per cent last year.

To reach the Reagan Administration's projection of 3.9 per cent growth for 1985, the economy will have to achieve a 6.9 per cent growth rate in the second half of the year, a rate beyond reach.

A strong dollar and decline in exports are the causes of the poor performance of the U.S. economy. According to the Com-

merce Department of the Government, exports declined at an annual rate of 12.5 per cent in the second quarter, the third consecutive decline, while imports continued to rise, on top of a giant annual rate of increase of 30 per cent in the first three months of the year. Many economists feel that this delicate situation may lead to a recession any time.

Notwithstanding the optimistic forecast about the West German economy, the economy and the country are facing great difficulties. A joint statement issued by the Federal German Government and the Federation of German Trade Unions considered that the unemployment problem was disturbing the country's economy and political life. The number of jobless soared to 2.2 million in May this year at a rate of 8.6 per cent. West Germany's recovery depends on introduction of more advanced technology in competition with the USA and Japan, which must lead to greater and greater unemployment.

The Economic Report of the Japanese Economic Planning Committee released in August said that the Japanese economy would enjoy continuous growth in fiscal 1985. In fiscal 1984, the economy showed a 5.7 per cent growth, 0.4 per cent higher than the Government's estimates.

But in the first quarter of 1985, the GNP growth was as low as 0.4 per cent, the lowest in ten years. In the second quarter of the year Japan fared better, the growth made possible by increased exports to China and the USA. Japan's export surplus is already drawing protests from other partners, including the USA, and demands are made that Japan should open its market and economy to its trading allies. All this including the condition of the US economy, leads to uncertainty about Japan's economy.

Such is the character of the capitalist recovery. Needless to say that for the underdeveloped and Third World countries there is no recovery but actually greater victimisation to shoulder the burden of the 'recovery' of the advanced countries. These burdens are being passed on through increased debt obligations, unfavourable terms of trade, protective measures against imports from these countries and demands for import liberalisation. Many of these countries are facing a desperate situation and are unable to meet their obligations.

## **High Rate of Unemployment**

Notwithstanding the recovery, the unemployment rate in the USA did not decline. The rate at the beginning of the last quarter of

the year, 1984, was 7.4 per cent which meant that 8.5 million Americans had no work. In 1985, the rate of unemployment in America is practically the same.

Unemployment in the OECD countries topped the 13 million mark in December last according to the figures released by the EEC Statistical Office in January 1985. The December figure was the highest on record and represented an unemployment rate of 11.6 per cent compared with 11.1 per cent a year earlier in 1983.

In January 1985, British unemployment rose sharply by more than one hundred and twenty one thousands to a record high of 3.4 million according to the figures of the Employment Department released on January 31. The jobless figure is equivalent to 13.9 per cent of the work force in the country. Britain's unemployment rate is above the EEC average of 10.7 per cent and the average of the Western countries as a whole of 8.1 per cent. There was no relaxation in the unemployment situation by the middle of 1985.

In France the number of jobless rose from 2.1 million in 1984 to 2.5 million at the end of the year. The jobless rate in France was as high as 13 per cent.

In Italy unemployment during the year rose to 10.4 per cent with the number of unemployed reaching 2.4 million, according to the Italian Institute of Statistics.

In West Germany the most optimistic forecast for 1985 was of a decline of 200 thousand in the number of jobless.

In Japan the total figure for jobless reached 1.60 million or 2.7 per cent of the labour force in 1984, the highest since the Government began compiling statistics in 1953. But unemployment appeared to be much smaller in Japan than the USA or Britain. This is because people who work one hour in any given week are considered as employed in Japan.

Economic recovery, in capitalist phraseology, does not mean any relief to the mass of people. In fact it means that capitalist profits increase at the cost of the people, increasing their miseries. It denotes terrific attacks on people's living standards and jobs to inflate the profits of the monopolists. This is a characteristic feature of the present recovery also.

The unemployment and the attending economic miseries in the capitalist economy show that the burden of the economic crisis and readjustment have been transferred to the people, the usual scapegoats and victims of capitalist crisis. At the same time the

fragility and instability also show that capitalism cannot solve its crisis, its basic contradictions, even with the instruments of State monopoly manipulations. All the devices it employs, from inflation, interest rates to trade wars, boomerang on the economy making it more and more vulnerable.

The capitalist economy under State monopoly regulation cannot exist without a huge expenditure on destructive armaments, on military budgets. Preparations for genocidal destruction of humanity is the pre-condition for maintaining the earnings of high monopolist profits. This reveals the anti-human character of the imperialist capitalist system, as the huge resources misdirected towards nuclear and other armaments could be used for productive purposes and distribution for general well-being, abolishing the scourge of unemployment and backwardness.

Under State monopoly regulation the multinationals monopolise the capital resources and investment through the medium of State expenditure. In 1982, Government spending in the USA ate up 36.6 per cent of the GDP as against 27.3 per cent in Japan, and 43.7 per cent in EEC countries.

The strain on the economy of useless military expenditure is introducing economic uncertainties in the current year. Statesmen and bourgeois economic experts alike are not sure whether the stability of the economies can be maintained.

The crisis and the slow recovery expose monetarism, also termed reaganism, as an instrument of seeking recovery at the expense of the masses by lowering their standard of living. Monetarist theorists simplify the problem of the capitalist society when they contend that healthy economic development is guaranteed if the growth of money supply is controlled to correspond to the growth of the domestic product. According to the monetarists, if the Government succeeds in controlling the dynamics of the liquid assets, inflation will be no problem and the condition for capital accumulation and economic growth will improve.

## **Class Offensive**

This non-class phraseology, however, conceals a class offensive. Whose liquid assets are to be controlled? And in whose interest? It turns out that this new wisdom amounts to directing all capitalist Governments to curtail and decrease expenditure on social security and welfare measures, to curtail expenditure on wages, so that the liquid assets correspond to the GDP. In the USA, monetarism has led to huge concessions to the capitalists while it

has led to huge cuts in social expenditures for the masses. In Britain, monetarism means cuts in social spending, closure of State enterprises and restrictions on trade union rights. No wonder in the years of Reaganomics (from 1980 to 1984), according to *Business Week*, the material conditions of 60 per cent of U.S. families declined, while the real income of the top 20 per cent increased. No wonder the number of unemployed in the advanced capitalist countries exceeds 30 million.

The way out of the crisis under these conditions, is being sought through the bolstering of military expenditure, huge deficit budgets, the production of armaments and nuclear war preparations. The bolstering of the economy is sought to be achieved through this unproductive expenditure for which the State is forced to shell out billions. Seeking to change the balance of forces following the rise of the Socialist camp and the end of colonialism, military power is being built to reopen the world for imperialism.

The crisis therefore has sharpened all the contradictions making the present period, a period of social upheaval, of continuous changes, a period of aggressive attacks from imperialism and the counter-reply from the people and the revolutionary forces.

## **Sharpened Conflict in the Advanced Capitalist Countries**

The crisis and its effects announce the failure of State monopoly capitalism to regulate the economy, but show that despite its devastating effects on the people, the profits of the monopolists, of the multinationals, go on mounting as the entire policy of the State is directed towards protecting their interests. This identification of the State with monopolies, with the industrial-military complex, narrows its social base to the extreme, rendering possible wide mass movements embracing widely disparate economic strata. This is one of the reasons for the intensification of the class struggle in the advanced capitalist countries.

The unproductive military expenditure, bolstered by inflation and robbery of incomes, becomes the constant policy of State monopoly capitalism and aggravates all the elements of the crisis, narrowing of the market, shrinkage of the purchasing power of the people and resistance of the working class.

The latter element is an important factor in the developed capitalist countries where mass parties of the working class and

organised trade unions embracing millions exist. The policy of restricting wages during inflation in the name of counter-inflationary measures, is resisted by the workers. The various austerity programmes, budgetary cuts and anti-inflationary devices have one objective in common, viz., to deprive more and more workers of their jobs and incomes and lessen the responsibility on the part of the Government to look after them. In the 1983 crisis, attacks on social security measures were made in the State leading to working class resistance. Women and children have been particular victims of these attacks on rights to social security. In these countries, under the national insurance schemes and welfare measures, any increase in the unemployed has to be compensated by the State. These rights, won over decades of earlier struggles, are being attacked, leading to greater intensification of struggles.

Besides, in the present crisis, closure of factories has led to prolonged resistance by the workers. The historic strike of the British coalminers, which lasted for a year, indicated the sharpness of the class struggle in the advanced capitalist countries.

Prolonged and bitterly fought strikes have been taking place in these years in these countries. The continuing unemployment in the midst of recovery is bound to intensify the struggle and pit the mass of the people against militarisation of the economy and inflated military budgets. The class discontent is now more and more expressing itself in opposition to war, in the struggle for peace, leading to wide participation of the working masses in defence of peace.

## **Socialist World**

In contrast to the capitalist world, which is in its deepest economic crisis since the 1930s, leading to intensified contradictions between the developed capitalist countries, the Socialist countries, free from crisis and exerting all their efforts in the cause of peace, have registered further advances in Socialist construction, and the economic integration of the Socialist member countries of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance has been further strengthened.

The Socialist countries today produce around 40 per cent of the total world steel output and have surpassed many industrialised capitalist States in the per capita output of many manufactured goods.

Despite the fact that they are being forced to spend precious resources for defence because of the nuclear war-drive of the

imperialists, and that they cannot completely seal themselves off from the fall-out of the world capitalist crisis, the Socialist countries are able to ensure for their people, a continually rising all-sided advance of their life.

The experience of Poland reveals the basic strength of the socialist system. Poland is marching ahead, having frustrated the attempt at destabilisation which was patronised by imperialism.

The CMEA countries can be rightly proud of the impressive results of their socio-economic development. A continuous rise in production has resulted in a steady growth of the national income and better living standards for the people. The CMEA countries are making faster economic progress than the capitalist world. Noteworthy in this context are the achievements of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, which completed their liberation only a decade ago, and have overcome the ravages of the war and are making steady advances despite the difficulties created by the Pol Pot remnants, the reactionary regime to Thailand and their U.S. imperialist patrons. The CMEA, at its last summit, made special provisions to accelerate the economic advancement of Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia. Similar advances are being made by Socialist countries not belonging to the CMEA.

For instance, the People's Republic of China which has been introducing a series of economic reforms, has been advancing both in industry and agriculture. Compared to 1983, in 1984 the total value of industrial output of the PRC increased by 14 per cent and total agricultural output value by 14.5 per cent; the total payroll of workers and other employees went up by 19 per cent and per capita net income of peasant families by 14.7 per cent.

In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, industrial production had been growing at an average annual rate of 15.9 per cent between 1970-79, and in the eighties this figure is being surpassed, along with big advances in agricultural production.

The Soviet Union and other Socialist countries have been continually expanding their trade and other economic relations with the developing countries with immense benefit to the latter.

The struggle for peace waged by the Warsaw Pact countries, with the support of the people of the world, together with the military preparedness of the Soviet Union which is determined to see that the existing military parity is not upset in favour of imperialism, has so far acted as a strong deterrent against the nuclear warmongers.

The Soviet Union has been extending unstinted help to Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. This help and the fraternal role played by Vietnam in Kampuchea and Laos, have helped to frustrate the imperialist designs in Indo-China.

Socialist help, primarily from the Soviet Union and Cuba, to the fighting people of Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Afghanistan and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and the support of all Socialist countries to the cause of Palestinian liberation, their firm opposition to the Israeli aggressors, have strengthened the anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist and anti-racist forces everywhere.

The support of the Soviet Union and all Socialist countries, some of whom are members of the Non-Aligned Movement, has given immeasurable strength to this movement which stands for peace and comes out against imperialist war machinations.

## **Inter-Imperialist Contradictions**

In the situation created by the crisis, inter-imperialist conflicts and rivalries are sharpening, though they are not powerful enough to stop the U.S. drive towards a nuclear war. But the economic rivalries for the world market, the uneven technological development of the imperialist countries, the selfish economic policy pursued by the USA, and finally the USA's dictatorial demands on its partners for increased military expenditures, are all leading to resistance on the part of the allies. The Star Wars project of Reagan is seen as U.S. domination on the question of war and peace, and understood as a project for the defence of the USA rather than the defence of all its allies, and has specially met with strong resistance from France. The siting of the missiles as well as the demand that more money should be spent on conventional weapons has also led to opposition.

The Bonn Summit of Western Powers in May 1985, showed up the division in the Star Wars project. At the meeting, Rome said that it has yet to decide its attitude to the project. Meanwhile the Danish Folketing adopted resolutions in 1983 and 1984 calling upon the Government to oppose the space plan and Greece and Australia turned down the invitation to take part in the research programme. Recently, Canada also has declined to join the programme. The Australian Government decided to withdraw permission granted to the USA to test its MX missiles on its soil, and the New Zealand Government refused to allow nuclear-armed ships of the USA into its harbours leading to the virtual collapse of ANZUS. The dissidence has reached beyond Europe.

Along with this, conflict on economic matters and policies is getting sharpened. Currently the EEC, the USA and Japan are involved in battling with each other. The same rivalries go on inside the EEC also. But it is the conflict with the USA which has sharpened the rivalries and pushed each side into using tariffs against the other. Conflicts have developed between the USA and Japan because of Japan's huge favourable balance of trade with the USA, partially the creation of the American Administration's policies. The USA is now demanding that Japan should throw open its markets to imports from the USA.

America's high interest rates which denude the European countries of much needed capital have added to the conflict.

These economic tensions were already reflected in the recent Bonn meeting of the Seven. Washington with its huge balance of trade deficit wanted to open talks within the framework of the General Agreement of Tariff and Trade (GATT). At the conference the U.S. sought to ease the situation at the expense of its partners. But it was strongly opposed by the French President who would not agree to fix the date for the GATT talks, demanding that the trade talks should be linked to the reforms of the International Monetary Fund and talks on the development of the Third World. The USA was opposed to both proposals. The IMF helps it to gain a dominating influence which it is not prepared to give up. Having failed to achieve its objective, the USA had to content itself with a resolution to hold preliminary talks on the issues raised.

Despite these differences, the European allies and Japan continue to be part of the war front of the U.S. imperialists. They help the U.S. plans as they have done by agreeing to site U.S. missiles in their territories. The Thatcher government has joined the U.S. Star Wars programme. Although as pointed out above, their rivalries are not powerful enough to stop the drive towards nuclear war, their vacillations and hesitations often play a retarding role in the war-drive of U.S. imperialism.

The military expenditure of the USA and other imperialist countries has reached astronomic proportions. Washington has assigned 280 billion dollars to the Pentagon for 1984 and this will go up to 425 billion dollars in 1988. The aggregate military expenditure of the capitalist countries had increased from 24 billion dollars in 1950 to more than 400 billion dollars in 1982. The Nakasone Government of Japan which has been given the status of a NATO partner in the East by the USA, has decided to give up the coun-

try's long-standing decision on keeping the limit of the outlay on military expenditure below one per cent of the GNP.

## **Aggravation of Conflicts with Third World Countries**

The mounting debt load of Third World countries and the consequent dependence of many of their economies on the Western world, lead to an intense sharpening of the conflict between imperialism and these countries. The foreign debt of these countries has risen from 75 billion dollars in 1970 to 900 to 1,000 billion dollars in 1984, which is enough to underline the dependence of their economies on Western help.

This, of course, need not have happened if the Governments of these countries had put an end to pre-capitalist relations and released the productive forces of their countries for rapid economic advance.

Imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists, by their intervention and creation of tensions in various parts of the world, are forcing many Third World countries to spend more and more on their military budgets, escalating their debts even further.

The debt payments are inflated by rising interest rates, by adverse terms of trade, by the robberies conducted by the multinationals, and the conditionalities imposed by the IMF and the World Bank. Foreign aid has become a debt trap and a death trap. Thus the underdeveloped world was faced with the manipulation of the interest rates, the predatory role of the multinationals and political limitations on trade, boycott and sanctions, and the rising rate of dollar exchange. The huge drain from Third World countries, this loot, has been the source of financing the militarisation of the U.S. economy, its huge budget deficit and its high expenditure on the war-drive.

Fidel Castro recently exposed this link between U.S. military expenditure and debt loot in the following words: "The U.S. has forced a financial and monetary policy on the rest of the world, exclusively to solve its economic difficulties. It is spending money on military equipment at the rate of approximately 300 billion dollars a year. We the Third World are financing the U.S. armaments with these dollars that cost us much."

But this drain is proving the last straw and some countries have started resisting and announcing that they will pay what they can and nothing more. Peru, for instance, has refused to make

payments exceeding ten per cent of its export earnings and has decided to take steps to counter the retaliatory measures of the U.S. Administration.

### **U.S. Intervention in Latin America**

This is sharpening the conflicts and intensifies U.S. intervention in Latin America. The U.S. intervened with arms and carried out a cowardly aggression against tiny Grenada two years back. It protects the murderous regime of El Salvador by supplying it with arms and money.

The prime objective of the U.S. imperialists' Central American policy is to crush the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua. It is within the framework of the anti-Nicaraguan campaign that the Pentagon has consolidated its presence in Honduras, which, along with El Salvador and Guatemala, has been turned into an American stronghold in Central America. The "contras", CIA mercenaries, have been trained and armed by U.S. imperialism and are faithfully serving it, using openly terroristic sanguinary methods against the Nicaraguan people.

In pursuance of its aggressive designs, in May this year, Reagan announced economic sanctions against Nicaragua. All U.S. trade with Nicaragua was banned, and air and sea communications were stopped. To enforce the sanction, the CIA mined Nicaragua's port to prevent foreign consignments from reaching that country. The economic blockade has been imposed under the ridiculous excuse that Nicaragua was threatening American security and its foreign policy. U.S. officials have openly declared that "military exercises, naval manoeuvres, internal opposition (both armed and unarmed)" were quite legitimate and justifiable "pressures" which the USA simply must use against Nicaragua in order to modify the "Sandinista behaviour". What is meant by this was made clear by the U.S. State Department explanation in February last—that the U.S. is in fact seeking to make Nicaragua disarm unilaterally, despite the undeclared war unleashed against it, and to determine Nicaragua's political system and its relations with other States.

The Nicaraguan people are waging a heroic struggle to defend their freedom and advance the Sandinista revolution, while taking a positive attitude to maintaining peace in Central America and resolving its problems through negotiations. The Sandinista Government accepted the Contadora proposals while the USA and its henchmen scuttled them. The USA also broke off the bilateral talks with Nicaragua which were being held in the Mexican town of Manzanillo. Vast sections of the people in Latin America, as also

the ruling classes of some of the countries in the region, are beginning to see that the USA's struggle against so-called "terrorism" is spearheaded first and foremost against revolutionary Nicaragua and also against all the national liberation and patriotic forces of Central America.

Nicaragua is not without friends. International opinion and the progressive forces in the world are rallying to its defence. When President Ortega of Nicaragua visited Moscow at the end of April this year, CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev assured him that the USSR would render it assistance for economic development as well as political and diplomatic support in upholding its sovereignty.

### **Struggle Against Racism and Imperialism in Africa**

Faced by growing resistance, the U.S. imperialists are desperately intervening in all parts of the globe to extend their influence and domination and bring the recalcitrant countries and people under their control. In Africa they continue open support to the South African racists even after the worldwide revulsion against the state of emergency declared by the racist Botha regime. Over 700 Black people have been killed in firings and other attacks in the last twenty months and thousands have been detained without trial. Against the anti-apartheid struggle waged by South African Blacks, the U.S. and Britain support the tyranny of the White regime. They hypocritically talk about "constructive engagements in dialogue" and refuse to take any genuine step against the African regime though public opinion in their countries demands it. Unable to resist the American Congress pressure for sanctions, Reagan has come out with some fake measures which create no difficulty for the Botha regime. Britain also has adopted fake sanctions, while secretly it renders every possible help to it. They both continue to support South African aggression against Angola and its plot to overthrow the MPLA Party of Labour and Government and replace it by the counter-revolutionary UNITA gang.

Defying all U.N. decisions and world public opinion, the racist regime of South Africa is denying Namibia its freedom and continuing to keep it as its colony. Instead of implementing the U.N. decision for U.N.-supervised elections to form the Government of independent Namibia, the regime in Pretoria has imposed its puppet government on it. The racist regime would not have dared to

take up such an attitude of defiance but for the support it is getting from the imperialists, especially the USA and Britain, all of them parties to the U.N. decision to grant independence to Namibia, and the confidence that the USA with its veto power in the Security Council would prevent the United Nations from taking any effective measures against it. The Namibian people, led by the South-West African People's Organisation, their recognised spokesman, are waging an armed struggle against the racist-colonialist regime for the liberation of their country. In its attempt to suppress the armed struggle and the SWAPO, the South African regime is with impunity committing aggression on front-line African States like Angola, and the U.S. imperialists keep the Security Council's hands tied.

The liberation struggle of the people of **Western Sahara** has achieved tremendous successes. Led by the Polisario Front, they had begun their struggle against the Spanish colonisers, and after the withdrawal of Spain, continued it against the reactionary regime of Morocco which wanted to annex Western Sahara. The Polisario Front has liberated two-thirds of the territory, forced Mauretania to make peace, set up the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic and introduced radical changes in agrarian relations and other spheres for the benefit of the people. Polisario Front wants to have a peaceful settlement of the problem with Morocco, but the Moroccan regime refused to abide by the decisions of both the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations to make direct contact with the Polisario Front to arrange for a plebiscite. The Moroccan regime was prepared even to disrupt the OAU on this issue, but its efforts to torpedo the last OAU summit did not succeed. The SADR is a member of the OAU and has been recognised by 63 countries, the latest being India. The Moroccan regime, despite all the help from the U.S. imperialists in arms and money, is not able to prevent the successful advance of the Saharawi people towards complete liberation of their country.

## **U.S. Manoeuvres in Asia.**

The U.S. continues to intervene in **West Asia** and faces repeated fiascos of its policy. Its latest act of intervention called for boycott of the **Beirut** airport because of the hijacking of a U.S. plane. This again roused common Arab feeling against the imperialist bloc. Britain, ever ready to toe the U.S. line, immediately accepted the U.S. boycott proposal, but the other European allies hesitated. If they had fallen in line, it would have meant a

direct confrontation between the former colonial powers and the newly liberated Arab countries. This attempt of the U.S. has also fallen through.

Two years back, the U.S. intervened in **Lebanon** with its marines and had to retreat post-haste, disgraced before the world. It tried to regain its prestige by attacking Grenada in a cowardly way which again defaced its image.

In West Asia the U.S. befriends aggressive Israel to **beat back** the Arabs and has entered into a special treaty with it which is nothing but a treaty of aggression. The U.S. was the only country whose Government openly justified the recent Israeli aggression on Tunisia.

Notwithstanding the treachery and vacillations of some of the Arab Governments, some of whom are flushed with money, the U.S. plans to subdue the Arabs are not succeeding. True, the U.S. imperialist manoeuvres and disruption of Arab unity have caused a setback to the liberation movement, but the fight goes on. The plot to divide Lebanon failed. Syria and Libya remained firmly opposed to U.S. designs. Governments which submit to U.S. pressure find it difficult to carry on because such a policy requires close relations and subservience to Israel which is considered a common enemy by all Arab people.

The reactionary and compromising Governments, as well as the Arab people, know that there cannot be any West Asian settlement without the settlement of the **Palestinian** question. In July 1984, the Soviet Union proposed an international conference with the participation of parties involved in the Palestinian problem, together with the USA, the USSR and other interested States. The proposal was welcomed by the Arab people but was rejected by the USA. It was not prepared to face an international conference after its marines fiasco in 1983.

But the USA and its compromising allies have been trying to arrange a fake conference whose procedures and composition would be acceptable to the USA and Israel. The unfortunate split among the Palestianians following the agreement between Yasser Arafat and King of Jordan in tune with the Camp David Spirit, came in handy for U.S. intrigues. The Shiaite fundamentalists in Labanon are also creating fresh problems.

The common front of the people of Third World countries is weakened by differences and conflicts between the governments of some Third World countries. The U.S. imperialists are ever ready to take advantage of the situation.

The insane war between **Iran** and **Iraq**, which has entered its sixth year now, constitutes a source of danger to the Arab world and the anti-imperialist movement. The war has already taken a toll of 500,000-700,000 lives, ruined cities and towns, and crippled the economies of both the countries. It has exposed the fraud of Islamic solidarity, with Iraqi and Iranian Muslims killing each other. Both the countries have experienced a huge strain on their resources and will be completely dependent on outside help for post-war reconstruction, and the imperialists are calculating that they can lay their hands on their oil resources from where they were ousted only a few years ago. Though it was Iraq that started the war, today it is Iran which is standing in the way of a cease-fire and peace, laying down impossible conditions like Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's overthrow, huge indemnities, etc. Iran has rejected all proposals made by the Non-Aligned Movement and also Islamic countries. It is in the interests of the peoples of the two countries and the democratic and anti-imperialist forces in the world that this futile war ends forthwith. Its prolongation only enables the U.S. imperialists to intervene by proxy and turn the conflict to their advantage.

Apart from direct intervention, the U.S. imperialists are using Islamic fundamentalism to stem the tide of anti-imperialist movements. Reactionary forces in many Muslim countries are also using Islamic fundamentalism to disrupt the democratic movements in their countries, thus weakening the anti-imperialist struggle. This is happening in Iran now and had happened earlier in Sudan and some other countries.

The USA arms the **Afghan** counter-revolutionaries and with the aid of Pakistan attempts to organise sabotage and counter-revolution against the democratic Government of Afghanistan. In South-East Asia the U.S. imperialists carry on their aggressive moves against Vietnam and Kampuchea and support the Pol Pot followers and interventionists. Thailand, like Pakistan, had become the base for carrying on U.S. operations.

The people of **Kampuchea** are waging a brave struggle for their freedom and independence. The **Vietnamese** people are undergoing untold sacrifices to help the Kampuchean people. The determination of the two peoples has till now frustrated the efforts of the Pol Pot clique, aided by U.S. weapons, to gain ascendance. This is a big defeat for the U.S. imperialists.

In **East Asia** U.S. imperialism harnesses the counter-revolutionary Government of South Korea for its purpose of

aggression and conflict with the **Democratic People's Republic of Korea**. Nuclear weapons have been placed in South Korea, the Washington-Tokyo-Seoul axis is being built with sophisticated weapons, placed at the disposal of Seoul.

The U.S. imperialists, in violation of the three China-U.S. joint communiqués governing the relations between the two countries, continue to implement the provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act and are pouring sophisticated arms into Taiwan. Taiwan thus continues to be a U.S. base creating tension in the whole East Asian region.

In the **Indian sub-continent** the USA conspires to surround India with a ring of reactionary Governments subservient to it, supplies sophisticated arms to Pakistan for purposes of aggression, tries to rouse chauvinist feelings against India taking advantage of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, and openly supports internal disruptive and secessionist forces in pursuance of its policy of dismemberment of India. The U.S. imperialists are trying to ring India with hostile bases in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and the Indian Ocean. Through its agents and reactionary elements in India, it directs attacks on the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and India's friendship with Socialist countries.

The USA refused to agree to the demand for turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. It has done everything to sabotage the decision of the U.N. to convene a conference for this purpose. Regardless of the wishes of the littoral States, the U.S. is militarising the Indian Ocean, its nuclear arms-ships are swarming all over it. It has established a nuclear naval base at Diego Garcia which constitutes a serious threat to the security of many nations, including India. U.S. imperialist intervention in various parts of the world is forcing the Third World countries to divert their scarce resources to defence—as for instance, India, which has to spend more and more on defence because of the U.S. arming of the Pakistani military regime.

The rising democratic movement in all newly liberated countries, governed by the vested interests, plays a valiant role in fighting U.S. aggression against Third World countries and its plan of global domination. It is the anti-imperialist urge of the people, the feeling of patriotism, that has repeatedly frustrated the imperialist plans regarding the Arab world. Neither the Israeli aggression nor the compromising governments of several countries could deliver the goods and ensure success for the U.S. plans.

This, however, is the story all over the world. The democratic

masses continue to fight and resist, denying final victory to U.S. plans. The struggle of the peoples of Africa, Latin America, and Asia reveals the same story. The struggle of the people of Pakistan and Bangladesh against the Martial Law regimes, the struggle of the people of Nepal against the King's tyranny and the protest of patriotic and progressive forces in Sri Lanka against Jayewardene's terrorist policy against the Tamils, constitute strong anti-imperialist forces in the sub-continent.

While correctly assigning importance to the policy of non-alignment of the governments of these countries, some Communist Parties and Socialist countries underestimate the importance of the people's struggle in Third World countries and concentrate their attention on the ruling governments. This does great harm to the anti-imperialist struggle when the people of these countries are forging ahead decisively to wage an irreconcilable fight. Today the contradiction between the people and imperialism has sharpened beyond measure, and it will be thoroughly disruptive to underestimate the importance of the people's struggle for democracy, freedom and economic advance in these countries.

Notwithstanding the class character of the governments of non-aligned countries and their tendencies to vacillate and compromise, the Non-Aligned Movement is playing an important role in arresting the progress towards war, defending world peace, and keeping the Third World countries out of the clutches of imperialism. When India took over the chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement from Cuba, the imperialists had hoped that there would be a softening of the movement's attitude.

But this did not take place. India's continued abiding by non-alignment and upholding of NAM policies, play an important role in maintaining the balance of world forces against imperialism and nuclear war and in favour of peace. They contribute to the strengthening of the anti-war forces in the world.

The weight and importance of the Non-Aligned Movement is recognised by U.S. imperialism. It therefore does everything to disrupt the movement from within by utilising local and temporary contradictions between neighbouring non-aligned countries. It has persuaded some of those fully allied with it, to enter the non-aligned camp and help to erode it from within.

### **Further Intensification of Contradictions Between the Imperialist and Socialist Camps Danger of Nuclear War**

Forty years after the victory over fascism, the imperialists

forgetting all the lessons of history, are again feverishly preparing for another war—a nuclear war against Socialism.

The years since the last Party Congress have witnessed a sharpened contradiction between the two systems and the camps represented by them. The contradiction between the two social systems is the major and central contradiction of our time. It is a pivotal point of the world revolutionary process. But till recently it did not come out in the sharpened manner so directly, with the direct threat of war against the Socialist camp, with the direct call and preparation for military superiority over the Socialist countries, with feverish preparations for the unity of the entire imperialist camp. Earlier, other contradictions were occupying more attention, while the conflict between the two social systems had not created the threat of a nuclear war. By carrying out the anti-satellite test in pursuance of his Star Wars Programme, Reagan has further intensified the conflict.

The USA considers the strength of the USSR and the Socialist camp to be the biggest obstacle in the way of its plans for world domination and its immediate neo-colonialist plot. The growing popularity of Socialism and its triumphs, is activating large masses in capitalist countries. The newly-liberated countries are emboldened to resist many a plan of the U.S. because of the existence of the Soviet Union and the Socialist camp, and often direct help rendered by the USSR. These countries feel and know that they are not alone in their fight against U.S. imperialism. The U.S. fiasco in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, its failure to impose a West Asian settlement, are all results of the increased influence of the Soviet Union and the Socialist camp. The U.S. fear of Nicaragua reveals its fear of the democratic and national forces friendly to the Soviet Union and opposed to imperialist domination.

Reagan quickened the war-drive by placing Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe. The imperialists will now be able to directly strike at the heartland of the Soviet Union. The election manifesto of the Republican Party opposed signing of any agreement with the Soviet Union and criticised the previous Democratic Administration for signing them. The Reagan Administration, it is known, has not signed a single agreement with the USSR in the years of Reagan's Presidentship. The Republican platform gave a clear indication that the party will not sign any agreement in future also, it will only accentuate its nuclear strength for furtherance of war.

The crusade against Socialism was expressed in the following

words: "We stand in solidarity with the peoples of Eastern Europe, the Poles, the Hungarians, East Germans, Romanians, Yugoslavs, Bulgarians, Ukrainians and all captive peoples who daily struggle against their Soviet masters."

The war drive has been planned systematically since 1980. In 1981 the U.S. National Security Council prepared a plan of ideological subversion against the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries. But this was not enough. In June 1982, addressing the British Parliament, Reagan virtually proclaimed a holy war against Communism. He called on the West to fight back Marxism-Leninism. But the real aim was not confined to an ideological battle. It was a call to the West to roll back by force and subversion the achievements of Socialism, a call to form a war alliance of the imperialist Powers.

The shift of the U.S. imperialists towards an active policy of war preparations against the Soviet Union could be discerned as early as in 1982. In April of that year, Defence Secretary Casper Weinberger gave his approval for the "guidance" of preparations for a nuclear war. The U.S. Press itself called it a blueprint for turning the uneasy U.S.-USSR relations into an unremitting war to death. A month later, in May, President Reagan approved a classified document aimed at making the USSR change its system and undermining the Socialist community. And in June, Reagan openly announced his crusade against Communism, first in the speech to the British Parliament and then at the United Nations. On the 18th of the same month, the U.S. Administration decided to launch economic warfare against the USSR.

The Williamsburg summit meeting which was held in June 1983, and which was attended by the leaders of the USA, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Canada and Japan, carried forward the task of consolidating the war-drive. The summit declaration stated, "The security of our countries is indivisible and must be apprehended on a global basis." The plain meaning of this was a call for an alliance of the imperialist Powers against the Soviet Union. It in effect says every country must consider itself to be threatened by Socialist countries and all must act together, pool their resources to attack the Socialist system.

The concern for global security brought on the scene Japan, whose ruling classes are well-versed in the traditions of military expeditions and aggression. It is to be noted that this was the first time since the end of the anti-fascist war that Japan participated in a gathering with the USA and NATO in drafting a statement on

international security and deployment of nuclear weapons targeted against the USSR. The same discredited and disastrous game of resurrecting an aggressive force to fight the USSR is being played again. Chamberlain encouraged and incited Hitler. Now the U.S. is egging on revanchists in West Germany and aggressive circles in Japan.

In the same month of June 1983, a session of the NATO Council was held in **Paris** at the Foreign Ministers' level. This was another extraordinary event. For no NATO Council meeting had been held in Paris since 1966, when France withdrew from the military activities of the NATO. France boasts of a Socialist President. But this did not prevent the French leaders including the French President, from supporting the U.S. plans to deploy nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

The decision of the two June meetings indicated the emergence of a qualitatively new feature in the development of the international situation. Here is an attempt to form a worldwide coalition of major imperialist Powers directed against the USSR and other Socialist States, against all democratic and patriotic forces in the world. Both Japan, which is not formally a member of any military bloc, and France are being drawn into a system of military organisations and military preparations of the NATO. In the name of a global approach to security, the sphere of the military activities of the NATO is being extended beyond the boundaries of the North Atlantic to cover the aggressive designs of the new combinations.

The nuclear plans of the Pentagon and NATO do not affect only Europe and the Soviet Union. They are fraught with danger for African, Asian and Latin American States also. Euro-missiles deployed in Sicily can be a source of danger to a large number of States of northern and central Africa. The NATO and South Africa virtually squeeze independent Africa into a nuclear pincer.

The countries in West Asia are equally threatened by Euro-missiles placed in Sicily and the nuclear power of Israel.

The policy of nuclear encirclement of newly liberated countries by imperialism, spreads further to the Indian Ocean which has been converted into a major region of the U.S. forward-based force. From here, American armed forces are capable of threatening with nuclear strike some forty States of the area.

The appearance in the proximity of the Central American coast, of American aircraft-carriers with nuclear delivery assault

aircraft on board is clear evidence of the fact that the policy of nuclear blackmail of newly liberated countries is being extended to Latin America as well.

The anti-Soviet war-drive is simultaneously a war-drive for world domination, a gang-up of old colonial Powers to re-enslave the world. In the war-drive the contradiction between the two social systems and that between imperialism and national liberation struggles are getting intensified.

Simultaneously, the USA is speeding up its efforts to build the eastern front and press another of its allies, Japan, to spend billions on armaments. The deployment of nuclear missiles in South Korea and the Philippines has already been accomplished. The Washington-Seoul-Tokyo axis is being built and Japan is being groomed as a partner on par with the European allies in the aggressive designs. The Japanese navy has been assigned police functions in a radius of 1,000 miles from its home-shores to guard the sea lanes strategic to U.S. aggression.

## **Revanchism and Neo-Fascism**

The rise of revanchism and neo-fascism in West Germany has to be particularly noted in this year of the fortieth anniversary of the victory over fascism. The revanchist war-mongering forces are raising the slogan of rearranging the frontiers of European countries, an issue which was finally settled at the post-war Potsdam Conference. They are demanding the return of territories now part of Czechoslovakia and Poland. The Government of Helmut Kohl is openly supporting these revanchist forces. Both the Government and the revanchists, in the name of German unification, are demanding the absorption of the Socialist German Democratic Republic in capitalist West Germany. This is nothing but part of Reagan's war against Socialism. The post-war European treaty prohibits West Germany's manufacturing of strategic weapons. That restriction has now been removed by its Western allies. Along with arousing chauvinism on the question of German reunification, arms are being piled up and former Hitlerites are being encouraged in West Germany. Although the talk now is of peaceful reunification of Germany, the West German preparations are for a military adventure. The neo-fascists, because of the official backing they have, feel emboldened to attack anti-fascist demonstrators.

In France, too, ultra-Rightist fascist forces are raising their head capitalising on the miserable failure of the Government of the Socialist Party. These forces are represented by the National Front

led by Le Pen. The National Front which could secure only 0.74 per cent of the vote in the 1974 Presidential election, improved it to 11 per cent in the June 1984 election to the European Parliament. A number of attacks on Jews and Jewish establishments by these fascist forces have already taken place in and around Paris.

The rise of these revanchist and neo-fascist forces adds to the already extremely dangerous situation in Europe.

The Soviet Union and the Socialist countries are replying to the counter-offensive by strengthening their defence capacity and rallying their resources.

The Soviet Union has told the would-be aggressors that it is capable of defending its soil and retaliating, and that it would never allow nuclear and military superiority to the imperialist camp. The preparedness to meet the challenge of the aggressors, the refusal to yield to the blackmail of the imperialist Powers, inspires the fighting forces all over the world and acts as the strongest deterrent to imperialist adventures. It is good for the working class movement, forces of national liberation and democracy that in matters of military weapons and military science the imperialists are unable to achieve superiority, and the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries are determined to see that the aggressors will not achieve it.

As a Socialist country the Soviet Union, at the same time, does everything to avoid a military confrontation, which must necessarily lead to enormous loss in human lives, widespread destruction, and may end in the total destruction of the world. It therefore matches every aggressive move of the imperialists with fresh moves for peace. It knows that to avoid war, the peace-loving millions of the world must be roused.

## **Soviet Peace Proposals and USA's Arms-Drive**

The Soviet Union has been consistently working for world peace, for nuclear disarmament. It strives for the prevention of nuclear arms in space and their elimination on earth. It has not only made a number of proposals towards this end, but by its unilateral actions demonstrated in practice the sincerity and seriousness with which it approaches this problem. The most recent of such actions is the unilateral moratorium the Soviet Union has imposed on all nuclear explosions, from August 6, the anniversary of Hiroshima, to the end of the year. The USA has not responded with a similar moratorium. **Banning of all nuclear explosions can be a far-reaching measure because it puts an end to modernisation of exist-**

ing weapons and production of new and more destructive weapons, the most dangerous area of the nuclear arms-drive. Earlier, the Soviet Union unilaterally stopped the siting of new missiles in its European part. The USA responded to this by bringing into Western Europe new Pershing and Cruise missiles.

The USSR has proposed a freeze on existing nuclear weapons, to go forward to their reduction on the basis of the principle of equal security, and their eventual elimination. The Soviet Union has declared that under no circumstances would it use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries on whose territories there are no such weapons, and to respect the status of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world. Above all, the Soviet Union has pledged that it will not be the first to use nuclear weapons. Socialist China has also made a similar declaration. If the imperialist powers were to make a similar pledge, that itself would mean a de facto ban on nuclear weapons.

The Reagan Administration has either rejected all these proposals or dismissed them out of hand as "propaganda". On the other hand, it has been prevaricating at the Geneva talks and using the time to go ahead with the production of newer weapons like the MX missiles, strategic bombers, etc., and decided to manufacture chemical weapons. The latest is the testing of the anti-satellite weapon, despite the Soviet offer of making big cuts in nuclear weapons if the USA did not go ahead with the anti-ballistic missile programme. This test, conducted in violation of the 1972 treaty on anti-ballistic missile weapons, has proved false the U.S. claim that it is only carrying on research into its Star Wars programme. This test has taken the nuclear arms-drive to a higher level, because the Soviet Union cannot obviously sit idle without taking counter-measures. The U.S. test will whip up the arms-race in all areas, which means the threat of nuclear war will increase.

The immediate aim of the U.S. imperialists is to secure superiority in nuclear weapons so that they can strike at the USSR with impunity. They have deployed hundreds of Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe to do away with the existing parity.

Reagan's Star Wars programme is a programme for first strike against the USSR. It consists of creating means for destroying the adversary's communications and observation satellites, to destroy the missile power of the enemy from outer space. At the end of 1983, Reagan sanctioned 26 billion dollars for a period of five years for the implementation of this programme. The first test

of an anti-satellite missile launched from an F-15 fighter plane was carried out at the beginning of 1984.

The Star Wars programme which will impose an expenditure of a trillion dollars is not a programme of defence but attack. As Mr. Robert Brown, President for the Institute of Security Studies, said in Washington, addressing a panel on space weapons in June 1984, "Space weaponry supposedly being developed as a defence against nuclear bombs would have no real effect against anything other than silo-based missiles. The net effect of such systems to both sides gives an enormous advantage to the one who strikes first."

Reagan refused to negotiate on the Star Wars programme at the Geneva Summit in November. Nothing important could therefore emerge from the Conference, except the promise to continue the dialogue at lower levels. In the words of Gorbachev: "It has not been possible at the meeting to find solutions to the most important issues connected with the task of putting an end to the arms race and there still remain major differences on fundamental issues."

The Soviet struggle for peace, its readiness to agree to abolition of nuclear weapons, its unilateral declaration of no first strike, have enhanced its role as the leading force in the struggle for world peace, and helped the isolation of the U.S. imperialists. The "two super-powers" lobby stands exposed.

The last four years have witnessed the broadening of the peace movement and the extensive participation of mass trade union centres of Europe in it. By 1983, large national trade union centres like the British Trade Union Congress, the German Trade Union Association of the FRG, and the General Confederation of Labour in France, began to intensify their activities in defence of peace and against deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe. The U.S. expectations that the peace movement in Europe would slacken after the deploying of the missiles were belied and it took a new vigorous turn against U.S. designs.

The peace movement with its powerful appeal against war, to save the world from destruction, now frightens the ruling classes of imperialist countries who launch repressive measures against it. Advocates of peace, active fighters in its cause, organisers, leaders and participants in the peace movement, are treated as suspects and are being subjected to surveillance. In the USA, besides imprisonment of anti-war activists, hundreds of peacefighters have

been subjected to reprisals. In France, thousands have been victims of surveillance. In England, the War Office Intelligence is entrusted with the task of surveillance.

This demonstrates the growing effectiveness of the peace movement which continues to march ahead despite these repressive measures.

The widespread celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the great victory over fascism and the worldwide observance of the fortieth anniversary of the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were again an expression of the powerful urge of people everywhere for peace.

The world peace movement is becoming an irrepressible force in the battle against war. It is today the biggest international movement which brings hundreds of millions from all countries, all walks of life, to take the destiny of mankind into the hands of the people, to safeguard the existence of the human race.

The world peace movement, the international struggle for peace waged by progressive forces in different countries and the weight of the Non-Aligned Movement are a powerful counterforce to frustrate the U.S. drive towards a nuclear war. The struggle for peace carried on by the Soviet Union and countries of the Socialist Camp, together with their preparedness to meet aggressive attacks of the imperialists, constitutes a basic condition for preserving peace.

If the desire for peace of hundreds of millions is combined with positive action, peace can be preserved and the disturbers of peace can be put in a strait-jacket.

## **Unity of the Communist Movement and of the Socialist Camp**

Today when an insane drive for a nuclear war is on, when there is intensified conflict between the two social systems, the imperialists pressing for war, the Socialist system defending peace and freedom and saving the world from the holocaust of a nuclear war, unity of the Communist movement and the Socialist camp is of utmost importance. Unity here means unity of the revolutionary vanguard of the world working class, of the victorious Socialist revolutions against the conspiracy to destroy them. Dissent means disarray and disunity of the leading force which is to lead the world in the battle for peace, freedom and Socialism. Unfortunately this unity is lacking.

No doubt there is some improvement in the relations between the two big countries of the Socialist camp, the USSR and People's China.

The visit of Chinese Vice-Premier Yao Yilin to the Soviet Union in July 1985 resulted in economic and trade agreements. According to Yao, "The two agreements are important to the long-term and steady development of economic and trade relations between the two countries." Both sides agreed that Sino-Soviet Commission on economic, trade, scientific and technological cooperation will hold its first meeting during the first half of 1986 in Beijing. This is as yet far from normalisation of relations between the two big representatives of the Socialist camp.

It will be generally agreed that "In the present involved international situation, which has been strained by imperialism, relations between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union affect not only the basic interests of the Soviet and Chinese people, but the world situation as a whole and appreciably tell on the alignment of class forces worldwide. A normalisation of Soviet-Chinese relations would no doubt make for stabilising the situation not only in Asia but throughout the world." Our Party agrees with this and therefore urgently desires for the normalisation of relationship between the two countries and the restoration of unity of the Socialist camp.

The world Communist movement which got divided on ideological issues, on the application of some basic Marxist propositions, finds itself unable to develop common understanding and approach to the vital questions of war and peace.

All Communist parties sincerely desire peace and are opposed to war and yet the Communist movement is unable to speak with one voice pinpointing U.S. imperialism as the chief culprit of the armaments race. Some of them do not take seriously the dangerous utterances of imperialist leaders like Reagan who call for a war against Marxism-Leninism and declares the destruction of the USSR as its objective.

There can be no neutrality when the imperialist camp prepares for aggression against the Socialist camp. Whosoever adopts a non-partisan attitude on the question, only aids and abets imperialism whatever may be the ideological and other excuses.

These differences disrupt Communist unity in the fight against the war plans of the USA.

They lead to different practices in the present. But reality is only one and it is already driving all parties to continue their actions for preventing war and protecting peace. Honest pursuit of this objective is bound to lead to growing Communist unity. Our Party is confident that the importance of Communist unity will be realised more and more in the coming period. Our Party earnestly desires Communist unity to fight war and defend the Socialist camp. Our Party earnestly desires the unity of the Communist movement based on the basic principles of Marxism and Leninism.

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## NATIONAL SITUATION

The Vijayawada Congress which met after the return of the Congress (I) to power in 1980 observed, "Today, the party which imposed emergency in 1975 and imposed one-party dictatorial rule over the country is back in power. The contradiction between the ruling party and the people now takes place under changed conditions.

"These include accentuation of the contradictions between imperialism and the people; attack of internal divisive forces; intensified conflict between the ruling party and the Opposition bourgeois-landlord parties; push and pull between the bourgeoisie and the land-lords and the increased strength of Left unity."

The developments of the last four years show that these contradictions have assumed a still sharper form, they are assuming new manifestations, and some entirely new problems and responsibilities have arisen. Without taking into consideration the totality of the situation, the Party will not be in a position to provide correct guidelines for its activities.

1. In spite of the loss of influence after the parliamentary elections, the ruling party under Rajiv Gandhi rouses hope among wide sections that something new is happening. The Punjab accord, the Assam settlement and the promises of a new clean administration are accepted by large sections as a Congress(I) attempt to strike a new path.

2. The political crisis of the system expresses itself in the drive towards authoritarianism. The economic crisis leading to the emergence of the new economic policy imposing new burdens on the people and compromising the interests of the country, sharpens the conflict between the people and the ruling party and the bourgeois-landlord Government, which the ruling party will try to solve by strengthening authoritarianism in the Government. The Party and the people will be faced with increased reliance on authoritarian measures in the drive for one-party rule.

3. The fight against the danger of one-party rule takes place when national unity is under constant attack; when it is being endangered by the compromising policies of the ruling party, by

the opportunist attitude of the bourgeois Opposition parties and directly assailed by imperialists and secessionist elements.

4. The contradiction with imperialism has sharpened and has taken an interventionist form. The conspiracy to dismember India is no longer concealed. But neither the ruling party nor the bourgeois Opposition parties expose it and warn the people.

5. While adult franchise and the right to vote continue and India continues to have parliamentary democracy, its basis is being rapidly undermined by complete maladministration at the bottom. Parliamentary and democratic norms are rapidly collapsing in the day-to-day administration.

6. The fruits of compromise with feudal conditions are being fully reaped. Not only have the challenges of religious fundamentalism intensified, but toilers are being divided and set into hostile warring camps on the question of reservation. Instead of common class movement against unemployment, we are getting a fratricidal struggle over jobs. The problem of maintaining working class and toilers' unity is becoming acute.

7. The authoritarian drive necessarily leads to greater concentration of power at the Centre. The attack against democratic rights and the sharpened conflict over Centre-State relations sharpens the contradictions between the ruling and the oppositional bourgeois parties.

8. The non-aligned foreign policy of the country cannot be taken for granted. At present it is almost exclusively dependent on the will of the ruling party. Inside the Congress(I) all are not closely committed to it. The pro-West influence is not negligible. Many do not share the hatred of imperialism born out of the freedom struggle. The bourgeois Opposition parties are mostly opposed to the present policy of non-alignment and would prefer a tilt in the Western direction. The masses are virtually disarmed in relation to the question of foreign policy. The new economic policy must inevitably pressurise the Government in the direction of the West and one big safeguard against imperialist influence and penetration may be endangered.

9. The conflict between the ruling party and the Left is sharpening and the Left Front Governments are under constant attack.

10. The struggle against the growing authoritarian danger is to be carried on in the context of the totality of these conditions, all of which are parts of the system. This is all the more so since the

present stage of revolution in our country is anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly. The immediate struggle against the authoritarian danger cannot be divorced from the struggle to defend national unity, independence of the economy, the struggle to defend and strengthen the foreign policy of non-alignment, and the struggle against imperialist plans of destabilisation. Our immediate tactics are to be related to our strategic objective of People's Democracy.

## **Conflict Between the Ruling Party and the People**

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

The four years since Vijayawada have witnessed untold sufferings. The crisis of the capitalist path has got deepened and accentuated by the crisis of the world capitalist economy leading to unbearable economic conditions.

Under the capitalist path and its planning, industry could never reach the target of growth set by the Planning Commission.

According to the *Economic Survey* of the Government of India, 1984-85, "The average growth-rate of industries in the Sixth Plan period amounts to six per cent. In each of the last three plans industrial growth has been lower than the target. This is a matter of concern. Industrial growth-rate needs to be stepped up to about eight per cent a year in the Seventh Plan period if the economy is to grow at the rate of five per cent and adequate employment is to be provided to the ever-growing labour force."

The years also saw heavy burdens on the people through increased taxation and high prices. Wholesale prices on a point to point basis rose by 7.3 per cent in 1982-83, and by 8.3 per cent in 1983-84. Between June 2, 1984, and June 1, 1985, prices rose by 6 / per cent. These increases came on top of an average annual increase of more than eight per cent since 1970-71.

The consumer price-index number for industrial workers (1960=100) reveals constant inflationary pressure on the living standard of the workers and employees. In 1981-82, the annual rate of inflation for a major part of the year ranged between 13 to 11 per cent. In 1982-83, it ranged between 9.8 to 6.8 per cent. In 1983-

84, it was between 13.7 to 10.7 per cent and in the first eight months of 1984-85 it ranged between eight to six per cent. No wonder with this continuous inflationary rise, the value of the rupee has been reduced to 12.89 paise compared to what it was in 1955.

Equally monstrous was the additional burden of taxation in these years. The 1985 Union and Railway Budgets imposed a heavy load of taxation of nearly Rs. 1900 crore on the people while giving relief to the capitalists. Huge deficit budgets by setting in inflationary prices have added to the woes of the people. For 1985-86, the estimated budget deficit is Rs. 3985 crore, more than double the estimated figure of Rs. 1717 crore for the last year. Within six months of the presentation of the budget, the deficit has exceeded 5000 crores of rupees.

The situation is further compounded by the enormous growth of black money engendered by official policies. This parallel economy levies further tributes on the people and the Government policies have proved totally incapable of controlling it.

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

## Unprecedented Crisis

But the full story of the crisis is not revealed by these figures. India never witnessed such a widespread and intense crisis as the present one. Unemployment has reached colossal proportions and registered unemployment exceeds 2.5 crores. Rural unemployment is more than double this figure.

Every year of the Sixth Plan saw an increase in the number of sick industrial units, stamping the Plan years as years of crisis. Since December 1979 the percentage of sick industrial units has increased as follows :

December 1980	.....	9
December 1981	.....	9
December 1982	.....	111.6
December 1983	.....	33

Sickness extends to all major industries—cotton textiles and jute, engineering and electricals, sugar, tea, iron and steel and chemicals.

The crisis extends to industries like coir, cashewnut, handloom and others. Here, again, tens of thousands are out of a job without the possibility of regaining employment. The four years have seen tremendous acceleration of the process of destruction of the traditional small and village industries which sustain millions of people. The process of ruination of these industries gets intensified with the advance of new industries which compete with them and ruin their market. Traditional industries like coir, cashew, handloom, toddy-tapping, sericulture, carpet-weaving, coastal and inland fishing are in deep ruins. The devastation of old cottage industries and traditional village handicrafts uproots millions from their jobs without any hope of alternate employment.

According to the latest report of the Labour Ministry, out of 80,110 sick industrial units, large, medium and small, 7409 were considered by the financing banks as potentially viable while as many as 63,145 were considered as non-viable. Banks have yet to decide about the viability of the remaining 9566 sick industrial units.

Non-viability means these thousands of concerns cannot be revived, so much productive capacity must perish and so many thousands of workers must join the ranks of the permanently unemployed.

This is the havoc done by private capital and the capitalist path to the economy. Private capital has shown itself incapable of using the existing productive capacity. The mismanagement of both the cotton textile and jute industry owners was long ago exposed and the trade union movement demanded their nationalisation and reorganisation. In West Bengal, all trade union centres, all political parties, including the Congress(I), joined in demanding nationalisation of the jute industry. The Government not only turned down the demand but it is giving fresh encouragement to private capital and opening new avenues for its exploitation and manipulation of the economy.

## **Agrarian Crisis**

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

The Party Programme (1964) states "Nearly two decades of Congress rule have proved beyond any shadow of doubt that the

aim and direction of its agrarian policies is not to smash the feudal and semi-feudal fetters on our land relations and thus liberate the peasant from age-old bondage, but to transform the feudal landlords into capitalist landlords and develop a stratum of rich peasants. They want to depend upon the landless and rich peasant section to produce the surplus of agricultural products necessary for capitalist development. They also want to make these sections the main political base of the ruling class in the countryside."

This policy has inevitably led to growing neglect of the interest of the mass of peasants, increase in the incidents of poverty and thereby an inevitable shrinking of the market for industrial goods. The peasant growingly denied of purchasing power over the last four decades can ill-afford to buy industrial goods which leads to under-utilisation of capacity and even collapse of many industries. This impoverishment of the peasant mass has directly affected the Cotton Textile industry which finds itself in crisis for lack of demand though the rural masses go half naked. The fall in the per-capita cloth off take which declined from 13.8 metres in 1979 to 10.8 metres at present, which is below the figure obtaining under British rule, reveals the severity of the economic situation felt by the denuded rural masses left protectionless against inflation, high prices and manipulation of the market by the traders and official purchasers.

Official policy relying on the landlords has led to a tremendous polarisation of wealth, money and land in the rural areas. They have growingly cornered all the benefits and advantages arising from Government schemes and have lifted a big chunk of the money meant for the so-called poverty alleviation programmes. This has increased their capacity to coerce the lower sections, the peasants, the agricultural workers to accept high rents or low wages. The intensity of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation continues as before in most parts of the country. As a result peasant indebtedness has risen to Rs. 13,000 crores, over a greater part of which the peasant has to pay usurious rates of interest.

This type of exploitation is leading to armed attacks of landlords' gang against peasants and agricultural workers in many parts of the country, the most vicious being in Bihar. The running story of murders of Harijans in Bihar is part of that conflict with landlords for land and better wage.

The denuded and deprived peasant has in many places taken to armed decoities and dacoit gangs coming from agrarian com-

munities have multiplied in recent years in a large part of the Hindi speaking and other areas.

But the peasant and the agricultural worker does not bear only the burden of semi-feudal exploiters. He has to bear the burden of the entire capitalist path, the burdens imposed by capitalist planning, its deficit budgets, manipulated prices and its high and rising level of indirect taxation. The antiquated land relations and his enforced backwardness make him a hostage of the capitalist path. His position as a small producer or agricultural worker working on scattered farms makes it difficult for him to resist the imposition of these burdens.

For this vast mass of agricultural workers and peasants there is absolutely no scheme for protecting them against inflation, and every increase in price adversely affects their living conditions. Rising prices accompanied by denial of adequate return for their produce, the fall in prices of commercial crops, the refusal to enact all India legislation providing minimum wages for agricultural workers because of opposition from the landlords, the absence of machinery for implementing the existing legislation and consequent ruination of small and poor peasants and agricultural workers, despite loud talk of the success of anti-poverty programmes, are witnesses to the excruciating burdens imposed on the rural masses by the turn in the economic situation.

Caught in the pincer of rising prices for his inputs and necessities and lower return for the produce of his labour, the peasant is additionally fleeced through increased taxation. State Governments have imposed heavy increases in electricity and water rates while prices of jute and cotton, coconut, tobacco and oilseeds have registered a precipitous fall. The arrears of payment due to sugarcane growers run into crores of rupees and it has led to decline in land under sugarcane cultivation. The jute and cotton growers are already ruined and the cotton grower faces complete ruination with the Government's policy to finance and encourage replacement of cotton by artificial fiber in cloth production.

The floor prices fixed by the Government and the procurement policy do not benefit the producer. During the process of the marketing operations the traders succeed in filching whatever is left from the exploitation of the land. The price which the consumer pays far exceeds what the peasant gets for his produce, the difference being pocketed by the middleman.

The import policies of the Government regarding agricultural

products further ruins large sections of the peasantry. It brings down the prices of their products forcing them into bankruptcy. The results of the entire policy are seen in the fall in the per-capita off take of cloth. There is also fall in the per-capita consumption of the necessities of life.

The steep fall in the price of a number of commercial crops, the failure to ensure a remunerative price for the peasants' produce and the high level of taxation brings the rich peasant also in conflict with the Government and the policies of the ruling party. This shakes the rich peasant base of the Congress(I) nursed over the last three decades. The rising discontent among the peasant mass against official policies is often manipulated by the landlord lobby because of the weakness of the Kisan movement. Peasant demonstrations and gheraos are often organised by the lobby.

But the point to note is that the agrarian crisis and the crisis of the capitalist path is bringing the rich peasant into conflict with the Government and narrows the rural base of the ruling party. The crisis of the capitalist path and its need to find more resources also leads to a push and pull between the two partners of the ruling alliance.

The agrarian crisis manifests in increased rural unemployment which now exceeds forty million. Evicted peasants, agricultural workers, ruined artisans all swell the increasing army of the rural unemployed. Official schemes of rural employment do not touch even a fringe of the problem. Men, women and children from adivasi areas, the worst affected by lack of employment, sell themselves into permanent bondage or in the flesh market. In floods and drought alike, whose visitations often alternate, the peasants, the adivasis, the Harijans, and the agricultural workers are left defenceless, mute victims to the ravages of nature.

It is no wonder therefore that the poverty alleviation programmes are unable to touch the fringe of the problem. Not all the bank loan melas could assure help to the poor who needed credit. Farical sums are advanced as credit. Loans to the poorer sections are below rupees 1,000 and sometimes they do not exceed rupees 65. The national rural employment programme is under a cloud. The Public Accounts Committee has developed serious doubts about its implementation.

## **seventh Plan**

But the ruling party, in its callousness and pursuit of selfish class interests at the expense of the people, is determined to con-

tinue its policies. Its Seventh Five-Year offers no change but a repetition and accentuation of the poverty status of the masses. The planned target is a growth rate of five per cent for the economy which is lower than the growth rate of 5.2 per cent achieved under the Sixth Plan. How much relief the Sixth Plan gave to the people is clear from the harrowing conditions in the Plan years. For the first time under a national plan, a major part, that is 53 per cent of the total investment of 3 lakh 50 thousand crore rupees is to be in the private sector. As usual the Planning Commission makes tall claims of reducing the percentage of those in abject poverty to 27 per cent from 37 per cent which in itself is an underestimate and that 40 million new jobs will be provided resulting in the clearance of a backlog of one million.

Such claims have been made in the past also. They appear fantastic in the background of closed and sick units and the declared policy of the Government to open the country to widespread computerisation and automation and massacre of jobs. The Plan is described as a highly employment-oriented plan but it promises to be a job-killing plan.

There is of course no change in class policies, no attempt to repair the manifest mistakes, shortcomings and injustice of the earlier period. There is no proposal to initiate radical land reforms to smash the land monopoly and redistribute land without which the Indian economy cannot be reorganised and people's progress ensured.

The Plan is handing over the people to the ruthless exploitation of the private sector. The public sector investment will be confined to infrastructure and on-going projects. New industrial projects will be left to the private sector. The economic pressure of the World Bank and the IMF has now led to a virtual surrender of Planning to their dictates.

To fill the resource gap of 40,000 crores of rupees there will be both huge deficit financing and another load of taxation on the common man.

The Plan projects an annual export growth rate of 6.8 per cent and an import growth rate of 5.8 per cent. It further claims that the debt service ratio will be under 20 per cent of export earnings.

These estimates conceal the likely dependence of the economy on foreign borrowings and export earnings. According to the latest World Bank report on India, the country cannot achieve its objective of five per cent growth without borrowing during the five

years of the Plan 18 billion dollars in commercial loans, a five-fold increase over the previous years. According to the Bank's projection, India must double its exports during the five years to meet the requirement of five per cent growth. If exports fail and India is bound to borrow more, its debt service ratio will reach 40 per cent. This will reduce India to the same position as some of the worst-affected Latin American countries.

This is the prospect which the Seventh Plan holds before the people—increased exploitation, increased misery and danger to the independence of the Indian economy.

## **Rajiv Government's Economic Policy**

This prospect has been formally accepted in the newly announced economic policy of the Rajiv Government to promote advanced technology and quick industrial development. Its basic postulates are removal of controls, freedom for the private sector, denigration and growing disbandment of the public sector, opening the Indian market to multinationals, gearing the Indian economy to exports to Western countries and scuttling of meaningful planning.

In conformity with this new outlook, 25 industries have been delicensed, the import policy has been liberalised to facilitate the entry of multinationals, many duties on imported goods reduced, big tax-concessions amounting to one thousand crore rupees have been announced for the benefit of the industrialists. A number of concerns are now freed from the restrictions of the MRTP Act with the decision to raise the asset limit of the companies subject to the Act from 20 crores to 100 crores of rupees. The recently announced new fiscal policy in December, 1985 offers further encouragement, incentive and assurance to the private sector.

The Arjun Sengupta Committee report which the Government dares not publish, provides details for the implementation of this policy.

The new economic policy will adversely affect a number of established industries and ruin some of them. This will bring a section of industry in conflict with the official policies. In view of the hard terms of borrowing abroad and the strain on the balance of payments position, the Government of India encourages remittances for investment from non-resident Indians. Some of these investors however come here only to capture well-established industries and not to start new ventures and add to the industrial capacity.

Apart from this there is a danger that multinationals also may try to penetrate our economy under the mask of non-resident Indian capital. Official vigilance regarding both these aspects is necessary. But it is difficult to expect it considering the trend of the newly announced economic policy.

This policy, adopted under the stress of the crisis of the capitalist path, if allowed to be implemented will lead to abject dependence of the Indian economy on Western countries and a terrific load of exploitation on the common people to satisfy the demands of foreign multinationals and Indian monopolists. With complete insecurity of jobs, unemployment and destitution, people's livelihood as well as their economic independence is being endangered by Rajiv Gandhi's policies. Its anti-national and anti-people character brings the entire democratic forces into open conflict with the ruling party urging them to work for its replacement.

### **Authoritarian Drive**

The sharpened contradiction engendered by the reactionary policies finds its expression in the continued attacks on the democratic rights of the people and further unfolding of the authoritarian drive. It further finds its expression in the existence of non-Congress(I) Ministries and, above all, the continued existence and resistance of the Left Front Ministries to the attack of the ruling party.

The ruling party and the ruling classes cannot put through their anti-mass economic policies without attacking the democratic norms and rights all round. While the right to vote is exercised and Parliament and Legislatures continue to function, democracy is crushed at the grass-root levels. Even the right to vote is often not allowed to be freely exercised. Attempts are made to rig elections by forcible capturing of polling booths. The Election Commission had to admit that the recent Bihar Assembly elections were not free and fair.

Legislatures are often made irrelevant and Congress(I) Ministries continue to rule on the basis of Ordinances. The Ordinances are never placed before the Legislatures but are reissued again and again. The Government and the ruling party continue to concentrate more power at the Centre and in violation of the principles of federalism curtail the powers of the States. This leads to fissiparous tendencies and provides opportunities to opportunist politicians to make regional and parochial appeals. These policies

being anti-democratic weaken national unity. These attacks are part of the authoritarian drive to concentrate all powers in the hands of the ruling party at the Centre.

The dismissal of the N.T. Rama Rao Ministry by Smt. Gandhi's Government revealed to what extent the authoritarian party could go to maintain its monopoly of power. Only the wide bands called by Opposition and Left parties in several States and massive resistance of the people of Andhra Pradesh could force the ruling party to withdraw.

Deeply affected by corruption, jobbery and nepotism, influenced by black-marketeers and smugglers some of whom carry a lot of influence with the Congress(I) leaders, with criminals and charge-sheeters figuring in Congress(I) lists of election candidates, the administration is becoming a curse for the common man. In India today the ordinary individual has hardly any chance when pitted against the criminals, gangsters or police. The stories of rape in police custody and murders in police stations continued to multiply. But barring transfers or suspensions of the guilty officials hardly anything is done. It is a common complaint in the capital of India that officers in charge of police stations often refuse to register complaints against criminals or persons with social pull, and leave the ordinary citizen totally defenceless against intimidations and encroachment on his rights. The bustees, the slums of big cities, the localities in the periphery of big towns are directly ruled by groups of anti-socials in league with the police. This parallel Government functions openly and the people live in terror of anti-socials.

In all Congress(I)-ruled States honest and bold journalists and correspondents who dare expose the police or the criminals run the risk of threat to their lives. This is an attempt to browbeat the Press and turn it into an agency of the police department. In Gujarat, during the anti-reservation agitation, the police raided and burnt down the office and the printing press of a well-known daily, *Gujarat Samachar*.

The Central government is calculatedly utilising the radio, television and other mass media under its control to serve its partisan interests.

Every effort is being made to ensure the subordination of the Judiciary to the Executive and the needs of the ruling party.

The parliamentary system of a newly liberated country following the capitalist path is unable to provide freedom from bureauc-

matic maladministration to the common citizen. The deterioration of the administration underlines the crumbling of the norms of democracy and exposes the strengthening of the authoritarian trend.

The collapse of the norms of administration carries the conflict to the grass-root levels, to the non-political sections who are not normally drawn into political struggle and activities. Spontaneous action against the police and the authorities led by local people are becoming more frequent. It is due to the incapacity of the Opposition parties and their neglect that they are not converted into an ever-rising protest against Congress(I) misrule. The uncommitted mass has started rising in protests.

The authoritarian drive expresses itself in a blatant manner when confronted by the organised forces of the democratic movement.

The NSA, the re-enactment of ESMA, the Special Courts Act and several measures enacted by Congress(I) State Governments, the attacks on the Press and journalists, all underline the intensity of the authoritarian drive. The bureaucrats and officials are, besides, using the freedom given by the Supreme Court judgement in relation to the dismissal of Government employees, to strike at the root of the trade union organisation and create a sense of insecurity of service.

The four years, besides, have seen widespread repression on mass struggles. Shooting of striking workers, raiding of their houses by goondas and police, molestation of their women, false cases against their leaders on charges of murder and arson, use of the NSA and ESMA to suppress trade unions and continuous prohibition of meetings, all have been used to suppress the workers' and the employees' struggles.

As far as the peasants, agricultural workers, the harijans and tribals are concerned, atrocities have increased under a Government which promises them salvation through reservation of jobs. These sections are attacked by dacoits, by police and by landlords' goondas. There is a total collapse of civil liberties so far as they are concerned.

It is against this situation that massive strikes, bandhs and protests are taking place in the cities, in industrial towns while spontaneous protests leading to bloodshed are seen in rural areas. Compared with four years back, these protests are more far-flung and far more militant and intense leading to clashes with the police.

The coming period promises to be a more stormy period if the separate mass protests are channelised into a single direction.

## **Contradiction with Imperialists**

The sharpened contradiction between imperialism and the Indian people which was emphasised in the Vijayawada resolution is further intensified and is taking on an interventionist form as is clear from the assassination of Indira Gandhi, the widespread espionage network in the country, the encouragement and help given to the Khalistanis in the USA and the U.K., the refusal of the two Governments to take steps against anti-Indian terrorist activities, the supply of sophisticated arms to Pakistan, the use of the Tamil question in Sri Lanka to rouse chauvinism against India and the attempt to surround India with a ring of hostile Governments.

The USA openly encourages Pakistan to build nuclear weapons to pressurise India. It encourages the setting up of training camps in Pakistan to train Khalistani terrorists. Internally it helps the divisive forces to undermine Indian unity. The religious fundamentalists—Hindu, Sikh and Muslim—are patronised by it. It exploits the caste divisions to bribe and nurture subservient leaders. It supports and encourages Right-wing parties to demand a change in the foreign policy. It persistently works for the dismemberment of India.

A network of voluntary organisations and certain Christian missions funded by imperialist agencies are actively working among the tribals, rural poor and women. They are being utilised by imperialism to divide the toiling people and sow the seeds of separatism.

But neither the ruling party nor many bourgeois Opposition parties expose its machinations and warn the people. The big bourgeois Press ignores the conspiracies. The ruling party is afraid to tell the truth to the people and mobilise them against it. Several bourgeois Opposition parties turn a blind eye to it considering it as the headache of the ruling party. The masses are kept in ignorance of the danger from imperialism. The assassination of Smt. Gandhi could be easily converted into an internecine conflict instead of it being made an issue for organising the people against the imperialist conspiracy. The responsibility to discharge the task of fighting these conspiracies falls on the CPI(M) and Left parties.

The interventionist activities are likely to take an intensified form with the implementation of the newly announced economic

policy of the Rajiv Government which opens the country to the multinationals.

## Foreign Policy

The Party Programme observes : "The foreign policy of the Government of India naturally reflects the dual character of our bourgeoisie, of opposition as well as compromise and collaboration with imperialism.... The Indian bourgeoisie for its very development needs world peace and is opposed to world war."

This understanding holds good today also, though it is to be combined with the important changes and developments of recent times. These relate to a greater desire to accommodate the Western pressure on economic matters and a sharpened conflict with imperialism with its machinations for destabilisation.

The immediate consequences of the newly announced economic policy are not going to be confined to the economic sphere. In the very nature of things, they will affect the foreign policy of the country. The sharpened conflict of imperialism with the Indian people exercises constant pressure on the non-aligned foreign policy of India. Every lever is utilised to relax and soften the policy of friendship with the Soviet Union and loosen the fraternal bonds established by the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship.

In this background, the continuation of India's policy of non-alignment by the Rajiv Government, belying Western expectations, reflects the class interests and needs of the bourgeoisie. At the same time it serves the national interests of the Indian people in their fight against imperialism. The CPI(M) has always been a strong advocate of the non-alignment policy endeavouring to strengthen it and make it consistent and raising its voice against vacillations and hesitations.

Concessions in the sphere of foreign policy, like those in the economic sphere, would have meant a big setback for the country.

The Rajiv Government has reasserted its adherence to non-alignment, stressed the importance of friendship with the Soviet Union and of the Treaty of Indo-Soviet Friendship, reiterated support to Vietnam, Kampuchea and Palestine and its stand on Afghanistan. It stands for developing warm and friendly relations with People's China and takes steps in that direction. It expresses its opposition to war, opposes the Star Wars projects of Reagan, and firmly affirms its support for peace. It has declined to accept the U.S. offer of arms and new technology loaded with conditions

like the pursuit clause and unilateral right to the USA to withdraw supply of arms and spare parts.

The Government is vigilant about the supply of sophisticated arms to Pakistan which are necessary for the purpose of aggression, and is taking counter-steps to maintain the efficiency of India's armed forces. It exposes Pakistan's plan for building a nuclear arsenal, a plan being carried through with the help of the USA and other imperialist Powers.

At the same time it expresses its desire to settle all disputes with its neighbours including Pakistan peacefully. It throws its weight on the side of peaceful settlement of the disputes between the Sri Lankan Tamils and the Sri Lanka Government.

All these help our Party and the anti-imperialist forces in India to fight the imperialist conspiracies, the war danger and defend peace and the policy of non-alignment.

A dangerous weakness of the present situation is that the mass of our people are not yet aware of the importance of non-alignment. As yet it does not have a strong conscious popular base. The ruling party refuses to make non-alignment a matter of concern to the people. A number of bourgeois Opposition parties are directly or indirectly opposed to it, and demand a genuine non-alignment policy which means a tilt in the direction of the West. It is therefore the task of our Party to popularise among the wide masses the significance of non-alignment for our country and create a force capable of defending it against vacillations and compromise.

Following the anti-imperialist traditions of our country, and keeping its own class interests in view, the Government of India has been pursuing a non-aligned foreign policy. The threat of encirclement by U.S. military bases and hostile neighbours armed and supported by the USA, has made it all the more necessary for the Government to pursue a policy of peace and friendship with the USSR.

All this meets the interests of the people. But in view of the circumstances and weaknesses noted, the policy cannot be taken for granted. Vacillations and concessions are likely to arise out of the situation. Therefore the people of our country should not and cannot be complacent as at present, leaving non-alignment as an exclusive concern of the Government of India. It is the task of the Party to ensure that the people exercise a constant vigilance on the performance of our foreign policy.

## **Foreign Policy and Party's Tasks**

The tasks of the CPI(M) extend beyond defence of non-alignment. The Party exposes the two super-Powers talk indulged in by the ruling bourgeois and Opposition bourgeois parties. It exposes U.S. moves for war, its Star Wars project, and exposes the imperialist camp as a camp of war-mongers. It supports the peace proposals of the USSR. It unmaskes the U.S. ambitions and moves for global domination, exposes the imperialist Powers' patronage of the racist regime of South Africa, their alliance with Israel and their machinations to divide the Arab world and deny justice to the Palestinians, and their support to the reactionary regime in South Korea. It exposes the U.S. plans of intervention and counter-revolution in Afghanistan. The Party exposes imperialist intervention wherever it takes place. It lends its full support to the struggle of the people of Nicaragua, Chile, El Salvadore, Namibia and others fighting U.S. imperialism. It supports the liberation struggle of the people of Western Sahara led by the Polisario. It supports the liberation struggle of the people of New Kaledonia led by the Kanak Liberation Front. The Party works for developing warm relations between India and People's China and for strengthening the bonds of friendship between India and all Socialist countries.

The CPI(M), while remaining vigilant against the conspiracies of Pakistan's ruler, works for friendship between the two peoples, supports the democratic movement in Pakistan and strives to maintain peace in the subcontinent and fight chauvinism of every variety against neighbours.

The CPI(M) extends its vigorous support to the just demands of the Sri Lankan Tamils to protect their ethnic identity and their rights as a minority and condemns the Lankan Government for its repression and barbarous acts of cruelty resulting in massacres of innocent people. The CPI(M) calls for a peaceful political settlement of the dispute. The Party will continue to rouse the people of India to secure justice for the Sri Lankan Tamils within the framework of the integrity and unity of Sri Lanka.

## **Challenge to National Unity- Opportunism of Congress(I) Policies**

The Indian people have to carry on an intense fight against the danger of one-party rule in the midst of serious challenges to national unity from the imperialists and the secessionists and the undermining done by the compromising policy of the ruling party

and the opportunist outlook of several bourgeois Opposition parties. The danger to national unity, the challenge of divisive forces has increased many-fold during the last four years and the fight for democratic advance is inconceivable without a fight against the forces which promote disintegration.

The entire North-Eastern region is full of discontent, insurgency and secessionist challenges. Manipur, Nagaland, Mizoram are strong centres of insurgency. Armed bands trained in Bangladesh operate in Tripura to kill and maim innocent people. Reactionaries, Christian missions and foreign agencies are doing everything to spread the secessionist sentiment and feeling. The ruling party and its Government are unable to meet this challenge politically. The conditions of extreme backwardness imposed on the region constitute a breeding ground for insurgency and secessionist movements. The Assam settlement with its sacrifice of the citizenship rights of lakhs is producing a destabilising effect on the region. There are now demands that a similar provision should be made for these States depriving thousands of their citizenship rights. Running the administration with the help of military or paramilitary forces, or with the help of reactionaries are the two ways open to the Congress(I) to meet the situation. Both add to the strength of secessionist movement.

The situation in Kashmir is also serious with the pro-Pakistani elements capable of a lot of mischief.

The secessionist challenges in Punjab and Asam have put into the forefront the danger of disintegration, of dismemberment. The imperialist hand behind this is no longer concealed. Imperialist agencies succeed in mobilising and unleashing these forces utilising the weaknesses and shortcomings of the capitalist path, the uneven development of regions, the economic stagnation and struggle for jobs, the regional, communal and religious separatism which cannot be eradicated by a bourgeois-landlord rule pursuing the capitalist path. The capitalist path has become a big source of danger to national unity.

The ruling party revealed its bankruptcy and opportunism in face of the challenge of the secessionists. It brought Punjab to the brink of a disaster and the people had to pay a heavy price in lives and sufferings and suppression of democracy. In both these States the ruling party totally failed to meet the challenge politically and wage a fight to defend national unity.

The ruling party and its spokesmen were nowhere to be seen in

the political struggle to isolate the secessionists and rouse the masses in defence of national unity. Abandoning the political and ideological fight, the ruling party and its Government relied only on administrative measures and played into the hands of the divisive forces.

In the Punjab struggle the Congress(I) party, besides, tried to outbid the Akali Party in appealing to Sikh feelings, by pandering to Bhindranwale who was described as a saint by Rajiv Gandhi himself, when the saint's minions were murdering innocent people.

In Assam, neither the Congress(I) leaders at the Centre nor in the State dared expose the U.S. Ambassador and his agents who were frequently visiting the State to fan the fire of separatism and financing the movement. The Congress(I) and its Government could do nothing to prevent it because it had already lost its rapport with the Assamese people.

The association of the Congress(I) with the TUJS in Tripura in the Lok Sabha elections and the recent elections to the Tribal Autonomous District Council, constitutes a scandalous example of the unprincipled conduct of the ruling party and its greed for the ministerial fleshpots.

Tripura is under constant attack from the secessionists who are trained in Bangladesh. Because of the anti-tribal policies of earlier Congress(I) State Governments, the entire tribal people stand alienated from the Congress(I). It was only the CPI(M) that could maintain the unity of the tribals and non-tribals and maintain the idea of national unity. The Congress(I), to give strength to its demand for the dismissal of the CPI(M)-led Ministry, supported the secessionist TUJS in both elections. The secessionists were able to secure a number of seats in the elections to the Autonomous District Council. The CPI(M) could secure a majority in the Council, otherwise the newly elected council would have passed into the control of the secessionists.

In Assam, Punjab and Tripura, the CPI(M) held aloft the banner of national unity fighting the secessionists politically among the masses. In Assam and Tripura they had to pay a heavy price. Many had to sacrifice their lives. Many had to face the terrorist attacks. The fighting cadre represented the Party's line to challenge the secessionist and divisive forces and defend national unity.

The Assam and Punjab agitations reveal the reactionary and dangerous role of those who, in utter disregard of national unity,

put forward regional and communal claims. They become playthings of imperialist conspirators.

The Assam agitationists pretended to fight for the cause of the Assamese people, for Assamese identity, pitted the people against national unity and helped the propagation of the Project Brahma-putra hatched by the USA.

The Akali leadership with its communal appeal in the name of Sikh religion while putting forward certain democratic demands, its calculated refusal to draw the Hindu masses into the agitation and make it the common movement of the Punjabi people, lost the initiative to the secessionists supported by the imperialists.

At a much later stage the Akali leadership saw the danger and showed the courage to demarcate itself from the terrorists which made the accord possible. Nonetheless the opportunism of the Akali leadership did tremendous damage to the cause of national unity.

The Punjab accord is welcome no doubt but it will not immediately repair the great damage done by the selfish policies of the Congress(I). The terms of the accord show that it was possible two years back when the CPI(M) had suggested a basis of settlement. Later on the Opposition parties endorsed it and the Akali leadership was willing to accept it. But the Congress(I), in pursuance of its hunt for ministerial power in the State, refused to endorse it after first agreeing to accept it. This led to the subsequent traumatic developments, the initiative passing to the secessionist forces and leading to avoidable loss of lives.

The Punjab accord shows how the CPI(M) was taking a correct and realistic stand based on democratic principles and defending national unity. It put forward the demands which are now included in the accord and it called on the Government to distinguish between the traditional Akali leadership and the extremist secessionist group. The accord was made possible because the Government accepted the realist proposals.

The Assam settlement reveals the opportunist policies of the ruling party, now isolated from large sections of the Assamese people. To appease the agitationists, the Central Government has sacrificed the citizenship rights of tens of thousands of Indian citizens. This has created a sense of insecurity among thousands belonging to the minority communities. The terms of the settlement will have a profound destabilising effect, disruptive of national unity, in the North-Eastern region.

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

R.S.S. and Hindu communalists forces are aggressively rousing communal passions.

Recent events have witnessed the fractionalisation of the police as in Gujarat and Bhiwandi in Maharashtra, on caste and communal lines. Its members are deeply affected by the caste and communal virus; they are not trained to overcome this consciousness. They aid and abet communal and caste violence during riots, destroying the image of a secular administration. The police behaviour in Delhi during the riots following Indira Gandhi's assassination, not only shattered the secular image of the administration, it inflicted almost irreparable damage on national unity.

The Congress(I) party retreats before the obscurantist challenge coming from Muslim orthodoxy in Kerala to save its coalition Ministry. Faced with fundamentalist opposition to the Shah Bano judgement, the Congress(I) is retreating and compromising with obscurantism. To gain electoral advantage it virtually unleashed a caste war in Gujarat which led to a prolonged strife among the toiling people creating barriers between citizen and citizen. Never since independence was such a long caste conflict seen involving tens of thousands and bringing to a standstill all democratic activities. In the post assassination riots in Delhi and other places, Congress(I) leaders played an active role.

The continuation of the Congress(I) in power not only endangers democracy; it endangers national unity rendering the nation helpless before the attacks of the secessionists and the obscurantist divisive forces based on religion and caste.

The line followed by the bourgeois Opposition parties also contributes to this. Some of them supported the anti-reservation agitation in Gujarat. Many of them looked on the secessionist danger in Punjab and Assam only as a headache of the Congress Government and even supported these elements as in Assam. They refused to take a stand against divisive forces.

This outlook and policy has to be fought at every step as part of the struggle to defeat the authoritarian danger.

## **Toilers' Unity Attacked**

As the crisis deepens every effort is made to disrupt toilers'

unity. The ruling classes and all vested interests are afraid of it. It is obvious that without fighting this disruption and firmly establishing toilers' unity the bourgeois-landlord classes cannot be ousted from power and the way cleared for marching to People's Democracy and a new socio-economic order.

In recent times a big challenge to toilers' unity has emerged in the shape of conflict over reservation of jobs in Government services for certain communities. The recent anti-reservation agitation in Gujarat has demonstrated the havoc that can be done to toilers' unity by such a conflict. The conflict is intensified because the issue of reservation has become a pawn in the power politics of bourgeois parties. It is freely used both by the ruling party and several bourgeois Opposition parties to gather electoral support. This was quite clear in the recent anti-reservation struggle in Gujarat.

This concerted attack on toilers' unity has to be combated and defeated by the democratic forces.

The Party's position regarding provision of reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has been explained in the Vijayawada resolution, which also underlines the limitations of reservation and the class purpose it serves. The Party cannot forget this while supporting reservation.

A much bigger problem is likely to arise in the near future with the demand for implementation of the Mandal Commission's recommendations regarding other backward classes. Extension of reservation facilities to these sections led to an explosive situation in Gujarat after the elections.

The sections that are being pitted against each other are not two castes but toilers from different castes, toilers whose livelihood depends on securing a job.

Here, again, reservation for economically weaker sections in other backward communities has to be supported while every effort is to be made that the toiling sections are not pitted against each other. In some States there is agreement already in regard to reservation of jobs for several communities. This should not be disturbed.

## **Solution Lies in Unity of Toilers**

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

problem of harijans, adivasis and other backward communities cannot be solved by suggesting more or less reservation. The solution lies in the growing unity of all sections of toilers today torn apart by reservation.

Unless our agrarian movement embraces the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and the OBCs and inspires them to demand the overhauling of the agrarian relations and the right to work, the evil effects of conflicts over reservation cannot be overcome. In the cities the working class movement must be drawn more and more into the fight against the injustices done to these sections and demand a change in the entire agrarian set-up. This will enable it to fight the reformist illusions created by reservation.

To move therefore in the correct direction it is necessary to carry on consistent ideological propaganda against the caste system among the masses of non-reserved castes. There can hardly be any chance of uniting the two sections unless the masses from the upper castes realise the tyranny that the caste system practises over downtrodden communities.

The battle for toilers' unity is an integral part of the fight against the disruptive and opportunist policies of the Congress(I). Without fighting these policies the authoritarian party cannot be defeated and the danger of one-party rule cannot be eliminated.

## **Culture and Education**

The new educational policy of the Government shows the same characteristics as its economic policy. In the name of improving the quality of education and taking the country to computer-age education, education is to be restricted to narrow sections, leaving the mass of people to their fate. Modernised and computerised industry requires a certain supply of highly trained personnel, and this is to be guaranteed through the proposed policy.

The Government itself has made a complete mess of the country's educational system. And now it uses the present rotten condition of education to impose another system which fails to do justice to the problems of educating the millions. No one can deny the necessity of a basic change in the present system and suiting it to the needs of modern development. But the Government's proposals are based on denial of education to millions and therefore are anti-people. It seeks to deny the democratic rights of students, teachers and non-teaching employees.

The new proposals consist of a virtual repudiation of the aim of abolition of illiteracy, abandonment of universalisation of elementary education, discouragement and restriction of higher education, for the purpose devaluating primary education and delinking jobs from academic degrees; suggestions for increased college fees, refusal to open new colleges; encouragement to private parties to open colleges—which will be permitted to fix higher tuition charges and capitation fees; open centres of excellence, i.e., provision for model schools at great expense in districts. These centres will attract select students mostly coming from affluent sections. To cover the fact that it is a scheme for education for a select few, the Scheduled Castes are promised reservation of seats.

The core of the plan is that the Government gives up its responsibility to fight illiteracy and provide opportunities for extension of higher education. This will have dangerous consequences for the cause of national unity and integration.

Illiteracy, ignorance, lack of higher education—are today the breeding ground for religious orthodoxy, communalism and casteism; the breeding ground for divisive and separatist forces. One weapon to fight them is the spread of education among the millions. But the Congress(I) Government is deliberately abandoning this weapon. This only helps the forces of disintegration.

All this is done under the excuse of lack of finances. All capitalist governments seek to meet the economic difficulties by attacking social welfare spending. Our Union Government is no exception.

The crisis engulfing the country leaves no fabric of society untouched. The distortions in the field of culture and every other intellectual pursuit are appalling, creating complete chaos in these fields. The bourgeois-landlord ruling classes, far from waging a struggle against medieval and obscurantist ideas, have utilised them to buttress their class rule. While the need for a completely secular education is utmost, a large number of educational institutions continue to be controlled by religious organisations. The Government-controlled Radio and Television, the various academies, etc., as well as the monopoly-controlled Press are used for the dissemination and propaganda of decadent, antediluvian, obscurantist and revivalist ideas. Also at work are imperialist agencies aggressively propagating alien ideas to hamper the growth of a democratic culture.

As against these reactionary trends in culture, however, there is a definite trend of a positively democratic nature. Increasingly large sections of writers, artists, scientists, intellectuals and others are taking democratic positions. Their role in the struggle for creating a democratic culture is valuable.

The Party must carry on a persistent struggle against the decadent and obscurantist trends in culture in unity with all those who adopt a progressive democratic position.

The Congress Government's failure to evolve a health policy geared to provide effective medical aid has resulted in millions being deprived of the elementary right of good health and prevention from deadly but curable diseases. The Drug policy of the Centre allows the big multinational drug companies to fleece the people and make medicines beyond the reach of the common man. The Centre has consistently refused to implement the recommendations of the Haathi Committee report for nationalisation of the multinational drug firms.

## Centre-State Relations

The inherent authoritarian trend aggravates the Centre-State relations question. To protect its monopoly of power the ruling party requires greater and greater concentration of power at the Centre. The appointment of the Sarkaria Commission was only a dilatory move. The Congress(I) Central Government has no intention to release the Centre's grip over power and resources.

The Centre-State relations problem has become an important issue in the struggle against one-party dictatorship. It affects the basic rights of Opposition parties under the Constitution. The struggle against the arbitrary use of powers by the Centre secures wide mass support isolating the Central Government and the ruling party more effectively than many other issues.

The dismissal of the N.T. Rama Rao Ministry expressed a sharpened conflict between the Opposition and the ruling party and was regarded as an attempt to turn the Constitution into an instrument of a one-party dictatorship. The conflict between the ruling party and the bourgeois Opposition parties will continue to sharpen on the question of Centre-State relations, though at present some efforts are afoot to avoid confrontation between the non-Congress(I) bourgeois Opposition Ministries and the Centre.

The restructuring of Centre-State relations is not only an integral part of the struggle against the authoritarian drive, it is

vitaly connected with maintenance of national unity. The violation of the federal principles and the attempt to impose a unitary structure undermines national unity, leads to disruptive and separatist tendencies among the people. It is therefore urgent to carry forward the struggle to restructure Centre-State relations. To maintain national unity it is necessary to have a proper relationship between the Centre and the States, under which the States are not left to the charity of the Centre, their autonomy is protected, and the Centre is strong enough to perform effectively its task of national defence, planning, foreign policy, economic affairs, etc., concerning the whole country.

The CPI(M) consistently fights for this understanding of the Centre-State relationship which strengthens national unity.

### **Vendetta Against Left Front Governments**

The sharpened conflict in connection with Centre-State relations is seen in the relations between the Centre and the ruling party on the one hand, and the Left Front Governments of West Bengal and Tripura headed by the CPI(M) on the other.

The Congress(I) Government at the Centre continues to attack these Governments by creating financial difficulties, refusing to release funds in time and obstructing the industrial development of the States. It withholds assent to legislative measures passed in the interest of the peasantry and the people, measures which give immediate relief to the people at the expense of the vested interests. Presidential assent to important agrarian Bills is withheld for years. The entire aim is to obstruct the mass programme of the Ministries, the programme of giving relief to the masses, and to sabotage the efficiency and the growing popularity of the Ministries.

This is accompanied by the State Congress(I) parties making every effort to create law and order problems for the Ministries. Several hundred Party members have been murdered in goonda attacks which can be traced to the local Congress(I) party. Besides, a constant campaign of slander is run to denigrate the image of the Ministry and propagate that law and order has ceased to exist in these two States.

The attacks against the two Left Front Governments constitute an expression of the class struggle between the bourgeois-landlord Government at the Centre and the masses suffering from its policies. Every step forward of the two Left Front Governments consolidates Left unity, increases the influence of the Left forces

over the people and becomes a weapon for a change in the correlation among the people. It isolates the ruling party from the people and helps to release them from the influence of the bourgeois landlord parties. This is extremely dangerous for the ruling party and the class interest it pursues. It therefore carries on a determined vendetta against the two Ministries. The accentuation of the conflict on this issue in the two States should be viewed in this context. Its special position in the class struggle should not be missed.

The defence of the Left Front Governments against increased Congress(I) attacks forms a vital part of the struggle against the authoritarian drive. The entire Left and democratic forces are to be mobilised to strengthen these advance outposts of democracy.

### **Dissensions in Congress(I)**

The struggle against the authoritarian trend is to be carried on in conditions of growing internal weaknesses of the ruling party. This is a favourable factor for the anti-authoritarian forces.

The Congress(I) no doubt succeeded in improving its image among sections of the people with the expectation that Rajiv Gandhi will do something new. But this has not stopped the process of inner decay. The improved image has not stopped internal-in-fights and dissensions in the ruling party. Its State Ministries are far from stable. It should not be thought that the majority in Parliament is either stable and there will not be cracks in it and the Congress(I) unity under Rajiv Gandhi will endure.

Besides, the Congress(I) is corroded by corruption with anti-social elements having a lot of influence with many of the party's leaders.

The Anti-Defection Law passed by the Rajiv Government was recognition of the fact that the solid majority may not last. The process of disintegration inside the Congress(I), temporarily checked after the assassination of Indira Gandhi, has already started. Bihar, Maharashtra, Gujarat are a few examples. Shifting of Chief Ministers inconvenient to the Centre has also begun.

The push-and-pull inside the bourgeois-landlord alliance also sometimes intensifies dissensions and leads to shifting of Chief Ministers.

Dissidence and divergence of interest in the ruling party have reached such a stage that it is incapable of functioning democratically. Pursuit of authoritarian practices in the Government is accompanied by authoritarian practices in the organisation itself.

Its elections are not held for years. The State Ministries and the State Committees are in conflict. It is clear that if the Left and democratic forces mobilise their full strength, the ruling party will prove incapable of giving a cohesive political fight and will have to rely exclusively on the administration.

## **Bourgeois Opposition Parties**

The elections once more revealed that the main mass of the electorate is divided between the various bourgeois-landlord parties. The Opposition bourgeois parties though routed at the polls because of the extraordinary circumstances under which the elections were fought, commanded a big percentage of the vote. In two States, notwithstanding the all-India swing in favour of the Congress(I) they were able to win majorities in the elections.

The Vijayawada Congress pointed to the intensification of the contradiction between the ruling party and the bourgeois Opposition parties. The subsequent period which saw the dismissal and restoration of the NTR Ministry proved the correctness of the formulation.

Communal parties like the BJP or the Muslim League, with their communal and anti-national lines, with their pro-imperialist and anti-Communist outlook play a disruptive role, and have to be fought.

The secular bourgeois Opposition parties have not yet recovered from the shock of defeat in the last election. With an immediate prospect of election not being there some leaders of the Opposition parties are taking a conciliatory attitude to the Congress(I) and the Central Government. The latter is also trying to woo some Opposition parties by talking about national consensus, consultations with Opposition parties, etc. The aim is to isolate the Left.

The limitations of these parties regarding foreign policy, awareness about the imperialist danger, etc., have already been noted. The recently announced economic policy of the Government which our Party is determined to oppose and defeat, evokes a favourable response from them.

Nonetheless, on the important question of Centre-State relations, on the question of high prices and taxation of the people, on the question of democratic liberties and rights, they defend the people. The strong protests lodged by these parties against Rajiv Gandhi's justification of the Emergency shows that they are alive

to the situation and the manipulations of the ruling party. The recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission are bound to be much below the expectation of the Opposition Ministries and that itself is going to be a source of discord.

Protests and movements on some specific issues along with these parties will rouse wide sections of the people. The charter of demands framed at the Calcutta conclave can constitute a platform for this broad resistance.

The Party's work during the last four years to develop broad opposition to the authoritarian régime has already produced results. The broader meetings attended by several Chief Ministers created confidence among the people and served to undermine the Congress(I) influence. The peak of Congress(I) isolation was reached during the protest agitation against the dismissal of the NTR Ministry which saw huge bandhs in several States.

## **The CPI(M) & Its Intervention**

The extraordinary situation created by Indira Gandhi's assassination distorted the election results but it should not lead to the underestimation of our struggle to protect national unity, expose imperialist machinations, unite the Left and democratic forces, organise broad resistance to the developing authoritarian trend, isolate the ruling party and increase the influence of the Left forces.

It is beyond doubt that the all-India prestige of the CPI(M) has increased and the importance and influence of the Left forces have grown in Indian politics. It could not be otherwise because the CPI(M) and the Left Fronts in Tripura and West Bengal have presented an impregnable barrier to the Congress(I) getting into power in these States during the last eight years. The solid achievements of the two Ministries in the interests of the people and above all the winning of the parliamentary elections in the two States have led to a growing confidence in the CPI(M) and the united Left forces.

The combined achievements of these two Ministries, the agitations in these two States and Kerala, the fight put up by the Tamil Nadu Committee against Tamil chauvinism in relation to Sri Lanka developments and in the elections, the advance in Andhra Pradesh during the agitation against NTR's dismissal and in the election battle, the great fight put up by our State Committees and Party units against divisive forces and imperialist agencies in

Assam and Punjab are all contributions to the struggle for changing the correlation of forces.

The struggle was aided by the independent activity of the Party in all States, by the activities of the State Committees and mass organisations which took a frontal position in fighting the divisive and communal forces unleashed after Indira's assassination. Notable is the role of our Kashmir unit in fighting the fanaticism of the Jamat-e-Islami. Our fight in defence of the people's interests, our intervention during communal riots on behalf of the minority, our fight against high prices and lock-outs, our agitations and jail bhara andolan to protect the interests of the peasantry were further contributions to changing the correlation of forces. The election results were certainly not a correct measure of our activities in these directions.

The achievements of our Left Front Ministries, the quality of these achievements in comparison with those of the Congress(I) and non-Congress(I) Governments, have added to this process of change in the correlation of forces. These achievements relate to ensuring complete civil liberties and democratic rights of the people, refusal to use exceptional legislations like the NSA, Preventive Detention Act and ESMA and other measures against the people, active intervention in industrial disputes in the interests of the workers, assistance to the unemployed, recruitment to jobs through Employment Exchanges so that no favouritism is exercised, meeting the demands of the State Government employees and police, land legislation in favour of the tillers and distribution of land, implementation of Minimum Wages Act for agricultural workers, special attention to the problems of the adivasis and harijans ensuring their percentage in services, formation of the Tribal Autonomous District in Tripura, the activation of the panchayats, a progressive secular educational policy and above all maintaining and strengthening the feeling of national unity among the people.

The two Governments intervened decisively and firmly in communal riots punishing the disturbers of unity. Their successes are due to the fact that for the implementation of their policies they did not depend only on the administration. They called for and got the willing cooperation of the people for the implementation of their policies.

Notwithstanding these achievements and the spread of its influence, the CPI(M) has to take note of its reverses during the

elections, which for the time being disturbed the course of Congress(I) isolation. The Central Committee of the Party reviewed the election results and while noting the special circumstances under which the elections were fought, pointed out some of our shortcomings during and before the elections.

## **Left and Democratic Front**

Today when the country is in danger, when the task is of fighting authoritarianism, defending national unity and defeating imperialist conspiracies against the country, only the unity of the Left and democratic forces, only the increase of their weight in Indian politics will save the country.

The Political Resolution of the Jullundur Congress laid down as the foremost task of the Party the bringing about of a radical realignment of political forces in the country, a realignment that brings into existence a nationwide united front of the Left and democratic forces which constitutes at present the only progressive alternative to the two bourgeois-landlord combinations—the Congress and the Janata. The resolution states, “To change the existing political relationship and bring about a viable alternative force to lead the masses must be the constant aim of the political activity of the Party. The emergence of such a broad Left and democratic front will strengthen the revolutionary forces which alone can extricate the country from the long-drawn-out economic and political crisis that has been steadily intensifying.”

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

The front of Left and democratic forces is to be an instrument of achieving the People's Democratic Front, an instrument of mobilising those classes and sections which during the course of revolutionary struggle become part of the People's Democratic Front. The CPI(M) is committed to struggle for the People's Democratic Revolution which is to be achieved through a People's Democratic Front led by the working class, a front whose two main pillars are the peasants and agricultural workers and the working class. There can be no escape from the misery of the capitalist path, the enslavement of the bourgeois-landlord rule except through a

People's Democratic Revolution. The programme and the activities of the Left and democratic front are to be an instrument to build the People's Democratic Front.

The full programme of the Left and democratic front is at present a propaganda programme around which the advanced sections of the masses rally.

It is necessary to work out a proper programme for immediate actions of the Left and democratic forces. While propagating for the basic demands, it should contain demands for immediate agitation and action. An effective programme for this purpose must necessarily consist of the following :

1. Fight against the authoritarian drive, defence of democratic rights and their expansion; withdrawal of repressive legislations;
2. Defence of Left Front governments; restructuring of Centre-State relations.
3. Opposition to the newly announced economic policy; fight for the independence of the economy; fight against massacre of jobs in the name of promoting advanced technology.
4. Immediate nationalisation of the jute and textile industries; take-over and nationalisation of closed concerns; nationalisation of big plantations.
5. Against high prices, high taxation; state trading in foodgrains.
6. Demand for implementation of land reform and distribution of land; Enactment of comprehensive central legislation for agricultural workers.
7. Unemployment benefit to the unemployed; fight for free and compulsory education upto the secondary level.
8. Fight against disabilities of women and for equal rights to them.
9. Fight against divisive forces and caste discrimination.
10. Defence of non-alignment, opposition to war; support to the struggle of the people of the neighbouring countries for democratic rights.

In addition the programme should include the following eleven demands from the charter adopted by the Calcutta conclave : guarantee by the Union Government of adequate supply of essen-

tial commodities at reasonable prices; remunerative prices to be ensured for agricultural produce by adequate purchases through State agencies; increased production of consumption goods and expanding employment opportunities for all sections including small artisans and craftsmen; révival and expansion of the food-for-work programme; right to work to be included as one of the fundamental rights in the Constitution; speedy implementation of existing land reforms and immediate assent to Land Reform Bills passed by State Legislatures; supply of cheap credit and inputs to the peasants; enforcement of minimum wages to farm workers and measures to improve their living conditions; reversal of anti-labour policies of the Union Government; withdrawal of the NSA, ESMA; acceptance of the demands formulated by the National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions and effective steps to prevent closures and lock-outs; restoration of the national policy of economic self-reliance, and fiscal, monetary and investment policies which encourage the big monopoly houses and multinational corporations to be abandoned; measures to end economic injustices and physical attacks on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, religious minorities, women and other weaker sections of society.

## **Left Unity**

The main task of fighting against the authoritarian drive of the ruling party while meeting all the new challenges to the nation, devolves on the Party and the Left forces. The Left and democratic front cannot be growingly built without the growing unity of the Left forces and without their capacity to launch massive united struggles against the authoritarian regime, its policies of suppressing democracy, its economic policies endangering the independence of the economy and the unbearable burdens being imposed on the masses.

The differences in the parliamentary and assembly elections spoiled to a certain extent the image of the Left, and the Congress(I) took full advantage of the situation. The CPI(M) did its best to see that Left unity was preserved during the elections but the unreasonable and opportunist stand of the CPI led to differences and conflict.

The Left parties represent various viewpoints on matters of political importance and often have different assessments of the immediate political situation, of political parties, which often lead to divergence of tactical moves. Besides, as regards the class

character of the Indian State, understanding of the revolutionary process and the stage of the revolution and its class needs, they widely differ. Joint actions on certain issues against the Congress(I) regime do not remove these differences which often affect current political activities.

To overcome these difficulties and forge a united front without adversely affecting the course of the revolutionary movement requires patience and a firm and principled stand on basic policies. This also demands an ideological struggle and political debate from time to time against the erroneous position, estimates and tactics of some of these parties.

For the CPI(M), forging and strengthening of Left unity is a crucial political task and it must bend all its efforts to uphold the cause of unity, to repair the damages unthinkingly done by others and refrain from adopting anything but a principled attitude towards the question. The CPI(M) endeavours to rally all the Left forces which, besides the CPI, are the Forward Bloc, RSP, Peasants' and Workers' Party and other Left groups.

Despite the difficulties and differences, the climate for Left unity has improved. Left unity will continue to be strengthened as its need directly arises from the need of the democratic movement. But it cannot be a spontaneous process. The Party will have to take the initiative for building it. The consolidation of Left unity can be achieved only on the basis of widespread mass actions of Left parties, their joint mass actions, calls for strikes, marches and demonstrations to defend the people against the authoritarian drive, their intervention on issues vital to the life of the people, and their capacity to attract broader and broader forces in the common fight. The united Left forces must act as a powerful shield to defend the Left Front Governments against the attacks of the ruling party.

It is quite clear that the full force of the united Left forces has not been thrown into the battle. This has not only slackened the pace of the democratic advance, it has also affected the progress of the vital movement for peace in our country. It is known that the peace movement in our country is confined to very narrow sections and there is no endeavour to reach the wide masses. The vast mass of our countrymen do not know much about the war danger, nuclear destruction and the vital necessity to conduct a consistent struggle for peace.

Things could rapidly change if the CPI leadership were to give

up its unhelpful attitude and clear the ground for widening the peace movement. Unfortunately this is not happening and the peace movement must suffer.

Our Party took the initiative on some occasions which led to a well-organised and wide-based conference but its endeavour to carry forward the success could not fructify because of the non-cooperative attitude of the CPI leaders. This need not have been the result when both parties are committed to defend peace.

However our Party must not relax its efforts. The fight against war and defence of peace demands far more attention from our Party. The peace movement must be broadened and peace must be made the concern of millions of our people. Our Party will not be able to discharge its international responsibility unless its devotes energies to carry the battle for peace to mass of the people.

## Mass Actions

The main lever to change the political situation, to defeat the authoritarian forces, to combat the challenge to national unity is the heightened political activity of the masses. Direct intervention of the Party on political issues and joint mass actions are essential to raise the political consciousness to a higher level.

An important feature of the last four years is that while joint actions on economic issues have increased, direct political actions have been few. It is necessary to improve the political activities of the masses, their direct intervention on important issues, to accelerate the process of exposure of the ruling party and the release of the masses from the influence of the bourgeoisie.

Obviously the struggle of the masses for redressal of immediate economic grievances assumes growing importance in the context of the present economic situation. The recession, the economic policy of the Government, the new burdens of high prices and taxation, the monstrous unemployment, all are already bringing large sections into direct conflict with the ruling party and the bourgeois-landlord Government. The coming period is going to be another stormy period when the people will be facing the accumulated effect of the policies of the Government. The four years that have passed saw militant struggles of all sections of the people, of women, workers, peasants, agricultural workers, students, employees including Government employees, teachers, doctors, many of which were banned, illegalised and yet were carried on with the utmost tenacity. Such protracted strikes and resis-

tance in face of repression were rarely seen in earlier decades. They had to face in a number of cases unprecedented police terror and gangster attacks. In the rural areas especially, the police terror was unleashed in the most brutal manner.

In the recent period the growing consciousness of women against social and economic oppression has been seen in struggles by women's movement against discrimination, feudal oppression and dowry.

A number of cadres of the CITU, Kisan Sabha, Agricultural Workers' Union, SFI, DYFI, and AIDWA were killed by the police or by goondas on a number of occasions. But the militancy of the fighters could not be crushed. Finding that this terror was of no avail the authorities and the Government imposed outright starvation through prolonged lock-outs protected by State power.

The Government is now openly embarking upon anti-labour legislation to crush the movement of workers and employees. In the rural areas it observes no norms in dealing with the peasantry and the agricultural workers against whom the hirelings of the landlords are allowed to operate freely.

The coming period will see a further accentuation of this offensive and rise in the militancy and resistance of the masses.

The Party and the mass organisations must be fully prepared to head the new struggles of this stormy period, struggles which only the Left parties and Left forces can lead. A successful defence of the interests of the masses helps to raise the level of consciousness and erode the influence of the bourgeoisie.

In this connection the lessons of the last four years should not be forgotten. These years saw increased joint activities but their scale and expanse were not enough to imbue the masses with a new consciousness. The calls and their results were mostly symbolic and therefore could not break new ground in consciousness.

Besides, the actions hardly raised basic policy issues, and they were mostly confined to certain immediate demands. The mass movement cannot break through this stalemate without a conscious effort in this direction. Because of the weakness in organising massive all-India actions, the ruling classes were able to pass on the burden with comparative ease. The masses fought with great militancy but their struggle was fractionalised and did not get the character of an all-India concerted resistance.

Mass organisations led by our Party have made some progress in several States. The student, the youth and the women's

organisations have advanced. The growth of the Kisan Sabha has been uneven. Though the All India Agricultural Workers Union was formed in 1981 its advance is not impressive and is not up to the expectations. The CITU, in spite of bitter struggles and advance registered in some States, seems to have reached a plateau and finds it difficult to cross it. This in the first place is due to the fact that it has not yet succeeded in orientating its activities in the direction given by the Party in the recent document on trade unions. In fact, carrying on mass activities without everytime checking it on the basis of the Party's document and directives is a common weakness. This is also clear from the reports and their failure to review the struggle and experience of their activities on the basis of the Party's understanding and guidelines.

## **Independent Activity Of the Party**

Independent Activity of the Party in organising mass actions, building Left unity and the Left and democratic front must increase very much compared with the past. The last four years show some progress in this direction. But this is too small compared to the needs of the situation and weaknesses of the other partners. It cannot be said that the Party leaders and members working in mass organisations always realise the importance of our initiative, that in its absence, planned action becomes symbolic, unable to affect mass consciousness and therefore unable to contribute to changing the correlation of class forces. There must be increased independent initiative of the Party not only in relation to mass activities and united front actions, but independent activities of the Party on its own platform to reach the masses, to explain the entire line of the Party is also necessary. The lower units of the Party in many States go on awaiting calls and directives from the higher committees and forget their responsibility to move into action. Without the lower units taking the initiative to launch agitations on their own on local issues, mass activities cannot be widened.

The international connections of our Party have further widened in the last four years.

## **The Party Organisation**

The Party has grown in the last four years, but its growth has been uneven. Certain States continue to lag behind unable to share the progress in other States. The Salkia Plenum's warning against the danger of federalist tendencies is taken lightly, and there is not

much conscious efforts to fight it as a great obstacle to the development of the all-India Party. Federalism in reality is liquidation of a centralised party without which the revolutionary movement cannot advance. Federalism bespeaks of a lack of ideological cohesion and unity. It must be fought very consciously and seriously.

A result of this federalist tendency is the failure to render proper help to weaker States. In these States the mass movement and a mass base for the Party can be developed only if our all-India mass organisations render constant help. This often does not happen because the importance of the all-India movement, especially in weaker areas, is not realised.

The Salkia Plenum's directive to review mass struggles and political activities to teach the Party through its own experience and mistakes is rarely followed. This leads to the abandonment of criticism and self-criticism inside the Party, depriving it of an important weapon of rectifying itself and improving its understanding.

In the present situation our Party is successfully utilising the forum of parliament, assemblies and elections for the advance of the class struggle. It is however necessary to be on guard against the deviation of parliamentary opportunism which is sometimes manifested in our midst.

The Salkia Plenum called for ideological struggle against obscurantism, fundamentalism and against feudal ideology. But there is hesitation to carry it on when the democratic rights of the people are assailed by the reactionaries. While combating the divisive tendencies unleashed by communal propaganda it is necessary to combat the increased influence of religious fundamentalism and superstitions by spread of materialist and scientific propaganda. The Party Programme calls upon the Party to fight against all forms of intrusion of religion in the social, economic, political and administrative life of the nation.

With the Muslim orthodoxy coming out in the open against women's rights and Hindu and RSS communal propaganda increasing, it will be opportunism if the Party refrains from waging an ideological struggle against these pernicious trends. Islamic fundamentalism is financed from abroad. The prejudice against the minority, unequal treatment and repression during riots are particularly responsible for the success of the Islamic appeal. Hindu fundamentalism has no base in any genuine grievances. Both must be fought relentlessly by the Party.

## Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism

The Party takes its stand on proletarian internationalism, partisanship of the Socialist camp and unrelenting opposition to the imperialist camp and its ambitions of global domination. The Party demarcates itself from all those in the Communist movement who would not distinguish between the Socialist camp and the imperialist camp and fall victim to the two super-Powers propaganda. The Party holds the U.S. imperialists solely responsible for the war danger which it is determined to fight.

The Party continues to uphold its understanding of the world situation based on the central contradiction of our time—the camp of Socialism versus the camp of imperialism.

It upholds the banner of Marxism-Leninism against deviations and distortions, revisionism and dogmatism that still plague the international Communist movement. The Party educates its ranks about these deviations holding aloft the banner of Communist unity.

The CPI(M) upholds the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It upholds the principles of proletarian internationalism and the leading role of the Party. It fights against dilution of Marxism-Leninism and considers it the common duty of all Communist Parties to defend the Socialist camp against imperialist conspiracies.

All people would like to bring about social transformation by peaceful means. But how this transformation will be brought about does not depend on the people's desire to bring it about peacefully. It depends on the behaviour of the ruling classes who, historical experience teaches us, do not respect the will of the people, and suppress it by use of terror and bestial violence. The people of India cannot forget the experience of the Emergency, when overnight by use of force they were deprived of all their liberties.

Internally the Party continues to fight revisionism and dogmatism. The Party has not slackened its vigilance against revisionism and has always exposed attempts to present revisionism as the concrete application of Marxism-Leninism to the Indian situation.

At the same time the Party fights the anarchist Left-sectarian trend, represented by several Naxalite groups. Originating as a Left-sectarian trend, it rapidly developed into an anarchist individualist trend concentrating its attack on the CPI(M) and

playing a thoroughly disruptive role. Because of its anarchist individualist outlook the trend split into several groups. Today in many places some of these groups indulge in terrorist attacks against our members.

Besides, all these groups are anti-internationalist in their outlook. Their rabid anti-Sovietism only helps the U.S. imperialist propaganda against Communism. Now some of them indulge in rabid anti-China propaganda.

The Party exposes the anti-Marxist anarchist basis of their political line with its reliance on individual actions. Some of these groups, professing a radical ideology and attacking the CPI(M), are connected with so-called voluntary agencies financed from abroad by various imperialist agencies.

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

The Party combines the opposition in Parliament with mass struggles outside and aided by the performances of the Left Front Governments led by our Party, has raised the prestige of the Left. The continuance of these two Ministries over the last eight years and the maintenance of the unity of the Left Front constitute a signal achievement of our Party.

The task of a vanguard party can be discharged only by a well-built strong party. Our Party must strike deep roots among the masses and gain thousands of new adherents every year. The weaknesses of the Party in the working class have to be overcome in the shortest possible time.

Fighting in the context of the immediate situation with the authoritarian challenge as the immediate danger, the Party does not forget its revolutionary objective. The Party is firmly committed to 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 opposed to the programme of all bourgeois parties, by changing the correlation of political forces through broad mobilisation and above all, by leading mass

struggles, the Party brings into the arena precisely those classes that play a prominent part in the building of the People's Democratic Front.

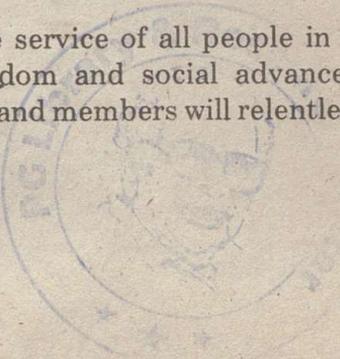
The continued crisis of the capitalist path, the newly announced economic policy will be laying unbearable burdens on our people, straining their patience. Notwithstanding the massive majority of the ruling party in the Lok Sabha, a massive discontent is being generated by its policies. A stormy period of mass resistance and agitation lies before the country.

To head this discontent, this struggle against mass poverty and misery, is the task of the CPI(M) and the Left and democratic forces.

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

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

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



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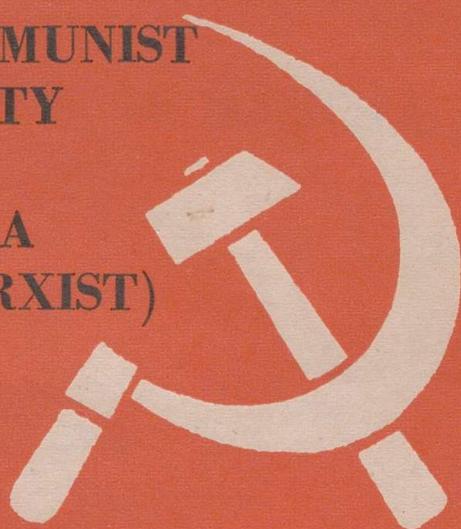
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