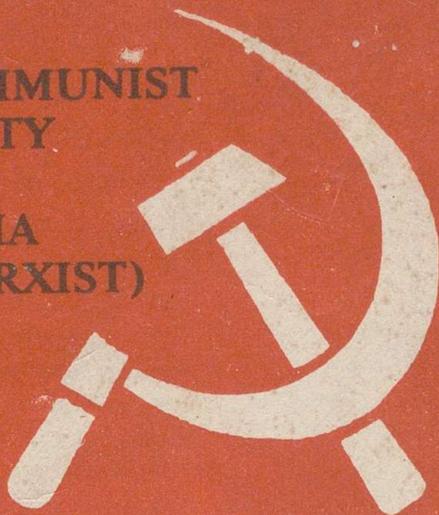


**COMMUNIST
PARTY
OF
INDIA
(MARXIST)**



**POLITICAL RESOLUTION
OF THE THIRTEENTH PARTY CONGRESS,
Trivandrum, December 27, 1988 to January 1, 1989.**

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Errata :

On Page 6 the second paragraph under Section 1.20 beginning with In 1988 is the last paragraph of the Section 1.19.

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INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Introductory

1.1 The last three years since our Calcutta Party Congress have witnessed favourable changes in the international situation—changes favouring the forces of freedom, democracy, peace and Socialism. The incessant struggle for peace waged by the Soviet Union and supported by other Socialist and non-aligned countries and the world peace movement has created more favourable conditions for peace and enhanced opposition to imperialist designs. The mass struggles of the period in several countries, the sacrifices made, all have served to shift the balance of world forces further in favour of the people. The new economic plans of Socialist countries to modernise and advance their economies have again asserted the superiority of the Socialist system over the capitalist system which continues to face setbacks and crisis.

Capitalist Economy

1.2 The capitalist economy is still in the process of recovery. The recovery from the crisis which started in 1983 proved to be of longer duration than expected. According to Mr. Camdessus, Managing Director, IMF, "despite the stock market reversal of last October, it continues to expand at a moderate rate. The industrial countries are currently in the sixth year of upswing. And inflation in these countries has been brought down to 3 per cent from double digit rates at the beginning of the decade. In the developing world, per capita real GDP, after a setback in 1981-83 has resumed growing. And last year for the first time in many years export earnings in these countries taken together grew faster than debt." (May 1988)

1.3 But uncertainty continues. The fear is that the trend towards protectionism and trade bilateralism can disturb the growth of world trade, output and employment.

1.4 The Report of the IMF for the financial year ending April 1988, also says that global economic developments in the period under review were somewhat mixed. It noted that world output and trade had continued to expand with inflation remaining low. Real output in the industrial countries, the report said, expanded by over 3 per cent in 1987, significantly higher than in 1986.

1.5 Notwithstanding the satisfaction and confidence expressed in these reports, the fact is that the economic advance in these countries has started slowing down after reaching the peak in 1984. The growth rate of GDP in the industrialised countries was 4.8 in 1984, 3.0 in 1985, 2.7 in 1986 and 3 per cent in 1987.

1.6 Besides, as the speech of the Managing Director of the IMF points out, the uncertainties are also there and any upset may take place. This was seen last year in October, 1987. The American economy has surpassed all previous records by entering, in October, upon the 59th month of continuous expansion and nobody thought that the end was in sight. Unemployment was reduced to 5.9 per cent, the lowest since 1979. Indications of future economic growth were there. And then suddenly came the October Stock Exchange crash affecting the entire capitalist world, leading to huge economic losses and uncovering the soft belly of the capitalist economy. Economists pin-pointed American budgets, higher interest rates, fall in the value of the dollar and the policy pursued by the American Government, as the source of the crash and the ensuing uncertainty.

1.7 Of course, the basic causes were lost sight of. They are the domination of monopolies and multinationals over the Governments of advanced capitalist countries, the existence of State monopoly capitalism under which the State intervenes in the economy to protect the monopolists, the emergence of the military-industrial complex, which for its own selfish interests demands a huge expenditure on military and destructive weapons, the increased strength of the multinationals which introduces a further element of anarchy in the international situation, the accentuation of the market crisis because of one-third of the world going Socialist and out of the orbit of imperialist exploitation, the impediments in the way of uninhibited looting of backward countries following the collapse of the old colonial system, in spite of the fact that many of these countries had been caught in the debt-trap.

1.8 The point is that despite optimistic forecasts, the stability of the economy is affected by the inner rivalries of the contending partners and their manoeuvres against each other. The USA's partners insist that the USA should either reduce its deficit budget drastically or scale down its military expenditure. Both these measures affect the dominant position of the USA. The U. S. administration fears that a cut in Government spending may unleash a slump. Government orders are necessary for a considerable number of industrial plants. It seems last year some kind of relief was obtained by the USA by making Japan and West Germany share part of its burden.

1.9 Besides, the so-called upswing is accompanied by increased unemployment and high unemployment rate. Even when production increases, the capitalist society is unable to reach the low unemployment rate of earlier years. Since 1984, the rate of unemployment in the seven major capitalist countries has been 7.6 per cent in 1984, 7.4 per cent in 1985 and 7.4 per cent in 1986, whereas in 1980 the rate was 5.6 per cent and in 1981 it was 6.5 per cent.

1.10 This so-called upswing is achieved at the expense of the Third World countries, i.e. by transferring the burden of the crisis to their shoulders, increasing their indebtedness, exploiting them through adverse terms of trade causing collapse of prices of primary commodities and holding them to ransom. By 1987, the external debt of all developing countries rose to 936 billion dollars. For all developing countries, the ratio of total debt to GNP rose from 36 per cent in 1985 to 39 per cent in 1986, and the ratio of total debt to export goods and services from 147 to 172 per cent according to the Bank of International Settlement. It says that even the ratio between interest payment and export proceeds rose last year despite the declining dollar interest rate which, it said, cut service cost by over 4 billion dollars in 1986.

1.11 Protectionism in industrial countries, lower commodity prices for export, especially of raw materials, of developing countries have brought about this perilous situation. According to Correa, former UNCTAD Secretary-General, by last year the prices of commodities in developing countries fell to the level that prevailed in the great depression of the 1930s.

1.12 The havoc done to the living standards of the people in the Third World countries and their development is registered in the World Bank staff paper entitled "Short term outlook for the developing countries in International Economy." It says: "In the current decade many developing countries have lost the gains of the previous 20 years of development. The picture is particularly bleak in sub-Saharan Africa." In other States per capita investment has fallen to the level of 15 years ago and per capita consumption and imports are lower than in the 1970s.

1.13 This is how the world capitalist economy passes its burden on to the developing countries to ensure a minimal growth rate for the capitalist countries. Obviously the Third World countries, some of whom are already caught in a debt-trap, will be continuously victimised to ease the burden of crisis for the advanced capitalist countries. This process cannot go on forever. These countries will be forced to revolt and liberate themselves from their unequal economic ties with the western capitalist world.

Socialist Economy

1.14 While the capitalist countries are experiencing a crawling recovery accompanied by increased unemployment, the Socialist countries where the right to work is guaranteed and unemployment does not exist, are looking forward to quick economic progress in the coming years. The average annual rates of national income growth planned for the years 1986-1990 reveal the difference between the capitalist and Socialist countries.

1.15 The *USSR* in its 13th Five Year Plan (1986-90) has planned an increase in the national income used for consumption and accumulation by 19-22 per cent. In the same period industrial output is to increase by 21-24 per cent. Labour productivity is to be raised in industry by 23-25 per cent and real per capita incomes are to increase by 13-15 per cent.

The *German Democratic Republic* during the current five-year period plans to increase national income by 24-26 per cent. In the sector accountable to the industrial ministries, the target figure for the growth of net output and labour productivity is 39-51 per cent. Real per capita incomes are to rise by 20-23 per cent.

Czechoslovakia in its 8th Five Year Plan during this period envisages a 3.5 per cent annual growth rate. *Cuba* planned a 5 per cent annual average rate in national income during this five-year period.

Bulgaria in its 9th Plan between 1986 and 1990 planned a 22-25 per cent increase in national income. The production of goods, agricultural commodities included, and provision of services to the people to increase by 20-24 per cent.

China having already doubled its GNP over the 1980 figure has targetted a 2.7 times increase in GNP over the 1980 figure by 1992, thereby laying the ground for quadrupling the country's 1980 GNP by the end of this century.

The *Democratic People's Republic of Korea* is now in the second year of its seven-year plan (1987-93). In 1986, on the eve of the new plan, national income per head was 2,400 dollars and the industrial output was 474 times more than it was in 1946. By 1974 the tax system was abolished. All citizens are assured of work, free education and medical care.

1.16 The Communist Party of China at its last Party Congress examined in detail the existing stage of its development, the backlog of backwardness which still continues, and has decided to overcome all obstacles and difficulties which hampered a rapid development of

the productive forces. As inheritor of a backward economy it has to enter on several transitional steps and compromises before all means of production are socialised and the full force of Socialist production is unleashed. At the same time during the last three years it has registered further progress in building the economy of the country and clearing obstacles for further progress.

1.17 However, world attention is now rivetted on the economic reforms introduced in the Soviet Union and developments taking place since the 27th Congress of the CPSU. The August Resolution of the Central Committee has given the guidelines as to how to judge these developments in terms of Marxism-Leninism.

Both at the Congress and at the 19th Conference of the Party, the Party leadership announced that there was a certain amount of stagnation in the economy which has to be immediately overcome and which called for urgent measures. It may be mentioned in passing that the Vijayawada Congress of our Party had noticed the declining growth rate in some Socialist countries. It said, "Nonetheless the Socialist countries also face some difficulties in the recent period and their rate of growth slowed down to a certain extent. This seems to be due to the fact that they are forced to divert a substantial part of their resources for defence purposes in view of the imperialist war preparations and also perhaps due to the recessionary business conditions in countries with whom they have developed new trade relations. But they continue to add substantially to the national income and industrial production." However, it seems that the malady was somewhat deeper than what was understood by us at that time. The CPSU leadership has frankly told the people that the difficulties are arising from inefficient management, bureaucratism and other distortions. These difficulties, it must be understood, are coming after huge achievements in the earlier period and they must be understood as shortcomings arising from lack of adjustments to new requirements.

1.18 The Central Committee motions at the 19th Conference of the CPSU described the situation in the following words :

"The years of stagnation led the country to the brink of economic crisis. The extensive wasteful way of running the economy has exhausted itself. The stimulation and technical level of the economy do not conform to modern requirements. Command administration methods of management become a serious brake. Production, efficiency and living standards ceased to grow. Many social questions were neglected. The finances of the country were seriously disrupted and the sense of responsibility of personnel and labour discipline slackened.

"The Party has been faced with the difficult task of taking the country out of the doldrums and putting development at the service of

the people and working out and implementing the set of long term measures to speed the scientific and technical advance towards leading positions in these spheres ”

1.19 To meet this situation immediate measures were taken after the 27th Party Congress and the decision was taken to restructure the economy. There were immediate results. The Central Committee's motions to the 19th Conference says : “And still positive changes are taking place. The main thing is that we have been able to halt the growth of negative forces that threatened to grow into a crisis situation, to reverse the trend and create certain pre-requisites for a steady advance.”

In 1987 the entire increment in national income was obtained through greater labour productivity. Average monthly wages of industrial and office workers went up by 6 per cent and there was a large improvement in the social sphere.

1.20 Steps are being taken to meet the difficulties which emerged from earlier distortions and lack of increase in managerial efficiency and consciousness towards social production. The fact is that the difficulties of Socialist countries, unlike the crisis of capitalism are not inherent to the system but arise from the violation of the laws of Socialist development. It is therefore possible for Socialist societies to overcome their difficulties and make rapid progress. This is because the means of production are owned and controlled by society. There are no antagonistic contradictions in a Socialist society and it is always possible to plan out production to realise the full potentialities of the productive forces.

In 1988 wages kept growing faster than the productivity of labour. The population has a vast amount of money that is not backed by a sufficient amount of goods. The situation had led to a budget deficit which had been concealed for a long time and which was recognised officially recently. However, for the first time since 1981 the national income growth rate topped the 3.6-mark to reach 4.4 per cent, according to latest Soviet statistics. In the social sphere, housing construction has registered remarkable progress with a provision of 2.2 million apartments which can accommodate 11 million people.

Sharpened Contradictions

1.21 The Central Committee has already made a detailed analysis of the international situation in its ideological document of May, 1988, which continues to guide the Party. The years since our last, Party

Congress have witnessed the sharpening of contradictions of the present period, with imperialist attempts to solve them in their favour often frustrated by the resistance of the people and the policies of the Socialist world headed by the USSR. There is a significant change in the balance of world forces with the forces of peace, freedom, democracy and Socialism advancing and getting strengthened to meet the challenge to peace. The mass peace movements in the advanced capitalist countries and the relentless struggles in the Third World countries, have unleashed forces which imperialism is unable to vanquish or control. The fighting people of the world are in a much better position to meet the challenge of the imperialist world. The growing understanding between the USSR and People's China, the two biggest countries of Socialism, further strengthens the working class and the progressive forces.

1.22 The sharpening of the contradiction between the imperialist and Socialist camp was witnessed in the continuous endeavour of the USA to secure nuclear superiority over the USSR. For this purpose, every genuine proposal made by the USSR for peace, for limitation of nuclear armaments, was resisted and when forced to accept, the acceptance is hedged with so many conditions. The agreement to remove Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe was widely acclaimed all over the world and especially in Europe. It was the first time that an agreement was reached for the elimination of any section of nuclear weapons. At the same time, it is a fact that the agreement includes only a small part of nuclear weapons, only 4-5 per cent. And weapons of far bigger destructive capacity are being piled up. Many hurdles like spot verification and some others are now overcome and joint teams of the two countries are in each other's territory to verify implementation of the agreements already reached.

1.23 But the USA refuses to abandon its quest for nuclear superiority. It refuses to give up its SDI project, which in reality is a project for sudden attack and aggression. On two occasions, the Soviet leaders warned the USA that it would not get superiority in nuclear power over the USSR.

1.24 Besides, in every corner of the globe, the U. S. Government opposes democratic and Socialist forces and tries to narrow the circle of those who are sympathetic and friendly to the Socialist camp. The systematic and unscrupulous campaign against the Non-Aligned Movement, the pressure against countries like India whose non-alignment tilts the balance in favour of peace and the Socialist camp, the attempt to bolster anti-democratic and anti-Socialist dictatorships in the countries of the Third World are nothing but part of the struggle

against the Socialist camp, a struggle to isolate it from other parts of the world.

1.25 At the same time, the situation is not the same as it was some years ago. U. S. imperialism is being cornered by the forces of peace headed by the USSR, and its capacity to deceive the people about its security concerns has eroded. Its promises of a quick decisive war stand exposed. The world and the people of all countries now are more informed about the dangers of nuclear war and the U. S. role in promoting it.

1.26 In recent years, the Soviet Union's struggle for peace has played a vital role in curbing the aggressive activities of the imperialist camp against the Socialist countries and the drive for nuclear war. The repeated offers to stop the armaments race, the warning to the world against the consequences of a nuclear war, the unilateral declaration rejecting the first nuclear strike and the recent agreement to remove short and medium-range missiles from Europe have played a big role in isolating U. S. imperialism and strengthening the struggle for peace. Thanks to these, larger and larger sections of the people in Europe and the USA understood the necessity of maintaining peace.

1.27 The developing world opinion in favour of peace was expressed in 1986 in three important developments. They were the Soviet proposals for a nuclear-free world, the Reykjavik Summit and the joint Indo-Soviet Declaration. The Delhi Declaration expressed the will of the non-aligned nations to cooperate with the Socialist world for peace and freedom and to check aggression and war. It assured the support of the people of India for the cause of peace and support for the USSR's struggle to rid the world of nuclear weapons.

1.28 Among the notable developments in relation to the defence of peace in the period were the decision of the Labour Party of Great Britain to stand for the removal of U. S. nuclear weapons from British soil and unilateral nuclear disarmament of Britain; the joint proposal of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the West German Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on the establishment of a Central European Zone, free from chemical weapons and a nuclear free corridor along the borders of the three countries. The decision of the Danish Parliament to prohibit the entry of nuclear-laden ships to its ports despite Denmark's NATO membership and the mass anti-nuclear campaign in Japan are important developments.

1.29 The struggle for peace waged by the Soviet Union has helped in

a big way the advance of the forces of freedom, peace and Socialism. The workers and people of all countries were able to concentrate their attention on their internal contradictions and struggles. The growing alignment of the labour movement in the advanced capitalist countries with the struggle for peace and the role played by the NAM strengthened the fight against nuclear war.

1.30 At the same time it should be remembered that the imperialists are not easily moved by public concern, moral considerations or concerns for human values. They calculate everything on the basis of material gains and class prospects. The decisive check that was exercised over imperialist warmongers was exercised by the Soviet Union's preparedness to face any nuclear attacks with dire consequences for the attackers. The achievement of nuclear parity between the Soviet Union and the USA was an effective weapon to prevent the outbreak of war. The knowledge, that millions of people now share, that there will be no victor in a nuclear war, increased the urge and strength of the peace movement and further restricted the imperialist drive for war preparations.

1.31 Today the fight against nuclear war has become a major international concern for the international working class movement. In the general struggle of the peoples of the world for freedom, peace, democracy and Socialism, the struggle against nuclear war occupies a vital position. It has become an integral part of the world working class movement for freedom and Socialism. The massive strength of the world movement for peace backed by Socialist and non-aligned countries has opened the possibility of averting nuclear war and saving mankind from nuclear destruction.

1.32 The qualitative difference between the two social systems now more and more centres on the question of reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons, elimination of war. The Soviet Union's persistence for negotiations for peace, making new proposals continually has put the other side on the defensive, exposing its policies. The danger of war remains but the Soviet initiatives backed by the peoples of all countries provide the basis for the complete isolation of the anti-peace policies of imperialism.

Contradictions between the Capitalists and the Working Class

1.33 The contradiction between the working class and the capitalist class in advanced capitalist countries gets intensified though, because of the misdirection of the working class movement by some political parties, it does not go beyond economic struggles through strikes which are often widespread. In the first place, unemployment continues to increase during recession as well as during the upswing

Workers have no respite. The advanced countries have no less than 30 million unemployed to announce the 'stability and justice' of their system. The general crisis of capitalism accentuated by huge military spending, by subjugation of the economy to the needs of the military-industrial complex and monopoly domination of the State, and rapid technological changes has become a scourge for the working class of these countries. Profits from neo-colonialist exploitation of Third World countries enables the ruling classes to keep a narrow section of the workers satisfied and manoeuvre against the working class. Naturally, therefore, there are constant attacks on trade union rights and the earlier gains of the working class and welfare measures.

1.34 The Thatcher Government of Britain has launched a series of attacks against the workers' rights and benefits. The State's Social Security Programme has been scuttled. Trade union rights are attacked ; solidarity strikes are banned. Trade unions which overstep the new restrictions are threatened with financial sanctions and there is increased use of force and violence in dealing with working class strikes and actions. Lock-outs, closures of enterprises are used to cow down the workers. All the while unemployment goes on increasing.

1.35 The Federal Republic of Germany, whose rapid advance once stunned people, is now afflicted with unemployment as much as any other capitalist country.

1.36 The working class has resisted these attacks with militant strikes. In Great Britain, in 1986 the number of mandays lost in strikes rose to 2 million, in 1987 the figure increased to 3.5 million. The early months of 1988 saw a big strike wave involving nurses, miners and industrial workers. The survey made by the World Federation of Trade Unions examined 258 big strikes spread over America, Europe and Asia and found that 45.7 per cent of the strikes were for wages, 29.8 per cent for jobs, 11.6 per cent for trade union freedom and 8.9 per cent against austerity measures. This is the reality about the recovery of capitalist economy and class struggle in the advanced capitalist countries.

1.37 The class struggle expresses directly in the struggle to defend jobs, wages, living conditions and fight against growing unemployment. In Britain it is combined with the demand for unilateral nuclear disarmament. In other countries millions are directly involved to protect themselves against the growing attacks of the capitalists while demanding reduction in the military budgets of their Governments.

1.38 The reformist leaderships of some parties continue to enchain the working class to economic struggle. Large sections of workers

often vote for parties of capitalism like the Conservative Party in Great Britain. The accentuation of the economic situation and the helplessness of the reformist parties before the capitalist onslaught drives a section of the younger generation towards questionable parties and in some countries fascist influence is increasing in this section.

Contradictions Amongst Imperialist Powers

1.39 The way the capitalist economy is moving under the inner contradictions among the major partners shows the intensified rivalry among the imperialist countries. It is true that while struggling to score over each other in the race for markets and profits none seeks at present to solve the problem by means of a war against his rival. This is not due to the pacifist nature of some modern imperialist rulers. The reason is well put in the following words of Gorbachev : "Today the situation is different. It is not only the lesson of the past war but also the fear of sapping its strength in the face of Socialism, by now a world Socialist system." It is in the interest of the class unity of the imperialists against Socialism to prevent their rivalry from breaking out into a war. This also speaks of intensified contradiction between the two camps.

1.40 The fact is that with the rise of Japan and West Germany and the formation of the EEC, contradictions among the imperialist powers have very much sharpened. The partners question U. S. domination, its dictates and often refuse to accept U. S. directions on military expenditure or military movements or on trimming their economies to the needs of U.S. supremacy over the world economy.

1.41 The Venice meeting of the USA, France, FRG, Britain, Canada, Italy and Japan, in 1987, was an attempt to develop a coordinated policy towards the economic questions faced by the fraternity of exploiters. But because of their rivalries nothing tangible could result from the conference. Venice also discussed U. S. aggressive designs in the Persian Gulf. On the eve of the meeting the Pentagon had informed the participants that the U. S. had sent a naval force to the area. But Italy opposed the U. S. plan for intervention and called for an end to the Iran-Iraq war. Nakasone and Kohl told Reagan that their intervention would violate the Constitutions of their respective countries. Britain refused to send her minesweepers to the area. The Netherlands refused U.S. requests for naval help in the Gulf.

1.42 Such skirmishes both in political and economic matters continue to take place though in the end the dominating influence of U. S. imperialism is able to carry the day. There are obvious differences on the question of nuclear disarmament and the response to the Soviet

proposals among the allies of the USA. Inside the USA itself there are differences on the question. A small section disagrees with the proposed line of Reagan. At the same time the entire imperialist camp tries to move unitedly to contend, corner and cordon off the Socialist countries.

Intensification of Contradictions between Imperialism and the Third World Countries

1.43 The years that have passed have witnessed intensified contradictions between U. S. imperialism and the Third World countries, the increased U. S. attempt to dominate the world. The role of imperialism is well put in the following words: "By political manoeuvring, blandishment and blackmail, military threats and intimidation and all too often by direct interference in the internal affairs of the newly-free countries, capitalism has in many ways managed to sustain the earlier relationship of economic dependence. On this basis, imperialism has managed to create and run the most refined system of neo-colonialist exploitation and to tighten its hold on a considerable number of newly-free countries." (Gorbachev)

1.44 The increased indebtedness of the Third World countries and the debt-trap in which some of them have been caught, reveal the success of neo-colonialist manoeuvres. But the imperialists do not confine themselves only to economic measures. The years since our last Party Congress have witnessed aggressive U. S. attacks and military interventions against Third World countries. The outrageous attacks and aggression against Libya shocked world opinion; progressive forces all over the world denounced Reagan and U. S. imperialism. The U. S. intervention in the Iran-Iraq war was another outrageous act. The U. S. mobilised its naval force and the force of its allies to control the movements in the Gulf in the name of protecting its oil supply, though Gulf supply of oil formed only 4 - 5 per cent of the total U. S. requirements. The U. S. continued its hostile activity against Iran and recently shot down a civilian plane. It supports the counter-revolutionary and mercenary forces of UNITA in Angola and seeks through negotiations a place in the Government for its mercenaries. It carries on its aggressive designs against Nicaragua and helps the counter-revolutionaries in El Salvador. The U. S. has earned world wide denunciation for its brazen support to the racist regime of Botha which refuses to release Nelson Mandela despite worldwide demand for his freedom. The great and courageous fight carried on by the people of South Africa against apartheid would have been successful long ago but for the treacherous support extended by U. S. imperialism and the British Government to the Botha regime. The two powers have continuously sabotaged the imposition of economic

sanctions against South Africa for which a call was given by the UNO. In spite of all this the struggle of the people of South Africa against imperialism and the racist regime continues to gather strength and attract world wide attention. This open support to South Africa encourages it to hold on to Namibia and to fight the liberation movement headed by SWAPO.

The USA is the main inspirer of Israeli aggression against the Palestinians and the Arab world. It is firmly determined to deny justice to the Palestinians and create a permanent conflict between Palestinians and Israel. The PNC had declared the Gaza Strip and West Bank as the sovereign state of the Palestine people with Jerusalem as its capital. The PNC has also recognised the existence of Israel. This new initiative of the PNC is being torpedoed by the USA. The USA refused a visa to Yasar Arafat to attend the U. N. General Assembly which the whole world condemned.

1.45 The USA openly violates the Geneva Accord on Afghanistan and continues armed help to the 'Mujahideen' based in Pakistan, while the Soviet Union is withdrawing its armed forces in accordance with the terms of the Accord. The USA stations forty thousand troops and nuclear weapons in South Korea and continues to carry out provocative military exercises against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The USA also openly announces that it will continue armed help to the Angolan counter-revolutionaries even if an agreement is reached for restoring peace to that country. It is known that U. S. machinations were responsible for the breakdown of talks between the Nicaraguan Government and the Contra rebels. In relation to Polisario, the U. S. continues to support the Moroccan Government to suppress the freedom fighters. And finally, the U. S. administration had taken the outrageous decision asking the Palestinian delegation at the UNO to quit the USA though the delegation is accepted as an observer by the UNO.

1.46 Besides its general hostility to the democratic movement and its fear of Socialism, it supports reactionary military dictatorships in Third World countries. Its support to the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile is open and unashamed. It supported the military dictatorship in Pakistan and continues to support the military regime in Bangladesh and pours arms into Pakistan to create trouble between India and that country. Tension between neighbours, support to the dictators, all are part of a plan for global domination and subjugation of Third World countries. The last three years since our Party Congress have witnessed an immense intensification and ramifications of this contradiction.

1.47 All this shows that the masses in the Third World countries and their political parties must be ever vigilant and alert in fighting the imperialist designs.

1.48 Discussion on contradictions in international documents generally avoids all references to the massive popular movements that are developing in the Third World countries. These movements are challenging the reactionary rule of the exploiting classes as in India and fighting those Governments which compromise with imperialism and endanger the economic independence of the country. They are in the forefront of the battle against imperialism, its neo-colonial manoeuvres and its designs to re-enslave the Third World countries. These mighty struggles have now become a very important part of the world movement against imperialism for freedom, democracy, peace and Socialism. The successful fight put up by the people of Pakistan against the American supported military dictatorship and the fight of the people of Bangladesh against its dictatorship and the fight of the progressive forces in Sri Lanka against imperialist designs to disintegrate their country ; the struggle waged by the revolutionary forces in the Philippines to remove the U. S. military bases and imperialist backed reaction deserve international recognition. Similar fights are going on in Africa and many other countries. The people of Burma are now engaged in a heroic fight against one-party rule to secure democratic rights for themselves. Our Party considers them as an integral part of the world revolutionary movement and must render every help to them in this common struggle.

1.49 Our current struggle in India has to be carried on in the background of the great achievements of Socialism and the peace forces and the more favourable balance of world forces for the advance of the forces representing freedom, democracy, national liberation and Socialism.

NATIONAL SITUATION

2.1 The years since our last Party Congress have witnessed a growing instability of the economic order established after independence. It has imposed tremendous misery on all sections of the toiling people and unleashed spontaneous mass discontent extending all over the country. The discontent is often diverted into wrong channels although the objective causes are everywhere the same. Never before was there such synchronisation of agrarian and industrial crisis in India, bringing the rural and urban masses into a simultaneous confrontation with the bourgeois-landlord Government and the bourgeois-landlord order.

2.2 These developments and the tasks they set before our Party are to be understood as arising from the crisis of the bourgeois-landlord order of a newly liberated country.

2.3 The developments in our country in the last three years have brought to the forefront the urgent task of ousting the Rajiv Government from power to enable the country to have a government of its choice, a government responsive to the demands of the people and the problem of maintaining the unity and integrity of the country.

2.4 The situation implies intensification of all the contradictions mentioned in the Calcutta Party Congress Resolution, and at the same time indicates a certain change in the correlation of forces under which the new battle for ousting the Congress(I) from power and defending national unity, is to be carried on. The Calcutta Congress Resolution had said: "The immediate struggle against the authoritarian danger cannot be divorced from the struggle to defend national unity, independence of the economy, the struggle to defend and strengthen the foreign policy of non-alignment, and the struggle against imperialist plans of destabilisation. Our immediate tactics are to be related to our strategic objective of People's Democracy."

Changes since last Congress

2.5 The new changes consist of the following :

Compared to the situation at the Calcutta Congress the ruling party now stands far more isolated from the people as was clearly revealed in the recent Lok Sabha and previous assembly elections and the falsification of elections in Tripura. Its measure of isolation was further seen in the unanimous protest of all political parties and the entire press against the notorious Defamation Bill which forced it to retreat.

2.6 The policies pursued by the Rajiv Government are leading to an outburst of spontaneous mass discontent. The discontent does not as yet show signs of rallying around the all-India Opposition secular parties. The CPI(M) and the Left forces where they have taken the initiative, have been able to marshal big forces for demonstrations and protest. Considering the all India ramifications of the growing discontent, the CPI(M) and the Left have been able to organise only a small part of this ever increasing mass protest. In West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala, the CPI(M) together with the Left parties headed the discontent.

2.7 The discontent in the rest of the country is for the most part unled and often misdirected by reactionary agencies. Only in Haryana and the three Southern States of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka is this discontent rallied round Opposition parties. In the North-Eastern region, local parties head the discontent. But in the

major part of India, notwithstanding the results of recent by-elections, the indignation of the masses has yet to settle around the Opposition or Left parties.

2.8 But if the several secular Opposition parties join together, create the sense of a stable alternative centre and provide an assurance to sections, who were hitherto the voting blocs of the Congress(I), there is every chance of the Congress(I) being defeated in the next elections. This is a new feature which was not there at the last Party Congress. The Opposition bourgeois parties did not have this prospect before them. In the last three years the equation between the ruling party and the bourgeois-landlord Opposition parties has changed. The present position definitely accentuates the contradiction between the ruling party and the Opposition bourgeois parties.

2.9 Another change to be noted is the increased strength of the CPI(M) and the Left forces. It is this strength that enables the CPI(M) and the Left forces to influence, to a certain measure, the developments in national politics, carry on the fight against the divisive, separatist and communal forces and at the same time maintain a growing understanding with Opposition secular parties for the isolation and ousting of the Congress(I).

2.10 Another new development is that the imperialists have succeeded in establishing firmer influence over the Governments of some neighbouring countries who seek to create hostile feelings among their people towards India. It will be suicidal if this particular change is forgotten when we carry on our struggle. Because those who are getting increased influence in these countries are quite capable of using the growing hostility to prejudice, sabotage or defeat our struggle.

2.11 Another feature is that of the repeated use of the army for purposes of maintaining civil order. The constant use of the army shows the inability of the Government to maintain law and order by conventional methods. The intensification of the anti-Government discontent is getting further intensified and its sweep is so wide that it goes beyond the control of the civil authorities.

2.12 The period that the country is passing through is not just a period of Rajiv's maladministration. It is a period of growing authoritarianism, violation of constitutional norms and subversion of democratic rights.

Sharpened Contradictions between the People and the Ruling Party

Crisis of the Economy

2.13 During the last three years there has been a steady increase in the number of foreign collaboration agreements including those with

multinationals, private commercial borrowings and increased external debt, all making the Indian economy more and more vulnerable to imperialist pressures. As per official figures the number of proposals for foreign collaborations approved were 1024 for 1985, 957 for 1986 and 853 for 1987. The Indian Press also gives figures showing that more foreign collaboration deals were sanctioned in the first half of 1988 than in the whole of 1987 with Japan and West Germany. The policy of opening India to foreign multinationals is being pursued with accelerated speed exposing the people to devastating exploitation. There is also increasing penetration of multinationals in the field of agriculture, mainly as suppliers of inputs. The recently announced decision to liberalise seed imports opens another area to the multinationals. It will make our agriculture, which, with all its limitations can today stand on its own legs, totally dependent on the multinationals. The story is the same in fertilisers, drugs and fine chemicals, in electronics and communications. The science and technology capabilities which the country has slowly built up are threatened with collapse.

2.14 The crisis of the capitalist path of the Indian economy has imposed unbearable misery on the Indian masses, misery worse than that experienced in capitalist countries during the transition period to capitalism and the process of primary accumulation. The latest developments pose the near certainty of a foreign debt-trap unless the present rake's progress is stopped or controlled. India's external debt has been increasing at a phenomenal rate. According to the OECD figures it had reached 43 billion dollars, and at the end of the current year it is estimated to reach 60 billion dollars. According to official figures, as on March 31, 1987, the total external indebtedness was Rs. 54,817 crore in respect of Government loans and commercial borrowings. Every year sees increased foreign borrowings. Authorisation by the Aid India Consortium which was little over four billion dollars in 1985-86, the first year of the Seventh Plan, increased to 4.5 billion dollars in 1987-88 and to 6.3 billion dollars in 1988-89. Private investment flows which were negligible a few years back, climbed to as much as three billion dollars in 1986-87. The ratio of debt service payments to exports has already increased from 13.6 per cent in 1984-85 to 24 per cent in 1987-88, and is a warning that the country is on the border line of debt-trap. If this trend is unchecked, the process of new borrowings to pay off old borrowings, will start landing the country into endless trouble and dependence. In fact, even now 50 per cent of the new foreign loans are used for repayment, and the net inflow is less than the new borrowings. This is the inevitable result of the capitalist path howsoever one may try to soften its effects by aid from the Socialist countries.

2.15 The balance of payments situation might have been more acute, but for the remittances sent by the Indian expatriates, which amount to more than Rs. 3000 crore a year. The worsening balance of payments position, foreign debt and the debt service ratio situation mark the failure of the imports liberalisation policy, accepted under World Bank pressure, and of the various measures undertaken to facilitate private indigenous and foreign investment, import of technology to strengthen the competitive capacity of Indian industry in the world market and the advertised export drive. Imports have increased more rapidly than exports, they have failed to add to the **export** capacity of the country. The net result is increased debt load **and** destabilisation of certain indigenous industries and balance of **payments** difficulties.

2.16 The World Bank and the Government of India have been congratulating themselves on the continuous increase in exports which is supposed to have saved a very bad situation. But they do not tell about the sacrifices imposed on the Indian people for this dubious advance. **For exports promotion, subsidies of hundreds of crores of rupees** are being given and these are filched from the people through various devices like administered prices and indirect taxation. Apart from this, the people are made to pay through a growing devaluation of the rupee, deliberate devaluation of their earnings, which leads to a rise in prices. In the twelve-month period ending June this year the average effective exchange rate of the rupee against the major currencies (the export trade weighted rate) has declined by some 12 per cent. The value of the rupee is now reduced to 12 paise (base 1960). Some time back one of Rajiv's Cabinet Ministers estimated it at 12 paise compared to 98 paise in 1961. He said that because of this, 70 per cent of our population was living below the poverty line. But simultaneously the big monopolists and big industrialists and landed interests continue to gather huge wealth and economic resources in their hands. According to official figures the assets of 20 monopoly houses increased by more than 50 per cent in recent years. The process of polarisation of wealth at one end, and misery at the other, got accentuated during the crisis years. It is clear that while some industries are being ruined by the Rajiv Government's import liberalisation policy and invitation to multinationals, some monopolists and others are eager to take advantage of the situation and collaborate with foreign multinationals.

2.17 This assures good rupee prices for our exports and yet the increase in exports claimed is mainly statistical. The official growth figures relate to the growth in a devalued rupee value of exports. When we come to major export growth by reference to volume the picture changes. The claims of 20 per cent growth are replaced by a mere

growth of five per cent in volume.

2.18 This entire process of export promotion to pay off the debt burdens, the consequent imposition of burdens on the people, even destabilisation of some Indian industries, and the removal of one control after another against foreign capital, has got accentuated since the last Party Congress and bespeaks of an economy getting caught in the grip of Western financiers.

2.19 Side by side, the public sector built with the aid of the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries, which offered a base for building an independent economy, is being liquidated. A number of State Governments have expressed their readiness to sell their holdings in State concerns to private parties, and some have transferred them even to well-known foreign monopoly concerns. The World Bank in its latest report on India's steel industry, has called for transfer of public sector plants to private hands. And notwithstanding the repeated assertions of Rajiv and his colleagues that the public sector will continue to have a dominant place in the Indian economy, moves are afoot for new proposals to transfer public sector concerns, including those connected with Defence Departments, to private hands. The synchronisation of the industrial crisis with the drought and agrarian crisis, has increased closures, lockouts and they continue to remain at a high level. In the case of the textile industry, the plight of the NTC mills highlights the effects of drought and agrarian developments, on the consumer goods industry producing daily necessities of life.

2.20 Today 1057 big and medium concerns and 1,60,585 small industrial concerns continue to remain sick. Very few of them are considered viable and thousands of crores of rupees remain locked in debts due to them. All this together has thrown lakhs of working people out of jobs adding to the registered unemployment which now exceeds three crores. The rural unemployment is estimated to range between five and seven crores. But the attack on employment continues through introduction of computers and other sophisticated devices. Besides, the Government under the pressure of the World Bank is preparing to close a number of NTC mills and disentangle itself from other taken-over concerns. All this further contracts the market and aggravates the crisis conditions.

2.21 During the last three years, apart from devaluation of the rupee, the people have had to face an additional burden of taxation running into thousands of crores of rupees, leading to a continuous rise in prices. There is a continuous process of transfer of wealth from the poorer sections to the richer sections and the Government, through these devices. Characteristic evidence of this is the increased interest payment on internal debt which now amounts to a huge figure. This means the transfer of so much money to debt owners, mostly coming,

from the affluent classes.

Brunt of Crisis Borne by People

2.22 This process of one sided transfer of the burden of the crisis can be seen from the following. Those who are thrown out in lakhs from the factories, and the more than three crores who are on the unemployment registers, are not provided with any unemployment relief. Only in the two States of West Bengal and Kerala, and perhaps one or two more States, does a small section of the unemployed get some symbolic relief. The rest have to face outright starvation or live on the charity of others. For the vast mass of city workers in unorganised industry there is no scheme of compensation against the rising costs of living, or any other social benefit or right, including security of jobs. For the huge mass of agricultural workers there is neither work nor the protection of all-India legislation to guarantee a minimum wage. Even where such legislation exist, at the State level these are seldom implemented. Those demanding such minimum wages are often subjected to atrocities of all kinds. And the peasant producer is continuously made a debtor through unfair prices and unequal trade. Peasant indebtedness has increased and with higher rates of interest the peasant has to part with a larger share of his produce to his creditors. The institutions created to provide rural credit serve only the landlords and the rural rich. The floods and drought, results of faulty planning in many cases and the failure to extend irrigation, add to the misery of the peasant, increasing his debt burden.

2.23 Taking the index of all crop production foodgrains and non-foodgrains (using 1969-70=100 as base) we find that this index had reached 156.4 in 1983-84, stood at 154.6 in 1984-85, 161.7 in 1985-86, 152.6 in 1986-87 before dipping sharply in the drought year 1987-88. The drought came on top of a negative trend in foodgrains production, and a stagnant trend in all crop production, in the post-1983-84 period. **A serious agrarian crisis is in evidence, the implications of which for the economy should not be underestimated.** The most remarkable aspect of the crisis, however, is not even this. It consists in the fact that notwithstanding the series of comparatively poor harvests after 1983-84, the Government had accumulated 23 million tonnes of foodgrain stocks out of domestic procurement. In other words there is not enough purchasing power in the hands of the poor to absorb a foodgrain output of the order that we have been witnessing in the post-1983-84 period. While output continues to remain low, demand continues to remain lower still on account of limited purchasing power, especially in rural areas, over vast parts of the country. This is the secret of the burgeoning food stocks during the drought period.

2.24 This lack of purchasing power is accentuated by the continuous adverse terms of trade which is no longer a mere result of market operations, but has become an instrument of official policy. The agrarian crisis does not appear only as a declining trend in growth but also as a drastic depreciation of the earnings and purchasing power of the peasantry and the agricultural workers. The total effect of these developments is increased pauperisation, landlessness, growth in the number of agricultural workers and their increased unemployment and low wages, below even the legally provided level.

2.25 The adverse terms of trade have directly sharpened the contradiction not only between the rural masses and the bourgeois-landlord Government but also between the two partners in the alliance—the landlords and the bourgeoisie.

2.26 The entire process of transferring the burdens of the crisis is leading to widespread movements of peasants against official policies. These movements are led by the Left forces in many places, and they are channelising the discontent on basic demands of land reforms and land distribution. The September 1987 and 1988 agitations were high watermarks for the agrarian protest.

2.27 The consumer price index number for industrial workers stood at 772 for April-June 1988 which is 9.8 per cent higher compared to the corresponding figure for the previous year ; for the previous two years the rates of inflation were 8.0 per cent and 8.5 per cent respectively. The April-June foodgrains prices in 1988 were 19.4 per cent higher than for the corresponding months of 1987. This is how the authorities are managing inflation and congratulating themselves. And if the huge deficit financing and the crooked practice of the bourgeois-landlord Government have not led to runaway inflation, this is due to the most unscrupulous use of economic and political power against the peasants and agricultural workers, who have been forced to go hungry to create a semblance of inflation-control in the cities.

2.28 The agrarian crisis is accompanied by intense industrial crisis, notwithstanding claims of increased industrial growth rate made by the Government. The textile, handloom and jute industries are getting ruined, tens of thousands are out of a job. Maintaining industrial growth at a reasonably high level during a period of severe drought, also indicates that a large section of such industries do not cater to the needs of the rural masses, and thus, this sharp decline in rural purchasing power does not affect them. This also sets a limit to the potential for industrial growth as the market is restricted to the upper strata of the urban population and the rural rich. The handloom and powerloom workers have never witnessed such depressing days, and the ruin of the traditional industries like coir, etc., continues. Official policies, with their emphasis on modernisation, computerisation, etc.,

only accentuate the crisis. Thus the aggravation of contradictions will continue, and the working class and the urban areas are becoming big battlefields for class action. Their ranks have now been joined by the technical intelligentsia, public sector officials and the patriotic executives who are opposed both to the attacks on living standards and the liquidation of the public sector. Some of the affected sections of Indian employers are inclined to take a joint stand along with the workers, against the depredations of foreign capital. Indian drug companies, in particular, are feeling the onslaught of the competition of the foreign multinationals and are supporting the demand for measures to put restrictions on their operations.

2.29 Witnessing the rising temper of the working class and the increasing opposition from the urban areas the Rajiv Gandhi Government has prepared new anti-trade union legislation to prohibit strikes, prevent the rise of militant trade unions and virtually abolish all collective bargaining. It has already introduced legislation banning strikes in hospitals, etc. Besides, the National Security Act and the ESMA are often freely used against trade union leaders and workers.

2.30 There is a growing collapse of the solvency of the Government whose expenditure far exceeds its revenue income and which is increasingly depending on monstrous deficit financing to continue its operations. The overall budget deficit which ran usually between Rs. 2,000 crore to Rs. 3,000 crore in the early '80s, reached a record of Rs. 9,233 crore (Revised Estimate) in 1986-87. In 1987-88, it was expected to be Rs. 6,080 crore and the current year budget places it at not less than Rs. 7,484 crore, a figure which is bound to be exceeded by at least 30 per cent.

2.31 As if all this were not enough, the crisis is further accentuated by the enforced increase in defence expenditure, enforced because of the U.S. Administration's deliberate policy of pouring in arms into Pakistan and forcing India to divert more resources for defence. This is a deliberate plan to accentuate the difficulties and the crisis of the Indian economy. Defence outlay has increased from 2.85 per cent of GDP in 1980-81, to 4.04 per cent in 1987-88. The increasing expenditure of police and para-military forces further strains the budget.

2.32 Domestic borrowings freely resorted to in recent years now amount to Rs. 99,500 crore. Interest payments both external and internal account for 17 per cent of the budget expenditure. The total budgeted figure for interest payments in 1988-89 is Rs. 14,100 crore.

2.33 The budgets of the State Governments are also under strain and have become unmanageable.

2.34 Such is the crisis of the economy which is aggravating the contradictions and calling forth wide peasant agitations and outbursts. And these will now increase both in cities and the villages because with the disappearance of the so-called surplus stocks, food prices are likely to be affected by speculative trading. The Government unable to control the effect will put the economy into a new turmoil.

Authoritarian Attack

2.35 The 59th Constitution Amendment Act which hangs the sword of emergency over the country; the proposed Defamation Bill which was intended to extinguish all freedom of criticism and exposure of corrupt Ministers, the Government, and officials; the rule by Ordinances in States, the use of the National Security Act against mass movements; the falsification of elections in Tripura and the terror regime established there with attack on the rights of tribals and the legality of trade unions, speak of the continuing trend towards authoritarianism of the Rajiv Government. With the growing maturity of the crisis of the system, parliamentary democracy, and the people's rights under it, are being incessantly attacked.

2.36 The Rajiv Government arbitrarily postpones elections where it runs the risk of outright defeat, as in the case of elections to the Delhi Metropolitan Council. It prolongs Presidential Rule in Tamil Nadu waiting for a favourable opportunity for itself to fight the elections. Again it arbitrarily dismisses the Assembly to prevent an opposition party Ministry from taking office when the Congress(I) party loses its majority as in Nagaland. In Mizoram and Meghalaya it resorts to similar tactics and arbitrarily intervenes through the Governor to dismiss an unwanted Ministry.

2.37 Deeply affected by corruption, jobbery and nepotism, the administration has become a curse for the common people. In India today under the bourgeois-landlord rule, an ordinary individual has hardly any chance when pitted against the criminal gangsters and police. The stories of rape by policemen and murders in police stations continue to multiply. Crimes against women are increasing day by day. Barring transfer or temporary suspension of guilty officers hardly anything is done. It is a common complaint in the capital of India that officers in charge of police stations often refuse to register complaints against criminals or persons with social pull, and leave the ordinary citizen totally defenceless against intimidators and the encroachment on citizen's rights. The bastis, the slums of big cities, the localities in the periphery of big towns, are directly ruled by groups of anti-socials in league with the police. This parallel government functions openly and the people live in terror of anti-socials. In all Congress(I)-ruled States, honest and bold journalists and correspon-

dents who expose the police or the criminals run the risk of a threat to their lives. Every effort is made to subordinate the judiciary to the executive to meet the needs of the ruling party.

2.38 In rural areas the Harijans and Adivasis are subjected to terror and murderous attacks by dacoits, police and landlord goondas. Gang rape of women by any of these agencies often takes place and the Government does not do anything. In the cities the working class struggles are often subjected to all kinds of repression. The high-handedness of the police in the capital led to widespread protest by lawyers which finally culminated in an unprecedented strike of lawyers all over India

2.39 Despite these onslaughts, the popular resistance continues to expand drawing larger and larger sections into struggles. The big demonstrations, rallies, strikes and bandhs despite repression and police firing, continue to increase and the Government is often forced to retreat or withhold its repressive measures. The united protest against the Defamation Bill forced the Rajiv Government to announce the virtual withdrawal of the measure. The united protest of all trade unions has forced the Government to postpone consideration of anti-trade union bills.

2.40 At the same time it should be realised that in spite of its many misdeeds and its recent reverses in elections, the Congress(I) party continues to have a big mass base even in States where non-Congress(I) Ministries are functioning. Its all-India mass influence and strength should not be underestimated and the degree of its isolation should not be exaggerated. It is, besides, capable of winning over sections who are now alienated from it. All this makes the election battle against the Congress(I) an arduous struggle requiring for its success combination of all anti-authoritarian forces and the maximum mobilisation of the masses. Divisions in the secular Opposition parties and underestimation of the mass pull of the Congress(I) will only help the ruling party. At the same time it will be difficult for the Congress(I) to defeat a combination of Left and secular forces provided they make a bid for the masses in all seriousness.

Contradictions with Imperialism

Foreign Policy

2.41 During the years since the last Party Congress the Indian Government has maintained the foreign policy of non-alignment.

2.42 The Rajiv Government continues to take a correct position on Afghanistan, calling for political settlement and implementation of the Geneva Accord. The Government continues to support the fighting people of Kampuchea and the role of Vietnamese troops in that

country, and refuses to conciliate with the allies of Pol Pot. It takes a forthright stand on the question of apartheid, offers aid to frontline States, demands effective sanctions and calls for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela. It continues its support to the cause of the Palestinians, to Angola, Western Sahara and Nicaragua. It took a correct position on the prolonged Iran-Iraq war and threw its weight in favour of an early end to the war.

2.43 India's foreign policy is strengthened by the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Peace and Cooperation which enables India to safeguard her security. The Soviet help in matters of security and defence, economic cooperation and provision of rupee payments, all are of great help in sustaining the policy of non-alignment. India's support for peace, her endorsement of the Soviet proposals for reduction of nuclear weapons, strengthens the world struggle for peace and helps to tilt the balance in favour of the forces opposed to war. The Indo-Soviet Joint Delhi Declaration and the subsequent six-nation call for a time-bound programme for reduction of nuclear weapons served to emphasise India's adherence to the cause of non-alignment and peace.

2.44 Despite economic pressures of the World Bank and the effect of the economic policies pursued, India's policy of non-alignment and friendship with Socialist countries continues. This is because, side by side with the pressures, there is also a sharpened contradiction with imperialism due to its continuous arming of Pakistan, and its support to the latter's plan for developing nuclear weapons. These, together with the interests of the ruling classes in peace, development of foreign trade and economic activities abroad, enables continuation of the non-aligned policy.

2.45 There were of course strong U.S. pressures against non-alignment during this period. The U.S. is making every effort to change the existing relationship between India and the USSR in the matter of arms supplies and make India dependent on the West. This was the purpose behind the negotiations that were opened two years ago between the defence authorities of India and the USA. It is also known that the Government of India had agreed to send administrative and police officials to Harvard University and other institutions for training in American expertise. Under pressure of economic events Rajiv is forced to dispense with a forthright stand against U.S. misdeeds and intervention.

2.46 It is noted that when Western navies invaded the Persian Gulf last year India, which had repeatedly demanded that the Indian Ocean should be free from foreign naval presence, did not raise its voice in protest

India-China Relations

2.47 These years also saw a better and more congenial atmosphere in India-China relations though on some occasions the border question continued to cloud the relations. The Government's decision to grant statehood to Arunachal Pradesh and subsequent developments, with statements and counter-statements from both sides, created uncertainties, but soon progress towards better understanding was made possible by steps taken by both sides. This has created anxiety in U.S. imperialist circles which require suspicion, estrangement and hostility among nations of the Third World to pursue their objective of world domination. It is, therefore, not surprising that reports should appear in the U.S. Press, attributed to Pentagon circles, saying that People's China may use force against India to settle the border dispute. The American lobby in India following the indications from its pay-masters, could inveigle a number of Indians to press on the Government of India not to accept Chinese sovereignty over Tibet and secure for it the status of a buffer State.

2.48 But the efforts of this lobby to whip up tension between the two countries received a rebuff with Rajiv Gandhi's visit to People's China in December. The reiteration of the five principles of international conduct by both sides, and the appointment of a committee to settle the border dispute as expeditiously as possible have opened the prospects of normalisation of relations, and restoration of the former friendship between the two countries.

Sri Lanka

2.49 When there was a possibility of Sri Lanka becoming increasingly dependent on the West through foreign mercenary forces and the Sri Lankan Government required Indian help for solving the ethnic problem, the Government of India sent its forces to help the Sri Lankan authorities. Public opinion in India was also calling upon the Government of India to intervene and save the Tamils from the repressive measures of the Jayewardene Government. The foreign mercenaries patronised by reactionary imperialist Governments had to retreat. But for the direct help to Sri Lanka, the imperialists would have succeeded in their plan. This would have endangered the security of both India and Sri Lanka. The Accord reached between the two Governments assures India that Sri Lankan waters and the Trincomalee harbour will not be allowed to be used to endanger India's security.

2.50 Of course the imperialists counter this help to Sri Lanka by increased aid to the militant secessionists to prolong the conflict. This has been used by the reactionary forces in that country to rouse

national chauvinism and create feelings of hostility towards the Indian people. Imperialism is gaining its ends with the aid of this reactionary propaganda.

2.51 At the same time, it has to be realised that both in Sri Lanka and India there are apprehensions about the role of the IPKF in Sri Lanka. Many people feel that it is fighting only the Tamils. In these circumstances, now that the provincial elections in the Northern and Eastern areas of Sri Lanka are over, it is advisable to begin the phased withdrawal of the IPKF from there.

Pakistan

2.52 The U.S. Government is pouring arms worth billions of rupees into Pakistan, forcing India also to spend huge amounts to keep her defence capacity unimpaired. The U.S. imperialists are encouraging Pakistan to produce a nuclear bomb so that India is forced to sign the unequal Non-Proliferation Treaty. They have helped Pakistan to train and finance the Khalistani terrorists. The Siachen dispute and Kashmir have been sources of friction and tension between the erstwhile military dictatorship of Pakistan and India. At the same time the call for peace, understanding and friendship between the two countries has to be pursued. It is to be noted that the Government of India is virtually silent on U.S. misdeeds towards India, perhaps under the economic pressure of the World Bank. It satisfies itself by pinning down the junior partner of the conspiracy. But it is unfortunate that the bourgeois Opposition parties should show total indifference towards imperialist manoeuvres and provocative anti-India acts.

2.53 Recent developments in Pakistan are of great importance. The people of Pakistan who were groaning under the military dictatorship of Zia, have at last secured an election victory for the anti-dictatorial and democratic forces. The installation of Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister strengthens the democratic forces and movement in Pakistan though the challenge of reaction continues to be strong. The statement of Benazir Bhutto regarding India-Pakistan relations, the reference to the Simla Pact and other developments, are indications that the earlier atmosphere of tension between the two countries is likely to be relaxed and a feeling of friendship and solidarity developed on both sides.

Bangladesh

2.54 India's relationship with another neighbour, Bangladesh, is also not without strains. The country is ruled by another military dictator who is riding rough-shod over democracy, and to protect his reactionary regime, is taking shelter behind Islamisation of the State. This is no wonder, because the development budget of his Govern-

ment has to completely rely on help from Western countries who are calling the political tune. The secular forces in the country, however, are protesting against Islamisation and demanding its withdrawal, women are protesting against the threat to their elementary freedoms. The setting up of SAARC has not relieved the situation as the mainsprings of the action of some member countries are controlled by the needs of their opportunist policies.

2.55 However, recent months have witnessed popular upsurges in these countries against the autocratic rule and for democratic rights. In Burma people have risen demanding restoration of democracy. In Bangladesh people are struggling against the military despotism and the Islamisation drive. Even in Pakistan, following Zia's death, the movement for democratic rights is gathering strength. These movements in the cause of democracy can thwart imperialist designs and must be given all support.

2.56 In these circumstances non-alignment, friendship and solidarity between the peoples of neighbouring countries, and alliance with the forces of world peace and Socialist countries constitute the only guarantee to ward off the provocations of imperialist policy

2.57 The task of the CPI(M) extends beyond the defence of non-alignment. It has to make a positive contribution in defence of world peace, expose the sources of world tension and also the danger of nuclear war. The importance of the fight against nuclear war is underestimated in our country and the struggle for peace itself is confined to narrow channels. This lacuna has to be overcome immediately, and the masses are to be involved in the defence of peace and the policy of non-alignment. The Party further exposes the talk of two super powers indulged in by the bourgeois circles. The Party exposes the U.S. moves for the Star Wars project and exposes the U.S. imperialist's aggressive plans. It supports the peace proposals of the USSR. It unmasks the U.S. ambitions and moves for global domination, exposes the imperialist powers, patronage for the racist regime of South Africa, their alliance with Israel and the machinations to divide the Arab world and deny justice to the Palestinians, and their support to the reactionary regime in South Korea. It exposes the U.S. violation of the Afghan Accord and its continued supply of arms to the Mujahideens. The Party exposes imperialist intervention wherever it takes place. It lends its full support to the people of Nicaragua, Chile, El Salvador, Palestine, Namibia, Western Sahara and others fighting U.S. imperialism. The Party works for developing warm relations between India and People's China and for strengthening the bonds of friendship between India and all Socialist countries. The defence of

non-alignment means the defence of an independent foreign policy, defence of the country against imperialist machinations and pressures on our foreign policy. It is part of our struggle against imperialism and must be urgently pursued. Underestimation of the importance of our foreign policy plays into the hands of imperialism.

Attack of Secessionists and Divisive Forces and Congress(I) Policy

2.58 While united mass discontent and mass struggles are developing to resist the anti-people policies of the Congress(I) and its authoritarianism, the democratic movement also witnessed a growing attack of the divisive, secessionist and communal forces to disrupt the common movement. They are directly or indirectly used by imperialist agencies to promote their objective of destabilising and disintegrating India.

2.59 The situation in Kashmir today is extremely serious. Day by day the effrontery and challenge of the open pro-Pakistani forces is increasing and Farooq Abdullah is hard put to it to control and counter them. Rajiv and his advisors must share responsibility for the situation in Kashmir. It is they who clubbed with G.M. Shah, a notorious communalist and enabled him to form a Government in Kashmir. The result was that Kashmir saw unprecedented communal riots and a tremendous rise in pro-Pakistani agitations. The Assam Accord has not solved the problem of secessionist agitation in the State. The extremists continue their subversive and secessionist activities. Under the AGP Government the minorities are oppressed and threatened and citizenship of thousands of Indians is being challenged.

2.60 The same is the situation in some other States of the north-eastern region. In some of these States the Congress(I), instead of countering the secessionists, is joining hands with them on issues such as the "foreigners question". The temporary accords struck with local parties are collapsing and leading to a critical situation. In some States a crisis has been engineered by the opportunism of the Union Government. The dissolution of the Nagaland Assembly and imposition of President's Rule have evoked feelings of want of confidence and hostility towards the Centre and strengthened the separatist forces. In Mizoram also a similar situation has developed. The Congress(I) party, unable to build abiding unity of the people, trusts only accords at the top, and relies on the law and order machinery, all of which fails to assure a feeling of equality to the people of the constituent States in the area.

2.61 How the Rajiv Government conciliates and even allies with the divisive forces to gain advantage for itself is revealed by its secret

accord with the TNV in connection with the Tripura Assembly elections. The Congress(I) appealed to the electorate promising to end the TNV menace. No one knew that it was already working in league with the TNV, and the latter's murderous campaign on the eve of the elections was carried on with the indulgence of the Congress(I).

2.62 Nowhere else does the ruling party's total incapacity to work for and maintain national unity stand so exposed as in Punjab. The Rajiv Government broke the Punjab Accord, an honest implementation of which would have resulted in creating a strong basis for normalising the situation in the State. The Accord was broken to protect the narrow interest of the Congress(I). Today in spite of the growing isolation of the Khalistanis from the people, the ruling party is unable to move in any way to establish normalcy and the spirit of national unity. In its disgusting hunt for agents and stooges, it tries to strike a deal with one or other section of the extremists, or with one or other opportunist section of the Akali groups, leaving the masses outside its calculations. The result is that the menace of terrorism still continues in Punjab and there does not seem to be an end in sight. The Central Government committed a big crime against the country and indulged in sheer unscrupulousness when they dismissed the Barnala Ministry which was taking a stand against Akali fanaticism. This nefarious step was taken to influence the Haryana elections in favour of the Congress(I). In effect it was an appeal to Hindu communal sentiment and a betrayal of the spirit of national unity.

Menace of Communal and Fundamentalist Forces

2.63 The Congress(I) opportunism of conciliating the forces of orthodoxy, both Hindu and Muslim, encourages the designs of communal forces and the hold of obscurantism on the masses. Rajiv Gandhi's Government took an ambivalent position on the Sati issue and refused to bring to book those who like the Puri Sankaracharya justify Sati and untouchability. The State Government of Rajasthan refused to protect the democratic rights of Harijans and surrendered before Hindu orthodoxy, and the Central Government prostrated itself before Muslim orthodoxy to overrule the Supreme Court Judgment in the Shah Bano case, leaving the Muslim women to the mercy of obscurantist religious fanatics.

of our sudden opening of the disputed Ramjanmabhoomi temple

2.64 The communal tension and strife in Uttar Pradesh, the recurring communal riots in Ahmedabad and other places, the Meerut ring communal riot, the massacre by the PAC are manifestations of the riots and the Maliana massacre and Congress(I) opportunism, deteriorating communal situation.

They at the same time reveal the incompetence of the Congress(I) Government to protect national unity. The communal riots of the present period are unlike the riots of the earlier period which generally arose out of some temporary emotional feelings but now they are a conscious device of internal reactionary and foreign destabilisers to undermine Indian unity.

2.65 These agencies are now endeavouring to widen their scope and directly strike at the Left forces. They are intent on organising disturbances in West Bengal where the CPI(M) and the Left forces have been successful in maintaining communal unity and preventing the spread of communal poison. The Muslim League, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and other Hindu communal forces are now very active in West Bengal rousing communal feelings.

2.66 In these circumstances it is not enough to expose the Congress(I) and its Government, decry their partisan role during riots or their conciliatory attitude to communal pressures but it is necessary to positively intervene among the people and mobilise them against this policy, against the riots and the failure to protect the minorities during the riots.

2.67 In fighting the divisive and communal forces the CPI(M) must keep in mind certain important factors: The secessionist movement in several places was able to draw in wide sections of the people utilising many of their just and genuine grievances. The Party recognises these two aspects of the movement and while fighting the secessionist trend it endeavours to defend genuine demands of the people as in the case of the Gorkhaland agitation.

2.68 The memorandum of the CPI(M) on national integration (1973) observed: "The minority Muslim community in our country, denied in practice employment opportunities, eliminated from many Government services, educationally backward, the Urdu language cold-shouldered, the right to use it and develop it denied, and their hunted community. They are also continuously in the grip of their own reactionary communal leaders who are interested in keeping them in outmoded traditions and obscurantist practices, all under the garb of religion. They do not allow the mass of Muslim people to make common cause with the toilers from the majority community, and wage a common battle for common economic and democratic demands.

2.69 Part of the Muslim communal problem is directly related to unequal conditions in which in Muslim community is placed, notwithstanding the proclamation of equality of citizens under the Constitution. It is a question of defence of the basic rights of the minority which the bourgeois-landlord Government continuously violates.

2.70 Unless the Party of the working class and the Left forces put

themselves in the forefront of the battle against the communal challenge by their deeds and words, and they prove themselves capable of defending the rights of the minorities and forging unity during critical times, this challenge cannot be met. The bourgeois Opposition parties and their leaders suffer from lack of clear understanding. They often resort to manoeuvres which exacerbate and complicate the situation.

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

Imperialist-Funded Agencies

2.72 The voluntary organisations funded by western agencies and the flow of funds to these organisations have grown alarmingly in the past three years. The Rajiv Government under the constant pressure of the World Bank is officially collaborating with these agencies and handing over crores of rupees to them for developmental plans under the Seventh Plan. Increasingly isolated from the people, and unable to rely on the Congress(II) party because of its paralysing dissensions, the Rajiv Government is hoping to utilise these organisations for rural development. The penetration of these foreign funded agencies is another avenue for imperialist pressure and subversion.

Centre-State Relations Agrivation of Nationality Question

2.73 The aggravation of Centre-State relations in recent years is the expression of the acuteness of the nationality question in the country. The problem of nationality in India can be practically solved if the various nationality constituents of the country are accorded equal opportunities for development and equal status in running the country. This is not possible under the capitalist path which is necessarily based on uneven development of regions, subjecting many areas to enforced backwardness. This has led to growing discontent and alienation of large sections.

2.74 The administration has resorted to growing encroachments of the rights of the States and their economic powers and resources. The process of concentration of power in the hands of the Centre extend-

ing over many years is resulting in secessionist movements in the border States and rousing powerful regional feelings in many others. The ruling party at the Centre makes blatant use of centrally appointed Governors to interfere in the State's administration, obstruct its functioning and overrule the decisions of the elected majority. Besides, Governors, to suit the interests of the ruling party, arbitrarily declare breakdown of the Constitution and recommend dissolution of the Assembly. The Governors often undertake to decide whether any party in the State legislature has a majority in the Assembly instead of allowing the house to decide it.

2.75 The acute nationality crisis is expressed in the growing exacerbation of Centre-State relations. Distortions in Centre-State relations is evident from the following. The total loan repayment liability of State Governments in any one year is found to be much in excess of the quantum of plan assistance for the year from the Centre. Unless immediate relief from this debt burden is made available the States will find it extremely difficult to proceed with any development activity. The financial resources of the States are inelastic and slender and the States have to meet the heavy responsibilities regarding development and welfare measures. Tax revenue sources and market borrowings are concentrated in the hands of the Centre—only 30 per cent of revenue resources and 15 per cent of market borrowings are allotted to the States. The device of administered prices is used to deprive the States of their legitimate share in the Centre's taxation proceeds. The manner in which foreign credit is passed on by the Central Government for any project in the State is highly objectionable. Rajiv Gandhi's recent meetings with District Collectors, bypassing the State Governments, the glib talk of district planning and panchayat decentralisation are attempts to take direct charge of economic administration and development work in the hands of the Centre. It constitutes an authoritarian attack against the States' powers and autonomy. In these circumstances it is all the more necessary that Article 370(c) of the Constitution which deals with the special status of Kashmir should be protected against all encroachments by the Central Government and assaults from reactionaries.

2.76 The Left-led Ministries and non-Congress(I) Ministries have a long list of complaints against the Centre. They range from discrimination in the matter of sanctioning industrial projects, deliberate withholding of sanction for viable projects, financial discrimination using the financial lever to create difficulties for these Ministries, to even cutting off food supplies at a crucial time to prejudice the people against the Left-led Governments. The continuation of freight equalisation policy is hitting the economy of eastern States.

viz., Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa, hard. The demand that this policy should be made applicable to all the industrial raw materials throughout the country has not been accepted so far leading to discriminatory treatment to the eastern States. The Sarkaria Commission appointed by the Central Government discovered many violations of rules and accepted norms in the existing Centre-State relations. It made suggestions to improve the present situation but there is no likelihood of the Centre accepting any control on its powers and privileges.

2.77 This conflict recently took an unprecedented turn. The entire Left Front MLAs and Ministers, except the Chief Minister, from West Bengal held a dharna in the capital protesting against the treatment meted out to the State and vetoing viable and agreed projects. It was followed by similar dharnas of Andhra Pradesh TDP MLAs and Ministers along with CPI(M) and Janata MLAs, against the refusal to sanction projects which have been hanging fire for many years. This was followed by similar protests of Kerala MLAs, and Ministers in New Delhi against the discriminatory treatment meted out to that State.

2.78 When the representatives of the States are forced to demonstrate in the streets of the capital to carry out their electoral promises, it reveals the acute state of the nationality crisis.

2.79 At the same time a warning is necessary. Where the Left-led Governments do not exist, the one sided Centre-State relations are used as a cover for the failure of the Ministry concerned and often for rousing local chauvinism for purposes of electoral gain. Such use in effect adds to the separatist and secessionist propaganda and helps in disrupting national unity. The Left and democratic forces should be aware of this and lay stress on the general democratic and common basis of their demand for change in the Centre-State relations

Undemocratic Education Policy

2.80 It is known that in the name of improving the quality of education and taking the country to the computer age, education is being made more selective, confined to a narrow elitist and socially well-placed section, leaving the mass of the people to their fate. The education policy is being tuned to the needs of the owners of new sophisticated industry which requires a regular supply of highly trained personnel. This is being guaranteed through the new policy—Navodaya schools, centres of excellence, etc. This leads directly to the abandonment of the concrete target for the attainment of mass literacy, the neglect of primary education and to a growing denial of higher education to the poorer sections of the society. The accreditation councils scheme for accreditation and assessment for maintain-

ing and raising the quality of institutions of higher learning, is an instrument for complete overhauling of the higher education system to the detriment and disadvantage of the teachers, students, and the spread of higher education to economically ill-placed sections of society. It is an instrument to ensure that only those coming from better-off families have the benefits of higher education, only those who can afford to pay the exorbitant fees levied by autonomous colleges can hope to reach these institutions. The **authoritarian** approach to education is manifest in the arbitrary removal of the Vice-Chancellors of Bihar universities at one stroke.

2.81 The World Bank pressure to cut down all measures of social relief and subsidies is manifest in the new education policy of the **Rajiv** Government. The new policy must be fought with the aid of all democratic forces. The all India college and university teachers' strike in 1987, and the one-day strike of students in September 1988, demonstrate that the teachers and students are already in the field to resist this attack on educational rights.

Culture and Mass Media

2.82 The crisis of the bourgeois-landlord system and the increased offensive of the feudal forces has had serious repercussions for the socio-cultural life in the country. The **distortions** in the field of education, cultural and other intellectual pursuits, are leading to the undermining of democratic culture. A sizeable section of the intelligentsia, influenced by the ideology of the decaying capitalist order, is unable to vigorously combat the resurgence of irrational and unscientific ideas and even falls prey to it. The ruling party, as well as a section of the bourgeois opposition leadership, are not averse to utilising the obscurantist and medieval ideas to buttress their electoral base. The ruling party has been pandering to what is most backward in our culture. Due to the intolerant attitude of the ruling party, freedom of expression is seriously jeopardised. The Government-controlled media, radio and television, as well as the monopoly-controlled press are blatantly utilised to propagate decadent antediluvian, obscurantist and revivalist ideas. The official mass media is being blatantly used by the Congress(I) for its partisan purposes. Also at work are imperialist agencies who are aggressively propagating anti-scientific and anti-democratic ideas amongst the intelligentsia of the country. There is a subtle attempt on the part of some of these agencies to harness the bourgeois radical trends and divert them in anti-democratic channels by decrying the achievements of modern science and technology.

2.83 All this seriously hampers the growth of the democratic struggle of the people. As against the reactionary trends in the intellectual and

cultural life of the country, there is also a definite trend of a positively democratic nature. A large section of writers, artists in various fields and scientists and technologists are engaging themselves in combating the obscurantist ideas and adopting democratic positions. Their role in the struggle for creating a democratic and secular culture is of immense value.

2.84 This enjoins upon the Party to wage a persistent struggle against the decadent and obscurantist trends in culture, in unity with all those who adopt a progressive democratic position.

Party's Role in Defending National Unity

2.85 While taking note of the fight against divisive and secessionist forces, our Party can be proud that it has been in the forefront of the battle against the secessionists and divisive forces. The Party pays homage to the memory of the innumerable cadres, workers, peasants, students, youth, women who have fallen in this battle to defend national unity. In the secessionist Assam agitation and the continuing struggle in Punjab against the terrorist Khalistanis, and the struggle in Darjeeling against armed attacks of the GNLF, our Party, trade unions, kisan, youth and students and women cadres have played a glorious role sacrificing their lives and facing the brutal terror of the anti-national elements. In Punjab, every few days, we lose valuable cadres targetted by the terrorist assassins. It was, and is so in Darjeeling, where brave tea-garden workers and our other comrades put up a courageous fight, and it was and is so in Tripura where our comrades have to face the murderous attack of the TNV. The Party highly appreciates the courage and loyalty of the families and relatives of our martyrs who continue to serve the cause of national unity undaunted by the murders. All this has raised the prestige of the CPI(M) as a consistent and courageous fighter in the cause of national unity and enhanced its political weight among the people. That the working class party should be in the forefront of the struggle is no accident. It is the responsibility that history puts on its shoulders. In Punjab CPI cadres are also fighting a courageous battle for unity and a large number of them have lost their lives in this grim battle.

2.86 The way in which our Party and the Left Front Government of West Bengal faced the separatist challenge of the GNLF and brought the agitation to a close made a remarkable contribution in the struggle for national unity. It understood the two aspects of the movement, the backwardness of the areas and the genuine demands of the people and the exploitation of these demands for disruptive purposes by those who were raising secessionist sentiments. The Party and its

cadre therefore embarked upon a political campaign among the masses. They faced the terrorist attacks undauntedly and 108 Nepali comrades sacrificed their lives by heroically opposing them. At the same time the Government tackled, through the law and order machinery, those who were out for mischief. This demarcation between the agitated mass and the disruptive leadership was the only way in which the GNLF could be fought and unity could be maintained. It is to be noted that no other political party including the Congress(I), intervened through its cadres to educate and pacify the mass that was being misled. They refused to carry on political and ideological battle against the GNLF challenge.

2.87 In the beginning, the GNLF agitation of Ghising was encouraged and supported by Congress(I) elements and no less a person than Rajiv Gandhi certified him to be a good nationalist. Every effort was made in the beginning to exploit this disruptive agitation to create opinion against the Left Front Government, and the Congress(I) party in West Bengal often voiced the slanders about repression circulated by the secessionist agitators. Better counsels prevailed in the Central Government which later on decided to work in cooperation with the Left Front Government to settle the issue. The settlement of this agitation has not only raised high the prestige of the Left Front Government but has also indicated how these movements can be tackled in the interests of maintaining the unity of the country.

Women

2.88 The period since the last Congress has witnessed further advance in the organised women's movement. The new awakening and spirit of resistance to women's oppression is bringing women's organisations together to wage a fight against feudal customs and oppression, Sati burning, dowry crimes and criminal offences against women of the downtrodden rural masses, Harijans and Adivasis. Attempts to perpetuate the inferior status of Muslim women in the name of religion are resisted. Discrimination against working women in matters of jobs, promotions and equal pay is being exposed and fought. The common stand of several women's organisations in exposing the inadequacies of the National Perspective Plan of the Government and its exaggerated claims manifest greater cohesion and maturity of the movement.

The Anti-Caste Movements

2.89 The struggle to defeat the Congress(I) in the next elections, and the struggle to build the Left and democratic front, both require ear-

nest efforts to mobilise all sections of the downtrodden masses. Large sections from these masses often stand alienated from the democratic and working class movement, and are swayed by sectional leadership which diverts their discontent and anger into narrow channels. The period since our last Congress has witnessed a new militant awakening among these sections—the Adivasis, Harijans and backward classes. It is necessary to make all efforts to draw this new awakening to the common struggle, developing a correct attitude and tactics towards their organisation.

2.90 Successive Congress Governments have attempted to rally these sections, tempting them with the provision of reservation of jobs in Government services. This was also a device to bypass the question of land reforms and redistribution of land. The job reservation policy, continued over a number of years has led to the creation of a thin strata of the educated, interested only in jobs, while the main mass continues to languish in misery. Now both the discontent of the educated section and the growing misery of the uneducated mass is bursting forth in militant protest and action. These protests against social discrimination, caste tyranny, police repression, are at present carried out under the leadership of their caste leaders. They represent the anti-feudal, anti-landlord discontent of these agrarian masses.

2.91 On rare occasions some of these agitations cooperate with our Kisan Sabha and Left forces on the question of land for the landless or protest against atrocities. But by and large their leaders take a sectarian, even hostile, attitude towards the common struggle. It is necessary to break this alienation by taking a proper attitude towards these organisations' understanding, the objective role they are playing. The point is that this section represents the most downtrodden section of agrarian India and the Kisan Sabha and the Party cannot avoid their common responsibility towards them. The Party, the democratic movement and class organisations, should lend support to their struggle against caste tyranny and repression, and enable them and their organisations to join the common struggle. There cannot be a successful agrarian revolution without these sections playing a leading role in the struggle.

Adivasi Movement

2.92 Another section of downtrodden masses which stands apart from the common movement is that of the Adivasis. Except in Tripura, the movement of the Adivasis is controlled and led by organisations which pursue a policy of keeping the downtrodden sections away from the common democratic movement

2.93 Our Party has taken note of the special conditions under which the Adivasis continue to exist after 40 years of independence, and have also understood the character of the new awakening among them. However, a lot of endeavour has to be made to secure their confidence and meet some of the demands that have been justifiably raised by the movement. In Tripura, under the leadership of our Party and the Left Front Government, the tribal people succeeded in securing an Autonomous District Council under the Sixth Schedule. This has helped to create a feeling of security among the tribals and forge unity among the non-tribals and tribals. The Tripura experience can be utilised to maintain national unity and prevent the growth of disruptive and secessionist forces among the tribals. In view of the growing unrest among the various linguistic groups of tribals for a separate State of their own, and the forces of disruption and reaction taking advantage of such a feeling, it is the right time for all concerned to carefully examine whether the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India can be extended to areas where there is a preponderance of the tribal population, in order to provide this "Regional Autonomy" enshrined in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India. This may help to create a favourable climate for drawing more and more tribal masses into the struggle against secessionist, disruptive and communal forces for strengthening democracy, secularism and ethnic harmony.

The Push and Pull between the Bourgeoisie and the Landlords

2.94 The Political Resolution of the Twelfth Party Congress mentioned the push and pull between the bourgeoisie and the landlords. The push and pull between the two partners of the alliance takes various forms. In the first place, landlord lobbies have succeeded in organising big demonstrations of peasants demanding a change in the price for the peasants' produce. This of course is a just demand but, while taking the lead, the landlords are presenting themselves as peasants and using the latter to bring pressure on the bourgeois-landlord Government to safeguard their interests. Secondly, they have tried to draw the peasants' support for their demand for cancellation of electricity charges. In Uttar Pradesh they have utilised the plight of the small peasants who urgently need such cancellation, for their own ends. Thirdly, they are using the urgent demand for the cancellation of small peasants' debt to cooperatives for demanding for themselves freedom from repayment of their loans. They also demand in the name of the peasants, withdrawal of the land ceiling and minimum wage legislation acts. The landlord lobby seeks to use the peasant vote to bolster its own interests.

2.95 The powerful landlord lobby is able to evade agricultural income tax and deprive the State exchequer of huge sums. Neither the **Congress(I) State Governments, nor the Central Government dares touch these powerful landed interests for fear of offending them.**

2.96 The intensification of this conflict leads to the acceleration of the agrarian crisis. The landlord lobby prevents the implementation of measures of relief for the rural mass. Above all it prevents enactment of all-India legislation for minimum wage for agricultural workers, and implementation of existing wage legislation in favour of the agricultural workers in States. In effect, it obstructs measures the bourgeois-landlord Government wants to take to expand the market in the rural areas. One of the main slogans of the landlord lobby is that the unity of the rural people should not be disturbed. It charges the kisan organisations with disrupting the unity of the rural people, meaning thereby that no distinction should be made between a land lord and a capitalist farmer, on the one hand, and the peasant and agricultural worker, on the other. Obstructed in raising resources from the accumulated coffers of the landlords, the bourgeois Government has to saddle the rural areas with heavier tax burdens.

2.97 The conflict inside the alliance and the conflict of the landlord lobbies among themselves undermines the **Congress(I) organisation, faith in its stability, and opens up opportunities for other political parties to mobilise the people in the struggle against the Congress(I) rule.**

Corruption at High Levels

2.98 The corruption scandals of the Rajiv regime have not only shocked the people but also supplied a new element in the denigration of the Congress(I) party and its rule. These scandals relating to defence equipment like Bofors, and the Submarine deal raised valid doubts about the honesty and integrity of the Government personnel in relation to the country's defence and integrity. It was the biggest shock which enlightened opinion had had since independence. The result is that public opinion holds the Government and its Ministers guilty and all the gimmicks that the Government did to prove its innocence through the Parliament Enquiry Committee have failed to establish confidence in the regime's integrity.

Inner Conflicts Inside the Congress(I)

2.99 During the last three years inner-party conflicts inside the Congress(I) organisation have further increased. Pursuit of authoritarian practices in the Government is accompanied by authoritarian practices in the organisation itself. Organisational elections have not been held for 19 years. The leadership is afraid to face the rank and

file's verdict.

2.100 Dictatorial methods of dealing with inner-party conflicts continue, leading to instability of Congress(I) ministries, lack of cohesion inside the party and between the all-India and State Committees of the organisation. Almost all Congress(I) ministries are at loggerheads with Congress(I) State Committees. Congress(I) MLAs are divided into fighting factions. Because of this the ministries in several States were recently changed to suit the convenience of factional groupings.

2.101 A ruling party which is divided, which is incapable of acting with one will, is a danger to a country challenged by so many hostile forces and faced with so many divisive attacks. The sooner its Government is removed from power and replaced by a Government of people's choice, the better for the country and its freedom.

Intensification of the Contradictions with the Non-Congress(I) Ministries.

2.102 The sharpening contradictions between the ruling party and the bourgeois opposition parties is also witnessed in the Congress(I) activities and propaganda against the non-Congress(I) ministries led by the bourgeois opposition parties. The more the united movement of the Left and secular opposition parties increases its hold over the people, the more the Congress(I) units in the States and the all-India party attack the non-Congress(I) ministries. Verbal propaganda and slanders and false statements of Central Ministers apart, the Congress(I) units in the States have started recently organising fake mass campaigns against the ministries. Now they suddenly profess deep concern for the grievances of the people, concern over corruption, etc. But the people see through this game and the slanders get poor response. The Left and secular forces must counter the Congress(I) propaganda and defend these ministries against Congress(I) slanders.

Need for Understanding with Bourgeois Opposition Parties

2.103 The Political Resolution of the Calcutta Congress observed : "The election once more revealed that the main mass of the Indian people is divided between the various bourgeois-landlord parties. The opposition bourgeois parties though routed at the polls because of the extraordinary circumstances under which the elections were fought, carried a big percentage of the vote. In two States, notwithstanding the all-India swing in favour of the Congress(I), they were able to win a majority in the elections."

2.104 Since the last Party Congress, while endeavouring to build a broad understanding with these parties, the Party's effort has been to

see that they eschew compromise with communal forces and stand firmly with the Left forces to combat all communal and divisive forces. But the leadership of many of these parties favour an understanding with the BJP in order to secure electoral gains. At the same time there are elements and forces which want to take a stand with the Left forces and would therefore, like to eschew all understanding with reactionary parties. This has led to the emergence of two lines—the line of the Left and that of the bourgeois parties—on how to achieve the unity of the forces opposed to the Congress(I). These two outlooks often clash with each other but the final outcome will be determined by the pressure of the mass movement and mass consciousness.

2.105 In the immediate struggle to dislodge the Rajiv Government from power, the Party attaches great importance to an understanding with these parties. That is why in its Resolution of August 17, 1987 the Central Committee observed : "But the fight to oust the Rajiv regime requires the broadest understanding and unity of all secular opposition parties, unity between these and the Left and democratic forces. It is a gigantic battle for people's unity against the notorious regime which should be carried on by mobilising all the forces prepared to take a stand against the present regime.

2.106 There have been constant endeavours on our part to bring about understanding with these parties. Constant dialogue, meetings of non-Congress(I) Chief Ministers and cooperation on the floor of the Parliament, all served to isolate the Congress(I) and create a growing understanding between us and these parties, and a growing feeling of unity among the people. There were occasions also when sharp differences were revealed as during the last Presidential elections when the CPI(M) and the Left parties had decided to put up an independent candidate of their own. The differences, however, were later squared and the Opposition was able to put up a common candidate.

2.107 For a long time, these parties were swayed by the idea of forging an understanding for purposes of elections, with all parties irrespective of their communal and reactionary views. However, the stand of the Left forces that they will cooperate and render full support only to parties with a secular image and parties which take a firm stand against all communal elements, created some impression, and the earlier idea of inviting all parties in their combination including the BJP was gradually dropped. It has to be remarked that the National Front of several parties which has been formed does not include the BJP as its constituent. To that extent it is a welcome development born out of the struggle between the two lines of how to unite against the Congress(I) regime. Our Party has therefore welcomed the formation

of the National Front as a step forward.

2.108 In relation to the National Front our Party has also criticised the conciliatory attitudes and concessions made to regional parties and the cryptic reference to non-alignment. Both these show that in an effort to get maximum electoral advantage the leaders of these parties have declined to give priority to all-India national interests and decided to compromise on important issues. The programme of the National Front particularly suffers from a total underestimation of the imperialist designs against our country and refuses to take a firm stand on the basic principles which should guide a foreign policy of non-alignment.

2.109 The leadership of secular bourgeois opposition parties, who draw their rural support from the same lobbies as the Congress(I), is lukewarm towards the struggle of the rural masses for implementation of agrarian reforms and minimum wages. In places it even opposes these struggles. Where the parties are in power in the States, their Governments are reluctant to implement agrarian reforms. While not relaxing the struggle of the peasant masses for these reforms, we have to pursue the struggle for drawing the opposition parties into the common fight to oust the authoritarian Rajiv Government.

2.110 The struggle for an understanding with secular opposition parties constitutes today an essential part of the struggle against the Rajiv regime and its success is necessary to defeat the Congress(I) in the coming elections.

Increased Influence of the Left

2.111 The increased influence of the CPI(M) and the Left forces is the result of our Party's courageous fight for national unity risking precious lives in the struggle. It is further the result of the performance of our Left Front Governments of West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura in the service of the common people. The defeat of the Congress(I) in the West Bengal and Kerala Assembly elections further enhanced the prestige of the Party and the Left forces as a reliable force combating the Congress(I) rule. And finally the increased mass activity of the Party and its mass organisations in cooperation with the Left parties has played a very big role in enhancing the capacity of the Left forces to influence Indian developments.

2.112 While the spontaneous mass discontent was developing, the organised activity of the masses was also increasing. Between 1985 and 1987 the number of workers going on strike increased from 8,79,000 to 14,94,000 and the mandays lost from 11.4 million to 14.5 million. The CITU, its trade unions, the central organisations of other Left

parties, the National Campaign Committee and industrial federations have been unitedly working to guide the working class struggles. The unity of the trade union movement continues to expand under the National Campaign Committee where the CITU plays a very important part. The State Government employees have waged many heroic battles for wage revision and other demands. The strike of the Bihar NGOs which lasted for 75 days before its successful termination, was the high watermark of the resistance of this section of the employees to the Congress(1) policy of passing the burden of the crisis on to the people. Equally striking is the progress of organised kisan and agricultural workers' activities. Since the Jubilee Session of the AIKS there has been constant agitation and activity, *Jail Bharo* and other forms of protests and demonstrations in cooperation with the Left parties, culminating in the December 9 Rally and finally the biggest kisan, agricultural workers action of September 1988.

2.113 The spectacular rise in the membership of the SFI and DYFI is the result of widespread mass actions, and the students protest strike of September 26, 1988 underlined the massive strength of the organised movement. The all-India strike of university and college teachers was another high watermark of resistance in which the Party played an important role. The women's organisation and movement are also registering rapid advance. The formation of the AIDWA, its growing activity and joint actions with other women's organisations have served to give a cohesive and common outlook to the movement as a whole. An important result of this was the joint stand of several women's organisations on the Central Government's National Perspective Plan For Women exposing its false claims and inadequacies and giving a critical analysis of the present day conditions concerning women.

2.114 In all these mass activities our Party and our mass organisations were in the thick of the struggle taking the initiative, cooperating with other mass organisations, Left parties, and overcoming hesitations and vacillations from several quarters. On several occasions our Party and its mass organisations had to bear the main responsibility to give a push to mass activity. It is because of this incessant mass activity on every front, including the fight against divisive forces, that our Party and Left forces are able to intervene on national issues and have a say in dealing with them. Increased mass activity of the Party and the Left forces must play a key role in enhancing the capacity of the Left forces to influence national politics.

Intensification of the Contradiction between the Ruling Party and the Left

2.115 In the general acceleration of the class conflict, the unification

of the forces opposing the Congress(I) Government and the increasing weight of the Left forces in national politics, the role played by the Left-led Governments cannot be underestimated. By their defence of popular interests, their close links with the people, their extreme sensitiveness to the woes and distress of the common man and their manifest readiness to do everything possible under the Constitution to protect the interests of the people, these Governments continue to rally larger and larger sections around the Left forces, both in their States and outside. The Left-led Governments have to function under the serious constraints of the crisis and the hostility of the Central Government.

2.116 In West Bengal the continuous struggle to open new avenues of employment for the people despite the Centre's discrimination, the concrete steps suggested to overcome the effects of closures and lock-outs, the ready help rendered to the workers of all sections for immediate relief and the struggle against vested interests, the protection of the civil liberties of the people, the refusal to resort to any extraordinary measure despite the provocations of the Congress(I), the elections and the rule of the Panchayats, assurance to the peasantry against any arbitrary demands, the way in which the Gorkhaland problem was settled, and the stability of the Government—all these tremendously enhanced the prestige of the CPI(M) and the Left forces.

2.117 In Tripura, the special measures taken for the protection of the tribals, the setting up of the Autonomous District Council for tribal areas under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution, the provision for jobs for all weaker sections and the growing understanding between tribals and non-tribals continue to protect and increase the mass base of the CPI(M). This advance was achieved in the face of relentless attacks by the TNV and despite the Congress(I) machinations and conspiracies. The Congress(I) had to resort to terror and falsification of election results to steal into power.

2.118 In Kerala, the LDF Government was from the beginning under attack and every effort was made to block its functioning. But the ministry functioning under difficult circumstances with financial difficulties created by the Centre, shortage of food supplies, and other obstacles, was able to tide over the difficulties supported widely by the people and earned the goodwill of the masses. Taking many measures to protect the collapsing traditional industries, fighting the effects of the Central Government policy on exports from the State and meeting the provocative acts of the Congress(I) Opposition on the basis of accepted democratic norms, the ministry has consolidated the hold of the Left forces over the common people.

2.119 The attack of the Congress(I) and Central Government is directed against the Left ministries who form advance outposts of the Indian democratic struggle. The fraudulent way in which the Congress(I) installed itself in power in Tripura falsifying election results and the terror regime it has launched in the small State since the election, show that the Rajiv Government is prepared to resort to any authoritarian measure to put its party in power. The intensity of the class struggle can be seen from the fact that the election was preceded by terror, by the use of TNV elements to create an atmosphere of murder, and by the intimidating presence of the para-military forces, and was followed by gang rapes of women and other atrocities. The induction of the army on the eve of the election without the knowledge of the State Ministry was a crude piece of chicanery worthy of Latin American dictators. And the war continues even now with hundreds forced to leave the State because of the lawless anarchy launched by anti-socials working in collusion with Congress(I).

2.120 If direct violence and use of para-military forces is used in Tripura to bring back the Congress(I) to power, in Kerala, every kind of alliance and propaganda weapon is used to slander the Left Democratic Front Ministry led by the CPI(M). This is accompanied by the direct steps of the Central Government to create economic difficulties for the Ministry in the matter of food supply and financial obligations. The alliance of the Congress(I) and the Muslim League and the Catholic communalists backed by the RSS dominated BJP and the hostile press, uses every event to rouse sectarian and communal feelings against the Left Front Government. But for the consistent mobilisation of secular and democratic forces by the parties of the Left Democratic Front, the communal forces would have got the upper hand. This unscrupulous behaviour towards our Kerala Ministry continues and every day Kerala sees agitations which are designed to spread communal feelings and animosities.

2.121 In West Bengal, the Congress(I) party organisation again shows no scruples in circulating slanders and inventing fake issues for mass agitations. The increased influence and popularity of the Left Front Government in handling and settling the Gorkhaland agitation has isolated the Congress(I); its role during the critical days when national unity had to be defended was that of a neutral spectator. To overcome its isolation from the people the Congress(I) organises agitations expressing concern for people's issues and demands. But generally the sole purpose behind it is to create conflict and law and order problems for the Left Front Government. Irresponsible charges and allegations are made against CPI(M) leaders of the Ministry, charges so absurd that some members of the Congress(I)

themselves had to repudiate them. Rajiv Gandhi often joins in this game of irresponsible accusations. Last time when he was visiting the USA he told the press that the Gorkhaland agitation was prolonged because of the unhelpful and intransigent attitude of the CPI(M). But since it is now realised that scandalous words and curses will not affect the Left Front Government, some Congress(I) leaders are openly inciting their followers to violence. A Congress(I) demonstration before the assembly had hurled powerful bombs on one occasion. During the Panchayat elections when the Congress(I) had no hope of winning many Panchayats, some Congress(I) leaders raised the false cry of intimidation and some of them called upon their followers to collect arms. This call for violent confrontation bespeaks of the heightened contradictions between the Left and the Congress(I).

Left Unity

2.122 It is obvious that in the present critical situation, when the threat of national disintegration is developing, and the opposition parties are unable to work out a bold plan to swing the masses to oust the Congress(I) party from power, Left unity and unity of the Left forces has to play a critical and vital role. The CPI(M) has to discharge its responsibility as a leading force of the Left, its responsibility as a party of the working class. As the Calcutta Congress observed : "The main task of fighting against the authoritarian drive of the ruling party, while meeting all the challenges to the nation, devolves on the Party and the Left forces. The Left and democratic front cannot be growingly built without the growing unity of the Left forces and without their capacity to launch massive united struggles against the authoritarian regime, its policy of suppression of democracy, its economic policies endangering the independence of the economy and the unbearable burden being imposed on the masses." Today when the Left has improved its influence in shaping national developments and has shown its capacity to launch independent mass actions, any rift in Left unity will have disruptive consequences and be a gift to the Congress(I). The people more and more look towards the Left and the CPI(M) as a reliable bastion of their fight against the Congress(I) rule.

2.123 It is a matter of satisfaction that during the years since the Twelfth Party Congress the cooperation and common activities of the Left forces have consistently increased. The constant cooperation among the Left parties in the Parliament, their joint approach to other parties in the Parliament, their firm and strong stand during the Presidential elections demarcating them from the opportunist stand of the opposition parties, their united opposition to the communal for-

ces and rejection of alliance with them, the organisation of the anti-communal convention, their joint victory in the Kerala and West Bengal elections, joint martyrdom in Punjab, their joint independent mass actions through trade unions and Kisan Sabhas, the 9th December Rally, the Bharat Bandh of 15th March, the innumerable trade union struggles and activities through the National Campaign Committee and other trade union federations of employees and public sector workers, joint activities of women's organisations and the mighty September campaign of peasants and agricultural workers—all have consolidated Left unity and enhanced its prestige. All this has created a strong urge for uniting all the secular forces ranged against the Congress(I) regime forcing the reactionaries and communalists on the retreat.

2.124 This success has to be carried forward if the people's urge to depose the Congress(I) from power is to be realised. The CPI(M) considers Left unity and its further strengthening a matter of vital importance for immediate success against the Congress(I) and above all for building the Left and democratic front which is the only viable alternative to the present rule. The building of the Left and democratic front is not possible without the increased growth of Left forces and their unity.

2.125 While the narration of the common activities of the CPI(M) and the Left should lead to satisfaction, one cannot turn a blind eye to the fissiparous tendencies, to the weaknesses and even irresponsible behaviour of some Left parties which seem to revel in creating tensions. Such behaviour renders definite service to the Congress(I) whose falling prestige demands dissensions among its opponents. During the Panchayat elections in West Bengal, the CPI(M) was attacked by leaders of one party as social fascists, to the great delight of the Congress(I). Another partner in West Bengal makes it a point to come out with disruptive and fabricated charges. CPI(M) cadres are maligned by another partner while all of them are participants in running the Left Front ministry. It is amazing that these organisations do not disown such malicious campaigns.

2.126 The usual complaint is of course the false charge of big brotherly attitude of the CPI(M). These parties and their leaders must take more seriously the question of protecting and strengthening Left unity. Otherwise they will be helping the Congress(I) in West Bengal to run down the Left Front and its ministry.

2.127 More serious is the situation in Andhra Pradesh, where the CPI State Council follows a line which is in direct contradiction with the line their Party follows in the rest of the country. The central leadership of the CPI generally support the line of isolating the

Congress(I) and cooperating with the secular bourgeois parties while fighting the communal BJP. It has welcomed the formation of the National Front which has the TDP as the constituent and N. T. Rama Rao as its Chairman. But in Andhra Pradesh the State party concentrates attacks on the TDP Ministry, demands its resignation and directly or indirectly helps the Congress(I) in that State. And in pursuing its line it permits itself to indulge in violent and physical clashes with the CPI(M). This is nothing but disrupting the unity developing against the Congress(I) and rendering direct service to the ruling party. The central CPI gives freedom to its Andhra unit to pursue its disruptive activity. In reality the Andhra unit continues the CPI's old line of looking upon all bourgeois opposition parties as reactionary in comparison with the Congress(I). This is a dangerous trend which should be taken care of. Further in Assam, the CPI unit adopted the opportunist line of fully supporting the Assam Accord and supports the AGP Government in demanding its implementation even when it is against the interests of the minorities in the State.

2.128 It is obvious that while pursuing the objective of understanding with secular opposition parties for isolating and defeating the Congress(I), the CPI(M) and the Left parties continue to defend the interests of the common man and where they come into conflict with the practice of the opposition non-Congress(I) Ministries, with the policies of these bourgeois opposition parties, we criticise and oppose them. All anti-people anti-democratic measures are to be opposed. All this however is done within the framework of maintaining the understanding with the opposition party on the one hand, and the unity of the toiling masses on the other. But there can be no tailing behind any bourgeois party or ministry in the name of joint opposition to the Congress(I).

2.129 It is relevant to recall what the Twelfth Party Congress Resolution had to say on differences inside the Left and how to tackle them. "The Left parties represent various viewpoints on matters of political importance and often have different assessments of the immediate political situation, of political parties, which often lead to divergence on tactical moves. Besides, as regards the class character of the Indian State, understanding of the revolutionary process and the stage of the revolution and its class needs, they widely differ. Joint actions on certain issues against the Congress(I) regime do not remove these differences which often affect current political activities.

2.130 "To overcome these difficulties and forge a united front without adversely affecting the course of the revolutionary movement requires patience and a firm and principled stand on basic policies. This also demands an ideological struggle and political debate from

time to time against the erroneous position, estimates and tactics of some of these parties.

2.131 "For the CPI(M), forging and strengthening of Left unity is a crucial task and it must bend all its efforts to uphold the cause of unity, to repair the damages unthinkingly done by others and refrain from adopting anything but a principled attitude towards the question." The minimum that our Party expects of others is to carry out agreements and the line once they are jointly accepted and not allow lower units to go against them.

Naxalites

2.132 Some political parties consider the various Naxalite groups as part of the Left movement and some Left parties are showing a tendency to treat them as such. This, however, is a mistake. The Naxalite groups continue their activities in many places though some of them are forced to change their tactics and stand on some issues. Some of **these groups** have recently started legal activities and are trying to **build trade unions and kisan organisations**. Some have also entered the electoral field. By and large their activities and appeal adversely affect the growth of the Left forces and objectively they play a disruptive role. Their hostility towards the CPI(M) has not abated. Some of these groups in the name of fighting the Congress(I) rule support and ally with divisive and secessionist forces. They are intensely hostile to the CPI(M)-led Governments. In Andhra, they carry on physical attacks on the CPI(M) cadres. These groups are intensely anti-Soviet. The Party must continue to fight their ideology and politics.

Concrete Conditions

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

- (i) The contradiction between the bourgeois-landlord rule and the Indian people has further sharpened. At present it manifests itself through isolation of the **ruling** party and sharpened opposition of the people towards it. It **gets** intensified through the effects of the economic policies of the ruling party and the economic crisis.
- (ii) The contradiction between imperialism and the Indian people has sharpened demanding a firm policy of non-alignment. The non-aligned policy still stands but is under pressure.
- (iii) The ruling party meets the growing anger of the people by resorting to authoritarian measures.
- (iv) Its economic policies facilitate easy penetration of foreign capi-

tal and multinationals endangering the independence of the economy.

- (v) Divisive, secessionist and communal forces have launched an intense offensive against national unity exploiting the prevailing discontent and the failure of the Rajiv Government to combat them.
- (vi) The battle for national unity has to be carried on by the Left and democratic and patriotic forces.
- (vii) The sharpening of the conflict between the bourgeoisie and landlords aggravates the agrarian situation.
- (viii) The economic crisis aggravates Centre-State relations and leads to further erosion of Congress(I) influence. Opportunistic forces use the situation for divisive purposes.
- (ix) The isolation of the Congress(I) is creating conditions for its electoral defeat but the class limitation of the bourgeois opposition parties and their opportunist attitude to the BJP hinder the process of consolidating the anti-Congress(I) secular and democratic forces.
- (x) The CPI(M) and the Left forces have increased their influence in national politics. This calls for strengthening Left unity without which there is every possibility of a major part of the mass discontent petering out or being exploited by reactionary forces.
- (xi) A mass upsurge is fast developing all over the country. It is the task of the Left and the CPI(M) to guide and centralise it to change the correlation of class forces.
- (xii) It is only by intervening in the present situation, by defeating the Congress(I) in the next elections and frustrating all attempts of the communalists and pro-imperialist forces that the revolutionary forces can march ahead and strengthen the struggle for Left and democratic unity.
- (xiii) The Party must play its role by its initiative and unifying capacity.

Immediate Tasks

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

tegration and authoritarian attacks.

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

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

Struggle for Left and

Democratic Front

2.137 This great effort to mobilise all the secular and progressive forces to oust the Rajiv Government, isolate the communalists and save national unity from the destabilising designs of the imperialists constitutes an integral part of the Party's struggle for building a Left and democratic front. It is through this widening effort of the Party to build a common front in the immediate struggle that the Party and the Left forces will be able to change existing correlation of forces, and gradually place themselves at the head of the developing discontent. The Political Resolution of the Jalandhar Congress laid down as the foremost task of the Party to bring about a radical realignment of the political forces in the country, realignment that brings into existence a nation-wide front of Left and democratic forces which constitutes the only alternative to the bourgeois-landlord combinations. The Resolution of the Jalandhar Congress said "to change the existing political relationship and bring about a viable alternative force to lead the masses must be the constant aim of the political activities of the Party. The emergence of such a broad Left and democratic front will strengthen the revolutionary forces which alone can extricate the country from the long drawn-out political and economic crisis that has been steadily intensifying."

2.138 The struggle led by our Party, the performance of our Left Front Governments, the joint activities of the Left forces—all are steadily creating ground for a change in the correlation of class forces.

2.139 The front of Left and democratic forces is to be an instrument of achieving the People's Democratic Front, an instrument of 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 Front led by the working class, a front whose two main pillars are the peasants and agricultural workers, and the working class. There can be no escape from the misery of the capitalist path, the enslavement of the bourgeois-landlord rule except through a People's Democratic Revolution. The programme and the activities of the Left and democratic front are to be an instrument to build the People's Democratic Front.

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

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

- (1) Fight against the authoritarian drive, defence of democratic rights and their expansion; withdrawal of repressive legislations; withdrawal of the proposed trade and industrial disputes bills.
- (2) Defence of Left Front Governments; restructuring of Centre-State relations—more powers to the States.
- (3) Opposition to the Rajiv Government's economic policy; fight for the independence of the economy; fight against massacre of jobs in the name of promoting advanced technology.
- (4) Immediate nationalisation of the jute and textile industries; take over and nationalisation of closed concerns.
- (5) Against high prices, high taxation, for state trading in foodgrains.
- (6) Implementation of land reform and distribution of land ; enactment of comprehensive central legislation to protect the rights of agricultural workers in relation to wage, living conditions and social benefits.
- (7) Urgent measures to provide employment opportunities, unemployment benefit to the unemployed.
- (8) Fight against divisive, separatist and communal forces.
- (9) Fight against atrocities and crimes against women ; for equal rights and implementation of legal and constitutional rights for them.

- (10) To strive for universal primary education and eradication of illiteracy and for free education up to secondary level and to fight against the elitist and anti-people essence of the new education policy.
- (11) Electoral reforms, proportional representation ; right to vote for all above 18 years of age.
- (12) Defence of non-alignment, world peace, support to the struggle of the people of the neighbouring countries for democratic rights.

2.142 In addition, the programme should include the following demands from the charter adopted by the Calcutta Conclave : guarantee by the Union Government of adequate supply of essential commodities at reasonable prices ; remunerative prices to be ensured for agricultural produce by adequate purchases through State agencies ; increased production of consumption goods and expanding employment opportunities for all sections including small artisans and craftsmen; revival and expansion of the food-for-work 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.

The Party

2.143 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.

2.144 The Party continues to uphold its understanding of the world situation based on the central contradiction of our time—the camp of Socialism versus the camp of imperialism. The developments of recent years have further shifted the balance against imperialism in favour of the forces standing for Socialism, democracy, national liberation and peace.

2.145 The CPI(M) upholds the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leading role of the Party and the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. The CPI(M) is the Party of the working class. It protects its proletarian character by continuously recruiting conscious workers into the Party and educating them in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism so that they are equipped to discharge their role inside the Party.

2.146 The Party lends its full support to the fight for peace waged by the world peace forces. It highly appreciates and fully supports the proposals of the USSR for reducing and finally eliminating nuclear weapons. The Party firmly opposes all forms of imperialist intervention to suppress the national liberation movements and expresses its unwavering solidarity with the liberation struggles.

2.147 The increase in the political influence of the Party with the strength of the mass organisations led by it exceeding 22 million, imposes a very heavy ideological and organisational responsibility on the Party. The situation demands that the Party, its leaders and ranks firmly uphold the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

2.148 Notwithstanding the widespread mass activities of our mass organisations and the Party, the organisational spread of our Party is moving at a very slow pace. The major part of our membership is concentrated in three or four States with a greater part of India having a slender membership. The last three years have witnessed only marginal growth in some States. Considering the mass activity that has been constantly increasing there is no reason for this lag except an attitude of negligence and indifference towards new recruitment and Party building. All claims to lead the battle against the capitalist path will turn hollow if a massive Party relying on widespread membership in all States, able to have its detachments functioning in every sphere of national and social life, and with wide ramifications of ties with all sections of people is not rapidly organised. Only such a Party basing itself on Marxism-Leninism will be able to play a leading role in the battle for People's Democracy. To growingly build such a Party worthy of the cause which it upholds, worthy of the sacrifices of our cadres and of our people, constitutes an urgent task and all units must seriously undertake it.

2.149 The CPI(M) calls upon all progressive forces, the entire Indian people to 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

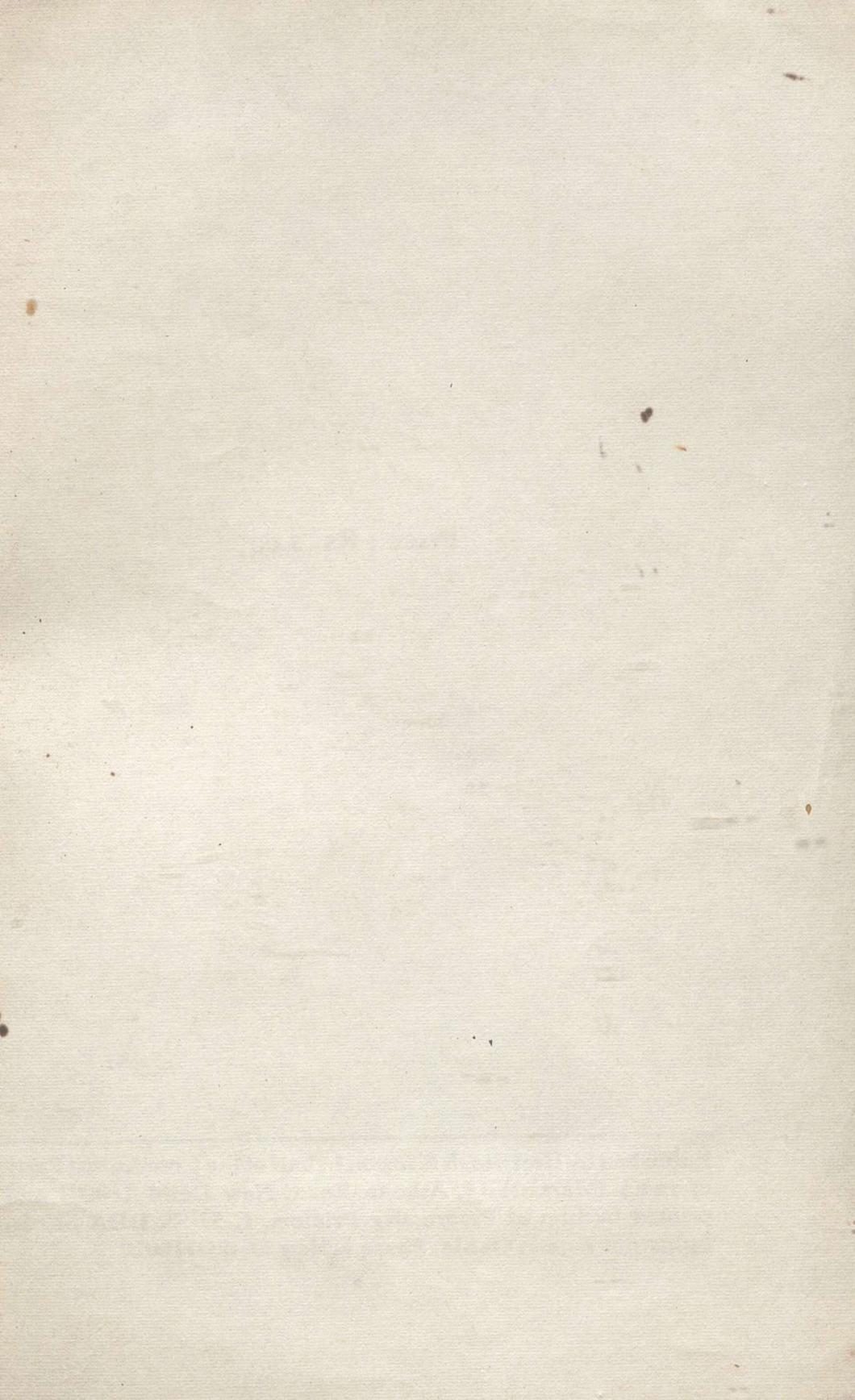
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country and change its policy of non-alignment.

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

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



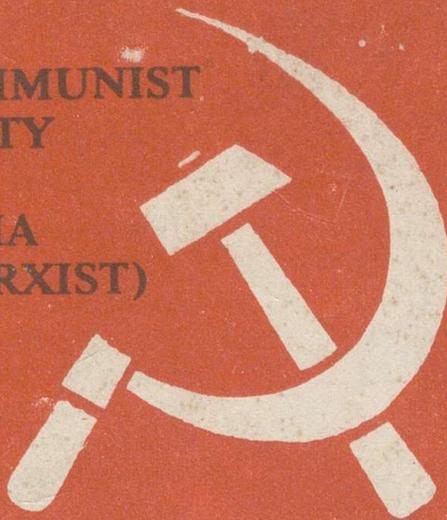


March 1989

Price : Rs. 3.00

Published by Hari Singh Kang on behalf of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) 14, Ashoka Road, New Delhi 110001 and printed by him at Progressive Printers, C-52-53, DDA Sheds, Industrial Estate, Okhla, Phase I, New Delhi-110020

COMMUNIST
PARTY
OF
INDIA
(MARXIST)



POLITICAL RESOLUTION
OF THE THIRTEENTH PARTY CONGRESS,
Trivandrum, December 27, 1988 to January 1, 1989.

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