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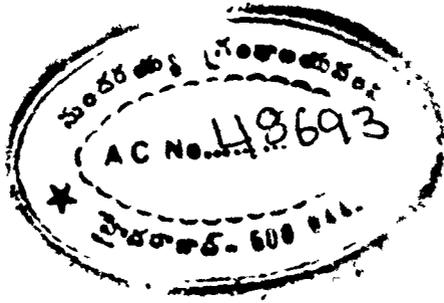
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Introductory Note

This Volume (Volume No XXIII) includes documents for the years 1989 to 1991 when very rapid political developments of far-reaching consequence took place in India as well as in the socialist countries.

The socialist society in erstwhile Soviet Union, which developed in strength and vitality over a long span of years since the Great October Revolution of 1917 showing an alternate path, creative and dependable for human development, came to its unexpected and abrupt end giving way for restoration of capitalism. In the Eastern European countries the socialist states were uprooted and capitalism was restored. These serious setbacks took place when onward progress of socialism was essential to save the countries of the Third World from the piercing attacks of imperialist powers in the form of 'neo-colonialism' curbing their independence, democracy and internal unity.

In the context of these developments the international Communist movement was beset with a serious crisis but the Communists the world-over had the courage and sagacity to continue their fight to overcome this crisis. The imperialist powers, particularly the USA, which thought that they would get a walk-over in every sphere and impose their political will and influence in the erstwhile socialist countries and in the countries of the Third World, soon realized that it was not an easy game and the Communists as well as the struggling people in every country started

regrouping their forces and the anti-imperialist struggle took a new turn giving a new hope to the oppressed people of the whole world who are realizing from their experience and conviction that their salvation does not lie in capitalism and that 'capitalism' is not an alternative to 'socialism'.

It is in this background that a reader of this Volume should judge and evaluate the Resolution 'ON CERTAIN POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES RELATED TO DEVELOPMENTS IN SOME SOCIALIST COUNTRIES' adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) in its meeting of May 28-31, 1990 included in this Volume, in which a clarion call is given in the concluding paragraph in the following words :

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism against deviations and distortions, calls upon its ranks to face the challenges posed by the recent developments by firmly adhering to revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism. It calls upon the ranks to steadfastly struggle against the onslaught of imperialism and counter-revolutionary forces which are today mounting a fierce attack against Marxism-Leninism and the international Communist movement."

During this period significant political developments took place in India at a very quick pace. The scandal regarding Bofors Gun purchase deal became a big national issue and exposed Rajiv Gandhi's Government as the most corrupt and degenerated government and considerably damaged the political position of the Congress(I) and practically this led to defeat of Congress(I) in the Lok Sabha elections of 1990.

V. P. Singh, who was the Finance Minister of Rajiv Gandhi's cabinet (and subsequently shunted to Defence Ministry), came out of Rajiv Gandhi's Government and later on left Congress(I), joined the Janata Party and took initiative to form a National Alliance with the Left Parties

to defeat the Congress(I) in 1990 Lok Sabha elections. The Janata Party made an electoral adjustment with the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in this election while making separate adjustment with the Left Parties but the Left Parties kept themselves aloof from the BJP. The Janata Party formed the Union Government with Shri V. P. Singh as Prime Minister with outside support from the Left Parties.

But the Government of V P Singh did not last long due to the treacherous role of BJP which sponsored a '*Ratha Yatra*' to mobilize their supporters on communal basis creating a lot of communal violence and a number of riots.

After the fall of V P Singh Government Shri Chandra Shekhar organized a split in Janata Party and with about forty (40) MPs created a separate party and formed a Government with support from the Congress(I). This split in the Janata Party was actually engineered by the Congress(I) headed by Rajiv Gandhi and the Government of Chandra Shekhar was actually a minority government propped up with the support of MPs of Congress(I). The minority government of Chandra Shekhar could survive only for four (4) months and it fell when the Congress(I) withdrew support to it on a flimsy ground and this led to another Lok Sabha election in 1991.

During 1991 Lok Sabha elections Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated in Madras by LTTE terrorist squad while elections in half the Lok Sabha constituencies were over and the elections were to be held in the remaining Lok Sabha constituencies. The assassination of Rajiv Gandhi influenced the voters in the elections of the remaining Lok Sabha constituencies and this helped the Congress(I) to come out as the biggest party in the Lok Sabha in 1991 election though they were still short of absolute majority. As the biggest party in the Lok Sabha the Congress(I) formed the government with P V Narasimha Rao as the Prime Minister and this minority government tried all sorts of tricks to buy support to muster majority in the Lok Sabha subverting all norms and principles of Parliamentary Democracy. This

minority government of Narasimha Rao floated a new economic policy inviting greater peril for the entire economy of India

The sequence of these political developments will help the readers to properly connect the documents given in this Volume and evaluate the importance and significance of these documents which depict the views, understanding and stand of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) on these developments

This Volume contains 253 documents (including nine documents given as Appendix). The documents are on wide range of subjects, on national and international developments. The esteemed leader of the people of South Africa, the legendary hero of the struggle for equality and independence, Nelson Mandela, was released during this period. Namibia became independent during this period. The documents covering the views and assessment of the CPI(M) on events in China are the most valuable documents of this Volume. The Joint Communique of the CPI(M) and the Communist Party of Portugal is also an important document of this Volume. The views and the stand of the CPI(M) on unification of Korea and on developments in Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bangladesh, Afghanistan and in the Gulf countries of West Asia are given in a number of documents included in this Volume. The outstanding leader of the international Communist movement, Comrade Dolores Ibaruri of Spain, departed us during this period, she was known as "La Passionaria" all over the world. The condolence message of CPI(M) and the obituary note on Comrade Dolores Ibaruri are included in this Volume.

During this period we lost Comrade B T Ranadive and this was a great loss for our entire Party. Comrade Ranadive was a tireless fighter, a theoretician of outstanding calibre and he earned the recognition as a great leader of the Communist Movement in India for his dedication and courage. We also lost during this period Comrade Saroj Mukherjee, Comrade Abdullah Rasul, Comrade Ratanlal Brahman, Comrade Shankar Dayal Tewari, Comrade Mohammad Ismail

and many others who were outstanding leaders of the Communist Movement in India. We also lost Dada Amir Hyder Khan, an outstanding Communist leader of undivided India, who breathed his last in Pakistan.

The Chandra Shekhar Government during its four months of existence earned enormous notoriety and worked as a stooge of Congress(I) as its existence entirely depended on the support of this party. At the dictates of Congress(I) Chandra Shekhar Government removed the legitimate State Governments of Assam and Tamil Nadu by invoking Article 356 of the Indian Constitution. The Government of Chandra Shekhar also allowed the U S Aircraft, engaged in Gulf War, to have refuelling facility in India. In four months time this Government of Chandra Shekhar brought the Indian economy and its foreign exchange reserve to such a position that a sizable portion of the Gold Reserve of the Reserve Bank of India had to be pledged to honour international commitments.

The documents, included in this Volume, on the activities of BJP, VHP and RSS on construction of Temple at Ayodhya will reveal the efforts of the CPI(M) to educate the people about the consequences of such moves and the danger posed by the communal violence created by their activities.

Equally important are the documents included in this Volume on rising terrorist menace in Punjab, Assam, Tripura and in Jammu and Kashmir. Most of these terrorists were trained by alien forces beyond India's borders who deployed enormous resources to destroy the internal peace and unity of India. The role of Congress(I)-TUJS combine in Tripura also had a very damaging effect.

The documents on Cauvery water dispute, included in this Volume also reveal the approach and the stand of CPI(M) on its possible settlement.

The wide range of documents included in this Volume will reveal before its readers the effectiveness and political maturity of the CPI(M)—always alive to its commitment

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to serve the cause of the people, both nationally and internationally, and I am sure, the readers will be immensely benefitted by this Volume.

Calcutta
July 7, 1998


(JYOTI BASU)
Chief Editor

Foreword

This Volume covering political events from 1989-1991 will ever be the valuable contribution to anyone concerned with understanding the position of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in relation to political instability with two general elections in quick succession in India and shocking upheaval in Soviet Union and East European countries, the turmoil erupted in China hovering on Tiananmen Square incidents. How did the Party maintain its independent line? How did it show its maturity in formulating ideological stand and the line of action? How did it discharge its responsibilities in leading the daily struggle of masses against the onslaught of the bourgeois-landlord classes on living conditions, democracy and national unity? The documents in this Volume provide the answers, which remain as great lessons for today and tomorrow

The global situation in this period had been of most stormy and terribly difficult one for the Communist movement, the forces of national liberation and working class movement worldwide ever faced since the end of the Second World War. All at once in this short spell, the dismantling of Soviet Union preceded by the setback to socialism in Eastern Europe overturned the world balance of forces in favour of imperialism. It is appropriate now to call to mind with fairness that all of us in the international Communist movement failed to grasp the underlying implications at a moment when significant changes began taking place in those countries

which was why all were taken aback by the all-ending events at the first instance. It enjoined grave and far-reaching consequences for the socialist countries, Third World and the Communist and the general democratic, anti-imperialist movement. It had its repercussions for the national political scene too.

Turning to the national aspects, our repeated warnings that the new economic policy of Rajiv Gandhi Government with its emphasis on import liberalization, call for competitiveness of industry, attack on powerful base of public sector, new openings to foreign capital detrimental to our self-reliance would engender growing dependence of our economy on imperialists, were precisely proved to be true. The vulnerability to outside pressure increased because of one, our growing foreign indebtedness in order to finance its unproductive expenditure and its huge budget deficit accompanied by stringent conditionalities of the World Bank-International Monetary Fund, two, weakening of the forces of socialism by the events in USSR and Eastern Europe that elated the new imperialist offensive. A terrific situation was created by the government for the lakhs thrown out of employment, for the crores engaged in the unorganized industry, for the lakhs and lakhs of unemployed youth and for vast rural masses.

Outstanding was the rising tide of struggles of the workers and peasants, students, youth and women, not to speak of on-growing general democratic movement to press the demands such as. resignation of the Rajiv Gandhi Government and bringing to book those who had jeopardized the security of the country through corrupt defence deals, defence of national unity, protection of minority rights and isolation of communal and separatist forces, resistance to imperialist pressure to Indian economy, curb on price rise and making the "right to work" a fundamental right, an immediate end to closures, lockouts and retrenchments, and reopening of all closed factories, implementation of land reforms, remunerative prices for peasants' produce, minimum wages for agricultural workers and other unorganized

labour, end to atrocities on scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and women, a stop to discrimination against non-Congress(I) State governments and encroachment on the States' existing powers; give more power to the States

The mounting nationwide struggle especially pressing the demand for radical land reform through demonstrations and *dharnas* from May 25, 1989, the strike-struggles in different industries and all streams of movements converged into a Bharat Bandh backed by all important trade unions of the country except INTUC & BMS on August 30, 1989 that found unprecedented response nation-wide. It was followed by a massive rally in Delhi on September 25, 1989 called by the Left parties. At a time when on November 9, 1989 after the date of general election was announced, the aggressive communal campaign of RSS-VHP-BJP-Shiv Sena - Bajrang Dal combine was reaching a climax at Ayodhya in the name of Ramjanmabhoomi Shilanyas at a disputed site with the permission of the Congress(I) Government disregarding court directives, thousands of people, at the call of the Left parties, raised their voice of defending communal harmony and secularism only a few kilometers away. The damage because of communal frenzy could be gauged by the fact that during September and October of 1989 alone, riots took place at as many as 55 places in Northern and Southern India. At a time when communal forces were fanning communal passions in the name of the Ramjanmabhoomi, the move of the Rajiv Government and the State Government led by Congress(I) had appeased and encouraged them in a big way, thus communalization of politics had started worsening the situation further. On November 9 two other persons who had reached Ayodhya were the Janata Dal President, VP Singh who had resigned from the Rajiv Government and joined the forces of Opposition, and veteran Congress leader Kamalapatu Tripathi. They contributed to the struggle for communal harmony by taking a definite stand against RSS-VHP-BJP designs although they did not attend the Left rally.

Earlier, in order to suppress the truth on the Bofors pay-offs the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and his cohorts were resorting to stonewalling tactics and clumsy cover-ups with the unprecedented majority in Parliament, which was exposed by the Comptroller and Auditor-Generals' report. Since the Prime Minister had not responded to the legitimate demand for his resignation for many charges of omissions and commissions, the Lok Sabha members of the entire Opposition resigned which prompted him in the long run to declare general election for the ninth Lok Sabha in November in a surcharged communal atmosphere.

The vacillations in the National Front-Janata Dal combine sought to be utilized by the communal forces led by BJP had compounded the pre-election scenario. The CPI(M) in its Election Manifesto stated, "To combat Congress(I) claims, it is necessary to unite all the Left and democratic and secular forces and all sections of the fighting masses. The CPI(M) considers that united stand and common understanding between the Left parties and the secular Opposition parties represented by the National Front and Janata Dal and isolating all communal parties like the BJP will ensure the defeat and the rout of the Congress(I) and at the same time protect national unity." The Congress(I) led by Rajiv Gandhi was engaged in competing with the communal BJP to woo Hindu votes for which they had to pay a heavy price.

Of the three objectives the CPI(M) and the Left had set, the first one had been achieved with the defeat of the Congress(I) which had about 425 seats in the Eighth Lok Sabha, had been reduced to 200. Of these, the bulk comes from the South. In this regard the pattern seemed to be somewhat similar to that in 1977. In so far as the second objective, that of isolating the communal forces is concerned, the Left did not succeed fully. One positive element in the elections, however, was that in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, the two major States, people had not allowed themselves to be swerved along communal line even though every effort was

made by the BJP and its ilk to vitiate the communal atmosphere. While fighting the Congress(I) misrule and misdeeds, the people had not fallen prey to the intensely communal BJP propaganda. Whatever the BJP gained, had been on the strength of its adjustment with the Janata Dal, where the two were on fighting each other, the BJP had lost.

In this regard, the example of Faizabad parliamentary seat is especially significant. It was from here that Rajiv Gandhi started his election campaign with a promise of "Ram Rajya" in the next five years. It was from Ayodhya in this very constituency that the BJP-RSS-VHP sought to influence the national politics in their favour. Here, the BJP even withdrew its candidate in favour of the Congress(I) nominee. But yet nobody could prevent the victory of the CPI candidate from Faizabad, supported by the CPI(M) and the Janata Dal. Moreover, in Akbarpur Assembly constituency, which is adjacement to the Faizabad parliamentary constituency, the CPI(M) nominee came out with flying colours. The principal stand of the Left parties and Janata Dal on the Babri Masjid-Ramjanmabhoomi issue and their exposure of the dual game played by the Congress(I), also played a big role in influencing the people who, by and large, voted for the Opposition. Another contributory factor was the Bhagalpur and other riots, which completely exposed the Congress(I) as well as the RSS-BJP-VHP combine.

Coming to the third objective of strengthening Left forces in Parliament, it is true that, the poll results fell short of what Left had expected. Yet in West Bengal, in spite of all its efforts, the Congress(I) lost very heavily, not to talk of making any dent. Even in terms of votes polled, there seemed to be a shift away from the Congress(I). It is the CPI(M) and the Left which had gained in West Bengal, and the State remains their stronghold, laying a very significant role in the body-politic of the country.

Tripura was a different story. In terms of mass support, the State has always been a stronghold of the CPI(M) and the Left. But in the 1988 Assembly polls, they were prevented

from coming back to power by the Congress(I) which unashamedly rigged the elections with the help of the paramilitary forces, and also joined hands with the secessionist TNV to come to power. They again used these methods in the same elections. Even though concrete instances of booth capturing were given to the Election Commission, the latter did not do anything.

Overall, the Left had much improved its position in the elections, and had been assigned an important role in the future set-up of the country. Even though the objective of a government of the secular forces supported by the Left had not been achieved, it was for the first time since independence that the Government would have to depend on the Left support.

The concrete situation at the national level was that even though what the Left desired had not been fully achieved, the Congress(I) had been defeated which was an important event in itself. The complexity of the situation took such a shape that National Front and the Janata Dal formed the government with the support of both the Left and the BJP. There could not be any coalition in such a situation because of serious divergences between the standpoint of the Left and that of the BJP. On its part the Left decided not to impose its views, it expected the BJP also not to do so which they agreed at that moment. We supported the National Front-Janata Dal Government with the declared expectation that the government would be running on the basis of its own election manifesto, which, in the opinion of the Left provided sufficient grounds for effecting relief to the people. With the Left parties categorically ruling out their support to any ministry in which BJP would be a participant, the BJP was left with no other alternative but to support the National Front ministry from outside. It went on record on the floor of the Parliament that though it had its differences with the National Front-Janata Dal combine on certain crucial issues like Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute, scrapping of Art 370 of the Constitution and the Minority

Commission it would not force these issues and bring them to the forefront. With similar gesture the government led by VP Singh was required to fulfil its pledges it offered to the people during the election. The CPI(M) and the Left were committed to play the role of a watchdog that would not allow any reversal of policy in the rightist direction.

The anti-Congress mood of the people continued unabated. Within three months of the verdict of the people against the Congress(I) in the Lok Sabha elections, eight States and a Union territory run by the Congress(I) went to the polls on February 27, 1990. Except in the tiny State of Arunachal Pradesh, the Congress(I) was humiliated, the strength of its Legislative Assembly members was reduced from 1120 to 396, which was even worse than the results of the Lok Sabha elections. The strength of the Congress(I) as well as the BJP could have been further reduced if the Janata Dal had gone in for an overall understanding with the Left, like in Orissa. Where the Left was weak and the Janata Dal pursued an opportunist policy in having an understanding with the BJP, the latter with its communal appeal succeeded to an extent in rallying the people behind it.

The CPI(M) and the Left welcomed some of the performances of the National Front Government such as inclusion by a constitutional amendment of all Land Reform Acts in the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution, proposed legislation of Prasar Bharati Bill, the Lok Pal Bill and electoral reforms, upgrading of the commission for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, setting up of Inter-State Council, new orientation to improve Centre-State relations, change in the attitude of the Centre towards Left governments. But the carry-over of the economic policy and industrial policy of the Congress(I) Government which had landed the country in a serious crisis was resented. The CPI(M) and the Left organized nationwide movement against price-rise, unemployment and other burning issues.

After initial cohesiveness of unitedly fulfilling their promises to the people, the Janata Dal and the National

Front showed rivalries, and group interests took precedence over collective functioning.

For years Kashmir, Punjab, and Assam problems were threatening the very unity and integrity of the country, the spectre of Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid issue had been haunting the whole country. As if this was not enough, another dangerous dimension relating to anti-reservation movement had been added to the general conflagration. Both the BJP and the Congress(I) activists were actively competing to lead the anti-reservation agitation.

For such outburst, the government had also its share of blame. The Mandal Commission submitted its report a decade before. Though the National Front-Janata Dal had promised to implement the recommendations, it did not take all the political parties into confidence before placing it on the floor of the Parliament. Howsoever, neither those who advocate reservations without restraint nor those who oppose reservations on the plea that it perpetuates casteism do never outline the need for building of unity of the toiling people who suffer from both caste and economic oppression in order to march forward to the goal of agrarian revolution.

Before the violent situation arising out of the anti-reservation agitation cooled down, the country was faced with a very critical situation, for the Babri Masjid-Ramjanmabhoomi issue had occupied the centre-stage with the intransigent stand of the BJP that its "*Rath Yatra*" which had created communal tension all over the country must be allowed to proceed to Ayodhya and the temple be constructed at the disputed site on October 30, 1990. Unashamedly flouting its promises on the floor of the Parliament that it would not raise the bogey of communal slogans while lending support to the V.P. Singh Government, it started, within months, raising communal passion to a yet another pitch, leaving behind death and destruction on an unprecedented scale. The BJP refused to heed the reasoned appeal of the National Integration Council, the resolution of both Houses of Parliament and the all-parties meeting. After discussions with

some of the BJP leaders, the government came out with a three-point formula a) taking possession of the whole disputed area, b) to allow construction of the temple on undisputed territory, c) reference to the Supreme Court for an opinion on the dispute. With scant respect to public opinion and contempt for the court order, the VHP-RSS-BJP, however, were adamant and declared to go ahead with their sinister plans. On the other hand, a fundamentalist section of the minority, Babri Masjid Action Committee was also instigating the people against each other in reciprocation.

The Left Parties held a massive rally at Lucknow on October 12 to mobilize the public opinion against the dark forces of communalism, to uphold peace and communal harmony. The Congress(I) had again exposed itself with its irresponsible and opportunistic role by keeping away from the all-party meeting to score petty political gains. Since the V.P. Singh Government depended on the support of the Left and the BJP, the latter thought it a chance of a lifetime to revive the Ram temple issue and achieve demolition of Babri Masjid. Standing firm in his commitment to the defence of secular edifice of the country, however, V.P. Singh and a major section of the Janata Dal withstood the pressure from within and did not succumb to the blackmailing tactics of the BJP from outside. Commendable was thus the role of the V.P. Singh led government at the Centre, the Janata Dal governments in U.P. and Bihar which blocked the way and accepted the challenge of the VHP-RSS-BJP, resulting in the BJP's withdrawal of support from the V.P. Singh Government.

At such a moment when the unity of all the Left, democratic and secular forces was of the utmost importance, the opportunistic combination of the Congress(I), BJP and the Janata Dal dissidents led by Chandra Shekhar brought down the eleven-month-old V.P. Singh Government which, against the dangerous challenge of the VHP-RSS-BJP, staked its government in defence of national unity. Sacrificing the prime national cause of secularism, the Congress(I) installed minority

government of Shri Chandra Shekhar defying the mandate of the people who had elected them to fight the Congress(I). Throughout the month of October and November, the country witnessed innumerable massive rallies and processions against communalism, defence of national unity, social justice, and upholding of parliamentary democracy organized jointly by the Left and the Janata Dal.

It was no wonder that the Chandra Shekhar Government depending solely on Congress(I) support could not last long. Its life depended on what particular time the Congress(I) would find suitable for going in for elections. That came true in March, 1991 when the Congress(I) led by Rajiv Gandhi collapsed the defector's government. The country witnessed Rajiv Gandhi and his party Congress(I)'s despicable manoeuvres of seeking power through the backdoor and avoids facing the people and elections. The CPI(M), the Left and the National Front demanded fresh elections which was held in the third week of May after a long sordid drama of the Congress(I).

There were three electoral formations, one led by Congress(I), another led by BJP and the third one by the combination of the Left parties and the secular Opposition parties represented by the National Front and Janata Dal, the latter being perceived by the people as the sole alternative.

A joint appeal to the people on behalf of the National Front - Left on the eve of the election assumed great importance. The National Front suffered a setback and was weakened due to defections and disruptions. Yet the combination raised hopes among the people. The joint appeal stated: "The dark forces of communalism are making a bid to divide the country on religious lines spelling grave dangers to the country's unity. The forces inimical to democracy seek to impose authoritarianism, which will endanger parliamentary democracy, and they do not hesitate to opportunistically align with the divisive forces. The Congress(I) represents authoritarianism and anti-people policies. The BJP is bent upon misusing religion to divide the people. Both these

parties are pursuing such disruptive politics at a time when the country and the people are suffering from serious economic crisis

It is of enormous significance that at this juncture, for the first time, there has emerged a cohesive and nation-wide alternative in the form of National Front-Left parties alliance”

The forces of the Left in combination with the National Front provided a formidable challenge to the Congress(I) and the BJP A few years before, the people could not have envisaged such a scenario This combine created great enthusiasm among the people as evident during the election campaign But in a campaign unprecedented for violence, acrimony and ferocity, the secular forces failed to stem the BJP

After the first phase of election out of the three phases, the Congress(I) President and former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated during his election tour in Tamil Nadu The dastardly crime, committed by the enemies of the Indian people, had been condemned by all shades of political opinion The preceding few years had been witness to the menacing rise of divisive, separatist, communal and fissiparous forces in the country American imperialism, bent upon destabilizing and dismembering the country has been actively intervening since long by aiding and abetting these forces A strong and united India, an independent and developing India, has been perceived as a threat to the manoeuvres of the United States of America World events have had enough undeniable facts in store to prove that even the minutest of threats to imperialist interests in pursuance of its aim is met with terror, threat, pressure and force It was in this background we viewed the assassination of Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi, although seemingly, in the later case the crime was committed only through the designs of the Sri Lankan extremists.

The Central Committee of our Party that met in June 22, 1991 reviewed the Tenth General Elections and formulated the immediate tasks in post-election situation. It underlined the factors that led to none of the three combinations getting a majority and made a self-critical review which was important

because of the flexible and suitable tactics we had adopted in such a situation. It was explained that "the question of a National Government, mooted by the then President after Rajiv's assassination, has been categorically rejected by us and the National Front. Since the Congress(I) has emerged as the largest single party, it will form the government. The CPI(M) along with the Left and the National Front should sit in the Opposition. The Congress(I) along with its allies will form the government but they will be short of a majority. Our attitude to the government's policies will have to be decided, judging issue to issue and specific policies."

Our approach would mean no compromise on the issues which affect the interest of the masses. While skillfully using the floor of the parliament to advance the cause of the working people, we must concentrate on developing the movements of the workers, peasants, youth, students, women, and other toiling sections. We must firmly resist those policies that will throw the burden of the economic crisis on the common people. The BJP will try to exploit the discontent to disruptive channels. We must be vigilant to see that this does not succeed."

The minority Congress(I) led government, several weeks after assuming office, showed its inclination to the surrender to the World Bank-IMF dictates posing a grave threat to the economic sovereignty of the country which had become a big issue, and the Left and the National Front started countrywide campaigns against it starting from August 15 that culminated into massive March in Delhi on September 27. The next important stage of the mass protest action was the successful all-India industrial strike at the call of the central trade unions on November 29. In the next few months, this movement had become more widespread against the Congress(I) Government's mischief and against the growing threat of communalism.

Refusing to draw any lesson from its own experience of compromising with communal forces in the past, the Congress(I) started once again bargaining and striking deals

with the BJP on one question or the other. There were meeting grounds and similarity of approach between the Congress(I) and the BJP on the question of economic policies too. While the BJP would put up some show of opposition to the new economic, trade and industrial policies of the Congress(I) Government, in actual practice, they were pleased to note that the Congress(I) was pursuing the very same policies they had been advocating since mid-fifties. Liberalization of trade, giving up of self-reliance, 51% equity participation to the multinationals, devaluation of the rupee, etc., carried out at the behest of the IMF-WB, had received a general support from the BJP. Even more interesting was the declaration of one of the topmost leaders of the BJP that it was the Congress(I) Government, which hijacked the economic policy of the BJP.

With the economic crisis further deepening, the mass of the Indian people was growingly confronted with a further cut into their already miserable living conditions. Alongside, a further onslaught on the country's unity and integrity, the intensification of BJP's campaign for Hindu Rastra had shouldered a great responsibility on the Left and secular forces to organize a multi-pronged battle that could only ensure a new orientation in the political scene of the country.

On the international scene, progressive forces throughout the world were watching the unfolding events in the Soviet Union with concern, anxiety and anguish. To us, the Communists, who had witnessed in this period the East European countries rolling back to the path of capitalism, the events taking place in the USSR that led to the dismantling of socialism and break-up of Soviet Union was yet another worst tragedy in history.

In the early eighties, it is well known, the Communist Party had lost its grip over the working class in Poland and the people in a situation of accumulated ideological disorientation and distortions, opening the floodgate to the counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist Party was, at the beginning of those developments, forced to enter into a

coalition government with so-called solidarity whose leadership was financed and openly supported by the imperialists. Next came the demise of socialism in Hungary in the late eighties when the Communist Party had been dissolved and the majority had decided to call itself Hungarian Socialist Party, had asked for U S help, declared for market economy, an easy walk-over for capitalist system. The setback to the socialism in these two countries was the biggest triumph scored by imperialism since the victory against the Nazi aggression. Yet the international Communist movement failed to gauge the gravity of the impending danger. There had been no sense of solidarity with the working class that was betrayed and defeated.

The same tendency was in evidence in relation to counter-revolutionary struggle in China in May-June, 1989 treating the offensive of the counter-revolutionary forces backed by the imperialists as an internal matter of China. While the Chinese revolution was attacked internally and externally, while the world imperialism was unitedly throwing its weight to aid and abet the counter-revolutionaries, the international Communist movement stood confused, divided and disorganized.

It was in this situation our Central Committee meeting July 15-17, 1989, discussed these developments in People's China and concluded that, "No person with a minimum class consciousness could miss the significance of world media support to the rebellion. Which kind of democracy this media has been supporting on a world scale. Its main business has been to denounce all revolutionary agitations and defend the global interests of imperialism. The fact that this media was whole-heartedly supporting the student agitation should have made it clear to all, the class content of the movement. If there was any doubt it should have been dispelled when one imperialist country after another started condemning China and its success against the counter-revolutionary forces. Media propaganda about mowing down of hundreds of students was now followed by threatening postures and threats from

the entire imperialist gang. Never in the recent past did the imperialist camp show such unanimity and oneness of purpose as in denouncing China and intimidating it to conciliate with the rebels.”

And further, “Today the entire bourgeois world and the forces of world reaction are trying to isolate People’s China for the ‘crime’ of defeating the counter-revolution. The CPC requires strong support and sympathy of all Marxist-Leninist Parties and progressive forces. There is no doubt that in the coming months as things clear up the present day critics of China will understand that they were misled by imperialist propaganda and once again there will be a line-up of the world democratic forces in support of People’s China and the CPC.”

Imperialism had never reconciled to the existence of socialism which, from one country to the other, went on to embrace as much as one third of humanity. Socialism posed a serious challenge to imperialist design for global hegemony and put an end to the exploitation of man by man in the socialist countries. With the changed correlation of class forces on the international plane in the post-Second World War period, imperialism failed in its attempts to defeat socialism. However, taking advantage of the distortions and deviations in building socialism, it launched a propaganda blitzkrieg, that socialism has failed, that Marxism-Leninism has no relevance, and that capitalism represents the ultimate stage in the evolution of human history. It assisted the forces that were unleashed in the wake of the reforms initiated in the Soviet Union.

Embarking on an uncharted path, it was but natural that errors and mistakes be committed while building socialism. But deviations and distortions in socialist construction, of a very serious nature, had taken place giving rise to stagnation and a bureaucratic style of functioning. Even while parity and superiority was established in military and space technology, scientific and technological developments in other fields were neglected. In the sphere of polity, whereas socialist democracy envisaged a higher level and stage, in reality as

it existed in the socialist countries, it was far behind. It was therefore natural that reforms, both in the sphere of the economy and polity, had become a necessity. But the reforms initiated instead of strengthening and consolidating socialism and helping in overcoming the distortions and deviations were to compound the matters further. It released forces inimical and opposed to socialism that were to eventually lead to present-day developments.

We, of the CPI(M), have been critical of the CPSU at various points of time. We had lambasted the revisionist doctrines propped up by Khrushchev in the fifties that set a chain reaction throughout the Communist world particularly in the Third World countries. We had pin-pointed their mis-handling of the Sino-Soviet relations and their erroneous understanding of the international situation. When Gorbachev propounded the theory of "modification of contradictions", we were sharply critical of it. These criticisms were based on our understanding of Marxism-Leninism, from the standpoint of a fraternal party giving expression to its opinion to the other. However, there is an imperative need to evaluate the revolutionary changes in the twentieth century with all the victories and defeats, advances and setbacks.

Though initially we had welcomed the reforms in the economy and polity in order to overcome the lags in socialist construction, we expressed our apprehensions on the measures employed to overcome them. Subsequent events vindicated our fears and instead of consolidating socialism, forces inimical to socialism were unleashed which, emboldened and strengthened by imperialist support, were determining the course of events in the Soviet Union. When the Emergency Committee took over the reins on August 19, 1991, we had hoped that they would be able to stall this slide to disaster. Our position was in conformity with our position to defend socialism and against imperialism. It was dictated by the circumstances under which they took over power, it was an expression of the desire of the overwhelming majority of our ranks, who saw in the reforms initiated

by Gorbachev a rolling back to capitalism and disintegration of the socialist USSR

Their foreign policy based on the theory of modification of contradictions resulted in being detrimental to the interests of the developing countries. The policy pursued saw an emboldened U S bulldozing the Third World countries into submission, the virtual destruction of Iraq at the hands of the U S , a weakening of the Arab League and the Organization of African States and the Non-Aligned Movement. The balance of forces, now altered, see the aggressive drive of the U S to establish its hegemony worldwide. The people inhabiting the former Soviet Republics were then confronted with the reality of the snatching away of rights they had hitherto enjoyed as citizens of the Socialist State. The rights to work, to housing, to education, to health care—in all these they were deprived of exploitation of man by man. Misery and destitution, unknown to the present generation, staged a comeback

The Third World countries, which had already had a taste of these implications even before the latest developments took place, are now facing greater dangers, with U S imperialism running amuck.

The Indian media fed on a diet of anti-Communism has been echoing the voice of imperialism for long. It launched a tirade against the Left parties when they cautioned against the economic sovereignty of the country being compromised at the dictates of the IMF and the World Bank. The very same media was glorifying the “demise” of Communism and the Soviet Union, hailing them as positive developments. The anti-Communist Press and forces of India have been seeking to obliterate the immense contribution of socialism to the material and intellectual development of human civilization in the 20th century. They want the Indian people to forget that it was on account of the assistance rendered by the Soviet Union that we were hitherto able to resist imperialist pressure. Can they mislead our people to believe that the Soviet Union has not contributed in laying

the foundations of our economy, its industrial base? Do they presume that we will forget that were it not for the cautioning of the Soviet Union, the U S ships would have reached our shores during the Indo-Pak war of 1965 and 1971? The Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Peace had not only checked imperialist intervention in the country but also contributed immensely to safeguarding our independence and sovereignty

The Communist movement, right from its inception, had to confront stiff resistance and attacks In many countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia, Communists were beheaded and mercilessly massacred in their lakhs Indescribable was the brutal massacre of the Communists by the Nazis. Volume upon volume can be written of the ruthless torture, of the trials and tribulations, of the trying times through which the people enlightened by the science of Marxism-Leninism had to pass in the sacred task of establishing a society free from exploitation of man by man The indomitable spirit, which they imbibed, armed them with the weapon to walk the thorny path with ease. It is this determination and dedication, which would not deter them from the chosen path, even when faced with gallows and sure death.

Ups and downs, onward march and setbacks have all been part and parcel of our movement. In India, we had to face ruthless suppression of the British imperialists When the British Union Jack was brought down, the State organ of the bourgeois-landlord ruling classes carried on this task. More than a thousand of our comrades were killed in cold blood during the semi-fascist terror in West Bengal Our comrades in Tripura confronted terror of the most barbaric type. Thousands of other courted martyrdom in working class, peasant, youth, student, women and agricultural workers' struggles in various parts of the country All these have steeled us in our determination to put an end to this system of exploitation, added strength to our dedication and devotion to the working class movement, kept the fire alive within us against our class enemy.

The events and developments in the Soviet Union, far from being a repudiation of the science of Marxism-Leninism, vindicate the fears and apprehensions that we had expressed, basing ourselves on this very science. The rich experience thus gained would arm us in our struggle to usher in a society free from exploitation of man by man. The science of Marxism-Leninism and the ideals of socialism are invincible.

In the midst of such a distressing situation, it was gladdening to note that the Communist parties of China, Vietnam, Cuba and the Workers Party of Korea had also declared that they would continue to adhere to socialism and the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. There were some other parties, which were in the thick of a struggle and continue to fight the imperialist offensive, and they too had expressed their adherence to the cause of revolution.

As against the fate of many other Communist parties that discarded or intended to discard the Red Flag, delete Marxism-Leninism from this basic philosophy, throw overboard democratic centralism, denounce the past and change their names, our entire Party had rallied around revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism.

In such a complex national and international situation, the Fourteenth Congress of CPI(M) was held in Madras from January 3 to 9, 1992 which remains as a landmark event not only in the history of our own country; it also heightens the Party's prestige in international arena by its contribution to the struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism and the socialist choice.



(Harkishan Singh Surjeet)

General Secretary,

Communist Party of India (Marxist)

July 24, 1998

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List of Abbreviations Used

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

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DYFI	Democratic Youth Federation of India
Govt	Government
UF	United Front
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangha
JP	Janata Party
JD	Janata Dal
RSP	Revolutionary Socialist Party
FB	Forward Bloc
SP	Socialist Party
EMS	E M S Namboodiripad
BTR	: B T Ranadive
PS	: P Sundarayya
PR	: P Ramamurti
MB	· M Basavapunniah

Homage to Comrade Ratanlal Brahman*

**Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated
January 5, 1989 to Press paying homage to his memory**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) deeply mourns the passing away of Comrade Ratanlal Brahman, veteran revolutionary and Communist stalwart who died in the train while returning from the Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M).

Comrade Ratanlal Brahman was an outstanding leader and pioneer of the Communist movement in Darjeeling in West Bengal. He led the first strike of tea garden workers in a tea estate in 1933 and was the founder of the Tea Garden Mazdoor Union in 1945. He joined the Party in 1943. From 1959 to 1980 he was the Secretary of the Darjeeling District Committee of the united Party and subsequently of the CPI(M).

He was first elected to the West Bengal Assembly in 1952. Earlier, along with Comrade Jyoti Basu he was part of the first three-member Communist group in the Provincial Assembly in 1946. He was elected as a State Committee member of the united Party in 1957. He represented the Party in the Lok Sabha as a member from 1971 to 1977. He spent more than eleven years in jail under the British regime and after independence.

Comrade Brahman was a beloved leader of the masses in Darjeeling district. He constantly championed the genuine

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Comrade Ratanlal Brahman attended the Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M) as a delegate at Trivandrum on December 27, 1988-January 1, 1989 and after the Party Congress was over he died in the train while returning to Darjeeling

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demands of the Nepali-speaking people and in recent years firmly stood for the unity of the Nepali and Bengali toiling people

In his death, the Party has lost a valuable leader, representing the lofty Communist values. The Polit Bureau pays homage to his memory and conveys heartfelt condolences to his family members.

Homage to Comrade Shankar Dayal Tewari*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated January 18, 1989 to the Press paying homage to his memory

The Polit Bureau is deeply grieved at the death of Comrade Shankar Dayal Tewari, prominent leader and member of the Central Committee of the Party. He died this afternoon of a heart attack in Lucknow.

Attracted to Marxism, Comrade Shankar Dayal joined the Party in 1940 when he was a leader of the Students' Federation. From then onwards he played a leading role in the Communist movement in Uttar Pradesh. He rose to be a secretariat member of the undivided Party and was a member of the National Council of the CPI till the time of the split. He became a member of the Central Committee of the CPI(M) at the Seventh Congress in 1964. From 1967 up to 1988 he served as the Secretary of the Uttar Pradesh State Committee of the Party. He devoted all his energies to building up the CPI(M) and the Left movement in the State. He took a keen interest in the development of the kisan movement and was a member of the Central Kisan Council of the All India Kisan Sabha for many years.

Comrade Shankar Dayal was an effective writer who authored many books and pamphlets on Marxism-Leninism and political affairs. He spent five and a half years in jail and two years underground during his revolutionary career.

In his death, the CPI(M) and the Left movement have lost an able and dedicated leader. The Polit Bureau pays

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respectful homage and dips the red banner in his memory
The Polit Bureau conveys its heartfelt condolences to his
wife, son and daughter.

Polit Bureau on Solarz's Visit*

Statement dated January 19, 1989 issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) is gravely concerned at the manner in which the visit of the Chairman of the U.S Congress Sub-committee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, Stephan J. Solarz was utilised by the Government of India. By sending Mr Solarz to the Golden Temple to have discussions with some Akali leaders, the Government of India has allowed alien agencies, particularly the USA, to interfere in the internal affairs of our country. This decision of the Government of India seriously undermines the sovereignty and integrity of India.

A political solution to the Punjab problem can only be found in consultation with the Opposition parties as repeatedly suggested by the CPI(M). By not implementing the Punjab Accord while treating the problem only as a law and order issue, the Rajiv Government is allowing the situation to further deteriorate. The CPI(M) reiterates its demand that the political solution to the Punjab problem must be found urgently in consultation with the Opposition parties.

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On Tamil Nadu Elections*

Statement dated January 23, 1989 issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) warmly congratulates the people of Tamil Nadu for giving a crushing defeat to the Congress(I) and providing a big majority to the DMK and its allies in the Assembly elections

The people have given a strong rebuff to the unscrupulous electoral tactics of the Congress(I) which led to the misuse of the State machinery, spending crores of rupees and seeking to utilise caste feelings and opportunist alliances. The repeated visits of Rajiv Gandhi and his blandishments have miserably failed.

The decisive verdict in Tamil Nadu is a clear rejection of Rajiv Gandhi's election campaign and reflects the acute discontent amongst the people against the Congress(I) Government's policies.

The Polit Bureau thanks the people for electing 15 CPI(M) candidates in the 20 seats the Party contested (polling in the 21st seat having been countermanded).

The Polit Bureau hopes that the new government headed by Thiru M. Karunanidhi will now take up the task of providing an administration which will address itself to the urgent problems facing the people.

The verdict in Tamil Nadu once again reveals the people's massive no-confidence in the Rajiv Government and enjoins upon all the Left and secular Opposition forces to redouble their efforts to oust the Rajiv Government in the coming Lok Sabha elections.

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Developments in Afghanistan*

CPI(M) Condemns Violation of Geneva Accords

Polit Bureau issued statement dated February 11, 1989 to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is gravely concerned at the developing situation in Afghanistan.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns imperialism and its agents for their attempts to foist a civil war on the people of Afghanistan, sabotaging all efforts by the Soviet Union and the Najibullah Government for a peaceful national reconciliation. Imperialism with impunity has been continuously violating the Geneva Accord. The Accord has been implemented only by the USSR with its unilateral troops withdrawal. By heavily arming the rebels to blockade Kabul and refusing to allow U.N. planes with supplies to reach Kabul, imperialism is creating conditions for a blood-bath. This only shows the scant respect with which imperialism treats such accords. Imperialism pursuing a plan to further its interests, is considering recognising the Mujahideen as the government in exile, thus protracting the conflict and pushing the situation towards a protracted civil war. This is in total contradiction with the Geneva Accord which underlined the independence, non-aligned status and territorial integrity and sovereignty of Afghanistan.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemns the suggestion made by the President of Pakistan calling for a confederation of Pakistan and Afghanistan. This reflects the grip of the militarists in Pakistan over the regime. This suggestion not only undermines the basis of an independent

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Afghanistan, but exposes the Pakistani military's role as the prime agent of imperialism in the region

While unequivocally condemning imperialism and its moves to further the conflict, the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its complete solidarity with the Government headed by Najibullah and the PDPA, and is confident that the democratic forces will succeed in their efforts to protect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of their country.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) appeals to all progressive and democratic forces in India to strongly protest against imperialist intrigues and extend full support to the Afghan people.

Polit Bureau on Criticisms of Congress(I)*

Statement dated February 9, 1989 issued to Press

The statement by Shri K N. Singh, General Secretary of the AICC, commenting on the Polit Bureau's communique, can be understood only in one way : The Congress(I) is deeply afraid of the growing understanding between the Left, democratic and secular forces. It is also not accidental that such a reaction has come from the Congress(I) and the BJP.

It is not worth arguing with K.N. Singh on the basis of Leninism, since it is evident that no follower of Lenin would accept the leadership of Rajiv Gandhi and his Government—a government which serves the interests of the monopolists, protects the landed interests, invites multinationals, attacks democratic rights and compromises with the communal forces. That must be the reason why K N Singh has not talked about Congress(I) policies which are ruining the masses.

Even on the question of communalism, he does not stand on a sound footing. It is the Congress(I) which is responsible for the erosion of secular values and which has compromised with all sorts of communal forces in the country to keep itself in power. Has it not aligned with all the caste and communal forces in Kerala against the Left and Democratic Front? Did it not ally with the Muslim League in the recent elections in Tamil Nadu? In both places it was strongly rebuffed by the people. Did it not woo the Church in the recent elections in Mizoram and did it not organize the caste gatherings in Haryana and U P recently? Is it not a fact that

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it has encouraged Muslim fundamentalism in Jammu and Kashmir? Is it not responsible for the continued activities of the Sikh extremists in Punjab by refusing to find a solution to the Punjab problem, keeping the elections in mind? Mr. Singh has no answers to these questions, because it is the Congress(I) which has given up the traditions of anti-imperialism, patriotism and secularism.

It does little credit to the intelligence of Shri Singh that he has chosen to misunderstand the Polit Bureau statement. One can only be amused at his stance. Surely he is not ignorant that in the December 9, 1987 rally in Delhi, the CPI(M) and the Left parties raised the slogan for the removal of the Rajiv Gandhi Government. At the same time, they warned the people against the danger from the communal and separatist forces and called for an alternative of the Left, democratic and secular forces. The formation of the National Front was welcomed by our Party. We are also making efforts to gather all the secular forces in order to defeat the Congress(I) Government. This line was endorsed by our Party Congress held recently.

The formation of the National Campaign Committee is to supplement these forces, to rally the people and to radicalize public opinion so that the campaign against communalism and separatism, in defence of national independence and for burning issues are highlighted. There is no contradiction in the stand which the Party Congress has taken, and the formation of the National Campaign Committee and the Polit Bureau's statement. Shri Singh must understand that with the record of the Congress(I) no one can save it from collapse. Our Party will continue to strive for an alternative to his party's Government, which can provide relief to the people and at the same time isolate the communal forces.

Polit Bureau on Bhopal Surrender*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) issued the following statement.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) is shocked at the content and manner in which the "full and final" settlement of the four-year-old legal battle for compensation for the Bhopal gas victims has been arrived at.

From the initial claim of over three billion U.S. dollars the Government of India climbed down dramatically to accept a compensation of less than half a billion U.S. dollars. This grossly inadequate and miserly amount constituted a surrender by the Government of India before the multinational Union Carbide. Official figures place those who are dead due to the gas leak at 3,332 and even four years later over 60,000 people continue to be adversely affected by the inhalation of MIC. After paying compensation for the dead, this would leave a measly amount of around Rs 5,000 for the victims who have to be rehabilitated.

The basis of arriving at the settlement has not been explained by the Supreme Court. It is common knowledge that in the earlier negotiations for an out-of-court settlement, the Government of India had turned down an offer of Rs 650 crores. It is indeed curious that the Government of India should now consider this as an equitable settlement and ended all cases pending with the civil or criminal courts on this settlement.

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What strengthens the sell-out to the multinational corporation is a fact that the culpability of damage caused by the Union Carbide has not been pinned down. Even the terms of the settlement have not been made public.

The CPI(M) considers this settlement as a total sell-out and warns the Government that it cannot abandon its responsibility of providing adequate relief for the rehabilitation of the victims. The CPI(M) calls upon the people of India to register their protest against this highly condemnable surrender by the Government of India.

Polit Bureau on The Union Budget*

Statement issued to Press

The new budget (1989) of the Government of India carries the mark of an election year budget which, while giving some relief to some sections, offers large concessions to the big monopolists, which of course have its value in an election year.

The budget prominently puts forward the Jawaharlal Nehru Employment Scheme. No government or party in India today can forget the problem of unemployment. The Economic Survey itself estimates registered unemployed at more than three crores. But vast numbers are unemployed in the rural areas. These areas form the bulk of the electorate. Once again, therefore, the promise has been repeated of one employed person per family in the rural areas. Past experience shows that such promises are never fulfilled.

It should be noted at the same time that the budget has not taken note of the three crores registered unemployed in the cities, where one and a half lakh enterprises are sick, of which more than one lakh forty thousand have been declared to be non-viable. The reduction of the income tax rate for the Rs. 18,000 to Rs 25,000 bracket provides some relief, but obviously it is meant for the election year. The outlay of Rs. 9,374 crores for rural areas which includes food and clothings subsidies, also constitutes a gift of the election year. Thousands of crores of rupees have been spent in rural areas in the name of anti-poverty schemes without

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any change in the condition of the poverty-stricken mass. The Central assistance to the States falls far short of their requirements.

The increase in taxation of steel, the decontrol of aluminium and several other measures, are bound to lead to price rise and finally adversely affect the people. But they are a gift to the big houses to stand by the Congress(I) in the election year. It has to be noted that there is no change in the Government's import liberalisation policy imposed by the World Bank. On the other hand, it seems the budget proposes to reduce customs duties on certain hi-tech products. Care has been taken not to offend the World Bank and obstruct the free flow of foreign goods and technology. The decision to restrict defence expenditure at Rs. 13,000 crores should be welcomed. But it is doubtful if it can be implemented considering the continuous arming of Pakistan by the USA. Finally the estimated deficit of Rs. 7,337 crores is an invitation for an inflationary spiral, rise in prices and defrauding of the poorer sections. The budget, in spite of its announced relief to some sections, will lay heavy burdens on the people, adding to their distress and misery.

Polit Bureau Statement on Railway Budget*

The Railway Budget presented by Shri Madhavrao Scindia, Railway Minister on February 23, 1989, burdens the people with yet another dose of very heavy additional impost. Additional revenue of the order of Rs. 876 crores to be collected by increase in freight, parcel and luggage rates is going to push up prices of all essential commodities. It is bound to fuel inflation. Coming at it does in the wake of additional imposts of Rs. 240 crores in 1988-89, in a span of less than two years, people of this country are being forced to pay an additional sum of more than Rs. 1,100 crores. The Railway Minister has declared that he was not going to increase the passenger fare but nevertheless has virtually levied additional impost on everyone in the country.

The Minister was trying to be clever when he announced that certain commodities like salt, fruit, vegetables, etc. will be exempted from this increase in the freight charges. But in the name of rationalisation of freight charges he has not hesitated to increase the rate for carrying foodgrains, pulses, etc. which are needed and consumed by everyone in the country. Not all the people of this country get into a train every year. But all the 80 crores of people need rice, wheat, pulses everyday for their consumption. To exempt the travelling public from paying more as railway fare but at the same time compelling the entire nation to pay more for their daily needs, is the Congress(I) brand of political jugglery in

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 5, 1989.

an election year. That even in an election year such a huge load of additional impost has to be levied on the people only goes to show the depth of the crisis of the Indian economy.

The Polit Bureau condemns the hefty hikes which will add a futher burden to the already back-breaking load imposed on the people by the Government. The Polit Bureau further calls upon the people to register their protest against this anti-people measure of the Government.

Polit Bureau Statement on Congress(I) Hooliganism*

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the concerted effort by the Congress(I) MLAs to assault the Governor in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly while he was reading the Governor's Address. The attack on the Governor and the physical efforts to humiliate him are unprecedented and cannot by any standard be termed a protest action against the State Government.

The resort to violence within the State Assembly is in line with the inflammatory calls being repeatedly issued by Congress(I) leaders like Ghani Khan Chowdhury in the State. Calls to attack policemen, burn police vehicles and take up sten guns against the Marxists are the reprehensible tactics publicly advocated by the State Congress(I) leadership. It is this approach which has been reflected within the Assembly also.

The Polit Bureau calls upon all sections of public opinion to denounce this trampling of democracy in West Bengal. It is confident that the people of West Bengal will isolate the Congress(I) further for indulging in such vile tactics.

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Homage to Comrade Prithvi Singh Azad*

Statement issued to Press by the Polit Bureau

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) pays homage to Comrade Prithvi Singh Azad who died on March 5, in Hissar (Haryana).

Born in village Lalru (Punjab), Prithvi Singh Azad had gone to the USA in the beginning of this century to earn his living. There he joined the Gadr Party and became one of its founders. He spent long years in jail and underground. His experience of work as a revolutionary brought him into the Communist Party. In the early thirties, he, along with Gurmukh Singh ran away from police custody while being transferred from the Andamans to a Punjab jail. While underground he visited Moscow. After gaining legality he began working in the Kisan Sabha in Punjab.

He will always be remembered by all well-wishers of the Communist movement and other democratic-minded people.

While cherishing his memory and paying tribute to him, the Polit Bureau conveys condolence to his family members.

Polit Bureau's Condolence on Bahuguna's Demise*

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep sorrow and grief at the sudden passing away of Shri Hemwati Nandan Bahuguna, President of the Lok Dal (B), in the United States of America

Shri Bahuguna was a respected political leader. He made an important contribution in the freedom struggle and stood for anti-imperialist struggles throughout his life. After independence he consistently championed secular values, combating the evils of communalism. He showed deep concern for the plight of the downtrodden and the minorities. He served in many public offices both in Uttar Pradesh and in the Central Government.

In his death, the democratic and secular forces in the country have suffered a big loss. The Polit Bureau conveys its heartfelt condolences to Mrs. Kamala Bahuguna, his sons and family members.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 26, 1989

Polit Bureau Communiqué*

**Issued following its meeting held on
March 18-19, 1989**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) held a two-day meeting which concluded on March 19, 1989.

The meeting expressed deep grief at the passing away of Shri H N. Bahuguna and paid homage to his memory. His death at this juncture is a big loss for the democratic and secular forces in the country. In his political career he stood for anti-imperialist values and consistently championed secularism. The Polit Bureau conveyed its sincere condolences to Kamala Bahuguna and other members of the family.

Thakkar Report

The Polit Bureau condemned the manner in which the Prime Minister and the Congress(I) Government dealt with the legitimate demand of the members of Parliament, newspapers and public opinion for tabling the Thakkar Commission Report in Parliament. While refusing to accede to this justified demand, the ruling party resorted to the authoritarian step of suspending 63 Opposition MPs in the Lok Sabha. This draconian action violated all norms of parliamentary democracy and must be strongly condemned by all those concerned for democracy in the country.

The widespread opposition to the Government's unreasonable stance finally forced the Government to change its stand. This was a victory for the fight put up by the united Opposition and the protests by public opinion and the

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newspapers. The Polit Bureau expressed its shock that no member of the Union cabinet other than the Prime Minister was allowed to see the text of the Report, which shows the collapse of the Cabinet system under the Congress(I) rule. The Polit Bureau demanded that apart from the commission Report, the Special Investigation Team's report into the matter should also be placed before Parliament.

Congress(I) Crisis

The Polit Bureau noted that the crisis in the Congress(I) party continues with deep intensity. The recent developments in Rajasthan and Gujarat after the Bihar events, show how unprincipled faction-fights and power-mongering is paralysing the Congress(I)-run State Governments and leading to one ministerial crisis after another. They confirm that the ruling party is fast losing its capacity to govern the country and provide a minimum framework of administration to serve the people.

Punjab Situation

The Polit Bureau noted that after prolonged dilly-dallying, the Rajiv Government has come out with a package of proposals on Punjab. The package while providing some concessions which meet the demands of the situation, is on the whole not sufficient to solve the serious problem in Punjab. The Polit Bureau is of the opinion that the Government continues to take a complacent attitude regarding the terrorist threat and the continuing toll of innocent lives due to their violent depredations. It reiterates that terrorism in Punjab cannot be dealt with by only administrative and police measures, as the Government has been doing. What is required is a comprehensive political solution which can help in isolating the terrorists and mobilising all peace-loving sections of the population. The question, according to the Polit Bureau, is whether the Government will show the necessary political will to deal with the problem in a democratic manner or whether it will repeat its earlier erroneous course of using the Punjab problem for its own partisan interests.

In this connection, the Polit Bureau welcomed the decision of the Left parties to organize a dharna in New Delhi on March 29 to focus attention on this question. It called upon all democratic minded sections to support this action.

On Bodo Agitation

The Polit Bureau considered the developing situation in Assam where the Bodo agitation and the AGP Government's dealing with it has led to the outbreak of widespread violence in some areas causing bloodshed, loss of lives and wanton destruction of State and private property. The Polit Bureau approved the statement issued by the State Committee of the CPI(M) which expressed its view that the solution of the problem needs patient negotiations; while the CPI(M) is opposed to the call for a separate Bodo State, it holds as legitimate the demand for the recognition of the right of the Bodos as a tribal minority to have their identity recognized politically. The CPI(M) has always stood for the principle of regional and local autonomy within a State in order to enable the tribal communities to share the task of administration, along with other nationalities of India. The Polit Bureau hoped that the AGP Government of Assam and the Central Government would agree to apply this principle to the Bodos in Assam, while the organisers of the Bodo agitation would do everything possible to bring the situation back to normal.

Communal Provocation

The Polit Bureau expressed its grave concern at the moves made by some Hindu organizations to step up the agitation on the "Ramjanmabhumi" temple issue. The call given by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and backed by the RSS to begin construction of a temple at Ayodhya on November 9 and to bring bricks from villages all over the country for the purpose, is designed to whip up communal passions and poses a serious threat to communal amity. The Polit Bureau condemns this move to develop a confrontation on this sensi-

tive matter It reiterated the view of the Party that a peaceful settlement of the issue is essential, for which the whole dispute be referred for speedy judicial verdict

Role of Governors

The Polit Bureau noted that the Centre continues to persist in its authoritarian practice of using Governors against the interests of the elected State Governments. The way Governors were announced for West Bengal and some other States recently without consulting the Chief Ministers confirms this anti-democratic approach. In Karnataka, the Congress(I) sought to use the Governor to derecognize the Janata Dal Government in the State. Anticipating widespread opposition to such a move, the Governor has desisted from adopting such a disastrous course.

Coming as this did in the wake of transferring Professor Nurul Hasan, the former Governor of West Bengal, to Orissa and the reprehensible behaviour of the Congress(I) MLAs when Professor Hasan arrived to inaugurate the Assembly session, shows the utter contempt of the ruling party for their own appointees to the posts of Governor.

CPI Congress

Considering the discussions and decisions of the Fourteenth Congress of the CPI the Polit Bureau noted the emphasis laid on the need for Left unity and the need for common understanding between the Left and secular Opposition parties to oust the Rajiv Government. The CPI Congress while taking a firm stand against the Rajiv Government, highlights the danger to national unity from divisive and communal forces and warns against opportunist electoral alliance with them. The Polit Bureau felt at the same time that the CPI has not yet been able to clarify its stand towards Opposition ministries, within the framework of forging a broad unity of Left and secular forces against the Congress(I) regime. There is every possibility that the present unhealthy practice in some States, which brings grist to the Congress(I) mill, may continue

The Polit Bureau considered it unfortunate that the CPI Congress could not conclude its discussions on the Programme, and adopt changes based on the existing class realities. The discussion on the Programme revealed that many members are conscious of the need for a change. Without a basically correct understanding of the interplay of class forces, no party can make its current activities correspond to its long-term objective.

It is perhaps now realized that in the present situation the unity of action of the CPI(M) and the CPI, along with other Left parties, assumes vital importance.

Afghanistan Situation

The Polit Bureau noted with grave concern the continued bloodshed in Afghanistan. The USA and Pakistan are continuing to blatantly violate Geneva Accords. The rebels armed by USA and backed by the direct intervention of the Pakistan Army, which has now been proved, are being severely rebuffed by the patriotic Afghan forces. The international community, the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement should strongly raise their voice against the blatant intervention of imperialism and Pakistan into the internal affairs of Afghanistan, threatening its sovereignty.

While noting with satisfaction the resolution adopted by the West Bengal State Assembly expressing solidarity with the people of Afghanistan, the Polit Bureau calls upon the Indian Parliament also to take a forthright position of solidarity with the Afghan people. The Polit Bureau calls upon all sections of the people of India to rally together in a strong expression of solidarity with the Afghan people.

The Polit Bureau hails the recent Accord between the five Central American nations which is aimed at ensuring peace in the region. The U.N. and the Non-Aligned Movement must render their support for the implementation of the Accord. The Polit Bureau is confident that the people of Central America will remain vigilant and thwart all attempts by the USA to sabotage the peace process.

The Polit Bureau welcomes the process of dialogue started between the King of Morocco and the Polisario Front of Saharwı Arab Democratic Republic for ending the conflict and fulfilling the legitimate aspirations of the Saharwian people

Condolence on Comrade Paritosh Chatterjee*

Comrade Paritosh Chatterjee, member of the West Bengal State Committee of the CPI(M), a prominent leader of the Communist and kisan movements, and a veteran freedom fighter, died at the N R.S. Hospital, Calcutta, at 8 55 a.m. on March 22, 1989 at the age of 77. Comrade Chatterjee, a bachelor, was suffering from lung cancer.

Comrade Paritosh Chatterjee was born on April 4, 1912 at Chinsura Batappur in Hooghly district. His ancestors had come from Faridpur district, now in Bangladesh.

Right from his boyhood, Comrade Paritosh Chatterjee was involved in the freedom struggle. While he was an I.Sc. student at Hooghly College, he joined Jugantar, one of the biggest revolutionary groups of Bengal at that time. Later he came in contact with Comrades Bejoy Modak, Phani Banerjee and Benoy Chowdhury, and was attracted towards Marxism-Leninism. He joined the Party in 1939 and since then played a leading role in the kisan movement. In the sixties he also came out against revisionism and sectarianism, and was elected to the West Bengal State Committee of the Party. He was elected General Secretary of the West Bengal Krishak Sabha in 1985 and its President at the recent State Conference. He was also a member of the Central Kisan Council of the All India Kisan Sabha.

E M S Namboodiripad, General Secretary of the Party, has conveyed deep condolences at Comrade Chatterjee's demise, on behalf of the Central Committee.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 2, 1989

Polit Bureau Condoles Demise of S.M. Joshi*

Statement dated April 2, 1989 issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) deeply mourns the passing away of Shri S M. Joshi, veteran Socialist leader and freedom fighter Since his early student days, he was participating in the national struggle He was associated with the Youth League in 1928-30. He joined the non-cooperation movement in 1930 and courted arrest. He was one of the founders of the Congress Socialist Party and the All India Kisan Sabha. He also organized the workers' unions in Kirkee defence industrial establishments and was the President of the Defence Workers' Federation for a long time.

Throughout his eventful political life, he took a prominent part in fighting communalism and casteism and in defence of secular values A man of high integrity, his death is a big loss to the Left and democratic movement.

The Polit Bureau conveys its heartfelt condolences to his family members and colleagues.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 9, 1989

Condolence on Comrade Khudiram Bhattacharya*

**Statement dated April 22, 1989, issued by the
Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)**

The Polit Bureau is shocked to learn of the sudden death of Comrade Khudiram Bhattacharya, a member of the West Bengal State Committee of the CPI(M), on April 21, 1989, due to a heart attack.

Born in 1921 in the district of Faridpur (now in Bangladesh), Comrade Khudiram Bhattacharya joined the student movement in the early 1930s. In August 1942 while leading a student procession he was mercilessly beaten by the police leading to his hospitalisation. Comrade Bhattacharya joined the Communist Party in 1948 and in 1949 he was arrested and thrown behind the bars.

When the united Party was split in 1964, Comrade Bhattacharya joined the CPI(M) from the very first day. From the day he joined the Party till his death, Comrade Bhattacharya had been a wholetimer of the Party. He was elected to the West Bengal Legislative Assembly in 1981. Since independence, in the wake of the attack on the democratic movement in West Bengal, the Congress Government imprisoned Comrade Khudiram Bhattacharya many times and forced him to work underground for more than five years.

Immediately after joining the Party, Comrade Bhattacharya, under the guidance of Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad, one of the founders of the Communist movement in the country, joined the peasant movement and the movement of the agricultural

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 30, 1989

Condolence on Comrade Khudiram Bhattacharya 29

labourers He was one of the top ranking peasant leaders in the 70-lakh strong Kisan Sabha of West Bengal To the last breath of his life he carried on the work entrusted to him by the Party tirelessly and in the process underwent many sacrifices At the time of his death he was the Secretary of the South 24-Parganas District Committee and a member of the West Bengal State Committee of the CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau dips the red banner of the Party in memory of this dedicated comrade who spent all his life in the struggle for a society free of exploitation.

CPI(M) Condemns Dissolution of Karnataka Assembly*

Statement dated April 20, 1989, issued by the Polit Bureau

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemns the action of the Central Government for its applying Article 356 and dissolving the Karnataka Assembly, and in the process throwing out a non-Congress(I) government. This dastardly assault on democracy is yet another proof, if any was needed, of the authoritarian way the Rajiv Government is moving.

For long, democratic public opinion has been demanding that in case of any dispute on whether any ruling party is enjoying the confidence of the Legislature, it should be settled on the floor of the Assembly. This opinion was also shared by the Sarkaria Commission which specifically recommended that the testing of majority should be on the floor of the Assembly. But the Karnataka Governor, Shri Venkatasubbiah, abrogated to himself the power of the right of the Legislature to dismiss the Janata Dal Government of Karnataka and dissolve the Assembly. The so-called facts on the basis of which the Governor acted, are dubious. The action is all the more heinous when it was specifically declared by the Karnataka Chief Minister that the Assembly was being called on April 27 to prove his majority. The unseemly haste with which the Central Government, ignoring such democratic pleas, utilised the Governor to dispense with the Janata Dal Government and the Legislative Assembly once again graphically underscores the fact that democracy is not safe in the hands of the ruling Congress(I).

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 30, 1989.

The Polit Bureau calls upon the people to register their protest with all the strength at their command. Democracy is indivisible and if it is murdered in one State, there is no reason to think that it will survive in the rest of the country.

The Polit Bureau also calls upon all the Party units to turn the Protest Day on April 27 throughout India as called upon by the Opposition parties into a massive manifestation of people's will and determination to fight for democracy and defeat the anti-democratic manoeuvres of the Rajiv Gandhi Government.

Earlier, the Polit Bureau had issued the following statement dated April 20, 1989

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) notes with concern certain developments in Karnataka following the reported dissatisfaction among some members of the Janata Dal Legislature Party about the recent expansion of the State Cabinet by the Chief Minister.

The Congress(I) and the other forces are trying to exploit this situation to destabilize the State Government. These sinister attempts must be defeated in the total interests of the country.

Weakening or destabilizing the Ministry plays into the hands of the Congress(I) and open controversy over the composition of the Ministry and threats of desertion from the party defaces the image of the Opposition in the country and makes it suspect in the eyes of the people.

The Polit Bureau appeals to the Janata Dal legislators not to fall victim to the manoeuvres to topple the non-Congress(I) Opposition State Government.

Polit Bureau Condemns Attacks in Tripura*

The Polit Bureau condemns the attack organized by the Congress(I) on the Tripura State Committee office and the CPI(M) workers at Agartala. On May 5 Congress(I) hoodlums attacked the Tripura State Committee office of the CPI(M) at Agartala. The mob which raided the CPI(M) office, led by the Congress(I) goondas, was armed with bombs and other lethal weapons. At the time of the attack, leader of the Opposition and ex-Chief Minister of Tripura, Comrade Nripen Chakraborty, Tripura State Committee Secretary Comrade Dasarath Deb, and former State Secretary, Comrade Bhanu Ghosh, were present at the office.

The ostensible reason for such violent attacks on the CPI(M) was a dacoity committed in the house of one of the relatives of Shri Surajeet Dutta, Minister of State of the Excise Department of the Congress(I)-TUJS Government of Tripura, at Jadavpur, a suburban area of Calcutta. At the time of the robbery Dutta's wife and some other relatives were in that house. The Director General of Police, West Bengal, described the incident as a simple criminal case of dacoity. But the incident was projected at Agartala by the State Minister Dutta as an attack by the CPI(M) on the house of his relatives. When his wife was contacted in Calcutta she also

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 14, 1989. This statement of the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) was published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY' after observance of 'Protest Day' in Tripura on May 9, 1989, though it was issued earlier.

was reported to have said that it was in no way connected with politics and was a simple case of robbery

That the attack was pre-planned was obvious from the fact that whereas the actual attack on the Party office was launched at 7 00 p m , the Party office telephones were made inoperative since 2 00 p m in the afternoon. The gang which carried out the attack carried kerosene in tins Strangely, the police picket already on duty in front of the Party office was withdrawn just on the eve of the attack.

Since the last Assembly elections, virtually a semi-fascist terror has been let loose in Tripura. As on April 30, 1989, 65 CPI(M) workers have been murdered, 200 Party or mass organization offices ransacked or occupied, 6,000 workers of mass organizations implicated in false cases, about 100 women raped, more than 200 women assaulted and more than 500 Party workers driven away from their houses and localities. It is not only the CPI(M) workers that are under attack; even bureaucrats are not being spared. The latest victim was the Additional Secretary-cum-Finance Secretary of Tripura Government, Shri S. Subramaniam, who is now fighting for his life in a Calcutta hospital where he was flown to from Agartala.

The Polit Bureau strongly condemns this action of hooliganism of the Congress(I) in Tripura and calls upon the democratic opinion in the country to rally behind Tripura. The more the Congress(I) is getting isolated from the mass of the people, the more they are resorting to this sort of hooliganism in order to browbeat and cow down public opinion. The Tripura State Committee has called upon the Party units to observe May 9, 1989, as Protest Day The Polit Bureau calls upon the Party units to express their solidarity with Tripura on that day.

Polit Bureau Deplores M.P.s' Statement on Tibet*

Statement dated May 12, 1989, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) deplores the statement recently issued by 55 Members of Parliament criticising the Chinese Government's policy on Tibet. The bulk of these MPs belong to the Congress(I) and some from certain Opposition parties. It is unfortunate that the statement criticises the internal affairs of the Republic of China and calls upon the Chinese Government to negotiate with the Dalai Lama on his terms of reference. The Chinese Government has repeatedly made it clear that they are prepared to negotiate within the framework of the country's unity and sovereignty.

The CPI(M) feels that such an attitude will only harm India-China relations which have shown improvement in the recent period. The problems faced by either country internally should not be the subject of intervention by the other country. Such an approach will only vitiate the friendly atmosphere and hamper the smooth development of relations which are of vital interest to the people of the two countries.

Our Party has been consistently advocating the need for normalisation of relations with China, including negotiated settlement of the border dispute. It is good that progress has been made by both sides in this matter. This is in the best interests of the two countries and for peace in the region. Nothing should be done to impede the development of friendly relations.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 21, 1989

Restoration of Sino-Soviet Relations*

**Statement dated May 18, 1989, issued by the
Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) hails the normalization of relations between the People's Republic of China and the USSR and between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China after a break of three decades.

Comrade Gorbachev, during his visit, met and held discussions with the Chinese President Yang Shangkun, Premier Li Peng, General Secretary of the Communist Party of China, Zhao Ziyang, and had a summit meeting with Deng Xiaoping

This historic event has produced far-reaching results. The agreements reached create a solid political basis for the development of State-to-State as well as Party-to-Party relations. In the sphere of economic cooperation significant decisions have been taken which would become a solid reserve of Socialist developments.

The normalization of relations between these two big Socialist countries will have a salutary impact on the world Communist movement and the course of future world developments. These relationships based on mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in the internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence will also profoundly influence the relations and interactions between the Socialist countries

The CPI(M) which has always been striving for the

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improvement of relations between these two countries and the unification of the international Communist movement based on Marxism-Leninism particularly rejoices at the results of the summit

The normalization of Sino-Soviet relations will have a signal impact of immensely strengthening the forces struggling for world peace. The normalization of relations will have an immediate effect in easing tensions in the Asia-Pacific region. Restoration of fraternal Sino-Soviet relations is a big victory for the world forces of peace, democracy and Socialism

Polit Bureau Statement on Liberalization*

The Polit Bureau condemns the blackmailing pressure tactics of the U S Government of applying the "Super 301" clause of the U.S. Trade Act to India to force it to open its economy further to U S. capital. Since the early 1980s, in successive GATT conferences, U S. representatives have been pressurizing India to allow multinationals in the services sector of India, especially insurance. These pressures were also sought to be exerted on India under the threat of reducing the export quotas of India

The Rajiv Gandhi Government's policy of liberalisation, facilitating the entry of multinational corporations into the country, has made India more vulnerable to imperialist pressures. This has emboldened the U S Government to now invoke its Trade Act to pressurize the Government of India for greater access to the Indian economy. This latest measure also comes in the background of the pressures being mounted on India to accept the U S. stand on intellectual property rights.

The action of the U.S. Government is all the more reprehensible that whereas the USA is steadfastly sticking to its protectionist policies, it wants other countries to relax or eliminate regulations so that investments and entry of goods become easy.

The Polit Bureau notes that the Government of India has objected to this intervention by the USA. The Polit Bureau

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demands that the Government of India firmly resist this U S blackmail. It calls upon all sections of the people to strongly protest against this brazen attack by the U S Administration on India's sovereign right to determine its economic policies.

Continuing Anti-People Policies Accentuating Crisis*

Polit Bureau Communique issued following its meeting held in New Delhi on May 28, 1989

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) concluded a two-day meeting at New Delhi on May 28, 1989. Its review of the national political situation is given below

Intolerable Burdens on the People

The socio-economic policies of the Congress(I) Government, which are acquiring still more anti-people dimensions under Rajiv Gandhi, are at the root of the escalating prices of consumption goods, denial of fair prices to agriculturists and other sections of small producers, growing unemployment, increasing burdens of taxation, debt and other problems of the people. The industrial and agricultural workers, working peasants and other sections of the toiling people are, therefore, obliged increasingly to go into action in defence of their living and working conditions. The Polit Bureau called on all units and friends of the Party to render every form of assistance to these mass actions.

The Polit Bureau called upon all its units and democratic forces to extend full support to the call for launching a militant land struggle from June onwards by the Left-led peasants' and agricultural workers' organizations.

Danger of Debt Trap

The Polit Bureau noted that the class policies of the Rajiv Government are taking the country into an internal as well

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as external debt trap The continuing budgetary deficits, steadily increasing borrowings, the accumulation of interest on the debts contracted every year, etc , are making internal financing heavily dependent on internal creditors. Externally too, recurring deficits in the balance of payments have made India indebted to foreign creditors to the extent of Rs 100,000 crore (as pointed out in the Party Central Committee's April Communiqué and now confirmed by a secret report brought to light in a national daily) The Government is making all preparations for going in for another instalment of IMF credit with all the conditionalities involved The step has not yet been taken only because this happens to be the year of the Lok Sabha elections and the Government is aware of the adverse reactions among the electorate.

The ever-increasing crisis of internal and external finances of the country makes the Government a prey to pressures and blackmail from U S. imperialism.

Increasing Imperialist Pressures

The Polit Bureau expressed serious concern that in the recent period, the U S. Government and imperialist circles have stepped up their pressures on the Indian Government to force it to succumb to its dictates. The vociferous criticism of India's independent scientific and defence capability and the biased and false testimony of the CIA Chief before the Senate Sub-Committee that India is making a hydrogen bomb, are evidence of U.S imperialism's designs to weaken India's independent capabilities. The hostile reaction to the test launch of the Agni intermediate-range missile is intended to deflect India from pursuing a self-reliant policy to safeguard its security interests.

On the economic front, the brazen use of the punitive clauses of the U S. Trade Act against India marks a new phase in the mounting pressure on the country to liberalize its economy further to suit U S. capital. The policy of liberalization pursued by the Rajiv Government has made the country vulnerable to U.S. pressures. Already the Rajiv

Government has retreated in the face of U S demands to discuss intellectual property rights under GATT auspices.

All these pressures are accompanied by imperialism's planned moves to foment tensions between India and its neighbours so that India is encircled by hostile regimes

The Polit Bureau while expressing concern at this imperialist game, called upon all patriotic forces in the country to strongly oppose these measures, particularly the "Super 301" clause, and to ensure that the Government of India also takes a firm stand on the issues which concern the country's sovereignty and independence.

The Polit Bureau noted that despite the pressures from imperialism, the Government has continued the foreign policy of non-alignment and world peace. There is, however, no room for complacency, because forces are at work in some sections of the bourgeois Opposition and even within the ruling party which want to thwart any form of resistance to imperialist pressures

Divisive Forces Active

It is against this overall political environment, the Polit Bureau noted, that various forces of national disruption and destabilization are at work. Utilizing the genuine discontent among various sections, the forces of casteism, communalism, tribal and regional separatism are becoming active. Far from fighting these threats to national unity, the ruling Congress(I) party bargains and comes to opportunistic agreements with these forces. The continuing electoral alliances with the Muslim League in Kerala and Tamil Nadu and with the TNV in Tripura are the clearest examples of this

Punjab

The Rajiv Gandhi Government still refuses to take any new political initiative on Punjab. It seeks to keep the problem hanging and wishes to take electoral advantage out of it. In the meantime, the extremists continue their killing of innocent people without respite. The CPI(M) and the Left parties

are their special targets. In this period two important comrades of the CPI(M) (and the entire family of one of them) have been killed by the terrorists.

The Polit Bureau noted that the CPI(M) and the CPI jointly organized a big satyagraha in Delhi on May 10, 1989, demanding immediate steps for a political settlement of the Punjab problem. It called upon all peace-loving and patriotic sections of the people to mobilize and exert pressure on the Rajiv Government so that an immediate political intervention is possible.

Jammu & Kashmir

The Polit Bureau noted that the situation in Jammu and Kashmir is alarming. Pro-Pakistani extremists, trained across the border, have infiltrated back into the Valley and are using arms in encounters with the police. Terroristic bomb attacks and disruption of public life is taking place. This development constitutes a grave threat to the country's unity, and if the secessionist forces are allowed free rein, along with Punjab, the whole North-Western border will get destabilized.

Attack On Parliamentary Rights

The Polit Bureau noted the Rajiv Gandhi Government's acts of devaluing parliamentary democracy as seen in the refusal to place important papers before Parliament. The violation of the well-established convention of having an Opposition MP as the chairman of the Public Accounts Committee, the Speaker's partisan role, the amendment of the rules of business for Parliament, and the refusal to have a probe into the allegations against the Speaker, all these constitute a serious undermining of Parliamentary democracy.

Panchayat Bill : Attack on Federal Principles

The Polit Bureau was of the view that the decision of the Rajiv Gandhi Government to deal directly with the district authorities behind the backs of the elected State Governments in the matter of the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana and the

Panchayati Raj legislation constitutes attack on the federal structure of the Constitution, side-stepping the State authorities. With regard to the Panchayati Raj, everybody agrees on the need for ensuring regular elections, reservation for Scheduled Castes and Tribes, and women, and for adequate financial resources for the panchayats, for developmental work. But the thrust of the 64th Constitution Amendment Bill is to undermine the powers of the State Governments and the federal provisions of the Constitution.

The fact remains that it is mostly in the Congress(I)-ruled States that panchayat elections were not held for long. Non-Congress(I) Governments have in general reversed the previous Congress(I) Government's policy. What is lacking in this respect is the political will on the part of the ruling Congress(I) party and the State Governments run by that party. For this lapse of the Congress(I)-led State Governments, the Rajiv Gandhi Government is punishing even those State Governments which have given a good account of themselves in running the panchayats.

The Polit Bureau further noted that the Sarkaria Commission which went into the question of Panchayati Raj, made two alternative suggestions, either the preparation of a model Bill for legislation at the State level by consensus at the Inter-Government Council of Chief Ministers and some Central ministers (as proposed by the Commission), or a Central legislation with the consent of all State Governments. Adoption of either of these courses would have obviated the need for upsetting the Centre-State balance as is involved in the Rajiv Government's Bill.

The Polit Bureau denounced the Central Government's action in dismissing the Karnataka Government and dissolving the State Legislature there. This is in gross violation of the principle agreed to by the Governors' conferences earlier and endorsed by the Sarkaria Commission, that the issue of loss of majority by the ruling party should be decided in the House rather than in the Raj Bhavan.

Hostility to Left-Led Governments

The Polit Bureau denounced the discriminatory and anti-democratic attitude to the LDF Government of Kerala. Although this is a year of bumper crop, with rice requisitions in Punjab and Haryana so far being double the last year's amount, Kerala with its chronic deficit has been put in the position of having its supply drastically cut. That State is also facing financial stringency due to the wrong policies pursued by the Central Government and the previous Congress(I)-led State Government.

The Left Front Government of West Bengal too is faced with discrimination as seen in many cases including the Bakreshwar plant, the Haldia project and the neglect of the jute industry.

Attack in Tripura

In Tripura, the Congress(I) attacks on the Left Front and the CPI(M) have gone to such an extent that Congress(I) hoodlums sought to destroy the CPI(M) State Office and kill its leaders including the former Deputy Chief Minister. The Polit Bureau called on the democratic sections to raise their voice against this serious attack on democracy and the ominous signs of authoritarianism as seen in Tripura.

Communal Danger

The Polit Bureau expressed its anxiety at the worsening communal situation engendered by the Ramjanmabhoomi/Babri Masjid dispute. It condemned the intransigent stand of the BJP and RSS which have declared that they would not accept a judicial verdict if it went against their demand. The tensions generated by communal propaganda on this issue have already seen riots break out in Hazaribagh and Mathura. The Polit Bureau expressed surprise that the Central Government has not yet fixed a National Integration Council meeting despite the Prime Minister announcing the intention to do so. The Polit Bureau called upon all secular forces to be on guard against the machinations of the communal

elements. The Polit Bureau called upon all the Party units and democratic sections to strengthen the campaign against the communal danger as announced at the National Convention held on May 9.

Unity of Left and Secular Forces

The Polit Bureau decided to continue its efforts to forge the unity of the Left and secular forces so that the Congress(I) is defeated in the forthcoming elections to the Lok Sabha. In this connection, the Polit Bureau took note of the moves by the Janata Dal for an overall electoral adjustment with the BJP. Such a move will only strengthen the hands of Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress(I) and help it to pose as the champion of national unity and the minorities. The objective of isolating and defeating the Congress(I) will be harmed by any alliance, understanding or adjustment with the communal forces of which the BJP is the biggest. The Polit Bureau, therefore, once again appealed to the Janata Dal and other secular Opposition forces to retrace their steps which will otherwise have harmful consequences. The CPI(M) and Left parties are determined to continue the fight against the communal forces in defence of national unity, while persevering in the efforts to unite all the Left and secular parties to ensure the defeat of the Congress(I).

The Polit Bureau stressed the need to strengthen Left unity, overcoming all the difficulties which crop up, so that the Left forces can play their due role in the prevailing complex political situation.

On the Question of Withdrawal of IPKF*

Statement dated June 5, 1989, issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is deeply concerned at the recent developments regarding the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord

It is perturbed at the unilateral declaration of the Sri Lankan Government asking for the withdrawal of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF).

The IPKF was sent to Sri Lanka in accordance with the provisions of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord. The CPI(M) had supported the Accord because it safeguarded the autonomy of the Tamil minority in the North-East, within the framework of a united Sri Lanka, and this would help in restoring peace in the country

The unilateral declaration by the Sri Lankan Government without regard to the Accord places the Government of India in a difficult situation. While the Government of India should express its concern over these developments, if the Sri Lankan Government persists then India has no option. The Tamil minorities who supported the Accord from the beginning, have rightly raised their voice against this unilateral declaration by the Sri Lankan Government

This development comes in the background of the whipping up of chauvinist frenzy by the JVP and other Sinhalese chauvinist elements, and the threat of launching attacks on people of Indian origin. This will only aggravate tensions further. The Sri Lankan Government should see the inherent

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 11, 1989

danger of the situation. Instead of implementing the provisions of the Accord and ensuring autonomy to Tamil minorities within the framework of a united Sri Lanka, the Government there is playing into the hands of the chauvinists. The Sri Lankan Government should ensure the safety of the Tamil minorities and the people of Indian origin.

It must be remembered that U S imperialism is making all attempts at destabilizing the country in the region. The torpedoing of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord will only enable U S imperialism to carry out its designs in the region.

The CPI(M) appeals to the Sri Lankan Government, and in particular to the democratic forces in Sri Lanka, to rise to the occasion and assert themselves to maintain peace, safeguard the integrity and sovereignty of Sri Lanka and for normal good-neighbourly relations between India and Sri Lanka.

On the Events in China*

CPI(M) Polit Bureau Statement dated June 5, 1989

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its concern and anxiety at the recent developments in China. The Polit Bureau is deeply disturbed at the turn of events which led to the use of force by the Government resulting in the tragic loss of lives and injury to people.

During the last three weeks a large number of students occupied the Tiananmen Square at Beijing. Except for general slogans for "more democracy", neither concrete demands were placed, nor was it clear on what demands they were persisting in their agitation. It is also not understandable why a negotiated settlement could not be arrived at during this long period. In the absence of concrete demands, this action spearheaded by a mischievous section misleading the mass of students, could be considered as nothing else but a direct challenge to the Socialist system and the ruling Communist Party in China.

This became clear from the fact that they refused to suspend their occupation for two days during Comrade Gorbachev's visit in order to allow the Soviet leader to pay homage to martyrs.

Imperialism and the Western Press is taking full advantage of the situation and denouncing the Chinese Government. The massive coverage given by the Western Press, the Indian big business media and the reactions of the imperialist powers are clearly aimed at denouncing Socialism. It is

*Refer Document under Item No. 25 of this Volume.

also aimed at detracting world attention from the results of the historic Sino-Soviet Summit which has further strengthened the forces of peace, democracy and Socialism the world over

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) is confident that the Communist Party of China, the Government of the People's Republic of China, and the Chinese people, with their glorious revolutionary traditions will be able to resolve the problems and restore normalcy in an amicable manner without further damage to life and property The Polit Bureau hopes that the mass of Chinese students and their leaders will respond positively to these efforts

Polit Bureau on Developments in China*

Communique Released on June 21, 1989 following its meeting held on June 20, 1989*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) met on June 20, 1989, and reviewed the recent disturbing developments in China following its earlier statement of June 5, 1989.

The Polit Bureau expressed its grief at the tragic loss of lives of the soldiers of the People's Liberation Army, students and others in the recent turmoil in the People's Republic of China. The happenings leading to the occupation of the Tiananmen Square by sizeable sections of students were spearheaded by a group which was advocating not the strengthening of democracy within the Socialist system, but demanding the restoration of bourgeois democracy and capitalism. These elements who managed to mislead sections of public opinion were thus directly challenging the Socialist system and organising a counter revolutionary rebellion.

The timing of the agitation cannot be considered as accidental as it came on the eve of the historic Sino-Soviet Summit. New facts that have come to light since the first Polit Bureau statement confirm imperialist involvement in the conspiracy. The normalization of relations between the USSR and the PRC is an event of signal importance in shaping future world developments. World forces of reaction led by U.S imperialism are utilising all methods in their arsenal to reverse such advance. In this background

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 25, 1989
Refer Document under Item No 24 of this Volume

world imperialism is directly aiding and instigating the counter-revolutionary forces in the PRC. The unanimity with which imperialist powers have attacked the PRC and declared their support for those forces seeking restoration of capitalism in China is also reflected in the massive misleading propaganda barrage that was unleashed to mould public opinion. The fabrication and distortion of events have been unscrupulously resorted to by the bourgeois-controlled media to whip up an anti-Communist hysteria by openly supporting the conspirators.

The Polit Bureau notes that the People's Liberation Army displayed tremendous restraint and patience for a long time in the face of unprovoked violent attacks in order to separate the mass of students and people from the conspirators who were challenging the Socialist system

The Polit Bureau is aware of the fact that the Chinese Communist Party has been underlining the need to combat such trends which seek to restore capitalism and to replace Socialist democracy with bourgeois democracy. Such trends were characterized by it as bourgeois liberalization. Earlier student actions reached a point where the then General Secretary, Hu Yaobang, had to be replaced in January 1987. It appears that the campaign launched by the CPC against bourgeois liberalization then, has not been carried out steadfastly. Further some problems arising from speedy economic reforms considered necessary for China's modernization accompanied by the growth of bourgeois ideologies were utilized by certain sections to challenge the very socialist system and leadership of the Communist Party of China.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) is confident that the Chinese Communist Party will redouble its ideological vigilance against imperialist intrigues and such trends which erode confidence in the Socialist system.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) notes that Deng Xiaoping on June 9 stated : "This incident has impelled us to think of the future as well as of the past sober-mindedly. It will enable us to carry forward our cause more steadily, better

and even faster and correct our mistakes faster and carry forward our strong points." He added . "We should seriously sum up our experience and carry on what is right, correct the errors and make great efforts to improve what is unsatisfactory." This comes in the background of what the Chairman of the Party's Central Advisory Commission said at its meeting on May 25 : "This chaos has not come about by chance One of the reasons is that we have relaxed Marxist-Leninist education for a period and weakened the Party's ideological work."

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) is confident that the CPC, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people with their glorious revolutionary traditions will draw the necessary lessons and take the required measures for strengthening Socialism and Socialist democracy.

The CPI(M) declares its sincere commitment to defend the Chinese Socialist revolution. The Polit Bureau calls upon the Party ranks to relentlessly expose those in India who are now spreading slanderous anti-socialist propaganda in our country. The Polit Bureau appeals to the people of the country not to be misled by such propaganda.

Polit Bureau Statement on Moga Massacre*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly condemns the cold-blooded massacre of 26 people, mostly RSS workers, by the Khalistani terrorists in Moga town on June 25, 1989. This dastardly attack is designed to disrupt communal amity in the State and further the nefarious designs of the anti-national terrorists. The Polit Bureau conveys its heartfelt condolences to the families of those who died in this outrage.

This brazen attack once again reveals the serious state of affairs in Punjab. It exposes the irresponsible claims of the Prime Minister and the Punjab Governor, Siddhartha Shankar Ray, that the situation in the State is under control and that the extremists are on the run. The Punjab administration headed by S S Ray continues to adopt a complacent and callous attitude to the terrorist menace. The Prime Minister and the Central Government cannot escape responsibility for their continuing failure to take any meaningful steps to politically isolate the terrorists and create the conditions for mobilising all sections of people to solve the problem in Punjab which has a direct bearing on the defence of national unity and secularism in the country.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 2, 1989

Condolence on Comrade Andrei Gromyko*

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

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its heartfelt condolences on the demise of Andrei Gromyko, a veteran Communist leader, outstanding Soviet statesman, and till recently President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Comrade Gromyko's contribution in carrying out Soviet foreign policy is well known. Having served the Soviet Union in various capacities, and as the Foreign Minister for more than two decades, Comrade Gromyko played an important role in strengthening Indo-Soviet relations and the signing of the Indo-Soviet Treaty.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) conveys its condolences to the Central Committee of the CPSU and family members of Comrade Gromyko.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 9, 1989

E.M.S. Namboodiripad Greets Jiang Zemen, General Secretary of Communist Party of China*

Message from General Secretary E M S. Namboodiripad on behalf of the Central Committee, CPI(M), to Jiang Zemen, General Secretary, Central Committee, CPC.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), I convey to you our warm congratulations on your assumption of the high office of the General Secretaryship of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

Our Central Committee wishes you all the best in discharging the big responsibility entrusted to you. We wish your Party all success in pursuing the line decided at the recent Fourth Plenary Session of the CPC's Thirteenth Central Committee to tackle the complex problems facing China today. We are confident that the fraternal relations between our two Parties will continue to grow and strengthen.

Defeat Rajiv Government, Isolate Communal Forces*

Central Committee Communiqué issued on completion of its meeting held in New Delhi on July 15-17, 1989

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) met in New Delhi from July 15 to 17, 1989. It reviewed the developments in China and the national political developments and adopted the following communiqué

On Developments in China

The Central Committee discussed the recent events in China. It fully endorsed the stand taken by the Polit Bureau in its statement issued on June 21, 1989. The Central Committee congratulated the leadership of the Communist Party of China for successfully tackling the serious situation arising from the counter-revolutionary rebellion. It expressed sorrow over the loss of lives of PLA soldiers and some innocent civilians. It wished all success to the CPC in its endeavour to advance economic modernisation and democracy within the framework of Socialism.

Resist Imperialist Pressures

The Central Committee noted with concern that U.S. pressures are being intensified on the Indian Government. The threat to apply trade sanctions through the Super 301 clause, the objections to testing of the Agni missile and the supply of the F-16 fighter planes to Pakistan are all directed towards

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 23, 1989. Refer Documents under Item Nos 24 and 25 of this Volume regarding developments in China

pressurizing India to change its economic and foreign policy. The Government of India has strongly objected to the threat of trade sanctions. The C C called upon the Government of India to firmly resist these pressures and appealed to all patriotic and democratic forces to unitedly oppose these moves against the sovereignty and independence of the country.

Sri Lanka

The Central Committee discussed the worsening relationship between the Indian and Sri Lankan Governments and expressed its anxiety over these developments. The scuttling of the Sri Lanka Accord will help imperialism in the region to further its designs and it will be a setback for the people of the two countries. The Sri Lankan President precipitated the crisis by calling for the unilateral withdrawal of the IPKF by July 29. The Prime Minister and the Government of India's stand that withdrawal can take place conditional to Sri Lanka implementing various measures is only worsening relations and strengthening the anti-Indian forces in Sri Lanka. Given the determined stand of the Sri Lankan Government that the IPKF must be withdrawn, the Indian Government has no other option. Such a development is no doubt fraught with grave consequences for the unity of Sri Lanka and the security of the Tamil minority. But the Rajiv Government should not adopt any posture which impinges on the sovereignty of Sri Lanka. Even at this stage negotiations between the two Governments to resolve the differences will be in the interest of the two countries.

The Central Committee strongly condemned the dastardly killings of A. Amrithalingam and V. Yogeswaran, TULF leaders by suspected LTTE assassins.

National Political Developments

Surveying the national political developments since its last meeting, the Central Committee noted that the movement for defeating the Rajiv Gandhi Government and to isolate the communal forces has gathered strength. The Central

Committee decided to further develop the movement and to take steps to overcome the problems which arise in the course of discharging this task

Economic Situation

The three months since the last meeting have seen a further deterioration in the national economic situation. The escalating prices of all essential commodities have reached a new high, with the wholesale price index touching 462.8 in June 1989 (8.4 per cent over that of June 1988). The external debt burden has reached the huge figure of Rs. 90,000 crores, accompanied by the enormous internal debt, this is making the threat of a debt trap imminent. The denial of remunerative prices for the peasants and the growing rural unemployment make the plight of millions miserable. The loss of jobs due to closures and lock-outs threatens the livelihood of the urban working people.

The C.C. noted that all sections of the working people are resisting the attacks launched on them through the class policies pursued by the Rajiv Government. The Left-led mass organizations are particularly in the forefront. The agitations and struggles launched by them are of great importance in the developing movement against the Rajiv Government.

Congress(I)'s New Measures

Faced with isolation from the people, the Congress(I) is trying to compensate the losses by resorting to new manoeuvres which are intended to woo large sections of the rural poor and urban oppressed. The Jawahar Rozgar Yojana, the promise of reservation and the panchayat and urban local bodies legislation are intended to create an impression on the large mass of scheduled castes, women, young people and minorities. While seeking to woo these sections, the Congress(I) deliberately avoids those measures which would affect the interests of the landlords and the dominant classes. They do not want to implement land reform or deal with the crux of the problems which the oppressed sections of society

are facing. As such, these measures become election-eve allurements which will in no way help in solving the genuine problems of the poverty-stricken millions. The Central Committee decided to step up the campaigns to expose the real intentions of these manoeuvres.

Subversion of States' Rights

The Rajiv Government has embarked on the dangerous course of subverting States' powers and tampering with the Constitution for this purpose. The 64th Amendment Bill on Panchayati Raj now before Parliament and the proposed Urban Local Bodies Bill constitute a serious attack on the rights of the States. The duplicity of the Congress(I) intentions is clear from the fact that the worst record for non-holding of regular elections to Panchayats and Municipalities are those of the Congress(I)-ruled States. The Panchayat bodies require more powers and resources but what Rajiv Gandhi wants is their abject dependence on the Centre. In the name of decentralization of powers what is sought to be imposed is over-centralization.

The Central Committee expressed its determination to ensure that these anti-democratic Bills are opposed totally in Parliament. It called upon all the Opposition parties to see through the authoritarian intent of the legislation and unitedly oppose and prevent the Constitutional amendments in the current session of Parliament.

Authoritarian Attack

The Central Committee noted that in this period, there have been further instances of the Centre's attacks on States ruled by non-Congress(I) parties. Despite the virtually unanimous opposition to the use of Article 356, the Bommai Government of Karnataka was dismissed, violating the wholesome principle that the question of a Ministry continuing to have or losing the majority in the legislature, should be tested on the floor of the House rather than in the Raj Bhavan. Spokesmen of the Central Government including the Prime Minister

himself have used the powerful media at their disposal to attack non-Congress(I) Governments without giving the latter an opportunity to reply through the same media

Hostility to Left-led Governments

The Left-led Governments of West Bengal and Kerala have continued to be the target of hostility and discrimination by the Central Government and the Congress(I). The Centre refuses to concede the legitimate demands of the two State Governments for supply of foodgrains, sanctions for new projects and allocation of money for developmental programmes.

In Kerala, continuous efforts are mounted to destabilize the Government and it is the constant mobilization of the people by the Party and its allies which is foiling the moves of the Congress(I). In West Bengal, the advanced consciousness of the people has been seen in the big response to the Bakreshwar Power Plant project being undertaken by the State Government. The working class has played a notable role in contributing funds for this project.

The existence of these two Left-led Governments which have carried forward their work in the interests of the people facing the unremitting hostility of the Central Government, and which have been in the forefront in the fight for democracy, strengthens immeasurably the Left and democratic forces in the country. The defence of these Governments and the propagation of their achievements constitute an important part of the political struggle today.

Tripura

In Tripura, the full intensity of the authoritarian attack is being witnessed. The armed attack on the Party State Committee Office in May and the later attack on the office in Belonia, indicate how terroristic methods continue to be used against the CPI(M) and the democratic forces. Indiscriminate arrests, beating and tortures in police lockups continue. Altogether 68 CPI(M) activists and supporters have

been murdered since the elections last year, 7000 comrades physically attacked and injured, 200 women raped and around 300 tortured in police custody. A diabolical step has been taken by the Congress(I)-TUJS Government for the induction of the notorious Assam Rifles for combing operations in the tribal areas of the State. This will lead to large-scale harassment and oppression of the tribal people. The Left Front Government when in office had refused to allow such combing operations which would only terrorise the tribal people. The pretext for this new attack on the tribal people is the setting up of a new extremist group, the TNLF, consisting of a few disgruntled elements from the TNV. The "combing operations" are designed to terrorize the tribal people, persecute the CPI(M) tribal cadres and create a situation for the falsification of elections to the Lok Sabha.

The Central Committee urges all the Left and democratic forces not to ignore this grave development. The intensified terror in Tripura portends an ominous threat to democracy in the country and requires a common united resistance.

Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress(I) leadership have launched a big campaign of slander and distortion against the Opposition. This false campaign to mislead the people must be countered. This requires the united efforts of the Opposition and the launching of mass struggles of the people on their basic issues. The Central Committee expressed concern that the main secular Opposition forces are still embroiled in their inner differences and hence lagging in launching this counter-offensive. The Central Committee considers that mass actions have to be immediately launched by the united initiative of the Left and secular parties.

Punjab

The Central Committee expressed its concern over the stubborn refusal of the Rajiv Gandhi Government to take any political initiative on Punjab. It has deliberately decided to keep the Punjab problem hanging with a view to taking electoral advantage out of it which is leading to a situation

in which the daily killing of innocents continues without respite by the Khalistani extremists. The CPI(M) and the CPI along with other Left and secular forces have been continuously mobilizing the people for forcing the Government to take political steps to settle the problem politically and isolate the extremists

Communal Danger

The Central Committee expressed its concern that the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the RSS are going ahead with their plans to move the bricks from villages to Ayodhya from September 30. They have announced November 9 as the day the construction of the temple will begin at Ayodhya. This is bound to vitiate the atmosphere in north India. Already riots have taken place in Mathura and Hazaribagh due to the rising tension. The Hindu communal forces are adopting an aggressive posture set for a confrontation on the Ramjanmabhoomi issue. It is in this background that the BJP has come out openly with its Hindu platform.

The Muslim fundamentalists are also not keeping quiet. They are trying to rouse passions on the Babri Masjid issue and the opening of all defunct mosques. In Jammu & Kashmir a dangerous situation prevails. Extremists trained in Pakistan have infiltrated back into the Valley and are using arms in encounters with the police. Pro-Pakistani fundamentalist forces have become more aggressive in the recent months. The National Conference and the Congress(I) refuse to jointly mobilize the masses against the activities of the Pakistani inspired extremists but carry on intrigues against each other.

The Central Committee noted with satisfaction that the May 9 Convention sponsored by the Left parties against communalism focussed on the Ramjanmabhoomi/Babri Masjid issue and gave a call for the unity of all secular and patriotic forces to counter the growing communal danger. It called for an intense campaign in the country to foil the designs of the communalists to whip up tensions. This mass campaign

has to be taken up seriously and the people mobilized to preserve communal unity

The Central Committee protested against the failure of the Rajiv Government to meet the challenge posed by the communal forces. Its refusal to hold the meeting of the National Integration Council, though it promised to do so after demands from the Left parties and other secular forces, shows that the Rajiv Government is intent on using the tensions created by the communal forces for its own partisan purposes.

Opposition Unity

The Central Committee noted that the question of ties between the Janata Dal and the BJP has assumed prominence. It noted that talks are being held between these two parties for an electoral understanding. The Janata Dal and the National Front being the major secular Opposition forces in the country will have to seriously consider whether this electoral tactic will help defeat the Congress(I) and strengthen national unity.

The Central Committee further noted that the Palampur meeting of the BJP National Executive has made it clear that even if there is an overall or State-level adjustment of seats with the Janata Dal, the BJP will proceed with its own independent political campaign on the Ramjanmabhoomi issue as well as on the scrapping of the Minorities Commission and annulment of Article 370 of the Constitution

Hold Simultaneous Elections

The Central Committee demanded that the Lok Sabha elections and elections to 17 State legislatures, where polls are due in a short time, should be held simultaneously. Such a step will avoid unnecessary expenditure and wastage of public money

Defeat Congress(I)

The Central Committee decided that the coming period should be used to prepare the entire Party and people for the electoral

battle with the central aim of defeating the Congress(I) For this the Party will strive to mobilize all the secular forces to unite with the Left so that an effective electoral fight can be given. It seeks to defeat the Rajiv Government on a platform which will isolate the communal and divisive forces. It has to enter the electoral struggle strengthening Left unity and with a platform of the Left which will highlight the danger from imperialism and for a firm non-aligned foreign policy. In the intervening period, till the election campaign begins, the Party and mass organizations must conduct independent campaigns and struggles to strengthen Left unity and strive for common struggles on urgent issues of the people with secular Opposition parties.

Mass Campaigns

Against this background the Central Committee decided to call on all State units of the CPI(M):

(a) To observe the last week of August from the 24th to 30th for a campaign for the defeat of the Rajiv Government and for the unity of all secular Opposition forces to defeat the Congress(I);

(b) To observe September 28 as a day for a communal harmony campaign all over the country; and

(c) To continue and intensify the struggles and campaigns which have already been planned by the trade unions, kisan, agricultural workers', student, youth and women's organizations.

Recent Developments in China*

Statement adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) in its meeting held in New Delhi on July 15-17, 1989

I

The May-June developments in People's China following the Beijing students' unrest and demonstrations have focussed the attention of all progressive forces on People's China. A well orchestrated propaganda circulating blood-curdling reports about the massacre of thousands of innocent students whose only fault it seems was that they wanted more democratic rights, has served to sway public opinion in many countries against the Government of People's China and the heroically battling Communist Party of China.

In India also, the big bourgeois Press ever willing to strike at socialism, the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism readily circulated the reports, guaranteeing their truth, with the result that sections of the Indian people also are condemning the Government of China for its alleged mass shooting of the students and suppression of the 'pro-democracy' movement in cold blood

It is extremely unfortunate that these developments have taken place when better understanding and relations between the Government of India and People's China are on the anvil. It is a matter of some satisfaction that the Government of India has kept its cool and refused to join the anti-China tirade.

Apart from traditional China-baiters like the Tibet lobby,

*Published in '*The Marxist*', theoretical journal of CPI(M) Refer Documents under Item Nos 24 and 25 of this Volume on developments in China

critics of China consist of democratic and progressive forces, including well-wishers of China in the country. Their reaction is based on two counts: (1) The student movement was a movement for genuine democratic advance; (2) It was suppressed in cold blood by the authorities. On both these counts they have been misled by the world Press, but many of them are now so much committed to their understanding that they refuse to accept the facts coming from the Government of China and its exposure of the circulation of fabricated news by the world media.

Character of the Student Movement

Was the student struggle an expression of a genuine democratic movement? Was it a movement directed towards strengthening the socialist system of China, the People's Democracy led by the Communist Party of China? No doubt there was general talk of democracy and certain immediate issues like corruption, Press freedom were raised. Some of the participants even sang the Internationale and some expressed their support to the Party. All this was done to make it appear as if the cry for democracy was within the framework of the socialist system and the leadership of the Party. The mass of students who were participating in the movement were also made to believe that the demands raised were within the framework of the State of People's Democracy.

But the real character of the movement was seen when the mass was drawn in and when the leadership was able to exploit its participation. The way the student leaders responded to the intervention of Premier Li Peng who promised them dialogue, praised their patriotism and promised action against corruption, showed that they were neither interested in a dialogue nor settlement of any concrete issue, but were challenging the Government and demanding its dismissal. When Li Peng told them he was prepared to discuss some of the issues raised, they arrogantly told him he had no right to set down the agenda for discussion, it was they who would do it. They demanded that the partners

to the dialogue must be people holding positions, at or above the Standing Committee Membership of the Polit Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premier: a joint communique on every dialogue must be published and signed by both parties, and dialogue should be held in locations designated in turn by the representatives of the two sides. They were already acting as if they were a parallel Government with equal status.

As early as April 18 and 19 they attacked Xinhuanu headquarters of the Party Central Committee and State Council and shouted *Down with Communist Party*. The illegal posters and leaflets circulated in thousands, put beyond doubt the objective of the leaders of the movement. Some abused the Communist Party as a party of conspirators and described it as an organization on the verge of collapse; some called for dissolving the incompetent government and overthrowing autocratic monarchy, others demanded abolition of the Chinese Communist Party and adoption of the multi-party system, the dissolution of party branches and removal of political workers in the mass organizations, armed forces, schools and other units; some issued a declaration in favour of private ownership calling for sounding the death-knell of public ownership at an early date, and creating a new future for the republic. Others brazenly invited the Kuomintang back to the mainland and called for establishing two-party politics. The sponsors of the movement also announced they had an alternative list for a new government, and a list of officials to be punished.

Finding that with the patience shown by the CPC and the Government and the educative campaign launched by them, their mass base was eroding, they resorted to open rebellion concentrating their fire on the PLA and police, burning down military vehicles. They wanted to bring about a confrontation between the mass and the PLA, leading to a blood-bath. They erected a statue in front of the Monument to the People's Heroes in the Square and named it the Statue of Liberty, in an attempt to attract American public opinion.

They declared their aim was to organize armed forces, unite with various forces including the Kuomintang and Taiwan, that they would risk their lives to oppose the Communist Party and the Government. They called for a country-wide revolt saying a single spark could start a prairie fire.

The May-June events were not a spontaneous student struggle for democratic rights but a well-prepared attack on the socialist system, exploiting the students for its reactionary ends.

The ideological inspirer and leader of the revolt, Fang Lizhi, when he found there was no chance of success for his counter-revolutionary army, took shelter in the U.S. embassy. This fact by itself should have served to show what kind of democracy Fang and the student leaders sought. This Fang, it seems, was so much liked and admired by the U.S. imperialists that Bush, when he visited China, extended a special invitation to him for an official dinner, to give him the status of rival parallel political power centre. The Chinese Government protested and prevented the treacherous Fang from joining the banquet. Fang has made known his love for capitalist rule and bourgeois democracy.

Falsification Campaign by Western Media

Such was the counter-revolutionary character of the May-June upsurge, which many people support; misguided by imperialist media propaganda. The imperialist-controlled Press and media circulated fabricated versions of the struggle presenting it as a legitimate struggle for a few democratic rights. The participation of students was used to raise universal sympathy and support for the aims and objectives of the movement which were really in consonance with imperialist interests. Every effort was made to paint it as a great popular protest. It was further circulated that the army was wavering, that certain sections of the PLA had joined the anti-Government forces and that there were clashes between sections of the PLA itself. Some diplomatic circles told the Press that they were trying to contact the Chinese authorities

but no one seemed to be in authority of power. In short every kind of propaganda was made to make the world feel that the Government was collapsing, the army had turned against the state, no one was in power and the success of the rebellion was more or less ensured.

But when it was realized that the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Party was firmly in the saddle, when Zhao had to retreat, then the massive propaganda was started of the massacre of thousands of students, of tanks mowing down students in Tiananmen Square, police and military firing on dense crowds and leaving thousands dead in Beijing and elsewhere. The lead was taken by the *Voice of America* which carries the tradition of Goebbels and is financed by the CIA.

It was later revealed that when the Tiananmen Square was finally cleared not a single shot was fired. The firing and violence took place when the conspirators started losing their mass support and desperately attacked the PLA and their forces. The PLA and the Chinese Government and the CPC realising that the anti-revolutionary elements were not yet completely separated from the mass of the people, and concerned with the safety of common man, refused to use arms against the unarmed people. Initial estimates showed that the rioters burned 180 military vehicles, more than 40 armed carriers, more than 90 police cars, 80 buses and 50 other government vehicles. Nearly 100 soldiers and policemen died, and thousands of policemen and soldiers were wounded. To meet this situation the PLA had to resort to action. In the clashes, a total of 300 people died of which students constituted 36. The Central Committee expressed its grief for the loss of lives of PLA soldiers and other innocent civilians.

This narration of facts shows to what extent the imperialist media true to its class character and interest had falsified news. They had painted the PLA and the Chinese Government as butchers of thousands of students and democratic fighters, whereas it was the PLA which was at the receiving end, showing every kind of concern for the common man

and striving to separate the mass from the conspirators. The PLA has really proved itself to be a people's army, one with the people, part of the people, never to be separated from the parent body—the people. It is because the CPC and the PLA succeeded in isolating the conspirators from the mass that the imperialist Press poured all its venom against them.

It is not surprising therefore that the CPC and its leaders pay repeated tribute to the PLA soldiers, calling them martyrs for the cause of socialism and the Chinese revolution. They died while persuading the mass to separate themselves from the violence of the conspirators refusing to use force till the conspirators were isolated.

These facts show that the 'pro-democracy' turmoil had nothing to do with democracy but was a call for counter-revolution, and accounts of blood-baths and massacre were sheer class propaganda against those who combatted the restoration of capitalism and the bourgeois parliamentary system. The CPC and the Government of China deserve the greetings and congratulations of all revolutionary and progressive forces on their success, on beating off the counter-revolutionary offensive supported and encouraged by the imperialist Press, the media and governments. The world movement for socialism would have received a terrific setback had the 'pro-democracy' fighters succeeded in their nefarious game. But many well-meaning people failed to understand this class situation, the fact that the world reactionary forces were using the occasion to scuttle socialism.

Imperialist Fury at Failure of Revolt

No person with a minimum class consciousness could miss the significance of world media support to the rebellion. Which kind of democracy has this media been supporting on a world scale? Its main business has been to denounce all revolutionary agitations and defend the global interest of imperialism. The fact that this media was whole-heartedly supporting the student agitation should have made clear to all the class content of the movement. If there was any

doubt it should have been dispelled when one imperialist country after another started condemning China and its success against the counter-revolutionary forces

Media propaganda about mowing down of hundreds of students was now followed by threatening postures and threats from the entire imperialist gang. Never in the recent past has the imperialist camp shown such unanimity and oneness of purpose as in denouncing China and intimidating it to conciliate the rebels. American President Bush issued a threatening statement against China and called for postponement of relations and meetings at higher levels. This was followed by several statements, proposals and suggestions from U.S. Senators and representatives, all urging Bush that he must take more drastic steps. Suggestions were made to cut economic aid, and postponement of some loans was immediately decided. Bush and the U.S. government now pretended to be defenders of human rights against Chinese violation.

The British government under Thatcher was not slow to follow. The EEC, the rival imperialist bloc of European powers, cancelled talks with representatives of China's external affairs department. France followed, censuring China and postponing economic aid. This was followed by West Germany, Japan and all others. The Government of Canada and Australia both expressed their condemnation of Chinese repression. The American Senators and leaders of many countries denounced violation of human rights in China and called for drastic measures against her. The shameless supporters of apartheid, Israeli aggression and enemies of all liberation movements, all came into the arena as defenders of human rights to intimidate China into submission. The utter irony of the situation, its hypocritical and farcical character was totally lost on the devotees of pure classless democracy. They joined hands with the imperialist gangs to condemn China.

Confrontation between Two Systems

The imperialist intervention through the media and the economic pressures against China, and its defeat, constitute the

most important international development of recent times, putting into shade all others. Starting with internal turmoil the situation developed into a virtual confrontation between the two systems. Deng Xiaoping very correctly observed in his meeting with the Army Commanders on June 9. The disturbances would have come sooner or later. It was determined by the macro international climate and by China's internal micro climate.

The imperialists, taking advantage of China's internal struggle, attempted to push forward a counter-revolution—part of the intensified contradiction between the two systems. The June 23 Editorial of *People's Daily* also noted that the change from social unrest to counter-revolutionary riot had a domestic and international background, and served to show the existence of class struggle. It said that the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Party Central Committee had decided to shift the focus of work from class struggle to economic construction, but "class struggle is still going on and we should not lower our vigilance".

It should be easy to understand that what was at stake was the Chinese revolution, assailed by internal reaction and encouraged and supported by world reaction.

Further it should be noted that this counter-revolutionary agitation and the Western support to it, were rising in a crescendo when the Sino-Soviet summit was taking place. The imperialist dread nothing more than Sino-Soviet understanding and friendship.

Erosion of Internationalism

It is a matter of shock and dismay that this was not realized by a major part of the world working class movement. In contrast to the unity and cohesion of the world imperialist camp, there was confusion and division in the international working class movement. Only four or five socialist countries and their ruling parties—the GDR, Bulgaria, Cuba, DPRK and Czechoslovakia—understood the challenge of counter-revolution and criticized the role of imperialism.

Other ruling parties were content to describe it as an internal affair of China cautioning against outside interference and at the same time calling for a reconciliatory approach towards the leaders of the counter-revolutionary movement. Hungary openly denounced China. Some non-ruling Communist Parties also condemned the Chinese authorities extolling the reactionary turmoil as a struggle for democracy.

Years of differences, revisionist and dogmatic standpoints, have eroded the ties of proletarian internationalism. The thirty years of breach of relations between the two big Communist Parties of the World, nightmarish years for the world Communist movement, have claimed their price. The Chinese revolution was left to fight its battle single-handed. Our Party should note this perilous situation and compliment the Communist Party of China all the more for saving the situation for the world movement.

CPI(M)'s Firm Stand

The big bourgeois Press in our country stuck to its class outlook and circulated all the slanders spread by the imperialist media. It did everything possible with its headlines and editorials to create a hostile impression against People's China. No wonder people were taken in, and a large number of intellectuals got confused and began to attack the CPC and the People's Democratic Government. Inside our Party very few were actually confused. All the State Committees and the overwhelming majority of the ranks understood the situation and took a correct stand. The Polit Bureau has to be congratulated for its forthright stand in the midst of worldwide confusion. The *Ganashakti* and the *Prajashakti* (Party dailies) deserve the congratulations of the entire Party. Had the Polit Bureau vacillated or satisfied its conscience by describing the Chinese developments as an internal matter it would have disgraced itself and the Party—letting down a valiant Party battling against counter-revolution.

In our country we are facing a delicate situation. The reactionary forces and some sections of bourgeois Opposition

are attacking us for 'toeing' the China line and letting down the democratic struggle. Unfortunately a very big section of the intellectuals and progressive forces opine the same way and are dismayed at our stand. In different states, Party members are also asking questions as to how to reply to the doubts raised and the criticisms made. It is futile to expect immediate agreement and understanding. It is necessary to patiently explain facts and convince the people. It will take some time, but one should not underestimate the shock received by those who, in spite of the China-baiting of earlier years, had turned towards China in sympathy and regard for its great struggle.

Grave Challenge to Socialism

The extremely grave character of the counter-revolutionary challenge in China can be properly understood only when it is realized that the Party was split during this crisis and the General Secretary of the Party himself was playing a provocative and abetting role, restricting the Government and the Party from taking effective steps against the counter-revolutionary movement. He had to be removed in the critical days and is now accused of giving encouragement to liberalism thereby encouraging those who wanted to establish a bourgeois parliamentary system.

It seems that the Party was sharply divided at various levels and some sections openly supported and joined the rebels. The Party paper and Press initially gave direct or indirect support to the movement blaming the Prime Minister equally along with the rebels for failure to compromise. Party journalists organized open demonstrations against the government and supported the movement. This was an extremely perilous situation which paralysed the Party for three weeks. It was only after a decisive majority swung in favour of stern action that the situation could be saved. What chance has a divided Party against the joint front of external and world reaction? The situation, however, was saved through persuasion and discussion, and Party unity was restored leading

to the final triumph. This was a hair-breadth escape and the damage that has been done to the strength of the Party will take some time to overcome. How narrow was the escape can be seen from the following from the June 9 speech of Comrade Deng:

“We still have a group of senior Comrades who are living, we still have the army, and we have also a group of good cadres who took part in the revolution at various times. That is why it was relatively easy for us to handle the present matter.”

II

Why These Events?

The events in China and the way they have been presented to the world have served to temporarily isolate China and the CPC from sections of progressive opinion in the world. Many raise the question of why the events should have taken place at all, after so many years of triumph of the revolution. Even in our ranks the same question is raised.

Period of Prolonged Transition

As a Marxist-Leninist party our Party must understand these developments as a part of the historical process through which People's China is passing—a prolonged transitional process before it can claim to be a full-fledged socialist society. Our Party must also understand the mistakes committed by the CPC earlier while firmly determined to remain on the path of socialism. Comrade Deng in his June 9 speech observed:

“The crux of the current incidents was basically a confrontation between the Four Cardinal Principles and bourgeois liberalism. It is not that we have not talked about such things as the Four Cardinal Principles (adherence to the leadership of the Communist Party, to the socialist road, to the people's democratic dictatorship and to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought) worked

on political concepts, and opposed bourgeois liberalisation and spiritual pollution. What we have not done is to maintain continuity in these talks. There has been no action and sometimes even hardly any talk ”

This failure to fight bourgeois liberalism and its ideological pollution, notwithstanding talk about it, has cost the Party dearly.

What is the essence of this conflict between the Four Cardinal Principles and liberalism? The essence is whether China should go the socialist way in its modernisation and advance or whether it should go the capitalist way. The essence is whether modernisation and advance are to be under the leadership of the Communist Party guided by Marxism-Leninism and moving on the socialist road within the framework of the dictatorship of people's democracy, or whether it should be a free economy, free beyond the framework of the class structure of the People's democratic state.

Why should this confrontation be there after forty years of revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat ? This relates to the fact that People's China is a vast backward country, and because of its extreme backwardness is faced with a prolonged transition period in which the two currents, the two tendencies of social developments are bound to clash.

Mao Zedong once observed that the question whether socialism would ultimately triumph in China would take decades to be decided. This is because China, a huge country, based on small production, requires a fairly long period of transition to socialism which is based on socialisation of large-scale means of production. With state power in its hands; and socialisation of the available large-scale means of production, the people's democratic state has the political and economic levers in its hands to move forward steadily, and step by step to its goal.

But this step by step progress meant that along with the development of the state economy the vast private economy also had to be given scope to move forward and contribute to general growth. This meant that along with the growth of

the socialist economy, there would also be growth of the private economy, and with it, the spread of private capitalist ideology, profiteering, individualism, corruption, and what Deng calls 'spiritual pollution'.

Unless the people's democratic state wages an unceasing fight against these elements and their ideology, unless, while allowing their economy to grow, they are also controlled and regulated and ideas about individual freedom are restrained, the socialist economy will be overrun and the bourgeois economy and state will replace it

Liberalism, by refusing or toning down the fight against these elements, by succumbing to their demands for freedom from state control, encourages and helps the advance of bourgeois economy and the bourgeois parliamentary system. In every country where power is in the hands of the people and which has to pass through the transition period, these two lines are in conflict, and the liberalism line has to be defeated. Hence it is not a question of individual freedom in the abstract, but freedom from socialist control, from Party guidance, freedom for private production to dominate society.

Unfortunately the CPC itself came to realize the prolonged character of its transitional stage after many years of people's democratic rule. In the initial years, after securing some brilliant success, Mao Zedong line went astray and ended in the debacle of the Cultural Revolution. With its unhistorical egalitarianism and concentration on class struggle, it forgot the transitional character of the society and suggested solutions which had no basis in reality.

It was in 1978 that the Party made a turn towards a correct estimation of the economic situation, and a line corresponding to it. But it was only at the 13th Congress of the CPC, in 1987, that an exhaustive analysis of the primary stage of Chinese society was made and a corresponding line developed. The Congress considered the correct transitional stage as a primary stage of socialism. It is a specific stage which China has to pass through while building socialism under conditions of semi-backwardness. The backwardness

of the Chinese society, i.e., backwardness of the productive forces, according to the 13th Congress, reveals the following features : socialisation of production which is essential for developing socialist production, is at a very low level, the commodity economy and domestic market are only beginning to grow, natural economy and a semi-natural economy constitute a considerable proportion of the whole, and the socialist system is not yet mature and developed.

Correspondingly a number of economic and cultural conditions that are necessary to promote a high degree of development of the socialist economy are far from ripe, and decadent feudal and capitalist ideologies, and the small producer's force of habit still have a widespread influence in society, and often corrode Party cadres and public servants. China has a long way to go before it can reach the stage of a fully developed socialist society

Conditions for Bourgeois Ideology

The open-door policy, which was initiated as a necessary path to meet the needs of the transitional period, meant permitting foreign capital and private entrepreneurs to operate to accelerate China's modernization under socialist control. But this was bound to import and create favourable conditions for profit-making industry, money making and corruption—all the vices of a bourgeois society. It was also bound to pollute the spiritual atmosphere, socialist consciousness, replacing it by bourgeois individual self-interests and the demand for freedom and democracy to advance these interests. It was bound to create a demand for deregulation of socialist control.

At the same time the advance of this policy was bound to lead to economic inequalities, with some people acquiring wealth and others deprived of it. This transitional stage, unless properly handled, was bound to create discontent among sections of the masses which could be exploited by the reactionaries.

The CPC was aware of the consequences of this policy.

Deng in his speech quoted earlier, talks about spiritual pollution in connection with the fight against liberalism. The report of Hu Yaobang submitted to the 12th Congress of the Party warns

“Under no circumstances must we forget that capitalist countries and enterprises will never change their capitalist nature simply because they have economic and technical exchange with us. While pursuing the policy of opening to the outside we must guard against and firmly resist the corrosion of capitalist ideas and we must combat any worship of things foreign or favoured by foreigners.”

But as Comrade Deng has pointed out, this understanding was not put into practice. Liberalism was allowed to spread itself resulting in the recent conflict. A correct economic policy produced adverse results because the checks and restraints necessary were not exerted in time.

The situation was further complicated by the fact that the transitional stage and the means necessary to overcome it, also create inequalities and inflict distress on certain sections of the people, including sections of the working class. Proper socialist understanding of the phenomenon among the affected masses was necessary but this was not created. Here also the Party and its leadership had grasped the problems correctly and in a sense warned against it. They knew that inequality was inherent in the transition period and may lead to a scramble for acquisitiveness, and, therefore, called for simple living. But the masses were not educated, nor was economic relief made available. The result was that while agriculture developed rapidly under the new policy, per capita income increased and rural prosperity developed, there was a 20 per cent inflation in the cities with mounting inequality of incomes. These hardships were exploited by the counter revolutionaries to secure a temporary mass base for themselves.

The recent conflicts and confrontation must be understood as resulting from the transitional stage, a conflict which can be minimized with a unswervingly correct policy, but which cannot be altogether eliminated.

Continuing Struggle against Liberalism

This was not the first time that the threat of liberalism had to be met in China. As early as 1979, that is a decade back, there was a similar outburst though not of such dimensions. The same anti-Party slogans decrying socialism and the socialist system and favouring capitalism were raised. The leaders incited the masses to raid Party and government offices and occupy them. They held sitdowns and declared a hunger-strike. A group which called itself the *Chinese Human Rights Group* put up big posters requesting the President of the United States to show concern for human rights in China. Another group issued a declaration openly opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat on the ground that it divides mankind. In Shanghai some members of a so-called *Democracy Forum* put up big posters proclaiming that proletarian dictatorship is the source of all evils. They further declared that capitalism is better than socialism, and instead of carrying out the four modernizations China should introduce what they called social reform, that is, China should turn to capitalism.

There was another outburst in 1986-87 when Hu Yaobang was the General Secretary of the Party. Again the Party gave a call to fight liberalism and stand firmly by the Four Cardinal Principles. Hu Yaobang admitted his mistakes and stepped down from the post of the General Secretary.

It should be clear, therefore, that the battle against liberalism, the advocates of the capitalist path, is a continuing battle in the transitional period.

The Communist Party of China at its last Congress had taken note of the distortions existing in the functioning of the State and the Party and decided to take steps for the broadening of socialist democracy. It had noted the distortion in the relations between the Party and the government and called for a series of legislations to ensure the democratic rights of the people under people's democracy.

The 13th Congress Report, while emphasizing that China is a socialist country under the people's democratic dictatorship, criticized the prevailing over-concentration of power,

the serious growth of bureaucratism and feudal influence. The Congress called for building a socialist political system with a high degree of democracy which, it said, could not be achieved without sustained efforts. In relation to political reforms it called for a proper handling of the relationship between democracy and stability, democracy and efficiency.

As in some socialist countries, in China also there was a distortion of the relationship between the Party and the government. A strict differentiation between the functions of the Party as the political leader of the working class and the people, and the functions of the government was lacking. The Party often replaced the government, appropriating its functions. The Congress called for a return to Leninist norms. It said that it was under the leadership of the Party that the Constitution had been adopted. The Party must, therefore, observe its provisions and not overstep its role. The socialist and working class democracy cannot work if the Party replaces the masses and other organizations, if it does not allow them to play the vital role in running the state and economy. The Party had to play the role of the leader, not to replace the mass organizations.

Failure to Combat Bourgeois Liberalization

This should remind all that there was an earnest effort to overcome the shortcomings, earlier distortions and widen the democratic participation of the people in governance of the country as well as in the advance of the economy. But despite this, illusions about bourgeois democracy developed among sections of the students and intellectuals because of two reasons. Firstly, the illusions of bourgeois liberalization, developing because of concessions to private economy in the transition period, were not fought by the Party as Deng has admitted. Secondly, in this background, tens of thousands of young students were sent to the USA and other Western countries for Chinese modernization. The opportunity was thence used by western agencies to infect these students with bourgeois ideology.

The admiration for the capitalist West was strengthened by the effects of the split in the socialist camp. The sudden withdrawal of projects by the Soviet Union under Khrushchev had created difficulties for China and forced her to rely on her own strength. The conflict developed further and with the lifting of the boycott of China by the USA, China turned to the USA and the West. Furthermore, Chinese denunciation of the Soviet Union as being more dangerous than the U.S. also contributed to the same result. In turn, the CPSU's denunciation of China, and total denial of its great revolutionary achievements further accentuated this process. The younger generation, which had not seen the great proletarian brotherhood of earlier years, which had only heard about the reactionary doings of the socialist countries, and which was now sent to the Western countries for training, naturally got isolated from the world socialist outlook.

Support CPC's Efforts

The CPC is now concentrating on the fight against liberalism. Having seen the havoc done to the consciousness of the young students and intellectuals it has decided to take up the question of the Marxist-Leninist education of the masses. It stands on the firm base of its Four Cardinal Principles without which there is no possibility of building socialism. The Sino-Soviet Summit is bound to lead to further friendly relations, bringing the two socialist countries together and ending the rupture in the socialist camp which has played a role in the conflict between the socialist and bourgeois paths.

Today the entire bourgeois world and the forces of world reaction are trying to isolate People's China for the crime of defeating the counter-revolution. The CPC requires the strong support and sympathy of all Marxist-Leninist parties and progressive forces. There is no doubt that in the coming months, as things clear up, the present-day critics of China will understand that they were misled by imperialist propaganda, and once again there will be a line-up of the world democratic forces in support of People's China and the CPC.

Restraint Needed on IPKF Issue*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated June 21, 1989, to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is deeply concerned at the growing tensions between the Indian Government and the Sri Lankan Government over the question of the withdrawal of the IPKF. The stand of the Sri Lankan President in refusing to discuss the time-table of the withdrawal is leading to a confrontationalist position which does not augur well for either country.

Public opinion in India is genuinely concerned about the safety and security of the Tamil minority which will be affected by the withdrawal. But the Indian Government by insisting on conditions for the withdrawal is only serving to heighten the confrontation. In Sri Lanka wide sections of the people and political circles would like to see the IPKF withdrawn. The Left parties in Sri Lanka which have supported the Accord also feel that the time has come for the IPKF to be withdrawn, while they continue to urge upon the Sri Lankan Government to fulfil its commitment as per the Accord. In this situation, the Indian Government has no other option.

The CPI(M) urges upon the Government of India to soberly assess the situation and not take any measure which will lead to unforeseen consequences. Any confrontation between the two countries will facilitate the intervention of imperialism, adversely affect India's standing in the world.

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and help the forces of disintegration within Sri Lanka. Apprehensions about the safety of the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka are real and India should appeal to world-wide democratic opinion to ensure that the Sri Lankan Government takes the responsibility for their protection.

Birth Centenary of Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad*

E.M.S. Namboodiripad

In calling upon all Party units to celebrate the birth centenary of Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad in a manner befitting his contribution in building the Party in India, the Thirteenth Congress of the CPI(M) said:

“Inspired by the Bolshevik Revolution in November 1917, he took the pioneering role in organizing the Communists in India, committed as he was to the goal of Socialist revolution led by the proletariat. A dedicated Marxist, superb organizer and an inspiring leader, Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad fought for his ideals with courage, facing repression and undergoing long periods of imprisonment.”

“A true Communist in every possible sense of the term, the way of life and functioning of ‘Kakababu’, as he was affectionately called by the Party comrades, sympathisers and many others, was a model for other Communists to follow. Led by the ideology of the working class, he toured all over the country despite severe financial difficulties, often under semi-starved conditions and facing a great deal of hardship in order to mobilize the peasantry and workers.”

It was this dedication to the cause of proletarian revolution that made him the relentless crusader for unity in the struggle against imperialism; the organizer of the trade union, Kisan Sabha and other organizations of the working people; the propagandist of Marxist-Leninist theory, the builder of the Communist Party. A pioneer of the revolutionary party of the Indian

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working class, he stood at the head of the Party for over half a century till death snatched him away. In all the vicissitudes through which the Party had to go during his life time, Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad stood with the Party and at its head

The Party today is no doubt many times bigger than it was when Comrade Muzaffar began his life as a dedicated Communist. Party membership today is counted not in dozens and scores, not even in hundreds or thousands but in lakhs. The All-India Kisan Sabha of which he was a founder-leader and in which he occupied the leading post of President, has a membership of 10.5 million. Together with the trade unions and the fighting organizations of the students, the youth and the women, the CPI(M) stands at the head of an over 19 million-strong mass movement. The Party is also active in the parliamentary arena, heading United Front Governments in two States and actively pursuing the policy of forging a united front of Left and secular Opposition forces at the national level.

This vital position occupied by the Party in the political life of the country raises a number of complex problems concerning the ideology, politics and practical and organizational activities of the Party. Only by solving these problems on the basis of Marxism-Leninism can the Party advance further, develop itself as the initiator and builder of broad unity against Congress(I) rule and as the crusader for national unity. Hence the importance of the Party Congress call on Party units to "hold seminars and organize classes and publish Marxist literature to specially mark this occasion of the birth centenary" of this great leader of the Indian masses.

In carrying out these tasks, we will remember the tireless work that our Kakababu did in popularising Marxist literature. From the early days when he launched revolutionary journals down to the later years when he headed the massive organization that brought out *Deshhitaishi*, *Ganashakti* and other publications as well as the National Book Agency, Comrade Muzaffar was true to the Leninist dictum that there can be no revolutionary party without a revolutionary theory. We pledge ourselves on this occasion to uphold the heritage he left to us.

Unconstitutional Amendments*

Statement dated August 6, 1989 issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its strong opposition to the 65th Constitution Amendment Bill regarding urban local bodies to be introduced in the Lok Sabha on August 7, 1989. This Bill, alongwith the 64th Amendment Bill on panchayati institutions, constitutes a blatant attack on the rights of the States and seeks to alter the fundamental structure of the Constitution.

In the name of devolving powers and responsibilities to the urban municipal bodies, the 65th Amendment Bill, just as the 64th Amendment Bill, violates the basic structure of the Constitution by seeking to legislate on powers which are the exclusive concern of the States under Entry 5 in the List 2 of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution. The Urban Bodies Bill, in some respects, goes even beyond the Panchayati Bill in the role and powers assigned to the Governor . the powers of disqualification of members of municipalities and panchayats is vested with the Governor, the appointment of a Finance Commission with regard to the determination of taxes and distribution of resources; the categorization of the urban bodies. All these are subjects on which the Centre has no right to legislate as per the Constitution.

The two Constitution Amendment Bills, under the guise of decentralization of powers, seek to centralize all powers with the Centre. These Bills, moreover, are a grave encroachment on the existing powers of the States as defined in the

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Constitution itself. The passage of these Bills would erode the rights of the States existing since the linguistic reorganization of the States in the late fifties. All those interested in the democratic restructuring of Centre-State relations, ensuring the vitality of panchayat and urban local bodies, and resisting the authoritarian drive for concentration of power in the hands of the Centre, should come out in total opposition to these two Bills. The Polit Bureau appeals to all the Opposition parties to make a concerted and united effort to defeat these two Bills in their entirety in Rajya Sabha and thereby discharge their responsibility for safeguarding of the existing federal provisions in the Constitution and for carrying forward the struggle against the authoritarian onslaught of the Centre.

Polit Bureau Deplores Meet on Tibet*

Statement dated August 14, 1989 issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) deplores the holding of the "International Convention on Tibet" in which the organizers have sought to orchestrate an anti-China chorus, using the pretext of human rights violation in Tibet. The speeches made at the Convention calling for the "Independence" of Tibet are designed to help the forces of world reaction and imperialism. The CPI(M) has always held that Tibet is an integral part of China and any problem connected with this region has to be solved within the framework of the People's Republic of China.

All the major national political parties, with the exception of the BJP, have disassociated themselves from this provocative step to hamper the progress registered in developing Indo-China relations recently. It is a matter of satisfaction that the Janata Dal President Shri VP Singh, has disassociated his party from the efforts of George Fernandes and other organizers in holding such a Convention. The aims of the Convention and the nature of the international support gathered for it, make it clear that forces are at work to disrupt the friendly relations developing between the two big neighbours.

The CPI(M) calls upon all sections of public opinion to thwart all efforts to hamper Indo-China relations, the development of which will serve the cause of peace in Asia and the world

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Polit Bureau Greet the People for Successful 'Bharat Bandh' on August 30, 1989*

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) warmly greets the people all over the country who have made the Bharat Bandh a resounding success. This mighty Bandh has voiced the categorical support of all sections of the people for the resignation of the Rajiv Gandhi Government. It is an unambiguous verdict against the anti-people policies pursued by the Rajiv Gandhi Government and its corrupt deals which have endangered the security and integrity of the country.

The Bandh as a protest action has been sweeping and all-embracing. Industrial workers, peasants, agricultural workers, shopkeepers, employees, youth, women and students have abstained from daily activities and paralysed normal life. The mass anger against the Government also saw the railways paralysed in major parts of the country by popular actions.

The Congress(I) Government unleashed brutal repression. Lathi-charges, police firing and mass arrests have been resorted to all over the country. Tens of thousands of Opposition activists, including thousands of CPI(M) volunteers, were arrested all over the country. Among the Central Committee members of the Party arrested were Ganesh Shankar Vidhyarthi and Subodh Rai (Bihar) and Manik Sarkar (Tripura). The Congress(I), not satisfied with this, mobilized its men and anti-socials to take to the streets to attack the Bandh volunteers. The Congress(I) men did not even spare the

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, September 3, 1989

eightythree-year-old CPI(M) leader Nripen Chakraborty in Tripura who was assaulted in a scuffle. In Kerala a CPI(M) leader in Thodupuzha, Nazir, was murdered by the Congress(I) men. A CPI(M) worker and a Janata Dal worker were killed by Congress(I) men in Wynad. Over 200 CPI(M) cadres and workers have been hospitalized in planned and widespread attacks in all districts of Kerala by Congress(I) men. In Tripura three CPI(M) members were murdered by Congress(I) hoodlums. The Polit Bureau conveys its heartfelt condolences to the families of these martyrs who died in defence of democracy.

The call for Bandh panicked the Congress(I) as never before. The Goebbelsian propaganda unleashed through Doordarshan and Akashvani reached nauseating depths. Despite such lying propaganda and governmental and goonda repression, the people moved into action. Intimidating circulars and coercion of Central Government employees to report for duty were resorted to. Despite such threats, in many places Government employees did not report for duty.

Terror Follows Bandh in Tripura*

Polit Bureau issued statement dated August 31, 1989 giving a call for Nationwide Protests

The Congress(I) has unleashed a brutal terror campaign in Tripura. Seeing the overwhelming response of the people to the Bharat Bandh on August 30, 1989, Congress(I) hoodlums launched murderous attacks on the CPI(M) cadre and supporters all over the State. Nine CPI(M) cadres and supporters have been murdered in this terror campaign. The killing of three comrades was reported yesterday — Dr. Ajit Roy Choudhury, Jyotindra Mazumder and Bimal Banik. Reports have now come of the killing of six more CPI(M) workers

In a gruesome incident which has been misreported in sections of the Press, a passenger bus was attacked with bombs by Congress(I) goondas at Melaghar in which one passenger died. The bus driver lost control of the bus and ran over four CPI(M) workers who were at a roadside shop, killing them. Their names are Nirmal Rishidas, Gopal Rishidas, Ananta Debnath and Dilip Ghosh. This incident is being distorted to launch further attacks on CPI(M) activists. In another incident in Subroom sub-division of South Tripura district, a leader of the CPI(M) and member of the Local Committee of the Party, Haradhan Dhar, was murdered by Congress(I) men. Another CPI(M) member, Nepal Malla, who was seriously injured by Congress(I) goondas while participating in a procession for Bandh preparations on August 28 at Sonamura, died in the hospital on August 30.

Apart from this, district Party offices were attacked with

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bombs in Khowai and Subroom. There are reports of widespread attacks on the activists of mass organizations. The Employees' Coordination Committee office at Khowai was set on fire.

The killing of nine CPI(M) cadres is the direct responsibility of the Congress(I) and its State Government which has allowed its supporters to brazenly take to arms and declare war on the CPI(M) and the democratic movement. Not satisfied with this butchery on the Bandh day, in the State Legislative Assembly session today (August 31) Comrade Badal Chaudhury, a senior CPI(M) MLA, was assaulted by the Congress(I) Ministers and MLAs and seriously injured.

Tripura has been witnessing the law of the jungle with ruling party men running amok, since the Assembly elections in February, 1988. The continuing terror against the CPI(M) and the Left opposition in the State is an ominous sign of the extent to which the Congress(I) will go to suppress democracy. All parties and all sections of the people who are concerned about democracy should strongly protest against this carnage in Tripura. Ignoring these attacks will spell peril for parliamentary democracy in the country. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) warns Congress(I) central leadership and its Government to ensure that the basic rights of the citizens of Tripura are not trampled upon further, and the lives and property of Opposition activists are protected.

The Polit Bureau calls upon all its Party units in the country to mobilize the people to protest against these killings and organize protest actions to demand that the Congress(I) and the State Government in Tripura halt this campaign of terror forthwith.

Homage To Comrade Dinkar Mehta*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) pays its homage to the memory of Comrade Dinkar Mehta, who passed away yesterday (August 30). Comrade Dinkar Mehta was formerly a member of the Central Committee of the CPI(M) and the Secretary of the united Communist Party in Gujarat and the CPI(M) since its formation

For decades Dinkar Mehta headed the Communist movement in Gujarat. He started his political career in his youth in the Sabarmati Ashram of Mahatma Gandhi. In 1930 he was jailed. During the course of his incarceration he along with others founded the Congress Socialist Party But Dinkar Mehta with his radical views took no time in joining the Communist Party and by 1936 he was already in charge of organizing the Party in Gujarat

In these years he continued to participate in the mass activities in the trade unions and other mass organizations.

He played a role in the formation of the Maha Gujarat State and after the success of the agitation, was elected Mayor of the Ahmedabad Corporation

In the ideological fight inside the Communist Party Comrade Dinkar Mehta unhesitatingly sided with those who fought the revisionist line, and with the formation of the CPI(M) he was elected to its Central Committee.

In recent years he was suffering from indifferent health and later on was completely bed-ridden. Nonetheless he took

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active interest in Party activity in Gujarat and did his best to contribute to widen and sharpen it. He had written several books in Gujarati introducing Marxism to the common people. His death removes from the scene a stalwart Communist who devoted his entire life to the cause of Communism

The Polit Bureau again pays homage to the memory of one who all his life was devoted to the cause of the working class and the advance of the Communist movement.

Kota Riots: A Grim Warning*

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

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its concern at the outbreak of a serious communal riot in Kota, Rajasthan. Sixteen people lost their lives and a large amount of property was destroyed. The riots were instigated by a religious procession in which blatantly anti-minority slogans were raised. Tension still prevails in the town and the surrounding areas.

The Kota riots are a grim warning of the danger of communal violence threatening the country. The hectic preparations for moving bricks to Ayodhya, going on all over the country by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, RSS and BJP, is accompanied by inflammatory propaganda against the minority community. This poisonous campaign portends grave danger during the period of the Dussehra festival. There is no dearth of fundamentalists in the minority community also who seek to take advantage of the troubled situation. This is no ordinary situation but a calculated move to rouse communal passions. The Congress(I) State Governments, particularly in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, are irresponsibly complacent while mischievous forces are having a free field.

The defence of communal amity and secular values requires the immediate and active intervention of all democratic, secular and patriotic forces to foil the designs of communalists of all hues. The Polit Bureau calls upon all sections of the people to be vigilant in the coming period to

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prevent communal violence. The secular forces must be mobilized to come out into the streets and rebuff any provocations. The Polit Bureau is confident that united and prompt intervention will maintain the unity of the people. It calls upon all its units to make the *September 28 Communal Harmony Day* an effective mobilization of the people to defend amity and national unity.

Three Comrades Martyred in Punjab*

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

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemns the cowardly murder of Comrade Sohan Singh Dhesi, State Secretary of the Punjab unit of the Democratic Youth Federation of India, and a member of the CPI(M) District Committee, Jalandhar. Comrade Sohan Singh was murdered by two unidentified extremists in the early hours of the morning today at his village Dhesian Kahna while he was going to have his bath.

Comrade Sohan, aged 32 years, a post-graduate, had given up his career prospects to become a wholetime worker of the CPI(M). He had been the Secretary of the Punjab unit of the DYFI for the past six years. An extremely talented comrade, he had assiduously built up the DYFI as the most powerful youth organization in Punjab championing the cause of our country's unity and integrity. He was attacked and killed just after the successful Sixth State Conference of the DYFI, where he was re-elected as the State Secretary. The DYFI State Conference was in fact a strong rebuff to the terrorists, which saw a mobilization of thousands of Punjab's youth determined to safeguard the unity and integrity of India.

This cowardly murder comes in the background of the claims made by the Government of India that the Punjab situation is improving. The callous attitude of the administration and the deliberate policy of drift adopted by the Government of India in not resolving the Punjab crisis

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politically, has led to a situation where many innocent lives are being lost daily. In the process many a great patriot is being martyred. This criminal irresponsibility of the Government in allowing the situation to drift should be strongly condemned by all patriotic and democratic-minded people in the country.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) conveys its deep condolences to Comrade Sohan's wife, Ajmer Kaur, who herself is a Party activist and their five-year-old son. The Polit Bureau conveys its heartfelt condolences to his parents, brothers and sisters, all of whom have championed the cause of democracy and socialism.

The Polit Bureau warns the anti-national elements in Punjab that the CPI(M) is committed to uphold the cause of our country's unity and integrity in the most difficult circumstances.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the killing of two CPI(M) members by terrorists in Punjab yesterday (September 13) evening. Comrade Malagar Singh and Comrade Nazir Singh, who were brothers, were murdered by the cowardly Khalistani assassins at village Bulara, under Thana Beas, in Amritsar district. These two brothers were active members of the Party in Punjab. Earlier too there had been attacks on them.

The Polit Bureau pays homage to the memory of these two brave martyrs and conveys its heartfelt condolences to their family members. They have laid down their lives in defence of national unity, a cause for which the Party in Punjab will continue its determined struggle, whatever the odds it faces.

Polit Bureau Welcomes Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement*

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) welcomes the joint communique issued by the Government of India and the Sri Lankan Government which sets out an agreed time-table for the withdrawal of the IPKF by December 31, 1989, and for the further implementation of the provisions of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord. The communique sets out measures for restoring peace in the north-eastern region and for strengthening the north-eastern provincial administration as part of the devolution package for the Provincial Councils. This includes the setting up of a provincial police force also. The mechanism of a Peace Committee and a Security Coordination Group provides an adequate basis for the cooperation of both the Governments and the representatives of the Tamil groups including the Chief Minister of the North-Eastern Provincial Council.

The cease-fire announced from September 20, once again provides the LTTE with the opportunity to cease hostilities and join the process of democratic politics and contribute to the restoration of normalcy. It is now up to the LTTE to respond positively, realising the immense harm done to the Tamil minority because of its belligerent stance.

The Polit Bureau hopes that the Sri Lankan Government will earnestly implement its responsibilities, as per the agreement to ensure the security of the Tamil minorities and autonomy to the north-eastern region while preserving the unity of Sri Lanka

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Polit Bureau Communiqué*

**Issued following its meeting held on
September 13-14, 1989**

Dangerous Economic Situation

The CPI(M) had warned at its Thirteenth Congress and earlier that the Rajiv Government's economic policy based on import liberalization, call for competitiveness of industry and opening to foreign capital would land the country into trouble engendering growing dependence on foreign loans. This is precisely what has happened. A conference of eminent economists held in Delhi this August has warned that the burden of debt servicing has mounted to 40 per cent of export earnings and more than 25 per cent of current receipts. This speaks of the process of mortgaging the economy and imposing further burdens on the people to meet foreign obligations.

Finding the economy to be in great need of Western aid and seeking new avenues of exploitation, the U.S. imperialists are now pressurizing the Government of India to open every activity of our national economy to their penetration. The latest dominating demand under Super 301, for patents trade negotiations under the GATT, the demand that India should conform to U.S. dictates, is intended to exercise a veto on India's technological progress and capture her market.

The Polit Bureau is of the opinion that the Opposition parties as well as the people at large are hardly aware of the

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dangerous character of these developments. It calls upon all progressive sections to raise their voice in protest and prevent further compromise.

The Polit Bureau considers that the official and RBI figures indicating an increased growth rate of 10 per cent, and the claims of inflation control, stand in sharp contrast to the reality faced by the people. Despite the 10 per cent growth in GDP, sickness in industry has not declined, and unemployment and rural misery has increased. With the claims of controlling inflation, prices have risen sky-high sending sugar beyond the reach of the common man. With a bumper harvest, prices of foodgrains have risen to new heights for the people already grinding under the taxation burdens.

The Polit Bureau congratulates our fighting people, workers, agricultural workers, students and women who are waging a continuous struggle against these burdens. The textile and jute workers have gone through a miserable period fighting all along. The struggle has now opened among new sections from doctors and officers to Anganwadi women workers. Every section of the people, in its own way, is coming into the field to defend itself against a corrupt and callous government.

Bharat Bandh: Great Response

It is this mounting discontent of the fighting people that was magnificently expressed on the Bharat Bandh day when the Left and secular Opposition parties called for Rajiv's resignation. The original corruption charge developed into a damning charge-sheet on every issue affecting the people.

The Polit Bureau congratulates the people of India for their grand response to the call for Bandh on August 30 to demand resignation of the corrupt Rajiv Government. The Opposition parties' MPs resigned from the Lok Sabha to appeal to the people against a majority which had ceased to represent the people, and whose Government with its corruption scandals had forfeited their confidence. The success of the Bandh constitutes an endorsement of the Opposition

demand and gives new confidence to carry on the fight for the ouster of the Rajiv Government and the dissolution of the Lok Sabha.

The ruling party attempted to deny the very existence of the Bandh by fake reports. It did everything to prevent the manifestations of protest through repression, intimidation and sending out teams of volunteers into the streets to oppose the Bandh. In Tripura alone it killed 10 people for the crime of observing the Bandh. Altogether 18 persons were killed during the Bandh, of whom 16 were CPI(M) cadres and activists.

In Congress(I)-ruled States it let loose repression and sought the help of the communal forces like the Shiv Sena to prevent expression of the people's anger. But everything failed. An unprecedented mighty protest was registered by the people in this pre-election struggle.

Draw Proper Lessons

The Polit Bureau feels it is necessary to draw proper lessons from this mighty response of the people at the call of the Opposition, if the coming election battle is to be decisively won. It is necessary to understand and listen to the mood of the people who made the Bandh a success.

The Bandh revealed directly that its driving force was the common action of the Left and secular Opposition parties. Everywhere it was the strength of these parties, the cohesion and common understanding among their constituents that brought the people onto the streets. The Left Front-ruled States of West Bengal and Kerala, the Opposition-ruled States of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Haryana and Assam saw the most widespread protests. In the Congress(I)-ruled States also the two forces were in the forefront fighting the Congress(I) attempt to sabotage.

The Bandh once more underlined the tremendous and vital importance of Left unity in this common struggle. It showed that any relaxation of this common unity, any disruption, will be a complete betrayal of the people. This

unity must continue to be strengthened and continue to play a unifying role.

The Left parties played a vital, a strategic role in ensuring the success of the Bandh. They threw their entire weight, the weight of the mass organizations, the trade unions, kisan sabhas and other organizations and the most strategic and numerous sections in support of the Bandh. And, besides, in their joint statement, by combining issues of foreign policy, the fight against imperialist danger and the fight against the forces of communalism, they elevated the call from its anti-corruption framework to link up with the masses who were already in the field.

All democratic forces and the Opposition parties which realize the importance of this orientation, should steadily develop it, so that the common struggle against the Rajiv Government simultaneously strengthens national unity and integrity isolating all the divisive and communal forces. The Polit Bureau therefore calls upon all Party ranks to observe the *Anti-Communal Day on September 28*, and invites the cooperation of all.

BJP's Disruptive Role

The BJP, with its communal outlook, has exposed its insincerity in relation to the common struggle. The RSS dominated BMS refused to support the demand for the Rajiv Government's resignation and sign a common appeal with the other trade unions. In Bombay the BJP-Shiv Sena alliance openly organized anti-Bandh activities helping the Government and the Congress(I) to check the spread of the Bandh. In Kerala, on the eve of the Bandh, the RSS mounted attacks on the Bandh organizers resulting in the death of CPI(M) cadres. In the recent period more than 10 LDF cadres have been killed in RSS clashes. Now in West Bengal, the BJP has openly announced its policy of fighting the Left Front Government, a special way of doing service to the Rajiv Government and the Congress(I) which are already engaged in creating a law and order problem.

Demarcate from Communal Forces

The success of the Bandh calls upon the Left and secular parties to move further in the direction of the ensuing election struggle and remove all the weaknesses. A huge minority mass of Muslims is watching the situation finding out whether there is any democratic force with worthwhile credentials which will defend the rights of the Muslims and protect them from atrocities during riots. Sensitive on the question of the Babri Masjid/Ramjanmabhoomi issue, it seeks to test the sincerity of every party and organization on the basis of the democratic and just solution to the problem suggested. It is firmly convinced that any party or organization working in collaboration with the BJP with its communal policy, will not be able to offer minimum security to it.

It is necessary, therefore, for all secular parties to demarcate themselves from the BJP outlook and assure all sections of minorities that they will strictly observe all democratic norms and protect the basic rights of all minorities. The Polit Bureau feels very much disturbed about reports indicating that the Janata Dal in Maharashtra is coming to an electoral understanding with the BJP-Shiv Sena. If the report is true, it will seriously affect the secular credibility of the Janata Dal in the entire country.

The Janata Dal, by taking a position on the question of the Minorities Commission, on the question of Article 370 of the Constitution, has already taken a correct stand. But this position should not be compromised by collaboration with the BJP. An open announcement that the Janata Dal stands for settling the dispute by a court verdict, will go a long way towards creating great confidence among the minority mass.

If the Left and secular parties develop this common approach on the question of minorities and, by their constant collaboration, are able to impress upon the minorities that a viable force is being created to safeguard their interests, a force that not only proclaims its policy but which is determined to fight communalism, a big change can be brought

about in the outlook of the minorities. It is necessary that all parties demand a meeting of the National Integration Council to discuss the Babri Masjid/Ramjanmabhoomi issue.

Offensive against Non-Congress(I) States

As the election approaches, new and difficult tasks will face the Left and secular Opposition parties. The Congress(I) Government has opened an offensive against all non-Congress(I) Governments and especially against the Left Front Governments of Kerala and West Bengal.

The rice and foodgrains supply to Kerala, West Bengal and Tamil Nadu have been reduced causing great hardship to the people. Everyday law and order is deliberately disturbed, clashes organized, and lies and slanders circulated against the Ministries. An atmosphere is being created to suggest that law and order has completely broken down in the Opposition-ruled States, especially the States under Left Front Ministries. And an orchestrated propaganda is being organized to demand the dismissal of the Left Front Governments and non-Congress(I) Ministries and impose President's Rule. It is a conspiracy to organize provocation after provocation and create uncertainties in the minds of the people.

The situation calls for all parties to reply to this game of provocation with stronger unity of the people who can keep the peace and at the same time isolate the provocateurs.

Political Moves of Congress(I)

The Congress(I) is not only organizing provocations, it is also making political approaches to the masses to win them over. The Jawahar Rozgar Yojana, the Panchayati Raj Bill, the Nagarpalika Bill, reservation for women, and now acceptance of Urdu as an official language of U.P., are all instruments that are intended to establish new confidence among the people. The demand for recognition of Urdu as an official language has been a long-standing demand of the Left and democratic forces. Now the Congress(I) Governments in Bihar and U.P. are conceding this demand with a view to wooing the

electorate. The employment of 30,000 SC/ST personnel to fill up the reservation vacancies, constitutes another measure for allaying the feelings of the sections which have been the worst victims of Congress(I) repression and injustices.

It will be harmful to think that these measures will not have any impact on the electorate. It is for the Opposition parties to take them seriously and tell the people the whole truth about them. It is known that these moves, in the name of transfer of powers to the people, embody an attack against the powers of the States. In the forthcoming Rajya Sabha session in October, the Congress(I) will once again seek to pass the Panchayat and Urban Bodies Bills after manipulations to acquire a two-thirds majority. This game has to be foiled and united resistance must be put up against these Bills which encroach on the States' autonomy.

Movement against Price-rise and Unemployment

Considering the immediate economic situation and to maintain the links with the masses, the Polit Bureau considers it absolutely essential that the Left and Opposition parties take up the questions of price-rise, unemployment, sickness in industry, and carry on a raging campaign throughout the country to expose the Government's economic policies and defend the interests of the people. The Polit Bureau calls upon all its units to launch a mass movement against price-rise and unemployment by observing a week from September 26 to October 2 for this movement in cooperation with the Left and secular Opposition parties.

The Polit Bureau is confident that in the coming months, by strengthening the ties with the masses who are already in the field, expressing their determination to fight the divisive and communal forces and concentrating on the misdeeds and anti-national policies of the Rajiv Government, a united power force will soon emerge to secure a decisive victory for the Left and Opposition secular forces to safeguard democracy, unity and the integrity of the country so that the people can have a real government of their choice.

The Polit Bureau took note of certain other important developments in the national and international plane.

Tripura

The Polit Bureau denounced the sadistic terror against CPI(M) members of the Tripura Assembly. The MLAs were beaten, thrown to the ground, dashed against revolving fans by the Assembly staff, on the order of removal by the Speaker. Some Congress Ministers and MLAs were inciting the staff to enact further acts of terror and violence. Several members were hurt, injured and wounded.

An authoritarian party which got into power by falsifying the election results, is now enacting terror inside the Assembly. Never before, not even during the notorious Emergency regime, was there such an example of trampling underfoot every vestige of democracy including the inviolability of a person of the Legislature.

The Polit Bureau reminds the people that recently a Committee of the ILO on a complaint lodged by the CITU, virtually branded the Tripura Government as indulging in anti-social acts and collaborating with anti-socials. The brutal happenings in Tripura Assembly call for nationwide protests, and the Polit Bureau requests all Left and secular parties, all progressive individuals irrespective of their political affiliations, to denounce these brutal happenings and failure of all democratic norms.

Punjab

Everyday the killing of innocent people by the terrorists goes on. The CPI(M) and Left forces are special targets of the assassins. In the latest incident on September 13, two CPI(M) members were murdered in Amritsar district by the Khalistanis. These killings make a mockery of the claims of the Central Government that the situation is under control.

The Polit Bureau further condemns the reported efforts of the Central Government to strike a deal with a section of the secessionist movement under the guise of solving the

Punjab problem The opportunist and selfish attitude of the Congress(I) and its Government, its refusal to implement the agreed decision on the basis of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord, and its attempt to exploit the situation to its electoral advantage have led to total failure in solving the Punjab problem and accentuated the danger of disruption.

Jammu & Kashmir

The Polit Bureau expressed its concern over the developments in Kashmir where the secessionist elements seem to be getting the upper hand everyday with the Farooq and the Central Governments looking on as helpless spectators. Nothing underlines the incompetence of the Central Government better than the extension of secessionist terrorism with its openly pro-Pakistani advocacy, to Kashmir. The only remedy the Farooq Government thought advisable was a Press-curb measure which had to be kept in abeyance because of strong protests.

Assam

The Polit Bureau expressed its deep concern over the Bodo problem which has resulted in a spate of murders and counter-murders. The recent talks in Delhi, which were a welcome development, have neither quietened nor stabilized the situation. But the Government of India and the State Government of Assam must hurry the process of negotiations to come to an agreed solution.

The Polit Bureau also expressed its deep concern and opposition to the way in which tens of thousands of Indian citizens in Assam are being deprived of their voting rights while preparing new electoral rolls. Thus those who have been on the rolls for years are now asked to prove their citizenship. This is an anti-national act which must be opposed by all sections of the Indian people.

NAM Summit

The Polit Bureau expressed its satisfaction that the Belgrade NAM Summit has reiterated its adherence to the founding

principles of the NAM and its determination to continue the fight against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid and Zionism. It congratulated the socialist countries, Cuba, Vietnam, DPRK and Laos, and the frontline African States for upholding the original heritage of the NAM. The Belgrade Summit, after overcoming the move to dilute the anti-imperialist content of the movement, succeeded in taking a common stand on vital issues facing the non-aligned countries like external debt and economic exploitation.

It is deplorable that the Government of India initially failed to fight the move for diluting the basic positions of the NAM, but later retrieved its position under pressure.

The Polit Bureau expresses its satisfaction that India's stand for a political solution of the Afghan problem is gaining more ground in the wake of the setback to the U.S. efforts to seek a military solution. The Polit Bureau appreciates and supports the stand of the Government of Cambodia in the recent Paris negotiations which, however, could not produce a successful solution because of the intransigence on the part of the USA and others who seek a place for the genocidal Pol Pot faction in the new political set-up under negotiation. The Polit Bureau endorses India's stand and consistent support to the cause of democratic Cambodia.

The Polit Bureau expresses satisfaction at the continuing negotiations between India and the Government of Sri Lanka on the question of a speedy withdrawal of the IPKF forces from Sri Lankan territory.

The Polit Bureau notes that the talks between King Birendra of Nepal and Rajiv Gandhi open prospects for friendly negotiations for settling the outstanding disputes concerning the two neighbours, such as the Trade and Transit Treaty.

CPI(M)'s Greetings to Communist Party of China on 40th Anniversary of the Chinese Revolution*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) conveys its revolutionary fraternal greetings to the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the People's Republic of China.

Coming soon after the victory over fascism, the triumph of the Chinese Revolution and the establishment of the PRC on October 1, 1949, was an event of revolutionary significance. It galvanised the people's struggles against colonialism and imperialism in the region and had a profound impact on world developments.

The decades of the glorious struggle by the Chinese people under the leadership of the CPC, the sacrifices and martyrdom of millions of Chinese people culminating in the foundation of the PRC, continue to be a source of inspiration to the people struggling for freedom, liberty, human dignity and Socialism. This triumph over the forces of feudalism and imperialism that had heaped untold miseries on the Chinese people, altered the correlation of forces in the world.

The CPC had to address itself to the gigantic task of socialist construction in a country that is home to nearly one-fourth of the world's population, in conditions of extreme social and economic backwardness, as a result of feudal exploitation and imperialist plunder over the years. It was from this backwardness that the Chinese people, under the

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leadership of the CPC, made tremendous strides in improving the economic conditions and achieving higher social and cultural standards.

The reforms embarked upon by the Communist Party of China in recent years, to modernize the economy and develop Socialism, has resulted in higher rates of growth. Accompanying these reforms the CPC had correctly warned that in a transitional stage, a resolute struggle against bourgeois liberalism will have to be undertaken along with raising the ideological consciousness of the Chinese people.

The CPI(M) is happy to note that the CPC and the PLA have warded off the recent attacks of the counter-revolutionaries. What was at stake was the Chinese Revolution assailed by the forces of imperialism, which supported and encouraged the forces of internal reaction. This counter-revolutionary agitation and the Western support to it were rising to a crescendo when the Sino-Soviet Summit was taking place, as imperialism dreads nothing more than the growing friendship between the USSR and the PRC. The CPI(M) wishes the CPC all success in the continuous struggle against ideologies alien to Socialism.

The CPI(M) hails the recent Sino-Soviet Accord ending the hostility that divided the two giant socialist neighbours and two great Communist Parties. This is an event of great historic significance which will have a deep impact on the course of future world developments, strengthening the forces of peace, democracy and Socialism.

The CPI(M) is confident that the CPC will successfully resolve the difficult task of building Socialism in China based on firm adherence to Marxism-Leninism, the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist path, under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The CPI(M) notes the positive improvement in relations between India and China in recent years. The CPI(M) is confident that the future will see a further improvement which will contribute to the advance of the forces of peace in Asia as well as in the world.

On this happy occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its warm, cordial and comradely greetings to the leadership and members of the Communist Party China and the Chinese people, and is confident that the process of all-round socialist construction in China will grow from strength to strength

CPI(M)'s Greetings to German Democratic Republic on 40th Anniversary*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) conveys its warm fraternal greetings to the people of the GDR and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the German Democratic Republic.

The foundation of a Socialist State on the German soil was an event of historic significance in more than one sense. It made a decisive contribution to ensure that war should no longer originate from the German soil. The establishment of a workers' and peasants' State on the German soil was the culmination of the glorious traditions of German revolutionaries beginning from the founders of Scientific Socialism, Marx and Engels. Socialist Germany is a product of the inspiration of generations of German revolutionaries, the struggles of the German working class, their heroism and sacrifices and, above all their undaunted defence of Marxism-Leninism. The SUPG, the inheritor of these glorious traditions is today discharging the historic responsibility of building developed Socialism in the GDR.

The forty years of existence of Socialist GDR has resoundingly vindicated the validity of the Marxist-Leninist understanding of Socialism as a superior form of economic and social organization. The all-round development of the Socialist society with no unemployment and inflation is a manifestation of this. The all-round security of the people is

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enshrined in the constitutional guarantees of the fundamental right to work, housing and health. The GDR economy is today at a qualitatively new stage heralding a further strengthening of advanced Socialism. The rapid strides in the growth of labour productivity are significant and the people of the GDR are now preparing to meet at the SUPG Congress, a year in advance in order to further enhance the targets of material and social well-being. The overriding aim of Socialism, the all-round development of the human being is today reflected in the high levels of moral and cultural values in the GDR.

For the past four decades the GDR has been steadfast in its support to the national liberation struggles and anti-imperialist movement the world over. This expression of proletarian internationalism is a source of inspiration for the people battling for their liberation.

Standing at the divide between capitalism and Socialism the GDR has taken many an initiative to rid Europe of all nuclear weapons and for world peace. Apart from these proposals, with which no peace-loving human being can disagree, the GDR has also announced unilateral reduction of troops and cuts in defence expenditure. These steps once again reaffirm Socialism's commitment to world peace.

It is precisely in the background of these achievements that imperialism has launched a naked offensive aimed at subverting Socialism in general and the GDR in particular. Having never reconciled to the existence of Socialism on the German soil, the FRG backed by imperialism, appropriated for itself a role as the "custodian for all Germans". Violating all norms of international law and directly interfering in the internal affairs of the GDR, the FRG has planned and executed an exodus of some people from the GDR. That such a move should come on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the GDR is not surprising. And that the imperialist Press should gloat over this event with wide distorted publicity is also not surprising.

While the overall climate in the world is, in relative terms,

more conducive to disarmament and detente, imperialism is brazenly instigating troubles within the Socialist countries in order to attempt a subversion of Socialism. The struggle against such imperialist machinations is not a struggle confined to the Communists of one country or the other. It is a world-wide struggle that has intensified between the forces of Socialism and imperialism. The CPI(M) true to its commitment to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, redeems its pledge to fight shoulder to shoulder with Communists the world over in this struggle. The CPI(M) sends its fraternal solidarity to the German Communists assuring them of all support at this point when they are engaged in this bitter struggle.

The CPI(M) extends once again its cordial greetings to the people of the GDR and the SUPG on this happy occasion and is confident that Socialism will grow from strength to strength on the German soil.

Communal Carnage at Badaun*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated September 29, 1989, giving a call for maintaining Communal Amity

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is deeply disturbed at the developments in Badaun, Uttar Pradesh, over the issue of granting second official language status to Urdu. Police firing has resulted in eight dead, nearly a hundred injured, and the situation continues to remain explosive (Since the statement was issued, the death-toll has increased to more than 30—*Ed.*)

The CPI(M) had continuously warned that the inflammatory communal propaganda unleashed by the BJP, Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Bajrang Dal and other communal organizations is creating a tense situation in U.P. and other parts of North India. The BJP's blatantly communal opposition in the U.P. Assembly to the Urdu Bill is a clear reflection of the communal poison that it is spreading.

The CPI(M) has always supported the position of granting the second official language status to Urdu in those areas where it is largely spoken. This issue was decided way back during the freedom movement and was enshrined in the Indian Constitution. The ruling Congress(I)'s electoral opportunism is revealed most nakedly by its refusal to implement the Constitutional provision during the last four decades of its monopoly rule at the Centre. In fact, the Congress(I) election manifesto for 1984 had deceived the people with the promise that this will be implemented if it was elected to office. Pandering to Hindu communal

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 8, 1989

chauvinism, the Congress(I) betrayed this pledge for the last five years. With a blatant idea of wooing the Urdu-speaking Muslim mass, on the eve of elections, the Congress(I) has moved the Bill yesterday in the U.P Vidhan Sabha. The opportunist policies of the Congress(I) have led the country to this pass.

The CPI(M) appeals to the people of Uttar Pradesh not to fall prey to the communal policies of the BJP and the propaganda of Muslim fundamentalists. It is only when status and dignity is accorded to different languages and cultures that constitute the social fabric of India, can the unity and integrity of our country be maintained.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) appeals to the people of Uttar Pradesh to maintain peace and resist falling prey to communal frenzy. The Polit Bureau condemns the Congress(I) Government of India for having allowed the situation to drift to this dangerous pass. The Polit Bureau calls upon the U.P Government and the district administration to take all emergent measures to maintain law and order and prevent the situation from developing into a communal carnage.

Central Committee Communique*

Issued following its meeting held on October 15-17, 1989

Now that the elections have been announced, the immediate task is how to mobilize the popular forces to defeat the Congress(I) Government at the polls and oust Rajiv Gandhi from power.

The Central Committee calls upon all secular, Left and democratic forces to rally together for this common objective and take steps to stem the diversionary efforts of the disruptive communal forces.

The Central Committee finalised the list of the Party's Lok Sabha candidates for West Bengal and Tripura. It has asked other State Committees to send their recommendations in a week's time.

The Polit Bureau presented a draft of the Election manifesto for the approval of the Central Committee. The Committee members have agreed to submit their amendments within a week's time and have authorised the Polit Bureau to finalise the draft and release the manifesto.

Isolate Communal Forces

Recent developments show that the communal and disruptive forces have opened a new offensive of riots and poisonous propoganda against the minorities to polarise the country on communal lines and prevent the people from giving a democratic verdict in the elections.

The raw communal appeal made at the Bombay meeting

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of the BJP, the demand made for the withdrawal of all guarantees and rights of the minorities provided under the Constitution and presented as positive secularism, the demand for erection of the Ramjanmabhoomi temple accompanied by the demolition of the Babri Masjid and finally the flaunting of the BJP alliance with the Shiv Sena set the tone for the new offensive.

This was followed by a series of riots in a number of cities and towns following the 'Ram Shila Poojan' processions organized by the VHP, RSS and BJP ahead stands the prospect of widespread communal orgies in U P. where the same trinity holds out the threat of organizing a huge mass of people in support of the consecrating ceremony of the Ramjanmabhoomi temple. The CPI(M) for the last few months has been warning the people and the country of the impending danger and the nefarious attempts to divert the election struggle along communal lines. Now the danger can be easily seen.

Several sections of patriotic-minded people have raised their voice of protest and called for resistance to the forces of disruption. Editorials of newspapers, citizens' conferences and saner elements from both communities and leaders of political parties all have to take note of this menace and demarcate and dissociate themselves from the forces organizing communal disruption.

Of special importance in this connection is the resolution of the Political Affairs Committee of the Janata Dal, a major Opposition party, which reasserts its support for the rights of the minorities. It calls upon all to accept the verdict of the court on the Babri Masjid/Ramjanmabhoomi issue and refrain from organizing provocative religious processions and asks its units to intervene among the people during riots to bring about peace.

Important Development

This is an important political development. It opens up the prospect of a concerted effort on the part of the secular

Opposition parties and the Left parties to wage a united battle in the elections for the twin purpose of defeating Rajiv Gandhi and isolating the communal forces to protect and strengthen national unity. It is necessary that all constituents of the National Front endorse the Janata Dal Resolution, and firmly combine the battle for ousting the Congress(I) from power with the struggle to checkmate the divisive and communal forces. The sooner the earlier illusion that the election struggle can be won with the direct or indirect aid of the BJP by conniving at its anti-minority character is given up, the better.

People's Suffering due to Congress(I) Misrule

The Central Committee expresses its deep sympathy for the suffering people who are victims of rising prices. There is no explanation except that the Government is implementing one of the conditionalities of the World Bank regarding domestic policy, reduction of consumption by the masses. The Central Committee warns the people against the growing interference of the World Bank and IMF in our economy, against the U.S. pressure to invade the Indian economy and its demand under Super 301 and the attempts at destabilization of the country by the imperialist agencies. It calls on all political parties who cherish Indian freedom and unity to place this danger before the people in the coming elections and rouse their vigilance.

With the elections only five weeks away the Central Committee reminds the people of the all-pervading distress spread by Rajiv Government's anti-people policies. Mass unemployment in the urban and rural areas, more than two lakh concerns sick or closed, a devalued rupee robbing the people of their hard-earned incomes, monstrous taxation and inflation forcing starvation on wide sections of the people—these have been the gifts of Rajiv Gandhi's five years misrule. They are accompanied by the growing challenge of secessionist and divisive forces, communal riots and the process of national disintegration.

Bofors Scandal indicts Government

The Central Committee took note of the new revelations in regard to the Bofors scandal made by the Associate Editor of *The Hindu*, N. Ram. The Prime Minister has disposed of the same saying that they prove nothing against him or his Government. If nothing else, these disclosures prove the Government's readiness to believe all that Bofors have said, its refusal to probe the matter and its connivance to hush things up. These are enough to undermine confidence in any government and call for its resignation.

Dubious Stand against Communalism

The Central Committee noted that Rajiv in his speeches and campaign presents himself as a defender of national unity and opponent of communalism. A Government that is unable to snuff out the secessionist challenge in Punjab and whose bankruptcy is manifest in the critical situation in Kashmir, has it any claim to talk about the unity of the country? And a party which unscrupulously appeals to Christian communalism in Mizoram to get electoral advantage and joins hands with the communal Muslim League in Kerala against the Left Ministry, has it any claim to talk about fighting communalism?

Defeat of Over-Centralization

Rajiv in his campaign also attacks the Opposition for defeating the Panchayat Raj and Nagarpalika Bills telling the people that this has sabotaged its efforts to transfer power to the people. It is difficult to believe Rajiv Gandhi's concern for democracy and transfer of power to the people when the organization over which he presides has not been allowed to hold elections for 17 years to elect new office-bearers. Rajiv Gandhi should know that more decentralization of power for the panchayats has been achieved in West Bengal and more direct democratic and active functioning of the panchayats is to be seen in that State.

The Left and Opposition parties stand for genuine

decentralization of power. They are opposed to establishing the overlordship of the Central Government over the panchayats in the name of decentralization. This was the essence of the two Bills. And besides it was an attempt to drastically reduce the powers of the State Governments and the State legislatures. To maintain and strengthen Indian unity it is essential to increase the powers of the State and establish a proper relationship between the State and the Centre. But the content of the two Bills moved in the contrary direction.

Electoral Manoeuvres

During the last four or five weeks, the Rajiv Government has announced a number of reform packages for the rural and urban unemployed, for women and farmers. The Jawahar Rozgar Yojana, the Nehru Rozgar Yojana, 30 per cent reservation in panchayats for women, filling in the vacancies in jobs reserved for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes—these have been announced with the obvious intention of alluring voters from the downtrodden sections. They are obviously electoral manoeuvres, and will be seen as such by large sections who are supposed to be benefitted by them.

Concerted Efforts of Left and Secular Forces Required

The reports made by the Central Committee members on the August 30 Bandh spoke of the unprecedented and enthusiastic participation of the masses. The joint call has given a new impetus to the mass movement and mass activity. The CPI(M) and the Left parties which have already been in the field organizing mass actions, had earlier witnessed unprecedented mobilization on urgent issues of the masses. It is evident that concerted and joint activity of the Left and secular forces will transform the election struggle into one united upsurge of the people for ousting the Rajiv Government.

The Central Committee calls on all its State Committees and units to work to realize this possibility and convert the election struggle into an integrally united mass upsurge. The

Central Committee calls upon the Left parties to strengthen Left unity which has a crucial role to play in this upsurge. If the united will of the people is asserted in the elections to achieve the two objectives, the door will be opened for the masses to have a decisive say in the post-election situation.

International Situation*

International Section of the Report adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) in its meeting held on October 15-17, 1989

The international situation in recent months is marked by sharpening of contradictions between imperialism and socialism along with the intensification of other contradictions.

The Central Committee's Resolution on Recent Developments in China observed: "The imperialist intervention through the media and economic pressures against China and its defeat constitute the most important international developments of recent times putting into shade all others. Starting with internal turmoil the situation developed into a virtual confrontation between the two systems." The CPI(M) congratulated the CPC on its success in overcoming the offensive and inflicting the defeat on the imperialists.

But since then the socialist camp and the world forces of socialism have received a big set-back with two socialist countries getting completely overwhelmed by internal reactionary forces and developments, with Communist Parties in these countries losing their grip over the people and getting isolated from them.

In Poland and Hungary, the Communist Party has lost its grip over the working class and the people, opening the way to reactionary and counter-revolutionary developments. In Poland, the Communist Party is forced to enter into a coalition government with Solidarity whose leadership was financed and supported by the USA. The Solidarity Prime

*Published in '*The Marxist*', theoretical journal of CPI(M)

Minister has openly announced his intention to take the country to market economy which means restoration of capitalism. Leaders of the PUWP of Poland are also asking people to be ready for social changes as they need changes in the direction of market economy. These developments in Poland follow from the present condition of Polish economy. The economy is running on a hyper inflation rate of 100 per cent and there are shortages in everything from food to consumer goods. This year Poland will spend more than a tenth of its budget on subsidies to prop up its public sector enterprises. Polish Deputy Prime Minister has been quoted as saying that if subsidies are to be cut, more than a dozen coalmines and a series of other enterprises would have to be shut down. A new plan has been prepared by an Harvard economist. It calls for a quick Polish leap into market economy clamping money supply, eliminating price control and subsidies and relaxing foreign trade regulations. The economist warns of a six-month period of chaos with raging inflation, rising prices and strikes.

A member of the Polit Bureau of the PUWP recently told some 250 delegates that the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) had three options:

- (1) Sticking to its traditional form and watching its supply of goods diminish;
- (2) Erecting a new party frame of PUWP;
- (3) Or transforming the Party radically to turn into a new party able to confront the realities up to date.

In Hungary, the Communist Party has been dissolved and the majority has decided to call itself Hungarian Socialist Party and has asked for U S help, declared for market economy and applied for affiliation to the Socialist International This is a walk over for the capitalist system. It seems a small part of the Party still wants to continue and resist this process of change over. Sometime back, when President Bush visited Hungary Comrade Gorbachev had remarked that the American President's visit can be considered to be natural if he resisted the temptation of turning Hungary away from

the socialist system. But now it seems Bush by promising big economic help, gave a push to the counter-revolutionary forces to move ahead.

Hungary has opened its border with Austria in open violation of the treaty with GDR allowing all the East German refugees to cross over to West Germany.

Prolonged violations of Leninist norms in the functioning of the working class state and inability to restore them, resulting in isolation from the people, coupled with the illusion about the magic plurality of the political system and a pathetic faith in market economy overwhelmed the two parties making a peaceful counter-revolution possible.

The set-back of the socialist system in the two countries is the biggest triumph of imperialism against socialism during the four decades since the victory against Nazi aggression and the emergence of a socialist camp. And yet the international Communist movement seems to be unaware of the gravity of the situation. There has been no common protest and warning, no sense of solidarity with the working class that is being betrayed and defeated. The same tendency that was in evidence in relation to the counter-revolutionary struggle in China is again witnessed treating the offensive of the counter-revolutionary forces as an internal matter of the countries concerned.

A number of Communist Parties in socialist countries did take note of the developments in Poland and Hungary before their final collapse and expressed their concern over them. The C.C. meeting of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (GDR) held in June rejected the idea of bourgeois parliamentary pluralism. It expressed concern about some recent developments in Hungary. The report said: "At present we are witnessing very intense efforts by certain politicians of capitalist countries to exert political, ideological and economic pressures on socialist countries and make them adopt capitalist concepts and structures, bourgeois pluralism and bourgeois ideology. Under the banner of renewal of socialism, forces aspiring to eliminate socialism were at

work. In this context we are filled with concern at developments in Hungary.”

Cuba, Czechoslovakia and Vietnam have expressed similar concern over these developments. But the rest of the international movement preferred to observe silence.

In these two countries unlike in China, there was absence of an organized force to defend socialism and the party. There was virtual ideological demobilization and a tendency to surrender before the forces of capitalist restoration. Perhaps never in history was there such a peaceful counter-revolution. It has taken place without the imperialists firing a shot and without the International Communist Movement attaching any importance to it, treating it as an internal affair. However, there is no doubt that supporters of Marxism-Leninism will organize themselves and struggle to defend socialism.

This lack of cohesion and solidarity in the Communist movement is a serious development. It is the end result of a period extending over many years which saw differences in the socialist camp and in the International Communist Movement. How far the present-day Communist movement stands from the common understanding which it developed before the split in the Communist movement will be realized if we recall the call of the 1960 meeting of the Communist Parties of the world—the last such gathering. Referring to the responsibilities of the ruling Communist Parties the 1960 declaration said: “The common interests of the people and socialist countries demand a proper combination of the principles of socialist internationalism and socialist patriotism in politics. Every Communist Party which has become a ruling party in the state bears a historical responsibility for the destiny of both its country and the entire socialist camp.

“Manifestations of nationalism and national-narrow-mindedness do not disappear automatically with the establishment of socialist system. If fraternal relations and friendship between the socialist countries are to be strengthened it is

necessary that the Communist and Workers' Parties pursue a Marxist-Leninist international policy, that all working people be educated in the spirit of internationalism and patriotism and that a resolute struggle be waged to eliminate the survivals of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism."

And again in relation to the unity of the International Communist Movement the declaration says: "The interests of the struggle for the working class cause demand ever closer unity of the ranks of each Communist Party and of the great army of Communists of all countries; they demand of them unity of will and action. It is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party to work continuously for greater unity in the World Communist Movement."

"A resolute defence of the unity of the World Communist Movement on the principle of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the prevention of any action which may undermine that unity are necessary conditions to victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the successful accomplishment of the task of the socialist revolution and of the building of socialism and communism. Violation of these principles will impair the force of communism."

Inside the Soviet Union also developments causing concern are taking place. For last few months the ethnic crisis continues. The unrest in the Baltic-states has reached the point of some sections demanding secession from the Soviet Union. This reactionary and counter-revolutionary demand was incited and encouraged by the intemperate anti Marxist condemnation of the Soviet-German pact, campaign for denouncing everything that Stalin did. In this campaign it was asserted that the three Baltic-states of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania were incorporated into the Soviet Union against the wishes of the people of the states. The logical conclusion being that they have the right to withdraw from the Soviet Union. Now some sections of people from these states have been demanding secession saying that they were forcibly

incorporated in the Soviet Union. They also demand secession as a right under the Soviet Constitution, because the Soviet Constitution guarantees to all nationalities the right of secession.

Taking note of these events the CPSU leadership has come out with a statement that the incorporation of the Baltic-states into the Soviet Union was done with the willingness of the people and there was no use of force. It was first declared that secession will not be tolerated. The CPSU has taken a correct stand saying that secession will be a disaster for the people of the Baltic-states.

The document on the nationalities policy of the CPSU in present-day conditions, adopted by the CPSU Central Committee on September 20, 1989, gives confidence that the ethnic and nationality problems which have risen now will be properly solved on the basis of correct Marxist-Leninist understanding of the situation and in the changed circumstances of the present day. The document bases itself on the great Leninist legacy of the earlier period when immediately after the October Revolution the nationalities problems were growingly solved and an example was presented to the world of equality and freedom for all nationalities under socialism. As the document observes: "In spite of all contradictions in subsequent developments, the economic, social and spiritual progress of the people was steady. Immense production forces were formed in all regions of the country. The republics produced their own working class and scientific, technological and artistic communities. On the basis of cooperation and mechanization the countryside changed in profile. Educational standards rose steeply among all Soviet people. As a result of the industrial and agricultural development of the North Siberia and the far east and the establishment of new industrial scientific and cultural centres, the map of the country's nationalities has changed. There is no territory today where people of various nationalities do not live and work side by side. The demographic situation is now different and is characterized by rapid growth in urban population.

“The impetus given by the proletarian revolution to the nationalities policy has reverberated throughout our entire history. However, deformations of social development that began soon after Lenin’s death had a baneful effect also on relations between nationalities.

“The command system of administration which needed absolutely centralized and uniform structure began to increasingly ignore the demands of national development. The approach that prevailed was the departmental and indifferently bureaucratic one which could be felt everywhere—from the stifling of productive forces to the problem of language, education and culture.”

The document further observes: “Soviet society which embarked upon the path of radical reforms is now scrutinizing its past. The task is, while preserving all that is valuable, to redress all inequities, to inject fresh energy into economic and political and spiritual life of every people of our country, to give scope for untrammelled national developments.”

The document correctly observes: “It is utterly wrong to allege that the people of the USSR have no right to self-determination and to reduce self-determination merely to secession thereby impoverishing the universal principle of the solution of the nationality problem. The entire Soviet and world experience points to the need to regard self-determination not only as a one time act connected with the exercises of the right to secession. It is a complex and many-faceted process of asserting national dignity strengthening political and economic independence and developing the language and culture.”

It can be stated that all socialist societies which are in a state of constant motion do require new remedies and new reforms to meet the existing situation. But the innovations have to be rooted only within the framework of socialist society. Four features of socialism, the socialized means of production and distribution, leadership of Marxist-Leninist Party, Marxism-Leninism and the state of the working class—

these must be the framework to introduce any innovation or reform. Any relaxation of these will lead to undermining of the socialist system.

These developments are being taken advantage of by the enemies of socialism in all countries and an orchestrated propaganda is being unleashed telling that socialism has failed. It is creating confusion inside the working class and among the people. In our country also opponents of socialism are echoing the imperialist propaganda to denigrate socialism. It is, therefore, necessary for our Party to come out sharply in defence of socialism, the superiority of the socialist system and recount once more all the achievements of the socialist state and socialist societies since the triumph of October Revolution. The foundation of the first socialist state based on socialized means of production, right to work, liberation of nationalities and freedom of women, abolition of exploitation of man by man and the great achievement of socialist planning, all these have to be marshalled again to tell the people about the superiority of the socialist system. The great liberating role played by the Socialist Soviet Union in the fight against the Nazis when the entire imperialist world had crumbled before the attack has again to be reiterated telling the people how only the socialist country could fight the great battle in the interest of liberation of nations and people. Again the record of the two systems, the imperialist system ever preparing for war unleashing two huge wars in the last 60-70 years with millions of casualties, today again stock-piling nuclear weapons to fulfil its global ambitions, in contrast the policy pursued by the first socialist state and later on by all socialist countries, the foreign policy of peace, the policy of saving the world from nuclear holocaust—this contrast itself shows the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system.

And finally during these seventy years what does the imperialist capitalist system offer to the common people except the economic crisis, unemployment and exploitation of backward countries?

The point is to be stressed that, no doubt, in the course of development of socialist society certain difficulties have cropped up, certain mistakes have been made which can be repaired by remaining faithful to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Difficulties that have surfaced are the result of the violation of the Marxist-Leninist norms and the functioning of the socialist state and not because there is something erroneous in the Marxist-Leninist conception and theory.

Devolve Powers to Panchayats Immediately*

**Statement dated October 14, 1989, issued by the
Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) to Press**

The Polit Bureau congratulates the entire Opposition in the Rajya Sabha for unitedly defeating the Panchayati Raj and Nagarpalika Constitution Amendment Bills. The victory of the Opposition is a vindication of those who argued that these two amendments are a gross infringement of the rights of the States under the Constitution. The defeat of these two Bills marks a serious blow for the devious attempt to foist more centralization in the name of decentralization. The CPI(M) parliamentary group in the Rajya Sabha, by actively implementing the Party line of firmly opposing the Bills, contributed to the united effort to defeat these authoritarian measures.

Decentralization of powers from the Centre to the States and strengthening of panchayats and local bodies are an urgent necessity. This is possible only when the States acquire their rightful powers and steps are taken by the State Governments to strengthen the Panchayati Raj and urban bodies. Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress(I), if they are serious about "power to the people", should immediately direct the Congress(I)-ruled States to hold regular elections and take measures to devolve powers to the panchayats and local bodies. They should follow the example of the Left Front Government of West Bengal which has sincerely and comprehensively implemented measures to democratize and strengthen Panchayati Raj institutions.

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Newspaper's Exposure on Bofors Scandal*

**Statement dated October 12, 1989 issued by the
Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its indignation at the Government of India's efforts to suppress the publication of the second instalment of the Bofors exposure in *The Hindu* which was scheduled to appear on October 11. There can be no other interpretation to the sudden refusal after publishing the first instalment, by *The Hindu* editor to publish the highly revealing reports filed by N. Ram and Chitra Subramaniam.

The Polit Bureau appreciates the principled stand of N Ram Associate Editor of *The Hindu*, who has upheld journalistic integrity, high professional standards and adherence to democratic values by refusing to bow to pressures. His decision to go public and inform the people of India of the corrupt Bofors deal and the shocking Government connivance and cover-up, will be a signal service for democratic values and freedom of the Press.

The Polit Bureau is confident that the truth will come out. Rajiv Gandhi and his Government cannot shamelessly cling to power. They will have to go.

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Polit Bureau Condemns VHP Decision on Ayodhya*

Statement dated October 20, 1989 issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly condemns the decision of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad to go ahead with the so-called foundation stone laying ceremony on November 9 at Ayodhya. By this decision the Ramjanmabhoomi Mukti Samiti and the VHP are playing with fire and have declared their intention to continue their blatant campaign against the minorities. Riots have erupted in several cities with a heavy toll of lives and property, as a result of the Ram Shila Poojan processions with their inflammatory anti-minority slogans.

The Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the RSS have refused to heed the call of the Janata Dal leadership and other organizations which appealed to them to call off the Ayodhya ceremony in the light of the serious communal tension created by this campaign. The VHP has arrogantly rejected these appeals. The BJP President, L.K. Advani, has also gone on record that he sees no reason for the VHP to call off the Ram Shila Poojans. This aggressive and unreasonable stand of these communal forces will permanently damage the unity of the country, vitiate communal amity and the peaceful electoral process. It is a reactionary move which seeks to divert the people's attention from the big struggle against the Rajiv Government in the forthcoming Lok Sabha elections.

The Polit Bureau appeals to the Janata Dal leadership

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to realize the gravity of the situation and the disruptive stand taken by the VHP-RSS-BJP combine. They should take a forthright stand so that these forces are isolated and not given any electoral responsibility. Failure to do so will strengthen the Congress(I) and Rajiv Gandhi's hands. The National Front and Janata Dal leadership should rise to the occasion to join with all secular, Left and democratic forces in mobilizing all sections of the people against the Congress(I) while isolating all disruptive and diversionary efforts.

CPI(M) Election Manifesto— 1989 Lok Sabha Elections*

In November this year the people of India will elect a new Lok Sabha and decide who should rule the country and how, for the next five years. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) calls upon the people to express their sovereign will, taking into consideration the events of the last five years.

The five years of Congress(I) rule are full of betrayal of hopes, of the interests of the nation, years of growing national disintegration and growing incapacity to check it, and above all years of immense immiserisation of our people, who were expecting some relief from the unbearable conditions.

These have been years of growing emergence of authoritarian rule, rising roughshod over the democratic rights of the common man, of growing dependence of India's economy on Western imperialist aid with attendant dangers. And, finally, they have been years of widespread corruption in the administration touching the highest echelons of the Government including the Prime Minister, corruption in connection with vital defence deals.

How do matters stand today under Rajiv Gandhi's five years' rule in relation to the all-important question of national unity?

Congress(I) Rule: Danger to National Unity

Every year of the Congress(I)'s misrule under the Rajiv Government has accelerated the challenge of the secessionist

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and disruptive forces raising the threat of destabilization and disintegration

For years now the secessionist threat in Punjab remains uncontrolled with innocent people paying with their lives. Every day a new blow is struck against national unity by the foreign financed Khalistanis, and the Government, in its bankruptcy and its opportunism, sees no other way than that of placing Punjab under Emergency rule, denying the people of Punjab an elected government to fight the menace.

The secessionist threat has now extended to Kashmir. There the separatist elements raise the Pakistani flag at their will, organize violence and bomb attacks, and lose no occasion to dishonour the days of national importance, and the Government looks on.

The situation in the North-Eastern region again is full of dangers with the Central Government's RAW organization being used for inciting the Bodo agitation. In Tripura the Congress(I) party and the Rajiv Government have played a treacherous role by rigging the elections and removing the CPI(M) ministry which held together the tribals and non-tribals in solid unity to defend the integrity of the country.

In the Hindi heartland, the Babri Masjid/Ramjanmabhoomi dispute threatens to unleash communal riots with the Rajiv Gandhi Government and the Congress(I) party playing the role of a cheering spectator and with the BJP-RSS-VHP spreading the most vicious anti-Muslim poison.

If the situation is allowed to deteriorate further, it will inflict permanent damage on Indian unity, weakening the country for years. The Rajiv Gandhi Government has proved to be a government of national disintegration and disunity.

Congress(I) Opportunism

The Khalistanis would have been put in their place and Punjab would have been returned to normalcy if the Rajiv Government had not gone back on the Rajiv-Longowal Accord, betrayed the promise to release the Jodhpur detenus, and

punished the organizers of anti-Sikh orgy of murders in Delhi after the assassination of Indira Gandhi

The ruling party and its Government further betrayed national interests to win the Haryana elections, sacked the Barnala Government and imposed President's Rule on Punjab and saddled the State with a permanent state of Emergency rule. This has alienated the great mass of the Punjabi people, the patriotic peasantry with the fighting traditions against every kind of injustice. It was this force that was to be roused to wage an effective fight against the secessionists. But the Rajiv Government is afraid of this very force.

The Congress(I) party which even now has a substantial following in the State is guilty of cowardly behaviour. A leadership corroded by selfishness and self-aggrandisement, is unwilling to take any risk and mobilize its following in the fight against the secessionists. It plays the same role in Uttar Pradesh where again, it can pit its following against the communal forces. But relying to cash on the Hindu sentiments on the Ramjanmabhoomi issue in the elections, it betrays the people and allows the communal challenge to spread. In Kerala, the Congress(I) joins hands with the Muslim League to fight the Left and Democratic Front. The Congress(I) is totally unworthy of the trust of the people.

Active Fight of the CPI(M)

The CPI(M) does not believe in only criticizing the Rajiv Government and the Congress(I) party. It carries on an active fight among the people for national unity against secessionist, communal and other divisive forces. It considers that the communal and secessionist challenges cannot be reduced to a law and order question alone. They constitute political and ideological attacks on national unity and have to be fought as such with the initiative of the masses.

The CPI(M) is, therefore, in the forefront of the fight against the communal forces. In Punjab, along with the CPI, when all bourgeois parties have collapsed, its cadres and members of mass organizations are waging a heroic fight

for unity, organizing the people and facing the bullets of the terrorists. Long is the list of the martyrs. But the struggle inspires their family members also to take their place and carry on the fight.

In Uttar Pradesh, the CPI(M) and the CPI are already intervening to organize mass opinion and resist the fanaticism of the VHP-RSS-BJP combine which fanned riots by organizing 'Shilapoojan' processions.

In West Bengal where for years the CPI(M) and the Left have maintained and stabilized communal amity, the Left Front Ministry is able to take a firm stand against provocative 'Shilapoojan' processions and warn the communal forces from both sides. In Kerala, the CPI(M)-led Left and Democratic Front Ministry, supported by the mass organizations, is waging a relentless fight against the RSS, Muslim League and other disruptive forces. The CPI(M) considers that the continuous united action of the masses is the only guarantee of winning the battle for unity. The CPI(M) calls upon all secular Opposition parties, all patriotic forces to give up the role of spectators and critics, and unleash the initiative of the patriotic masses to fight the communal and other disruptors.

The Dual Character

The CPI(M) calls upon the electorate to remember the dual character of the election struggle. It must defeat the Rajiv Gandhi Government and the Congress(I). It must isolate the communal forces from the people, eliminate the influence of communal appeal and defeat the game of disruption. The election must result not only in ousting the Congress(I) from power but in the emergence of an India united and capable of defeating all disruptive challenges.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) calls upon all secular Opposition parties to keep in view this double obligation to our people and direct the election struggle so that a new government, firmly based on national unity and capable of dealing with communal challenges, emerges from the struggle.

Concern for Minority

The CPI(M) expresses deep sympathy with the minority Muslim masses who are the worst victims of communal fanaticism and governmental oppression during the riots. The CPI(M) will never forget the massacre of the Malliana Muslims for which the Congress(I) Government has neither made any amends nor punished the guilty. The CPI(M) has always stood for the protection of minority rights, full freedom of conscience, and equality of opportunity. It considers protection of minority rights as the acid test of democracy. The CPI(M) stands for equality of all languages and rightful place for Urdu.

The CPI(M) at the same time calls upon the minority masses to realize that the fight for the minority rights and equality to be successful, has to be carried on in cooperation with the democratic and class forces who are fighting the injustices and inequities of the bourgeois-landlord rule. The bourgeois-landlord rulers are incapable of protecting the democratic rights of the minority. It is only the common fight of all sections of the masses that will deliver the minority from the injustices of the present regime.

The minority communal leaders and the fundamentalists never think in terms of the common struggle of the Hindu and Muslim masses against the Congress(I) regime. They encourage and maintain the communal divisions among the masses which keep the toilers divided and help the Congress(I) regime.

On the Babri Masjid/Ramjanmabhoomi dispute the CPI(M) is of the firm opinion that it should be settled through a court verdict. This is the only way such explosive disputes in society can be settled. Pending the court verdict there should be no agitation and procession which are likely to break communal peace.

Whither Self-reliance

The Indian people will come into their own only if their economy is self-reliant and they are able to control it and

direct it During the years of the Congress(I) rule, and especially under the new economic policy of the Rajiv Government, Indian economy, its direction and policy, is more and more being influenced by the directives and conditionalities of the World Bank and the IMF from whom India is borrowing heavily

More and more, internal policies—exchange rate of rupee, food subsidies, prices, policies regarding sick and closed industries, and public sector—are being influenced by the World Bank with the Indian people threatened with the danger of losing their control over the economy

Besides conditionalities like imports liberalizations, greater openings to foreign capital are having prejudicial effects on Indian industry Many industrial concerns are closing because of foreign competition and aggravating the unemployment problem

India's helpless dependence on foreign borrowings is now emboldening the US imperialists to insist that India accept its demands for intellectual property rights, open the Indian market for goods, capital and services, and allow the US free run for penetrating every aspect of the Indian economy

The burden of foreign debt has grown Every year India has to pay a huge amount in debt payments Every year repayment and interest charges on loans absorb a greater part of the new borrowings

High Prices & Massive Unemployment

While the prices of the common necessities of life continue to rise, the Indian peasant does not get a remunerative price for his produce In the years of bumper harvest, food prices for the common man do not decline but continue to increase. The continuous rise in the prices of the necessities of life has led to tremendous deprivation of the people, throwing millions to abject poverty and enforced starvation

Never before in India were so many millions undergoing starvation after days of hard labour The recent price rises coming on top of earlier price increases, have broken the

back of the people, with almost every article like sugar, foodgrains, edible oil, tea going beyond the reach of the people. The public distribution system has collapsed and the people are at the mercy of black-marketeers and the ruling party profiteers.

Workers in Distress

Hunger, starvation, unemployment, closed factories and mills have been the blessings of the Congress(I) rule. Three crores of unemployed in cities, ten crores in the rural areas, two lakh concerns closed or sick with no provision of unemployment relief except in a few States, no right to work—this is the gift of the bourgeois-landlord Government, the Congress(I) Government of Rajiv Gandhi.

Lakhs of industrial workers are on the streets. Under the textile policy of the Government, textile mills, handloom and jute workers are getting ruined. The handloom and powerloom workers had never witnessed such distressing days. The ruination of traditional industries like coir continues, and tens of thousands are out of job.

Bleak Prospects for Youth

The voting age has been lowered to 18 years and lakhs of young people will be exercising their vote for the first time. What are the prospects for a young person under the present dispensation? The youth coming from workers' and peasants' families find that there is hardly any opportunity for them for doing productive work and contributing to the progress of society. Increasing rural unemployment is driving lakhs of young people from the villages to the cities where at best they get temporary employment in unorganized industries and are paid miserable wages. A large number of them are forced to seek employment in questionable trades and have often to be at the service of smugglers and other anti-socials.

For the educated youth of the country also the prospects are extremely bleak. More than four million men and women graduates and undergraduates, including engineers, doctors

and others, are seeking fruitful employment India under the Congress(I) does not require their services, their skills, their urge to do useful work for our people Thousands of them are leaving the country and forced to place their skills and education at the service of other countries and peoples, and the modernization and computerization drive launched under the Rajiv Government is everyday narrowing employment opportunities for them

The right to work and unemployment benefit alone can relieve the distressing situation facing the country.

The Rajiv Government accepts no responsibility to check this growing chaos. The Government refuses to take over and run sick industries The World Bank demands that the Government money should not be spent on reviving sick concerns The Rajiv Government, therefore, is denotifying the taken-over mills and adding to the chaos Further, the Rajiv Government's policy of modernization and computerization of industry, adopted in the name of increasing the competitive capacity of Indian industries, is again throwing out thousands of workers and employees out of job.

There can be no relief from this anarchy unless the Rajiv Government is thrown out and the policies are reversed.

Raw Deal for the Peasants

The talk of land reforms and distribution of land to the landless has disappeared from the Congress(I) vocabulary despite extreme concentration of land and unheard-of exploitation of the agricultural labour and poor peasants at the hands of the landlords The Rajiv Government has refused to implement the recommendations of the Rural Labour Committee for a Central legislation for agricultural labour. Landlords are allowed to organize armed bands to terrorize the Scheduled Castes and agricultural workers who dare to oppose their exploitation or demand wage increase. The women are molested and raped as in Bihar. Their homes are burnt and men murdered in collusion with the police

Surrender to Multinationals

The public sector built with the aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which offered a basis for building an independent economy, is being liquidated and the economy is being handed over to Indian private capital. Foreign multinationals are being given more freedom to penetrate our economy. This is a dangerous trend. The surrender of the Government to the multinational Union Carbide, on the question of compensation to the Bhopal gas victims, shows the inability of the Government to control the growing influence of the multinationals.

Monstrous Burdens on the People

Life has been made a burden and a curse by continuous robbery of the hard-earned income of the common man through devaluation of the rupee. The rupee's present purchasing capacity is now only 12 paise. Deficit budgets again cut the purchasing power through high prices and, finally, the monstrous burden of increased taxation amounting to thousands of crores of rupees, again defraud the people. Over and above this, the rural masses get fleeced through extortionate payments on its huge accumulated debt. What chance has a hard-working honest man before this entire arsenal of robbery by the bourgeois-landlord Government?

Intimidation by Anti-Socials

The ordinary Indian possesses no right excepting the right to vote. Deeply affected by corruption, jobbery and nepotism, Congress(I) rule has become a curse for the common people in India. Under the Congress(I) rule the common man has no protection against the police, against the criminals and men of influence working in league with the police.

The stories of rape by policemen and murders in police custody continue to multiply. Barring transfer or temporary suspension hardly anything is done to bring the guilty offenders to book.

Even in the country's capital there is a common complaint

that officers in-charge of police stations often refuse to register complaints against criminals and persons with social pull with the ruling party and leave the ordinary citizens totally defenceless against intimidation and encroachment on their rights.

The *bastis*, the slums of the big cities, the localities in the periphery of big towns are ruled by anti-socials in league with the police. This parallel government functions openly and people live in terror of anti-socials. In Congress(I) ruled States, honest and bold journalists and correspondents who expose the misdeeds of the police and anti-socials run the risk of threat to their lives. Every effort is being made to subordinate the judiciary to meet the needs of the ruling party and the judiciary appears to be increasingly yielding under this pressure.

Authoritarian Onslaughts

All democratic rights of the people are under constant attack. The 59th Amendment Act which hangs the sword of Emergency over the country, the use of ESMA, NSA and Preventive Detention Act are frequently used against workers' strikes and other mass movements. The falsification of Tripura elections and the establishment of a terror regime there underlines the growing trend towards authoritarianism under the Congress(I) rule. A vote for the Congress(I) is an invitation to engulf the country under a cruel authoritarian rule.

Attacks on Scheduled Castes and Tribes

The Congress(I) talks about protecting the weaker sections but its record of the last five years has been one of cruel attacks and total absence of protection against the atrocities of the landlords. In rural areas the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are subjected to murderous attacks by the police and landlord goondas. Gang-rape of women by these agencies is a frequent phenomenon and the Congress(I) Government looks on, nobody is punished.

Government For stopping the process of disintegration it is necessary that more powers are transferred to the States and all arbitrary Central intervention through Governors is ended. A strong Centre which is necessary for India is possible only if it is backed by strong States armed with sufficient powers to carry out their tasks without fear of intervention from the Centre.

Corruption Scandals

In addition to the crimes and evils of the capitalist path, the Rajiv Government has made its own contribution. No previous government of the Congress(I) was surrounded by so many corruption scandals shaking the faith of the common man in the administration and the entire system.

The Bofors gun scandal, H D W. submarine and other scandals have cost the country hundreds of crores of rupees. The submarine deal, besides, involves the defence security of the nation. The Bofors scandal is the biggest and most important and with the new facts coming out every day Rajiv and his Cabinet colleagues stand tarred and condemned.

Any person with the faintest attachment to parliamentary norms would have resigned. These norms demand resignation when there is reasonable suspicion in the minds of the people. Backed by an unprecedented and sychophantic majority, Rajiv Gandhi has refused to step down, even refused to face the Parliament. The members of the parliamentary majority in defending Rajiv Gandhi have acted as feudal retainers of the Prime Minister and betrayed the national interest for the sake of personal interest. The entire lot along with Rajiv Gandhi must be given quit orders in the elections, declaring them to be unworthy of the trust of the nation.

Strengthen Policy of Non-alignment

While calling for the immediate ouster of Rajiv Gandhi and Congress(I), the CPI(M) calls upon the people to realize that there are constant conspiracies against our country to erode its independence, to destabilize and subjugate our

country The U S imperialists with their ambition of global domination seek to bring us in the orbit of their influence utilizing our foreign borrowings, continuing internal strifes, and financing anti-national elements

It is known that behind the attacks of the Khalistani terrorists in Punjab stands the training and financing of U S imperialists done through the military intelligence clique of Pakistan The Rajiv Government though sometimes talks about destabilizing efforts from abroad, it refuses to pin down the USA as the main abettor of the Khalistani disruptors because of its dependence on World Bank loans.

Those countries and Governments which have succumbed to USA's pressures, given up their independent foreign policy have virtually become subservient to the U.S dictates The people in these countries have lost all democratic rights with military dictatorship ruling over them. Pakistan, for instance, has been under military dictatorship for a major part of the period since independence and even now the military clique supported by the U.S is powerful.

India has been saved this fate because of our country's foreign policy of non-alignment based on opposition to imperialism, opposition to war and support for peace, support for all liberation struggles and friendship with socialist countries. But for this our country would have shared the same fate as Pakistan or other countries which have aligned themselves with the USA. We have been able to hold on our own because of precious economic and defence help from the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries. The Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation has been the biggest support for independence in foreign affairs

The entire people of India must support and strengthen our policy of non-alignment The CPI(M) vigorously supports the four decades old policy of non-alignment and calls for its strengthening Vigorous support from the people will remove the fear of vacillations and compromise by any government The people must make the foreign policy their special concern, support and strengthen it

This is all the more necessary because the reactionary communal forces in India like the BJP and RSS denigrate this policy and in the name of genuine non-alignment demanded a tilt towards U S imperialists. This is nothing but undermining non-alignment and India's foreign policy. The country must be warned against it. While fighting to defeat the Congress(I) the people must defeat all attempts to destabilize our foreign policy.

The CPI(M) calls upon all patriotic forces, all Left and secular Opposition parties to firmly support and strengthen the policy of non-alignment.

Congress(I) Manoeuvres Exposed

The CPI(M) calls upon all patriotic, democratic and progressive forces to unite in the election struggle and give battle to the Congress(I). The Congress(I) though growingly isolated from the people, has still a big base. It is desperately trying to improve its position by offering new package of reforms.

In their electoral appeal the Congress(I) party and Rajiv Gandhi are laying great stress on the Panchayat and Nagarpalika Bills and the two Rozgar Yojanas. They present the two Bills as symbolizing their desire to transfer power to the people, as a genuine attempt for decentralization of power and attack the opposition parties for defeating the Bills.

The CPI(M) and the Left parties stand for genuine decentralization and transfer of power to the local bodies. In West Bengal, under the Left Front Ministry headed by the CPI(M), there is more decentralization of power accompanied by more democratic and active functioning of the panchayats. This has been rendered possible because apart from the powers given to the panchayats, the mass of peasants and agricultural workers are in a position to defeat the hold of the vested interests over the panchayats.

But the Panchayati Raj and Nagarpalika Bills of the Congress(I) are not genuine measures to transfer more powers to these bodies. They are an attempt to establish the

overlordship of the Central Government over these institutions making them helplessly dependent on the Central Government. They are simultaneously an attempt to erode the powers of the State Governments, breaking the links between them and the panchayats. The main purpose of the amendment was to appropriate for the Centre the powers of the States.

Besides, it is clear that by mere supply of funds, the panchayats can neither be run democratically nor effectively. There is no chance for real power to be exercised by ordinary members of the panchayat unless the grip of the vested interests over them, the domination of the upper strata is eliminated. But for this there is no possibility in the Congress(I) ruled States.

The CPI(M) stands for reservation for women and Scheduled Castes and Tribes and for spending larger amounts of the panchayat funds for the benefit of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It also is of the opinion that many measures for relief of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which have been announced in the past have not been implemented just because of the grip of vested interests over the panchayats. Unless there are guarantees about the implementation of all such legislation they become nothing but a pious wish. Besides, the attack on the powers of the States and the overlordship of the Centre means increased centralization of power and not decentralization. It is clear that under the guise of Panchayati Raj, the Congress(I) seeks to concentrate more power at the Centre and undermine the federal structure.

The Congress(I) is also advertising the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana and Nehru Rozgar Yojana. The unemployment problem both in rural and urban areas has become extremely acute and every genuine measure of relief is to be welcomed. But the Congress(I) and the Rajiv Government are making fantastic claims about the two Yojanas to mislead the electorate. The Jawahar Rozgar Yojana is advertised as providing at least 100 days work for at least one member per family. In reality,

it can at best provide a few days work for a few people and nothing else. This also will be possible only if a greater part of the allotted money is not misappropriated. According to Rajiv Gandhi himself out of every rupee sanctioned for the welfare of the people only 15 paise reach them. And there is no reason to believe that things have materially changed because of the new Yojanas. Besides, in every election year, the promise of one job for a family is made and never fulfilled. The Jawahar Rozgar Yojana is nothing but a combination of several earlier schemes and the claims made on behalf of the Nehru Rozgar Yojana are also exaggerated.

The two Yojanas and other packages form the main plank of the Congress(I) election propaganda. The Congress(I) propaganda is really a callous attempt to exploit the urgent needs and the hopes of the suffering millions for electoral purposes.

Vote for Left and Secular Forces

To combat Congress(I) claims, it is necessary to unite all the Left and democratic and secular forces and all sections of the fighting masses.

The CPI(M) considers that united stand and common understanding between the Left parties and the secular opposition parties represented by the National Front and Janata Dal and isolating all communal parties like the BJP will ensure the defeat and the rout of the Congress(I) and at the same time protect national unity.

This combination is the biggest and most powerful combination today. It embraces the States of West Bengal and Kerala where Left-led ministries headed by the CPI(M) lead the people. It embraces several States headed by non-Congress(I) Governments where the secular opposition parties lead the people and wide sections in other States. Its strength was seen in the August 30th Bandh when the entire country responded to the demand for Rajiv Gandhi's resignation. Consolidating and strengthening this understanding, leading the people to victory against Congress(I) and defeating the forces of national disintegration is the common

task of all. The CPI(M) calls upon all sections of the people, irrespective of religion and caste affiliations, to vote for the candidates of this combination and inflict a decisive defeat on the Congress(I).

The CPI(M) places before the entire people the work of the two Left-led Governments headed by it as earnest of its resolve to defend the common man and the unity of the country. Despite the limitations of the existing Constitution and the limited powers of the State Governments, the two Governments have done everything possible to defend the common man and his rights.

They have refused to use any extraordinary legislation like Preventive Detention Act against those who oppose the Government. They have refused to use the police against the legitimate struggles of the working class and the agrarian masses and other toiling sections, and have thrown the weight of their Governments on the side of the fighting people. In spite of several limitations of resources, they have introduced unemployment relief, pension for agricultural workers and several other measures giving relief to the common man. More land has been distributed in West Bengal among peasants than anywhere else. The atrocities on weaker sections in the two States have been virtually eliminated, the weaker sections being fully assured of protection by the State. In both West Bengal and Kerala panchayats are fully active, functioning democratically and creating a new urge among peasant masses to collectively move forward. Above all the two Governments backed by the masses have decisively intervened to protect national unity and defeat the forces of communalism and disunity. Their actions during the outbreak of communal conflict have completely assured the minority of safety and security and increased their confidence in the democratic institutions.

Strengthen CPI(M) and Left

The CPI(M) calls upon the electorate to vote enthusiastically for the candidates of the CPI(M) and Left parties who

have shown themselves as consistent defenders of the interests of the masses against Congress(I) policies and defenders of national unity against Congress(I) opportunism. The success of Left candidates and the increased strength of the CPI(M) and the Left in the new Lok Sabha constitute an essential element to strengthen the forces of national unity and shift the balance of forces in favour of the common people.

The CPI(M) calls upon all Left parties to strengthen Left unity which has played an important role in shaping the trend of opposition politics. The initiative which the united Left has taken on several issues of national importance, its persistent fight against compromise with the divisive forces, its readiness to cooperate with all others on democratic issues and fight against corruption and above all its independent activities among the fighting people have all served to direct the discontent against the Congress(I) into a healthy democratic channel. It is absolutely essential for future progress that this unity is further strengthened in the course of the election struggle and the importance of the initiative and contribution of the Left parties is clearly seen by the masses.

Programme of Demands

Taking into consideration the critical situation facing the country, the CPI(M) puts before the people the following programme of demands to be achieved so that the electoral struggle ends in the strengthening of the democratic forces, national unity and justice to the suffering masses.

1. Defeat of the Congress(I) party and ouster of the Rajiv Government and in its place the election of a government of people's choice, based on the support of secular Opposition parties and the Left parties.

2. Fight against the authoritarian drive of the Congress(I) Government, defence of democratic rights and their expansion, withdrawal of all repressive legislations like NSA, ESMA.

3. Restructuring of Centre-State relations with more powers to the States. Support to the democratic and progressive

policies of the Left-led Governments and support to the progressive measures of non-Congress(I) Governments

4 Reversal of the Rajiv Government's economic policy, fight for the independence of the economy, resistance to the US pressures and demands, fight against massacre of jobs in the name of promoting advanced technology.

5. Immediate nationalization of jute and cotton textile industries, immediate relief to powerloom and handloom workers, take over and nationalization of sick and closed concerns and introduction of workers' participation with equal status in management in all concerns to run the country's industries efficiently Protective legislation for unorganized workers

6 Urgent steps to check the growth of monopolies; check the growing penetration of multinationals.

7. Measures against high prices, high taxation on the common people, for State trading in foodgrains and for effective functioning of the public distribution system.

8 Implementation of land reforms and distribution of land, correction of land records; enactment of comprehensive Central legislation to protect the rights of agricultural workers in relation to wages, living conditions and social benefits, cancellation of debts of the impoverished rural masses, remunerative prices for the peasants' produce; adequate irrigation facilities and implementation of the irrigation projects awaiting the assent of the Central Government.

9 Urgent measures to promote employment in the urban and rural areas, provision for statutory legislation to provide unemployment benefit to the unemployed, right to work to be embodied in the Constitution as a fundamental right; one rank, one pension for ex-servicemen, upgrading pensions of all categories in consonance with the cost of living.

10. Defence of national unity against secessionists, communal and divisive forces by mobilizing the people against attempts at destabilization by external agencies; appeal to all to stop agitation on the Babri Masjid-Ramjanmabhoomi issue and accept the verdict of the court; actively fight those who rouse communal passions on this issue.

11 Defence of all minority rights and implementation of provisions in the Constitution Demand full protection to the minority during riots

12. Fight against atrocities and crimes against women End of feudal disabilities, the implementation of legal and Constitutional rights guaranteed under the Constitution, end of discrimination in pay, recruitment and promotion, expanded employment opportunities and proper working conditions for all sections of working women, provision of social security for women agricultural workers and women in unorganized industry, equal right of women to property and other rights, reservation for women in panchayats and local bodies

13. Fight against atrocities on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, disbandment of armed Senas of the landlords and guarantee for adequate protection. Protection of tribal lands, cultures and languages, Autonomy for compact, continuous and tribal majority areas in States where necessary

14. Universal primary education and eradication of illiteracy; for free education upto secondary level, fight against the elitist and anti-people essence of the new education policy of Rajiv Gandhi.

15. Housing to be accorded the status of a basic right for all citizens. Housing schemes for the urban and rural poor must be an urgent priority. Drinking water to all villages has to be ensured.

16. Defence of non-alignment, world peace, support to the people of neighbouring countries for democratic rights, friendship with socialist and non-aligned countries.

CPI(M) on Lok Sabha Elections—1989*

**Statement dated October 17, 1989, issued by
E.M.S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary of CPI(M)**

Shri Rajiv Gandhi has decided to hold the elections all of a sudden in the hope of taking the Opposition by surprise. Such a manoeuvre will not fool any one

We welcome these elections as the people of India are going to give him a befitting reply in the forthcoming polls by decisively rejecting the Congress(I).

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 29, 1989

Exchange of Letters between CPI(M) and PUWP*

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) had sent the following letter of greetings to the Polish United Workers' Party on September 19, 1989. The Party's reply to the CPI(M) dated October 12, 1989 is given below :

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) conveys its fraternal greetings to the Polish Communists who, at the moment, are passing through a difficult stage

The CPI(M) expresses its concern at the recent developments that are taking place in Poland. The PUWP has been facing many difficulties and has been taking measures to overcome these. The results of the recent elections have surprised us. Information reaching us, revealing the role of US imperialism and the CIA in funding the election campaign of those opposing the PUWP, create concern amongst us. We are aware that the Polish Communists, having identified the mistakes of the past, are taking corrective measures. These corrections can be successfully carried out only on the basis of firm adherence to Socialism and protecting the class character of the State, within the framework of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and under the leadership of the Communist Party. Our concern at the developments within Poland emanate from the understanding which brings together all Communists and internationalists in defence of Socialism and for the advance of the struggle for peace, democracy and Socialism. Any movement

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away from Socialism in the world is a matter of deep concern to all Communists

In the current international situation, the strength and unity of the Warsaw Pact alliance is a major factor advancing the people's struggle for peace, democracy and Socialism not only in Europe but worldwide. We are sure that the Polish Communists will spare no efforts to ensure that the unity of the Warsaw alliance is not undermined, particularly when NATO continues with its manoeuvres.

Respecting the fraternal relations between our Parties we wish to convey to you, and through you to all Polish Communists, our fraternal Communist solidarity at this crucial period in the history of Poland. We are confident that the Polish Communists will leave no stone unturned for the defence of Socialism in Poland and for further advance of Socialist development.

PUWP Reply to CPI(M)

We have thoroughly studied your letter of September 19 in which you express your anxiety over the fate of the Polish United Workers' Party. Socialism in Poland and the possible implications of the development of events in Poland for the interests of the Socialist community of nations, the cause of peace and Socialism in the world.

Understanding your sincere intentions and concern for the position of Socialism in Poland we would like to present to you the stance of our Party on this issue.

As you know, the hitherto arrangement of political forces in Poland has undergone a basic change in the wake of the June elections to the National Assembly. The forces which were till then in opposition to the PUWP acquired a meaningful position in the National Assembly and the possibility of exerting considerable influence on the course of life in the country. The stance of the PUWP concerning the current political situation in Poland and the appointment of the new Government has been contained in the Resolution of the 14th PUWP C.C. Plenum which among other things, includes

the following statement "Only a government which enjoys the widest possible confidence and social support with the participation of representatives of all the political forces represented in the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, will be able to lead Poland out of the crisis by way of evolutionary transformations and consistent reforms"

Determining its current political line, our Party is guided by the supreme interests of the State and the nation taking the existing realities as a foundation

We are convinced that in concrete Polish conditions this is the only correct line which has no alternative

We would like to assure you that we are not losing from sight the general interests of Socialism as a social formation

The disadvantages for our Party, change in the arrangement of forces in the wake of the June elections in Poland produced the necessity of our accepting a coalition Government in which we are taking part but in which we do not play a leading role This Government created by all the forces represented in Parliament does not, however, mean that the PUWP has resigned from its influence on shaping the policy of the State corresponding to the interests of Socialism and our nation This goal is served by the position of the PUWP representatives heading the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Internal Affairs as well as the political platform agreed upon between the coalition partners in the new Government.

The office of the President with his broad Constitutional prerogatives is a guarantee of the continuity of the Polish political system and the evolutionary character of Socialist transformations.

We would like to assure you that the Polish Communists—members of the PUWP—we as the case has been so far, spare no effort to consolidate allied links between member—States of the Warsaw Treaty We have given an unambiguous expression to this in the stance of the 14th PUWP C C plenum stating that . "Poland must remain an economically

and militarily trustworthy link of the CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty. Our participation in the Warsaw Treaty has for several decades been a guarantee of national security.”

In its public declarations the new coalition Government stands on the groundwork of Poland’s membership in the Warsaw Treaty and keeping its obligations guided by political realism and the Polish *raison d’etre*.

We would like to inform you that the 15th PUWP C.C.plenum which ended on October 3, adopted the stand of the Party on its main tasks in the period preceeding the 11th PUWP Congress to be held on January 27, 1990. The stand of the PUWP C.C. was based on the results of the opinion poll carried out among all Party members. An overwhelming majority of them spoke in favour of thorough changes within the PUWP in the direction of a new party—a representative of the Polish Socialist Left wing. Being the driving force of the broad Left wing front in Poland, this Party effectively representing and protecting the interests of the working people and gaining social confidence and support, will have a chance to oppose the right wing forces in its struggle to consolidate the position of Socialism, peace and progress in the world.

We express the conviction that this information will allow you and the members of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) to have a better insight into our situation and that it will contribute to our better understanding and further consolidation of links of solidarity and friendship.

Jamait-e-Islami Attacked CPI(M) Office in Kashmir*

Polit Bureau statement condemning the development

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the attack on the CPI(M) Party office on November 11, 1989, by Jamait-e-Islami followers in Kulgam in Kashmir. The attackers burnt the Party office records and office furniture. They threatened to set fire to the entire building in which the office was located, but did not proceed with the threat on an assurance from the owner that he would ask the CPI(M) to shift its office elsewhere. That was perhaps the main objective of the Jamait-e-Islami followers.

The entire process of ransacking the office and burning of office records and furniture was going on in the presence of the police who stood as mute spectators to the vandalism and assault on democratic rights.

The followers of the same organization made an attempt to attack the house of Mohd Yusuf, State Party Secretary, at Tarigam in Anantnag. The Polit Bureau urges the Farooq Government to take effective steps to check these intimidatory attacks and ensure the free functioning of political parties committed to democracy and national unity.

The Polit Bureau draws the attention of all democratic forces and parties to the emboldened and intensified actions of anti-national forces in Kashmir who, through their violent and terrorist actions, are determined to stifle the voice of the democratic forces in the State.

Some of these forces, it is known, are supported from

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, November 19, 1989

abroad by US imperialists and other agencies, and are carrying on a terrorist secessionist agitation in Kashmir. The Government of India has failed to check them. On the other hand, its opportunist policies pursued from time to time have encouraged their growth.

The Polit Bureau warns the people that unless these forces and the policies pursued by the Central Government are combatted unitedly and determinedly by all democratic forces in the country, they will succeed in overwhelming the progressive forces in the State.

Congress(I) Capitulation to VHP*

Polit Bureau condemned it by issuing statement to Press

By permitting the *Shilanyas* ceremony at Ayodhya to be held on the disputed property, the Congress(I) has abjectly surrendered to the Vishwa Hindu Parishad Mahant Avaidyanath, chief of the Ram Janmabhoomi Mukti Yajna Samiti, had in fact confirmed that the Government had indeed capitulated in the face of the VHP's pressure tactics. While the entire secular opinion in the country and the Left parties are awaiting the decision of the Allahabad High Court and appealing to both sides to accept this verdict, such a permission by the Government only makes a mockery of the impending Court judgement

It is abundantly clear that electoral opportunism has once again seized the Congress(I) and it is believed that the ruling party had struck a deal with the VHP in exchange for support during the election campaign

It is gratifying to note that the foundation stone-laying ceremony passed off without much communal violence. But by permitting this ceremony on the disputed land, the Government has sown the seeds for a deeper divide between the two communities. The Muslim minority community is bound to feel greater insecurity and a sense of injustice.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M), while strongly condemning the capitulation of the Congress(I) and its electoral opportunism, appeals to the people of the country to maintain restraint and strengthen the struggle for communal amity

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, November 19, 1989

Condolence Message on the Demise of Comrade Dolores Ibarriuri*

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) sent the following telegram to the Communist Party of Spain on the demise of Comrade Dolores Ibarriuri (President of the Party)

“Profoundly grieved at death of Comrade Dolores Ibarriuri Her life exemplified the fight against Fascism, for democracy and Socialism She was a legendary figure A source of inspiration to the Communist Movement. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) Central Committee salutes this courageous and indomitable Communist Our heartfelt condolences to Communist Party of Spain and her family”

*Published in ‘PEOPLE’S DEMOCRACY’, New Delhi, November 19, 1989 Refer Document under Appendix(III) of this Volume covering the details of life and work of Comrade Dolores Ibarriuri, well known throughout the world as “LA PASSIONARIA”

Condolence on Comrade Mohan Singh Jandiala*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India(Marxist) mourns the passing away of Comrade Mohan Singh Jandiala, member of the State Secretariat of the Punjab State Committee of the CPI(M) and President of the State Kisan Sabha. Comrade Jandiala died suddenly of heart attack on November 17 while addressing an election meeting in Sangrur. He was 76 years old.

Comrade Jandiala led an exemplary life of a dedicated Communist. He joined the Communist movement in 1939 and made a valuable contribution to building the Communist Party in the State. He worked tirelessly to organize the peasant movement in the anti-feudal struggles and spent four years underground from 1948 to 1952.

At the time of the split in the undivided Party he stood with those who adhered to Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Jandiala made an immense contribution to the Communist and Left movement in Punjab through five decades of work for the working class and the peasantry.

The Polit Bureau dips the red banner in his memory and conveys its heartfelt condolences to his family members.

Greetings to Romanian Communist Party Congress Sent by the Central Committee of the CPI(M)*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) conveys its fraternal revolutionary greetings to the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Romania to its leadership and all delegates present here

This Congress is being held in the year marking the 45th anniversary of Romania's liberation. The people of Romania under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party have successfully carried out the Socialist revolution emerging victorious in the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist national liberation struggle. During these years, the Romanian Communist Party has unleashed a process of overall multi-faceted development of Romanian society, transforming a backward agricultural economy into a modern industrial nation. During these years the strides taken by Socialist Romania, increasing its industrial output by 135 times, the increases in the standards of living which has been ensured by the steady progress in the national income of six to seven per cent during recent years, has proved the validity of Socialism as a superior socio-economic system.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) is confident that the changes initiated since the Ninth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party which have yielded excellent results will be improved upon during deliberations of the Fourteenth Congress and the march towards improving the Socialist economy and people's livelihood will be further strengthened

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, November 26, 1989

This Fourteenth Party Congress is being held in the background of far-reaching international developments. The world forces of peace, democracy and Socialism continue to advance. The recent initiatives of the USSR supported by the growing strength of the forces of peace the world over and other socialist countries continue to mount pressure on U S imperialism, thus strengthening the struggle for world peace and against imperialist designs to plunge the world into a nuclear holocaust.

Further this Fourteenth Congress is meeting in the background of far-reaching developments taking place in the Socialist countries. While in the field of disarmament, specifically in the field of nuclear disarmament, imperialism is being pushed on the defensive, U.S imperialism, leading the forces of world reaction is attempting with renewed vigour to turn back the clock of history and subvert humanity's progress towards Socialism. Imperialism's blatant intervention in the internal affairs of a number of Socialist countries has come into sharp focus in recent months. The CPI(M) is of the considered opinion that the world-wide struggle against imperialism and for Socialism will have to be strengthened. It is only through such a struggle that forces of peace democracy and Socialism can further advance.

The tremendous development of productive forces and the improvement of production and social relations in the Socialist countries within the short span of four decades since the triumph over fascism, have brought about the need for certain political and economic reforms. This process being undertaken in many Socialist countries is, we are of the view, a reflection of this reality. This process which should aim at further strengthening and consolidating Socialism must be based on the revolutionary foundations of Marxism-Leninism, the leadership of the Socialist State by the Communist Party, and firm commitment to proletarian internationalism.

Any digression will only provide grist to the mill of imperialist designs and its attempt to subvert humanity's

march to Socialism in general, and Socialist countries in particular

We are confident that the deliberations of your Congress will further strengthen the bonds of proletarian internationalism that bind us all together in the world-wide struggle against imperialism and further advance of the forces of peace, democracy and Socialism

Comrades,

As this Fourteenth Congress is meeting in Bucharest; a very important political event is taking place in our country. The Indian people during these days will elect a new Parliament for the coming years. These elections constitute an important landmark for the future of our country. The bankrupt path of capitalist development adopted by the Indian ruling classes since our Independence from British rule, has heaped untold miseries on our peoples. The past five years have seen a further intensification of contradiction in India, worsening the economic conditions of the vast majority of the Indian people and threatening the very social fabric that unites various nationalities and ethnic groups that constitute India. The consequent discontent amongst the people is sought to be exploited by the forces of internal reaction. Their attempt to dismember India comes in the background of intense U S imperialist machinations to balkanise India. The major task before the Indian people is to politically defeat the ruling Congress(I) and its policies which has led the country to such a sorry pass, and simultaneously isolate the internal forces of reaction. The CPI(M) alongwith the other Left democratic and secular forces in India is today in the midst of such a battle.

Comrades,

As partners in the world-wide struggle against imperialism, for world peace and the struggle for the social transformation in countries like ours we are confident that the deliberations of your Congress will further strengthen this process

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Wishing the deliberations of the Fourteenth Congress of
the Communist Party of Romania all success

With fraternal Communist greetings,

Central Committee
Communist Party of India (Marxist)

Mandate Against Congress(I) in 1989 Lok Sabha Elections*

**Statement dated November 27, 1989, issued by the
Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) congratulates the electorate of the country for withdrawing its mandate from the Congress(I) and reducing it to a minority in the elections, notwithstanding attempts at massive rigging and unprecedented violence leading to a hundred deaths. The Polit Bureau had already protested against the rigging and violence in Tripura and Amethi. The electorate's verdict, however, is not uniform with the Congress(I) staging a spectacular come-back in the South especially in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. But the people of the country by their verdict have rejected the anti-people policies of the Congress(I) and justified their country-wide protest against the Rajiv rule culminating in the Bharat Bandh on August 30 this year

The CPI(M) congratulates the minority masses for their steady support to Left and secular candidates despite attempts at intimidation. The CPI(M) congratulates the electorate of West Bengal and Left parties for their outstanding success in routing the Congress(I) and reducing it to a very small minority. Notwithstanding certain reverses, the Left parties will have increased representation in the Lok Sabha and will be in a position to throw their weight on the side of secularism, national unity and the interests of the common man. It is a matter of regret that the entire anti-Congress(I)

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 3, 1989

vote has not been rallied around secular parties which is likely to create difficulties while carrying out the mandate of the people

The CPI(M) congratulates the Janata Dal for its success and is confident that as the leading force of the Opposition, it will rise to carry out the responsibilities which the electorate has placed on its shoulders, responsibilities to defend secularism, national unity and interests of the common man

We trust that the President of India will take such steps which will be in consonance with the wishes of the people's verdict

Polit Bureau Indicts Rigging in Tripura, Amethi*

Statement issued to Press on November 23, 1989

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly deplores the refusal of the Election Commission to intervene yesterday (November 22) to order suspension of the polling process in the Tripura West parliamentary constituency

By 11 00 a m , the Polit Bureau had informed the Commission of the serious situation that had developed in Tripura West constituency Altogether 318 polling booths were forcibly captured The CPI(M) polling agents were driven out from the polling booths In some booths, CPI(M) polling agents were badly beaten up Voters were forcibly driven out after being assaulted In most of the polling booths Congress(I) miscreants stamped on the ballot papers snatching them from the polling staff Three CPI(M) voters standing in the queue at Puratmalı Rajnagar polling booth were killed in a bomb attack In most cases Presiding Officers refused to accept complaints from the CPI(M) polling agents Booth-capturing has taken place in Tripura East constituency also

The whole election machinery was commandeered under the instructions of Santosh Mohan Deb the Congress(I) candidate and the Chief Minister Sudhir Ranjan Mazumdar, to undertake this subversion of the elections It is shocking that the State's Chief Election Officer has refused to take cognisance of this murder of democracy

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 3, 1989
This relates to 1989 Lok Sabha elections

The Election Commission will be responsible for grave dereliction of duty if it does not override the State authorities and cancel the elections in Tripura West constituency and order repoll in affected booths in Tripura East constituency. The CPI(M) in Tripura has decided to boycott the counting in the Tripura West constituency in protest

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) while strongly condemning this outrageous attack in Tripura appeals to all political parties and organizations to strongly protest against the Congress(I)'s shameless rigging of the elections in the State.

Repoll in Amethi

The Polit Bureau condemns the incidents of booth capturing by the Congress(I) in certain segments of Amethi constituency. That such incidents took place in the Prime Minister's constituency, shows the extent to which the Congress(I) will go in trampling on parliamentary democracy. The Polit Bureau supports the demand for a repoll in Amethi constituency. It is extremely unfortunate that the Election Commission has not yet acceded to the demand for a fresh poll in Amethi.

Concerted Attacks on CPI(M) in Jammu & Kashmir*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued protest statement dated December 5, 1989, to Press

The Polit Bureau expresses its serious concern at the deteriorating situation in the Kashmir Valley where extremist elements are having a free run to terrorize political parties and those who stand for national unity. The CPI(M) unit in Jammu and Kashmir is being specially targetted by these separatist forces. In the last one month a number of attacks have taken place against the party's cadres. On November 11, the Party office at Kulgam was attacked in the presence of the police. The culprits have not been apprehended despite a case being lodged. On November 17, armed persons searched for the State Party Secretary Mohammed Yusuf at his residence in village Tarigam and later searched the house of another Party worker at Bogam. On November 25, a bomb blast took place in a CPI(M) member's house in Bogam. Many party activists have received threatening letters from the extremists.

Finally, on December 4, it is reported in the Press, that a bomb blast damaged the Party office at Srinagar. The Polit Bureau strongly condemns these attacks on the CPI(M) in Kashmir. This state of affairs shows that the administration is failing to cope with the challenge of the separatists. The Polit Bureau demands that the Farooq Government immediately gear up the administration to provide security for political workers and to apprehend the culprits who with impunity commit violence and terrorize the people.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 10, 1989.

Central Committee Communiqué*

Issued following its meeting held in New Delhi on December 5-7, 1989

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) met in New Delhi from December 5 to 7, 1989 to review the election results and the post-election developments.

National Front Government Welcomed

The Central Committee greeted the people of India on their success in defeating the Congress(I). It welcomed the formation of the National Front Government led by Shri V.P. Singh and expressed confidence that it would succeed in discharging the onerous responsibilities placed upon it by the electorate. The C.C. adopted the report presented by the Polit Bureau and endorsed the Polit Bureau's decision to support the National Front Government

People's Victory Despite Violence And Rigging

The Ninth General Elections, the C.C. noted, were held in the midst of unprecedented violence and massive attempts at rigging by the ruling party. The Election Commission had to order repolling in a number of segments of the Amethi constituency from where Rajiv Gandhi was fighting. The Commission was also compelled to order repolling in hundreds of other polling booths in many States. In Tripura there was wholesale rigging in the West Tripura parliamentary

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 10, 1989

constituency, accompanied by massive terror, beating of polling agents and bomb attacks. In the East Tripura constituency also the same tactics and terror were utilized making the Tripura elections a complete farce.

It was no wonder therefore, that more than a hundred people lost their lives during the pre-election and polling day clashes. But the Congress(I) failed to secure a favourable verdict. The C C congratulates the electorate for voting the Congress(I) out of power and ousting the discredited Rajiv regime.

Assertion Of Secular Outlook

The C C considers the defeat of the Congress(I) a tribute to the secular and democratic outlook of the Indian people, for no previous election was so dominated by the communal issue as the Ninth General Elections. Never before in any election was there such a concerted attempt to divert the attention of the electorate to a provocative communal issue, to avoid a straight verdict on the question of national unity, democratic rights of the people and the anti-national economic policies of the ruling party.

Both the communal forces and the Congress (I) by their different tactics combined to project the Ramjanmabhooni/Babri Masjid issue before the electorate. They did everything to foul the atmosphere; several riots and killings took place in Congress(I)-ruled States culminating in the mass killings in Bhagalpur. But by and large the electorate foiled this double game. While defeating the Congress(I), it put into power the Janata Dal and the National Front which in opposing the anti-people policies of the the Congress(I), also took a correct stand on the Ramjanmabhooni/Babri Masjid issue and earned the confidence of both the majority and the minority communities.

This success of the secular outlook, worked for by the Left parties, constitutes an important achievement of the country's electorate. Without this firm stand of the electorate, the victory of the Janata Dal in the two sensitive States of U P and Bihar would not have been possible. In both these States,

wherever the communal forces and parties clashed with the Janata Dal, they were defeated along with the Congress(I). The big victory of the Janata Dal in the UP parliamentary elections and the absolute majority it has secured in the UP Assembly elections are testimony to the basic national and democratic outlook of the large masses of our country.

The C C at the same time felt that verdict of the electorate should have been a decisive verdict considering the immiserisation imposed by the Congress(I) policies and the great danger of disintegration. It was necessary to have a decisive verdict of majority for the secular parties and forces that were heading the struggle against the Congress(I). Instead there is a hung Parliament with no party winning such a decisive majority. The Congress(I) is still the biggest single party due to its big success in the south. This has created a delicate balance of power both in the parliament and outside, which needs to be watched and changed in favour of the democratic and secular forces.

The BJP Factor

The C C. notes with concern the increased strength of the BJP which projected the Ramjanmabhoomi/Babri Masjid issue during the elections and supported the stand of the VHP. The latter has refused to accept the verdict of the court and even now demands that the temple should be built on the disputed site. This must inevitably mean demolition of the mosque. This line of thought is blind communalism and the sooner it loses whatever support it receives today, the better for India and her people.

The C.C. at the same time feels that the victory of the BJP in Madhya Pradesh and number of States, notwithstanding the communal issue projected by the BJP, is due to the massive anti-Congress(I) discontent among the masses.

Decisive Victory in West Bengal

The C C. warmly greets the West Bengal electorate and CPI(M) Party leaders and cadres and all the Left parties and their cad-

res on their decisive victory. The increased strength of the Left in Parliament following the sweeping victory in West Bengal, together with the many seats won by the CPI(M) and CPI in other States, enables the Left Parties to play a more effective role in Parliament and in determining the nation's policies.

Kerala

The C C. notes that the unexpected results in Kerala were due to the strong mobilisation of the communal and caste forces against the LDF. The 1987 margin between the two combines of LDF and UDF was very small. Nearly 10 per cent of the total votes cast then, had gone to parties or groups outside the two combinations. This time a big part of it, including a section of the BJP vote, was mobilised and consolidated by the communal agencies for the UDF, resulting in increasing the latter's percentage of votes from 44.36 in 1987, to more than 49.5 in this elections. Also the fear was spread among the minorities that an anti-Congress(I) vote would be, a vote for a Government at the Centre with the BJP.

The situation in Kerala underlines the urgent necessity of winning over sections beyond the committed mass of the LDF, and break through the barriers of the communal and caste combinations.

Shift In Minority And Scheduled Caste Vote

A significant element in the Opposition's success, especially in U.P. and Bihar, was the shifting away of the minority community from the Congress(I). The opportunist and dubious stand of the Congress on the Ramjanmabhooni/Babri Masjid issue, its refusal to stand by the court verdict and unprincipled support to the *Shilanyas* ceremony, alienated the Muslim minority which hitherto, in spite of several instances, of minority massacres, were the steady supporters of the Congress(I). The shift, if it continues to develop on democratic issues, will contribute immensely to the strengthening of the democratic movement and facilitate the task of protecting national unity.

Another development which ensured the defeat of the Congress(I) was the growing alienation of the scheduled tribe and scheduled caste mass from the ruling party. In U P and some other State the emergence of the BSP as a separate force has taken away the traditional votes of the Congress(I) and contributed to its virtual rout in some of the States. The separation of this force with its millions of voters, from the Congress(I), is eloquent testimony to the fact that reservation of jobs for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes by itself no longer ties these sections to the apron strings of the Congress(I). These developments open the way to bringing this exploited agrarian mass into the common democratic and class movement.

Punjab And Jammu And Kashmir

The Central Committee notes with grave concern the election results in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. In the latter State there was virtually no election, so widespread was the terror organised by anti-national secessionist elements. Even the official agencies do not boast of more than five per cent voting in the Kashmir Valley. But this also was an exaggeration. Empty polling booths, absence of polling agents, and absence of voters marked the election in the Kashmir Valley.

In Punjab, ten out of the 13 seats have been secured by candidates supported by the Akali sections linked to the extremists. In Punjab also the election results were to a great extent dominated by a general atmosphere of terror, and also by the total sense of alienation from the Congress(I) dominating large sections of the people.

Reverses In the South

But for the wide-ranging success of the Congress(I) in the southern States, the victory of the democratic forces would have been complete and decisive. It is clear that with the alliance of the Congress(I) with the AIADMK in Tamil Nadu the results were bound to go in favour of this combination because of its electoral strength. The Ramjanmabhoomi/Babri

Masjid issue had no relevance here. There was besides an intense desire in the minds of the AIADMK mass which formed the bulk of the electorate to avenge its defeat in the Assembly elections. Even then the total sweep was unexpected and must be attributed to a certain alienation of the people during the last few months of the DMK rule. The oppressive economic conditions and following it, the extreme sensitiveness of the Indian electorate, are factors which are often ignored by a party newly coming to occupy ministerial power.

The Central Committee noted that in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, two big and important contingents of the National Front were defeated both in the Parliamentary and Assembly elections. Dissidents inside the party, arbitrary and undemocratic behaviour of leaders and neglect of the urgent problems, all seem to have resulted in giving a fresh lease to the Congress(I) when it was being routed in the north. The two Governments were functioning in conditions of imposed distress due to the critical conditions of the Indian economy following the anti-national policies of the Congress(I). But the urgency of the situation and the need of constantly reinforcing mass confidence, as was done in West Bengal, were not seen.

The installation of the National Front Government despite some of these reverses is considered by the common people as a great victory, as a trust handed over to the former Opposition parties. And it is the common duty of all to convert the hung Parliament into a big democratic victory of the people with larger and larger sections rallying around the Government on the basis of its performance and its policies.

Immediate Tasks Before The Government

It is necessary that all controversial issues especially the Ramjanmabhooni/Babri Masjid issue, Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir problems are tackled by evolving a consensus. The National Front Government should come out with some relief measures for the masses which will strike their

imagination and divert their attention from communal issues. Successful tackling of the high prices issue will go a long way in establishing the prestige of the National Front Government and strengthening the secular forces

Besides, improvement in the public distribution system with the participation of mass organisations, putting a stop to police atrocities in villages, and efficient functioning of the panchayats after new initiatives, will contribute greatly to strengthening the image of the Government. A few striking steps to increase the confidence of the majority masses without any concession to reactionary or fundamentalist demands, will serve to bring this mass nearer to the secular and democratic parties.

Further measures required are: steps to eradicate corruption; restructuring of Centre-State relations; implementation of the Sarkaria Commission recommendations and formation of the Inter-State Council; strengthening democratic and independent institutions like Parliament, the Judiciary, the CAG and Election Commission; extension of democratic rights and democratic control over official mass media.

The Central Committee welcomes the assurance given by Prime Minister V.P. Singh in his radio address to the nation, and in his subsequent statements. In particular it notes the new Government's decision to solve the vital and delicate question of national unity on the basis of evolving a consensus. The Central Committee especially welcomes V.P. Singh's statement that "Our Government will seek to solve the Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir problem and the Ramjanmabhoomi/Babri Masjid issue through a consensus and reconciliation, and the Opposition would be openly taken into confidence".

The Central Committee appreciates the Prime Minister's assurance that the minorities would live without fear, and be treated as equal partners in the country's progress. This is perhaps for the first time, after many years, that the minorities are being assured not only of their safety but also of their status as equal partners. The Prime Minister had earlier assured

the people about effective steps against high prices and that the question would be tackled with the utmost priority.

Foreign Policy

The elections, it is known, were mostly fought on domestic issues with the foreign policy of the country hardly figuring any where. Only the CPI(M) and other Left parties stressed the importance of the country's non-aligned foreign policy. The Prime Minister in his radio address stressed the importance of our foreign policy of non-alignment—"Our policy of non-alignment derives from the national commitment.... we shall continue to struggle for peace, disarmament and development. We are committed to fight apartheid in South Africa, and for securing for the brave Palestinian people their inalienable rights. Effective steps will be taken to improve relations with our neighbours."

All patriotic people and forces will gladly welcome this assurance and commitment to the policy of non-alignment which has stood the country in good stead when it was faced with extreme difficulties create by hostile forces from abroad.

Resist Imperialist Pressures On Economy

The Central Committee notes that the country's economy is faced with a serious crisis. The Congress(I) Government has left large debts and an economy which is under strong pressure from the World Bank and IMF to follow its dictates. In the recent weeks and months the U.S. pressure on India to penetrate our economy has grown. The Super 301 and other pressures are being applied to undermine the self reliance of our economy. The National Front Government is called upon to meet this situation and protect our self reliance. The CPI(M) will support all measure taken to protect our economy from being dependent on others.

Consolidate Growing Influence

The Central Committee greets all the Party's cadres and thousands of supporters who have worked dedicatedly to

bring about the Congress(I) defeat and strengthen the Left and secular forces. The Central Committee calls upon all its units and members to actively work to consolidate the new influence gained among the people through the election campaign, further building up the Party and mass organizations. This will play an important role in the growing intervention of the CPI(M) and the Left forces in the coming days to strengthen democracy, secularism and to serve the people's interests.

Secular and Democratic Values must be Upheld*

**Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement
dated December 13, 1989 to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly disapproves the stand taken by the 'Dharmasthan Mukti Yajna Samiti' and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad at its meeting on December 11 regarding the Ramjanmabhoomi/Babri Masjid dispute. At a time when the new Government is trying to tackle the problems threatening national unity, inherited from the previous Congress(I) Government, the Samiti has adopted a provocative stand which will only worsen communal tension.

The Mukti Samiti has asked the Government to hand over the disputed site to the Hindus. It has described the "Shilanyas" as a "symbol of the re-establishment of Hindu Rashtra in Bharat Varsha." It has rejected any decision to be given by the Allahabad High Court. Further, it has also declared that it will continue efforts to get mosques in Mathura and Varanasi demolished to construct temples on these sites.

This posture of the Samiti and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad is calculated to instigate the majority community against the minorities. No one has any objection to the construction of a Ram Temple at Ayodhya provided it does not lead to the demolishing of the Babri Masjid which would have disastrous consequences for national unity and communal harmony.

The Polit Bureau rejects this unwarranted attempt to incite religious feelings on a sensitive issue which requires a national consensus and an amicable solution by all concerned.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 17, 1989

It is imperative that the National Front Government immediately call an all-parties meeting to discuss the vexed problem to arrive at a common approach which will meet the religious sentiments of the majority community while protecting the right of the minority. The Polit Bureau appeals to all citizen and political parties to remember that in a democracy the elementary rights of the minorities have to be assured and any threat to secular values by bringing in religious interference in politics has to be resisted by all. All the democratic and secular forces should take a united stand to prevent the situation from deteriorating and to assert secular and democratic values.

Homage to Comrade Gurcharan Singh Randhawa*

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

Comrade Gurcharan Singh Randhawa, Secretary of the Punjab State Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) breathed his last at 11 00 p m on December 19, 1989, at the Party headquarters at Jullundur. He had been suffering from cancer which ultimately spread throughout his whole body. Despite the best efforts of the doctors he did not respond to the medical treatment.

Born 72 years ago in the family of a small peasant, Comrade Randhawa had been in the Communist movement for the last 50 years. Throughout his long and chequered career he had served the cause of the downtrodden teeming millions with singular devotion and dedication.

In the mid-30s, he plunged into the freedom struggle, joined the Kirti Party (Workers Party) and devoted himself to the cause of the workers and peasants. While organizing and participating in the peasant movement in 1938-39, he was twice sent to prison. In 1942 the Kirti Party was merged with the Communist Party of India. As before he continued as a wholetimer of the Party and devoted himself especially to the work in the Kisan movement.

In 1947 after the partition of Punjab he worked ceaselessly for the security and safety of the minorities, and with equal zeal fought for the rehabilitation of the uprooted people who came to India as refugees.

In 1948 when the CPI came under severe repression he

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 24, 1989

was arrested and put behind bars. It was due to his indomitable spirit that in 1950, together with two other comrades in jail, he dug a tunnel and escaped from the Ludhiana jail. A firebrand throughout his life he went underground and engaged himself in armed struggle against the feudal lords in the erstwhile PEPSU area, for three years.

In 1955 he was elected a member of the Punjab State Committee of the undivided CPI. He took a leading part in the historic Anti-Betterment Levy struggle in 1959.

When the Party split in 1964 he joined the CPI(M). The birth of the CPI(M) witnessed terrible repression from the Government of India and he was again arrested in 1963 and 1965. He was elected member of the Secretariat of the Punjab State Committee in 1965. After the Secretary of the Punjab State Committee, Comrade Satwant Singh fell ill, he functioned as the Acting Secretary. He was formally elected as the Secretary of the Punjab State Committee in 1987, and continued in the post till his death. He was elected to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) at the Jullundur Congress of the Party in 1978. He was a member of the Central Kisan Committee of the All India Kisan Sabha and Secretary of its Punjab unit. He was elected as delegate to all the Party Congress from the Seventh Party Congress onwards.

Comrade Randhawa's was a life of total dedication to the cause of Communism, the Party and the downtrodden millions of the country. During his long chequered political life spanning a period of half a century, he had to pass through many tests, but every time he stood like a rock with unshakeable faith in the cause of Socialism and the Party.

Since the early '80s when the secessionist forces started their rampage in Punjab, he was one of the leaders in the field mobilising and galvanising the masses against the separatist Khalistanis and at risk to his life carried on a valiant struggle against them. His participation and leadership in the struggle against the secessionist and terrorist movement will be written in letters of gold. It is left to posterity to

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remember such valiant comrades and place them as examples of the Party's fight for preserving the unity and integrity of the country

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) deeply mourns his passing away and dips the red banner in honour of a great departed leader of the toiling masses

Homage to Dada Amir Hyder Khan*

Statement dated December 27, 1989, issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) deeply mourns the passing away of the veteran Communist leader of the subcontinent, Dada Amir Hyder Khan on December 26, 1989 in Pakistan. He was 89.

Comrade Amir Hyder Khan was one of the pioneers of the Communist Party in India who became a legend in his lifetime. Born in Sealian village (now in Pakistan) in a poor family, at a young age he went to Bombay and began life as a shiploader. Travelling by ship he made contact with Indian revolutionaries abroad. On his return to Bombay he began organizing the workers. He was sent to Madras to organize the Communist Party and undergoing tremendous sufferings, he set up the rudiments of a Communist Party organization defying the effort of the British police to apprehend him. He was one of the accused in the famous Meerut Conspiracy Case. Hounded by the police he went to Moscow where he joined the University of the Toilers of the East. On his return he worked in Bombay for some time and then returned to Madras to continue his organizational activities. He was responsible for recruiting a number of young political workers to the Communist Party, one of them being the late Comrade P. Sundarayya. Many of the present Communist leaders in India had the privilege to work along with him in those days.

He was finally arrested in 1934 and sentenced to three

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 31, 1989

years' rigorous imprisonment. After release from jail he continued his trade union work in Bombay till he was arrested in 1936 when the Second World War broke out. After his release in 1942, after three years' work in Bombay he settled down in his native place in Rawalpindi and continued to work there till the Partition. In Pakistan he spent a good part of his life in jail struggling against the military dictatorship.

Dada Amir Hyder Khan symbolized the indomitable spirit of the early proletarian leaders who served the cause of Marxism-Leninism with singular devotion and rallied the working class to fight British imperialism. In the last few years despite his failing health he continued to be active in public affairs. He made his first visit to India after Partition last year in 1988, when he was received warmly by the Indian Communists and progressive circles.

The Polit bureau pays its respectful homage to this veteran revolutionary whose memory will always be cherished by all those who stand for Socialism and democracy. The Polit Bureau dips the red banner to his memory and extends its heartfelt condolences to his family members.

United State's Invasion in Panama*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated December 21, 1989, giving a call for Unequivocal Condemnation

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly condemns the U.S. invasion of independent Panama. In a naked violation of all international norms, U.S. troops have stormed sovereign Panama's capital and installed its puppet regime.

This is not the first time that U.S. imperialism has blatantly resorted to armed intervention in Latin America in order to establish regimes subservient to its interests. A few years ago U.S. imperialism militarily occupied Grenada and ousted the democratically elected popular Government.

The patriotic Panamanian people have been struggling for genuine independence from the United States and for the return of their rightful ownership of the Panama Canal. Noriega has rightfully refused to bow to the U.S. conspiracy for extending its lease rights on the Canal after its expiry in 2000 A.D.

Margaret Thatcher's Britain has once again demonstrated its eagerness to support unashamedly the U.S. military intervention in a sovereign nation. As an accomplice of U.S. imperialism it has supported all along all the U.S. criminal interventions against the peoples of the developing countries, especially in Central and Latin America, who are struggling for their independence, freedom and human dignity.

This latest criminal act of U.S. imperialism displaying disregard for the changes in the international situation

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 31, 1989

demonstrates once again its role as the gendarme of world reaction

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly supports the proposals made by the Nicaraguan Government for the immediate convening of a meeting of the UN Security Council to discuss this issue and make the US aggressor answerable to the world community of nations for unlawful criminal activities.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) urges upon the Government of India to unequivocally condemn this intervention and throw its full weight in support of the Nicaraguan proposal

Condolence On Comrade Shadiram*

Comrade Shadiram, veteran CPI(M) and trade union leader of Delhi died on December 27, 1989, at the age of 80. Affectionately known as 'Chacha'. Comrade Shadiram was a member of the Delhi State Committee of the CPI(M) and President of the Delhi State Committee of the CITU. He was the oldest member of the Party in Delhi, having joined the undivided CPI in 1945. He was a member of the State Committee of the undivided Communist Party in 1948.

He began his trade union work as a manual worker in the Municipal Corporation and rose to become a prominent leader of the Municipal Employees' Union. He suffered imprisonment in the 1948-50 period and was later arrested again in 1965 and during the Emergency. After the Party split, he joined the CPI(M) and played a key role in reorganizing the Party and founding the CITU in Delhi. He was the Secretary of the Delhi Committee of the CPI(M) under the Delhi Regional Committee from 1972 to 1975. He was elected to the newly constituted Delhi State Committee of the CPI(M) in 1978 and remained a member of the State Secretariat till 1988.

As a working class leader Comrade Shadiram was immensely popular with all sections of the workers in Delhi city. A comrade who dedicated his life completely for the Party and the cause of the working class, he was respected by all who came to know him. In the last two years, due to

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 31, 1989

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ill health, he was not able to contribute as much as he wished to the Party and trade union work. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) dips the red banner in his memory and conveys heartfelt condolences to his family members.

Polit Bureau Assessed Changes in East Europe*

Statement adopted by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) in its meeting held in New Delhi on January 12-13, 1990

The recent developments in the East European countries are a cause for deep concern and anxiety to all Communists and well-wishers of Socialism who are in the midst of a struggle for a world of peace, democracy and Socialism. These constitute a set-back for world Socialism and create possibilities for new counter-revolutionary attacks

The CPI(M) Central Committee had, during the past two years, adopted resolutions on various developments and issues that emerged. The May and August 1988 resolutions on certain ideological issues and the developments in the Soviet Union, and the July and October 1989 resolutions on the developments in China, Poland and Hungary, define the Party's positions.

As a result of the victory over fascism, in which the Soviet Union played the most important role, the Socialist community of nations in the post-Second World War period emerged as a mighty force that influenced the direction of world developments. The establishment of a society ending the exploitation of man by man eradicating the social evils associated with capitalism, signified an advance of human civilisation. This situation provided the springboard for millions of oppressed people to throw off the yoke of colonialism which radically altered the international correlation of class forces. Socialism's relentless efforts for world peace, that ensured 40 years of relative peace without a world war,

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 21, 1990

have inspired thousands of people the world over to the cause of Socialism. The East European countries under Communist leadership brought about fundamental social transformation which ended the rule of the old exploiting classes and laid the basis for Socialist advance.

However, the recent events in East European countries, including the disturbing developments in Romania, reveal that there have been many distortions in the building of Socialism and the functioning of these Socialist States. Socialist democracy is a higher form of democracy as compared to bourgeois democracy, which should draw larger and larger sections of the people and ensure their participation in all spheres of social and political activity. The failure to do so and the violations of Socialist legality over the years led, instead, to a process of alienation of the people.

The violations of Leninist norms of inner-party democracy, the consequent growth of bureaucratism along with ideological erosion and the corrupting influence of opportunists within its ranks in some countries, contributed to the alienation of the people from the Party.

While Socialism, for the first time in history, liberated the hitherto subjugated toiling people from exploitation and transformed backward economies in a short span of time, the ruling Communist Parties in these countries could not cope with ever-rising economic and political expectations of the people.

It is also clear that there were distortions and deviations in the manner of organizing the Socialist economy, resulting in definite lags in the levels of economic development. As productive forces under Socialism develop rapidly, the methods of economic management have to correspondingly change. The result has been lower levels of economic development than was possible. The corroding effects of State bureaucracy prevented the gains of the scientific and technological revolutions from being integrated in economic production, thus increasing the lags in the levels of economic development. The consequent discontent amongst the people further strengthened the process of alienation.

Along with these distortions, the neglect of ideological

work amongst the mass of the people, the task of raising Socialist consciousness and rousing the people to participate in greater numbers in creating higher form of human society, provided scope for the growth of anti-Communist forces

These distortions and deviations from the principles of Socialism, the failure to draw proper lessons and effect necessary changes within the Socialist framework at the right time, have created conditions whereby anti-Socialist forces utilising the discontent amongst the people, are today posing bourgeois democracy as the alternative to Socialist democracy Under the garb of reforming Socialism and under the slogan of "Social Democracy," they wish to restore capitalism in these countries.

These forces, actively aided and abetted by imperialism, are today egging on the people of Eastern Europe to abandon their past, their achievements, the glorious and heroic struggle against fascism led by the Communist Parties. They are asking the people to forget the immense sacrifices fired by revolutionary passion that saved mankind from fascist enslavement They are asking the people to ignore the guarantees of the right to work, education, housing, health and overall development They seek the complete negation of the Socialist past, thus attempting to separate the international working class movement from its historical experience and curbing its further revolutionary potential

By offering promises of sharing the gains of the scientific and technological revolution, imperialism is offering economic partnership to the new East European regimes The real motive is to restore capitalism in these countries There is no doubt that the scientific and technological revolution has changed the face of the world. But these advances in the developed capitalist countries have been on the basis of inhuman exploitation and consequent immiserisation of millions of people in the Third World countries The mounting Third World debt and the conditions of grinding poverty under which millions of people are living, are an indictment of imperialism's sham concern for democracy and humanism

Notwithstanding all the talk of de-ideologisation of international relations, the real character of imperialism has been revealed yet again, in its naked aggression against tiny Panama. The contradiction between the people of the developing world and imperialism is intensifying, and the anti-imperialist struggles in these countries is getting strengthened. The Victory of the SWAPO in Namibia and the people's upsurge in Chile leading to the overthrow of the US backed dictatorial regime of Pinochet, reflect the growing people's struggle against imperialism.

Imperialism has never been reconciled to the existence of Socialism. Since the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, it has always attempted to destroy Socialism if not check its advance. From the early attempts at waging war against Socialism, imperialism has adopted various methods ranging from direct confrontation and gunboat diplomacy to efforts at internal subversion of Socialist countries. Today it is intensifying these attempts at the internal subversion of Socialist countries. With an anti-Communist frenzy characteristic of world imperialism, its media is celebrating the so-called "demise of Socialism" and the triumph of capitalism.

The CPI(M) is confident that the people of East Europe who, during the 40 years under Socialism, eliminated the curse of deprivation that capitalism perpetuates, will, from their own experience, resist all attempts to restore capitalism.

These developments in East Europe are due, in the main, to distortions and deviations from the principles of Scientific Socialism, exploited to the hilt by imperialism and the forces of internal reaction. The CPI(M) emphatically asserts that these developments neither repudiate Marxism-Leninism nor Socialism. On the contrary, they demonstrate how distortions and the lack of timely intervention to correct them can lead to such consequences.

In the final analysis, it is the people who are the ultimate determinants of history. Millions are today marching forward with immense courage and sacrifice against imperialist exploitation and domination and for realising a world

free from exploitation of man by man, for world peace, democracy and Socialism. The Communist Parties are in the forefront of these struggles. The CPI(M) firmly adhering to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, will carry forward the battle against the forces of reaction the world over, reiterating its commitment to strengthen the struggle for Socialism.

The Polit Bureau is deeply concerned at the disturbing turn the inter-ethnic conflicts are taking within the Soviet Union.

The Polit Bureau has decided to make a thorough study of the recent developments in the Socialist countries and prepare a document to be placed before the Central Committee in April 1990, in order to come to a fuller assessment.

Polit Bureau Resolution on Sri Lanka*

**Adopted in its meeting held in New Delhi on
January 12-13, 1990**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) considered the situation now prevailing in Sri Lanka, especially in the North Eastern province. It noted that both the Government of India and Sri Lanka had recently agreed to complete the withdrawal of the IPKF before March 31, 1990.

The Polit Bureau noted with deep concern that armed clashes are taking place in the Tamil areas, leading to heavy loss of life and property in the six districts vacated by the IPKF. The Polit Bureau appeals to all sides to give up the internecine warfare. Every effort should be made to unite all the Tamil groups to safeguard the legitimate interests of the Tamil minority. The Sri Lankan Government cannot evade its responsibility of restoring peace and normalcy in these areas. The efforts of the Government of India should be directed to seeing that this is done immediately along with the withdrawal of the IPKF.

The Polit Bureau also appeals to the Government of India to insist with the Government of Sri Lanka that it fulfil its obligations as per the September 1988 settlement, for devolution of more powers to the Provincial Council and providing for the safety and security of the Sri Lankan Tamil people.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 21, 1990

Homage To Comrade Saroj Mukherjee*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep grief at the passing away of Comrade Saroj Mukherjee, member of the CPI(M) Polit Bureau, on February 10, 1990, at Calcutta after a long illness. Comrade Saroj Mukherjee was the Secretary of the West Bengal State Committee of the Party and also the Chairman of the Left Front of the State. He was 79.

Comrade Saroj Mukherjee belonged to the early generation of Indian Communists who combined the finest qualities of patriotism and revolutionary commitment. With his deep understanding of Marxism and devoted service, he made a notable contribution to building the Party and the Left movement from the pioneering phase of the party's activities. He was known for his affectionate behaviour and humility in dealing with all ranks of the Party and people from all walks of life. In his death, the CPI(M), the Left forces and the working class movement have lost a dedicated leader. His memory will forever be cherished by all those working for the cause of Socialism in India.

Comrade Saroj Mukherjee was an outstanding Communist leader who began his political life as a young student at the age of 13. Born on January 15, 1911, he joined the Indian National Congress in 1924 and subsequently came in

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 18, 1990. Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued this obituary statement on February 10, 1990.

contact with the Jugantar revolutionary group. He was imprisoned during the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930. He passed his B Sc examination with distinction while under detention. While a student, he became acquainted with Communist leaders, Muzaffar Ahmad and Abdul Halim. Freed from Jail, he attended the Karachi Session of the Indian National Congress in 1931 as delegate. Returning to Calcutta, he joined the East Bengal Railway Workers's Union. He became a member of the Communist Party in September 1931. After coming out of jail in 1938, he began working wholetime for the Communist Party. He married Kanak Mukherjee, at present member of the Central Committee of the Party, in 1940, and together they devoted their entire life to the Communist movement.

He was imprisoned for a total of six years in the struggle against British imperialism and spent a further five years in jail after independence. He worked underground for a period of five years.

He was Secretary of the Calcutta District Committee of the CPI from 1939 to 1943. He was Secretariat member of the West Bengal Provincial Committee of the CPI from 1943 to 1948, and later from 1951 to 1964.

He was a member of the Lok Sabha from 1971 to 1977.

In the inner-party struggle, he took a firm stand against revisionism and defence of Marxism-Leninism. From the inception of the CPI(M), he was a member of the Secretariat of the West Bengal State Committee. When the Left-sectarian deviation sought to disrupt the Party in West Bengal, he defended the Party and the Marxist-Leninist line and made a major contribution towards isolating the adventurist elements.

After the demise of Comrade Promode Dasgupta in 1982, he assumed the Secretaryship of the West Bengal State Committee. He continued to discharge his responsibilities devotedly, till the last days, despite his failing health.

He was elected to the Central Committee in 1978 at the Tenth Congress of the Party. He was elected to the Polit

Bureau at the Twelfth Congress in 1985. He was re-elected to the Central Committee and the Polit Bureau at the Thirteenth Congress in December 1988.

Comrade Saroj Mukherjee played a key role in developing the Party newspapers in West Bengal. He was the editor of the daily *Swadhinata* between 1956 and 1962. He was also the editor of the CPI(M)'s weekly *Ganashakti* from 1964 onwards and later of the daily *Ganashakti* from 1967 to 1983. He wrote a number of books and pamphlets popularizing Marxism-Leninism and the Party's policies.

The Polit Bureau dips the Red Flag in homage to his memory. The Polit Bureau conveys its heartfelt condolences to his wife, Comrade Kanak Mukherjee, his son and other members of the family.

CPI(M) Hails Mandela's Release*

Polit Bureau issued statement dated February 11, 1990 to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) heartily welcomes the decision to release Nelson Mandela today after a long and arduous jail life of 27 years. The heroic struggle of the people of South Africa led by the ANC all these years against the hated apartheid regime, the powerful international solidarity that this struggle received and the force of the international democratic movement has forced the apartheid regime and its imperialist mentors to release Nelson Mandela

Nelson Mandels's release is a signal victory for the long and heroic struggle of the South African people led by the ANC and for those the world over who value human dignity and freedom

The lifting of the ban on the ANC and release of Nelson Mandela, though extremely significant victories in the course of the people's struggle, do not constitute the final victory against the hated apartheid regime. The struggle to dismantle apartheid and to build a truly democratic and just society in South Africa has to be carried forward with greater vigour

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M), as in the past, extends its unequivocal and unstinted solidarity with the people of South Africa, and its leader, the ANC, in their struggle to achieve the final victory by dismantling the apartheid regime

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 18, 1990

Polit Bureau Condemns VHP Decision on Construction of Temple at Ayodhya*

Statement issued on January 28, 1990, to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly condemns the decision of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad at their meeting at Allahabad, to begin construction of the temple at the disputed site at Ayodhya on February 14. The VHP has refused to take cognisance of the mediatory efforts being undertaken to resolve the problem amicably. This provocative step is aimed at vitiating the atmosphere in the country on the eve of the Assembly elections to be held in eight States. Any such activity as planned by the VHP is designed to heighten communal tensions. The decision directly plays into the hands of imperialist designs of destabilizing India.

The Polit Bureau calls upon the Government of India and the U P State Government to firmly rebuff any move to begin construction at the disputed site. They should stick to the position that the dispute be mutually settled by all sides concerned, failing which the court verdict on the dispute has to be awaited and abided by. The Polit Bureau calls upon all secular and patriotic sections to foil this conspiracy to disrupt communal amity and build up public opinion to maintain peace and communal harmony.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 4, 1990

CPI(M) Condemns Repression in Nepal*

Statement dated February 19, 1990, issued by the Polit Bureau to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the repression unleashed by the Nepalese Government in which thousands have been arrested including the leaders of the Nepali Congress and the Left parties. On the occasion of the Nepali Congress Conference held in January, the Nepali Congress and the Left parties had joined together to give a historic call for launching the movement for democracy from February 18, 1990. The Nepali authorities have responded to the struggle by widespread police repression in which, according to reports so far, ten people have been killed, 150 injured and over 1,000 activists arrested in different parts of the country on that day.

The democratic forces in Nepal have been struggling to restore democracy since 1960 when the King of Nepal banned political parties and instituted the so-called partyless democracy and the Panchayat system.

The CPI(M) is confident that the people of Nepal will continue the struggle successfully for the establishment of a democratic system. The Polit Bureau extends its full support to the movement for the establishment of democracy in Nepal. It calls upon all democratic sections in India to express their solidarity with the struggling people of Nepal and to demand an end to the repression by the Government of Nepal.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 25, 1990

Polit Bureau on Meham Poll Violence*

Statement dated March 1, 1990, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) is deeply shocked at the violence in Meham Assembly constituency on February 28, 1990, while repolling was on in eight polling booths. The violent incidents have led to heavy loss of lives and vitiated the polling process. It is clear that there have been efforts to foil a free and peaceful poll in many booths of this constituency.

The CPI(M) expects the Election Commission to take a speedy decision to ensure that repoll in the affected booths is held in an atmosphere free from intimidation and violence from any quarter, so that people have full opportunity to exercise their vote.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 11, 1990

Homage to Comrade P. Kannan Nair*

Comrade P Kannan Nair, veteran revolutionary member of the Kerala State Committee of the Party and Managing Director of the Party's Malayalam daily, *Deshabhimani* died in the early hours of March 6, 1990 at Ernakulam due to severe heart-attack

Comrade Kannan Nair, who began his life as a beedi worker, was an organizer of the trade union movement and participate in the national movement in the late 1930s and joined the Congress Socialist Party. In 1943 he joined the Communist Party of India. He was in the forefront of the historic Karivallur struggle in 1946 and numerous other kisan and working class struggle in that period. He faced ferocious police repression in jails, in the underground and in direct confrontation with the police with exemplary courage and spirit of self-sacrifice. He was in the forefront of the fight against revisionism in the Communist movement and was in the CPI(M) ever since 1964.

As the Managing Director of the Party's newspaper for more than one decade he played a pivotal role in the consolidation and expansion of the *Deshabhimani's* publication and circulation and its emergence as one of the leading newspapers in Kerala. His revolutionary steadfastness and loyalty to the Party, his inimitable style of work and his indomitable courage made him one of the

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 11, 1990

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most beloved leaders of the Party His death is a great loss to the Party and democratic movement in Kerala

The Polit Bureau pays its revolutionary homage to the memory of Comrade P Kannan Nair

Polit Bureau Criticises Railway Budget-1990*

Statement dated March 14, 1990, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its unhappiness at the way the freight rates and passenger fares have been increased in the Railway Budget presented to Parliament on March 14, 1990. The increase of 10 per cent in freight rates, despite exemption for certain essential commodities, will fuel the price rise in an already difficult situation when inflationary conditions exist in the country. Further, while it is justified to increase the passenger fares for air-conditioned first class and the other upper classes by 17 per cent, the sharp increase in the monthly season tickets for second class passengers, who are daily commuters to work, is also unjustified. Along with the allied increases like sleeper surcharges and luggage rates, the Budget proposals are going to adversely affect millions of ordinary people who depend on the Railways for travel.

The Polit Bureau notes that there are various proposals made by the Railway Minister in his Budget speech pertaining to the development of the Railway network. These proposals are to be considered and improvements made, where necessary, after discussions. But the efforts at resources mobilization for meeting the new development tasks of the Railway cannot be devised in a manner which puts the ordinary people to difficulties when they are already facing rising costs of living.

The Polit Bureau welcomes the proposal to discontinue

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further manufacture of A C first class and first class coaches and for providing more second class general and sleeper coaches. These egalitarian measures, however, are unfortunately not reflected in the fare and freight rates structure announced by the Railway Minister.

The Polit Bureau requests the Government of India to review these announcements regarding passenger fares and freight rates, taking into account the people's difficulties and come up with revised proposals which will provide relief from the increased fares.

Polit Bureau on Union Budget-1990*

Statement dated March 20, 1990, issued to Press

The Union budget was awaited with interest, as it was the first to be placed by the new National Front Government. The budget had to be formulated in extremely difficult economic circumstances – a huge deficit from the previous financial year of over Rs. 11,750 crore, an astronomical external debt, widening balance of payments deficit and shrinking employment opportunities with the massive closure of industrial units. Given the economic mess created by the previous Congress(I) Government there were widespread expectations that the National Front Government would take serious steps to implement its election pledges.

To come out of this economic mess and the sufferings it imposed on the people, it was imperative that the Union Government give a basically new orientation to the economy. This required a departure from the economic policies of “liberalisation” of the previous Congress(I) regime. The budget placed by the Finance Minister Madhu Dandavate, has failed to meet their expectation because of half-hearted efforts to make a break from the old policies. It is evident from the budget that the Government is loath to break away from the “export-led growth” advocated by the World Bank and the IMF and does not provide for sufficient emphasis on import substitution.

On the positive side, the budget makes an attempt to raise additional resources by withdrawing certain tax exemptions

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for the corporate sector like the investment allowance. This has netted Rs 800 crore from corporate sector. However, the budget fails to work out effective measures to mop up the huge earnings of big business and the richer sections as seen by the reduction of corporate tax to 40 per cent. The failure to take up this task has led to a wide net of indirect taxes in order to raise additional resources. This will adversely affect the common man.

The CPI(M) strongly criticises the big hike in petrol and diesel prices and steep increase in postal rates which will add to the burdens of the people suffering from price rise. This, coupled with the rise in rail and freight fares, will add to the inflationary pressures on the economy.

The budget provides some relief to the people in the form of raising the exemption limit for income tax to Rs 22,000 a year, relief to the peasantry in the form of debt waiver upto Rs 10,000 and concessions to small-scale industries. However the relief to the rural sector is not oriented to the needy peasantry as the debt relief is applicable to all farmers irrespective of land holdings.

Another retrograde feature of the total additional revenue raised is that the States are deprived of a fair share of the additional resources. The additional taxes are levied in such a manner that the share of the States would be only Rs three crore in the additional revenue of Rs. 1,790 crore. This violates the National front Government's commitment to ensure that the States will get their due share for economic development.

The scrapping of the Gold Control Act is not warranted. It will facilitate hoarding of unaccounted wealth in the form of gold. The budget has sought to contain the burgeoning deficit but still leaves an uncovered deficit of Rs. 7,206 crore. The manner in which this deficit is going to be bridged, will have adverse repercussions on the living standards of the people, particularly in a situation where the wholesale price index shows a continuous increase in the past nine weeks.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) urges the Finance Minister and the National Front Government to revise the proposals for increase in oil prices and postal rates so that the ordinary people are spared from further erosion in their real incomes. The path set for the economy by the liberalisation package needs to be reversed and the National Front Government should do some hard thinking to set out more meaningful policies which will be in consonance with its pledges and the people's aspirations.

On Rising Terrorist Menace in Punjab*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated March 19, 1990, to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep shock and grife at the inhuman killing of 15 persons by the Khalistani terrorists in Ferozpur district on the morning of March 19, 1990. On the previous day, five people were killed by the terrorists at Tarn Taran.

The Polit Bureau conveys its heartfelt sympathy to the families of the victims.

In the recent period the extremists have intensified their violent activities, as seen in the Abohar massacre, leading to a sharp increase in the death toll of innocent victims. There has been an increase in forcible extraction of money and kidnappings which are going unchecked. The CPI(M) has been constantly urging the Government to take firm measures against the terroristic activities to ensure the safety and security of the people.

The CPI(M) calls upon the Government not to negotiate with any of the Akali groups unless they denounce terrorism and separatism. The Akali factions have to draw proper lesson from the deteriorating situation and firmly demarcate themselves from these anti-national activities. They must be told that no elections in the State can be held without restoring peace and normalcy.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 25, 1990

Polit Bureau Condemns Attack on Sheikh's House*

Statement dated March 15, 1990, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the attack launched on the ancestral house of Sheikh Abdullah in Srinagar city. Extremist elements set fire to the house causing extensive damage. This act of arson is an attempt to erase the glorious history of the Kashmiri people who fought for liberation against the Dogra raj under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah. This attack is directed at the secular traditions of the Kashmiri people and their history of democratic struggle.

The Polit Bureau calls upon the patriotic sections in Kashmir and outside to denounce this destructive action. All secular and democratic forces have to step up their efforts to counter the secessionist and fundamentalist forces while assuring the people of Kashmir that their identity and cultural values will be protected within the Indian Union.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 25, 1990

Central Committee on Namibia's Independence*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) salutes the heroic people of Namibia whose resolute struggle has led to the political independence of Africa's last colony. On the midnight of March 20-21, 1990, the day of the Sharpsville massacre, the South African flag was pulled down and the Namibian flag proudly fluttered to announce its independence.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) salutes and greets the valiant SWAPO, its leadership and the guerrilla fighters who for nearly a quarter of a century, led the armed struggle against South African occupation. The CPI(M) cherishes the memory of all those martyrs whose dream to see an independent and free Namibia has today borne fruit.

As Sam Nujoma, SWAPO President, assumed the presidency of independent Namibia, a galaxy of world leaders were present at the Windhoek Stadium to witness this historic event. The official delegation from India led by Prime Minister V P Singh, included Harkishan Singh Surjeet, CPI(M), Indrajit Gupta (CPI), K R Narayanan, Congress(I) and A B Vajpayee (BJP). The President of the Congress(I) chose not to join the Indian delegation and attended in his individual capacity. The composition of the Indian delegation and its level reflects the consistent support which India has accorded to the Namibian people's struggle against imperialism.

This victory of the Namibian people comes in the

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background of all efforts made by South Africa and its imperialist patrons during the last one year since the 12-month peace plan for the decolonization of Namibia got off to a bloody start on April 1, 1989. Apart from the 300 SWAPO guerrillas killed on that very day, although these months South Africa tried its best to sabotage the holding of a free and fair election, and having failed to do so it used its military presence to intimidate the Namibian fighters, to falsify the electoral lists by including a large number of UNITA rebels from neighbouring Angola and openly finance and support the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance against the SWAPO. Despite South Africa's machinations the SWAPO won 41 out of the 72 seats, seven short of the needed two-third majority to amend the Namibian Constitution. Thus for the time being the Constitutional provision denying the right to nationalization of multinational corporations unless they pay compensation, stands.

Sam Nujoma takes over as President of independent Namibia under very complicated circumstances. The only harbour of the Walvis Bay is still under South African occupation. It is from this Bay that the mineral-rich Namibia was, for decades, plundered by imperialist multinational corporations. Before the process of independence got under way, South Africa went through a process of privatizing the public utilities, dismantling the railway line and various other activities aimed at creating greater difficulties for the Government of independent Namibia. The CPI(M) is confident that the resolute Namibian people and the heroic SWAPO fighters, who have for nearly a quarter of a century, successfully carried out their armed struggle, will rise to the occasion and meet the tasks at hand.

CPI(M) Delegation Visits USSR, DPRK & China*

The CPI(M) Central Committee delegation consisting of E.M S Nambudiripad, M Basavapunnaiiah, Harkishan Singh Surjeet and Sitaram Yechury spent two weeks in the USSR, DPRK and China, and had wide-ranging discussions with the CPSU, the Workers' Party of Korea and the CPC. These discussions centered round the international developments, developments in the East European countries and the internal developments in the concerned countries.

In Moscow the delegation met the CPSU Polit Bureau member, Comrade A Yakolov, who is in charge of the Party's ideological work, and had a three-hour long discussion. Apart from this the delegation had eight other discussions with various institutes under the CPSU Central Committee dealing with East Europe, inter-ethnic questions, and the department of organization and cadre.

EMS and Sitaram visited Pyongyang and had three meetings and discussions with the leaders of the Workers' Party of Korea. The General Secretary of the WPK, Comrade Kim Il Sung discussed with the delegation for about three hours.

In China the delegation had four separate discussions with the General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, Comrade Jiang Zemin; member of the Standing Committee of the Polit Bureau, Comrade Qiao Shi; member of the Central Committee and International Liaison Department, Comrade

*Report Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 25, 1990

Zhu Liang, Deputy Head of the Department, Comrade Jiang Guang Hua and other leaders of the International Liaison Department Before returning to India after the discussions, the delegation also visited Buangzhou and Zhenchen special economic zones

The delegation is preparing a report for the Polit Bureau and Central Committee on the discussions that it had with these parties

The delegation left Delhi on February 26 and returned on March 15, 1990

Polit Bureau on Recurrence of Communal Riots*

Statement dated March 23, 1990, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) is deeply concerned at the recurrence of communal riots in different parts of the country during the last fortnight. In Bihar alone, communal violence has erupted in three centres. In Nawadah, five people have lost their lives. In Jamshedpur, at least three persons have been killed. In both places the role of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Bajrang Dal and BJP-RSS in fomenting the riots has been evident. Most disturbingly, violence has taken place in Bhagalpur which saw terrible riots in September last year. The Polit Bureau conveys its deep sympathy to those affected by this violence.

In Gujarat, in Patan town, curfew had to be imposed after an outbreak of violence. Attempts have been made to incite communal riots in Nizamuddin, New Delhi and Ajmer, Rajasthan.

It is clear from all the incidents that communal mischief is sought to be fanned. The situation continues to be tense because of the prolonged campaign launched on the Ramjanmabhoomi temple issue. While provocations from communalists of the majority community are seen in all these places, in retaliation fundamentalist elements in the minority community are also seeking to cash in on the situation.

The situation calls for vigilance on the part of all secular forces so that restraint is observed by all sides concerned.

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All efforts to whip up tensions on communally sensitive issues must be firmly curbed by the State Governments. The Central Government should immediately issue instructions in this regard.

The National Integration Council, which is to meet on April 6, should take up the communal situation on the agenda in right earnest so that a common understanding can be evolved to deal with the communal problem. Alongside with this, the Left and secular forces should immediately initiate united efforts to safeguard the secular values which are being threatened by the recurring incidents of communal violence.

Polit Bureau on Heinous Killings in J & K*

Issued Statement dated April 11, 1990

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep shock and condemnation at the inhuman killings of H L. Khera, General Manager, Hindustan Machine Tools unit Kashmir Vice-Chancellor of the Kashmir University, Prof. Mussheer-ul-Haq and his private secretary, Abdul Ghanı, by the terrorist and secessionist forces. This barbarous act shows the extent to which the extremist forces in Kashmir are prepared to go in order to implement their subversive designs backed by Pakistan and U S imperialism.

These outrageous murders illustrate the grim situation prevailing in the valley. The Central Government and the J & K administration must spare no efforts to hunt down the culprits. Firm action has to be taken to curb the violent and terroristic activities of these forces who are bent upon disrupting the unity of the country. There can be no compromise with those who seek to destroy the country's integrity by the use of terror aided and abetted by foreign forces.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 15, 1990

Homage To Comrade B.T. Ranadive*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its profound grief at the demise of Comrade B T Ranadive, member of the Polit Bureau, after an illness on April 6, 1990, in the early hours of the morning in Bombay. He was aged 85.

BTR was the foremost leader of the working class movement in India. He made an unparalleled contribution to developing the revolutionary movement in India based on Marxism-Leninism. He played a major role, from the early days of the Indian Communist movement, in consolidating and developing the Communist Party on an all-India plane.

His political activities spanned seven decades, from joining the anti-imperialist movement in the late twenties while a student, to his tireless leadership of the working class party struggling to establish people's democracy and socialism in India.

Born in a middle class family, BTR was a brilliant student who completed his post-graduate education from Bombay University. He was introduced to Marxism by Dr G Adhikari, his cousin, who also became a prominent leader of the CPI. BTR became a Party member in 1928. He was the oldest Party member in CPI(M). For 62 years he served the Party and the cause of Communism with singular devotion.

BTR plunged into the work organizing the textile, railway and other sections of the workers in Bombay. He played

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 15, 1990

a notable role in the historic textile workers' strike in Bombay in 1929 and was a prominent leader of the AITUC. He made his distinctive contribution to the development of the trade union movement under Communist leadership in those pioneering days. He became a member of the Central Committee when the all-India centre was set up in 1934-35. He rapidly made his mark as an able Marxist theoretician, and by this ability to judge every event and development from the proletarian standpoint. While imprisoned in the Deoli detention camp in 1940-42, he initiated the process of adopting the line of the Party supporting the Soviet Union and the anti-fascist war when Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union. Coming out of jail, he became a member of the Polit Bureau and played a key role in guiding the Party's militant activities during the post-war mass upsurge.

At the First Congress of the CPI in 1943, he was elected to the Polit Bureau and the Central Committee. At this Congress he made the report on the working class movement on behalf of the Central Committee. At the Second Congress of the CPI in 1948, he was elected the General Secretary of the Central Committee and worked in that capacity till 1950. It was a period when the Party was leading big anti-feudal struggles such as the Telangana peasants struggle and facing severe repression from the Congress Government.

BTR was elected to the leadership of the CPI once again in 1956. From then onwards he played a key role in developing the struggle against revisionism. Jailed in 1962, after the India-China border conflict, he was released only in 1966 and, therefore, could not participate in the Seventh Congress which saw the formation of the CPI(M) in 1964. He was elected to the Central Committee and the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) at the Congress and he remained in these leading positions till his death.

BTR made an important contribution to the defence of Marxism-Leninism and fought against all attempts to dilute the basic principles. He doggedly opposed both revisionism

and Left-sectarianism. He led the ideological fight against the Left-sectarian deviation in the form of Naxalism in the sixties. A staunch upholder of proletarian internationalism, he was imbued with deep commitment to the cause of the world working class and international Socialism.

BTR had a life-long devotion to and involvement with the trade union movement—from the early days as a leader of the textile workers in Bombay, to being a prominent, leader of the AITUC and finally as the President of the CITU till his last days. The foundation of the CITU in 1970, its development and growth, were chiefly due to his endeavours

In his intellectual and ideological activity BTR had a wide range of interests. He was deeply concerned about the forging of a worker-peasant alliance, he was passionately committed to destroying the old caste inequalities, social oppression and obscurantism; he was a constant champion of women's rights and equality. About all, he was fine embodiment of internationalism and patriotism which were fully integrated in his outlook. He was a gifted writer, whose large number of books served to educate generations of the Communists and progressives on a wide range of issues from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint.

BTR as a Communist leader was an inspiring model. He led a life of simplicity and his wants were spartan. He was a leader who maintained close ties with the ranks and the working class and this, coupled with a deep sense of humour, endeared him to all the Party ranks and workers. He spent nine years in jail and four years underground in his revolutionary life. He braved all privations cheerfully and with indomitable courage.

BTR was a unique Communist leader. For the development of the CPI(M) and the Communist movement, he worked with tireless energy even in his advanced age, which most younger comrades could not keep pace with. He was a pillar of strength for the Party in initiating and charting out the Party's tactics correctly at every turn in the situation, in

arriving at a correct working class position on international and national developments, in safeguarding the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and in maintaining high standards in the sphere of Party organization. The entire Party feels bereft at this loss. His passing away at this juncture is a serious blow for the Party and the Left movement in the country.

The Polit Bureau pays its respectful homage to this valued and beloved leader of our Party. It calls upon the entire Party to firmly uphold the principles he stood for. The Polit Bureau conveys its heartfelt sympathy and condolences to his wife Vimal Ranadive, his son Uday, his sister Ahilya Rangnekar and other members of the family. It dips the red banner in memory of this outstanding revolutionary and pledges to carry forward his unfinished work drawing inspiration from his dedicated service.

Polit Bureau on Success of Popular Movement In Nepal*

Statement dated April 9, 1990, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) hails the people of Nepal on the success of their popular movement for the establishment of a multi-party democracy. This unprecedented mass upsurge in Nepal has forced the King to bow to the people's wishes and initiate negotiations for the establishment of a multi-party democracy. Many lives were lost in this struggle. The CPI(M) pays its homage to these martyrs whose sacrifice inspired and galvanized the Nepali people's struggle.

The CPI(M) greets the leadership and the ranks of Nepali Congress and the United Left Front for leading this successful struggle. The formation of the United Left Front and its active participation has led to the mobilization of lakhs of people in this struggle.

The CPI(M) is confident that the struggle for a multi-party democracy that will guarantee the fundamental rights and liberties of the people in Nepal, will be consolidated in the days to come.

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On Uncovering of Plan to Kill CPI(M) Leaders*

**Polit Bureau issued statement expressing
serious concern**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep concern at the uncovering of a conspiracy by the Ananda Margis to kill CPI(M) leaders. It has been brought to light by the BSF authorities in Punjab. The arrest of two Ananda Margis in Amritsar with a consignment of arms smuggled in from Pakistan, reveals the international ramifications of this diabolical plan.

The Polit Bureau wishes to point out that in recent months there has been an orchestrated campaign in the media favourable to the Ananda Marg and to malign the CPI(M) in West Bengal. The purpose of this exercise, in which the PUCL was also involved, was to cover up the long trail of cases in which Ananda Marg terror is implicated. Beginning with the 1970 assassination attempt on Jyoti Basu at Patna, to the attempt on the life of former Prime Minister, Morarji Desai, in Sydney in 1978, to the bomb attacks on Indian diplomatic missions and personnel abroad in 1977-78, Ananda Marg men have been implicated in all these cases. In the past few years there is a long list of violent incidents associated with this organization in West Bengal.

The Central Government must take serious note of the Amritsar incident and revelations and conduct a thorough investigation. It should take effective preventive measures to see that such a conspiracy is foiled.

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Democratic opinion must assert itself and the vigilance of the authorities must be heightened to ensure that terroristic outfits like the Ananda Marg with imperialist connections, masquerading as a religious organizations, is not allowed to subvert our country's democratic set-up

Polit Bureau on Condemnable State of Railways*

Statement dated April 17, 1990, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep shock at the loss of more than 100 lives in a bogie of the Mokamah-Arrah Passenger train near Patna junction in Bihar. The fact of an oxygen cylinder catching fire creating in its trail the infernal holocaust, is indeed a sad commentary on the vigilance of the persons responsible for the safety of the travelling public. The jamming of three doors of the compartment under fire with only one exit for more than 200 passengers where only 80 are supposed to sit, is also a damning commentary on the callousness and negligence of the concerned Railway authorities. It is not the first time that such a thing happened causing the death of the travelling public. Yet the most regrettable part is that such repeated incidents originating from carrying of such combustible material in the railway passenger compartments which is strictly prohibited under the law, goes on unchecked.

The Polit Bureau demands that stringent measures should be adopted to avoid recurrence of such incidents in future. The Polit Bureau sends its condolences to the families of all those who lost their lives in this ghastly accident and also to those who at the moment are fighting for their lives in a critical condition in the hospital.

The Polit Bureau also mourns the death of more than 100 people due to food poisoning in Rajpura village of Basti district in U.P. The cause of death it seems, is the

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 29, 1990

consumption of wheat-flour contaminated with pesticides. Such tragic accidents only expose the indifferent attitude of the authorities towards the safety and security of ordinary persons. The Polit Bureau expresses its deep sympathy to the members of the bereaved families.

On Attempt to Usurp Power in Nepal*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated April 23, 1990, to Press

A grave situation has developed in Nepal with the forces of the erstwhile regime resorting to widespread violence to overthrow the new cabinet and the democratic gains of the people. The reactionary forces associated with the previous Panchayati regime have mobilized a section of the police and armed forces in their attempt at the coup d'etat. A large number of people have been shot dead by a section of the police and armed forces. Houses of activists of the democratic movement have been burnt down. The lives of the new Ministers are in danger as they are being targeted by the reactionary forces.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns this reactionary attack on democracy and expresses its total solidarity with the democratic forces in Nepal. With the support of the people, the democratic and progressive forces should fight back this illegal attempt to usurp power.

The Polit Bureau calls upon the Government of India to convey its deep concern at the situation in Nepal to the King and urge him to ensure that the recently arrived agreement to restore democracy is respected and the people's wishes honoured. The Polit Bureau calls upon all sections of the people to voice their support in defence of democracy in Nepal.

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Polit Bureau Communique on Serious Threat to National Integrity*

Issued following its meeting held in New Delhi from April 27 to 29, 1990

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) at the conclusion of its three-day meeting held on April 27-29, 1990 at New Delhi, issued the following communique

At the outset, the Polit Bureau paid homage to the memory of the departed leader Comrade B T. Ranadive, member of the Polit Bureau and Central Committee of the Party

The Polit Bureau reviewed the political situation in the country with special reference to two issues. It considered the growing threat to national unity posed by the intensified activities of the separatist and communal forces in different parts of the Country. The Polit Bureau also reviewed the economic situation in the country and the immediate problems faced by the people in this context

Jammu & Kashmir

The situation in the Valley continues to be grim due to open intervention by the Pakistan rulers who are also whipping up a war psychosis. They are openly training militants for an insurgency. These activities have led to a serious situation where people belonging to the minority communities, both Hindus and Sikhs, have been forced to migrate for the first time in the history of Kashmir. The Polit Bureau sharply criticised the BJP assistance for the removal of Article 370 and for echoing the Pakistan rulers' jingoistic attempts to build up a war psychology. The Polit Bureau also condemned

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the confederation plan mooted by certain quarters which is nothing but the old formula of U S imperialism which has been reincarnated

The Polit Bureau supported the efforts of the Government of India to curb terrorism and to put down the destabilizing activities of the Pakistani trained extremists. The Polit Bureau considered that these steps alone are not sufficient. Appropriate political initiatives and measures to alleviate unemployment and stimulating the economic development are to be immediately undertaken.

The Polit Bureau appealed to the people of Kashmir to discard and denounce the separatist conspiracy as they have done in the past at crucial junctures, while fighting for their just demands.

Punjab Problem

The Polit Bureau noted that the people are being subjected to increasing extortions of money by the extremists. Huge sums of money have been collected and are being laundered through some finance companies. A section of the administration has developed vested interest in such corrupt activities. The killings of scores of innocent people by the terrorists are continuing unabated. Discussing the Punjab situation the Polit Bureau condemned the recent statement made by Simranjit Singh Mann regarding holding of a plebiscite in Punjab under U.N. auspices as anti-national which harms the interests of the Sikhs and the Punjabi people. It exhorted the different Akali factions to take a forthright stand against separatism and terrorism and help create a situation where peace and normalcy is restored whereby elections can be held in a free atmosphere.

The Polit Bureau also felt that the Centre should initiate certain economic measures required in the interest of the development of Punjab. The Government should set up all-party advisory committees at State and district levels so that a check can be kept in the malpractices indulged in by a section of the police force and the administration. Steps

should be taken to tackle the outstanding issues which led to the present problems

Assam : ULFA Attacks

The Polit Bureau expressed grave concern at the growing terrorists activities of the ULFA in Assam. The ULFA gangs have been terrorising the business community and the minorities and extorting huge sums of money through threats, intimidation and kidnapping. They have killed those who resist their blackmail and widened their attacks on the tea garden management personnel. The ULFA while pretending to champion the demands of the Assamese people, advocates separatism and utilises chauvinism and terror. This is creating panic among the minorities.

The Government of Assam has completely failed to check these activities by their policy of appeasement. This will lead to a dangerous situation and these activities pose a threat to the very unity of Assam which is a State with diverse ethnic and linguistic groups. The Government of Assam should seek the Central Government's cooperation in dealing with situation created by the ULFA. The ULFA men are being trained in camps across the border in Burma. If timely action is not taken, the ULFA activities will encourage destabilizing activities in the entire north-east and pose a serious threat to national unity.

Communal Situation

There has been an alarming spurt in communal riots in the last one month. Many lives have been lost in the riots in Ahmedabad and Baroda in Gujrat. Communal incidents occurred in Kanpur and Mathura. This is a direct result of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad's new phase of the agitation for construction of the temple of Ayodhya at the site of the Babri Masjid. Organizations like the Bajrang Dal in U P, backed by the RSS are bent upon communal mischief. Anti-socials from both communities under the cover of communal outfits are whipping up tensions. The Polit Bureau decided

that a nation-wide campaign be launched to expose these forces immediately. For this all the Left and secular forces must be brought together to initiate an effective campaign in the month of May itself. In this respect, the Polit Bureau endorsed the decision of the U P State Committee of the Party to conduct a mass campaign through public meetings beginning from May.

Ananda Marg

The Polit Bureau condemned the Ananda Marg conspiracy to assassinate CPI(M) leaders and its campaign of violence in West Bengal. The arrest of two Ananda Margis by the BSF authorities near Amritsar, with a consignment of arms smuggled from Pakistan, has exposed the diabolical plan of this sinister organization. The Ananda Marg, posing as a religious organization, seeks to hoodwink public opinion and continue its criminal activities. It has a history of terror and violence which should be exposed before the people. The Polit Bureau calls upon the Central Government to be vigilant about the activities of this outfit in India and abroad, and take all suitable measures to prevent its unlawful activities which are inimical to the democratic set up of our country.

Andhra Pradesh

The Polit Bureau noted that there is a sharp deterioration in the general law and order situation under the Congress(I) Government in Andhra Pradesh. There has been a spate of atrocities on scheduled castes and tribal people. Anti-socials are indulging in criminal activities with impunity.

The Polit Bureau noted that due to the State Congress(I) Government's appeasement policy and concessions to the People's War Group, it has intensified its attacks targeting the CPI(M). This unscrupulous alliance between the Chenna Reddy Government and the People's War Group is emboldening them to carry out activities disruptive of the democratic movement. The Andhra Pradesh State Committee of the

CPI(M) has decided to launch a mass campaign to expose the anti-democratic and disruptive activities of this group. The Polit Bureau calls upon all democratic sections in the State to rally to isolate the terroristic activities of this Naxalite group.

Situation in Tripura

The Congress(I)-led coalition Government is continuing its repressive attacks against the CPI(M). The elementary fundamental rights under Constitution and the democratic rights of the people have not been restored in the State. The Congress(I) and the State Government are encouraging the enrolment of Bangladeshi foreigners as voters, particularly in the Autonomous District Council areas. As a result of this, communal and ethnic tensions are mounting. The coalition Government is still conspiring to block the functioning of the Autonomous District Council and has launched new attacks in the tribal areas in view of the forthcoming ADC elections to be held in July 1990. The Polit Bureau is confident that the Party and its allies will counter all these disruptive activities and mobilise the people to defeat the Congress(I)-TUJS alliance in the forthcoming ADC elections.

Economic Situation

The Polit Bureau had noted at the time of the Union budget that the new Government has inherited a legacy of an economic mess created by the policy of the Congress(I) Government. The Union budget did not make decisive break with these old policies. The Polit Bureau had warned that the railway and general budget proposals would add to inflationary conditions and lead to price rise.

Since then the price situation has deteriorated with hike in prices of all essential commodities. The wholesale price index of all commodities is steadily rising. The decontrol of cement has led to its price shooting up. Apart from the budgetary increase in the prices of petrol and diesel, the

prices of sugar, tea and edible oil are shooting up. The issue price of wheat has been increased by Rs 30 per quintal. All this is causing increasing suffering for the ordinary people. The Government has to take immediate steps to curb price rise, strengthen the public distribution system and provide relief to the people. For this the first step should be to modify those proposals in the budget to be incorporated in the Finance Bill so that the people are spared from price escalation which attacks their livelihood. The Polit Bureau decided that a delegation of the Left parties should meet the Prime Minister to impress upon the Government the need for this urgent step. It also decided to cooperate with all Left parties to launch a countrywide campaign.

The Polit Bureau noted that various policy measures announced by the National Front Government to allow the private enterprises further scope in core sector will be detrimental to the public sector. This approach indicates no change from the privatisation drive and liberalisation policy of the previous Rajiv Gandhi Government.

The Polit Bureau strongly condemned the invoking of the Super 301 Clause against India by the U S Administration once again this year. Making use of the present difficult economic situation the U S Government is trying to force India to further open the economy to U S multinationals.

The Polit Bureau supports the Government of India's stand to oppose these pressure tactics and to safeguard India's legitimate interests. All patriotic forces should extend support to the Government to stand firm in its resolve to oppose U S blackmail.

Developments in Socialist Countries

The Polit Bureau discussed in depth the recent developments in Socialist countries particularly the set-back suffered by Socialism in Eastern Europe and the ongoing developments in the Soviet Union. The Polit Bureau finalised a draft document to be placed before the Central Committee in its meeting to be held in the last week of May.

Ho Chi Minh Birth Centenary

The Polit Bureau adopted a resolution to commemorate the birth centenary of Ho Chi Minh, the legendary leader of the Vietnamese Revolution and the International Communist movement whose birth centenary celebrations on a world-wide scale begin from May 19. The Polit Bureau calls upon all its Party units and ranks to observe the birth centenary year in a befitting manner by which the revolutionary life and example of Ho Chi Minh can be propagated and imbibed by all progressive and democratic sections.

Ho Chi Minh Birth Centenary*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) decided in its meeting held on April 27-29, 1990 to give a call for a Befitting Celebration

May 19 this year marks the birth centenary of the legendary Communist leader Ho Chi Minh. With his name is associated the heroic struggle not only of the Vietnamese but also of the peoples of the former colonies for social and political emancipation. His life and work was an epic saga of struggle, sacrifice and strength of conviction in Marxism-Leninism. It continues to be a source of inspiration for generations of Communists and freedom loving people.

Born in a learned family in central Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh (his childhood name was Nguyen Sinh Chung, later in life he had to assume many other names) grew up in an atmosphere of patriotic struggles that were ruthlessly suppressed by French colonialists and the feudal oligarchy in Vietnam. Forced to abandon formal studies, he left the country in 1911 in a French ship as a cook and travelled all over Europe and the United States. For full 13 years, he acquired first-hand knowledge of the manner in which capitalism and imperialism exploited the working class and the people. He joined the various struggles of the people in these countries. In 1917 when the world was rocked by the Great October Revolution, he went to France where he became one of the founding members of the French Communist Party and opted for joining Lenin's Third International. He edited the mouth-piece of the International Union which he founded in 1921 together with other revolutionaries from the colonies. He

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attended the Fifth Congress of the Comintern as a member of the French Communist Party delegation and was assigned to be the chief of the Southern Bureau of Comintern

Nationalist and Internationalist

During the course of his travels, many important developments were taking place in the world that had deeply affected Ho Chi Minh's perceptions and attracted him to Marxism Lenin's thesis "On The National And Colonial Question" irreversibly moulded his consciousness to struggle not only for the liberation of Vietnam from colonial rule but for its social transformation His life in Paris gave shape to revolutionary strategy of both nationalist and internationalist character

In 1924, he came to China and started making preparations for the revolutionary struggle in Vietnam by training young Vietnamese emigres. At the time, he founded a paper to propagate the cause of the revolution

In 1927, he went to Moscow and wrote his treatise on "Party Military Work in the Countryside". He founded the Anti-Imperialist Union and later visited other countries in Europe as well as Sri Lanka and Thailand. In 1930, he convened a conference of all Vietnamese revolutionaries in Hong Kong which led to the founding of the Communist Party of Vietnam He was arrested in Hong Kong and, after his release, attended the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in Moscow and undertook the programme to train Vietnamese revolutionaries In 1938, he returned to China and then moved into Vietnam secretly in 1941 under the name Ho Chi Minh which has since then symbolised the aspirations of struggling mankind for liberation

Master Strategist

Despite many arrests and forced underground periods that he had to undertake, his firm resolve and conviction in the truth of Marxist-Leninist teachings and determination to put these into practice continued to provide inspiration for his

work of organizing the Vietnamese Communist Party and the revolutions in Indo-China as a part of the world revolution, and never for a moment did he forget to link nationalist and internationalist tasks. The strategical-tactical line worked out by the Communist Party of Vietnam under his leadership was resoundingly vindicated by the triumph of the Vietnamese struggle. The revolutionary struggle led by the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, based on the firm worker-peasant alliance and forging united front with other sections in the struggle, was firmly upheld by the Communist Party of Vietnam.

Fifteen years after the founding of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the situation in the world, with the rout of fascist Germany and the Soviet Union's offensive against Japan, created circumstances which Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese Communists were waiting for. A conference of the Communist Party of Vietnam in 1945 formed a committee for national salvation and gave the call for a general insurrection. Ho Chi Minh, along with other legendary revolutionaries like General Giap, Le Duan and others, organized the National Liberation Army and seized power from the Japanese. The liberation struggle triumphed on August 19 and on September 2 Ho Chi Minh became the head of the Provisional Government. But the French imperialists had their designs to stage a come-back and recolonise Vietnam which led to a long and bitter struggle culminating in the heroic Dien Bien Phu battle in 1954 where the French forces were roundly defeated. The liberation of North Vietnam and the establishment of a Socialist republic was in itself a saga of revolutionary courage, military skill and steadfast conviction in the triumph against class exploration.

Leader of an Epic War

For full 20 years, the Vietnamese people had to wage a life-and-death struggle against the U.S. occupation of the South. This epic war of resistance symbolized the aspirations of the exploited people the world over—a struggle that generated

waves of solidarity movements, inspired many a revolutionary outside the geographical territory of Vietnam and proved to the world that the indomitable spirit of an exploited people for liberation cannot be crushed even by the most powerful of imperialist armies. Standing at the head of this heroic struggle, which made its own singular contribution to altering the correlation of class forces on a world scale, was Ho Chi Minh.

In 1958, Ho Chi Minh came to Delhi and Calcutta on a State visit. During his visit the people of Calcutta had come to greet a leader, a comrade-in-arms who symbolised in his personality and life the struggle for liberation and the strength of conviction. The slogan "Amaar Naam, Tomaar Naam — Vietnam, Vietnam" (My name, Your name—Vietnam, Vietnam) which evolved at this time, has come to immortalize the solidarity with the Vietnamese struggle. Earlier in 1946, Ho Chi Minh spent a day in Calcutta in transit. Calcutta has a strong tradition of solidarity movement with the people struggling in Indo-China, Korea and Vietnam. In one such solidarity action, the British police had fired upon the people martyring a medical college student.

Ho Chi Minh passed away in 1969, seven years before the final liberation of the South and the reunification of the country. In the last testament that he left for his people and the world he said "The war of resistance against U.S. aggression may drag on. Our people may have to face new sacrifices of life and property. Whatever happens, we must keep firm our resolve to fight the U.S. aggressors till total victory. Our mountains will always be, our rivers will always be, our people will always be, with the American invaders defeated we will rebuild our land ten times more beautiful."

Source of Inspiration

Leading a simple spartan life full of dedication and marked by sobriety, modesty and high moral standards, Ho Chi Minh in his personal life, inspired and continues to inspire

revolutionaries of many generations. His steadfast commitment to the people's cause and ideological conviction have made a unique contribution to the international Communist movement. His testament, written at a time of open polemics between the CPSU and the CPC, is a document that inspires confidence, and till his death he continuously aspired for the unification of the international Communist movement. The slogan "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, We shall fight, We shall win", continues to reverberate amongst the struggling people the world over.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) salutes the memory of this great revolutionary and calls upon the entire Party to observe his centenary in a befitting manner. While paying homage to Ho Chi Minh, the CPI(M) reiterates its commitment to the Marxist philosophy and ideology that guided him in his struggles and that continues to guide people the world over in the struggle for emancipation and liberation. The Polit Bureau calls upon the Party ranks to popularise his works and contributions which are an invaluable guide to all Marxist-Leninists and the struggling people.

Polit Bureau on BJP's Communalism*

Statement dated May 14, 1990, issued to Press

It is only natural that the BJP should have reacted on predictable lines to the Left initiated convention against communalism and separatism. Only those who are out to destroy the secular fabric of our great nation can dub the unity of secular forces in the present situation as an "unholy combination".

The Left forces today are in the forefront of the struggle against communalism and separatism whether in Punjab, Kashmir or elsewhere in the country. Their credentials in safeguarding the unity and integrity of our country are before the people through the blood of their countless martyrs. It is the Left that has consistently opposed and exposed the imperialist machinations against India, while the BJP is echoing the war hysteria and jingoism of the Pakistani rulers.

One could take the BJP's call for a debate on communalism seriously but for its unbridled campaign for the destruction of Babri Masjid in Ayodhya and the construction of the temple in its place. The inflammatory communal propaganda unleashed and the feverish campaign against Article 370 in the present serious situation in Kashmir is nothing else but playing into the hands of our country's enemies. Those who refuse to even wait for the court verdict on the Babri Masjid-Ramjanmabhooni dispute cannot claim to "evolve a national consensus" on this issue.

The BJP has strangely challenged the CPI(M) to contest

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 20, 1990

elections on the issue of communalism in West Bengal. Many elections have been held in West Bengal and the whole country knows its result. The BJP seems to have forgotten the results of the last Lok Sabha elections. In Faizabad, the BJP unashamedly collaborated with the Congress(I) and both together joined to contest against the Left candidate. The central issue in this campaign was the Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute and communalism. The BJP was defeated. In the neighbouring Akbarpur Assembly constituency the CPI(M) candidate defeated the BJP candidate.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon the people of our country to rally together as never before to safeguard the unity and integrity of our great nation against machinations and conspiracies of the communal and separatist forces.

Khalistani Terrorists Murder CPI(M) Leader*

Polit Bureau condemns it in a statement dated May 11, 1990

The Polit Bureau strongly condemned the killing of Comrade Kartar Chand in Ropar district in Punjab by the Khalistani terrorists. Comrade Kartar Chand, aged 45, was a member of the District Committee of the Party. He was also an office-bearer of the All India Agricultural Workers' Union in Punjab.

Comrade Kartar Chand has laid down his life valiantly fighting to defend national unity and in defence of the interests of the working people.

The Polit Bureau conveys its heartfelt condolences to the members of his family.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 20, 1990

CPI(M) Central Committee Communique*

**Issued following its meeting held in New Delhi from
May 28 to 31, 1990**

At the outset, the Central Committee adopted condolence resolutions paying homage to B T Ranadive and Saroj Mukherjee, members of the Polit Bureau, who passed away recently. Also condoled the death of G S Randhawa, member of the Central Committee and other comrades who had died in the past five months. The Central Committee paid special homage to the memory of the comrades who lost their lives in the struggle against separatism and terrorism in Punjab, Kashmir and Tripura in the past five months.

Positive Measures Welcomed

The Central Committee welcomed some of the steps announced by the National Front Government and the legislation initiated by it in the budget session of Parliament. It welcomed the inclusion by a Constitutional amendment of all Land Reform Acts in the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution, and the upgrading of the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes by giving it Constitutional status. Proposed legislation such as the Prasar Bharati Bill, the Lok Pal Bill and electoral reforms, are also steps in the right direction to strengthen the democratic set-up in the country.

A new orientation has been given to Centre-State relations also. The setting up of the Inter-States Council, invoking

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 10, 1990. The main decisions and conclusions of the Central Committee meeting of CPI(M) are given in this communique.

the Constitutional provision, is an important step which fulfills the longstanding demand for such a forum to give a new content to Centre-State relations. There is a refreshing change in the attitude of the Central Government towards the Left-led governments which were blatantly discriminated against under Congress(I) rule.

The National Front Government has also sought to involve the mass organizations of different sections of the people, through a series of meetings with their representatives. However, the Government has not shown any awareness of the need to undo the victimization of employees in the railways and other public sector units, who became victims of the previous Government's anti-democratic policies. It is necessary that the Government take immediate steps to undo this victimization, which will help in gaining the confidence of the working class.

Economic Situation

The Central Committee expressed its serious concern at the continuing escalation of prices of all essential commodities, which is a major cause of suffering for the people at present. The Wholesale Price Index of all commodities has registered a continuous increase for the nineteenth week in succession, and now stands at 173.6 on May 12. This is an 8.7 per cent increase compared to the corresponding period last year. The prices of tea, sugar, edible oils and vegetables have reached a new high in the recent period. All other goods are affected by the spiralling price rise. The prices of cement and other manufactured goods are climbing up.

Curb Price Rise

The National Front Government's budget provisions, such as the steep increase in the prices of diesel, petrol, and freight fares, and the increase in the issue price of wheat by Rs. 3 per quintal, has further fuelled this inflationary trend. The Central Committee is disappointed with the National Front Government's failure to provide effective relief when the

Finance Bill was adopted in the Lok Sabha. It demands that the National Front Government abandon the policies which led to the price rise under the previous Congress(I) government, and adopt measures which will curb the price rise and strengthen the public distribution system. It should increase the quota of levy sugar and provide adequate supplies through the public distribution system to combat the open market prices.

The Central Committee welcomed the Left parties observing May 16 as Anti-Price-Rise Day, and called upon all its units to continuously mobilize the people against this price rise, blackmarketing and hoarding. The pressure of the people must be brought to bear to ensure steps to curb the rise in prices.

Old Policies Being Pursued

The National Front had promised to reverse the policies pursued by the Congress(I), which had landed the country in a serious crisis. It had promised more employment, rural development and relief to the rural poor. But to do so required a break with the old Congress(I) policies. So far there has been no sign of such an orientation. On the other hand, there are disturbing indications from the series of policy measures announced, that the old policies of liberalization and privatization are being tenaciously followed.

On the one hand the Industries Minister had declared that no sick unit can be taken over. On the other hand, he has promised more relaxations for foreign capital investment, by lowering the FERA limits. The privatization drive continues with more concessions to the private sector in the core sector. This will be detrimental to the public sector. The MRTP regulations are being relaxed for big business, and there is a renewed talk of selling shares of the public sector to private individuals, an approach echoed in the Eighth Plan Approach paper.

All this shows that the World Bank-IMF pressure continues to operate. The Central Committee warns the National Front that if these policies are not changed, and urgent steps to give relief to the people from price rise and unemployment

not worked out, the discontent will grow and the credibility of the Government will be affected

The difficult economic situation is being sought to be utilized by the USA and other imperialist agencies. The threat of Super 301 and stringent conditions for IMF loans show how continuous pressure to open India's economy still further to foreign capital is being exercised. It is good that the National Front Government had declared its resolve to resist the Super 301 clause. But vigilance of all patriotic people is required to see that there is no resiling from this position.

Complex Political Situation

The Central Committee noted that the Congress(I), after being decisively rejected in the Lok Sabha and the Assembly elections, is resorting to various manoeuvres to try and destabilize the National Front Government. Especially condemnable is its behaviour in Parliament where it has adopted an obstructionist attitude. This was particularly evident when it tried to hold up the passing of the Constitutional Amendment Bill giving Constitutional status to the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The Janata Dal and the National Front Government should overcome its group interests and rivalries to unitedly endeavour to fulfill their promises to the people. The people have given them a mandate to realize their aspirations, which should not be betrayed.

Kashmir

The CPI(M) Central Committee expressed its deep concern at the deterioration of the situation in the Kashmir Valley following the recent murder of Mirwaiz Farooq. Following the firing on the mourners' procession which left many dead, the Central Government had no other option but to recall the Governor, Jagmohan.

The CPI(M) Central Committee urges upon the National Front Government to urgently address itself to the task of restoring peace in the Valley by taking firm administrative

measures. These must be combined with giving the Kashmiri people assurances of their identity, and the safeguarding of their interests. In this light, the consistent propaganda of the BJP for the abrogation of Article 370 of the Constitution is only playing into the hands of the enemies of our nation, and bolstering Pakistan's efforts, which keep the situation tense. The CPI(M) calls upon the National Front Government to immediately seal the border with Pakistan in order to stop the flow of subversives and arms. The Central Committee criticized Jagmohan's statement after his nomination to the Rajya Sabha, in justifying his role and demanding a judicial enquiry into the events in Kashmir.

Punjab

The CPI(M) Central Committee expressed grave concern at the continued killing of innocent people by the Khalistani extremists in Punjab. With the change in the Governor, the CPI(M) hopes that the Government will adopt a strategy based on three factors that should be simultaneously implemented, which the CPI(M) has been consistently advocating. First, stern administrative measures to curb terrorist violence. Secondly, a political campaign to draw the mass of the people into action against the secessionist elements. Third, a political settlement to be worked out based on the Rajiv-Longowal Accord.

The CPI(M) calls upon the National Front Government to unilaterally take the initiative in implementing the provisions of the Longowal Accord. The CPI(M) and its unit in Punjab which, at the cost of tremendous sacrifices, have been upholding the cause of national unity, reiterates that it is only the united mobilization of the Sikh and non-sikh masses against the terrorists that can create conditions for a political solution.

Assam

An unbridled campaign of murder, extortion and loot by the ULFA in Assam, continues to create a situation of terror in some parts of the State. Although a constituent of the National

Front, the AGP and its Government in Assam, is finding itself incapable of controlling the situation, with a section of them protecting the ULFA extremists. The subversive activities of the ULFA pose a grave threat not only to the unity of Assam, but for the whole North Eastern region, with the potential danger of escalation of insurgency activities in Nagaland, Manipur, etc. The CPI(M) calls upon the National Front Government to exert its authority to enable the State Government to create normalcy in the State.

In various parts of our country tribal and ethnic movements are going on. Reactionary forces are attempting to misdirect them on to secessionist lines. The CPI(M), while reiterating its resolve to struggle against such divisive forces, recognises the element of democratic content in these movements. This must be accepted, and a solution must be sought for these movements, by providing these areas with autonomy within the concerned States, wherever this is necessary.

Ananda Marg Terror

In recent months the Ananda Marg has stepped up its violent activities in Purulia district of West Bengal, where it has its headquarters. This had led to a number of clashes with the local people who are resisting the Marg's land-grabbing activities. In order to cover up their murderous activities, the Ananda Marg, through a section of the media, is attempting to launch a big campaign accusing the CPI(M) and the West Bengal Government of terrorizing their organization. Such lies have been nailed down by the recent exposure of the Ananda Marg conspiracy to assassinate CPI(M) leaders when two of their men were arrested by the BSF in Amritsar with a consignment of arms smuggled from Pakistan. The Home Minister in the Lok Sabha has warned against the activities and diabolical nature of this pseudo-religious organization.

The Ananda Marg has targeted Jyoti Basu for attack. The Central Committee calls upon its ranks and the people of the country to be vigilant against the nefarious designs of this organization, and expose its links with foreign agencies.

Grave Situation

While such secessionist and divisive movements are growing in the country, the communal situation is rapidly deteriorating. The escalation of inflammatory communal propaganda, which is continuously poisoning the minds of the people of our country, threatens the very unity and integrity of India. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad, RSS, Bajrang Dal and the Shiv Sena are continuing their campaign on the issue of construction of the Ramjanmabhoomi temple by demolishing the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya. The BJP continues to support this disruptive move. Fundamentalist forces in the minority communities are also aggravating the situation. The grave implications of this to the unity and integrity of India must be underlined. It was in the background of these developments that the CPI(M) alongwith the Left parties, and individuals from the Janata Dal and Congress(I), organized the National Convention against Communalism and Separatism on May 24, 1990, at New Delhi. This successful convention gave a call for a countrywide campaign on the issue of safeguarding our country's unity and integrity.

Tripura

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) congratulates the people of Tripura for the magnificent response to the call for the *Jail Bharo* action against the anti-people policies of the Congress(I)-TUJS Government in Tripura. In an attempt to try and intimidate the people from opposing them in the forthcoming Autonomous District Council Elections in July, the coalition Government is mounting further attacks against the CPI(M) and its cadres. The recent action, however, has brought into sharp focus the prevailing mass mood in the State which is rising in strong protest against the criminal strong-arm measures of the coalition Government. The Central Committee congratulates the CPI(M) unit in Tripura which, operating under extremely difficult conditions, has been able to rally the people in defence of democracy and civil liberties in the State.

Andhra Pradesh

The six months since the Congress(I) returned to power in the State, has been marked by a worsening of the situation on all fronts. The Congress(I) Government has begun undoing whatever little gains the people received from the beneficial policies of the earlier TDP Government. Many welfare schemes have been withdrawn without introducing a single new scheme. While the burdens of the people have thus increased, the overall law and order situation has further deteriorated. The Congress(I) Government is shamelessly conniving with a section of the Naxalites to browbeat the Opposition. This has led to a virtual collapse of the administration in some districts. The CPI(M), which is being made a special target of such attacks and a victim of the political vendetta of the Congress(I) Government, is taking the initiative in mobilizing the people against such a rapid deterioration in their living conditions.

Gorbachev-Bush Summit

The people of the world are looking forward to the ongoing Summit between the USSR and the USA to advance the progress towards further arms reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons. It is heartening to note that both sides have reached a preliminary agreement on the banning of chemical weapons and reducing sea-and-air-launched missiles. It is hoped that this Summit will produce a joint statement of understanding that will lead to a strategic arms reduction treaty later this year. It is also hoped that the Summit will ensure that a united Germany will not be part of a military alliance, thus posing a potential threat to security in Europe.

Developments in the Subcontinent

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) hails the heroic victorious struggle of the people of Nepal for the establishment of a multi-party democracy. The struggle, led jointly by the Nepali Congress and the United Left Front, has finally forced

the King of Nepal to accept the people's aspirations. The King, however, continues to hold effective power and is attempting to undermine the struggle for democracy. The CPI(M) reiterates its solidarity with the people of Nepal in this continuous struggle.

The CPI(M) hails the ending of the military rule in Burma and the successful holding of the democratic elections.

Developments in Socialist Countries

The Central Committee adopted a report on the developments in Socialist countries, particularly the recent events in Eastern Europe, and the internal developments in the Soviet Union. This report will be released shortly for reporting to the entire Party.

Mobilize the People

In the coming period the CPI(M) places the utmost importance on strengthening Left unity. Through this, wider united mobilization and actions of the working people can be ensured. The Central Committee calls upon its units to step up the independent mobilization of the people on their urgent demands concerning price rise, unemployment and other economic problems.

The Central Committee taking stock of the grim challenges posed to national unity by the forces of communalism and separatism decided to give a call for week-long campaign to be observed from July 9 to 15 in defence of communal harmony, secularism and national unity. The dangers posed by the separatist forces in Punjab, Kashmir and Assam, and the Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute, will have to be taken to the people in a big way.

The Central Committee also endorsed the resolution adopted by the Polit Bureau in April, calling for the observance of Ho Chi Minh's birth centenary year. All units should utilize these centenary celebrations to propagate the validity of Marxism-Leninism, and the struggle against imperialism which was exemplified by the life and work of Ho Chi Minh.

Political Report*

**Adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M)
at its meeting held in New Delhi from
May 28 to 31, 1990**

Our Central Committee is meeting after a long gap of nearly six months. Various important developments that had engaged the Party Centre led to this unfortunate delay.

During this period many significant, rapid and contradictory developments took place in the world. A separate document on the developments in the Socialist countries and related political-ideological issues has been adopted by the Central Committee.**

The people of the world are looking forward to the forthcoming summit between Gorbachev and Bush beginning on May 31, 1990. Preparations for the summit have yielded some results. Both sides have reached an agreement on issues of banning chemical weapons and reducing sea and air launched cruise missiles. The summit is likely to produce a joint statement of understanding that can lead to a START (Strategic Arms Reduction Talks) Treaty later this year. Following the INF treaty, these developments signify an advance in the process of arms reduction.

However, we must note the new efforts that are being made by U.S. imperialism. A new breed of missiles known as tactical air surface missiles (TASM) have been developed by the USA. At 19 centres in the 7 NATO countries plans are afoot to install these missiles. This would effectively undermine the gains of the INF treaty. The U.S. defence

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**Refer Document under Item no 94 of this Volume

budget for this year stands at 295 billion dollars, a reduction of about 2 per cent after accounting for inflation. This does not lead to eliminate any major weapons programme or the redeployment of U S forces the world over in any major way.

The inherent character of imperialism was revealed in the U S aggression on Panama. Simultaneously, the U S military exercises on the Korean peninsula and the Caribbean are escalating. The latter is directly targetted against Cuba. The USA and its allies U K. and France have once again sabotaged the two-decade-old U N decision for an international conference on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. The struggle against such imperialist designs will have to be strengthened by the forces of world peace.

One round of the four plus two conference on the question of German unification has ended. The Soviet Union initially took the position of neutrality of united Germany i.e. not being a member of either the NATO or the WARSAW Pact. Finally, however, the Soviet Union had to agree to a position of delinking the future military status of united Germany from the process of unification.

Sino-Soviet Relations

A welcome feature of this period is the continued improvement of Sino-Soviet relations. The recent visit of Chinese Premier to Moscow and the wide range of agreements signed will further strengthen the relations between the PRC and the USSR and between the CPSU and the CPC.

Namibia

During this period the world has witnessed the triumph of the heroic Namibian people. The over two-decade long armed struggle under the leadership of SWAPO culminated in the political independence of Namibia. The U N. supervised one year peace process for independence of Namibia was marked by all efforts by South Africa to sabotage this process. Despite this, the SWAPO won the first ever elections in Namibia.

South Africa, however, holds control of all the important Walvis Bay and is intensifying the economic pressures on Namibia. By not having a two-third majority the SWAPO is constrained from adopting a radical course such as the nationalization of multinational companies etc. The war-ravaged and imperialist plundered economy needs international assistance. The struggle for genuine economic independence of the Namibian people, therefore, continues.

South Africa

Nelson Mandela's release after 27 years of confinement marks one of the most important developments of this period. The hated apartheid regime of South Africa was forced by the strength of the armed struggle of the South African people led by the ANC and international solidarity to lift the internal Emergency and grant limited freedom to the black people. The ANC has publicly stated that its struggle continues to dismantle completely the apartheid regime and to establish a society with equal opportunities for the entire population. It has also announced that the question of withdrawal of armed struggle is not on the agenda until the apartheid regime revokes all its repressive laws. Negotiations between the ANC and the South African Government have begun and the process is on. The ANC has called for strengthening the economic sanctions against South Africa in order to put more pressure on the apartheid regime. The real nature of British imperialist interests in South Africa was exposed when Margaret Thatcher instead called for withdrawal of sanctions.

Nicaragua

The surprising results of elections in Nicaragua was disappointing to the people of the world. The decade long economic sanctions imposed by U.S. imperialism and its allies and its continuous funding of Contras to destabilize the Sandinista Government had created a situation where a section of the Nicaraguan people held that U.S. imperialism

would not allow Nicaragua to develop with the Sandinistas in power. The economic austerity measures the Sandinistas were forced to adopt and the galloping inflation caused tremendous economic difficulties to the people. Exploiting this, the opposition alliance of 14 parties under the banner of UNO secured a simple majority. The UNO was heavily funded by the U.S. administration directly during the elections to the tune of several million dollars. But the hopes of the people that the Contras problem would be resolved soon, were dashed with the Contras continuing to be defiant and the U.S. continuing to finance them. However, recently some progress is seen in the process of disarming the Contras.

The UNO coalition brought together by 14 disparate parties is threatened with potential instability. Not having won the required two-third majority to effect constitutional changes the UNO is not in a position to put into effect the American designs at undermining the gains of the Nicaraguan revolution. The Sandinistas continue to control the armed forces and the UNO government has been forced to retain the Sandinista leader as the commander of the armed forces.

Solidarity with PLO

The recent visit by the President of Palestine to India has further strengthened the solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people led by the PLO. Yasser Arafat's visit to Calcutta was marked by strong expression of the solidarity of the people of West Bengal. The 'intifada' in the Israeli occupied territories continues despite tremendous repression. The latest widespread protest against the indiscriminate shooting and killing of seven Palestinian labourers in the occupied territories reflects the determination of the Palestinians to carry forward their struggle. The Zionist regime has begun settling emigrant Jews in the Israeli occupied territories with the mischievous intent of pitting the Palestinians against them. Despite international opinion against such a move, Israel is implementing this diabolic policy. The isolation of Zionist Israel and its imperialist mentor USA from world public opinion is once again

revealed in the latest decision to convene the UN Security Council in Geneva in order to allow Yasser Arafat to address it

Cambodia

The recent ceasefire agreement between the Government and two of the three Cambodian rebel factions is a significant development. While the group backed by Prince Sihanouk and Khmer Rouge have signed the agreement, the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF) has not. But it is expected that pressure will mount on KPNLF to accept the ceasefire.

The improvement of relations between the Chinese and Vietnamese on the Cambodian question is extremely heartening. The Chinese Foreign Minister recently received the Vietnamese First Deputy Foreign Minister at Beijing and held talks on the Cambodian issue.

Sino-Indian Relations

This period has seen further improvement in Sino-Indian relations. The visit of Chinese Foreign Minister to India, Indian Deputy Prime Minister's visit to China and the forthcoming visit by the Indian External Affairs Minister, we hope, will further improve the situation towards arriving at a meaningful negotiated agreement on persisting problems.

Burma

A significant development has taken place in Burma. In the recently held elections the one party military rule has been defeated. The people of Burma have voted for the restoration of multi-party democracy.

Developments in the Subcontinent

Many important developments have taken place in the subcontinent. The historic struggle of the people of Nepal culminated in forcing the King to accept multi-party democracy. The massive popular agitation jointly organized and

led by the Nepali Congress and the United Left Front was met with brutal repression that left nearly 500 killed. The coming together of Left parties and the formation of the United Left Front was a very significant development that galvanized the Nepali people. Though a popular ministry has been installed, the King, however, continues to retain the real power and he is also the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. The King's attempt at setting up a Constitution Drafting Committee of his choice was rejected by the people. The new composition of this Committee is a victory for the Left and democratic movement in Nepal. The struggle continues in Nepal against the monarchy and for strengthening the democratic process.

In Sri Lanka the situation continues to deteriorate even after the pulling out of the IPKF. The forced withdrawal of the EPRLF from the North-East provincial Government constitutes a setback. The Sri Lankan Government has not implemented its commitment contained in the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement regarding proper devolution of powers to the North-East Council. This situation only helps U.S. imperialist designs and its attempts to gain control of Trincomalee as a military base.

The Central Committee urges the National Front Government to use its influence with the Sri Lankan Government to devolve more powers to the North-East Council as envisaged in the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord.

Any meaningful solution to the ethnic conflict must be sought only within the framework of a united sovereign Sri Lanka; the protection of the rights of Tamil-speaking people and proper devolution of political and administrative power to the North-East provinces. The efforts to pit one group against another group of Tamils by the Sri Lankan Government must be jointly resisted by all Tamil groups. Unfortunately the LTTE falls a prey to the divide and rule game of the Sri Lankan Government by its policy of monopoly rule over the North-Eastern province. It will only be detrimental to the evolving of a common acceptable solution

within a united Sri Lanka. The tendency in certain quarters to denigrate the role of the IPKF in furtherance of the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement is harmful to our national interests and to the maintenance of peace in Sri Lanka

The open interference of Pakistan in the internal affairs of India especially in Punjab and Kashmir has intensified during this period. The efforts of Pakistan to rally world public opinion in its favour appears to have failed with the overwhelming majority of world leaders calling for resolving the dispute bilaterally on the basis of the Shimla Agreement. Pakistan Government while raising the issue in international fora, is whipping up war hysteria and jingoism internally. Its Prime Minister is embarking on a tour of Islamic countries hoping to rally opinion in its favour. Pakistan continues to organize military training camps for the extremists in both Punjab and Kashmir.

An important aspect of the deteriorating situation in the subcontinent is the role of imperialism. The U.S. imperialism in an effort to maintain its dominant position within the region is actively engaged in aiding and abetting the forces of disintegration. The people of the subcontinent will have to unitedly resist the imperialist machinations in this region. Any ambivalence in exposing imperialist intrigues will only strengthen its nefarious activities in the region.

NATIONAL SITUATION

Post-Election Situation

In the meeting immediately after the Ninth General Elections to the Lok Sabha the Central Committee in its review considered the defeat of the Congress(I) as, "A tribute to the secular and democratic outlook of the Indian people".

"No previous election was so dominated by the communal issue as the Ninth General Elections. Never before in any election was there such a concerted attempt to divert the attention of the electorate to a provocative communal issue to avoid a straight verdict on the question of national unity,

democratic rights of the people and the anti-national economic policy of the ruling party”

Within three months of the people’s verdict against the Congress(I), the elections to the Assemblies in eight states and the Union territory of Pondicherry were held. As in the Lok Sabha elections, these elections also revealed the anger and indignation of the people against the Congress(I). They gave a clear verdict against it. The results vindicated the stand of the Left and secular forces which have been consistently fighting for the ouster of Congress(I), its monopoly of power for decades and its anti-people policies.

But unfortunately, this discontent was not everywhere channelized in the democratic direction. In those states, where the Left is weak and where the Janata Dal pursued an opportunist policy, the BJP with its communal appeal succeeded in rallying sections of people behind it.

In Orissa, there was a clear understanding between the Janata Dal and the Left. The Congress(I) was totally routed with the Janata Dal securing 123 out of 147 seats and the Left winning six. The BJP could secure only two seats. Despite the Left being a weak force in Orissa, it worked with the Janata Dal in giving a crushing defeat to the Congress and in marginalizing the BJP.

In Bihar, the Janata Dal and the Left succeeded in routing the Congress(I) and containing the BJP. The strength of the Congress(I) as well as the BJP could have been further reduced if the Janata Dal had gone in for an overall understanding with the Left like in Orissa. The vacillation on the part of the Janata Dal helped the Congress(I) and the BJP in gaining some seats.

In Maharashtra, faced with the BJP-Shiv Sena combination which posed a serious threat to the people belonging to the minority community, dalits and people from other states of India, a big chunk of these sections rallied behind the Congress(I). The Congress(I), though reduced from 216 to 142 members, was still able to form its ministry. In an atmosphere of polarization between the Congress(I) and the

aggressively communal BJP-Shiv Sena alliance the Left and JD alliance could not make much headway

In Pondicherry, the Congress(I)-AIADMK alliance was defeated and the DMK alliance came to power

In M P and Himachal Pradesh, in the absence of a strong Left and the weakness of the Janata Dal, people's discontent was exploited by the BJP which tremendously increased its strength In addition it made full use of the Hindu communal appeal The BJP has been able to form ministries in both states

In Gujarat and Rajasthan, while the Congress(I) has been routed neither the Janata Dal nor the BJP could emerge with a single party majority Coalition Governments have come into existence in the background of the understanding between the Janata Dal and the BJP in these states.

Dangerous Situation

It is clear that the BJP gained by rallying the anti-Congress(I) discontent in the absence of a strong Left, secular alternative However, in the post-Assembly election situation, the BJP with its improved position, alongwith rabid communal outfits like the RSS, VHP and the Bajrang Dal has started a countrywide campaign of inflammatory communal propaganda

This was clearly seen at the meeting of the reconstituted National Integration Council held for the first time after the elections on April 11, 1990 The BJP spokesmen came out in true colours pouring venomous communal propaganda and indulging in minority baiting These communal forces are today organizing a countrywide campaign on issues like the abrogation of Article 370 of the Constitution, the winding up of the Minority Commission, the use of Urdu etc. Apart from the Ramjanmabhoomi/Babri Masjid issue, these forces have now given a call for the so-called "liberation" of temples in Varanasi and Mathura. The focus of the overall deteriorating communal situation is being seen in the Ramjanmabhoomi/Babri Masjid issue.

It will be recalled that during the campaign for the Lok Sabha election itself, the BJP-RSS-VHP combination had made every preparation for the *shilanyas* at the disputed site. The then Rajiv Gandhi Government, with an eye on the elections, opportunistically allowed the rites to be performed at the site which the court had decreed to be disputed. The National Front Government later, however, used its good offices in order to wrest a four-month period postponement from the communal forces.

Despite this postponement, the Shankaracharya of Dwarakapeeth declared his intention to perform the *shilanyas* once again on May 7. Considering the inflammatory consequences that this would have had, the U P Janata Dal government headed by Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav prevented this by arresting those indulging in such activity including the Shankaracharya himself. It is significant to note that it was the Congress(I) in U P which organized public protests against the arrest of the Shankaracharya. This bold and correct step by the U P Government is a refreshing change from the earlier Rajiv led Congress(I) Governments at the Centre and States in dealing with such a highly charged provocative movement.

Though this timely action prevented the *shilanyas* and the consequent inflammatory communal situation that this would have created, serious preparations are now under way for the construction of the temple by demolishing the mosque. The Shankaracharyas and other religious heads also have been mobilized for these preparations.

A most dangerous situation has been created which will have disastrous consequences for communal harmony in the country. Combined with the secessionist activities in Kashmir, Punjab and Assam, an extremely grave situation has been created which threatens the unity and integrity of our country. The Left and secular forces are duty bound in this situation to unite and launch a countrywide campaign in the defence of national unity and against the activities of both the majority and minority communalism.

Punjab

Notwithstanding the change in the manner of dealing with the national problems adopted by the VP Singh Government, proceeding on the assumption that these can be solved through a consensus, the situation in Punjab continues to remain as tense. The Sikh extremists continue to carry on their campaign of destruction and violence. The divisions within the Akali groups and the lack of courage on the part of these factions to join hands with secular forces continues to allow the extremists to carry on their campaign unhindered. Simranjit Mann, leader of one of these factions openly supporting the secessionists, went to the extent of seeking U N intervention by demanding the holding of a plebiscite for the right of self-determination of the Sikhs in Punjab and declared that the Sikhs will not support India in case of a war with Pakistan. It is only the Left forces, in which the CPI(M) is playing an important role, that have heroically resisted, at the expense of many a martyr, the extremist challenge. While a big section of the people are disgusted with the terrorist activities, few are prepared to face the consequences of open resistance.

Prolonged President's Rule in the State and the development of vested interest in the administration has created conditions where the situation continues to deteriorate. The lack of political handling accompanied by administrative highhandedness and harassment is preventing the people from being mobilized for a political solution.

Our Party has for long been consistently advocating that the solution to the Punjab problem should be based on the united approach by all secular forces which will rest on three factors that have to be simultaneously implemented. First, administrative measures for curbing extremist activities. Secondly, a political campaign to draw the mass of the people into action against secessionist elements and thirdly, a political solution to be evolved on the basis of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. It is the united mobilization of the Sikh and non-Sikh masses in Punjab against the extremists, their

mentors abroad and their supporters in various Akali factions on these lines, that can create conditions for a political solution of the problem

Kashmir

The situation in the Kashmir Valley continues to deteriorate following the recent murder of Mirwaiz Farooq. Though the VP Singh Government took initiative to consult the major political parties in order to evolve a solution to the Kashmir problem, the National Front Government has refused to heed the Left's position regarding the appointment of Jagmohan as the Governor. The continuous bungling in tackling the issue has contributed to the deterioration. Instead of seeking the support of the National Conference and Farooq Abdullah in fighting the Pakistani backed secessionists, the Governor chose to dissolve the Assembly, thus alienating this very section whose involvement is crucial at evolving a political solution to the problem. The Committee that was formed under the chairmanship of George Fernandes initially could not function for several weeks. Jagmohan proceeded on the assumption that the problem can be solved with the exclusive use of administrative-police measures. The recall of Jagmohan was correctly necessitated by the deteriorating situation following the Mirwaiz's murder and the police firing on his funeral procession. An integrated approach combining political and administrative measures is required in Kashmir. The National Front Government has to urgently address itself to this task.

Assam

The escalation of extremist activities of the ULFA poses yet another threat to the unity and integrity of our country. Its unbridled campaign of murder, extortion and loot has created a situation of terror in some parts of the State. The ULFA has virtually become the effective authority capable of dictating the terms. Although a constituent of the National Front, the AGP and its Government in Assam are unable to

control the situation with a section protecting the ULFA extremists. These activities pose a grave threat to the whole North-Eastern region with the potential danger of escalation of insurgency activities in Assam, Nagaland and Manipur.

Some ethnic organizations like the All Assam Tribal Students' Union, The Aizom Students' Union etc. are also raising their volunteer forces. The danger of an outbreak of ethnic violence on a large-scale is likely. In the meanwhile the solution to the agrarian of the Bodos continues to remain elusive.

Grave Situation

Both on the communal as well as on the regional and ethnic issues the situation is becoming ever more serious. The extremist activities in J & K, Punjab and Assam endanger the very unity and security of our country. The escalation of inflammatory communal propaganda and the potential threats of mass mobilization on these issues are posing a grave challenge to communal harmony, the unity and integrity of India.

It is in the background of these developments that our Party took the initiative to first bring together the Left parties and later individuals from other parties to convene a convention against communalism and separatism on May 24. The sponsors of this convention included some members of the Janata Dal and the Congress(I). The Left parties believe that while the Congress masses are anxious to have their organization make a sharp break from its policies on communalism, the leadership is still pursuing the opportunistic policy. This is clear from the Congress(I) protest against the arrest of Shantkumar, the continuation of the abject understanding with the Muslim League and the BJP in Punjab and with the Muslim League in Tamil Nadu. The Left parties will, therefore, have to continue the struggle against the Congress(I)'s policy of opportunistic alliances with the communal parties, even while cooperating with socialist individuals on the issue of struggle against communalism and separatism. This task of forming united and united fronts

of the people in the struggle for the unity and integrity of our country today demands from our Party and the Left and secular forces to vigorously mobilize the people against the communal and secessionist elements

Ananda Marg

In recent months, the Ananda Marg has stepped up its violent activities in Purulia district of West Bengal where it has its headquarters. This has led to a number of clashes with the local people who resist their landgrabbing activities. The Ananda Margis killed two school teachers who were attending a meeting. A big campaign was launched through the media by the Ananda Marg against the CPI(M) and the Left Front Government falsely accusing them of terrorizing their organization. The exposure of the Ananda Marg conspiracy to kill CPI(M) leaders after the arrest of two of their men in Amritsar by the BSF with a consignment of arms smuggled in from Pakistan reveals the diabolical nature of this organization. The Home Minister in his statement to Parliament has warned against the activities of this pseudo-religious organization.

The Ananda Marg has activities all over the country. They have targetted Jyoti Basu for attack. The Party in the entire country must be vigilant about their nefarious designs and expose their links with foreign agencies. Their disruptive activities must be exposed before the people.

Tripura

With the change of Government at the Centre, while the political situation has shown some improvement in Tripura the Congress(I)'s murderous attacks against the CPI(M) and its cadres continue. Operating under extremely difficult conditions the CPI(M) has been able, despite vicious threats, to mobilize over a lakh of people in the '*Jail Bharo*' agitation against the anti-people policies of the Congress(I)-TUJS Government in Tripura. This action has brought into sharp focus the prevailing mass mood in Tripura which is rising

in strong protest against the strong-arm measures of the Congress(I)-TUJS Government and its police in the state. Though the TUJS is part of the coalition, the hard-won rights of the tribal community are being threatened. The forthcoming elections to the Autonomous District Council assume great significance in this light. The Congress(I) is making full preparations to create violent disturbances and thus attempt to disrupt these elections.

Andhra Pradesh

The six months since the Congress(I) took over the Government in the State has seen the worsening of the situation on all fronts. The Congress(I) has begun undoing whatever little gains the people received due to the beneficial policies that the earlier TDP Government pursued. Some of the welfare schemes have been withdrawn without of course introducing any single new welfare measure. The enhanced water cess is being collected by coercion. The Mandal system is being scrapped and the hated Patel-Patwari system is sought to be reintroduced. Nepotism and corruption are on the rise. All these are imposing greater burdens on the people of the State. The Congress(I) Government is shamelessly utilizing a section of the Naxalites to browbeat the Left and democratic Opposition which is organizing protests against the anti-people policies.

The law and order situation is markedly declining in the State. Innumerable CPI(M) cadres have been involved in false criminal cases and the harassment continues. The deterioration of the overall law and order situation and the open connivance of the Congress(I) Government with sections of the Naxalites has created a situation where there is a virtual collapse of administration in some districts. Open terroristic activities of the People's War Group continue to impose innumerable sufferings on the people. The CPI(M) is being made a special target of such attacks. Our Party has taken the initiative in mobilizing people against such rapid deterioration of the situation.

Centre-State Relations

Making a break from the earlier Congress(I) policies the National Front Government has taken welcome steps in the sphere of Centre-State relations. The attitude to the State Governments which was marked by a tendency for over-centralization and autocratic rule under the Congress(I) is being changed. There is a refreshing change in the attitude of the National Front Government towards the Left Front Governments which under the Congress(I) rule were blatantly discriminated against. The present government has constituted the Inter-State Council, which was a long-standing demand of our Party. This gives the opportunity for the State Governments to play an active role in the solution of the problems concerning their relations with the Centre as well as their own. This provision had remained buried in the Constitution for the last forty years under the Congress Governments.

The unity and integrity of our multinational country can be strengthened only on the basis of recognizing the genuine legitimate interests of the various nationalities and ethnic groups that inhabit our country. The social and political fabric that unites our country must take into account these diversities. In various parts of our country tribal and ethnic movements are going on. Reactionary forces are attempting to misdirect these on secessionist lines. The genuine democratic content of these movements must be recognized and accepted and a solution sought by providing these areas autonomy within the States.

People's Issues

The National Front Government has initiated discussions with the industrial workers, peasants, agricultural workers, youth, women and students in order to formulate policies taking into account the demands of the various sections. The Prime Minister himself was present in these meetings. This is a welcome step but is still a long way to go in concretizing the policies in this direction.

While the decision to prepare a legislation for workers' participation in management and the right to work are welcome, it must be noted that this government did not hesitate to invoke the hated ESMA in relation to the recent strike in the oil industry. The National Front Government invoked ESMA despite its election pledge. It was, however, forced to withdraw within two days after the Left pressure. Despite ESMA, however, the strike was 75 per cent successful. On many other fronts the government is dragging its feet in reversing the victimization and repression of workers during the earlier Congress(I) regime. Industrial closures and lockouts are on the rise. The National Front Government must intervene to protect the rights of the workers.

In this background it is necessary that our Party take the initiative in exposing the government's vacillation on working class issues and alongwith other Left forces mobilize the people against the anti-working class measures.

Steps being taken for the introduction of reforms in the electoral system, the Lok Pal Bill and Prasar Bharati Bill are indicative of the moves desired to put into effect the promises it had made to the people in its election manifesto.

However, we must realize the serious limitations in the policies and practices of the National Front Government. While our unconditional support to this government remains on the implementation of its own election manifesto, our Party realizes that its approach to socio-economic issues remains basically the same as that of the earlier Congress(I) Governments. While extending wholehearted support to all positive initiatives that this Government undertakes, it is the task of our Party and the Left and secular forces to expose the shortcomings and rally the people against any anti-people policies and practices.

Economic Situation

The first Railway and General Budget of the National Front Government could not make a break with the old Congress policies, which has caused acute discontent among the people.

It is true that the new Government had inherited the economic mess created by the previous Congress(I) Government. The economic situation is extremely difficult and the budget had to contend with this problem. Yet there were widespread expectations that the National Front Government would make a beginning to reverse the old policies. The steep hike in petrol and diesel prices and the increase in freight and postal rates were bound to add to the inflationary pressures and affect the people's living conditions. The budget moreover made no serious attempt to alter the inequitous taxation structure and the share of direct taxes has remained static. Indirect taxes has remained at the very high level of 85 per cent. The overall deficit is projected to be Rs. 7206 crores which is bound to go up further.

The impact of the budget has worsened the price situation as apprehended. The prices of all essential commodities, especially sugar, tea and edible oils, have shot up. The prices of other manufactured goods are also going up. The issue price of wheat has been increased by Rs. 30 per quintal which will affect the ration prices. The wholesale price index has been increasing for all commodities continuously in the past four months. For the eighteenth successive week, the index has been rising and it stood at 173.1 on May 5, 1990. This is an 8.7 per cent increase over the same corresponding period last year. Price rise has become the major problem facing the people in their struggle to maintain their livelihood in recent months.

The National Front Government has to take urgent steps to curb price rise and strengthen the public distribution system. Despite the urging of the Left parties and other organizations the Finance Bill has been adopted without any major relief given to the people such as reduction in diesel price and similar measures to curb the price rise.

The CPI(M) urges upon the National Front to redeem its election pledge of waiving loans to small and marginal farmers not exceeding rupees ten thousand.

Various policy measures have been announced by the

economic ministries which indicate that the National Front contemplates no change in the liberalization policy of the previous Government. Steps are being taken to allow private enterprises further into the core sector such as the steel industry. Many assurances are being given to relax MRTP Regulations for fresh investments by big business. The recently announced Export-policy is weighted in favour of big export firms. The Industries Minister has also promised further concessions to foreign investors. In a speech to the World Economic Forum at New Delhi last month, he promised to relax the restrictions on the quantum of foreign capital that can be invested in an enterprise and removing the present limits. He has also declared that Government cannot take over sick units. There is also the renewed talk begun during Rajiv Gandhi's regime of selling shares of public sector companies to employees and others. These indicate growing privatization which will be detrimental to the public sector. There are increasing indications that the World Bank-IMF dictated line of liberalization will be continued. If this trend persists, the National Front Government will find it impossible to fulfill its election manifesto pledges and the effects of these policies are bound to generate widespread discontent amongst the people.

The Left and democratic forces would therefore have to make it clear that they propose to fight these policies. Independent mobilization of the people on the basis of their demands and organizing mass struggles is the imperative need for the Left and democratic forces.

The gravity of the economic situation should not be underestimated. The approach for the 8th Plan has been finalized and further conclusions about the direction of the economic policy can be made only after studying it. In the meantime, taking advantage of the difficult economic situation U.S. imperialism has increased its pressure on India to open the economy further to foreign capital. The invoking of Super 301 Clause against India once again by the U.S. administration, after dropping Japan and Brazil from the list

is a threat which will have serious consequences. The National Front Government has taken a firm stand refusing to negotiate under this threat which has evoked wide support from all sections of the people. But the danger should not be underestimated since the pressures are going to mount, as seen in the IMF decision to tighten the terms for lending and recovery of duties. Vigilance has to be maintained to see that the Government does not succumb to such pressures.

Care should, however, be taken that the independent mobilization of the working people by the Left and democratic forces does not help the Congress(I) Opposition which has no sense of shame in attacking the National Front Government for pursuing the same socio-economic policies as they (Congress(I) leaders) had been pursuing when they were in power. The thrust of the Left criticism of the National Front Government's socio-economic policies should be that they are a continuation of the anti-people policies of the earlier Congress(I) Governments. That is why Left parties unitedly organized, on May 16, independent rallies and demonstrations against the National Front Government's socio-economic policies which are a continuation of the Congress(I) Government's policies.

Inner Congress(I) Divisions

An important development of this period is the emergence of policy differences and the intensification of factional conflicts in the Congress(I) party. Although suffering from the biggest electoral defeats in the Lok Sabha and Assembly elections, the leadership has so far been unable to give the Congress(I) ranks a plausible explanation for the reasons why the electorate threw the party out. Insistent demands are therefore being raised that the leadership should make a complete self-criticism and that the policies pursued should be reviewed. Voices are being raised that the opportunist alliances such as with the Muslim League in Kerala and Tamil Nadu, TUJS in Tripura and the concession given to Hindu communalists on Ramjanmabhoomi should be

abandoned. The leadership itself is obliged to make it appear as if it is in favour of a firm policy of struggle against communalism. The mass *satyagraha* that they organized on May 10 and the anti-communal convention organized on May 19 are instances. These by themselves however, cannot restore to the Congress leadership any credibility that it is opening a new chapter. The impact of this on the organization is shown by such developments as the formation of the Congress Forum of Action and the resignation of the veteran leader Umashankar Dikshit from the Congress(I).

Inner Janata Dal Situation

The internal squabbles and infighting within the Janata Dal particularly over the Meham issue have considerably affected its credibility and contributed to eroding of confidence of the masses in its leadership. The resignation of Chautala is a welcome development which will repair the damage to some extent. While the people's anti-Congress mood continues, the Janata Dal leadership will have to make more efforts in unifying themselves on the basic problems affecting our nation. This is the only way that they can prevent any alienation of the masses from their Government.

The situation facing the country and the people is indeed very grave. Communal challenge, the separatist challenge are combined by intensification of caste conflicts in many parts of the country. Even the exercise of the fundamental right of franchise is becoming increasingly more difficult through widespread rigging and intimidation, as witnessed in Amethi and Tripura earlier and more recently in Meham. The criminalization of politics, the unbridled use of muscle power in running daily administration, the degeneration of the law keeping forces as reflected in the recent gang-rape of Bodo women by the police, are manifestations of the deepening crisis of the bourgeois-landlord class rule.

In this background the unity of the Left, democratic and secular forces acquires added importance. To achieve this it is essential to further strengthen Left unity both for functioning

inside the legislative bodies as well as to mobilize the people outside. In order to strengthen Left unity it is absolutely essential that the independent activities of our Party must be strengthened. The CPI(M) should be in the forefront championing the people's struggle and rallying them against the miseries being imposed by the socio-economic conditions.

The present situation bestows a big responsibility on our Party. Only by strengthening our independent activity and forging Left unity as the basis for strengthening Left, democratic and secular forces can we fulfil this responsibility. It is by this that we can bring about a change in the correlation of class forces inside the country in which the Left, democratic and secular forces are strengthened and the communal, anti-national forces are weakened. This can be done only by unleashing mass movements in the interest of the working class and the toiling millions and launching a vigorous campaign against communalism and in defence of national unity.

On Certain Political-Ideological Issues Related to Developments in Some Socialist Countries*

(Adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) in its meeting held in New Delhi from May 28 to 31, 1990)

The international Communist movement today is faced with a serious crisis. The ongoing events in the East European countries constitute a big setback for world Socialism. The developments taking place in the Soviet Union are a cause for deep concern and anxiety to all Communists and supporters of Socialism. After seventytwo years of the existence of the USSR, separatist movements are raising their heads. Lithuania has openly declared its intention to secede, a compromise however, is sought to be worked out. The economic situation is in a disarray of crisis proportions leading to mass discontent. The problem arising in implementing the reforms are adding to the prevailing confusion and causing further anxiety.

These developments have placed the international Communist movements in a difficult and extremely complicated situation. Many Communist parties in Europe are losing their class moorings. East European parties have changed their names by adopting 'social democracy'. The Italian Communist Party has moved further right from its Euro-Communist position and has dropped the word 'Communist' from its name. These developments are having their negative impact on other Communist parties in the world, including those in the Third World countries.

Gloating over these developments imperialism and the forces of world reaction have unleashed a massive propaganda blitz against Communists and Socialism. The world

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is entering into a period of a fiercer struggle between the forces of imperialism and Socialism in various spheres. It is, therefore, necessary that a deeper analysis of these developments be undertaken, in the light of Marxist-Leninist understanding, drawing correct conclusions and lessons and on that basis unify our Party.

Differences in the International Communist Movement

The post-World War II period was witness to many differences in the international Communist movement. These were based on the divergent assessments of the correlation of class forces at different points of time, both at the international and national level.

Following the victory over fascism, which was a great historic event after the October Revolution, an erroneous understanding had emerged in some parties that the change in the correlation of forces on the world scale warrants a change in the forms of struggle in carrying out the social transformation in different countries. Earl Browder, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of USA, had advocated that the alliance forged by the four powers in the War, would continue after the defeat of fascism. Totally ignoring the irreconcilable contradiction between imperialism and Socialism, he argued that the process of socialist transformation would be peaceful and evolutionary. Hence, he concluded that there is no longer a need for the vanguard party of the working class to organize and lead the revolution. Such an understanding culminated with the Communist Party of USA under Browder's leadership converting itself into a club. There was only one dissenting voice, that of William Foster. The French Communist leader Duclos, supported by the Communists in other countries, raised protest against such a liquidationist concept, which finally led to the expulsion of Browder. The CPUSA once again rallied around revolutionary principles. At that moment, such tendencies were seen in some other quarters also.

CPSU's Twentieth Congress

Following the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, differences once again arose in the international Communist movement leading to serious inner-party struggles in many Communist parties. The advocacy of peaceful coexistence, peaceful transition and peaceful competition by the CPSU leadership under Khrushchev diverted the Communist movement from its revolutionary path. The distortion of the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence and the advocacy of peaceful transition threw the door open for revisionism and class collaboration of the worst kind.

As a consequence, many a Communist Party was virtually decimated. The Communist movements in the developing world, like in Egypt, Sudan, Iraq as well as in other countries were all victims of this revisionist onslaught that left the international Communist movement weakened.

This was combined with an unhistorical evaluation of the role of Joseph Stalin. The CPI(M) rejects the approach which in the name of correcting the personality cult is negating the history of Socialism. The uncontestable contribution of Joseph Stalin in defence of Leninism, against Trotskyism and other ideological deviations, the building of Socialism in the USSR, the victory over fascism and the reconstruction of the war-ravaged Soviet Union enabling it to acquire enough strength to check imperialist aggressive moves are ineradicable from the history of Socialism.

A prolonged debate on crucial issues dividing the international Communist movement begun by the Twentieth CPSU Congress was sought to be resolved with the declaration adopted at the 1957 Conference. While sixtyone parties attended this conference, the declaration was issued in the name of twelve ruling Communist Parties. But within two years differences again cropped up. In this background, the international conference of eightyone Communists and Workers Parties held in Moscow in 1960 produced a document which sought to resolve these controversies and provide a guideline for the world Communist movement.

The unity thus forged was once again shortlived. Open polemics started between the CPSU and the CPC. This led to a split in the international Communist movement. The CPC which opposed right revisionism soon became victim of Left adventurous deviation culminating in the 'Cultural Revolution' and leading to many other deviations which had disastrous consequences for the world Communist movement.

Formation of CPI(M)

The struggle against revisionism in the Indian Communist movement culminated in the formation of the CPI(M) in 1964. The CPI(M) was united primarily on the strategy and tactics of the Indian revolution. The CPI(M) programme included adherence to the revolutionary understanding of the 1957 and 1960 documents. Para 118 of the Programme states: ".... Our Party firmly upholds the Statement of representatives of 81 Marxist-Leninist Parties held in Moscow in November 1960, as also the earlier Declaration of 1957 which embody the revolutionary analysis of the present world situation. These two great Marxist-Leninist documents are an invaluable guide for all Communists, the working class and all progressive forces the world over. The Communist Party of India upholds the revolutionary principles of these two documents and defends the purity of Marxism-Leninism, guarding itself against the danger of all revisionist and dogmatic deviations"

The discussion on the differences in the international Communist movement could not be taken up immediately because for nearly two years after the formation of CPI(M) the overwhelming majority of the leadership was under detention in prison. After their release a thorough inner-party discussion was organized. These issues were finally clinched at the Burdwan Plenum in 1968. It must be noted that in the united party, in 1963, we who formed the CPI(M) had advocated a thorough inner-party discussion in order to unify the Party given the gravity of the issues. This was rejected by the then dominant leadership.

Euro-Communism

In the early seventies, yet another deviation arose in the international Communist movement. That of Euro-Communism. Many European Communist Parties were affected by the right-revisionist outlook. They openly advocated their views in the Berlin Conference of twenty-nine Communist and Workers Parties of Europe held in June 1976. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) adopted a statement on the deliberations of this conference. This clearly demarcated our position on the basic Marxist-Leninist concepts like proletarian internationalism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, social democracy and the transition to Socialism. We reiterated our adherence to Marxism-Leninism.

The Euro-Communist deviation was justified by its proponents as necessary to attract large sections of the people behind the Communist Parties. However, on the contrary, all these parties declined in terms of electoral support and influence.

Recent Developments

After an interval of over a decade, the recent developments in certain Socialist countries, leading to a situation of crisis, are naturally generating controversies in the international Communist movement. The CPI(M) Central Committee reacting to these developments from time to time adopted resolutions on various issues that emerged—the May and August 1988 resolutions on certain ideological issues and on the developments in the Soviet Union, the resolutions of the Thirteenth Party Congress, the July and October 1989 resolutions on the developments in China, and Poland and Hungary, and, the Polit Bureau statement on the developments in East European countries.

While we reacted to these events, we had deferred a fuller and deeper inner-party discussion of these developments mainly because of two factors. Firstly, the general elections to the Lok Sabha and later to the Assemblies had engaged the whole Party in a big political battle. Secondly, in order to

enable us to make an indepth study of these developments the Polit Bureau/Central Committee decided to send a delegation of our Party to discuss with the CPSU, CPC, Workers Party of Korea and the Japanese Communist Party

The CPI(M) from its inception had to carry on a fierce struggle against revisionism and dogmatism. During this period of 25 years, the CPI(M) was guided by its independent judgement on the basis of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and from its own experience. It is the same approach that continues to guide the CPI(M) in assessing the ongoing developments in the socialist countries and the implications they have for the strategy and tactics of the world Communist movement.

In order to do so, it is necessary to begin by self-critically examining and reassessing the changes that have taken place in the international situation since the 1960's and the consequences that these have on our understanding in relation to the one presented in the 1957 and 1960 documents.

Changes in the International Situation

The 1957 and 1960 documents described the main content of our epoch as "the triumph of Socialism and Communism on a world scale". The 1960 document continued, "the time is not far off when Socialism's share of world production will be greater than that of capitalism..... capitalism will be defeated in the decisive sphere of human endeavour, the sphere of material production..... The world capitalist system is going through an intense process of disintegration and decay. The most developed capitalist country has become a country of the most distorted militarist economy . . . Capitalism impedes more and more the achievements of modern science and technology, in the interests of social progress..... A new stage has begun in the development of the general crisis of capitalism....."

Three major conclusions were drawn from such an assessment. First, Socialism is going to surpass capitalism, in the sphere of material production, in a short time. Secondly,

capitalism is going through an intense process of disintegration. Thirdly, capitalism impedes more and more the use of achievements of science and technology. All these combined to form the basis for depicting a new stage, i.e., the third stage in the general crisis of capitalism. It was elaborated that the capitalist crisis was not limited to the economic sphere alone as the earlier periodic crisis of capitalism, but envelops the political, cultural and ideological spheres as well. On this basis, it was visualized that the revolutionary movement in different countries is bound to advance culminating in the collapse of the world capitalist system.

Such an assessment was made on the basis of the developments of the sixties: the collapse of the colonial system, aggravation of world social contradictions and the advances of the socialist countries in different spheres. But it did not take into account the possibilities of capitalism making use of every available means, particularly, neo-colonial exploitation for its development. Further, it ignored the fact that while Socialism has advanced in relatively backward countries, the main citadels of capitalism remained intact. World capitalism was therefore still capable of utilizing the advances of scientific and technological revolution for its growth despite the continuation of the general crisis of the system.

The general crisis of capitalism was, in retrospect we can say, simplistically understood as its immediate and total collapse. The historical inevitability of capitalism's collapse was understood as its imminency. This was a serious error leading to the erroneous understanding of the immediate triumph of Socialism on a world scale. Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto clearly stated "The bourgeois cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production and thereby the relations of production and with them whole relations of society"

Simultaneously, the experience of the last two decades of Socialist construction also shows that the Socialist countries had passed into a period of stagnation, notwithstanding the tremendous leaps of development that took place earlier

Such an assessment of the 1957 and 1960 documents prevented a concrete scientific study of the changes which were taking place in the capitalist world as well as in the socialist countries in relation to the development of productive forces. This has a bearing on the assessment of the present developments and the long time that it took to take note of the recent lags in the growth rate of the socialist economies which contributed to the present crisis situation.

It must, however, be noted that the USSR had to divert a substantial part of its resources to meet the imperialist challenges of the cold war and arms drive. For capitalism, militarism at a certain stage in its development becomes necessary for further economic growth. While, for Socialism, arms expenditure means the corresponding reduction in resources available for economic growth especially, consumer goods. While lack of timely and correct reforms prevented the full utilization of Socialism's potential, this factor also contributed to the lags in growth rates.

Socialist Advance

Notwithstanding the recent lags, it must be realized that the October Socialist Revolution in the Soviet Union ushered in a new epoch in the history of mankind. It was a source of inspiration for the world working class to intensify its struggle for social revolutions in their own countries and for the national liberation movement which found in the Soviet Union a firm ally in the struggle against imperialism.

The fact that Socialist revolutions triumphed in relatively backward economies and not in the advanced capitalist countries itself, posed innumerable problems. The colossal task of raising levels of productive forces and the collective consciousness of the people on whose basis the foundations of the future socialist states were to rest was a task beset with innumerable problems and complications.

Embarking on such an uncharted path in human history, the October Revolution defeating imperialist armed intervention, its economic blockade and the civil war not

only consolidated itself but developed to set an example of what a socialist revolution is capable of achieving. It was able to build a strong industrial base. It put an end to the feudal stranglehold on agriculture by guaranteeing land to the tiller. It raised its levels further by organizing state and collective farms. The establishment of a society ending the exploitation of man by man; the guarantee of the right to work, free education, health, housing, old age pensions and other social security measures which no capitalist country has been able to fully ensure, signified an advance of human civilization. This was a source of inspiration for the toiling people the world over.

It was because of these advances that the Soviet Union was able to play the leading role in inflicting a crushing defeat on the world fascist forces. The radical change in the world correlation of class forces that this brought about helped the success of the socialist revolution in the People's Republic of China, Vietnam, Korea and the collapse of the old colonial system. In these countries that embraced Socialism, the success story of the USSR was repeated—rapid economic development, extension of social services etc. The superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system in transforming backward economies was thus proved.

In the post-World War II period the socialist nations emerged as a mighty force that influenced world developments. They were a source of immense help to the national liberation movements and contributed to the political liberation of many countries. The map of present-day Asia and Africa would have been different but for the unique contribution of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries. The victory of the Korean people, the heroic, prolonged and victorious armed struggle of the Vietnamese people and the victory of the Cuban revolution could not have been consolidated but for the assistance and support of the world socialist community, particularly the Soviet Union. The economic development of the Third World countries was also made possible with the socialist assistance that was selflessly rendered.

Socialism's relentless efforts for world peace combined with its advance that broke the nuclear monopoly of USA succeeded in checking imperialist attempts to blackmail the whole world and ensured fortyfive years without a world war. The achievement of nuclear parity by the Soviet Union contributed the most in forcing U S imperialists to the negotiating table. These developments have inspired millions of people the world over to the cause of peace and Socialism.

Capitalism's Growth—Intensified Exploitation

While these achievements of Socialism were on the basis of establishing an exploitation-free society, the last two decades of capitalist development has not been due only to its utilization of the scientific and technological revolution. It has been achieved on the basis of a tremendous exploitation of the people and resources of the Third World. Evolving ever-newer forms of neo-colonial exploitation, operating through multinational corporations which control over 4/5ths of the capitalist world's productive forces and inflicting adverse terms of trade against the developing countries, capitalism on a world scale has been able to register advances. This process is nakedly manifested today in the conditions of the people of the Third World, the poverty, the illiteracy and social deprivation resulting in back-breaking debt. The overall long-term debt of all the developing countries in 1987 stood at over 1000 billion dollars. In some countries, the debt accounts for nearly a half of their individual GNP's. These methods of exploitation continue to intensify and as a consequence, the social contradiction between the people of the Third World and imperialism continues to aggravate. Further, capitalism's post-war growth has been marked by militarism, the tremendous increase in arms expenditure and the emergence of the powerful military-industrial complex in the USA.

The various welfare measures that emerged in the capitalist countries, as a response to the socialist challenge in the post-war period were due in the main to the centuries

long struggle of the working class in these countries. However, the last few years are witness to growing attacks on the social benefits of the working class and the poorer sections. The modernization of production due to the scientific and technological revolution was accompanied by a counter-offensive of capital to launch attacks on the working people. Unemployment is on the rise and has touched an all-time high in the post-war period. In USA for instance, as compared to late seventies the numbers below the poverty line increased from 24 million to 32 million in 1988. 3.5 million are homeless and a fifth of the population borders on the poverty threshold. In contrast, the top 1.5 per cent own nearly 25 per cent of all individual wealth and top 10 per cent own 65 per cent of the nation's wealth. Apart from such increasing economic inequalities, the social and moral fabric is degenerating. Drug abuse, criminal activities of all kinds are on the rise. Capitalism's growth during the last two decades, therefore, has been at the expense of intensifying its inherent nature of exploitation both at home and abroad. Capitalism can never be a crisis free system.

Epoch of Transition

While making necessary corrections to an assessment of the international situation as warranted by the developments of the last two decades, it must be emphasised that the main assessment of the present epoch as that of a transition from capitalism to Socialism on a world scale, which had started with the October Revolution, remains fully valid. The period of transition from capitalism to Socialism cannot be mechanically and simplistically interpreted to mean the immediate collapse of capitalism or the immediate triumph of Socialism on a world scale. The struggle to consolidate Socialism will go through many twists and turns leading at times to setbacks or reverses. However, the process started by the October Revolution, of a historically determined, world wide transition is, irreversible.

While reasserting this, we must self-critically accept that

two major errors were committed by the international Communist movement of which the CPI(M) is an integral contingent. First, the underestimation of the capacity of world capitalism to adapt to new conditions and evolve newer methods of neocolonial exploitation for its advance. This was coupled with an overestimation of the international revolutionary situation.

Secondly, the underestimation of revisionist and dogmatic deviations which led to tactics that adversely affected the strength of the international working class movement and blunted the edge of the class struggle through the predominance of economism. This was true both in relation to the movement of class struggle on the world scale and the impact it had on the collective consciousness of the people in the Socialist countries itself. This can be seen in the rapidity with which the ruling Communist Parties in East Europe abdicated their role and embraced social democracy. While the objective factors for the intensification of class struggle existed, the subjective factor i.e. the degree of organization and socialist class consciousness of the working class on a world scale, was lagging.

It must be clearly noted that without the subjective factor the Party of the working class, guided by revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism, with live contact with the aspirations of the people, organizing and leading their struggles and raising the collective consciousness of the people—no revolutionary advance is possible.

World Social Contradictions

Changes in the international situation, of world capitalism and world Socialism cannot lead to the conclusion that the fundamental contradictions of our epoch today stand modified. However, the international situation where the world forces of peace, national independence, democracy and Socialism continue to develop, the methods for the resolution of some contradictions may necessarily vary. The CPI(M) Central Committee Resolution of August 1988 has clearly

stated our Party's stand on the issue of contradictions and expressed our open disagreement with the assessment made by the CPSU, on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution

In our Thirteenth Congress, we had stated that though imperialism was trying to resolve its contradictions with Socialism through a world war, war in the present circumstances can be nothing else but a nuclear war, in which no one can be the winner. Under these circumstances, while imperialism continues its war preparations, the intensification of the central contradiction of our epoch i e between imperialism and Socialism reflects itself in fierce economic conflict, the attempt to prevent Socialism's advance on a world scale both militarily and ideologically and the continuous attempts to internally subvert the socialist countries. The latter aspect can be seen clearly during the last one year in the developments in the People's Republic of China and in Eastern Europe.

The sheer existence and strength of Socialism and the possession of nuclear weapons by different countries deter the resolution of the inter-imperialist contradiction through war. But yet, the contradiction continues to intensify despite the emergence of the USA as the dominant industrial and military power after World War II. It finds expression in the economic battles between the imperialist giants, for the recarving of their respective spheres of influence. The rivalry between the USA, EEC (and within the EEC between West Germany and others) and Japan is expressing itself in constant currency and trade wars. With the forthcoming 1992 Integrated Europe these contradictions are bound to further intensify. The fact that the rates of economic growth in the eighties are less than those in the sixties and seventies in the capitalist countries will also find expression in the intensification of this contradiction.

The contradiction between the Third World countries and imperialism need no longer necessarily lead to the process of direct colonization as in the pre-war period. New

neo-colonial methods of exploitation, exploitation through multi-national corporations, unfair terms of trade and brandishment continue as methods of imperialist exploitation. But in certain cases it does not hesitate to embark on naked armed intervention as in the case of Panama recently. The extent of misery in the developing countries can be understood by the fact that in the eighties (data provided by the World Bank till 1987) the average annual rate of growth for all developing countries has been minus 2.6 per cent. Compare this to the period 1965-1980 when this figure was plus 8.1 per cent. Such an intensification of contradiction is pregnant with the possibilities of fierce people's struggles against imperialism.

The deepening crisis of the world capitalist order and the resultant cuts in the social security measures and rising unemployment creates circumstances for the intensification of the class struggle in the developed capitalist countries. The intensification of this contradiction, however, is sought to be blunted through the spread of reformist illusion. Capitalism has tremendous capacity to bribe sizeable sections of the working class in different developed capitalist countries. It shares a small part of its profit to keep the rule of capital thriving.

The CPI(M) Central Committee Resolution of May 1988 and the Thirteenth Congress Political Resolution have reiterated our assessment that notwithstanding the changes in the international situation, the fundamental contradictions of our epoch continue to intensify. The changed circumstances however impose conditions where the resolution of some of these contradictions will necessarily have to vary.

Developments in East European Countries

It is in this background of the intensification of the central contradiction of our epoch that we have to assess the developments in the East European countries.

The anti-Communist upheavals that marked the recent developments in East European countries, the victory of

anti-Socialist, rightist and centrist forces in the recent elections in these countries and the attempts at the restoration of capitalism constitute a severe setback to the forces of world Socialism. The distortions and deviations from the principles of building socialism leading to mass discontent has resulted in the alienation of the people from the Communist Parties and the socialist state. This alienation coupled with the neglect of ideological work amongst the masses by these parties have created conditions that are being exploited to the hilt by imperialism and forces of internal reaction, thus permitting a renewed counter-revolutionary offensive on the international Communist movement.

The East European countries under the Communist leadership after World War II had brought about fundamental social transformation ending the rule of the old exploitative classes and laying the basis for multi-dimensional Socialist advance. During the last four decades, in many of these countries, social security of its population had been assured and some of them, particularly GDR, registered economic advances comparable with or even outstretching some capitalist countries. However, despite such advances, these states failed to cope up with the ever-growing aspirations of the people

Major Distortions in Building Socialism

However, the recent events reveal that there have been many distortions in building of Socialism and the functioning of Socialist states in these countries

In the sphere of running socialist state and ensuring socialist democracy as a higher form of democracy compared to bourgeois democracy there were many deformations. The concept of proletarian dictatorship was reduced to the dictatorship of the party and this at times to the dictatorship of the leading coterie of the party. This resulted in the growth of bureaucratism and in the violation of civil liberties and democratic rights. There were distortions in the implementation of the principle of democratic centralism within the

party Instead of drawing larger and larger sections of the people and ensuring their participation in the spheres of social and political activity, these distortions resulted in violations of socialist legality and restrictions on individual freedom, which contributed to the alienation of large sections of the people from the party and the state.

There were also departures in the manner of organizing Socialist economy which resulted in shortcomings in the levels of growth rates as compared to the capitalist countries in recent years. As productive forces under Socialism develop rapidly, the methods of economic management have to correspondingly change. But not affecting such timely changes, lower rates of growth were registered. The absence of necessary changes and the dominance of state bureaucracy prevented the gains of scientific and technological revolution from being integrated into economic production. The consequent discontent among the people further strengthened the process of alienation.

The failure to draw proper lessons and effect correct changes in time, combined with neglect of ideological work created conditions whereby anti-socialist forces exploited this discontent and succeeded in posing bourgeois democracy and capitalism as better alternatives to socialist democracy and Socialism.

Historical Forces

It must be noted that the Socialist revolutions in these countries did not take place in the normal course of the culmination of the internal class struggle but was achieved in the background of the victory over fascism. The liberation of these countries by the Red Army and the victory over fascism was welcomed by the people of these countries. Except in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, Communist Parties were very weak. Further, several thousand Communists were martyred during the struggle against fascism and defending the cause of Marxism and Socialism. In the absence of any other experience, these countries opted for the Soviet

experience of building Socialism without taking into consideration the specifics of the concrete conditions prevailing in these countries. After the initial growth, when problems started appearing in the economy, some of these countries adopted reforms. But these were based on increasing reliance on western capital which had negative consequences, like in Poland and Hungary

In the changed circumstances after the defeat of fascism, the former social democratic parties in many of these countries joined the Communist Parties *en masse*. In this background, the necessary awareness to ideologically equip the ranks of the parties and building the ideological consciousness of the people required for the upbringing of the socialist man was not carried out. In the absence of sufficient ideological work, the new generation which had no experience of the horrors of fascism and of capitalist exploitation, were influenced by the propaganda unleashed by western imperialism and the allurements of consumer society. Instead of adopting a proletarian outlook in tackling the problems faced by distortions in the building of Socialism, they tended to embrace bourgeois liberalism. This factor contributed to the serious reverses in the East European countries.

Serious Setback

The extent of setback to the forces of world Communist movement can be seen in the results of the recently held elections where the rightist and centrist parties are emerging victorious. Even by abandoning the party's name under pressure, by dropping the word 'Communist', has not enabled the erstwhile ruling Communist Parties to retain the confidence of the people. In Romania, the situation is so distressing that nobody dares to raise the Red Flag.

World forces of imperialism have made full use of this situation. They actively aided and abetted the internal reactionary forces in these countries. Together they have egged on the people to abandon their socialist past and its achievements. By promising a share of the gains of the scientific

and technological revolution, by offering economic partnership to new East European regimes, imperialism is trying its best to restore capitalism in these countries

Other factors have also undoubtedly contributed in aggravating the situation. First, the policy of "glasnost" in the Soviet Union allowing the anti-socialist forces to make full use of the media to denounce socialist values encouraged the forces of internal reaction in East Europe to launch an offensive against Socialism. Secondly, the manner in which the new leadership of these parties launched vicious attacks against the former leadership of the Communist Parties, the veterans of the anti-fascist struggle, by depicting them as gross embodiments of corruption, charges that so far remain unsubstantiated in many cases, played into the hands of the enemies of Socialism. The negation of socialist history and the denunciations of the leadership have led to the discrediting of the Communist Parties in many countries, disarming its ranks from offering any resistance to such a concerted onslaught against Socialism.

These developments in East European countries are a major reverse for the forces of world Socialism. The CPI(M) cannot but disagree with the CPSU's understanding that these developments constitute a 'renewal of Socialism'. Any underestimation of the degree of reverses in these countries will only divert the international working class movement away from effectively facing the concerted onslaught of imperialism and reactionary forces.

Developments in the Soviet Union

Our Central Committee in its August, 1988 resolution had provided the framework in which, to assess the recent developments in the Soviet Union it had rightly stated.

"As a Party which takes its stand on Marxism-Leninism, we realize that advance of Socialism in any country must be accompanied by increased initiative of the masses both in running the economy and running the state. Lenin's statement "every cook must learn to govern" must be a growing

reality. A concrete form of these initiatives in the various stages of development embraces larger and larger number of people. Measures, which free citizens from unnecessary restrictions and provide healthy dialogue within the limits of Socialist society, strengthen the society.

“But it has to be understood and underlined sharply that all such measures will strengthen society if the guiding role of Marxism-Leninism is preserved and the role of the Party as a leading force of society as vanguard of the working class is ensured. Without these latter two conditions new measures would not realize the Socialist initiative of the masses and ensure their participation in running the state.”

Since this resolution, many developments have taken place at a rapid pace. On the economic front, despite the efforts at restructuring, the economic situation has deteriorated. An especially acute problem is the growth of the shadow economy which prevents the proper supply of essential commodities and consumer goods to the people. New controversial measures in the economic sphere are being initiated. Ethnic problems have assumed a grave character with inter-ethnic violence and the rise of secessionist movements in certain regions, particularly the Baltic republics. Inside the CPSU, as against the official platform of the Central Committee, alternative platforms have emerged. These are all matters of serious concern to Communists all over the world.

Twentyseventh Congress of CPSU

The CPSU began the process of Perestroika and Glasnost in 1985. The CPI(M) had recognized the necessity for reforms both in the economic and political spheres in order to overcome distortions to take Socialism to a higher stage. At the theoretical level, as Comrade Gorbachev pointed out in the Twentyseventh Congress report, the necessity for reforms arose out of the non-correspondence between the productive forces and the existing relations of production. Bringing these two into alignment does not take place automatically. Economic reforms meant overhauling the management methods

of the economy, restructuring industry and agriculture to harness the latest advance in the scientific and technological revolution and to accelerate productivity and the development of the productive forces. Political reforms were required for the widening and deepening of socialist democracy. Overcoming past distortions which hampered the widest participation of the citizens in the running of state, democracy also meant ensuring effective participation of the working class in the work collectives and management of production. This required putting an end to bureaucratic methods which prevented wider participation and hindered the development of socialist consciousness.

A Basic Departure

It is from this standpoint that the CPI(M) lent support to the formulations in the Twentyseventh Congress for reforms. However, the new Draft Platform of the Central Committee of the CPSU for the Twentyeighth Congress makes a departure in relation to certain fundamental Marxist-Leninist propositions. The impact of Perestroika and the CPSU's new thinking in international relations is not limited to the Soviet Union, therefore, it is necessary to opine on them. The correction of distortions in the building of Socialism are essential for the steady advance of Socialism on the world scale. Here a balanced approach is required to the historical experience of building Socialism and ensuring the continuity of the revolutionary process. But now in the name of correcting past distortions, a departure is sought to be made from the basic ideology of Marxism-Leninism.

New Concept of Socialism

The goal of Perestroika is stated to be a "humane and democratic" Socialism. This is posed as a qualitatively new concept of Socialism which renounces the achievements of the socialist past. Seven decades which saw the working class endeavours in building Socialism in the first Socialist state, facing civil war and imperialist intervention; the defeat of fascism

with enormous sacrifices, Socialism built out of backward conditions which guaranteed the right to work, education, housing, health and cultural development. This history of Socialism has to be evaluated within the historical developments of that period. Instead, what is projected is that a transformation is being made from inhuman to humane socialism. Correction of distortions accumulated from the past, innovations to further enrich the humanistic and democratic content of Socialism are necessary. But this cannot be done by negation of all that is valuable and Socialist in the past.

Universal Human Values and Class Values

One of the important components of the "New Thinking" is the assertion in Soviet writings of the "priority of universal human values over class values". Universal human values are supposed to have precedence over class interests due to the threat of nuclear war, the consequent annihilation of the human race and the ecological disaster which would destroy the entire planet.

Due importance has to be accorded to finding common ground to avert the threat of nuclear war, for elimination of nuclear weapons and to preserve ecology. There are increasing possibilities to jointly act, in the interests of humanity, on these vital matters. But it will be wrong to deduce from the common universal human values attributable to imperialism. The Marxist world view holds that the class struggle to eliminate exploitation of man by man and for the abolition of classes in society is an inseparable and integral part of the realization of universal human values. It sees both human values and proletarian class interests as an integral whole. Therefore, it is misleading and incorrect to counterpose universal human values to class values. Only by abolishing classes in society can the fulfilment of human values on a universal scale be ensured. By elevating universal human values over class values on the basis of a so-called law of an "integral world", the role of class struggle, the class-based view of human society—historical materialism, is being

given the go-by This leads to spreading illusions about the nature of present-day imperialism and the world capitalist system.

One of the key quotations used to substantiate New Thinking and the priority of universal human values over class interests is cited from Lenin He is quoted to state: "From the standpoint of the basic ideas of Marxism, the interests of social development are higher than the interests of the proletariat". This sentence taken out of context is from Lenin's Draft Programme written in 1889

Lenin's article must be seen in the historical background it was written in and the full quotation must be studied Lenin wrote this article while in exile about the draft programme of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party and what it should contain The article deals with the specific situation in Russia which must be addressed to by the programme of the Party. The full extract reads as follows.

"It is especially necessary to recognize the struggle for political liberties against the autocracy as the first political task of the working class party, this task should in our opinion be explained by an exposition of the class nature of the present-day Russian autocracy and the need to overthrow it, not only in the interests of the working class, but also in the interests of social development as a whole Such a description is essential in regard to both theory and practice, in theory because from the standpoint of the basic ideas of Marxism, the interests of social development are higher than the interests of the proletariat—the interests of the working class movement as a whole are higher than the interests of a separate section of the workers or of separate phases of the movement; and in practice, this elucidation is essential because of the need to characterize the focal point to which the whole variety of Social Democratic activity—propaganda, agitation, and organization—must be directed, and round which it must be concentrated "

From this extract, the point Lenin is driving at becomes clear. In the struggle to overthrow the Tsarist autocracy,

the entire social forces oppressed by this system have to be mobilized. At this stage of Russia's revolutionary movement, the struggle to overthrow autocracy is to be identified with the interests of the entire Russian society necessary for its future social development. The interests of the Russian proletariat in this task is subsumed by the overall interests of Russian social development. The working class as the advanced class in Russian society should take the lead in championing the demand for the overthrow of autocracy and wresting political liberty—a goal in the interests of the “social development” of Russia. The interests of the working class as the vanguard in enabling social advance and emancipation embodies the true relationship between general human values and class interests. Abstracted from this context, the sentence quoted to substantiate the concept of universal human values having priority over class values applied to today's world leads to undermining the role of class struggle in the social transformation of society.

The Draft Platform states: “While adhering to the positions of the working class and the working people, we abandon the simplified class approach which opposed national and universal human values.” It is on the plea of abandoning a simplistic approach that the class approach is sought to be abandoned.

This is an outlook which undermines the proletarian internationalistic viewpoint and leads to expressing no concern for the worldwide struggle of the working class. Soviet writings are virtually silent on the vital battles for democracy, social emancipation and against imperialism and neo-colonialism going on in different parts of the world. As Lenin had repeatedly stated, proletarian internationalism means extending solidarity with the working class of all countries, the people fighting for national liberation and struggles against imperialism. This internationalist task gets sidelined by an erroneous outlook which counterposes universal human values and class values.

Deideologization : Negates Anti-Imperialism

Further in Soviet writings, there is constant talk of "deideologization of state to state relations" Improving state to state relations between countries with different social systems to meet the vital tasks commonly facing all humanity such as the nuclear war danger is one thing This is in the perspective based on Lenin's concept of peaceful co-existence But to speak of deideologizing relations between states is to disarm the Socialist state and the international working class movement of its ideological basis which guides the very principle of state to state relations. It means negating the anti-imperialist standpoint.

The Draft Platform does not recognize the existence of world imperialism and its menace today. The foreign policy section talks of the efforts to "build a safe and civilized world order" and advocates the "principle of balanced interests" with the imperialist countries. It talks of settlement of regional conflicts, states defending their independence from outside interference and demilitarization and halting the profound disparities developing in different parts of the world, all without a reference to the existence of imperialism and its machinations

Class Character of the State Under Socialism

The dictatorship of the proletariat in the period of transition from Socialism to Communism, as Lenin pointed out, can "yield great abundance and variety of political forms". The forms of proletarian statehood will vary and pass through various phases from defending and consolidating the Socialist revolution to the complicated process of building Socialism. It is essential to remember that the State under socialism whatever its form has as its essence proletarian class character In the name of correcting the distortions of the past, the class character of the state is being abandoned Giving up the class nature of the State means giving up the revolution itself. The Draft Platform declares "The rule-of-law State of the whole people has no room for dictatorship

by any class and even less so for the power of a management bureaucracy". It is misleadingly portrayed as if the dictatorship of the proletariat under Socialism represents dictatorship of the working class over the other sections of the people. Whereas the proletarian state power is meant to represent the overwhelming majority of the people against the class enemies both internal and external. In the Critique of the Gotha Programme, Marx had said that the State in the entire period from Socialism to Communism can only be the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin, further elaborating this, said that the dictatorship of the proletariat embodies the leading role of the proletariat in building Socialism, so long as there are sections among people with different levels of consciousness born out of socialist property.

Leading Role of the Party

Whatever distortions have crept into the form of the proletarian state and its functioning, they cannot be corrected by abandoning the class nature of the state itself. The new forms of State power and its institutions require the widest socialist democracy for further strengthening the socialist system. Pluralism of views and dissenting opinions within the socialist framework has to be institutionally encouraged and guaranteed as rights. The leading role of the Party cannot be negated in this process. A multi-party system in this context cannot be unrelated to the role of different classes in the process of revolutions. Historically in certain countries, the Party of the working class emerged as the vanguard of the revolution. While other classes and the parties connected with them betrayed the revolution, the Communist Party led the revolution to success. The leading role emerged out of its vanguard role in the revolution. In some countries, certain parties which supported the revolution found a place in the new set up, as in the People's Republic of China. The concept of a 'multi-party system' which would undermine the leading role of the Party of the working class and throw up forces which challenge the basic foundations

of the socialist system would be detrimental to the development of socialist democracy

The leading role of the Party and the working class is necessary during the entire period of Socialism. The Party, however, should not and cannot replace the class either in running the State or the economy. There have been serious distortions by substituting the role of the class by the Party in the running of the state. In criticizing and correcting this deviation it should be remembered that all reforms for socialist advance can be registered only when the leading role of the Party is preserved. The leading role does not get translated into a correct relationship between the proletarian state and Party by imposing it through constitutional sanctions. The Leninist concept of the leading role is of a role won by the Party through its ideological, political and organizational work amongst the people

Socialist Democracy and Glasnost

The creation of a socialist system, with socialized means of production and abolition of exploitation of man by man provides the material basis for practising widest democracy. Socialism does not negate but carries forward the democratic values and traditions achieved by the people under bourgeois democracy.

The bourgeois critics who condemn Socialism as inherently anti-democratic gloss over the fact that the bourgeois state is in essence the rule by the exploiting few of the exploited majority. Without economic emancipation democracy gets emasculated. Socialism and the proletarian state while laying the foundations for equality and democracy, had to exercise proletarian power in the earlier period to crush the counter-revolution and eliminate the forces of exploitation. This demanded a centralized apparatus of the State. Such an apparatus was also essential for building a planned economy

After this phase is over, as the Socialist state and system is consolidated there opens up the opportunities for widening

democracy and individual initiative and liberties. Socialist democracy becomes correspondingly richer and deeper with immense potential for individual liberties and popular participation corresponding to the development of the Socialist system. Such a socialist democracy is qualitatively superior to the democracy found in bourgeois societies which is restricted and hampered by economic inequalities.

However, there have been deformations in the developments of Socialist democracy. The earlier methods of running the state machinery were carried over into the subsequent period also. There was a failure to understand the new stage of socialist development and correspondingly the functioning of the state in the new situation. Grave violations of inner-party democracy and socialist legality were a consequence. This led to strengthening of bureaucracy and restriction and suppression of individual freedom and initiative.

Lenin in this connection had pertinently observed. "The socialist revolution can only be lasting when this new class learns from the political work of government. Only when it enlists the vast mass of working people for this work, when it elaborates forms which will enable all working people to adapt themselves easily to the work of governing the state and establishing law and order. Only on this condition is the Socialist revolution bound to be lasting."

Therefore, steps to deepen socialist democracy are necessary. They would open further possibilities for the citizens exercise of democratic rights and safeguarding the right of criticism. The widest participation of the people in running the State, administration and economy is essential through self-government and work collectives. Advance of Socialism requires reforms of the political structure and the institutions of the State which enrich and strengthen socialist democracy.

Denigration of Socialist Past

However, the way Glasnost has been practised in the Soviet Union has negative feature. In the name of widening democracy

and political reforms, many deep-rooted trends have developed to condemn the Socialist past, undermine the leading role of the Communist Party and glorification of bourgeois democracy. The past has to be critically reviewed to learn correct lessons. But in the name of Glasnost what is taking place in Soviet writings is outright denigration of the achievements of the socialist revolution in the past seven decades. The August 1988 Central Committee resolution correctly stated "An outlook which, while criticizing the deformities, deviations and distortions of the past, ignores these achievements, prejudices the future and delinks the new democratic reforms from past proletarian history. Such negative attitude towards the past while discussing the shortcomings, deviations and deformities of the earlier period may distort the prospects." Doing so would be to separate the working class and the forces of Socialism from its historical experience and curbing its future revolutionary advance.

Further under Glasnost, anti-Socialist and anti-Marxist propaganda flourishes, but one is unable to see propaganda on the Marxist-Leninist basis to effectively rebut such views amongst the people. Surely the leading role of the Party does not mean only ensuring freedom of expression for all, but also the intervention by the Party to defend scientific Socialism and its propagation among the people.

Democratic Centralism

The Leninist concept of the vanguard Party is based on the principles of democratic centralism, inner-party democracy, strict discipline, criticism and self-criticism and the minority submitting to the majority. There is no doubt that in practice, centralism has been emphasized at the expense of democracy in the functioning of the Party even after the internal exploiting classes have been eliminated. Overcentralism resulted in curbing the initiative of primary Party units and prevented the Party members participation and involvement in the formulation of policy and reviewing decisions. The principle of democratic centralism, which is the internal structure of the Party

has also been indiscriminately applied to state and mass organizations, thereby curbing the initiative of the masses. Emphasis on democratization of the Party should not lead to the abandonment of the principle of democratic centralism.

Different platforms are being allowed to function inside the Communist Party itself. Free debate and democratic discussions resulting in a majority decision with the minority submitting to it is being replaced by platforms which will result in the creation of different factions. This goes against the fundamental principles of the Leninist Party. One sees also the strange spectacle of member of the Central Committee propagandizing against Socialism and the Party and continuing to be a member of the leading body. Allowing this is nothing but reducing the Party into an amorphous club and to the position of a social democratic party and forgetting the struggle which Lenin waged for the creation of a party of the new type. The Communist Party must discharge its vanguard role. This is possible only when the entire membership after the process of inner-party discussions acts on the collective decision as a unified whole.

Social Democracy

The social democratic forces have an important role in the struggle for world peace and the prevention of nuclear war. All the more so, since parties of social democracy run governments in Western Europe from time to time. Social democracy still has a strong influence within the working class and broad sections of the people in the advanced capitalist countries. Communists, therefore, actively seek their cooperation and united efforts in the fight for world peace and for common issues of the working people. However, despite variations in the role of social democratic parties, all of them are parties of reform within the capitalist system, who advocate class collaboration. Ideologically, they reject the basic doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin in relation to the state and social revolution. The CPSU Draft Platform now advocates ending the "historical split in the Socialist movement" by healing the rift with social democracy. To merge

social democracy with the Marxist Party will be to obliterate the ideology of the working class and dilute scientific Socialism. Therefore, social democratic parties cannot be equated with Communist Parties which have common ideological bonds.

Ethnic Problem

The problem of nationalities in the Soviet Union has assumed acute forms which is a cause for deep concern. Under Lenin's leadership, the new Soviet state had laid the foundations of a democratic nationalities policy which at one stroke undid the oppression of past centuries. Since then under Socialism, the various nationalities of the Union, particularly the backward groups made tremendous progress, economic, social and cultural. However, over a period, negative developments took place which were not checked in time nor was this aspect known outside the Soviet Union. It is now evident that the present eruption of national question is due to an accumulation of problems over a long period. Bureaucratic high-handedness, overcentralization, violation of the policy of equality of languages, have all contributed to the intensification of the problem which is manifesting in various ways in the different republics.

Further with the development of the material condition under Socialism, new socio-economic groupings, new migration patterns and the rise of a new intelligentsia have emerged in the different nationalities. Serious lags in comprehending and errors in dealing with these developments have led to the growth of inter-ethnic tensions and national chauvinism. Glasnost has also been exploited by such negative trends to find open expressions and to inflame ethnic passions. National chauvinist trends are also propelling secessionist demands in certain republics which go against the basic and vital interests of the working class and the people of that nationality whose welfare and development have been irrevocably tied to the Soviet people of all other nationalities.

The CPSU Platform on nationalities adopted in September 1989 and the subsequent efforts have been trying to settle

the immediate problems on a principled basis. The CPSU rightly stated . "All of Soviet and world experience points to the need not to regard self-determination merely as a single act of realising the right to secession. It is a complex and multi-faceted process involving the assertion of national dignity, the strengthening of political and economic independence and the development of language and culture". However, in dealing with ethnic violence and separatism, the role of imperialism in penetrating to foment further tensions and the external intervention by religious fundamentalist forces are being ignored. All Communists and progressives the world over view with grave concern the inter-ethnic situation in the Soviet Union. This is but natural, as it affects the very unity and integrity of the Soviet Socialist Federation. The struggle to implement in letter and spirit the Leninist policy of nationalities in the present-day conditions, a united Federation with self-governing republics, will have the full support of Communists all over the world.

ECONOMIC REFORMS

Necessity of Reforms

As stated earlier the rationale for economic restructuring was correctly analysed in the Twentyseventh Congress. The political report had stated "Indeed the socialist productive relations open up broad vistas for the development of productive forces. However, they must be constantly improved and this means outdated economic management must be noted in good time and replaced by new ones. The forms of production relations and economic management and guidance system now in operation took shape basically in the conditions of extensive economic development. These gradually grew out of date and began to lose stimulating effect and in some respects became a brake."

To overcome the economic crisis as a result of stagnation, urgent reforms were necessary. The debate in the Soviet Union

on this issue has revealed diverse trends—which path to take? Questions of centrally planned economy and market relations and forms of property have assumed vital importance. In a socialist economy, during the entire phase of Socialism, commodity-money relations cannot be dispensed with during this stage. Commodity production existed in pre-capitalist formations, capitalism itself is commodity production and it will continue in post-capitalist formations for a long time.

Plan and Market

However, the essence of a Socialist economy is central planning. Relations based on planning and balanced development are a specific feature of Socialism and its greatest inherent advantage over capitalism. Such a planned growth is possible on the objective basis of socialist means of production; planning provides coordinated management of the national economy as a single whole to meet social needs and to maintain by deliberate intervention the proportions required between various types of production. Socialistic planning pursues the aim of increasing the socialized productive forces so as to ensure increasing goods and welfare services to the citizens. Within this framework, the central plan and market relations should not be seen as opposing principles of regulation. The plan should utilize the market relations and regulate it for the immediate economic goals corresponding to the stage of development.

At the present juncture it is necessary to heighten the efficiency of the centralized planning of the economy. It is also necessary to ensure a degree of decentralization to lower units and enterprises to stimulate production and innovation.

The principles of each according to his work will prevail in the entire period of Socialism. This means material incentives have a definite role to play in the building of Socialism. This principle cannot be skipped or is dispensed with under Socialism. While material incentives are necessary, continuous efforts to develop the collective consciousness so that personal interests are subordinated to social

needs have to be undertaken. Without this Socialist consciousness cannot be fostered. An important element of reforms is the vitalization of democracy and democratic management mechanisms have to function effectively to enhance labour productivity and to heighten the Socialist consciousness of the working class.

In the context of the above stated necessity for economic reforms there are justified grounds to be alarmed about the direction of reforms undertaken in the Soviet Union. The Draft Platform under the section entitled "For Effective Plan Market Economy" recognizes that "one of the most difficult aspects of economic reforms is finding an organic combination of plan and market methods to regulate economic activity"

But, subsequently however, the Draft Platform proceeds to state that "The creation of a full-fledged market economy requires the formation of markets of consumer goods, capital goods, securities investment, currencies and research and development, and an early reform of the financial, monetary and credit system". The Platform envisages the market, instead of planning, regulating the economy. It states: "The restructuring of the price formation is an *sine qua non* condition for the market to start regulating the economy"

In the name of a full-fledged market economy the main emphasis on market economy and talk of its regulating the economy, undermines the vital role of central planning. Market relations and commodity-money relations unless integrated into a single economic mechanism under planning will lead to increasing income differentiation and erosion of social priorities under Socialism. It will lead to unbalanced development with the profit motive becoming dominant.

Primacy of Social Ownership

The basis for socialist economy and the socialist system is the social ownership of the means of production and socialized production. Under Socialism at present, three forms of property exist; state owned, cooperative or collective and individual. The sphere of the last named at present is only

minor State, collective and cooperative enterprises make up more than 95 per cent of the total production. The new measures began with the development of cooperatives in those spheres, previously with the state, such as services and distribution. Now cooperatives for production, group ownership and individual ownership of means of production in industry and agriculture are envisaged. The draft Platform talks of "deep restructuring of relations of property" and advocates diversity of forms of property. Then it proceeds to make the surprising and untenable claim that "equal and sound competition" between forms of property "is the economic basis of civil freedom". That is, the Platform declares, that in the Soviet Union private property competing on equal terms with socially owned property is necessary to guarantee democracy and civil freedoms. This approach is totally un-Marxist and accepts the bourgeois thesis that only private property and market provides free choice and hence the basis for freedom.

Socialist property relations have different levels of socialization. Periodic adjustment and regulation of the different forms are necessary and economic reforms should legitimately cover this aspect. But increasing socialization of production and going to a higher stage of Socialism requires the primacy of the state owned forms of ownership and the collectives.

The Soviet government has placed before the Supreme Soviet in May 1990, a programme for the transition to a "regulated market economy" which will see a qualitatively new expansion of market forces. To be put into operation in stages by 1992, the linking of prices to market forces is bound to lead to growing inflation. The programme also advocates the creation of a labour market which will lead to a serious problem of unemployment. Not emphasising the primacy of public ownership and expanding market relations in an unregulated fashion in all spheres of the economy will pose serious problems in solving the current crisis of the economy in a socialist manner.

Danger of Undermining Socialist System

The whole gamut of economic reforms in the Soviet Union, plan and market restructuring, forms of property, price reforms, unrestrained opening to the world capitalist market and integrating with its mechanisms are all questions where there are genuine fears that these may lead to adverse consequences for the socialist system. The lessons of the history of economic reforms in Eastern Europe, particularly Poland and Hungary, must be drawn. In both these countries faced with the deadlock created by the mechanical adoption of the Soviet model, timely corrections were not made. Instead, the economies of these countries were opened to the play of market forces, western credits and heavy capital imports resulting in hyper-inflation and unemployment. The consequent mass discontent resulted in the erosion of the Socialist system. Economics, as Lenin pointed out, ultimately is a matter of politics.

The need for reform of the socialist economies is vital and urgent task. Steps are to be taken to work out an effective policy to benefit from the scientific and technological revolution; socialist cost accounting systems and new management procedures and to improve the socialist commodity economy and market under centralised planning. The bourgeois propaganda blitz about the supremacy of the market and its correlation with free choice and democracy must be decisively rejected. The Socialist system and the planned economy provide the basis for creative innovations to enhance the productive forces, labour productivity and emergence of appropriate relations of production.

Capitalism : No Alternative

Marxism-Leninism is the source for developing and perfecting Socialism. It is this inexhaustable spring that can nourish Socialism's new thrust forward overcoming the present problems and correcting distortions, not the historically obsolete system of capitalism. Exploitation of man by man and crisis are inherent in capitalist production. Exploitation

occurs not because the workers are cheated or because of unfair exchange in the market. Exploitation takes place because there exists under capitalism a commodity-labour power—whose use itself creates a value larger than what it can command on the market. Surplus value generation, profit, the motive force and exploitation take place in the capitalist production process itself. Class exploitation is inherent in the dynamics of capitalist production not withstanding any amount of social welfare measures. Emancipation from this exploitation means directly the overthrow of this system. It is not only a moral question. It is a historic necessity based on scientific reality. Capitalism, therefore, can in no way be the alternative in solving the problems arising out of the process of building and consolidating Socialism.

The greatness, validity and continued relevance of Marxism-Leninism, lies in the fact that it shows the historical inevitability of the overthrow of capitalism and the triumph of Socialism on the basis of scientific analysis. The process of humanity's transition to Socialism is a process of continuous struggle for ending the exploitation of man by man and of nation by nation on the world scale. But this process as we have seen, is a complex one marked by a continuous struggle between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution. As Lenin said "It is undialectical, unscientific and theoretically wrong to regard the course of world history as a smooth and always in a forward direction without occasional gigantic leaps back". Such reverses and setbacks must be properly understood and correct lessons drawn in order to strengthen the forces of Socialism against its enemies during this period of transition. The main trends of world development in this century, however, testify the correctness of the content of the present epoch since 1917 as that of transition from capitalism to Socialism on a world scale.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism against deviations and distortions, calls upon its ranks to face the challenges posed by the recent developments by firmly

adhering to revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism
It calls upon the ranks to steadfastly struggle against the
onslaught of imperialism and counter-revolutionary forces
which are today mounting a fierce attack against Marxism-
Leninism and the international Communist movement.

CPI(M) Central Committee Elects New PBM & CCM*

At the meeting of the Central Committee in New Delhi, May 28–31, 1990, CCM Binoy Krishna Choudhuri was unanimously elected to the Polit Bureau and Sailen Dasgupta, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, to the Central Committee.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 3, 1990

On Andhra Pradesh Cyclone Disaster*

Resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) in its meeting held in New Delhi from May 28 to 31, 1990

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep grief and heartfelt sympathy for the people of Andhra Pradesh who suffered unprecedented destruction of life and property in the recent cyclone and tidal wave. The death toll has gone up to a thousand. The loss of property and crops is officially assessed at about Rs 800 crore. All communications in several districts were disrupted for about a week, 10 lakh houses were damaged, half of them fully, rendering the whole slum dwelling population of all coastal towns and the cities of Vijayawada and Vishakhapatnam shelterless. The affected population is said to be more than a crore, covering 14 districts and nearly 6,000 villages.

The means of livelihood like handlooms, fishing boats, etc., in tens of thousands were destroyed. Crops paddy and pulses, commercial crops like sugar-cane, and horticulture like mangoes, bananas, coconuts, etc., in about eight lakh acres were damaged. In some areas of Krishna and West Godavari, both *rabi* and *kharif* crops which could not be threshed earlier, have been washed away, while already threshed grain has either discoloured or developed sprouts. Cattle, sheep, poultry and farm birds are dead, to the extent of 40 lakhs.

Though the devastation was more extensive than in the 1977 tidal cyclone except, in terms of the loss of human life, unfortunately the brunt of it was again to be borne by the

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same Krishna and Guntur districts coastal belt Inundated and marooned for more than a week, some villages have been altogether uprooted, and lakhs of people pauperized The rural poor, artisans, as well as the entire agrarian community in some areas live in dire misery and distress

The Central Committee notes with regret that in face of such a calamity, the relief given was not enough and delayed too There were serious complaints of discrimination in distribution of rice and the enumeration of damaged and destroyed houses, largely due to the undue interference and duress exercised by Congress(I) legislators and councillors However, by and large the State Government moved with concern in certain respects like saving the people by opening relief camps. Thanks to the timely warnings from the media, and the cyclone shelters built by the Government and some philanthropic organizations on the coastline, thousands of lives were saved.

The Central Committee appreciates the change of attitude displayed by the National Front Government. In contrast to the previous Congress(I) Government, it has promptly attended to the necessary relief measures irrespective of the party in power at the State level The assistance rendered by the Centre so far will help the State to initiate relief and rehabilitation measures.

But at the same time the Central Committee, considering the enormity of the devastation and the necessity of treating it as a national calamity, urges upon the Central Government to allot more funds than what is available under the Calamity Fund, to enable the State Government to meet the situation successfully. It also urges upon both the Centre and State Governments to waive all the crop loans of those farmers who have lost all crops and horticulture, and render adequate interest-free loan advances to regenerate their cultivating capacity. Land revenue and irrigation cess collection has to be stopped and cancelled in the affected villages and zones.

Polit Bureau Condemns Bajrang Dal Attack*

Statement dated June 8, 1990, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau strongly condemns the attack by the Bajrang Dal on a CITU *dharna* being held in front of the local court in Kanpur today June 6, 1990. The trade union *dharna* was being held on some local problems of the workers. A Bajrang Dal procession which passed by attacked the *dharna* without any provocation. Arvindkumar, leader of the CITU was assaulted and narrowly escaped serious injuries as he was rescued by the workers. The pandal used for the *dharna* was burnt by the miscreants, Suhashini Ali, MP had left the spot just before the attack, otherwise she would also have been targetted. That this was a premeditated attack is evident from the fact that many of the attackers were armed with knives and lathis.

The Polit Bureau urges the U P Government and the district administration to take prompt steps to apprehend the culprits and take firm measures to prevent the anti-social and communal disruptive activities of organizations like the Bajrang Dal.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 17, 1990

Polit Bureau Condemns Madras Murders*

Statement dated June 20, 1990, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is deeply shocked and grieved at the dastardly killing of K P Padmanabha, General Secretary, and 13 other cadres of the EPRLF at Madras by suspected LTTE men. Padmanabha was a dedicated Left leader who represented the forces which championed the genuine demands of the Tamil minority within the framework of the unity of Sri Lanka.

These gruesome murders have been perpetrated by armed men openly in the heart of Madras city. This indicates the serious danger posed by the LTTE which has been allowed to carry on its disruptive activities without any check. The Tamil Nadu State Committee of the CPI(M) had recently warned that the erroneous approach to the LTTE and other divisive forces may create a serious situation in Tamil Nadu.

The Polit Bureau urges Chief Minister Karunanidhi to realise the gravity of the situation. His Government should take firm steps immediately to curb the activities of the LTTE, in cooperation with the Central Government.

The Polit Bureau conveys its heartfelt condolences to the wife of K. Padmanabha and the families of the other leaders and cadres who have been killed.

Counter This Dangerous Communal Offensive*

Call given by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) in its statement dated June 24, 1990, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is deeply disturbed at the attempted resurgence of communal animosity by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad in its meet at Hardwar yesterday. It has been reported that it has decided to start construction of the Ram temple at Ayodhya from October 30 next. In the statement issued after the meet, the spokesman of the VHP has also conveyed its warning that whatever be the verdict in the case pending before the special bench of the Allahabad High Court, they will ignore it if it goes against them. This is nothing short of a voice of extreme obscurantist obduracy. In fact, the statement means that this communal outfit cares neither for the democratic polity of the country nor for a judicial settlement of the dispute. Similarly, the convention organized by the Indian Union Muslim League has started supplying highly combustible material to the Ramjanmabhoomi/Babri Masjid issue. Such ill-conceived statements will do more harm to the minority community itself.

It seems the communalists of both hues have started feeding each other, which may lead the country to another uncontrollable communal conflagration.

The Polit Bureau appeals to all the secular, democratic and patriotic forces to come out openly against the studied attempt at resurgence of a communal holocaust. It is the special duty and obligation of the Left and secular forces to

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mobilize all the democratic, secular forces in a crusade against a potential vicious communal flare-up. The Polit Bureau at the same time urges upon the Governments of India and U P to stand firm on their commitment of maintaining law and order and communal peace. They should see to it that all concerned are obliged to wait for the court verdict, and once it is pronounced, to abide by it. Silence on the part of the Government if any attempt is made to openly flout the court judgement, will not only spell disaster for the integrity of the country, but also severely erode the authority of the judiciary. The Polit Bureau condemns all such attempts, and pledges to the people of the country that with all its strength it will fight for maintaining the unity and integrity of the country and uphold the sanctity of judicial pronouncements. The Polit Bureau calls upon all secular and patriotic forces to stand up, denounce this open move of the communalists and rally round the banner of secularism, patriotism and democracy.

Polit Bureau on Caste Atrocities*

Statement dated June 27, 1990, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau condemns the atrocities perpetrated on the harijans and tribals recently in Rajasthan, UP and Bihar. One thought that with the change in Governments at the Centre as well as in the States, the already deteriorating law and order situation would turn for the better. Belying expectations, a few days back nine tribals known as Kanjars in Mandawari village in Chittorgarh district of Rajasthan were beaten to death and their houses blasted. Even the Chief Minister on the floor of the Assembly admitted that these unfortunate tribals were hacked to death "under police protection". Only yesterday again an incident involving the lynching of a harijan youth happened in Bihar in a most barbaric way. Still a sort of caste war between Jats and Jatavs seems to be continuing in and around Agra, leading to imposition of curfew.

These are the symptoms of a deep malaise within the Indian society itself. The harijans and the tribals have for centuries been the victims of ruthless exploitation, economically as well as socially. The climate of violence created in the last few years in the social milieu has added grist to the mill of chauvinism of different hues.

A determined step by the concerned State Governments as well as by the Centre must put down these barbaric attempts of inflicting further injuries on the most downtrodden.

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sections of our society The Polit Bureau appeals to the democratic and secular forces in the country to raise their voice against such savage repression and oppression on the most backward and exploited sections of the Indian society

CPI(M) on Unification of Korea*

Extend full support to the Proposal of Democratic People's Republic of Korea for Peaceful Unification of Korea

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) while reiterating its continued solidarity with the efforts of the DPRK for the peaceful reunification of the Korean people and nation, appreciates the new initiatives taken by the joint meeting of the Central People's Committee, Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly and the Administration Council of the D P R of Korea

This "disarmament proposal for peace on the Korean peninsula" is a further manifestation of the continuous initiatives being taken by the DPRK. This proposal at easing tensions on the Korean peninsula and creating a peaceful climate for national reunification will surely be welcomed by all peace loving forces in the world

The proposal correctly notes that "although confrontation and disputes are disappearing in other parts of the world, the tensions in the Korean peninsula are daily growing acute" The CPI(M) hopes that sufficient pressure will be brought by the Korean people of both North and South and the international solidarity movement on U S imperialism and its agents who have continued to keep Korea divided for more than four decades. Such peoples' pressure is all the more required for the adoption of a non-aggression declaration between the North and South

The proposals for the drastic reduction of armed forces, the banning of military manoeuvres with foreign troops, the

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 18, 1990

conversion of the demilitarized zone into a peace zone and the proposals for verification of the process of mutual disarmament, are initiatives that no genuine peace-loving force can refuse. While fully supporting the demand raised for converting the Korean peninsula into a nuclear free zone, the CPI(M) is convinced that U S imperialism must be made party to tripartite talks for the signing of the peace agreement. This is essential because it is U S imperialism that is chiefly responsible for the continued tensions in the Korean peninsula.

As partners in the worldwide struggle against imperialism, the CPI(M) once again reiterates its solidarity with the Workers' Party of Korea and the people of both North and South who are in the midst of the struggle to reunify the Korean nation.

CPI(M)'S Greetings to CPSU Twentyeighth Congress*

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) sends its warm fraternal greetings to the Twentyeighth Congress of the CPSU

This Congress is meeting at a very critical moment in the history of world Socialism. The CPI(M) notes with high appreciation the initiatives taken by the CPSU towards eliminating the threat of a nuclear holocaust in the interest of humanity's survival and for world peace. The series of initiatives undertaken by the CPSU since the founding of the socialist USSR have galvanized the forces of world peace and yielded positive results. The initiatives in recent years have contributed in creating an atmosphere in the world that is conducive for easing war tensions.

The CPI(M) has been keenly following the process of reforms that the CPSU has undertaken. The CPI(M) recognizes the necessity for reforms both in the economic and political spheres in order to overcome distortions and errors of the past, to consolidate and advance Socialism. This process is today passing through a very critical period. The CPI(M) hopes that reforms for strengthening Socialism based on Marxism-Leninism will be consolidated.

The forces of imperialism and world reaction are intensifying efforts to undermine Socialism on a world scale. Exploiting the difficulties being faced by several Socialist countries they have unleashed, with a renewed viciousness, a worldwide campaign against Socialism and Marxism-

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Leninism They are actively aiding and abetting such anti-Communist forces within Socialist countries, who are aiming at subverting Socialism The deliberations of this Twentyeighth Congress of the CPSU, we hope, will further strengthen the Communists in the USSR, the forces of world Socialism and rebuff these attempts

Comrades,

The CPSU has always been a source of inspiration to the toiling millions and enlightened people the world over in their struggle for emancipation This Party of Lenin, was truly a trail blazer in the advance of humanity's progress The establishment and consolidation of the first ever Socialist State, the building of a mighty industrial USSR, the defeat of fascism, the unrelenting efforts for world peace and the moral and material support rendered to the people of the world in their struggle for national liberation, continue to be a permanent source of inspiration to millions of people the world over

Following in the footsteps of these glorious traditions, we hope that the deliberations of the Twentyeighth Congress of the CPSU, reaffirming allegiance to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, will further strengthen Socialism in the USSR The CPI(M) wishes the CPSU at this critical hour all success in this colossal effort

Polit Bureau Condemns Violence in Tripura Tribal Autonomous District Council Elections, Demands Repoll in 105 Booths*

Statement dated July 9, 1990, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly deplores the violence and loss of life in the elections to the Tribal Autonomous District Council of Tripura, held on July 8. During the course of the polling, eight people lost their lives and nearly 100 were injured. In 105 booths the polling was totally rigged. The Polit Bureau condemns the violence unleashed by the Congress(I)-TUJS alliance.

Everybody is aware of how the Congress(I), under the leadership of Santosh Mohan Deb, had organized large-scale violence during the last Assembly elections and foisted the Congress(I)-TUJS Coalition Government on the people of Tripura. Since then anti-social elements, patronized by the Congress(I), have been on a virtual rampage destroying democratic value and targetting the CPI(M) cadres. During this period over a hundred CPI(M) cadres have lost their lives in such barbarous attacks.

In preparation for these recent elections, the CPI(M) had been repeatedly warning that the Congress(I) is mobilizing all its resources to once again indulge in violence on a bigger-scale, and rig the elections.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M), therefore, emphatically demands that fresh elections must be ordered in these 105 booths, on the basis of the complaints that have already

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been lodged with the Election Commission. It further demands that proper security measures be taken during the repoll, counting and post-election periods, in order to ensure that people can exercise their franchise freely.

Polit Bureau on Dangerous Conflict in Sri Lanka*

Statement dated July 4, 1990, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep concern over the grave developments in Sri Lanka. The expectations of peace being restored on the Island following the India-Sri Lanka Agreement, have been shattered. The armed forces of the Sri Lankan Government and the LTTE militants are engaged in a ruthless confrontation.

The aggravation of the conflict has led to death of large number of civilians and of substantial casualties on both sides, to starvation and misery of the people, to the uprooting of thousands of people from their homes and fratricidal clashes between Tamils and Sinhalese in many areas. The conflict threatens to disturb peace in the region and provides a fertile ground for imperialist intrigues.

The CPI(M) had welcomed India-Sri Lanka Agreement. Serious and sustained efforts to implement the provisions of the Accord could have provided the conditions for the solution of the Sri Lankan problems on the basis of autonomy for the Tamil ethnic minority to protect their rights and interests within the framework of the integrity and unity of Sri Lanka.

The Polit Bureau is of the view that the present conflict is due to the disastrous policies of the Premadasa Government and of the LTTE in joining together to demand the withdrawal of the IPKF without the full implementation of the all the terms of the Accord. The Sri Lankan Government

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followed a deliberate policy of pitting different groups of Tamil militants against each other. The LTTE on the other hand with its ulterior motives of establishing its monopolistic terroristic domination over the North and North East, played into the hands of the Premadasa Government.

The Polit Bureau considers that the withdrawal of the IPKF from Sri Lanka following the persistent demands from the Sri Lankan Government was an inevitable step. However, the Polit Bureau is of the opinion that the Government of India while agreeing to withdraw the IPKF should have made more consistent and sustained efforts for the implementation of the provisions of the Sri Lanka-India Accord particularly in the matter of genuine devolution of power to the Provincial Councils.

Since the continuation and escalation of the conflict is bound to have disastrous consequences, the Polit Bureau appeals to the Government of India to take all possible initiatives at the political and diplomatic level to urge upon the Sri Lankan Government and LTTE to end the fighting. The Polit Bureau is of the opinion that a just and democratic solution to the problems should be found through negotiations, in which the Sri Lankan Government and all the Tamil parties and groups participate.

The serious repercussions of the Sri Lankan conflict on India cannot be underestimated. The growing influx of Tamil refugees into Tamil Nadu is likely to create difficult problems. The recent declaration of Government of India that Indian soil will not be allowed to be utilised by the Tamil militants for their activities will have to be strictly implemented. The Tamil Nadu Government in particular has to take effective measures to counter the harmful and dangerous activities of the LTTE in the State, as highlighted by the recent murder of EPRLF leaders in Madras city.

The Polit Bureau hopes that at least at this stage the LTTE will realize the most harmful consequences of the policies of intimidation, terror and annihilation of all political elements—Tamil and Sinhalese—who do not accept their

domination. The LTTE policies have weakened the unity of the Tamil people in the fight for their just and democratic demands and have strengthened the ultra-chauvinist, reactionary forces in Sri Lanka. Pursuance of the same path of the LTTE will cause enormous damage to the vital interests of the Tamil minority itself.

The Polit Bureau is at the same time of the opinion that the problem of influx of civilians fleeing from Sri Lanka should be dealt with on the basis of humanitarian considerations.

The Polit Bureau hopes that present dangerous conflict in Sri Lanka will be brought to an early end and conditions for a peaceful settlement established.

CPI(M)'S Letter to Prime Minister V.P. Singh on Industrial Policy Statement*

The following is the text of the letter dated July 5, 1990, written by E.M.S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary of CPI(M)

I am writing to you regarding the industrial policy statement placed in Parliament on May 31, 1990, by the Minister for Industries. This policy statement has generated a lot of controversy and misgivings.

Our Party's Polit Bureau, in a statement on June 6, reacted adversely to the measures announced. We considered the policy direction set out in the statement as pro-big business, opening the doors to indiscriminate penetration of foreign capital and multinational corporations, and detrimental to self-reliance and the public sector. It would compromise national sovereignty.

We now find the Union Cabinet has endorsed the policy statement in its meeting held on July 1, 1990. On behalf of the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M), I wish to reiterate our strong disagreement with the direction set out in the industrial policy statement.

The most objectionable part of the policy statement is clearance for foreign equity participation upto 40 per cent on an automatic basis. This specially will lead to indiscriminate opening to foreign capital and undermine the drive for self-reliance. Neither will it help to acquire the foreign technology that we require in essential sectors. Instead, the unrestricted freedom to promote foreign equity participation outside the purview of the FERA, may lead to further drain of foreign exchange resources and result in the worsening of

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the balance of payments position. All the measures proposed are supposed to generate more employment. On the contrary, the policy direction will amount to displacement of the real small-scale sector and facilitate capital-intensive and foreign-technology-dependent enterprises to come up in non-essential and elite consumption goods sector. Further, the non-regulated foreign equity participation upto 40 per cent will undermine national priorities and endanger self-reliance and indigenous research and development.

The decision to withdraw the system of licencing for investment upto Rs. 25 crore in non-backward areas and Rs. 75 crore in backward areas will take 60 per cent of the cases out of the purview of the licensing system. This will undermine the role of planning which has already seen constant erosion in the past years. Such a policy will only benefit the big business houses and distort social priorities set out under the plan process.

In the name of encouraging the small-scale sector, investment ceiling has been raised from Rs. 35 lakh to Rs. 60 lakh in the case of small-scale industrial units, and from Rs. 45 lakh to Rs. 75 lakh in the case of ancillary industrial units. As you must be aware, less than one per cent of the small-scale units have reached the earlier ceiling level. By adopting such a measure, the Government will only be providing further assistance to big business to penetrate on a large scale the domain of the small-scale and ancillary industries.

Finally, it is surprising that this policy statement was announced precisely when the Approach Paper to the Eighth Plan was to come up for discussion in the National Development Council meeting. The announcement of the industrial policy statement on the eve of the NDC meeting in June, can be seen only as a move to pre-empt the plan process and the finalization of its content. The National Front's election manifesto had put forth forcefully the goals of employment generation, abandonment of a pattern of industrial development which is skewed in favour of the upper

classes and elite consumption. It had also warned against the indiscriminate opening to multinational corporations and foreign capital. The industrial policy statement goes against these very goals and does not reflect even some of the stated aims set out in the Approach Paper for the Eighth Plan.

We are all aware that your Government has inherited a legacy of economic problems due to the past policies of the Congress(I) Government. But these cannot be cleared up and a new path struck unless the drive for liberalization and privatization which the Rajiv Government adopted under the World Bank-IMF pressure, is reversed. Recently the U.S. Government threatened to use the Super 301 Clause of U.S. Trade Act against India. The World Bank-IMF are exercising constant pressure on India to give up its independent economic policy. In such a situation, we had appreciated your Government's stand that it will resist such pressures and avoid getting into a debt trap.

But the present orientation, as evident in the industrial policy statement and various other pronouncements of Cabinet Ministers, causes anxiety and concern. I may refer here to the statement on power policy which has declared big concessions for the private sector in the power industry. Coupled with import of power equipment on foreign credit, it will starve the public sector units like BHEL. More and more promises are being made for liberalizing foreign investments and relaxations of MRTP regulations for big business. It is reported that the committee of Secretaries has discussed a document prepared in the PMO's office which unabashedly advocates the IMF-World Bank approach. The CPI(M) cannot support such pro-big business and pro-MNC policies.

Over two lakh small, medium and large industrial units are closed or sick. There has been a tremendous concentration of economic power in the hands of monopoly houses which the MRTP Act has failed to check. None of these serious problems have been addressed by the policy statement. Already the people are facing great hardships due to

price-rise in all commodities I may remind you that the Left parties' MPs had met you during the last Parliament session and urged upon you to ensure that modifications in the Finance Bill be made to provide relief to the people from the measures which would fuel inflation. But no such relief was provided The results of the new industrial policy will be to further worsen the conditions of the working people

The CPI(M) considers that a correct orientation in economic policy is crucial to the National Front Government's successful performance for fulfilling its pledges to the people As well wishers of your Government, we urge you to review the whole gamut of economic policy The present policy orientation as announced will be disastrous. You can initiate discussion with us and all other concerned parties at any level so that an economic policy which truly serves the interests of the people and the country, is formulated.

I hope you will give the views we have set out due consideration.

Polit Bureau Condemns Murder of Balwant Singh*

Issued statement dated July 10, 1990, to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the dastardly killing of Shri Balwant Singh, one of the top leaders of Punjab, today afternoon. In this attack two of the personal securitymen were also killed.

This dastardly attack is part of the overall strategy being employed by the extremists to eliminate the moderate Akali leaders so that they may pursue nefarious anti-national activities. Criminals in the name of extremists are continuing their attacks on the people of Punjab unrestrained. The Polit Bureau calls upon the Akali leaders to realize that no amount of placating these forces will help them. These anti-national forces are to be fought and isolated if peace has to be restored in Punjab. They must arouse the people against this heinous crime.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) demands from the Government of India that sterner security measures be employed to deal with these anti-national forces. All efforts must be made to restore peace in Punjab by using administrative measures combined with a political solution to the problem.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon the people of Punjab, recalling their heroic and glorious traditions of sacrifices and contributions to national unity, to unite as never before and isolate these anti-national forces.

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Polit Bureau on Interference in Kashmir by U.S. Congressman*

Statement dated July 7, 1990, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) considers the resolution introduced in the U S House of Representatives by a Congressman, Mervyn Dymally, on Kashmir, as a gross interference in the internal affairs of India. The resolution calls upon the U S President to "encourage inclusion of the people from the State of Jammu and Kashmir in any negotiations undertaken for the resolution of this dispute". Under this guise, Kashmir is sought to be given a separate status from India, which serves the interests of the separatists and terrorist forces operating in the Valley aided by Pakistan. The Government of India should strongly object to this blatant attempt at interference and make it clear that discussion on such a resolution will be considered an unfriendly act and needless provocation.

In this connection the Polit Bureau urges the Government of India to clearly state that no permission is being given to the Amnesty International representatives to conduct their activities in Kashmir or Punjab. All these attempts to internationalize the internal problems in the country should be firmly rebuffed.

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Condolence on Haj Pilgrims' Tragedy*

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep grief at the death of over 1,500 Haj Pilgrims in a tunnel near Mecca on July 2, 1990

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) conveys its condolence to the members of the families of those who died in this unfortunate tragedy.

***Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 15, 1990**

Polit Bureau's Appeal for Tripura*

During the recent elections to the Autonomous District Council of Tripura the Congress(I)-TUJS hoodlums, aided and abetted by the Congress(I)-TUJS Government, turned the entire election into a farce by massive rigging and use of muscle power. In a preconceived plan the police was used to help the Congress(I) marauders

Already ten precious lives of CPI(M) activists and sympathizers have been lost. Hundreds have been injured and hospitalized. In the post-election orgy of loot, arson and mayhem, thousands have been rendered homeless. Hundreds of CPI(M) workers and sympathizers have been framed in false cases. The aim of the planned attack on the CPI(M) in Tripura is to physically annihilate the Party and the Left Front.

In such a situation it is the bounden duty of our Party comrades and sympathizers to come to the help and succour of our Tripura comrades, who have been valiantly fighting to defend the Party and the Left Front cadres. The Polit Bureau appeals to all the Party comrades and sympathizers and the democratic people throughout India, to immediately send financial help to our struggling comrades of Tripura. The State Committees are urged to organize the collections so that immediate help can be rushed to Tripura. The contributions made may be sent to the Secretary, Tripura State Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist), Hariganga Basak Sarani, Melar Math, Agartala-799001.

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Organize Mass Protests Against Terror in Tripura : Call given by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)*

Consequent to the mass rigging organized by the Congress(I)-TUJS alliance in the Tribal Autonomous District Council elections in Tripura, a reign of terror has been unleashed on the supporters of the CPI(M) and its cadres. The entire State has been virtually handed over to armed goons who are moving under police protection from place to place. They are attacking the houses of CPI(M) cadres and Left Front supporters, more than 100 houses have been gutted in this rampage of arson and loot. In the tribal compact areas, thousands of Party cadres and supporters have been forced to flee their houses and seek shelter in jungles. Reports so far show that nine CPI(M) workers and cadres have been murdered since election day. On the polling day itself, Arun Deb, a member of the State Committee of the Students Federation of India and a member of the Simna Local Committee of the CPI(M), was hacked to death inside polling booth No 7, in Simna Tamakari. The brutal and inhuman nature of the attacks are illustrated by the fact that a 90-year old veteran CPI(M) member, Nalini Chakravarty, has been murdered in Teliamura.

Seven Party offices have been gutted or destroyed. Birchchandramanu Party office has been occupied by the goondas. It may be recalled that 11 Party leaders and cadres were killed in this Party office by Congress(I) men in October 1988. Three offices of the Tripura State Government

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Employees' Coordination Committee in Manu, Dasada and Dhamcherra have been occupied. The sub-divisions of Khowai, Subroom, Belonia, Udaipur and Sadar have been affected by this terror. The CPI(M) daily, *Deshar Katha* is being specially targetted for attack. Its circulation in Subroom and Belonia sub-divisions has been totally stopped. All the packets of the newspapers for these sub-divisions are forcibly taken away and the agents and hawkers threatened.

Due to the mass terror, reports have not yet reached from many areas, but it is evident that the law of the jungle prevails, and those who stood by the Left Front and the CPI(M) are subjected to this merciless violence.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) denounces the Congress(I)-TUJS Government for this heinous crime. It calls upon the Government of India to immediately intervene to stop this terror and to ensure the life and security of the thousands of people who are subjected to this semi-fascist violence. The para-military forces which were sent to the State for deployment during the elections, but were kept immobilized by the State Government, should continue to remain in the State and be immediately deployed to halt the attacks, and restore normalcy. The CPI(M) calls upon all sections of the people to strongly condemn this terror in Tripura, and call for an immediate halt to these attacks and for the restoration of law and order. The Polit Bureau calls upon all its Party units to organize protest actions against the terror in Tripura.

Polit Bureau on Reinduction of Chautala as Chief Minister of Haryana*

Statement dated July 13, 1990, issued to Press

The installation, once again, of Om Prakash Chautala as Chief Minister of Haryana goes against all the declarations made by the Prime Minister and the Janata Dal leadership, who had asked him to resign after the killings in the Meham by-election nearly two months ago. The Central Government had announced that an enquiry would be held by a Supreme Court Judge. After the election of Chautala from another constituency, the Janata Dal leadership had stated that the question of his becoming the Chief Minister again did not arise until the election in Meham takes place and the verdict of the enquiry becomes available.

Contrary to all this, suddenly the reverse has been done. This action in reinstalling Chautala as Chief Minister is bound to undermine the credibility and moral authority of the Janata Dal leadership. The parliamentary democratic system which is already under severe strain, will further suffer by this unprincipled act. It will also not help in strengthening the unity of the Janata Dal which is necessary to face the challenges on the political and economic fronts.

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Homage to Comrade Kishori Lal*

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) pays homage to the great revolutionary, Pandit Kishori Lal, Comrade-in-arms of Shaheed Bhagat Singh, who breathed his last on the evening of July 11, 1990, at the Civil Hospital, Jullundur

Born in Mukerian, district Hoshiarpur, in the beginning of 1916 in the family of Pandit Raghubir Dutt a school teacher, Pandit Kishori Lal was drawn into the revolutionary movement at the early age of 13-14 years. He joined the Navjawan Bharat Sabha formed by Bhagat Singh and was involved in the Lahore Conspiracy Case, initiated in the end of 1929 against Bhagat Singh and his colleagues. He was the youngest among the accused in the conspiracy, and escaped death sentence as he was still a minor. He however had to undergo life imprisonment in those dark days of British rule

It is well known that Bhagat Singh in his last days had completely gone over to the cause of scientific Socialism, and had come to the conclusion that genuine freedom could be enjoyed by the working class and other toiling people, when an end was put to the social order of exploitation of man by man. Young Kishori Lal was inspired by such noble ideas and ideals

Most of the years of his life-imprisonment were served at the Lahore Central Jail, where he made a thorough study of the works of Marx, Engles and Lenin and joined the Communist Party in 1942. After coming out of prison a year

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before independence, he came to the Party office and offered his services to work as a wholtime worker of the Party for life. He worked as a member of the Lahore District Committee, and subsequently, after partition, he became a member of the Punjab State Committee, a position he held till the time of his death.

He was in the forefront of the struggle against revisionism and dogmatism and chose to be with those who formed the CPI(M) after the split. He served the revolutionary cause in various capacities. He was the President of the Punjab State CITU for many years, was a member of the State Secretariat of the CPI(M) and Chairman of its Control Commission.

There was not a single struggle of the workers and peasants in Punjab in which he did not participate. His was an exemplary revolutionary life. After being released from prison, he made the Party office his home. He had no other connections except that of the Party. He remained a bachelor and refused to entertain the idea of marriage, in order to enable him to serve the cause of the working class and its aims of building Socialism and Communism.

During his entire political career of 61 years he was imprisoned for more than 24 years. He had to spend two and half years underground. He was loved and respected by all sections of the people and the Party ranks in the State. He was a source of inspiration for hundreds of young people who devoted their lives to revolutionary cause. Even in his old age he was devoting all his time to fight against extremism and separatism and for the defence of national unity.

His passing away is a big loss to the Party, the working class and the toiling millions in the country. His memory will be cherished by all those who stand for independence, democracy and Socialism.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) dips its red banner in memory of this departed leader and conveys its heartfelt condolences to his friends, Party colleagues and relatives.

Polit Bureau Opposes Private Investment in Steel*

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) is gravely concerned at the decision to further liberalize the policy regarding the steel industry, by permitting private sector units to set up facilities up to one million tons per annum. Only this May the Government had increased the capacity ceiling to 2.5 lakh tons. Within two months the ceiling has been raised to one million tons. This decision is patently pro-Indian big business houses. This is detrimental to the strengthening of the public sector and opens the flood gates for foreign monopoly capital to make further inroads into a key-sector of our economy.

The CPI(M) had earlier warned the National Front Government that such an unabashed policy of liberalization is detrimental to the goal of self-reliance of the Indian economy. The CPI(M) has criticized the Industrial Policy announced by the Government in this light. It is depressing to note that the Government is not heeding to this, and on the contrary is proceeding at a break-neck speed to liberalize the industrial policy. The Government is virtually succumbing to the pressures of the World Bank and IMF.

The CPI(M) demands from the National Front Government that this issue be thoroughly discussed in Parliament before being put into effect. The CPI(M) is firmly opposed to any attempt to further dilute the public sector. Such a

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policy of liberalization would only heap further burdens on the Indian people and lead to the mortgaging of our economy which in turn would make our political independence vulnerable

Polit Bureau Communique*

Issued on August 3, 1990

The Polit Bureau, reviewing the national political situation, expressed deep anxiety that the threat to national unity in Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir, continues in unabated form with hundreds of people killed in the last few weeks. The situation in Assam due to the activities of ULFA, has also deteriorated. The National Front Government has been unable so far to chalk out such policy measures, both administrative and political, which would help to meet the serious challenges from the terrorist and separatist forces in these areas.

Punjab

In Punjab, the Khalistani terrorists have intensified their murderous activities with help from across the border. There has been a steep increase in the number of persons killed by the terrorists. Extortions of money by the terrorists continues unchecked. Even though the security forces have scored some successes in combating terrorists, in the absence of any serious political initiative, there is growing insecurity among the minority community about their future in the State. The Government has to announce steps to solve the genuine problems of the people of Punjab within the framework of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. The united political campaign to mobilize people against secessionist forces should be stepped up.

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Kashmir

In Jammu & Kashmir, the infiltration by Pakistan of trained armed men into the Valley has been stepped up in a big way. A large amount of sophisticated weapons and explosives have been sent in. The administration is yet to apprehend many hardcore cadres of the Jamaat-e-Islami who have been mainly responsible for fanning fundamentalist violence. Further effective measures are required to check the infiltration and to provide security for those who are refusing to succumb to the separatist pressures.

Assam

In Assam ULFA continues its illegal activities with impunity. Money is being brazenly extorted from traders and businessmen by the ULFA. The abduction of the General Manager of the IOC, his son and driver, and later the killing of the SP of Dibrugarh, shows the total incapacity of the AGP Government to take steps to check their depredations.

Convene All-Parties' Meeting

In all these three States, the activities of these separatist and terroristic forces pose a serious threat to national unity. It was expected that the National Front Government would give top priority to deal with these problems. In the beginning some initiative was taken, as in the case of Punjab. But now the Central Government gives the impression that it has no coherent policy in tackling these problems. The CPI(M) has consistently advocated a united national effort to tackle the problems which concern national unity. Unlike the practice of the previous Congress(I) regime which sought to use the problems for its narrow partisan ends, a common approach is required by all parties committed to the unity and integrity of this country. In this connection, the CPI(M) had suggested bringing in together all such forces, in an all-parties' meeting to discuss and evolve a common approach. It is regrettable that the Central Government has not taken up this suggestion. Today it is all the more imperative that

an all-parties' meeting is convened to discuss the threats to national unity, with particular reference to the problems faced in Punjab, Jammu & Kashmir.

Ramjanabhoomi-Babri Masjid Dispute

The Polit Bureau noted that the decision of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad to go ahead with the construction of the temple from October 30, and the preparatory campaign for it has contributed a dangerous dimension to this sensitive problem. The VHP has refused to heed the appeal to try for an amicable solution and otherwise be committed to adhere to the High Court verdict. Such an appeal, acceptable to the Muslim side, if agreed upon by all, is the only way the problem could be resolved without endangering communal harmony and the unity of the country. Instead of adopting such a course the VHP, backed by the RSS and the BJP, have now embarked upon a path which seeks to drive a wedge between the majority and minority communities. In the context of the serious situation facing the country in Kashmir and Punjab, this is an utterly irresponsible stand. All patriotic and secular forces must unitedly assert themselves to see that the confrontationist path adopted by the VHP does not succeed. The Central Government and the U.P. Government have a big role to play in meeting this challenge to communal amity. The Polit Bureau appreciated the holding of the anti-communal convention in U.P. on July 15, in which a call has been given for a mass campaign to mobilize the people in defence of communal amity in the State.

Semi-fascist terror in Tripura

Apprehensions that the Congress(I)-TUJS alliance would resort to violent and terror tactics in Tripura Tribal Autonomous District Council elections were fully confirmed on the polling day, the July 8. Altogether 126 polling booths out of a total 664 were rigged. Ministers openly moved with armed men to organize the rigging. After the elections a brutal

reign of terror has been continuing in different parts of the State particularly in the tribal compact areas. Eleven CPI(M) cadres and workers have been murdered since the election day, 35 houses of CPI(M) and Left Front supporters have been gutted by arson and 236 houses ransacked and looted. The inhuman nature of the attack is illustrated by the murder of an eighty year old CPI(M) member Nalini Chakraborty in Teliamura, and hacking to death of Arun Deb, a CPI(M) polling agent and student leader inside the polling booth. Consequent to the terror, over a lakh of CPI(M) supporters and ordinary people have been forced to leave their houses and areas and take shelter elsewhere. Hundreds of women have been subjected to rape or molestation.

The Congress(I)-TUJS Government by throwing overboard all civilized norms has lost the moral authority to rule the State. The Polit Bureau decided that a big protest campaign should be organized against this terror in Tripura. It appreciated the fact that the National Front has sent a delegation to enquire into the situation in the State.

The Polit Bureau called upon all its Party units to organize big protest actions on August 17, and observe it as an all-India Day to call for a halt to the attacks in Tripura. The Polit Bureau called upon all its units, members, sympathizers to collect funds for Tripura so that the Party there can render aid and succour to the victims of the terror.

Economic Situation

The Polit Bureau reiterated its strong opposition to the Industrial Policy Statement announced at the fag end of the last Parliament session. It noted that the main thrust of this statement is to vigorously pursue the path of privatization and liberalization ushered in by the Rajiv Gandhi Government. The unprecedented concessions in the sphere of foreign equity participation up to 40 per cent through automatic clearance, the concessions to big business under the garb of assistance to small-scale and medium sector, the abandonment of self-reliance and curtailing the public

sector—all will undermine the country's sovereignty. The PB also noted that similar policy pronouncements are being made with regard to the steel industry, power and other sectors. All these constitute a surrender to World Bank and IMF pressures. The CPI(M) will oppose such policies and warns the National Front Government that it will have a very harmful effect on the living condition of the working people. It expects the National Front Government to review these policies, and reformulate them keeping in view its own pledges in its election manifesto where it has committed itself to check the indiscriminate penetration of multinational corporations and foreign capital into the country.

Crushing Burden of Price Rise

The Polit Bureau expressed its serious concern at the continuing price rise which is causing great hardship to the people. For seven months the wholesale price index of commodities has continuously escalated and now stands at 178.1 on 14.7.1990 as compared to 166.4 on 23.12.1989. These figures give only a partial indication of the crushing burden of continuous price rise of all essential commodities as retail prices are much higher. The prices of edible oils have shot up in recent weeks. The prices of tea, pulses, vegetables, sugar and cement continue to rise. The budgetary policies have fuelled the inflationary trend as apprehended. The increase in the price of diesel and petrol, the increase in the price of wheat and rice, have all subjected the most vulnerable sections to price rise which has seriously eroded their living standards.

The claims made by the Government of improvement in the price situation with respect to different sectors are misleading and untenable. The Government of India while increasing the procurement price of foodgrains should have taken steps to ensure that the prices in the public distribution system were subsidized and not subject to increases. The only way the price rise can be met is by strengthening the public distribution system and ensuring that 14 essential

commodities such as foodgrains, sugar, edible oil, salt, tea, standard cloth, matchbox, washing soap, etc , are brought within the purview of the public distribution system and scope of rationing system expanded to cover all areas fully

The National Front Government is complacent about serious hardship caused to the people through the price rise. In order to galvanize the Government into action and force it to take steps to protect the rights of the common people to meet the effects of price rise, the Polit Bureau has called upon the entire Party to observe August 20 to 25 as a week of protest against price rise and to demand strengthening of the public distribution system

Janata Dal Crisis

The Polit Bureau expressed its strong disapproval of the manner in which the internal conflicts within the Janata Dal has led to a crisis in the National Front Government. After the settlement of the Chautala issue in mid-July, another controversy has erupted over the letter sent by the Deputy Prime Minister and his interview published in the press. The public airing of quarrels has seriously compromised the prestige of the Government. The people's hopes are being belied when they see the leadership of the ruling party indulging in internecine quarrels when the country is faced with serious problems such as Punjab, Kashmir, Assam and the price rise. The Polit Bureau hopes that the Janata Dal leadership will end once for all the recurrence of such conflicts, and get down to the serious business of tackling the country's multifarious problems. This is the least that can be done to fulfil the people's verdict and aspirations.

ANC Status : Welcome Decision

The Polit Bureau welcomes the decision of the Government of India to accord full diplomatic status to the African National Congress Mission in India. This is in keeping with India's total commitment and support to the struggle of the people of South Africa against the racist apartheid regime

On Setback to Democratic Process in Pakistan*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated August 7, 1990, to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemns the dismissal of the Benazir Bhutto Government by the Pakistani President. The people of Pakistan, after years of arduous struggle, installed a democratically elected government. The sacking of the 19-months old Government and the house arrest of Ms. Bhutto is a setback to the people's struggle for democracy in Pakistan.

The dismissal of the democratically elected Government comes just one day before the National Assembly of Pakistan was to discuss and adopt a confidence motion on Ms. Benazir Bhutto's Government. By this action the democratic process has been endangered and the pro-imperialist and pro-militarist forces within Pakistan have gained the upper hand. The Polit Bureau apprehends that these developments will adversely affect Indo-Pak relations.

The CPI(M) extends support to the people of Pakistan in their continuing struggles in defence of democracy and civil liberties.

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Polit Bureau on Devi Lal's Dismissal from National Front Government*

The CPI(M) had conveyed to the Janata Dal leadership that it is for the Prime Minister to resolve the crisis which affected the National Front Government regarding the role of Shri Devi Lal. The Polit Bureau while pointing out that it was an internal matter of the Janata Dal, had also warned that the internecine quarrels are damaging the image of the Government and disappointing the hopes of the people.

The Prime Minister has now acted by dropping Shri Devi Lal from the Cabinet. The people expect the leadership of the Government and the Janata Dal to put an end to their internal conflicts and govern effectively. The Polit Bureau hopes that the National Front Government will immediately get down to tackling the serious situation facing the country. The problems in Punjab, Jammu & Kashmir, Assam and the threat of the divisive and communal forces need to be urgently tackled. Priority has to be given to providing relief to the people suffering from the steep price-rise.

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Polit Bureau on the Situation in the Gulf*

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep concern at the fast deteriorating situation in the Gulf. The tensions are escalating following the U S decision to deploy a quarter million of its troops in Saudi Arabia and in the Gulf. The CPI(M) strongly condemns such a U S military intervention in the region. This can lead to no solution, but on the contrary further aggravate the situation. The U S imperialism's role in perpetuating the conflict in West Asia stands completely exposed. The USA, leave alone intervening, has refused to even exert pressure against Zionist Israeli expansionism and occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The USA all along has disrupted Arab unity to advance its interests in the region. It is only natural that thousands of people in various Arab countries have risen in protest against this U S intervention.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) is opposed to any armed intervention by any country, undermining the sovereignty of any other country. The Arab League, seized with the problem, has taken some initiatives. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) is of the considered opinion that the solution to the crisis must emerge from amongst the Arab countries themselves without any outside intervention.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls for the immediate withdrawal of the U S and its allied troops from the Gulf. The Non-Aligned Movement must immediately take the initiative in defusing the tensions and arriving at a solution.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, August 19, 1990

On Reservations for the Backward Classes*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated August 16, 1990, to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep concern at the growing agitation against the announcement of reservations for the backward classes in services, made by the Government of India. Already the agitation has turned violent in Bihar resulting in loss of life and destruction of public property. There is every danger of the anti-reservation agitation spreading to other States. The CPI(M) is opposed to any such movement which seeks to reverse the grant of reservation to the backward classes.

The question of reservation for any particular caste or section of people has become a contentious issue in the last decade as successive governments have proved incapable of solving the problem of unemployment and ensuring speedy economic development.

In the context of the growing number of unemployed, the limited number of jobs, particularly in Government service, becomes the focus of stiff competition.

The reservation for the backward castes in services, termed as the other backward classes (OBCs), has been announced by the National Front Government as per the recommendations of the Mandal Commission report. The CPI(M) supports the move for reservation of jobs for these backward sections. It is a fact that the bulk of the people belonging to these categories are economically and educationally backward. However, in case of the OBCs, unlike the Mandal

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Commission report, the CPI(M) maintains that within the reservation allotted to them, there should be an economic criterion. This is necessary, as within the OBCs, there are strata who are economically well off, owning land and other resources. If the genuinely needy in these communities are to benefit from reservations, then an economic criterion is essential to differentiate them from those who are well-off. In case of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the CPI(M) has supported reservations for them without any economic criterion as they are a special category who have been subjected to centuries of vicious social oppression under the caste system which continues to this day.

The opposition to reservation arises from those sections who also include a large number of the economically deprived. It will be very unfortunate and disruptive if on reservations, the poor and working people are divided on caste lines. All efforts must be made to preserve their unity. Actually, both the votaries and opponents of reservations for backward classes, seem to consider recruitment to the limited number of jobs available the crucial question for their economic progress. This is a narrow limited view. The unity of the working people of all sections is essential as reservations by itself cannot be the solution to the serious and basic problems facing the people. No advance for the rural poor belonging to all castes is possible without radical land reforms, no relief for the urban masses is possible without a break in the concentration of wealth.

The struggle to change the present unequal order which concentrates wealth in a few hands and restricts employment, requires the united movement of all. The CPI(M) hopes that the enlightened sections amongst those not entitled to reservation will accept that reservation provides limited relief to some of the backward sections. It should not become a barrier to their forging bonds of unity with the fighting sections in these communities so that a powerful common movement can be built up for basic changes in the present set-up.

Report on Political Developments*

(Adopted in the meeting of the Central Committee of the CPI(M) held from August 25 to 28, 1990)

I INTERNATIONAL

The most important international event that continues to engage the attention of the world is the recent military annexation of Kuwait by Iraq. This military invasion which undermines the sovereignty of an independent nation has to be outrightly condemned. While the United Nations is trying to seek a solution and the Arab League is seized of the matter, U.S. imperialism has unilaterally taken military initiatives in the Gulf region. It is in the process of deploying a quarter million of its troops in Saudi Arabia and its naval fleets in the Gulf armed with sophisticated weaponry. The USA is attempting a military blockade of Iraq going to the extent of not allowing even food and medical supplies. This latter aspect has been criticized even by the UN Secretary-General. It is strange that now the UN Security Council has adopted a resolution empowering individual countries to take resort to force to enforce sanctions against Iraq. This will only provide a cover for U.S. aggressive acts. The progressive, peace loving people and anti-imperialist forces the world over have outrightly condemned this brazen military intervention by U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. imperialism has contributed to the continuing conflict situation in West Asia in the past by directly aiding and abetting Zionist Israel in its military occupation of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, as well as Syria's occupation of

*Published as a booklet in September, 1990

Lebanon In this background, its 'concern' for the independent status of Kuwait, is actually a cover to entrench its military presence in the Gulf in order to influence, if not control, the bulk of world's oil supplies. The USA has tremendous economic interests at stake in the Gulf as U S - based oil companies virtually have controlling interest over the bulk of supplies from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

The Arab League has taken some initiatives and any solution to this crisis can emerge only from amongst the Arab countries. Any outside intervention will only further aggravate the situation forcing a situation of war. This will adversely affect peace and security not only in West Asia but will have grave international ramifications.

Large protest actions within the Arab countries are taking place against this U S. intervention. The people of this region for years have been victims of the U S -Israeli military nexus which has militarily invaded and occupied Arab lands with total disregard to international norms. The real character of U S. imperialism stands exposed once again by this unilateral military intervention in the region. Fissures are developing within the imperialist camp itself with some of the NATO allies like France sending its troops to impose the U N sanctions but not for direct military activity and blockade as suggested by the USA.

The U S imperialism must forthwith withdraw its forces from the Gulf. This alone will lay the basis for the Arab countries to resolve the current crisis. The effect of the crisis is already being felt in the rising prices of crude oil. This will adversely affect the economies of the developing countries. The growing anti-imperialist protests by the Arab people should be supported by all progressive and peace loving forces in the world.

The CPI(M) appreciates the stand taken by the Government of India. While seeking a solution for the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, it has outrightly condemned unilateral U S. military intervention. The Government of India's efforts to ensure the safety of the thousands of Indians serving in Gulf

countries and its arrangements for the return of those wishing to, deserve high appreciation

The influence of U S imperialism in our region is reflected in the fact that both Pakistan and Bangladesh have eagerly announced the sending of their troops to join U.S forces in its unilateral military intervention in the region

Pakistan

The dismissal of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and her government by the Pakistan President constitutes a serious setback to the struggle for democracy in Pakistan. Coming in the background of growing ethnic tensions this step shows the continued efforts of the military clique and its mentors U S imperialism, to subvert the democratic process in the country. Though the President has announced the holding of elections on October 24, there is a widespread belief that this will not be a free and fair election. Demands are also being raised from many quarters that the Emergency should be withdrawn in order to facilitate a free and fair election. These developments are bound to adversely affect the Indo-Pak relations. Notwithstanding the genuineness or otherwise of all corruption charges levelled against Benazir Bhutto and her Government, such a summary sacking of an elected government will surely not be tolerated by the people of Pakistan who for long years have fought an arduous battle for the defence of democracy. The people of India express their solidarity with the people of Pakistan in their struggle for the restoration of democracy.

Sri Lanka

Military hostilities in the island country continue with growing attacks on the people of the North-Eastern province. A large number of Tamils are pouring into India as refugees. Sri Lankan Government and the LTTE are engaged in a ruthless confrontation.

The aggravation of the conflict has led to death of large number of civilians and of substantial casualties on both

sides, to starvation and misery of the people, to the uprooting of thousands of people from their homes and fratricidal clashes between Tamils and Sinhalese in many areas. The conflict threatens to disturb peace in the region and provides a fertile ground for imperialist intrigues.

The present conflict is due to the disastrous policies of the Premadasa Government and of the LTTE in joining together to demand the withdrawal of the IPKF without the full implementation of all the terms of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord. The Sri Lankan Government followed a deliberate policy of pitting different groups of Tamil militants against each other. The LTTE on the other hand with its ulterior motives of establishing its monopolistic terrorist domination over the North and North-East, played into the hands of the Premadasa Government.

The withdrawal of the IPKF from Sri Lanka following the persistent demand from the Sri Lankan Government was an inevitable step. However, the Government of India should have made more consistent and sustained efforts for the implementation of the provisions of the Sri Lanka-India Accord, particularly in the matter of genuine devolution of powers to the Provincial Councils.

Since the continuation and escalation of the conflict is bound to have disastrous consequences, the Government of India should take all possible initiatives at the political and diplomatic level to urge upon the Sri Lankan Government and the LTTE to end the fighting. Just and democratic solution to the problems should be found through negotiations.

The serious repercussions of the Sri Lankan conflict on India cannot be underestimated. The growing influx of Tamil refugees into Tamil Nadu is likely to create difficult problems. The declaration of Government of India that Indian soil will not be allowed to be utilized by the Tamil militants for their activities will have to be strictly implemented. The Tamil Nadu Government in particular has to take effective measures to counter the harmful and dangerous activities of

the LTTE in the State, as highlighted by the brazen murder of EPRLF leaders in Madras city

At least at this stage it is hoped that the LTTE would realise the most harmful consequences of the policies of intimidation, terror and annihilation of all political elements—Tamil and Sinhalese—who do not accept their domination. The LTTE policies have weakened the unity of the Tamil people in the fight for their just and democratic demands and have strengthened the ultra-chauvinist, reactionary forces in Sri Lanka. Pursuance of the same path of the LTTE will cause enormous damage to the vital interests of Tamil minority.

Indo-Soviet Summit

The meeting in Moscow between the Indian Prime Minister V.P. Singh and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, resulted in the Soviet-Indian declaration dealing with various issues concerning world peace, our country and region and various agreements were arrived at on economic relations as well as other spheres. These are new landmarks in the history of Indo-Soviet relations. Reiterating the Delhi Declaration, the Moscow Declaration endorses the mutual desire of both the countries for the building of a “nuclear weapon free and non-violent world”. This further strengthening of the traditions of Indo-Soviet friendship will contribute to the strengthening of the forces of peace and progress in the world.

USSR-U.S. Summit

Immediately after our last Central Committee meeting in May, the Summit meeting between Gorbachev and Bush took place. As we noted then, this furthered the process of disarmament. Various agreements on crucial issues such as chemical weapons, reduction of air and sea missiles have been arrived at. These are to be formulated in a comprehensive treaty by the next Summit. In this background it is all the more important that the peace forces in the world intensify their efforts for the elimination of all nuclear weapons from this planet.

II NATIONAL SITUATION

The May Central Committee meeting evaluating the grave situation facing the country noted "Both on the communal as well as on the regional and ethnic issues the situation is becoming ever more serious. The extremist activities in J&K, Punjab and Assam endanger the very unity and security of our country. The escalation of inflammatory communal propaganda and potential threats of mass mobilization on these issues are posing a grave challenge to communal harmony, the unity and integrity of India.

During the last three months the National Front Government has not been able to chalk out such policy measures, both administrative and political to meet these serious challenges. No tangible progress has been made in resolving these problems. The threat to the unity and integrity of India continues to intensify.

Kashmir

Recently there had been some success gained by the administration in arresting sections of the top leadership of the extremists. Large caches of sophisticated arms have been recovered from those infiltrating across the border. This seizure of weapons exposes the proxy war being conducted by the Pakistani military clique. However, infiltration of Pakistan trained youth into the Valley continues. Effective measures to check this infiltration have to be urgently undertaken by the National Front Government. Though the administration and para military forces are operating under heavy strains, the recent incidents of repression and harassment of innocent people cannot be condoned. Such incidents directly play into the hands of the extremists. While firm administrative measures in dealing with the extremists must be undertaken, the government must take the initiative to announce steps meeting the democratic aspirations and solving the genuine problems being faced by the Kashmiri people. The proper integration of the Kashmiri people with India must

be ensured Provisions of Article 370, that have eroded over the years must be revived so that greater autonomy can be ensured The CPI(M) outrightly rejects the BJP demand for the scrapping of Article 370. This plays directly into the hands of the enemies of the nation. The National Front Government must undertake new schemes for solving the unemployment problem amongst the Kashmiri youth More Kashmiri youth must be enlisted in the Central services of the country

Punjab

The Khalistani terrorists continue to intensify their murderous activities with an increase in the number of innocent people being killed Extortions of money, intimidation, threats also continue unabated. The insecurity amongst the minority community in the state continues. Notwithstanding administrative measures to combat the terrorists, a serious political initiative towards the resolution of the problem is yet to be taken The National Front Government must unilaterally announce measures in accordance with the Rajiv-Longowal Accord aimed at solving the genuine problems of the people and meeting their aspirations. Unless normalcy and peace return to the state, proper conditions for the holding of free and fair elections cannot be ensured After some initial success scored by the National Front Government, not much progress has been made towards solving the problem. The Left parties have taken the initiative by holding a *dharna* at Delhi on August 27, highlighting the demands of the people, their determination to oppose the extremists and safeguard the unity and integrity of the country.

Assam

The illegal and extremist activities of the ULFA continue unabated Open daylight murders, brazen extortions and looting are leading to a dangerous situation in the state The total unwillingness of the AGP Government to check these activities stands exposed today with a section of them actively conniving with the ULFA. The National Front Government

must take steps to ensure that one of its constituents, the AGP, takes firm measures to check the serious challenge posed by the ULFA to the country's unity and integrity

The AASU led agitation imposing a blockade on the flow of crude oil from Assam had seriously affected supplies to refineries both inside and outside Assam. In a situation of crisis as a result of the Gulf conflict, the continuation of this agitation is seriously affecting the interests of the country as a whole, and exposes the separatist character of the AASU

Babri Masjid-Ramjanmabhoomi Dispute

The VHP has intensified its preparations for going ahead with the construction of the temple from the 30th of October. Refusing to heed to appeals for an amicable solution either through negotiations or the court verdict, the VHP has unleashed an inflammatory preparatory campaign. This is leading to dangerous dimensions. The VHP backed by the RSS and BJP, by taking such an aggressive position is only playing into the hands of the enemies of the nation especially in the background of the developments in Punjab and Kashmir. All patriotic and secular forces must unite to rebuff such a challenge. The Central and the UP State government will have to forthrightly take measures against any steps that will further widen the divide between the majority and minority community and pose greater dangers to our country's unity.

In this background the May Central Committee meeting noted "A most dangerous situation has been created which will have disastrous consequences for communal harmony in the country. Combined with secessionist activities in Kashmir, Punjab and Assam, an extremely grave situation has been created which threatens the unity and integrity of our country. The Left and secular forces are duty-bound in this situation to unite and launch a countrywide campaign in the defence of national unity and against the activities of both the majority and minority communalism."

In pursuance of this understanding an anti-communal convention was held in U P on July 15 which has called for a mass campaign and mobilization in defence of communal harmony. A broadbased committee consisting of all secular forces has been formed to conduct these programmes. Apart from a state level central rally and six regional rallies it has been planned that such rallies will be held in at least forty district headquarters. Over 15 lakhs of people will directly be mobilized by these programmes. It is only the strength of the secular forces, belonging to all communities, that can thwart this rising serious challenge to our country's unity and integrity.

The National Front Government will have to seriously address its efforts to resolving these outstanding problems which continue to pose a grave threat. This can be done in consultation and cooperation with all the political parties which have the interests of our country at heart.

Tripura

Unabated semi-fascist terror by the Congress(I) continues in Tripura. This has been escalated in preparation for and since the election to the Tripura Tribal Autonomous District Council (TTADC) on July 8. The May Central Committee meeting had noted : "The Congress(I) is making full preparation to create violent disturbances and thus attempt to disrupt these elections." The events since, clearly show that the Congress(I) led government in the state is throwing overboard all civilised norms and unleashing unprecedented terror.

The details of murders, attacks, burning, ransacking and looting of houses and unheard of atrocities on women have been dealt by a team of National Front MPs who visited the state. Even the Governor has reportedly sent his report to the President detailing these attacks. The CPI(M) in Parliament has demanded that this report be placed on the floor of the Houses. The Congress(I)-led Government has lost all moral authority to rule. The semi-fascist terror unleashed primarily against the CPI(M) is not sparing even the administration

and judiciary Apart from threats and intimidation, officers are assaulted for not complying with the Congress(I) In the interests of safeguarding democracy and democratic institutions in the country as a whole, the Central Government must take effective steps for protecting the elementary democratic rights and civil liberties of the people in Tripura. The enquiry ordered by the State Government is a blatant attempt to cover up these semi-fascist crimes

The Central Committee calls upon the Party rank and file to protest against such semi-facist terror unleashed upon the CPI(M) and expresses solidarity with our struggling comrades The Central Committee reinforces the earlier Polit Bureau appeal for collection of funds for our fighting comrades in Tripura

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) salutes the comrades in Tripura for the indomitable courage with which they are facing such semi-fascist attacks. The all India Protest Day calling for a halt to such terror in Tripura observed on August 17 evoked good response all over the country

Andhra Pradesh

The May Central Committee Resolution had noted : "The deterioration of the overall law and order situation and the open connivance of the Congress(I) Government with sections of the Naxalites has created a situation where there is a virtual collapse of administration in some districts" The situation has further deteriorated since then The open terrorist activities of the People's War Group continue to pose innumerable hardships on the people During the last three weeks several crores of rupees of public property has been destroyed by their activity Forcible extortions of money continue unabated Reportedly over Rs 40 crores has been collected by these elements through terror. In many places these elements openly intervene in land disputes on behalf of the landlords Kisans who, after years of struggle and many a sacrifice, have taken possession of land illegally held by the landlord and started cultivation are being forced to give up the lands Those who resist are tried in the so

called "People's Courts" The CPI(M) which is resisting this patently pro-landlord terror unleashed by these sections of Naxalites is being made a special target of attack with murderous attempts on many of our leading cadres This is nothing else but another form of extremist violence which is leading to anarchy and total breakdown of the administrative apparatus in many districts

This general breakdown of law and order situation and open terroristic activities of the Naxalites comes in the background of worsening situation on all fronts in the state. Welfare schemes are being withdrawn and people are subjected to greater hardships. Corruption and nepotism have become rampant.

People's Issues

The May Central Committee meeting warned : "However, we must realise the serious limitations in the policies and practices of the National Front Government. While our unconditional support to this government remains on the implementation of its own election manifesto, our Party realises, that its approach to socio-economic issues remains basically the same as that of the earlier Congress Governments While extending wholehearted support to all positive initiatives that this government undertakes, it is the task of our Party and the Left and secular forces to expose the shortcomings and rally the people against any anti-people policies and practices."

In pursuance of this understanding, the CPI(M) Central Committee gave the call to observe a nation-wide week long protest against price-rise from 20th to 25th August.

However, prices continue to rise unchecked. The wholesale price-index shot up from 166.2 in the beginning of January this year to 178.7 by the end of July. Between March and June there was a 7.3 per cent increase Food articles registered a 9.8 per cent increase, wheat rising by 11 per cent; rice by 5.2 per cent; groundnut oil by 20 per cent, other oils by 16.7 per cent These are figures of wholesale

prices By the time these articles reach the individual consumer the price rise is much higher

Such a price rise is imposing heavier burdens on the already burdened toiling people of the country

Instead of making a break with the old Congress(I)'s economic policies which led to an acute discontent among the people, the National Front Government pursues the same policies as reflected in the budget that it presented this year The steep hike in the prices of petroleum products, railway freight, hikes in the procurement prices leading to the increase in issue price have all contributed to this overall inflation.

The people of the country who had expected an improvement in their living conditions after the defeat of the Congress(I) are getting disillusioned with the policies of the present government leading to such a price rise. Apart from the reversal of the policies that impose inflationary pressures the CPI(M) had demanded of the government that 14 essential commodities be distributed through a vastly improved public network at fixed prices throughout the country Unless this is done urgently neither can the disillusionment among the people be checked nor a further deterioration of the living standards.

Economic Policy

Various policy measures that have been announced by the government reflect its intentions to continue with the policy of economic liberalization pursued by the Rajiv Gandhi government The new industrial policy, the export-import policy, the steel policy and the recent speech of the Industries Minister aimed at the privatization of the public sector all indicate that the National Front Government is going ahead full steam with the policies of economic liberalization.

The new industrial policy, amongst others, envisages a foreign equity participation up to 40 per cent on an automatic basis. This non-regulated foreign capital participation will undermine national priorities and endanger self reliance

The raising of investment ceiling for licensing will remove 60 per cent of the cases out of the purview of the licensing system. This would only benefit the big business houses, distort social priorities and undermine the role of planning. Similarly, the raising of investment ceiling for the small scale sector will assist the penetration of big business in the domain of the small scale sector. The steel policy has raised the capacity ceiling for private investment from 25 lakh tonnes (raised in May to this level from 1 lakh tonne by the National Front Government) to 10 lakh tonnes. This will also open the floodgates to foreign monopoly capital to enter one of the key sectors of our economy in a big way.

Though outwardly the National Front Government registers its resolve not to succumb to U.S. pressures (like in the case of Super 301) or those of World Bank and IMF, the policies pursued by it in practice, achieve that very purpose which imperialist capital desires. These policies run counter to the pledges made in the National Front election manifesto and are bound to impose greater economic burdens on the people and generate widespread discontent.

These policies have come in the background of the renewed pressure by U.S. imperialism and its agencies the World Bank and IMF to further open Indian economy to imperialist finance capital. The Left and democratic forces should make it clear that they are opposed to these policies and shall independently mobilize the people to safeguard the self-reliance of the Indian economy and oppose all measures at its mortgaging to imperialist capital.

The Government reportedly is considering proposals for an agrarian policy. On this matter also no consultations have been held.

The CPI(M) has called for a debate on these proposals in Parliament. The National Front Government, instead of announcing important economic policy measures in a casual and uncoordinated manner, must, after proper discussion and consultations, announce a comprehensive economic policy framework.

Inner-Janata Dal Situation

Instead of addressing itself in right earnest to solve the immense problems facing the country and the people, the National Front Government has been frittering away its energies in internal squabbles. This is causing a great dismay to its well-wishers and supporters and creating disillusionment amongst the people who with great expectations voted for it against the Congress(I)

Following the complaints of massive rigging and violence in the Meham by-election in Haryana we had taken the position that Chautala cannot continue as the Chief Minister under the circumstances. He was forced to resign as Chief Minister and after the murder of a candidate in Meham by-election Parliament was assured that a judicial probe will be conducted into the allegations. However, bypassing the Parliament assurance, Chautala was reinducted as the Chief Minister. This led to a further crisis within the Janata Dal. The CPI(M) was the first to register protest against this move. Following the resignation of Arun Nehru and two other Ministers the crisis intensified leading to the resignation of VP Singh himself. This was resolved by forcing Chautala to resign.

After few days, new controversies erupted again over the letter sent by Devi Lal and his Press interview. This led to a serious crisis. This public airing of quarrels has seriously affected the prestige of the Government.

The Janata Dal leadership decided to drop Devi Lal from the Cabinet. Devi Lal, however, called for a public rally on 9th August to demonstrate his power base. The CPI(M) has all along taken a firm position on these matters. While expressing deep concern over these developments, the Party told the Janata Dal leadership that these are the internal affairs of the party and therefore must be settled amongst themselves for maintaining the unity of the party. However, following the dropping of Devi Lal, attempts were being made by some sections to extend the rivalries to the state governments. The attempt

at dislodging the Haryana Government was opposed by us as this would have led to a snowballing effect in other states, jeopardising the existence of the Central Government itself.

The Congress(I), jubilant at these developments, started fishing in troubled waters. The BJP was also playing its own game. In UP it started an open campaign and attack against Mulayam Singh Yadav and his Government. Mulayam Singh Yadav's firm stand to curb communal disturbances in relation to the Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute in UP was obviously not to the BJP's liking.

But the saving feature of the present situation is that the people's mood in the country still continues to remain anti Congress(I). Further no Janata Dal State Government and its MPs are willing at the moment to extend the revalries to such an extent that could lead to the downfall of the Government. None of them in the prevailing situation wishes to take the responsibility for bringing down the present Government. While this continues to be a positive point in favour of the National Front Government's continuance, neither its fragility nor the growing disillusionment of the people with its internal squabbles should be underestimated. Unless the Janata Dal ends once and for all its internecine quarrels and gets down to the business of seriously tackling the country's multifarious problems, the people's verdict and aspirations cannot be fulfilled.

BJP's Role

Though the BJP continues its support to the National Front Government the policies it is pursuing are further aggravating the situation, creating great problems for the functioning of the Government. Its direct backing of the VHP, Bajrang Dal activities in fanning poisonous communal divide, its continued campaign against the Minorities Commission and Article 370 of the Constitution are posing great dangers to both the unity and integrity of our country and the functioning of the National Front Government.

Congress(I)'s Role

The Congress(I) is trying to make full use of the situation. Attempting to exploit the people's discontent on burning issues like price rise it has concentrated in organizing Bandhs in Left-led states of Kerala and West Bengal. Its violent activities have led to the death of two people in Kerala. It is trying to disturb the law and order situation in West Bengal. Its hollow claim that it is a party committed to fighting communalism and the rightist forces stands completely exposed by the fact that it has chosen to organize such bandhs only in the Left-led states.

Mandal Commission

It is in the background of these developments that V P Singh Government has announced its decision to implement the Mandal Commission's recommendations. The protest actions organized by the upper-caste sections, particularly students, have taken a violent turn especially in Bihar, resulting in the loss of lives and destruction of public property. The CPI(M) is opposed to any such movement which seeks to reverse the grant of reservation to the backward castes.

The question of reservation of any particular caste or section of people has become a contentious issue in the last decade as successive Governments have proved incapable of solving the problem of unemployment and ensuring speedy economic developments. In the context of the growing number of unemployed, the limited number of jobs, particularly in Government service, becomes the focus of stiff competition.

The reservation for the backward castes in service, termed as the Other Backward Classes (OBCs), has been announced by the National Front Government as per the recommendations of the Mandal Commission Report. The CPI(M) supports the move for reservation of jobs for these backward sections. This should be applicable to the Central Services and should not be enforced in the States. Reservations will apply only in selection for employment and not for promotions or in educational institutions. It is a fact that the bulk

of the people belonging to these categories are economically and educationally backward. However, in case of the OBCs, unlike the Mandal Commission report, the CPI(M) maintains that within the reservation allotted to them, there should be an economic criterion. This is necessary, as within the OBCs, there are strata who are economically well off, owning land and other resources. If the genuinely needy in these communities are to benefit from reservations, then an economic criterion is essential to differentiate them from those who are well off. In case of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the CPI(M) has supported reservations for them without any economic criterion as they are a special category who have been subjected to centuries of vicious social oppression under the caste system which continues to this day.

The CPI(M) firmly opposes any move to extend reservations on religious or communal lines.

The pattern of the reservation for the backward classes introduced in Bihar in 1978 by the Karpoori Thakur Government provides for the economic criterion within the reservation for certain backward classes by having two lists. The first annexure provides for 12 per cent reservation without the economic criterion for the most backward classes and Annexure II provides 8 per cent reservation with economic criterion for Other Backward Classes. Three per cent reservation for women and 3 per cent for the poor of the forward classes. This system has been working in Bihar for the past more than one decade. Due consideration must be given to this Bihar experience in providing reservation for the backward classes.

The CPI(M) notes the duplicity of both the Congress(I) and the BJP reflected in their role in the current anti-reservation agitation. While openly not opposing reservations for the OBCs, the student organizations owing allegiance to these parties are actively leading and spearheading the agitations in many parts of the country.

The opposition to reservation arises from those sections

who also include a large number of economically deprived. It will be very unfortunate and disruptive if on reservations, the poor and working people are divided on caste lines. All efforts must be made to preserve their unity. Actually, both the votaries and opponents of reservations for backward classes, seem to consider recruitment to the limited number of jobs available—the crucial question for their economic progress. This is a narrow limited view. The unity of the working people of all sections is essential as reservations by itself cannot be the solution to the serious and basic problems facing the people. No advance for the rural poor belonging to all castes is possible without radical land reforms, no relief for the urban masses is possible without a break in the concentration of wealth. The proposal to provide 5 to 10 per cent of reservation to economically deprived sections of our society must be applicable to those who are not already covered by any reservations.

The struggle to change the present unequal order which concentrates wealth in a few hands and restricts employment requires the united movement of all. The CPI(M) hopes that the enlightened sections amongst those not entitled to reservations will accept that reservation provides limited relief to some of the backward sections. It should not become a barrier to their forging bonds of unity with the fighting sections in these communities so that a powerful common movement can be built up for basic changes in the present set-up.

Strengthen Left Democratic and Secular Forces to Meet Grave Challenges

Unless the National Front Government overcomes its internal squabbling and makes a right earnest effort at resolving the country's problems, it cannot continue to command the confidence of the people. It is imperative that the National Front Government heed this warning and take appropriate measures. The May Central Committee meeting had correctly noted: "The situation facing the country and the people is

indeed very grave Communal challenge, the separatist challenge are combined by intensification of caste conflicts in many parts of the country Even the exercise of the fundamental right of franchise is becoming increasingly more difficult through widespread rigging and intimidation, as witnessed in Amethi and Tripura earlier and more recently in Meham The criminalization of politics, the unbridled use of muscle power in running daily administration, the degeneration of the law keeping forces as reflected in the recent gang-rape of Bodo women by the police are manifestations of the deepening crisis of the bourgeois-landlord class rule

In this background the unity of the Left, democratic and secular forces acquires added importance. To achieve this it is essential to further strengthen Left unity both for functioning inside the legislative bodies as well as to mobilise the people outside In order to strengthen Left unity it is absolutely essential that the independent activities of our Party must be strengthened. The CPI(M) should be in the forefront championing the people's struggles and rallying them against the miseries being imposed by the socio-economic conditions

The present situation entails that our Party take up the issues facing the people in a big way The working class, the kisans and the toiling sections are bound to rise against the hardships being imposed upon them It is only by strengthening our independent activity and leading these struggles can we bring about a change in the correlation of class forces to move ahead towards attaining our strategic objectives

On the Murder of Comrade Dhanwant Kaur*

**Resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the
CPI(M) on August 26, 1990, during its session in
New Delhi**

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) which is in session at New Delhi expresses its deep shock and indignation in the brutal daylight murder of Comrade Dhanwant Kaur and her 17-year old son by Khalistani extremists on August 25 in Gurdaspur district

Dhanwant Kaur, 40 years, a leading woman member of the CPI(M) was the Vice-President of the Janwadi Istri Sabha (AIDWA) and was targetted by extremists for quite some time because of her bold and courageous mobilization of women in Gurdaspur against extremist activities. The terrorists committed this cowardly act while she was going to her village along with her son. The 17-year old son died on the spot while Dhanwant kaur died on the way to hospital.

This attack is a reflection of the deterioration of the situation in Punjab. Courageous and patriotic fighters for national unity upholding the cause of our country's integrity and belonging to the CPI(M), are being specially targetted by the Khalistani extremists.

The Central Committee conveys its deep condolences to her husband, Ajit Singh Thakkar Sandhu, who is a member of the Secretariat of the Gurdaspur District Committee.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, September 2, 1990

Punjab Situation Not Conducive For Polls*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) declared its stand in a statement dated September 13, 1990

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) views with deep concern the reported decision of the Union Government to hold elections for the Punjab Assembly after the expiry of the period of President's Rule. The CPI(M), when it was consulted by the Prime Minister on the matter, had stated the problem related to holding of free and fair elections due to the continuing depredations of the Khalistani extremists. There is no security of life for the ordinary people as innocent people and political activists are being killed in large numbers every day. The minority community is feeling totally insecure. There has not yet been an effective check on the terroristic activities and the assistance being rendered from across the border. Elections in such a situation would only enable the anti-national elements to be successful in creating a grave situation in Punjab which is fraught with serious consequences for the country's unity.

The CPI(M) wishes to reiterate that only the Centre's political initiative based on Rajiv-Longowal accord to solve the long standing demands affecting the Punjabi people, coupled with effective administrative measures, can restore the democratic political process and pave the way for normalcy. Other major political parties have also subscribed to this view.

The Polit Bureau urges the Prime Minister and National

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, September 23, 1990

Front Government to seriously reconsider the questions of holding elections in Punjab and to desist from taking any step which will have unforeseen consequences for Punjab and national unity

Polit Bureau's Statement on BJP's Provocative Steps*

Issued to Press on September 13, 1990

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly disapproves the announcement by Shri L K Advani, President of the BJP, to undertake Rath Yatra from Somnath Temple in Gujarat to Ayodhya, thus pre-empting any possible negotiated settlement or a court decision. This campaign which will culminate on October 30 at Ayodhya, is timed with the VHP's call to begin construction of the Ram Temple at the disputed site. The BJP, by calling for such a campaign, is directly fanning passions on a sensitive communal issue. It is a provocative step. The BJP President has reiterated his party's support to the National Front Government and, at the same time, announced the step which will disrupt communal harmony and face the Government with a confrontationist posture.

All secular and patriotic-minded people should condemn such tactics. The Central Government and all the political parties committed to secularism should unite to impress upon the BJP to desist from such a disruptive move.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, September 23, 1990

Condolence Message on Comrade Gian Carlo Pajetta of the Communist Party of Italy*

The following cable was sent to the Central Committee, Communist Party of Italy, on the demise of veteran anti-fascist fighter and old Communist leader, Comrade Gian Carlo Pajetta.

**Central Committee, Partito Comunista Italiano,
Via Delle Botteghe Oscure, 4,
ROME**

We dip our banner in salute to veteran Communist and anti-fascist freedom-fighter Comrade Gian Carlo Pajetta Deeply grieved over his death. Please convey condolences to all comrades

**Central Committee,
Communist Party of India (Marxist)**

Polit Bureau Demanded All-Party Meet on Reservations*

Statement dated September 26, 1990, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep sorrow at the loss of lives of young students in the ongoing anti-reservation movement. It calls upon political parties not to exploit the situation for their partisan ends.

The Polit Bureau appeals to all sections of the students to desist from resorting to any extreme measures which will cause needless loss of lives and disruption of normal life.

Given the serious situation, the Polit Bureau requests the Prime Minister to immediately convene an all parties meeting to discuss the developments and to take necessary measures to defuse the situation.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, September 30, 1990

On Supreme Court Decision Regarding Reservations*

**Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued the following
statement on October 1, 1990**

The Supreme Court has issued an interim stay on the Government Notification. This time should be utilized to defuse the agitation and the Government must conduct the widest consultations to arrive at a solution on the implementation of the Mandal Commission Report.

The CPI(M) reiterates that the solution can be found for the implementation of the reservation for the backward classes by making the Karpuri Thakur formula of Bihar as the basis

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 7, 1990

CPI(M)'s Greetings to Chinese Communist Party on 41st Anniversary of People's Republic of China*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) sends its fraternal revolutionary greetings and warm congratulations to the Communist Party of China, and the people of China, on the solemn occasion of the 41st Anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China

Coming as it did within four years of the defeat and rout of fascism, the triumph of the Chinese Revolution and the foundation of the PRC on October 1, 1949, was a world-shaking event of great significance. It galvanized the people's struggles against colonialism and imperialism in the region, and in all continents. It had a profound impact on international developments, changing the correlation of forces in favour of peace, democracy and Socialism on a world scale

The decades of the glorious struggles of the Chinese people under the leadership of the CPC, the immense sacrifices and martyrdom of millions of Chinese people, culminating in the triumphant foundation of the PRC, continue as a source of inexhaustible inspiration to the peoples struggling for freedom, liberty, democracy, human dignity and Socialism. This revolution was the triumph over the vicious forces of feudalism and imperialism, that had heaped untold miseries on the Chinese people

The stupendous task of building Socialism that the CPC had to address itself to, in a country that is the home of

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 7, 1990

one-fourth of humankind, in conditions of extreme economic and social backwardness as a result of feudal exploitation and imperialist plunder, called for such gigantic efforts which only the full harnessing of the genius victorious revolution could furnish. It was thus that the Chinese people, under the leadership of the CPC, could embark on the path of breaking the shackles of centuries-old backwardness, and progress in tremendous strides towards achieving higher economic, social and cultural standards.

The reforms initiated during the last decade towards modernizing the economy, have already brought about significant expansion of the economy and opened up possibilities for advance. Firmly adhering to the four cardinal principles, the CPC has correctly sounded the warning that cleansing the society of various shades and traces of bourgeois liberalism, and continuously raising the ideological consciousness of the people, are important tasks in a transitional period. With the passage of time, the correctness of the warning has been fully borne out.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) is happy that the CPC and the PLA have successfully defeated the counter-revolutionary offensive, actively aided and abetted by imperialism. These developments have once again underscored the supreme need to wage relentless struggle against ideologies alien to Socialism. The C C of the CPI(M) wishes the CPC further successes in this regard.

The C C. of the CPI(M) is confident that the CPC will overcome obstacles and successfully resolve problems for consolidating Socialist gains in China with the firm adherence to Marxism-Leninism.

The C C of the CPI(M) notes the growing improvement of fraternal relations between the PRC and USSR, and between the CPSU and CPC. This is bound to have a profound impact on world developments strengthening the forces of peace, progress and Socialism.

The C C of the CPI(M) is happy to note the improvement in relations between India and China and looks forward

with confidence to a further growth in these in the interests of the two countries, the region, and the world

On this happy and solemn occasion of the 41st Anniversary of the founding of the PRC, the C C of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its warm, fraternal and revolutionary greetings to the CPC and the Chinese people

Avoid Diluting Concept of Backwardness*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated October 4, 1990, to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) has already stated that the period till the final Supreme Court verdict, must be utilized to arrive at an agreed solution for the implementation of reservation for the backward classes based on the Karpoori Thakur formula extant in Bihar. For this, it is necessary that the Government conduct the widest negotiations with the political parties and all concerned.

Unfortunately, at such a juncture, memorandum has been submitted to the Prime Minister by 80 Members of Parliament, including Cabinet Ministers and the Home Minister. This memorandum asks for the inclusion in the OBC list of some other communities including Jats. The Mandal Commission has set out criteria on which backward classes were identified. Those above 25 per cent of the State average in educational backwardness and other socio-economic indicators were included in the backwards list.

The demand for inclusion of the Jats will be diluting the concept of socially and economically backward classes. It will be a diversionary move which would only worsen the situation and detract from the real purpose of the constitutional provision. It is in this context that the CPI(M) had supported the proposal that some provision for reservation be made for those belonging to the poorer sections of the communities who do not fall within the OBC list. Such a

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 14, 1990

provision would serve to meet the need of those who are not covered by OBC reservations

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) once again appeals to the National Front Government to immediately initiate discussions with the political parties and other concerned sections to see that an acceptable basis for the reservation of the OBCs is worked out

Political, Economic Challenges Must be Met*

**Communique Issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)
on October 16, 1990, following its meeting held in
New Delhi on October 13-14, 1990**

The Polit Bureau took stock of the national political situation which has taken a serious turn due to insistence of the BJP and the VHP to construct the temple on October 30 at the disputed site, and the intransigent, violent agitation against the reservation for the backward classes. These conflicts have led to severe strains on the country's secular fabric which can further aggravate the threats to national unity already existing in Punjab, Kashmir and Assam

Dangerous Confrontation

Despite widespread public opinion calling upon the VHP and the BJP to desist from their October 30 programme at Ayodhya, their leadership has unfortunately remained impervious to the grave peril the country faces due to their insistence on going ahead with the temple construction. The National Intergration Council made a strong appeal for a negotiated settlement, and all major political parties and democratic sections have appealed to the BJP to take a reasonable attitude. If they do not respond to such appeals, a dangerous confrontation is looming ahead.

The VHP for the past two months has been campaigning to build the temple on the disputed site at Ayodhya. This has built up communal tensions in the country. Added to this, the BJP President, Advani's *rathayatra* has widened the possibility of confrontation on this issue with all the attendant

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 21, 1990

dangers of a communal conflagration. The inflammatory propaganda during the *rathayatra* and the effort to convert every Hindu religious festival to propagate anti-minority propaganda has already led to communal riots in Gujarat, Karnataka and U P. The Gonda riots, in which the minority community were the main victims are a pointer to the dangerous divide which can be created if saner counsels do not prevail.

The Polit Bureau reiterates that even at this juncture, it will support any move for a compromise settlement which will be acceptable to both sides. If this does not succeed, the National Front Government will have no other option but to take a firm stand that the court verdict should be respected by all. No move can be allowed to demolish the mosque.

This is a time of testing for all secular and patriotic sections. The Polit Bureau urges all these sections to forthrightly come out for a halt to confrontation and disruptive moves of the communal outfits. The CPI(M) and the Left parties are already in the thick of the campaign for communal harmony. The unprecedented rally at Lucknow on October 12 culminated the big mass campaign in which lakhs of people were mobilized for communal amity and to support the U P Chief Minister's reasonable stand in defence of maintaining peace. In Bihar, similar rallies are taking place.

The Polit Bureau calls upon all its units to fully mobilize for the Left parties and central trade unions' call for a one-week campaign in the last week of October. It urges all secular forces to join in this campaign. This is a critical time for the country's unity. All the secular forces must be mobilized on a large scale to avert a communal holocaust.

Anti-Reservation Violence

The Polit Bureau viewed with concern the agitation and the ensuing violence which has taken place on the announcement of reservations for the backward classes. Consequent to the interim stay given by the Supreme Court, the Government should utilize the time for holding consultations with

all sections so that an acceptable solution is found for the implementation of the reservations for the OBCs. Prior consultations would have helped in ensuring smooth implementation of the reservation policy. In this connection, the Polit Bureau reiterates that the Karpoori Thakur formula provides the basis for an agreed formula. It is essential that the National Front Government, while implementing reservations for the OBCs, take steps to ensure basic land reforms, the right to work and employment opportunities for all.

Punjab

Taking stock of the situation in Punjab, the Polit Bureau noted that the killings by the extremists have been intensified and the CPI(M) is being made one of the main targets. Hundreds of people have been victims of the terrorists' bullets in recent weeks. Now that President's Rule has been extended for another six months, this period must be utilized to resume the democratic process and conditions created for free and fair elections.

It is unfortunate that the National Front Government has wasted the past six months by not implementing firm administrative and political measures to isolate the extremists. The top Government leaders do not condemn the open secessionist statements of the Khalistani-backed leaders. The Central Government must now urgently initiate decisive measures, both administrative and political. The Centre should announce a package of political decisions regarding Chandigarh, the waters dispute and further action to be taken against those involved in the Delhi riots. Now is the time for all parties which stand by national unity, to jointly pool their resources for a big political campaign to isolate the extremists. This, combined with the economic package announced in Parliament, can create the conditions for normal elections.

The Polit Bureau appeals both to the Government and the national political parties to take this up as the urgent

agenda so that a political battle can be successfully waged to restore peace by isolating and curbing the terrorists

Kashmir

The situation continues to be serious. There has been some success in checking infiltration from Pakistan and rounding up extremist leaders. The pressure mounted on the extremists is making them desperate and they are resorting to provocative actions. The security forces who are undertaking a difficult task, have, in some instance, got provoked by such tactics and committed excesses. This should be avoided at all costs as it helps the extremists to alienate the people further.

There must be earnest attempts to ensure the Kashmiri people of their identity. Talks can be held with those who are prepared to discuss how to protect the Kashmiri identity and strengthen autonomy. At the same time vigorous efforts must be made to isolate and curb the Jamaat-e-Islami and its fundamentalist outfits.

Assam

The ULFA's terror and disruptive activities are continuing and the AGP Government refuses to take any action against them. This has led to widespread insecurity and intimidation in parts of the State. Despite repeated efforts the State Government has not taken firm steps to curb terrorism and the extortion of money. Minorities and tribal people in the State are feeling insecure. If the situation does not improve, the elections to the State Assembly cannot be held in a peaceful atmosphere.

The Polit Bureau urges upon the National Front Government to take urgent steps to see that all sections of the people feel secure and the ULFA's depredations are curbed.

Tripura

The Congress(I)-TUJS Government shows no signs of halting its sponsorship of terror against the CPI(M) and Left

Front supporters in the State CPI(M) cadres and supporters are being murdered, women raped, and in the tribal areas an economic blockade is imposed to make the CPI(M) supporters surrender to the Congress(I). The law and order situation has deteriorated to such an extent that even traders and shopkeepers observed a complete bandh in the State last month against extortions by the Congress(I) anti-socials. The Polit Bureau has already drawn the attention of the Prime Minister and the National Front Government to the distressing state of affairs and appropriate steps are to be initiated by the Centre so that the State Government halts this policy to terror.

Andhra Pradesh

The Congress(I) Government in Andhra Pradesh is squarely responsible for the violent activities of the Naxalite People's War Group which has been indulging in murders and extortions in a number of districts, with the administration remaining passive onlookers. The horrific incident of 47 people being burnt to death in the Kakatiya passenger train by the Naxalities is a grim illustration of their violent activities. The people of the State are victims of the growing breakdown of law and order. According to the official police figures itself, between January and August 1990 there were 1,635 murders, 358 rapes, 955 dacoities and 76 police firings in the State. These figures show the plight of the people under the Chenna Reddy Government. The campaign to curb naxalite violence and protect the peoples' elementary rights must be supported by all the democratic forces in the country.

Economic Situation

The Polit Bureau has already adopted a statement on the increased taxes on petroleum products necessitated by the Gulf crisis. Already due to the wrong policies of the National Front Government, for the past number of months, the people are suffering from the steep price-rise of all essential commodities. The CPI(M) has been organizing protest

actions to see that relief from price is extended to the people by strengthening the public distribution system

The Gulf crisis has added a crushing burden on our economy. But apart from this additional burden, the economy was already in the doldrums with a worsening balance of payments position and inflation. The National Front Government has continued to adopt policies favoured by the IMF and World Bank for further liberalization and privatization. With the current crisis brought about by the rise in oil prices, the National Front Government should review its entire economic policy. There should be adequate subsidies to maintain foodgrain prices through the public distribution system and for supply of fertilizers to peasants without enhancing prices, urgent measures are required to tackle the problem of unemployment alongwith ensuring the right to work, policies should be so devised that the new burdens are not passed on to the common people but steps taken to mop up resources from the affluent and the big business. In sum, the entire direction of economic liberalization has to be reversed

Inner-Janata Dal Situation

The Polit Bureau expressed its serious concern that at a time when the country is facing the serious challenge of communal confrontation and threats to national unity, the inner-party strife within the Janata Dal has not ended. This hampers the Government's formulating coherent policies and their decisive implementation. It is the responsibility of the Janata Dal leadership to overcome their differences, subordinate their personal interests, and tackle the urgent problems facing the country. The way Article 356 was used in Karnataka to impose President's Rule, has affected the prestige of the Centre.

Congress(I)

In the grave situation facing the country, the Congress(I) leadership has behaved in an irresponsible manner. It has

resorted to petty intrigues in the face of important national problems. The way it conducted itself on the question of extension of President's Rule in Punjab, and the vote for the Constitution amendment in Parliament, reveals its inability to keep the country's interests supreme. Its dubious attitude to the reservation issue has helped stoke the anti-reservation agitation.

On the vital problems facing the country, with regard to the threat to secularism and to national unity, the Congress(I) has to make its stand clear and evident.

Strengthen Left And Secular Unity

In the difficult situation facing the country, the CPI(M) emphasizes the necessity for the broadest mobilization of all the secular forces in defence of secularism and national unity. To achieve this, Left unity has to be strengthened and consolidated. The increased and effective intervention of the Left and democratic forces is essential to resist the onslaught of the disruptive forces and to wage a struggle in defence of people's livelihood and interests.

Gulf Crisis

Over two months have passed since the Gulf crisis erupted after the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. The U.S. army build up in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf has now far exceeded any pretext of defensive action to protect Saudi Arabia. The massive U.S. intervention in the Gulf reveals the real intention of U.S. imperialism, which is to control the oil resources in the Gulf region. The brazen interference is leading to growing anti-American and anti-imperialist feelings amongst the Arab peoples. However much the USA tries to evade the Palestinian issue, the Arab peoples are seeing the double standards of the USA in its dealings towards Iraq on the one hand and Israel on the other. The Polit Bureau condemned the Israeli regime's atrocities on Palestinian protestors in Jerusalem and the West Bank.

The Polit Bureau reiterates its demand that the U.S. must

withdraw its troops forthwith from the Gulf region, and the question of Iraq's annexation of Kuwait must be solved within the framework of the United Nations and the efforts of Arab countries

Nepal

The Polit Bureau hopes that the new Constitution of Nepal will be adopted ensuring that the gains of democracy are reflected in the document. The people's aspirations for a democratic framework, in which the King plays the role strictly of a Constitutional monarch, has to be respected. The unity of the Nepali Congress and the Left parties should be preserved against all attempts to undermine it. This will ensure the democratic advance desired by the people.

Note on the Current Political Developments*

(Adopted at the Central Committee meeting of the CPI(M) held on November 5-6, 1990)

I

THE CRISIS AT THE CENTRE

The overall situation in the country since the last C C meeting took a turn for the worse and the political problems have caused severe and unmanageable strains on the entire system. After the C C meeting in end August, the anti-reservation movement erupted on a large scale accompanied by widespread violence in north India creating caste polarization. The Temple-mosque dispute at Ayodhya moved towards a serious confrontation with grave consequences for national unity and communal amity. The *rathayatra* of BJP President, Advani sparked off riots in an inflamed atmosphere. The arrest of Advani on October 23 led to the withdrawal of support by the BJP to the National Front Government. The attempted *kar seva* at Ayodhya on October 30 was repulsed, but it has led to widespread communal tensions and riots in different parts of the country. This onslaught by the BJP/VHP has posed the most serious challenge to secularism and national unity since independence.

The central issue in the country has become the Ramjanmabhoomi/Babri Masjid dispute and the defence of secularism against the onslaught by the BJP and the VHP. At the same time the threats to national unity in Kashmir, Punjab and Assam due to the depredations of the extremists continued unabated. In Assam, breakdown in the law and

*Published in December, 1990 as a booklet

order due to ULFA vitiates the possibilities of a free and fair election there

The depth of the crisis the country is facing can be gauged by the fact that in the last two months, several hundreds have died all over the country in widespread communal violence, in terrorist attacks in Punjab and Kashmir and the anti-reservation agitation. Never before has the bourgeois-landlord order come under such a combined stress and strain. Immediately we are faced with the imminent fall of the VP Singh Government on November 7 when the vote of confidence is taken in the Lok Sabha. The CPI(M) and the Left adopted a course of action to intervene to defend secularism, ensure that the Central Government squarely faces the BJP/VHP challenge and try to unite all secular forces to stave off a communal holocaust.

The Babri Masjid/Ramjanmabhoomi dispute and the resultant political crisis

Taking serious note of the decision of the VHP to begin construction of the temple on October 30th at the disputed site at Ayodhya, the May and the August C C. meetings had warned of the grave implications for the country. The VHP campaign which began from 1st September in the entire country began poisoning the atmosphere. Apart from the padayatras, Ram Jyoti processions and recruitment of volunteers to proceed to Ayodhya, every religious festival and celebration was converted into inflammatory propaganda platforms. The recent Ramnavami, Dusshera and Ganesh Chaturthi festivals were used for this purpose. It is in such a situation that after their conclave at Bhopal, the BJP decided to launch Advani's *rathayatra* from September 25 for construction of the temple. The entire *rathayatra* was utilized to purvey inflammatory propaganda and rouse anti-Muslim feelings.

These provocative activities left a bitter trail leading to communal riots took place in Gujarat, Karnataka, Rajasthan and U P before the rath yatra of Advani was stopped. The worst riot took place in Colonelganj and neighbouring villages

in Gonda district after the Dushera procession. On the pretext of an attack on the procession, Hindu fanatics massacred Muslim families in surrounding villages. This area is just 60 KMs from Ayodhya.

The Polit Bureau met on 13-14 October and took stock of the developing situation. The BJP's political assessment was that VP Singh running a minority government with unmanageable contradictions may go for mid-term elections taking advantage of the OBC vote bank. The backward classes reservations threatened to disrupt the BJP hopes of a steady Hindu vote consolidation around it. The Advani rath yatra was launched to make a reckless bid to protect their "Hindu constituency" by raising the communal temperature.

Such a strident posture left no room for compromise. With passions being roused on both sides the possibilities of arriving at a compromise acceptable on both sides appear remote. Summing up, the note adopted in the Polit Bureau meeting warned:

"It is this situation (the temple mosque dispute) which is heading for a serious confrontation and a widespread riot situation. The second half of October is going to be a critical period." Further the note warned:

"The situation is going to deteriorate in the coming weeks. The way things are moving on the Ram temple issue, it may lead to an outright confrontation between the BJP and the National Front Government. At this stage, the BJP will consider withdrawal of support."

The Left along with the Janata Dal had in the meantime launched a big campaign in U.P. Altogether 47 rallies were held. There was a big response from the people. These rallies covered a total of one crore people. The central rally held on October 12 at Lucknow was the biggest mobilization seen in Lucknow so far. In Bihar also a joint campaign was conducted in October. The Left parties also gave a joint call for a week's observance from 23rd to 30th October. The central trade unions also gave a call from 24th to 30th October. Our Party units and the Left held a number of mass activities.

against communalism during this week. The most notable being the human chain organized by the LDF in Kerala in which lakhs participated. Big rallies have been held in West Bengal. Rallies and meetings were organized in Delhi, Bombay and other places, full reports of which have not yet reached. However, we assessed that these efforts are not sufficient by themselves. The poison is being spread all over the country. All secular forces must be mobilized on a very large scale. Seeing the gravity of the situation the Party stated that it will lend support to any solution which can be a compromise acceptable to both sides.

Alarming Communal Situation

Advani's *rathayatra* reached Delhi on 14th. By this time, the efforts of the VP Singh Government to arrive at some settlement had reached its peak. Our Party and the Left had declared that we would support any effort to arrive at a negotiated settlement provided it was acceptable to both communities. Failing which the Court verdict will have to be abided with.

An all-parties meeting was called by the Government on October 17. The BJP and the Congress(I) boycotted this meeting. A Draft Resolution was placed in this meeting which sought to appease only Hindu sentiments. It was the vigilance and objections from the CPI(M) representative and other Left leaders which brought about the necessary changes in the draft, enabling it to be adopted as an agreed document.

The BJP on the same day announced that if Advani's *rathayatra* was stopped or *kar seva* prevented at Ayodhya, it would withdraw support to the National Front Government.

From this point onwards, the Left Parties held regular consultations. The Government mooted a three point formula as the basis for the settlement after negotiations with the VHP and some BJP leaders. The formula envisaged a Presidential Ordinance to take over the disputed land at Ayodhya, providing the non-disputed portion acquired by

the Government for construction of a Ram temple, and thirdly refer the dispute to the Supreme Court for an opinion under Section 143 of the Constitution. It was conveyed to our Party also. The Left parties met on 19th and issued a statement supporting the efforts for a negotiated settlement. We also met VP Singh to impress upon him that no formula must be evolved which will bypass Muslim sentiments. In the three point formula and the Presidential reference to the Supreme Court, we said three things should be kept in mind, (1) *kar seva* cannot be allowed in the entire disputed area (which includes the *shulanyas* site), (2) in the reference to the Supreme Court all the five cases before the Lucknow Bench of the Allahabad High Court must be taken into account when framing the terms of reference so that all sides can fully argue the case, (3) the takeover of the site should be confined to the period till the Supreme Court opinion is given.

The Left parties' intervention was timely to see that no compromise would be struck in such a manner that would affect secular values and jeopardise the rights of the minorities. VP Singh was under a lot of pressure to compromise with the BJP and there were many persons inside his Government and the National Front who wanted an unprincipled deal to somehow continue in power.

The VHP rejected the formula as it gave them no scope for *kar seva* at the disputed site. The BJP leaders who were agreeable to the formula earlier backed out after the VHP opposition. The Muslim side also rejected it as they apprehended that the ordinance would deprive them of the title deed case and their right to appeal after the Supreme Court opinion. Mulayam Singh who was surprisingly not consulted in the matter also opposed it. The Presidential reference had not been finalised yet. But seeing the reaction, particularly of the Muslims, the Left and the UP Chief Minister, the National Front Government withdrew the Ordinance.

After this, there was no further scope for a negotiated settlement. The Chief Ministers' meeting was called on

22nd October in a bid to rally secular opinion. On the same day, the Left parties demanded that Advani's *rathayatra* be stopped forthwith, since the BJP had rejected all efforts for a reasonable settlement. The Congress(I) also demanded the stoppage of the rath. Advani was arrested on the early morning of the 23rd and the BJP withdrew support.

The BJP bandh call in protest on the 24th led to widespread violence. The worst hit was Jaipur and other cities in Rajasthan. The Rajasthan Government and the Chief Minister openly instigated the riots. Communal incidents with heavy loss of lives and property took place in Gujarat, Hyderabad, Indore, Bijnore and other centres. Some incidents took place in West Bengal and earlier in Kerala.

On October 30, the VHP and the BJP made a determined attempt to storm the disputed site and conduct kar seva. They were repulsed by the security forces. The second attempted assault on the Babri Masjid took place on November 2. This was also repulsed but many lives were lost. This has further aggravated the situation. The Hindu communal forces are trying to spread the poison and incite riots all over the country. Riots have broken out in some places. In U.P., all the towns are tense and curfew has been imposed in 24 of them. Already serious riots have taken place in Bijnore, Meerut and other places. The situation can degenerate into a widespread communal conflict reminiscent of the partition days. Such an event will have incalculable consequences for the country's unity. That is why the Party and the Left has been stressing the urgent necessity for all secular forces to unite to meet the communal challenge and prevent a conflagration.

There should be no underestimation of the communal feelings which has been generated in large sections of the people by the continuous BJP-VHP chauvinist propaganda connected with the Ram temple issue. Unless we address ourselves to the urgent task of countering this pernicious propaganda, it will create seriously adverse conditions for the democratic movement as a whole. Failure to undertake this task will

hamper the development of the class-based struggles. The BJP-VHP game plan seeks to create a permanent communal divide in the country. This will directly benefit imperialism which is out to destabilize the country.

The Congress(I) adopted a disruptive stand on the Ayodhya issue. At first it demanded that Advani's *rathayatra* be stopped. When it was stopped and the BJP withdrew support, it declared for removal of VP Singh. On the October 30 events at Ayodhya, the Congress(I) condemned the UP and Central Governments for failing to protect the disputed site as per the court order. Later it has been criticising the failure of the National Front Government and the UP Government to maintain law and order.

The Left parties must do their utmost to develop, the unity of all the secular forces at this juncture. Only by this the future of the Left and democratic movement and the country be assured.

Political Manoeuvres

While we were emphasising that priority must be given to face the BJP-VHP threat and the communal fall out, unfortunately, sections within the Janata Dal refused to recognise the serious danger. Since the BJP's withdrawal of support to the Janata Dal, Chandra Shekhar became active to topple VP Singh.

The Congress(I) pursued a disruptive and opportunistic path. It demanded change of leader of the National Front in which case it said it will support a National Front Government. Its reaction to the Ayodhya events of October 30 also revealed its dubious stand.

Playing upon the apprehensions of the MPs of the Janata Dal who did not want to face elections, efforts were made for an unprincipled compromise. Within the Janata Dal, there is a section belonging to the upper castes, who are unhappy about the Mandal report implementation. They were even prepared to compromise with the BJP to remain in power. Chandra Shekhar's group attempted to move in this direction.

The CPI(M) and the Left parties had to come out against such a move and scotch it. Getting the support of the BJP at this juncture would have meant compromising at a heavy cost. Secularism would have been betrayed in the deal with the BJP, since the BJP cannot surrender on the temple issue after taking it to such a pitch. Change of leader to make a deal with the BJP would have meant sacrificing the minorities. The Left's public opposition blocked those who wished to proceed on these lines.

The Congress(I) offer of support on the condition of changing the leader also posed difficulties for those who wished to accept it and bring about such a change. Many Janata Dal MPs come from the Lok Dal-Lohiaite background of anti-Congressism. By accepting an understanding with Congress(I), they would be deprived of their political platform for the next elections. The Congress(I) ploy was obviously aimed at splitting the Janata Dal and decimating the bourgeois Opposition to the Congress.

Most of the parties were not prepared for elections immediately though it looked inevitable. There were widespread apprehensions that elections will be vitiated by the tones and violent atmosphere prevailing in the country. Some time was required for normalcy to be restored.

There were three possible alternatives which came up. One was a split in the Janata Dal and a government to be formed with the support of the Congress(I). The second was the caretaker Government if the Janata Dal does not split. This option was not feasible as the Janata Dal MPs did not want to face the election. Thirdly there were proposals from many quarters for the formation of a national government with the participation of the Left and excluding the BJP. This option was not acceptable to the Left as the Congress(I) wanted to use this alternative to manoeuvre and consolidate their position. Moreover the situation did not warrant such a step.

The dissidents within the party made use of the sense of insecurity of the MPs who did not want to face an immediate election for seeking the support of the Congress(I).

The efforts to change the leader intensified and culminated on November 5 when the Janata Parliamentary Party met. Chandra Shekhar and Devi Lal had already come together to challenge VP Singh's leadership. Their success in splitting the party depended very much on the role of Mulayam Singh Yadav. Finally, Mulayam Singh came out for Chandra Shekhar. This tilted the balance and provided the dissident group with the necessary onethird of MPs so that they could split away. On November 5, the dissidents held a parallel meeting and elected Chandra Shekhar as their leader. The Congress(I) promptly declared support for Chandra Shekhar.

The CPI(M) and the Left parties took a principled and clear-cut stand on the recent developments.

1. When all efforts at a reasonable settlement acceptable to both sides failed, we demanded that Advani's rath yatra be stopped by the Government.

2. With the withdrawal of support by the BJP we stated that VP Singh should face a vote of confidence in the Lok Sabha on the government's handling of the temple mosque dispute.

3. The Janata Dal leaders instead of engaging in internal manoeuvres to change the leader at this juncture should concentrate on tackling the serious communal situation arising out of the BJP-VHP threat.

4. The Left will not support any alternative leader forming the government, with the support of the BJP, as it would mean a betrayal of secular values.

5. The Janata Dal leaders should not fall into the trap of the Congress(I), of changing the leader to get Congress(I) support, as it would facilitate the split in the Dal.

6. All secular forces should be rallied to meet the dangerous challenge of the BJP-VHP. The Congress(I), if it stands by secular principles, should extend support to VP Singh at this juncture. Otherwise it will find itself with BJP on November 7 against the Government.

Our efforts in this period was mainly to see that the Janata Dal stays intact till the vote of confidence and to

tackle the communal challenge at the Government-administrative level. When the dissidents split away from the Janata Dal, the Left parties condemned this action and reiterated their stand that they would support the VP Singh Government in the vote of confidence in the Lok Sabha.

Based on the C C understanding of the forthcoming developments, the following assessment is given :

On 7th November, the Congress(I), BJP and the Janata Dal defectors combined to defeat the confidence motion. The majority of the Janata Dal (82 MPs) and the Left parties' MPs voted for the motion. We had conveyed to the Janata Dal leadership, prior to this, that those sections within the Janata Dal and the National Front who stand by secularism should remain firm and be in the Opposition along with the Left after November 7. It is a positive sign that despite all the Cong (I) manoeuvres and allurements of money and office, the majority of the Janata Dal MPs remained with the parent party.

Attitude to New Government

The President after consultations with all parties decided to call Chandra Shekhar to form the Government with Congress(I) support. Our Party is opposed to such a government of defectors with no policy platform, running a government at the mercy of the Congress(I). They have violated the people's mandate and deserted their party on the eve of the Lok Sabha session on November 7 when it took a firm stand in defence of secularism on the Ramjanmabhoomi issue. The Left forces, the Janata Dal-National Front should now undertake a big campaign amongst the people. They should go to the people to explain how they have stood for national unity and defence of secularism.

Mass Mobilization

A big mass mobilization around the new platform that has emerged will be the decisive task in the coming days. In our agitational propaganda the Party must place its own distinct

view point On the Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute, threats to national unity and our stand on the Mandal Commission implementation While uniting with Janata Dal and National Front in this campaign, we should not convey any impression that we are uncritically supporting the record of V P Singh Government in the past 11 months From our independent platform we should explain how we extended support to the National Front Government while demarcating on the questions of Punjab and Kashmir, economic policy, sharp price rise and other lapses of the National Front Government

Combat Communal Propaganda

While conducting our mass campaign, at the current juncture, there must be a sharp attack and exposure of the dangerous role of the BJP-VHP communal forces This campaign must also keep in view the fact that the religious sentiments of a large section of the Hindus have been roused by the temple agitation We must patiently explain that nobody opposes the construction of the temple, but no destroy the mosque in order to build the temple will disrupt national unity and aggravate the secessionist threats in Punjab, Kashmir and Assam and help the enemies of the country

The Party and the mass organizations along with the Left forces must also continuously take up the urgent problems of the people and their livelihood In this, top priority should be given to the united anti-price rise movement

The role of the Left and its united intentions in this period is noteworthy This united stand of the Left made its impact on the political developments It has enhanced the prestige of the Left and provided a rallying point for the secular forces. This Left unity must be strengthened and carried forward in the coming days

Dangers of Opportunist Combination

With the new combination coming to power the situation is fraught with new dangers. The splinter Janata Dal group

running the government with Congress(I) support will be a thoroughly opportunist and shaky combination. The country is facing an extremely serious situation, with the grave threats in Punjab, Kashmir and Assam and the Ramjanmabhoomi agitation. Already, this defector Janata Dal group has backed the BJP government in Rajasthan, while at the Centre, it is forced to accept that it will abide by Congress(I) policies. Chandra Shekhar's conciliatory remarks to Advani in the Lok Sabha debate on November 7 also indicates the opportunist outlook. At this juncture, the coming to power of this opportunist combination is bound to aggravate all these problems.

Faced with the acute problems of national unity and the serious economic crisis, we must be constantly vigilant on the questions of defence of national unity and to protect the interests of the people and their livelihood. The Left should immediately take the initiative and mobilize the Janata Dal-NF partners and other secular forces to go to the people. This will help the Left and secular forces to face the electorate in the next election battle. The heightened prestige of the Party and the Left, due to their intervention in the present political crisis, must be fully utilized in our campaigns and activities.

II

OTHER DEVELOPMENTS

The unstable political situation at the Centre and the explosive developments arising out of the BJP/VHP challenge can seriously aggravate the acute problems of national unity in different parts of the country and give a dangerous fillip to the separatist and divisive forces. Some of the developments regarding these problems are given below.

Anti-Reservation Violence

The last Central Committee set out our position on the Mandal Commission Report and its implementation. The agitation against the 27 per cent reservation of jobs for OBCs snow-balled and took a virulent turn in the entire North. Worst hit

by the movement was the North-Western region—Delhi, Haryana, Himachal, parts of Rajasthan, Western U P and Punjab. The movement got a fresh lease of life after the self-immolation attempt in Delhi which was followed by a spate of such incidents in other areas. Scores of students and youth have burnt themselves to death or committed suicide. The entire forward castes have turned hostile to V P Singh and the National Front Government. The intensity of the agitation in the North-West has also serious implications. A big chunk of recruitment into the army comes from this area and Delhi being the epicentre affects the Government's functioning. The entire bureaucracy and the overwhelming portion of the intelligentsia have become hostile or alienated.

The fury of the reaction and the massive disruption of normal life shows how correct our party's criticism was that proper consultations should have been there before making such an announcement. After the announcement, none of the political parties came out against the reservations. If prior consultations had been held, an acceptable formula based on the Karpoori Thakur formula could have been evolved. The haste was dictated by the inner-Janata Dal situation arising out of Devi Lal's challenge. Our Party has extended support to the OBC reservation implementation and advocated modification on the basis of Karpoori Thakur formula to make it acceptable to all sections. While demarcating from the demand for suspending the notification by the Government, the Party stated that the Supreme Court stay should be utilized for comprehensive consultations with all political parties and sections of people to arrive at an agreed formula. There were some manoeuvres initiated within the Janata Dal to include the Jats and some other communities in the OBC list. We came out against such proposals stating that it will dilute the basis of backward classes defined in the Mandal Commission Report. Instead we have supported the proposal for 5 to 11 per cent additional reservation for the economically backward of those communities not entitled to reservations.

The reservation issue has divided all the bourgeois parties particularly the Congress(I) and the BJP. Both these parties have actively fanned the agitation in the North with their activists leading the movement in different parts. In Haryana, the state government gave the agitators free run to inflict maximum damage to the government property. In Himachal Pradesh, Government has been sheltering the agitation and encouraging it.

The Party has stood firm against the anti-reservation agitation which has casteist overtones. At the same time it is necessary to patiently explain our stand to large sections of the middle class employees, intelligentsia and working class who are affected by the anti-reservation propaganda and have fears about losing job opportunities. Being a Party of the working class, we will have to also continuously stress that reservations alone cannot solve any problem while appealing to the non-OBC sections in the organized movement to accept reservations as a limited measure and preserve unity. The National Front Government should immediately hold consultations with all sections so that an acceptable solution is there. In this, our proposal for the Karpoori Thakur formula can serve as the basis for an agreement.

The anti-reservation movement has receded in the face of the communal tensions due to the Ayodhya issue. But it is the potential for disruptive caste polarisation in the coming days.

Kashmir

The situation continues to be serious. Ninety per cent of the Hindu population have migrated out of the valley. There has been some success in checking infiltration from Pakistan and also in rounding up JKLF leaders. But there seems no immediate possibility of politically mobilizing the people.

The pressure mounted on the extremists is making them desperate and they are resorting to provocative actions. The security forces in some instances have got provoked by such tactics and committed excesses. This should be avoided at

all costs as it helps the extremists to alienate the people further from India

There must be earnest attempts to assure the Kashmiri people of their identity. Talks with the JKLF can be held on the basis of protecting the Kashmiri identity and strengthening autonomy. At the same time vigorous efforts must be there to isolate and curb the Jamait-e-Islami and its fundamentalist outfits.

A package of measures to alleviate unemployment, ensure sale of products from the valley and for development must be combined with continuing efforts to rally all secular and patriotic forces to unitedly go amongst the people.

Punjab

The situation has worsened further. After some initial steps, the National Front Government lost the initiative. The killings have intensified with the CPI(M) being the main target. In the last week of September four of our important comrades and a young child belonging to another comrade's family were killed in different parts of Punjab.

There is no dispute on the fact that democratic process must be started—but the conditions have to be created for free and fair elections. But the government did not take any step which could have strengthened the political process. The extremists also intensified their activities. In such a situation where terror and fear would dominate, elections would have handed over the assembly to the Khalistanis.

It is in this context that the question of extensions of President's rule came up. We had to wage a big struggle to ensure another six month's extension so that the intervening period could be utilized for taking political and administrative steps to create conditions for free and normal elections. Earlier the Cabinet was in favour of immediate elections, but after our strong arguments against it and the BJP's similar stand, the Government had to reconsider and bring in the amendment to the Constitution.

In the difficult situation in Punjab, the period before the

elections must be utilized to combine administrative measures with political steps. In the intervening period the coordination of all forces standing for national unity is essential.

Assam

The situation in Assam is also serious. As noted in the last C. C. meeting the ULFA's terror and extortion activities are continuing and the AGP Government refuses to take any action against them and in fact the AGP Government is conniving in protecting them. The term of the AGP Government ends in December when assembly elections will be due. Panchayat elections are to be held before this. The Assam Secretariat report shows that all the non-AGP Opposition parties have a common assessment that assembly elections under the AGP Government is not possible in a free and peaceful atmosphere.

Tripura

The Congress(I)-TUJS Government shows no signs of halting its sponsorship of terror against the CPI(M) and Left Front supporters in the State. CPI(M) cadres and supporters are being murdered, women raped, and in the tribal areas an economic blockade is imposed to make the CPI(M) supporters surrender to the Congress(I). The law and order situation has deteriorated to such an extent that even traders and shopkeepers observed a complete bandh in the State in September against extortions by the Congress(I) anti-socials.

The Polit Bureau had drawn the attention of the Prime Minister and the National Front Government to this distressing state of affairs. Unfortunately the snowballing political crisis at the Centre prevented the announcement of a commission of enquiry into the atrocities in Tripura, preparations for which had reached an advanced stage.

Ethnic Problem

The Bodo movement in Assam has not so far been resolved despite several rounds of tripartite talks. The AGP Government,

given its chauvinistic posture, obstructs any advance to a solution. In Meghalaya, Khasis have attacked outsiders in Shillong. In the entire North-East, tribal and minority ethnic people are in a state of ferment and separatist feelings are growing. The Jharkhand movement is also continuing though its intensity is not so much as before. Given the overall strains on the political system, any deterioration of the national situation will provide a fillip to the separatist forces active amongst the tribal and ethnic minority groups. There is every danger of the ethnic problems aggravating in the coming days.

Naxalite Depredations in Andhra

In the period after last C.C. meeting, the Naxalite (PWG) group has been continuing its violent activities. This is due to the open encouragement of the Chenna Reddy government which has emboldened them to continue their terroristic activities and extortion of money. The horrific incident of 47 people being killed in a train set on fire by naxalites and the A.P. Bandh call by them show how the Congress(I) government's pernicious policy has created an abnormal situation in the state. Four CPI men were also killed by Naxalites in Khammam district.

The people of the State are victims of the growing breakdown of law and order. According to official police figures itself, between January and August 1990 there were 1,635 murders, 358 rapes, 955 dacoities and 76 police firing in the State. These figures shown the plight of the people under the Chenna Reddy Government. The campaign to curb naxalite violence and protect the people's elementary rights must be supported by all the democratic forces in the country.

Worsening Economic Situation

In the stormy controversies over the reservation issue and the temple-mosque dispute, public attention has not focussed on the serious economic situation which is developing. As the C.C. noted earlier the galloping prices are the major

source of discontent against the National Front Government. We had given a call to continuously mobilize the people against price rise and conduct protest actions to demand steps to curb price rise.

But now the Gulf crisis has added a crushing burden on the already precarious economy and balance of payment position (BOP). The Government estimates an additional burden of 2.8 billion dollars in the next one year for increased oil prices. This is an underestimate as oil prices have gone up from 16 dollars to 40 dollars. The IMF-World Bank meeting in Washington attended by Dandavate summarily refused India's request for special oil facilities to tide over the crisis. Instead India and Third World countries were told to use existing loan facilities and schemes. These are full of conditionalities or high interest rates. It seems the Government will go in for a loan under Compensatory and Contingency Facility which is given on basis of trade performance and probably a loan of one billion dollars will be got. Actually this will not meet the needs, but going for a bigger amount means taking loan under Extended Structural Adjustment Facility which has stiff conditionalities. An acute crisis is facing the Government.

The Central Government announced a 25 per cent surcharge on all petroleum products excepting cooking gas. There is no doubt that this increase will add to price spiral and inflation with increased transportation cost. Our Party demanded of the National Front Government to take steps to see that the increased burden falls on those sections which are affluent and to protect the poorer sections who are already finding it difficult to maintain their livelihood. In this context, we opposed the surcharge on kerosene as unwarranted as it will hit the poorer sections most.

While stating that the 7 per cent surcharge on corporate taxes is in the correct direction, we opined that it is insufficient, much more could have been done to mop up the resources from big business and the rich. The Party also demanded immediate measures to strengthen the public distribution system and maintaining the price levels of essential

commodities supplied through it. We also called for a review of the overall policy of indiscriminate liberalisation of the economy.

The foreign exchange crisis, the sharp devaluation of the rupee vis-a-vis western currencies and the continuing inflationary price rise all are going to spell further hardships for the people as the Government is already accepting all the guidelines of the IMF-World Bank.

The Party, the Left and the mass organizations must be constantly active to lead the united struggles of the working class and other toiling sections arising out of the burdens which are bound to fall on the people due to the rapidly deteriorating economic conditions.

Condolence on Comrade Mohammad Ismail*

Comrade Mohd Ismail, a member of the West Bengal State Committee of the CPI(M), and one of the most prominent trade union leaders of the country, passed away on November 14 at Calcutta. Comrade Ismail was the CITU's all India Vice-President, and President of the West Bengal State Committee of the CITU right from 1970 till his death. He was aged 80. The news of his passing away has generated a deep sense of grief and loss of a true friend, particularly in the industrial areas of West Bengal. Condolence messages have poured in from different parts of the country.

The whole life of Comrade Ismail was an example of untiring struggle. He was born in a landless peasant family of Unnao, Uttar Pradesh, in 1910. He lost his father before he was one-year old, and spent the whole of his childhood in utter poverty. For a livelihood he shifted to Calcutta along with his elder brother when he was just 13. From then on he was resident of Calcutta. Comrade Ismail had to undertake various jobs as a worker to earn his bread. He was not exposed to conventional education. But he became well-versed in language and politics which he learned himself and with the cooperation of his comrades. Thus, Comrade Ismail learned the agony of a toiler's life through his own experience.

Comrade Ismail started his political life through participating in the Khilafat movement. He was sent to jail, first

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in 1928 and later when he was involved in bigger political movements. He was taken into custody frequently. In fact, Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad once wrote that the informers followed Ismail like a shadow. Comrade Ismail was involved in Congress activities up to the end of the thirties. He was a member of All India Congress Committee and Bengal Provincial Committee. Along with some of his nationalist compatriots, he mobilised the Muslim masses of Calcutta in great numbers in the freedom struggle. By this time, he had already met Comrade Abdul Halim who introduced him to Marxism.

Comrade Ismail began working for the Communist Party and became a Party member in 1935. He was a natural choice for the trade union front. From then on, during the last five decades Comrade Ismail singularly dedicated his life to the building up of a strong working class movement.

Comrade Ismail played a historic role in organizing the tramworkers, thereby coming to a direct confrontation with the British authority. He played the role of one of the chief organizers of jute workers' strikes in the thirties and the forties. In many struggles, Comrade Ismail stayed among the workers of months with the police haunting for him in vain. He instilled confidence and self-respect among such unorganised sections as *bidi* workers. He was also a member for the leading contingent in the railway workers' movements. By the forties, he had gained the recognition of being one of the most popular leaders of the militant working class. In 1945, he was elected to the Calcutta Municipal Corporation, as a Communist candidate, from the workers' constituency, with a big margin.

In 1948, Comrade Ismail was elected to the Central Committee of the Party at the Second Congress at Calcutta. In 1949, the then Provincial Committee of Bengal was reorganised and he became Secretary of the Provincial Committee. He was member of the AITUC Working Committee from 1935 onward, and from 1957 to 1970, Vice-President of the AITUC. He became the all-India Vice-President of

the CITU and the President of its West Bengal Committee when it was formed in 1970. He was first elected to Parliament in 1967, from the Barrackpore parliamentary constituency, and was its member for three terms.

Comrade Ismail's name is associated with hundreds of struggles of the working class. He was a close friend of the thousands of trade union activists and a source of great inspiration for them. His strong belief in Marxism-Leninism and in the power of the workers to change the world, led him to become an enthusiastic organiser which he remained till the last days of his life. Comrade Ismail led a truly spartan life and his family consisted of the Party and the CITU comrades.

As soon as the news of Comrade Ismail's death spread, hundreds of workers gathered at the CITU State Committee office to pay their last homage to the departed leader. His body was kept in the CITU office for the whole day on the 14th and was brought to the Muzaffar Ahmad Bhavan, the CPI(M) State Committee office, the next morning. Jyoti Basu, Sailen Dasgupta, Monoranjan Roy, Biman Basu, Anil Biswas, Rabin Sen, Niren Ghosh, Chittabrata Majumdar, Kamal Sarkar, Speaker of the State Assembly Hashim Abdul Halim, CPI leader Gita Mukherjee, UTUC leader Nikhil Das, AITUC leaders Ranen Sen and Kamalapati Roy were among those who placed wreaths on the body of Comrade Ismail, covered with the Red Flag. Expressing his deep sorrow, Jyoti Basu said, Comrade Ismail was a front-ranking leader of the Party and trade union, with whom he had worked together right from 1944. He said he had personally learnt many things from him when he first joined in trade union activities. Sailen Dasgupta, Secretary of the State Committee of CPI(M), said that Comrade Ismail had set an incomparable example of sacrifice for the Party and the working class.

The funeral procession started from the CPI(M) office on the 15th afternoon. Thousands of workers, some of them in uniforms, joined in the procession. Comrade Ismail's body was kept in a truck. The procession was led by eighty

white-clad volunteers with half-mast Red Flags 80 tram workers in their uniforms, followed the truck, Party and trade union leaders joined in the procession Among them were Sailen Dasgupta, Monoranjan Roy, Biman Basu, Anil Biswas, Shyamal Chakraborty, Niren Ghosh and others Veterans of trade union movement joined in the rally with grief writ large on their faces Hundreds of people gathered by the roadside The procession reached the Gobra cemetery in the evening, where with the last rays of sun and the chanting of slogans "Long Live Comrade Ismail", "Workers of the World, Unite!" the beloved leader was put to rest in a grave

On Imposition of Emergency In Bangladesh*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated November 28, 1990 to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemns the imposition of Emergency in Bangladesh which was accompanied by large-scale arrest of the leaders of the Opposition parties who were in the midst of the struggle for the restoration of democracy. The three major Opposition alliances, the eight-party alliance led by the Awami League, the seven-party alliance led by the Bangladesh National Party and the five-party alliance of the Left had unitedly launched a popular people's struggle since October 10 demanding a free and fair election under a neutral caretaker Government.

This is the third Emergency that has been clamped in the country since General Ershad took over power through a coup in 1982. Sweeping powers have been assumed by the President and the military which has banned all political activity rights, suspended fundamental rights and imposed a stringent censorship including on messages being received through any mode of telecommunications. Even the right to file cases in the courts for enforcing fundamental rights, and all pending proceedings have been suspended. In fact virtual military rule has been declared, trampling upon all elementary civil liberties and democratic rights. The people of Bangladesh have risen in a massive way against this proclamation and have announced a bandh in Dacca today, to be followed by a countrywide bandh on December 1.

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The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its solidarity with the people of Bangladesh in their struggle against the repressive autocratic regime of President Ershad and for the restoration of democracy

On Dismissal of State Government in Assam*

**Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) recorded its protest by
issuing a statement dated November 28, 1990**

The CPI(M) has, for the past few months, been expressing serious concern at the deteriorating law and order situation in Assam. The failure of the State Government to curb the activities of the ULFA has disrupted normal life, business and trade activities in many parts of the State, and caused insecurity among the minorities. The CPI(M) had urged the previous National Front Government also to ensure that adequate steps were taken so that the life and property of the citizens were protected. Such steps were necessary to create conditions for holding the Assembly elections.

The new Chandra Shekhar Government has now dismissed the State Government and suspended the Assembly. This is a wrong step and will not help in bringing normalcy to the State. Removing the State Government and imposing President's Rule will provide a handle to those forces which want to encourage divisiveness and chauvinism in the State.

Punjab Terrorists' Threat to Journalists: Death Penalty for Those Who Do Not Refer Them As "Freedom Fighters"*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued protest statement dated November 23, 1990

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is gravely concerned at the latest attack launched by the Panthic Committee by declaring a so-called code of conduct for journalists in Punjab. This so-called code covering reporters, columnists and editors of all newspapers and periodicals in the country, prescribes a death penalty for those who refer to Khalistani extremists as terrorists. They have been advised instead to refer to them as "freedom fighters".

After claiming hundreds of innocent lives in their anti-national activities, the Khalistani extremists are today making the Press as a target of attack in order to ensure that their terroristic activities are not reported to the rest of the country. Their aim is to control the flow of news and reporting of events. This is an outright attack on the freedom of the Press which has to be resisted by all those who value the unity and integrity of our country as well as its democratic and secular foundations.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) appeals to all patriotic people not to yield to such intimidatory threats. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon the Government of India to take firm measures to protect the journalists and media establishments and ensure that the freedom of expression and the fundamental right to reporting are firmly protected.

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Initiate Steps to Meet Terrorist Offensive*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated November 23, 1990 urging upon the Central Government to initiate steps to meet offensive of the terrorists in Punjab

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep shock and grief at the massacre of 16 bus passengers in Ropar district on November 22, 1990. The latest outrage is part of the continuing attacks by the Khalistani terrorists who are now targetting people of the minority community in Punjab. Scores of people have lost their lives recently in such brutal killings in Gurdaspur, Faridkot and Amritsar. This is part of the diabolical plan of the imperialist-backed terrorists to create conditions for the forcible migration of the Hindus from Punjab so that there can be a communal backlash outside Punjab.

The Central Government has to immediately initiate steps to meet this new offensive of the terrorists. It should back up the Punjab administration with a coherent policy so that firm measures can be taken to deal with the terrorist violence.

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Burden of Rs 1,340 Crores Imposed on the People*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) denounced the move of Chandra Shekhar Government

The Chandra Shekhar Government has imposed an additional levy of Rs. 1,340 crore on the people. When the entire market is on fire and when it has become well-nigh impossible for the man on the street to eke out an existence, this vicious blow of raising auxiliary excise duty across the board will cause immense hardship to the people. Barely two and a half months before the regular budget is scheduled to be placed before the Lok Sabha, the mini-budget of Chandra Shekhar Government has come. Truly, it is mini-budget, not for any relief to be given to the people groaning under the burden of extremely heavy load of taxes but to heap further loads on their bent back. It will add as a fuel to the already inflationary spiral that is resulting into unheard-of price rise. With the rate of inflation exceeding 10 per cent, what will be the condition of the ordinary man is easily imaginable. The idea sought to be imparted that only big houses would be affected by this increase in excise duty is hogwash. Every paisa of the increased excise duty will be passed on to the consumers—this has been the experience of the people in the last 43 years of independence. The reason adduced for such a massive hike is the soaring budgetary deficit and non-realisation of the expected revenue earnings. For this, if there is any responsibility it squarely lies on the shoulder of the Government. For the failure of the Government the people should not be flogged.

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The Polit Bureau denounces this utterly anti-people move of the Chandra Shekhar Government. It is almost like the proverbial last straw on the camel's back. The Polit Bureau calls upon the people to oppose the move of the Government tooth and nail.

Polit Bureau Demands Firm Stand in Punjab Against Extremist Pressure*

Statement issued condemning Central Government's surrender to Extremists' Demands

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) deplores the suspension of Hindi broadcasts from the All India Radio stations at Jalandhar and Chandigarh. The national news in Hindi was also not broadcast from the Chandigarh station of the All India Radio. This is an abject surrender to the extremists' demand to ban Hindi from the media. The CPI(M) has been emphasizing on the need for giving due importance to the use of the Punjabi language. But this does not mean that Hindi should be eliminated from the State. Coming in the wake of the "code of conduct" for the media, the Government has set a dangerous precedent by giving into their threats.

The situation in Punjab is daily worsening, emboldening the terrorists to enforce their dictates in all spheres of life. It is shocking that the Sikh fundamentalists are now seeking to enforce a "dress code" for girls in the educational institutions at Chandigarh. There have been instances of the extremists terrorizing the girl students by physically attacking them.

This all-round offensive of the terrorists, directed from Pakistan, needs to be squarely met by the Central Government and the State machinery. The Chandra Shekhar Government is contemplating changes in the administration in such a manner which may demoralize the entire State machinery and disrupt their resolve to meet the extremist

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challenge While any attempt to tone up the admimistration can be appreciated, the wholesale changes contemplated in the upper echelons of the police and the administration must not send out wrong signals to the extremists and the people of Punjab who are facing a critical situation

Polit Bureau Demands All-Party Meet on Communalism*

Statement dated December 13, 1990, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep concern at the continuing communal riots in Hyderabad and Aligarh. Communal violence is also taking place in Ahmedabad and Kanpur. There is a great danger of such violence spreading to other areas. The CPI(M) has been warning that such a situation will develop due to the blatantly communal propaganda of the VHP and the BJP. The efforts made so far to curb the activities of the communal forces have proved insufficient. Any further deterioration of the situation spells danger to national unity and communal amity. In such a situation, the Polit Bureau requests the Prime Minister and the Central Government to immediately convene an all-party meeting to discuss and work out measures to deal with the problem.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 23, 1990

Polit Bureau on Gulf Situation*

Statement dated January 13, 1991, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its grave concern at the rapidly worsening situation in the Gulf region. The decision of the U S Congress approving the use of force, has brought the world to the very brink of a most disastrous conflagration

The U S Congress resolution, which in effect is an endorsement of the drive to war launched by U S. imperialism under the leadership of President Bush, comes precisely at a time when the U N Secretary General and many European and Arab leaders are engaged in serious efforts to find a solution through negotiations. The Polit Bureau sharply condemns this recklessly provocative decision of the U S Congress intended to torpedo the chances of a peaceful solution

The Polit Bureau greets the millions of people in most countries of Europe and the USA who have been conducting huge anti-war demonstrations in the last few days

The Polit Bureau appeals to all parties and organizations in India to hold demonstrations and meetings against the war danger immediately

The Polit Bureau directs all the Party units to take urgent initiatives to organize powerful united demonstrations at all centres in the course of the next few days

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 20, 1991

Government Attempting to Mislead People on IMF Loan*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses Serious Concern in a statement dated January 10, 1991, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its serious concern at the way the Chandra Shekar Government is negotiating with the IMF for a big loan without taking Parliament or the people into confidence. It is clear from reports that the Finance Ministry is now negotiating IMF loans to the tune of 2.5 billion dollars (over Rs 4,500 crores). There is an attempt to mislead public opinion that this credit will be available without any conditionalities.

The IMF loans are available under different categories. Under the 'Compensatory and Contingency Finance Facility' which will not entail such stiff conditionalities, India will be getting only around 600 million dollars. The rest of the money will be taken as 'standby credit', which definitely entails conditions. The Chandra Shekar Government is adopting the same ploy as the Congress(I) Government in 1981, by trying to meet these conditions in advance without advertising them. The recent exercises to levy additional taxes and excise duties and the increase in the price of rice in the public distribution system, are part of this process. The conditionalities imposed by the IMF will certainly involve further attack on the living standards of the people by cutting subsidies for the public distribution system and crushing tax burdens, as the Government of India will be compelled to reduce its fiscal deficit to meet the IMF requirements.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 20, 1991

Such far-reaching policy measures are being smuggled in without proper debate and discussion. The Polit Bureau demands that the Government of India place the terms and conditions of the IMF loan before Parliament, the political parties and the public. It warns the Chandra Shekhar Government not to finalize any arrangement with the IMF without taking Parliament, political parties and the people into confidence.

Disqualified Ministers Must Quit*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) made the demand in a statement dated January 12, 1991, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) appreciates the ruling given by the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, in correctly applying the anti-defection law to disqualify eight members of the Janata Dal who defected. While rightly recognizing the split in the Janata Dal, the Speaker has taken this judicious decision.

The Polit Bureau demands that the five ministers who have been disqualified from the membership of the Lok Sabha, resign forthwith from the Cabinet. This is the minimum step expected on the grounds of parliamentary ethics and for their gross violation of the anti-defection law. It is surprising that the Prime Minister and the Janata Dal(S) are arguing that these five ministers can remain in the Cabinet since the Constitution provides for a minister continuing for six months without being a Member of Parliament. This is a specious argument as Article 164 is meant for appointing non-member as ministers and six months' time is given for them to enter Parliament. In the present case, elected members of the Lok Sabha have been disqualified as defectors, and their continuance in the Cabinet will be an unprincipled action which cannot be accepted on any count.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 20, 1991

Severe Attacks on Peaceful Protesters in Delhi*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued protest statement dated January 18, 1991

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemns the police attack on peaceful demonstrators outside the U S embassy today January 10, 1991. The joint demonstration which included the Delhi unit of the CPI(M), was organized to demand an immediate halt to the U S attack on Iraq. It was not allowed to go near the embassy and the police heavily teargassed the protesters to disperse them.

The Polit Bureau demands of the Chandra Shekhar Government that it allows anti-war protest actions without hinderance so that the people of India can express their indignation at the brutal war launched by U S imperialism. It calls upon the Delhi police authorities to take action against the officers responsible for the strong-arm tactics used against the demonstrators. The Polit Bureau appeals to all sections of the people to step up protests against the war unleashed by the United States in the Gulf.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, January 27, 1991

On Gruesome Massacre in Hoshiarpur*

**Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement
dated January 30, 1991, to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the gruesome murder of eleven innocent people by extremists in Hoshiarpur last night. The victims, most of whom belonged to the minority community, were singled out from buses and cars from different places, and boarded into a truck in which the extremists were carrying an LMG. Coming in the aftermath of a similar incident in Ludhiana on the 8th of this month, this incident has thrown a big challenge to the State administration and the Central Government to prove its capability of protecting the life and property of the people in the State.

It is learnt that a day earlier, the terrorists on board the same truck had murdered two policemen in Dahuha in the same district.

The Polit Bureau urges upon the Government to take immediate steps to stop the rot before it becomes too late. It appeals to the various political parties to assert themselves to save Punjab from disaster.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 3, 1991

Polit Bureau's Condolence on Comrade Bijoy Pal*

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses deep sorrow over the death of Comrade Bejoy Pal at the age of 77. Comrade Pal, born in 1914, joined the national movement and started working among the workers in Kanpur at an early age, and joined the Communist Party in 1938. Around 1939, he came to Asansol and started organizing trade unions in the sprawling industrial belt. His was a very great contribution towards building up of the CPI(M) in Burdwan district and was returned to the State Assembly thrice—in 1962, 1977 and in 1982. He spent a total of 11 years behind the bars and 5 years underground. Comrade Pal was almost a household name in the Burdwan-Asansol area. The present strength of the trade union movement of colliery, metallurgy, heavy engineering, transport and other industries in the region owes much to his selfless and untiring work.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 3, 1991

Polit Bureau's Condolence on Comrade Sahedullah*

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) puts on record its deep grief and sorrow over the death of Comrade Sayed Sahedullah at Calcutta on January 24, 1991 at the age of 78, after a prolonged illness.

Born in a family in Burdwan that had a long association with the national movement, Comrade Sahedullah joined the freedom struggle at a very early age and was later attracted to the Communist Party. He was one of the founders of the Burdwan District Committee, the first district committee of Communist Party in Bengal and was connected with the peasant movement for more than 50 years. He was incarcerated several times after the formation of the CPI(M) and was a member of the State Committee until 1988. He was elected to the Calcutta Municipal Corporation, the State Legislative Council and the Rajya Sabha. A profoundly learned man, Comrade Sahedullah was known as an intellectual to a wider section. He edited a cultural monthly, *Nandan*, with distinction, and authored several books and was deeply connected with the movement of progressive writers and artists.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 3, 1991

On Refuelling Facility to U.S. Military Aircraft*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued protest statement dated February 12, 1991, to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is appalled at the shameless defence by the Chandra Shekhar Government and its Ministers of the refuelling facility being provided to US military aircraft involved in the Gulf war. This irresponsible defence comes in the background of the severe opposition by all political parties in the country who constitute more than four-fifths of the elected members of the Lok Sabha. The decision to continue the refuelling despite the growing opposition, only reflects the total subservience to US imperialism of the present Government. This negates the entire anti-imperialist and non-aligned legacy of India's foreign policy and constitutes a grave travesty to India's self-respect.

With such a position, all efforts by the present political leadership to bid for peace in the Gulf through NAM, appears suspect. No one in the world will believe the sincerity of Indian efforts, coming in the background of the continuing refuelling facilities.

The CPI(M), while demanding the immediate stoppage of these facilities, will take up the issue in the forthcoming budget session of Parliament.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 17, 1991

Polit Bureau Condemns U.S. Obduracy*

Statement dated February 16, 1991, issued to Press

The Iraq Government's offer accepting the Security Council Resolution No 660 on withdrawal from Kuwait provides the basis for an immediate halt to the war being waged in the Gulf by the U S and its allied forces. The Iraq proposal calls for an immediate cease-fire and the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the area so that a negotiated settlement can be reached on the Kuwait problem and all other outstanding issues in West Asia including the Palestinian question.

The Polit Bureau condemns the stand of the United States, Britain and some other Governments in the multinational alliance who have outrightly rejected the Iraqi offer. President Bush has arrogantly declared that the war against the Iraqi people will continue unabated. The Polit Bureau calls upon all Governments interested in restoring peace in the Gulf, to act immediately upon the Iraqi offer so that the Security Council, now in session, can give a call for a cease-fire. In this, the Indian Government must heed public opinion and take a bold stand against the continuance of the war.

The Polit Bureau notes with grave concern that there are reports that the United States armed forces have used the 'fuel air bomb' against Iraq. This is a weapon of mass destruction which sucks up all the oxygen in a designated area, asphyxiating all the people in the affected area. The use of such a diabolical bomb is equal to the use of chemical

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 24, 1991

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and biological weapons. The Polit Bureau calls upon all sections of the people in India to join the world-wide protest against the use of such genocidal weapons by the United States against Iraq.

Barbarian Massacre by U.S. Air Force in Baghdad*

**Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) records protest
by issuing statement dated February 14, 1991, to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep sense of outrage at the killing of an estimated one thousand men, women and children by brutal U S bombing of Baghdad on February 13, 1991 This latest massacre by the U S air force is part of the total war being waged by America against the people of Iraq For the past four weeks, the United States has targetted civilians in the residential areas of Baghdad, Basra and other populated centres of Iraq The shameless Bush Administration justifies this genocidal war as part of its attack on military targets

In the face of mounting evidence of thousands of civilian casualties, the United Nations Security Council must discharge its bounden duty by calling for a halt to this war immediately The Chandra Shekhar Government has covered itself with infamy by drawing India into this inhuman war by allowing refuelling facilities to U S warplanes

The Polit Bureau calls upon all sections of the people and political parties to register their vehement protests against this policy of mass murder by U S imperialism

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 24, 1991

Prime Minister Misleading the People on Refuelling of U.S. Military Aircraft*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated February 18, 1991, exposing Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar's role

The announcement by the Prime Minister, Mr Chandra Shekhar, in Bihar that U S. warplanes are no more being refuelled, has proved to be false with reports of U S. military planes having landed and refuelled both at Bombay and Madras airports on February 17, 1991 Either Mr Chandra Shekhar is misleading the Indian people or his Government's writ does not seem to run at the Indian airports

The intention of withdrawing the facilities, announced by the Prime Minister, seems to have been forced on him due to the sustained public pressure and the fear of facing Parliament on this issue. This is evident from his repeated justification of the refuelling facilities extended to the American war efforts

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) demands that the Government of India immediately act upon the Prime Minister's assurance to stop refuelling facilities The entire pro-U S Gulf policy of the Chandra Shekhar Government must become the subject of discussion and condemnation in the forthcoming Parliament session

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, February 24, 1991

Polit Bureau Communique*

Issued following its meeting held in New Delhi on February 22-23, 1991

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) which met in New Delhi on February 22 and 23, issued the following statement :

U.S. Attack Denounced

The Polit Bureau denounced the ground war launched by the U.S. led forces against Iraq, after rejecting outright the Soviet sponsored peace plan, which was accepted by Iraq. Already more than a month of savage aerial bombardment has led to terrible destruction and mass killings of civilians in Iraqi cities. The Polit Bureau expressed its indignation at this latest decision of the USA to continue the war defying world public opinion, which has made it clear that the USA is bent upon destroying Iraq and establishing its hegemony in the Gulf region.

The Security Council of the United Nations cannot remain silent and connive with this dangerous step. The USA has shown flagrant contempt for the U.N by launching the attack while the Council was in session. It must call a stop to the hostilities and act upon the peace plan proposals which conform to the basic U.N stand for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait. The Indian Government must immediately move for calling the NAM Presidency council or the bureau meeting so that the peace moves can be stepped up.

The Polit Bureau heard the report of Harkishan Singh Surjeet on his talks with Yasser Arafat on February 19 at

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 3, 1991

Tunis It appreciated the efforts of the PLO for a principled and peaceful settlement of the outstanding problems in West Asia

The Polit Bureau calls for a broad coalition of anti-war forces to be set up in the country so that the strong feelings of the Indian people against the U S warmongering and for a peaceful settlement can be properly manifested

Disastrous Record of Chandra Shekhar Govt.

The three-month record of the Chandra Shekhar Government has been an unmitigated disaster for the country This defector government propped up by the Congress(I), has pursued policies which has a betrayal of the country's interests It has jettisoned the non-aligned foreign policy by allowing refuelling facilities for U S war planes and pursuing a pro-U S Gulf policy, it has accepted IMF conditionalities and is endangering India's economic sovereignty, it has launched vicious attacks on democracy and Centre-State relations by dismissing the Tamil Nadu Government and removing the Bihar Governor, it is bungling the handling of sensitive questions of national unity such as the Punjab problem

Betrayal of Foreign Policy

The CPI(M) reiterates its strong opposition to the pro-U S. policy of the Government with regard to the Gulf war The refuelling of U S. military planes was not stopped by the Government but discontinued by the USA, making it clear who dictates policy in this matter This step was announced because of the fear of facing the Parliament session. After opposing this policy, the Congress(I) voted with the Government in the Lok Sabha in the face of an adjournment motion condemning this policy; thus the Congress(I) opportunism on this question has been exposed before the people The BJP defended Chandra Shekhar's stance in Parliament and its pro-imperialist line led it to support the Government in this shameful policy

Authoritarian Attacks

The dismissal of the Tamil Nadu Government by the illegitimate Government constitutes a serious onslaught on democracy and the Centre-State relations. It has set a new precedent in the notorious use of Article 356 of the Constitution. The President signed the proclamation for President's Rule without the Governor submitting any recommendation in this regard. When the situation calls for urgent restructuring of Centre-State relations, this act is a calculated attack on the rights of the States. The Polit Bureau reiterates its long-standing demand for the scrapping of Article 356 of the Constitution.

The Congress(I) and the Chandra Shekhar Government are oblivious of the much worse law and order situation in Andhra Pradesh and Tripura where there are Congress(I) regimes.

Bihar: No Toppling

The Polit Bureau also condemned the removal of the Bihar Governor for refusing to follow the dictates of the ruling group at the Centre. After the Tamil Nadu toppling, a conspiracy is afoot to destabilize the Laloo Yadav Government which enjoys a stable majority in the State Assembly. The Polit Bureau warned the Chandra Shekhar Government not to worsen the situation further by steps to topple the Janata Dal Government in Bihar.

President's Address: An Irrelevant Exercise

The President's address to the Parliament is remarkable for its lack of any direction and new policy initiatives. It confirms the bankruptcy of the unprincipled arrangement at the Centre. The address justifies the dismissal of the Tamil Nadu Government and the bungling in Punjab; the address does not highlight the serious communal situation and the steps necessary to combat the communal menace. It has no direction to meet the serious economic situation facing the country. It glorifies the steady improvement in relations with

USA at a time when the Government is surrendering to its pressures

Budget: Abdication of Responsibility

The decision of the Chandra Shekhar Government not to present the Union budget at the scheduled time and to go in for a vote-on-account, is fraught with serious consequences for the economy. It is the height of irresponsibility for the Congress(I) and the Chandra Shekhar group to argue that the Tamil Nadu elections require the postponement of the budget. Such playing with the economy, which is in deep crisis, shows that they place their petty interests above the vital interests of the people and country.

Govt. Should Quit: Fresh Mandate

The continuance of such a Government with the opportunist support of the Congress(I), will spell danger for the country everyday that it lasts. The Polit Bureau demanded that the Chandra Shekhar Government quit forthwith. The only way out of the impasse is to get a fresh people's mandate by holding elections.

Danger to Economic Sovereignty

The Polit Bureau warned the people that in the present difficult economic situation, the ongoing negotiations for the second instalment of the IMF loan spells serious dangers for the country's economic and political sovereignty. The IMF conditionalities, already being implemented, will further worsen the people's plight. It will push us inexorably into a debt trap. The Polit Bureau calls upon all democratic forces to put up stiff resistance against all such economic measures which seek to further heap burdens on the people. The IMF-World Bank dictated path is not inevitable for solving the problems. An alternate path should be pursued of mobilizing internal resources by taxing the rich, drastic cut in imports, conserving fuel and energy resources and eliminating wasteful government expenditure so that the fiscal and

trade deficits can be reduced. The continuing double-digit inflation and the price rise is severely affecting all sections of the people. The problem of rise requires the united struggles of all sections to expand the public distribution system and to defend the rights of the working people. The CPI(M) will oppose all moves to privatise the public sector and State financial institutions, and calls upon all the trade unions and their mass organizations to be vigilant in this regard.

Threat of Communal Forces

The Polit Bureau warned the people and all secular forces to be vigilant in view of the VHP-BJP call for a renewed agitation on the temple issue in March-April. The efforts to further communalize the atmosphere by these activities, must be unitedly countered by all the secular and democratic forces.

Kerala: Big Victory

The Polit Bureau congratulated the people of Kerala for the big victory registered by the Left and Democratic Front in the recently held District Council elections. This victory is a vindicate of the LDF line of having no truck with the caste and communal forces and to mobilize all secular forces to isolate them. The victory in the District Council elections should spur the CPI(M) and all secular forces in Kerala to continue with this principled line, which has an important bearing on national politics and defence of national unity. The defeat of the Congress(I) Front has began the process of breaking up of the UDF with the Muslim League walking out of the Front. The break-up of such a combination of caste and communal forces will be a welcome development.

The Polit Bureau hoped that the District Councils, constituted for the first time in the State, will work to implement the devolution of powers and enable people at the grass-root level to participate in the developmental activities more effectively, and bring together all sections of people to achieve this purpose irrespective of political affiliations.

Carry Forward Joint Campaigns

The Polit Bureau noted with satisfaction that the joint campaign conducted by the Janata Dal, National Front and Left parties in various States, has met with a big response from the people. The campaign has mobilized the people in defence of secularism, national unity and social justice. It also helped to struggle to defend democratic values after the dismissal of the Tamil Nadu Government. The success of the bandh call on February 6 in five States on this issue, was a result of this common endeavour. In the present situation the joint campaign must be intensified.

The Polit Bureau welcomed the decision of the national youth and student organizations to conduct an all-India jatha from five centres from March 23 to culminate in New Delhi on April 22, which will highlight the demands against unemployment, for the right to work and defence of national unity.

April 23: Left Rally

The Polit Bureau stressed the importance of strengthening Left unity in the complex situation facing the country. In this connection, the Polit Bureau endorsed the call of the Left parties to hold an all-India rally with countrywide mobilization at New Delhi on April 23. This rally will focus on the urgent problems facing the people, particularly the fight against communalism, defence of social justice, against price rise and the right to work. The Polit Bureau calls upon all its Party units and the mass organizations to mobilise to make the rally a big success.

Report on Political Situation*

(Adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) in its meeting held on March 7-9, 1991)

The last Central Committee meeting held in November 1990 was held under the shadow of the imminent fall of the VP Singh Government on November 7. The events that have taken place, with the installation of the defectors group supported by the Congress(I), have fully vindicated the apprehensions expressed by the last C C. report that. "With the new combination coming to power the situation is fraught with new danger, the splinter Janata Dal group running the Government with Congress(I) support will be a thoroughly opportunist and shaky combination. The country is facing an extremely serious situation, with the grave threat in Punjab, Kashmir and Assam and the Ramjanmabhoomi agitation.. At this juncture the coming to power of this opportunist combination is bound to aggravate all these problems"

Notorious Record of the Defector Government

There has been a rapid deterioration in the political situation in the country in the past four months with this unstable and opportunist combination at the Centre. Never before, since the partition, were there such widespread communal riots in the country, the misguided policies of the Chandra Shekhar Government have subjected Punjab to the increased depredations of the Khalistani secessionists, the dismissal of the DMK Ministry in Tamil Nadu marked a new landmark in the misuse of authoritarian power by the

*Published as a booklet in March 1991

Centre; the bankruptcy of bourgeois-landlord economic policies has led the government to surrender before the IMF-World Bank; finally the shameful capitulation to American imperialism by allowing refuelling facilities to the American military planes and echoing the U.S. line on the Gulf crisis compromised India's non-aligned foreign policy.

These are the results of having such an unprincipled and opportunist arrangement at the Centre which created instability both in the states and the Centre. The Congress(I) is to be solely blamed for foisting such a set up on the country. It is to be held accountable for reducing the country to this pitiable plight.

Never before has the bourgeois-landlord system witnessed such severe stresses and strains in the governance of the country racked as it is by political instability and separatist threats.

The Gulf War: Betrayal in Foreign Policy

No single event exposed the Chandra Shekhar Government more than the permission granted to U.S. military planes for refuelling facilities at Indian airports after the war broke out on January 17. Prior to the war breaking out, Chandra Shekhar went on record disavowing any link between the Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait and the Israeli occupation of Arab and Palestinian territories. The Indian government virtually dittoed the U.S. stand of only demanding the withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait with no linkage. The conciliatory stand of the Chandra Shekhar Government led to India losing the initiative and helped in stalling all possible NAM endeavours for ending the war against Iraq.

Despite all the national political parties demanding a halt to the refuelling facilities the Chandra Shekhar Government decided to continue with the refuelling of American planes. Only with the fear of facing Parliament session was the announcement made to stop the refuelling. Here also, shockingly the stoppage was not announced by the Indian government but by Washington. Just as in the economic sphere, where the defector government is submitting to IMF dictates; just as Chandra Shekhar underplays the Pakistani interference

in Punjab and Kashmir, so also the new shift in foreign policy shows that the unrepresentative government is submitting to America's plan to draw India into U S imperialism's global designs. The running thread in all three spheres of policy making is submission to U.S. pressures.

This new shift in foreign policy is taking place in the context of the prevailing world situation wherein the Soviet Union is no more playing the expected anti-imperialist role. The nature of detente between the Soviet Union and the USA has brought about a situation, where America seeks to step up its drive for global hegemony as the sole super-power. In the absence of any confrontation with the Soviet Union, the U.S. policy makers consider India a ready target for drawing into its network of strategic interests. The USA is prepared to scale down its strategic relations with Pakistan if it can get India to respond to its overtures. There are sections within India's ruling classes and bureaucracy who now argue that a realistic approach to the new international situation requires cultivating close ties with the United States. The first signal of this approach is the granting of refuelling facilities openly to the U.S. military war efforts in the Gulf.

Implications of Gulf War

The forty-day-war waged by the U.S. and its allies against Iraq has ended with the Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait and its accepting all the U.N. resolutions passed against it since it occupied Kuwait. From the outset, U.S. imperialism was determined to launch a war in the Gulf using the liberation of Kuwait as a pretext. That is why, when Iraq accepted the Soviet sponsored peace plan, Bush summarily rejected it. Acceptance of this offer would have led to complete Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. The USA was bent upon destroying Iraq militarily and politically. So, even when Kuwait could have been freed within a short time-table, they opted to launch the massive ground attack on February 23.

The war has wrecked havoc on Iraq. Tens of thousands of civilians and soldiers have been killed. Iraq is in ruins today.

due to the most barbarous and indiscriminate bombing sustained continuously for forty days and nights

The war waged by America against Iraq was clearly a war to control the oil resources of the Gulf region which can ensure its domination and regulation of the world economy. It will be also a potent weapon to intensify its exploitation of the third world economies. The ferocious war against Iraq is also to eliminate any challenge from any Arab country which refuses to accept the western monopoly of oil resources. The Gulf war is a dramatic illustration of the sharpening of the contradictions between imperialism and the third world and ex-colonial countries. Despite America's predominance in the Gulf strategy of the imperialist powers, the inter-imperialist contradictions are bound to be aggravated in the coming days. Our Party had stated forthrightly that there will be no modification of contradictions as set out by CPSU. The Gulf war also dramatically illustrated the truth that imperialism has not changed its character and all illusions sought to be spread that imperialism no more exists in the world today have been shattered.

It should be noted that the pernicious theories based on the new integrated world, the modification of contradictions and the complete absence of imperialism in the CPSU analysis have resulted in the Soviet Union adopting foreign policy positions which have trailed or appeased the United States. In an act widely deplored, the Soviet Union voted along with the USA in the Security Council Resolution No. 678 which authorized the use of force against Iraq after January 15, 1991. It was this resolution which enabled U S imperialism to cloak its aggressive intentions with the United Nations stamp of approval. Our Party has been warning against such a course of development under the guise of new thinking, since 1988 itself. China did not support the resolution, but chose to abstain instead of opposing it. The only other socialist country in the Council is Cuba, which took a principled stand and voted against the resolution.

The entire course of the Gulf crisis, beginning with the

Iraqi occupation of Kuwait in August, 1990 to the culmination of the war in February, 1991 saw USA being able to weld together an alliance of imperialist powers and their supporters and carrying them forward, despite internal differences, towards the accomplishment of its aims. The Soviet Union beginning with the joint statement issued by Sheverdnadze and Baker in August 1990 chose to cooperate and remain with this U S led multinational coalition against Iraq. For a brief period in February, the Soviets actively sought to end the hostilities and prevent a ground war with its peace proposals. However this stand was not followed up and after the ground war the Soviet Union lined up with the Western powers in the United Nations.

In the recent Security Council Resolution moved by the USA and with the Soviet Union co-sponsoring it, stiff and unreasonable conditions have been laid down for a permanent cease-fire. The resolution continues the economic embargo against Iraq and threatens resumption of hostilities if Iraq in anyway violates any of the previous 12 U N. resolutions. Once again, only Cuba voted against this bullying resolution, while China, India and Yemen abstained.

The reverses suffered by socialism in Eastern Europe and the internal turmoil within the Soviet Union are being exploited by the USA and imperialism to further intensify and mount fresh attacks on the Third World. But the forces against imperialism, exploitation and domination and for world peace were also active. The degree of resistance put up by Iraq against overwhelming odds and the massive anti-American response of the Arab peoples once again show how the U S drive for world domination will not be a one-sided affair. The huge anti-war protests which began even before the war broke out in the United States, the anti-war rallies in Europe and Japan and the widespread anti-imperialist sentiments manifesting in the third world, all indicate a new turn in the continuing confrontation against imperialism.

The CPI(M) had opposed the Iraqi annexation of Kuwait. But it had opposed the massive U S. armed forces deployment.

in the Gulf and Saudi Arabia and wanted the problem solved with the cooperation of Arab states and the non-aligned movement. In line with progressive Arab opinion the Party advocated the withdrawal of U.S. and allied troops from the Gulf and the Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, and the Iraqi troops to be replaced in Kuwait by a U.N. peacekeeping force. All the outstanding problems in West Asia, particularly the Israeli occupation of Arab lands and the Palestinian question should be taken up for a solution by convening an international peace conference.

It was with this stand that the Party and the Left were in the forefront in mobilizing public opinion against the U.S. war in the Gulf. Many protest actions took place all over the country by the anti-imperialist forces in the past few weeks, at first demanding withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Gulf and later to condemn the war waged against Iraq. The Party, CITU, DYFI, SFI, AIDWA and other mass organizations were active in organizing the widespread sentiments against war amongst the Indian people.

The Indian Government's pro-U.S. shift on the Gulf war has an important lesson. It should be realized by all anti-imperialist forces that in the absence of the active intervention and countervailing force of the Soviet Union, on the world scene, if a big country like India submits to the American dictates, it will have a deleterious effect on anti-imperialist struggles the world over.

In the post-war period, U.S. imperialism is planning for a new regional security structure for West Asia wherein under its auspices there will be new regional alliance which will see the permanent presence of American and Western forces in the Gulf region. This is part of the goal for a new world order under U.S. domination. Our national interests demand that we should resist such a move.

Bangladesh

The people of Bangladesh achieved a big victory by the overthrow of the Ershad regime by the massive popular

upsurge The elections to the national assembly held on February 27 marked the restoration of the parliamentary democratic process The successful conduct of elections and its outcome should provide new opportunities for strengthening the Left and democratic forces This development should also help the prospects for good neighbourly relations between India and Bangladesh

Sri Lanka

The situation in Sri Lanka on the ethnic problem took an unfortunate turn with the Sri Lankan Government's military offensive in the North-Eastern provinces These hostilities and aerial bombardment have led to the death of a large number of civilians and destruction of property The solution to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka can only be within the framework of a united Sri Lanka and by devolving genuine autonomy to the Tamil speaking areas in the North-East. But the Sri Lankan Government is seeking to undermine even the earlier agreed commitment regarding the North-Eastern Provincial Council. The LTTE still refuses to adopt a political approach which can unite all the Tamil groups and its stubborn intransigence has been obstructing all avenues for a settlement It should realize that this will be counterproductive to the interests of the Tamil people. Both sides should realize that the problem cannot be solved through the military option It is essential that the hostilities cease immediately and all efforts made for a political solution The continuation of hostilities and the sharpening of the ethnic divisions will only help imperialism to gain from such a situation

Alarming Communal Situation and Our Counter-campaign

The Central Committee in November 1990 had called upon the Left to "immediately take the initiative and mobilize the Janata Dal-National Front partners and other secular forces to go to the people". Following this directive we took the initiative for the formation of the National Coordination

Committee comprising the National Front and Left parties and another of the Janata Dal and the Left parties Under the auspices of this platform we were able to immediately launch a joint campaign which began in the last week of November

Beginning from Bihar the campaign covered Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra, M P and U P Big rallies and meetings were organized to mobilize the people in defence of social justice and to expose the opportunist Janata Dal(S)-Congress(I) combination at the Centre The common experience of this campaign is very heartening with lakhs of people joining these rallies and expressing support for the Left-secular combination The participation of the masses belonging to the dalit, backward and minority communities have been noteworthy This campaign has heightened the prestige of the Left and helped strengthen our ties with the Janata Dal-National Front

Significant in this respect is the two months long anti-communal campaign which was conducted by the Left Front in West Bengal in October-November. This intensive campaign covered lakhs of people through hundreds of mass meetings and processions. In Kerala and Andhra Pradesh and other places also the Party conducted extensive anti-communal campaign

The anti-communal campaign carried out through the joint-platform and our independent activities have helped to counter to some extent the serious communal offensive which has had disastrous results in the North. While the Left and the Janata Dal-National Front took this initiative to counter the communal forces, the Janata Dal(S)-Congress(I) combination refused to counter the communal challenge On the contrary, they are pursuing a policy of trying to placate the communal forces and to arrive at an unprincipled compromise On the Babri Masjid-Ramjanmabhoomi dispute, Chandra Shekhar has been trying to mollify the VHP-BJP and at the same time utilize the notorious Chandraswamy to try and settle the problems. In this manoeuvre, Rajiv Gandhi also

joined, by advocating a solution to the problem on the basis of archaeological evidence and suggesting that a Commission be appointed to decide the matter on the basis of this evidence. Chandra Shekhar immediately welcomed the suggestion and the talks which have been going on between the VHP and the Babri Masjid Committee raised hopes of an imminent solution. This is bound to fail as the BJP-VHP game is to gain political mileage out of the religious passions aroused. In fact while the talks were on, the VHP conducted the next phase of its agitation, the 50-day *satyagraha* programme at Ayodhya from December 6, 1990.

The ill-conceived moves and miscalculations of Chandra Shekhar and the Congress(I) cost the country heavily. After Mulayam Singh's defection to this new combination and the pressures by the Congress(I) to allow *kar seva* at the *shilanyas* site, the Hindu communalist forces went on a rampage in November-December.

Unprecedented Communal Divide

The situation of instability and the compromising approach of the new government fully encouraged the forces of communalism. From December 6 itself, another round of organized communal riots erupted and engulfed many parts of the country instigated by the VHP-RSS-BJP. Never since independence such communal violence was seen with intensity and spread as in the month of December. The whole of U P. was affected. Bulandshaher, Khurja, Aligarh, Etah, Agra, Kanpur and Meerut saw horrible violence mainly directed against the minority community. The notorious Provincial Armed Constabulary joined the communal fanatics in killing and arson of the minority community. Hyderabad was engulfed in a killing spree and loot and arson. Ahmedabad once again flared up and riots broke out in Godhra in Gujarat. Women and children were made the special targets of this inhuman violence. At least 500 persons were killed in this orgy of violence in December. The attitude of the Chandra Shekhar Government was shocking. The Prime Minister did

not visit any of the riot-affected areas, instead he tried to minimize the scale of the disaster

While many towns were burning in U P, the pretence was kept up that progress was being made in resolving the dispute by examining archaeological evidence whether originally a temple or a mosque at the disputed site.

The only way to defend secularism and national unity is to firmly counter the offensive of the communal forces and to work for a settlement which would satisfy both communities, failing which, the dispute has to be resolved through a court verdict. The Left parties correctly maintained that if the talks could arrive at a settlement acceptable to both sides that would be welcome. Failing which the entire dispute should be referred to the Supreme Court so that a Special Bench can give a speedy verdict. At the same time, Parliament should enact a legislation to maintain the status quo of all religious places of worship as it existed at the time of independence in 1947

BJP/VHP Stand

The BJP held its national convention at Jaipur in the first week of January. After raising communal tensions to a pitch on the Ram temple issue, the leadership now faced with the prospect of no immediate elections, sought to widen its electoral appeal by giving the slogan of "Ram and Roti". The BJP tried to make the rank and file realize that economic issues along with upliftment of scheduled castes and backward classes must be taken up to mobilize wider sections

The BJP convention for the first time came out openly for dismantling the public sector and its privatization. It also gave slogans on increasing expenditure on agriculture for the benefit of the landlords and capitalist farmers without a word about land reforms. The overall economic platform adopted was a right-wing one.

The "Ram and Roti" slogan does not mean the BJP will abandon its communal platform. It endorsed the VHP call given at the Sant Sammelan in Allahabad in mid-January for

the next phase of the agitation for building the temple which will culminate on April 4 with a mass rally and gherao of Parliament. The VHP/BJP have also announced that it will concentrate on the removal of the Mulayam Singh Ministry in U P by launching an agitation from March. Advani also called for lakhs to participate in hoisting the national flag at Srinagar on June 23 on Shyamasri Mukherjee's birthday. The BJP announced its intention to continue its campaign against Article 370 and to communalize the Kashmir problem.

The BJP's initial euphoria that it can cash in on the Ram temple issue if immediate elections are held has now been tempered with the realization that the ground realities require making an appeal to wider sections while continuing with the Ram platform. Murlī Manohar Joshi, the new BJP President who belongs to the RSS, has reiterated that secularism should be redefined as at present it means appeasement of minorities. He defined secularism as *panthnirpekshatha* to mean that Hindu religion is inherently secular.

Whatever the electoral compulsions, the poison which has been spread in the past few months including the *rath yatra* and the pitch to which communal passions were raised still portend danger. The fact that riots have flared up again in Ghaziabad, Khurja and the recurrence of incidents in Aligarh show that the poison has gone down deep. The need to continue to combat the BJP-VHP agitation and propaganda has to be underlined. There should be no relaxation in our efforts to mobilize all secular forces to isolate the BJP-VHP platform.

PERNICIOUS STAND ON NATIONAL UNITY

Punjab

Chandra Shekhar began his Prime Ministership by giving certificates to Nawaz Sharif, Prime Minister of Pakistan, that he is sincere about improving relations with India. His soft approach to the Pakistani subversive activities in Punjab was a pointer to the disastrous policy which he evolved on this vital question of national unity. It clearly indicates the

U S influence working on the present set up Chandra Shekhar called for negotiations with the extremists without any pre-conditions He opened talks with Mann after he raised the demand of self-determination The memorandum submitted by Mann to Chandra Shekhar argued for self-determination and for talks between India and Punjab as if they were two different countries This has opened the floodgates for a renewed terrorist offensive in Punjab and paralysing the administration

The terrorists have targetted the Hindu community for mass killings such as the one that took place in Hoshiarpur and Ludhiana The dictates of the Khalistani extremists whether it concerns the press code, the code of conduct for the media, dress code or the ban on the use of Hindi have been implemented in the state with the administration succumbing to its intimidatory tactics The repeated suggestions and proposals given by our Party and the Left have been ignored by the Chandra Shekhar Government Chandra Shekhar's underplaying the Pakistani involvement indicates that U S pressures are effectively working on the Indian Government As for Mann, he has come out openly as a U S stooge by offering to send Sikhs to fight alongside the Americans in the Gulf and supporting the refuelling of U S war planes It will be no exaggeration to say that this policy has resulted in Punjab being on the brink of being handed over to the Khalistani extremists

Kashmir

The direct hand of Pakistan in fomenting trouble in Kashmir was graphically illustrated by the one day bandh call given in Pakistan by the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif on February 6 in support of the extremists in the valley This has encouraged the extremists to launch a new round of attacks on the security forces However, prior to this, there was some improvement in the situation because of the anger developing among the people against the extortion of money and molestation of women by the terrorists especially those

belonging to the Muslim fundamentalist groups. A large number of people belonging to the JKLF were arrested and substantial quantity of arms and ammunition seized.

There is also a growing contradiction between the JKLF which has advocated an independent Kashmir and the Jamaat-e-Islami fundamentalist groups which want the merger of Kashmir with Pakistan. The Chandra Shekhar Government began by pressurizing the State administration to strike a bargain with the extremists without creating the necessary conditions by which they could work within the framework of the country's unity. Given Pakistan's intransigence, a large scale intervention can be expected in the month of April when the snow starts melting. Pakistan would be interested in fomenting further trouble in Kashmir as it is linked with their subversive activities to aid the Punjab extremists.

Both in Punjab and Kashmir, the Government has not taken any political initiative to tackle the basic problems which have contributed to the problem of separatism.

ATTACKS ON DEMOCRACY INTENSIFIED

Dismissal of Tamil Nadu Government

The Chandra Shekhar Government acting under the pressure of the Congress(I) and the AIADMK, dismissed the DMK Government and imposed President's rule in Tamil Nadu. This authoritarian abuse of Article 356 set a new precedent as it was done despite the fact that the State Governor, Barnala, had refused to submit a report to the Centre recommending such a course of action. This act bypassing the Governor and ignoring the reports of the States shows that Chandra Shekhar acted on "other sources of information" which emanated neither from the Governor or the State Government. President Venkataraman signed the proclamation without hesitation thereby abetting this blatant attack on democracy and state's rights. He showed himself to be a direct partisan in the policies of his home state.

This unscrupulous group at the Centre sought to pressurize Barnala to follow its dictates to influence the forthcoming

elections. Failing in this they sought to shift him out of the State. Barnala stood up for democratic values and resigned from the Governorship.

At a time when the urgent restructuring of Centre-State relations is on the agenda, the threats to existing states' rights goes contrary to the move to democratic Centre-State relations. The Chandra Shekhar Government instigated by the Congress(I), is undoing the progress made in this regard by the previous National Front Government. The short period of the VP Singh Government had seen a distinct improvement in Centre-State relations and the setting up of the Inter-State Council.

Once again this episode showed how a small splinter group in power will resort to any unprincipled and authoritarian action in order to keep itself in power by obliging any pressure group, like the AIADMK, whose support is necessary to maintain power at the Centre. The imposition of Central rule has been widely condemned by different sections of public opinion and the press. The National Front and the Left parties—gave a call for observance of an all-India protest day on February 6. In the five states—West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Bihar and the Union Territory of Pondicherry—where bandh calls were given, the bandhs were a total success. In other states protest demonstrations and meetings were held.

The AIADMK and the Congress(I) have reached an electoral understanding with the lion's share of seats going to the former. They are pressing for early polls. The electoral battle in Tamil Nadu should see that all the Left and democratic and secular parties jointly enter the fray with the DMK in defence of democracy and to meet the challenge of the formidable Congress(I)-AIADMK electoral alliance.

Bihar

The dismissal of the Bihar Governor, Yunus Saleem, pre-sages the toppling move in Bihar against the Laloo Prasad Government. The unconscionable pressure put on the Governor

by the Prime Minister himself has now been exposed by the former Governor. This black deed reveals how the Prime Minister, Chandra Shekhar, acted as a hatchetman for the Congress(I)'s game of toppling non-Congress(I) ministries.

Fight for Autonomy

To combat the authoritarian attacks on states' rights and to curb the separatist forces which are also bred by denial of democracy and uneven development, it is necessary to step up the struggle for state's autonomy. The demand for the democratic restructuring of Centre-State relations and decentralization of powers cannot be delayed any longer.

Similarly the tribal and substantial ethnic minorities in Bihar, Assam and other states have to get redressal for their genuine grievances. Regional autonomy and the mechanisms to make this autonomy meaningful have to be worked out to meet the democratic aspirations of these people and to counter separatist and parochial sentiments.

Assam

Earlier the Chandra Shekhar Government had imposed President's rule in Assam. Our Party opposed the use of Article 356 to dismiss the AGP Government. We had been criticizing the AGP Government for its failure to curb the ULFA's terroristic activities. The failure to curb the action against ULFA led to a serious situation in the Districts of upper Assam. Along with President's rule the whole State was brought under the Disturbed Areas Act and the Special Powers (Armed Forces) Act was promulgated. The army was deployed to flush out the ULFA and its operations initially threw the ULFA on the defensive, though it did not succeed in rounding up the top leadership who had prior warning of the move. But after more than three months of army operations, the ULFA has now begun hit and run tactics and there have been a recurrence of killings and violent incidents. The situation has been worsened by the ULFA's ultimatum to members of all national political parties to leave their parties by March 31 or face retribution.

While combating the ULFA menace there are no grounds for the Disturbed Areas Act being enforced in the entire state. This should be only confined to the areas affected by the ULFA's depredations. The draconian laws are being used to curb normal political activities and suppress mass actions. There have been incidents of excesses by the security forces also. Such repressive activities are only helping the propaganda of the chauvinist and separatist forces. All such incidents must be enquired into promptly. There should be no curb on the activities of the political parties and mass organizations. The very forces which stand for the unity of the people of Assam and national unity are being prevented from mobilizing the people.

Steps should be taken to restore normalcy so that conditions are created for holding elections in the State. The joint stand taken by the CPI(M), Congress(S) and Janata Dal opposing President's rule and demarcating from the secessionist and terrorist forces will help in mobilizing the Left, democratic and secular forces to forge a third democratic alternative in the state. But the CPI is siding with the AGP totally and is underplaying the ULFA menace. All the left and democratic forces in the state must unitedly face the difficult situation to see that the ULFA is isolated while defending the interests of all sections of the people of Assam.

Tripura

The attacks on our Party and Left Front supporters continue. The Muslim minority which constitute only six percent of the population was targetted and riots were instigated against them. Many lost their lives and women were raped. The Party's slogan of all-in-unity of the tribal people has shown results. There is discontent in the TUJS over the anti-tribal attitude of the Congress(I) Chief Minister and its leadership. The Tribal people irrespective of political affiliations are coming together to voice their resentment of the anti-tribal policy of the government. In this connection it must be noted that the continuing influx of illegal migrants

from Bangladesh into the State continues without check. This is cause for serious concern as it will have harmful repercussion for the identity of the tribal compact areas in the autonomous district councils. The Party must constantly highlight the attack on democracy and the violence inflicted against the Party and the Left in Tripura and mobilize the broadest sections of democratic opinion to see that the repression is halted.

Andhra Pradesh

The hypocrisy of the Chandra Shekhar Government and the Congress(I) is fully exposed in the case of the naxalite violence and the law and order situation in Andhra Pradesh. While they were raising a hue and cry about law and order in Tamil Nadu, a far worse situation continued in the Congress(I) ruled Andhra Pradesh. The naxalite People's War Group, have intensified their activities in the form of kidnappings, extortions and indiscriminate violence. Recent incidents show how their terroristic activities go unchecked. The killing of a newspaper reporter and the recent bomb blast which killed two railway passengers in the Dakshin Express reveals how this anti-social violence got a fillip due to this previous Chenna Reddy Government's appeasement and encouragement of this Naxalite group. The CPI(M) cadres continue to be targetted by this terroristic group and in the recent period many valuable comrades were killed by them. Andhra Pradesh also saw the disgusting spectacle of the Congress(I) Government badly divided, indulging in mutual recriminations, while Hyderabad witnessed the terrible communal violence in which more than a hundred people were killed.

Significance of Kerala Elections

The stand adopted by the CPI(M) and the Left parties to counter the communal challenge, defend secularism and the cause of social justice have had its direct impact on the Kerala District Council elections held on January 29. The LDF won a sweeping victory capturing the majority in 12

out of 14 districts. The LDF won 322 out of the total 474 seats. The LDF victory in Kerala shows the potential of the new NF-JD-Left secular formation in national politics. The Congress(I)'s Opportunist position on the temple/masjid dispute and towards the VP Singh Government's stand on the issue, cost it heavily among the minorities, both Muslim and Christian. The people of Kerala rejected the campaign of the UDF that the LDF Government has failed to give a credible performance. The BJP which boastfully contested over 440 seats got only a pitiful two seats. The Party's stand on the Gulf crisis condemning US imperialism's attack on Iraq also met with a positive response from the people. The experience of the Kerala elections is a pointer to how the unity of Left and National Front, if effectively projected with popular mobilization, can become a significant force in national politics.

The defeat of the UDF has led to the Muslim League severing its connections with the Congress(I) front. The disintegration of the caste-communal combination is a welcome development. This is a vindication of the line of the party and the LDF to have no track with the caste and communal parties.

President's Address to Parliament

The President's address to the budget session of Parliament is expected to inform the people as to the policy direction and new legislative steps the government intends to take. The address of President Venkataraman reflected the complete bankruptcy of the Chandra Shekhar Government. The address was remarkable for its absence of any serious new policy measures. The address justifies the dismissal of the Tamil Nadu Government; it shows no rethinking on the dangerous course of appeasement of the extremists in Punjab; it shows complacency about the serious communal violence witnessed in the country a few months ago and has no proposals to counter the communal threat. While admitting the serious state of the economy, the address is silent about the

Government's decision not to present a budget and instead go in for a vote on account which will further worsen the economic situation. Finally, the address shows no rethinking on the damage done to India's foreign policy due to the refuelling episode and instead expresses satisfaction at the steady improvement in relation with the USA.

Deep Crisis of Economy

The Indian economy is facing an unprecedented crisis. The balance of payments crisis had already become serious prior to the increase in oil prices due to the Gulf crisis. With the sharp increase in oil prices, the problem got aggravated. Inflation has crossed the double digit mark and the price-rise of all essential commodities is imposing a crushing burden on the people. The budget deficit is expected to reach Rs. 15,000 crores by the end of the fiscal year in March. The external debt stands at Rs. 1,25,000 crores and the internal debt amounts to Rs. 2,40,000 crores. Interest payment in the current year amounts to Rs. 20,000 crores. The bourgeois-landlord policies are the basic cause for this worsening economic situation, since the days of the Rajiv Gandhi regime when indiscriminate liberalization was resorted to. The National Front Government was unable to make a break from these policies.

It is in such a situation that the Chandra Shekhar Government finalized the agreement for an IMF loan. As a first instalment 1.8 billion dollars (Rs. 3,275 crores) has been sanctioned by the IMF in January. Of this, one billion dollars have been given under the "Compensatory and Contingency Financing Facility" which does not entail much conditionalities. But along with this the first tranche (instalment of 800 million dollars) has been taken under the category "stand by credit" for which conditionalities exist. The IMF statement announcing the loan makes it clear that the Indian Government has committed to fulfil the conditions set out by the IMF. The statement expresses satisfaction that: "The Government (of India) is committed to continuing

the adjustment process in the fiscal year 1991-92 beginning in April" It also states that the Indian Government "also intends to implement a wide range of policies to improve the efficiency and competitiveness of India's economy" The adjustment process here refer to the notorious conditionalities which are already being implemented

Even this instalment of Rs 3,275 crores has not helped to overcome the balance of payments difficulties The loan pushed up the foreign exchange reserves to a mere Rs 4 495 crores by January 25 This is enough to meet the import bill for only some more weeks With the new difficulties mounting due to the Gulf war, the Indian Government is now negotiating for a second upper credit tranche of the loan running into another 1 8 to 2 billion dollars. This will be followed by the danger of going in for the major loan under the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility as in 1981.

The IMF dictates are already reflected in the economic policies Prices of ration rice and wheat have been increased and cuts in subsidies are going to be stepped up The first attack will be on the public distribution system. To reduce the budget deficit increased taxes are on the agenda Electricity, transport and the rates of similar services are also to be hiked up

The interim budget proposals for the vote on account placed by the Chandra Shekhar Government displayed all the signs of a IMF designed budget. The big cut of Rs 650 crores in food subsidies, the 20% dilution of public sector equity and the freeze in the additional D A. of government employees are all indications of the attacks to come on the people

These attacks on the people's livelihood are coming at a time when the economy is in the grip of inflation. For the first time, the annual rate of inflation crossed the 12 per cent mark at the end of January 1991. The wholesale price index which has registered a continuous increase for the past 14 months stood at 190 3 on February 16, 1991 and the annual rate of inflation was 12 6 per cent No item of essential

consumption has escaped the steep price rise. The prices of edible oil, pulses, sugar and vegetables are at a phenomenal high causing great hardship and misery to the people.

Along with the price rise, the mounting unemployment is causing severe problems for the people. The number of applicants in the employment exchanges have crossed the 33 million (33 crore) mark in 1990. Of these only 94 thousand found job placements. The planning Commission estimates the backlog of employment at the beginning of the Eighth Plan (i.e. April 1990) to be a minimum 20 million. Given the projected increase in the labour force between 1990-95, 65 million new employments would have to be generated if all the unemployed are to get jobs by 1995. The number of sick industrial units has crossed 2.4 lakhs which is swelling the ranks of the jobless. This shows the magnitude of the problem and the need to fight for jobs and the right to work.

The exports are not rising while imports continue to mount despite the promise of curtailing non-essential imports. In the period April to November 1990, there was a staggering trade deficit of Rs. 7,193 crores—an increase of 58.7 per cent over the previous year 1989.

Further to tackle the balance of payments crisis, there have to be effective steps to garner the savings and resources of the large number of Indian workers and personnel abroad particularly in the Gulf region. Instead of sole dependence on IMF, all avenues to mobilize resources from other developed countries must be tried out in the short term, along with broadening of the scope of South-South cooperation in the medium and long term.

There has to be expansion of the public distribution system both in terms of expansion in the rural areas and the number of items covered by the rationing system. The good harvests in three successive years have not been utilized to increase procurement and expand the system. To correct the inequalitarian growth pattern of the 1980s there should be a sizable expansion of employment and social welfare.

programmes, which could strengthen the foundations for realizing the right to work. Provision of drinking water, essential social service like primary education and literacy are an urgent priority.

Above all, the structural imbalances of the Indian economy and the urgent need to tackle unemployment and break the fetters to development require the breaking up of the monopoly of land in the rural areas through land reforms. Only one per cent of the cultivable land in the country has been redistributed so far through land reforms. To release the purchasing power of the peasants and to effectively use the growth in agricultural production requires radical land reforms.

The above are some of the suggestions worked out as part of the alternative path to the IMF prescriptions in the recent Seminar on Economic Policies organized by the Left parties. The critique of the current direction of the economy and the alternative suggestions must be popularized by the Party and the Left in a big way.

The Party and the Left and democratic forces must ceaselessly campaign against the IMF loan conditionalities and its dire implications. They must mount struggles against price rise and in defence of the public distribution system. The Left parties made a beginning for the joint campaign against price rise with their call to observe a week between February 20 to 27. This must be continued with renewed vigour so that the common people are mobilized to fight back efforts to pass on the burdens of the crisis to the urban and rural poor. While striving for joint actions through the Party and mass organizations' platforms, the Party must independently also expose the anti-people character of the liberalization and privatization policies of the successive bourgeois-landlord governments.

Congress(I) Opportunism

In its anxiety to bring down the V.P. Singh Government and divide the Janata Dal, the Congress(I) entered into an unprincipled arrangement with the Janata Dal defectors, who

had betrayed the mandate of the people and installed them in power. The Congress(I) is to blame for the destabilization process initiated at the Centre and the states by this opportunism. A weak and unstable government was saddled by the Congress(I) with the responsibility of meeting the menace of the communal and divisive forces.

The period since the installation of the Chandra Shekhar Government has seen the Congress(I) take a series of unprincipled positions. It has also been paralysed by the contradictions inherent in such an opportunist alliance. It miserably failed to respond to the communal challenge. On the contrary, in U.P. its state leadership was vocal in demanding that the VHP should be allowed to conduct *kar seva* at the disputed *shilanyas* site. It has been attacking the Mulayam Singh Government for being anti-Hindu while at the same time it is forced to support his government. When the riots engulfed U.P. the Congress(I) presented a picture of disarray and paralysis.

Being at the mercy of the Congress(I) both Chimanbhai Patel in Gujarat and Mulayam Singh Yadav in U.P. who defected along with Chandra Shekhar are now forced to accept the Congress(I)'s dictates.

The Congress(I)'s relationship with the Janata Dal(S) is plagued with serious contradictions. When the Speaker disqualified the five Ministers from membership of the Lok Sabha, the Congress(I) had to demand their resignations. On the question of refuelling of American planes, Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress(I) were vocal in opposing this departure from non-alignment. But it voted with the Government when faced with an adjournment motion on the issue in the Lok Sabha thus exposing their opportunism to the people. There was a growing feeling inside the Congress(I) that continuance of the support will cost heavily in the coming elections. From this stemmed the efforts to bring about another realignment by which Rajiv Gandhi could directly assume the reins of power by winning over a substantial section of the Janata Dal(S). The manoeuvres of the Congress(I) first

in installing the splinter group in power and later attempting to come to power by backdoor manipulations showed cynical contempt for the people and parliamentary democracy. This has to be exposed

It has become evident to all, that the defectors' group, the Janata Dal(S), will not survive as a political entity. Its premature end will be hastened by the fact that a significant section of this group is not averse to directly joining the Congress(I) or merging with it. Hence the "national convention" held at Ballia of this party was not taken seriously even by some leaders of the party itself

A Government of Disaster

The Polit Bureau in its meeting held on December 28-29 had warned the people : "that this unprincipled arrangement at the Centre will spell serious danger for the country". This warning has unfortunately come true. At no time since independence has a government stooped so low. The Prime Minister flaunts his friendship with shady characters like Chandraswamy, Suraj Deo Singh, the mafia don, and worst of all the international arms dealer and racketeer, Adnan Khashoogi. While Chandraswamy was drafted for "solving" the Ayodhya dispute, Khashoogi, who faces a number of criminal charges abroad, came with promise of money and Saudi help to resolve the Ayodhya dispute. At no time has the state structure and the Central Government been so brazenly subverted and made subject of such shady racketeers. Rajiv Gandhi lent respectability to such dubious elements by receiving Khashoogi.

Chandra Shekhar was forced to remove the five ministers who were disqualified by the Speaker from the membership of the Lok Sabha under the anti-defection law.

Chandra Shekhar Quits : Hold Immediate Elections

Given this dismal and disgraceful record of the Chandra Shekhar Government which is remote controlled by the Congress(I), the CPI(M) had demanded that this government

quit forthwith and fresh elections be held. The only way out of the present *impasse* is to get a fresh people's mandate.

The collapse of the Chandra Shekhar Government soon took place. Faced with a situation where the Motion of Thanks to the President's address to Parliament was bound to be defeated because of the Congress(I)'s boycott of parliamentary proceedings, the Chandra Shekhar Government tendered its resignation and recommended the dissolution of the Lok Sabha. The issue on which the Congress(I) pulled down the government i.e. the surveillance of Rajiv Gandhi's house by two Haryana policemen, subjected it to public ridicule.

The CPI(M) immediately reiterated its demand for the dissolution of the Lok Sabha and the immediate holding of mid-term elections as the only way out of the crisis. With all the political parties demanding an early election, the President has no other option but to dissolve the Ninth Lok Sabha and order a fresh election. The Party strongly condemned the desperate manoeuvres by the Congress(I) and Janata Dal(S) circles to try and delay the elections. The Party warned that any attempt to install a ramshackle government once again at the Centre will not be tolerated by the Indian people. Such attempts reveal the utter contempt being shown by the Congress(I) and the defectors' group for parliamentary democracy and the people.

Defend Social Justice and Preserve Unity of Toiling Sections

While defending the implementations of the Mandal Commission recommendations for the backward classes as a measure for social justice, the Party must also explain its standpoint in this regard. We advocate the acceptance of a consensus based on the Karpoori-Thakur formula implemented in Bihar, so that the really needy among the OBCs are benefited. We stress in our propaganda that reservations alone cannot solve any of the basic problems of the vast masses belonging to the scheduled castes and backward communities who live in the rural areas. Basic land reforms and

elimination of the feudal fetters are necessary to destroy the social and caste inequalities. We must patiently explain to the other sections not entitled to reservations the necessity to accept reservations as a limited measure to ensure social justice while building common struggles to forge unity of all sections. We must defend social justice and advocate reservations in such a manner so as not to disrupt the unity of the toiling sections and perpetuate caste-divisions.

In this connection, we have to be careful to see that we do not associate with any such propaganda, indulged in by some Janata Dal leaders also, which in the name of support to reservations, arouses caste feelings and heightens the caste polarization; we have to, at the same time, continue to counter anti-reservation feelings based on casteist vested interests.

The demand raised within the Janata Dal that leading posts within the organization should be reserved on the basis of quotas for backward, scheduled castes, minorities etc does not augur well for the party. Such an organizational pattern will encourage divisiveness and caste feelings and hamper cohesion and common purpose.

Build up the Unity of Left and Secular Forces

Our tactics in the recent period of struggle against communalism and separatism, in defence of democracy and social justice while exposing the anti-democratic and opportunistic nature of the Congress(I)-Janata Dal(S) alliance has led to three formations emerging. One formation is of the BJP and the communal forces which stand isolated from all the secular forces in the country; the second formation is of the Congress(I) and its allies with their disreputable record against democracy and the people's interests; and, the third formation is that of the Janata Dal, National Front and Left parties. The principled stand of the Left towards the National Front government and the common approach in defence of secularism have brought the two forces closer. This paved the way for the Left and the Janata Dal to launch a countrywide

campaign on the basis of the above mentioned issues which has met with tremendous response from the people

Under the Coordination Committee now formed this joint campaign has to be taken forward. It is to be hoped that with the experience of this joint work a common approach can be evolved on some of the important issues other than those concerning national unity and defence of democracy. Immediately, urgent economic problems affecting the people, like price rise, can be taken up through the common platform

Strengthen Party and Left's Intervention

We must understand that the bourgeois-landlord system itself is facing a deep crisis which is reflecting in the disunity and instability in the political sphere. The danger gets heightened because of the secessionist challenge to Punjab, Kashmir and Assam and the deep communal division fostered by the Ram temple campaign of the VHP-BJP. The economic crisis has reached such a pass wherein India's economic sovereignty is endangered with its direct impact on foreign policy. Hence, the Left has to be in the forefront to rally the people in defence of national unity, against imperialism and communalism, in defence of democracy and to safeguard India's economic independence.

The strengthening of Left unity is necessary to enable us to rally the secular and democratic forces to this platform. The prestige that the Left has gained by its principled positions in national politics must be fully utilized to facilitate its growing intervention in the national scene. Immediately this requires the enhancing of the Left and Party's representation in the Lok Sabha in the coming elections.

Defeat Congress(I) and BJP

In the coming electoral battle the people should be mobilized to defeat the Congress(I) and the BJP. The record of the Congress(I) and the Janata Dal(S) combine in aggravating all the problems facing the country and the people should

be exposed. The BJP, which has posed a grave threat to our country's unity and integrity by its communal activities, must be combatted. This requires that the combination of the National Left Parties emerge victorious at the polls. It is only this combination that can defeat both the Congress(I) and the BJP and provide stability to the country.

The Central Committee appeals to the people to join in the big battle in the forthcoming elections. What is at stake is the very unity and integrity of the country and its democratic traditions. The Party must intervene in the situation in such a manner that the maximum forces are gathered around the Left and National Front platform so that in the elections we will be in a position to wage an effective struggle to isolate forces of authoritarianism and communalism by defeating the Congress(I) and the BJP.

Interim Budget a Fraud on the Country*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated March 5, 1991, to Press

The interim budget presented to Parliament by the Finance Minister is a fraud on the country which will have grave repercussions for the economy. The harmful proposals are tailored to meet the IMF conditionalities. It will be no exaggeration to say that the illegitimate Government of Chandra Shekhar has made an IMF-designed budget for the next four months.

One by one each of the IMF conditionalities which erode India's economic sovereignty, have been accepted. The Rs. 934 crore cut in subsidies includes a Rs. 650 crore cut in food subsidies. This is a vicious attack on the poor of the country. Foodgrain prices under the public distribution system, already hiked, will have to be raised further steeply because of this huge cut in food subsidies. The Left parties had warned the Government last week not to cut capital expenditure which is going to affect public investment and growth.

A big attack has been mounted on the public sector with a 20 per cent dilution of equity of the public sector undertakings. This is an open declaration for the privatization of the public sector by a government which has no moral legitimacy to do so. Given the double-digit inflation, a freeze has been declared on additional dearness allowance for Central Government employees during 1991-92. This is another

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 10, 1991

surrender to the IMF dictates Raising of revenues through taxes has been postponed for the full budget in May

The interim budget and the vote-on-account seeks to serve two masters—IMF and the Congress(I) The Congress(I) does not want a full budget till the Tamil Nadu elections But Mr Rajiv Gandhi has made it clear that the IMF loan must come through The victim is the Indian economy and the people of India This grave act of irresponsibility will in no way help to tackle the serious economic crisis facing the country The Government has refused to raise revenue by increasing direct taxes, by taxing the rich and big business, nor has it proposed any stringent measures to curb run-away imports or take measures to recover the huge tax arrears and curb black money

It is evident from this budgetary exercise that the full burden of the crisis is going to be imposed on the people and the poorer sections in particular

The Polit Bureau reiterates its stand that this Government cannot be trusted with the task of dealing with the serious economic situation It should quit forthwith and the people must be given the opportunity to elect a new government which has the popular mandate to take policy decisions regarding the economy

Unfortunate CPI Reaction*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated February 28, 1991

It is very unfortunate that the CPI leadership has thought it fit to issue a statement based on Press speculations about the meeting of Joyti Basu and Harkishan Singh Surjeet with Mr Rajiv Gandhi on February 22, 1991. The CPI reaction is all the more strange since the purpose of this meeting was explained, in their presence, at the Janata Dal—Left parties' Coordination Committee meeting yesterday February 27, 1991

The CPI(M) Polit Bureau, after its meeting on February 22-23, 1991, had come out with clear-cut positions on the current political situation which do not give any grounds for confusion. The CPI(M) has been the most active in forging the unity between the Left Parties and the National Front. It has called for the removal of the Chandra Shekhar Government and holding of elections. All this has presumably known to the CPI leadership before its meeting began today. They have not even waited for the meeting of the Left parties which is scheduled to be held in a few days' time.

The Polit Bureau wishes to emphasize the importance of strengthening Left unity at this juncture. Going to the Press, provoked by baseless speculations, does not help this process.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 10, 1991

Polit Bureau Demands Fresh Lok Sabha Elections*

Statement dated March 6, 1991, issued to Press

The defectors' Government propped up by the Congress(I) has collapsed. Those responsible for imposing this disastrous experiment on the country stand exposed before the people. The Chandra Shekhar Government lost all credibility within a short time because of its bankrupt alliance with the Congress(I). Let this be a lesson to those who sought to subvert the people's mandate and indulged in unprincipled manoeuvres.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) demands that fresh elections be immediately held so that the people can elect a government of their choice. There is no other way out of the present political impasse.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, March 10, 1991

CPI(M) Condemns Anti-National Move in Punjab*

Polit Bureau issued statement dated April 16, 1991 to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemns the open anti-national speeches given at the meeting held at the Takht Damdama Sahib on Baisakhi day where all the Khalistani extremist groups declared their commitment to continue the secessionist struggle for Khalistan. They called for setting up "Khalsa panchayat" in each village, to set up a "parallel government" within a year. Simranjit Singh Mann declared in this meeting that his party would contest the elections only on the issue of an independent Sikh State. This brazen stance of the Mann Akali Dal and the extremist groups represents a serious challenge to the country. It must be condemned by all who stand for national unity.

In this background the decision of the Union Cabinet headed by Chandra Shekhar to recommend to the President the holding of elections in Punjab alongwith Lok Sabha elections in the month of May, is a dangerous and irresponsible act. If implemented, such a decision would be playing into the hands of the anti-national extremists in Punjab. The Prime Minister, heading a caretaker government, is engaging in talks with various extremist groups without taking the country and people into confidence.

The CPI(M) and other major national political parties have already demanded that proper conditions must be created for holding elections in the State. This is possible only by delinking the Punjab elections from the Lok Sabha polls.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 21, 1991

and holding the State elections after the new Parliament is constituted This will provide the opportunity for preparing for elections in Punjab and creating conditions for free exercise of votes

The Polit Bureau hopes the President of India will prevail upon the Central Government not to pursue this disastrous course

Polit Bureau Condemns Killing of 15 Harijans by Khalistanis*

Statement dated April 11, 1991, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the massacre of 15 people in scheduled caste colony at Gevavala village in Faridkot district on April 9, 1991. The Khalistani terrorists committed this gruesome crime in the village to punish those who had been conducting an anti-communal and anti-repression campaign in the area. This incident which took place in broad daylight, shows that terrorists are able to freely target all those who are politically opposed to them.

The killings of the people belonging to the scheduled castes and minority community and further evidence of how the present conditions are unfavourable for immediate elections. The Polit Bureau conveys its heartfelt condolences to the families of those who have been killed in the incident.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 21, 1991

Election Manifesto of CPI(M)-1991*

Dear Compatriots

All of us are once again in the midst of an electoral battle. These elections come at a time when our country and people face a deep all round crisis. The unity and integrity of India, which was achieved by decades of anti-colonial freedom struggle and sacrifices of countless martyrs, is being threatened by communal and separatist movements. The unity of our people, the intricate social fabric—multi-religious, multi-linguistic, diverse cultural traditions and customs—woven together in the long years of common struggles and co-existence, is perilously threatened by the communal monster. The federal democratic polity is coming under severe strain. The institutions of parliamentary democracy and Centre-State relations far from being strengthened are being undermined. The economic crisis is the gravest since independence, imposing grater burdens and unheard of miseries on our people. The Congress has enjoyed virtual monopoly of power in these post independence decades. The path of development and policies pursued by it have brought the country to such a sorry pass.

These elections provide an opportunity for all of us, who have the interests of our country and people at heart, to halt such a slide to disaster. The urgent need is to uphold the

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 21, 1991. West Bengal Assembly election was also held along with Lok Sabha election in 1991.

unity and integrity of our country by defeating the divisive and communal forces and to safeguard and strengthen democracy by rejecting the authoritarian forces

Why These Mid-Term Elections?

Fifteen months after the last Lok Sabha elections, we are once again forced to go the polls. Who is responsible for this situation? It is necessary to briefly recapitulate the events.

The 1989 elections had rejected the Congress(I) and dislodged it from power. Though the verdict was for the formation of a non-Congress(I) Government, no party got a clear majority.

The CPI(M) and the Left parties respected the verdict of the people and supported the National Front, to form a new Government. In conformity with the people's wishes the CPI(M) expected the National Front to fulfil the promises made in its election manifesto.

The BJP, which adopts a rabid communal stance, also benefited largely from the anti-Congress(I) feelings of the people. It was left with no alternative but to extend support to the National Front. Realising the mood of the people, it stated that its differences with the National Front on the Ramjanmabhooni-Babri Masjid issue, Article 370 of the Constitution and Minorities Commission, will not act as hurdles in extending support to the National Front Government.

Whereas the CPI(M) and the Left parties remained true to their commitment and gave principled support to the VP Singh Government, the BJP betrayed the people's mandate.

The BJP along with all other communal outfits launched a virulent and inflammatory campaign to whip up communal passions on the Ayodhya dispute. Mr Advani's *rath yatra* left behind a trail of gruesome riots and a deep communal divide.

The CPI(M) and the Left stood with the VP. Singh Government when it defended secularism and communal amity by stopping the *rath yatra* and reiterated that only a negotiated settlement or a Court verdict can be the solution.

The BJP withdrew support when its communal blackmail failed. The BJP pulled down the National Front Government on an issue which imperilled the country's unity and communal harmony.

The Congress(I) reneged on secularism and let down the country by its rank opportunism at this juncture. Despite demanding the stoppage of *rath yatra*, it joined hands with the BJP to vote out the National Front government. It compounded the destabilization game by organizing defections from the Janata Dal and installed the defectors in power.

For four months, the defectors' Government headed by Chandra Shekhar wreaked havoc on the country. After dancing to the tune of Rajiv Gandhi, this unprincipled and unholy marriage of convenience broke down not on any major policy issue but on the flimsy ground of two constables outside Rajiv Gandhi's house.

The Congress(I) bears the full responsibility for foisting this Government of defectors on the country. After the fall of the defectors' Government, the country witnessed yet another sordid drama. Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress(I) made desperate efforts in utter contempt of parliamentary democracy, to patch up with Chandra Shekhar, and avoid facing the people and elections.

The CPI(M) denounced these despicable manoeuvres. It demanded fresh elections. The vigilance of the National Front and Left parties foiled the Congress(I) game of seeking power through the backdoor.

Defeat Congress(I), Defeat BJP

It is under these circumstances, that the people of India have to once again pronounce their verdict, having experienced the role played by different political parties. Their verdict has to be decisive. The BJP which is the main force of disruption of our country's unity and integrity and which betrayed the people's will be pulling down the National Front government must be rejected. The Cong(I), which has distinguished itself as the main force of authoritarianism;

which has shown total contempt for people's mandate through its destabilisation and rank opportunism must be defeated

The CPI(M) appeals to the people to vote the Left and National Front to the Lok Sabha with a big majority. Only this can ensure a viable and stable government with the Left support capable of addressing itself in right earnest to defend national unity, secularism, social justice, democracy and a non-aligned foreign policy

SITUATION ON THE EVE OF ELECTIONS

Danger to National Unity

Even before the 1989 Lok Sabha elections, the CPI(M) had warned of the threat to secular values and national unity due to the BJP's aggressive communal campaign on the Ram temple issue. This disruptive offensive was intensified by the BJP/VHP/RSS leading to the most horrific communal riots. What happened in Gonda, Aligarh, Agra, Khurja, Godhra and Hyderabad are a blot on the country's secular image.

In the coming days, the situation may worsen, as the BJP-VHP are refusing to accept either a negotiated settlement or a court verdict. They demand nothing short of the demolition of the mosque. The provocative and inflammatory speeches by BJP leaders at the recent VHP rally in Delhi reveal its intentions of whipping up communal passions.

By openly mixing religion with politics, the BJP and other communal forces who wish to usher in a Hindu Rashtra are adding grist to the mill of the secessionist forces in Punjab and Kashmir.

Both the Congress(I) and the Chandra Shekhar Government totally failed to counter this serious communal menace. The Congress(I) in fact sought to appease the Hindu communalist by asking the U.P. Government to allow "kar seva" to be performed at the disputed shilanyas site. Instead of working for a settlement, the Congress(I) strangely by-passing the court proceedings, continues to argue for a

committee of five Supreme Court judges to establish whether a temple existed before the mosque was constructed

The Separatist Challenge

The four months of the Congress(I)'s puppet Government has led to the deterioration of the situation in Punjab, Kashmir and Assam

In Punjab, the open invitation to the extremists for talks by Chandra Shekhar without even the precondition of acceptance of Indian unity and integrity by them has emboldened the Khalistanis to step up their offensive. They have imposed a code for dress, media and language on the people and the administration. Scores of people die every day at the hands of these brutal killers aided from across the border.

In Kashmir and Assam, the secessionist forces continue their violent activities unabated, posing a serious threat to the country's unity.

Economic Crisis

The country is facing an unprecedented economic crisis. With a severe balance of payments crisis, it is on the verge of a debt-trap both externally and internally. It is in danger of defaulting on its debt repayments. The external debt of the country is Rs. 1,25,000 crores and the internal debt is almost double at Rs. 2,40,000 crores. This is the result of the capitalist path of development pursued by the bourgeois-landlord ruling classes and the policies of successive governments.

The Indian economy is now being mortgaged to the IMF. When the Chandra Shekhar Government fell, it was negotiating a second instalment of the IMF loan. The country is yet to pay to back the final instalment of the IMF loan taken by the Congress(I) government in 1981.

The IMF dictated conditionalities are already being implemented. The anti-people pro-big business conditionalities include cut in food subsidies of Rs. 650 crores, rise in prices of foodgrains supplied through the ration shops,

dismantling the public sector by privatization through floating shares, freeze on the additional D A of Government employees at a time when inflation is over 12 per cent While safeguarding the public sector it is necessary to improve its efficiency.

Surrender to the IMF means the curtailment of economic sovereignty and abandoning self-reliance All these make India subservient to foreign capital. The U.S. threat of invoking Super 301 clause continues as well as the pressure of the GATT negotiations on patents and intellectual rights

Brunt on the People

These economic policies are inflicting deep sufferings on the people.

Price rise of all essential commodities is continuous and relentless. It is eroding the meagre earnings of the masses and making even bare essentials out of reach of their pockets The public distribution system exists only in states like Kerala, West Bengal and a few other parts In the rest of the country, the rural and urban poor are at the mercy of the blackmarketeers and hoarders.

Mounting unemployment is threatening the future of millions of young men and women The lists in the employment registers lengthen They stand at 3.4 crores today which does not include the rural unemployed, estimated to be at least double the urban unemployed. Industrial sickness and closed units are throwing lakhs of workers out of jobs 2.4 lakh industrial units are sick or closed today

The IMF dictated path is not inevitable as the ruling classes proclaim There is an alternative path Resources have to be raised by other means Steps must be taken to collect the huge tax arrears, curb black money and strictly check tax evasion, there has to be direct cut in imports to save foreign exchange, wasteful expenditure by the government must be stopped and fuel conservation measures implemented Austerity should not mean further tightening the belts of the emaciated poor but making the affluent pay

more by raising direct taxes. Alternative sources of resource mobilization must be explored, including deposits by Indians working abroad. Among the long term measures which are essential are the implementation of land reforms and decentralization of powers to involve the people in developmental activities in a big way. Land reforms are essential to expand the internal market minus which it is impossible for the economy to grow independently.

Attacks on Democracy

The past four months have proved beyond doubt that Congress(I) is implacably set on the path restoring its authoritarian rule. It guided the Chandra Shekhar Government to dismiss the Assam Government and followed it by the unscrupulous assault on democracy by dismissing the DMK ministry even when the Governor refused to submit such a report. The Governors are treated as servitors of the Centre. Mr. Barnala was unceremoniously transferred, which led to his resignation. The Bihar Governor, Mr. Yunus Saleem, was dismissed for not obliging the demands of the Congress(I)-defectors combine.

The recent misuse of Article 356 vindicates the long standing demand of the CPI(M) for the scrapping of this arbitrary provision in the Constitution.

Without giving more powers to states and ensuring autonomy for the ethnic and tribal minorities within the states, where necessary, to fulfil their aspirations of development of their linguistic-cultural identity and economic progress, the Centre will fail to counter the growing separatist and divisive threats to the country.

The threat to democracy also emanates from the fact that draconian laws such as ESMA and NSA are still in the statute book to be used against workers' strikes and mass movements. The Congress(I) regime in Tripura has the worst record of semi-facist terror—scores have been killed, hundreds of women molested and raped, thousands have had to flee their homes.

Capitulation in Foreign Policy

The recent period also witnessed the shameful capitulation by the Chandra Shekhar Government to U S imperialism on the Gulf crisis. This government adopted a pro-U S policy on the Gulf war and allowed refuelling facilities for U S. warplanes in Indian airports. This tarnished India's image among the Third World countries and peace loving peoples. It was an act of the policy of non-alignment. No one has the right to reverse India's anti-imperialist orientation in foreign policy.

The Congress(I) while opposing the refuelling of U S. warplanes exposed itself thoroughly by supporting the Chandra Shekhar Government in the Lok Sabha when an adjournment motion was moved against this pro-imperialist policy.

Plight of the People

While the Congress(I) and the BJP were engaged in toppling the National Front Government, the conditions of the people continued to worsen. The unprecedented price rise is crippling the lives of crores of our people. No thought was given to the vital and basic problems while these two parties cynically manoeuvred, one in fanning communalism, the other in gabbing power.

The conditions of the working class are constantly deteriorating with sweated labour, poverty, unemployment, lack of housing and poor working conditions. Joblessness is a constant threat through lockouts, layoffs, retrenchment in the name of modernization. Lakhs of workers and their families in traditional occupations such as handloom, powerloom, coir, beedi and cottage industries experience distress and ruination due to the vagaries of the market and wrong government policies. Increasing rural unemployment is driving lakhs of young people from the villages to the cities where majority go unemployed and few get temporary employment in the unorganised sector with miserable wages. The position of the educated youth is no better. Thousands are leaving the country forced to place their skills at the service

of other capitalist countries. The right to work and unemployment benefits enforced, can alone relieve the distressing employment situation facing the country. Energetic measures must be undertaken to stop this brain drain.

The talk of land reforms has disappeared from the vocabulary of the Congress(I), it has never been present in the BJP's outlook. Even those who espouse the cause of social justice and reservations for OBCs, do not mention the observation made in the Mandal Commission that no alleviation for poverty and raising of economic and social status is possible without land reforms. The extreme concentration of land is the basis for the intense exploitation of the poor peasants and landless labour. There is still no central legislation for agricultural labourers. Only one per cent of the total cultivable land has been redistributed. Only CPI(M)-led Governments have taken up this task sincerely. West Bengal accounts for twenty per cent of all-India distribution of surplus land and thirty eight lakh families benefited in Kerala.

Landlords are free to organise armed gangs to terrorize the agricultural workers and scheduled castes when they demand wage increase or resist social oppression. The atrocities on the Scheduled Castes, tribes and the agricultural workers continue unabated. They are murdered, women raped, their homes burnt in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, U P and other places.

The status of women in all essential spheres of life has declined. Decades of Congress(I) rule has denied them the basic prerequisites of economic independence, health and educational facilities. The recent offensive of communal and fundamentalist forces adds strength to those who want to deny them the right to equality. In such a situation, atrocities on women have registered an unprecedented increase. Gruesome dowry deaths continue to increase. Poverty has hit hardest the women of the poorer and deprived sections. Discrimination against working women and sexual harrasment continues unabated.

The tribal areas in the country are in turmoil. Centuries of oppression have been heightened by the rapacious loot of

contractors and traders Their lands are snatched away, their traditional rights in the forests blocked, their women folk sold into prostitution and the men forced to work in slave conditions Their struggle to assert their tribal identity, linguistic-cultural distinctiveness meets with cruel repression

In the sphere of education, the country can boast, after 43 years of independence, the world's largest number of illiterates The goal of compulsory and free primary education has been virtually abandoned, six out of ten children drop out before class five the new education policy brought into action by the Rajiv Gandhi Government has still not been reversed. It is a policy for promoting elitist education for the upper strata of society to meet the needs of the monopolists and the private sector Higher education has become more costly and beyond the reach of ordinary people This trend has led to the slowdown in expansion of primary and elementary education Child labour continues unchecked and exploitation of working children is proliferating Kerala under the CPI(M) led Government has the proud record of almost eradicating illiteracy and West Bengal is on the way

Health for all is a distant goal. There are no primary health facilities in many parts of the country especially in the rural areas The steep rise in the cost of medicines, the pro-multinational drug policy and the low budgetary priority for health care have led to an under-nourished poverty stricken majority of Indian citizens Half of the Indian population does not even have safe drinking water Ninety per cent are without sanitation facilities

The ordinary citizen finds the democratic rights enshrined in the Constitution remote from the reality of daily experience The bastis and slums of big cities are lorded over by anti-socials who are in league with the police In large parts of rural areas landlord gangs and musclemen set down the law in collusion with the police Even the right to vote is threatened in many parts of the country The ordinary Indian citizen is afflicted by the curse of corruption, jobbery and

nepotism. They have no protection against the misuse of authority by the police, criminals and men of influence.

In this rule of the mighty and the corrupt every section of the population including honest journalists run risks to their lives. At different levels, the judiciary is constantly intimidated and suborned by the ruling party.

The Role of the CPI(M)

The record of CPI(M) and the Left in the period since the 1989 Lok Sabha elections is before the people. The CPI(M) has consistently championed an alternative economic policy aimed at alleviating the miseries of our people. It also suggested that the uneven pace of development should not exacerbate the regional imbalances that will only fuel divisive trends.

The Left have been in the forefront in the struggle against communalism. They have been the staunchest fighters for national unity. In Punjab, the CPI(M) has firmly stood in the fight against the Khalistani terrorists and sacrificed more than 200 of its leaders and cadres in the fierce struggle to preserve Indian unity. In Kashmir and Assam the CPI(M) is the main force championing the unity of the Indian people and in countering the separatist forces.

The CPI(M) and the mass organizations in which it is working have been constantly active in the defence of the rights of the working class, agricultural workers, peasantry, youth, students, women and various sections of employees. It has tirelessly worked for forging united struggles of different sections of the people. It has been the initiator of strengthening Left unity and made a big contribution to unite the Left, democratic and secular forces.

The CPI(M) places before the people the record of the two Left led Governments in West Bengal and Kerala headed by it, and the experience of the decade long CPI(M) led Government in Tripura to illustrate its sincerity and resolve to defend the interests of the common people and the unity of the country. Despite the limited powers of the state

governments under the Constitution, the Governments have a creditable record

*Both these Governments have not used either the NSA or ESMA or other preventive detention legislation against political opponents or against the struggles of the working class and other toiling sections

*Both states are far ahead in the implementation of land reforms wilfully neglected by others

*In West Bengal and Kerala, there are no atrocities against the Scheduled Castes and Tribes

*Both these states have been in the forefront to decentralise and develop power to local bodies Panchayats and Zilla Parishads are vibrant and functioning democratically and the people have full scope of participation in developmental activities

*Both these states have undertaken programmes for the eradication of illiteracy, and achieved tremendous success

*Both these states stand as sentinels for communal amity The safety of the minorities are assured in these two states All attempts to instigate riots have been promptly put down by the administration

*All these achievements despite bureaucratic delays, which must be eliminated, have been possible because of the systematic political campaign based on the policies of the Left led governments amongst the people conducted by the CPI(M) and Left forces

National Front and The Left

In the prevailing situation in the country, it is only the National Front supported by the Left that can provide a stable, durable government at the Centre

During the eleven month tenure of the National Front Government, it had initiated some positive measures For the first time, the Central Government involved the mass organizations in formulating policy measures concerning the sections they represented The NF Government initiated legislation for workers' participation in management including

the recognition of trade unions through secret ballot. It included land reform laws in the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution so that landlords cannot block them in Courts. It enacted a law to set up a National Commission for Women. It established the SC/ST Protection Act. It reactivated the National Integration Council. It agreed to the principle of right to work as a fundamental right in the Constitution for which preparatory work began. It improved working relations between the Centre and the States and constituted the Inter-State Council for resolving inter-state and Centre-State issues. It passed legislation for ensuring autonomy for Doordarshan and All India Radio. It initiated legislation for electoral reforms. It pursued the Bofors investigation and established that commission was taken by Indians.

In the short period of four months, the Congress(I) backed government of Chandra Shekhar sought to reverse many of these measures.

Protection of Minorities

The CPI(M) firmly stands for the protection of minority rights, full freedom of conscience and equality of opportunities. It stands for end to economic and social discrimination of the minorities. It considers the protection of minority rights as the acid test of democracy. Recognizing the diverse religious, linguistic and ethnic composition of India, the CPI(M) underlines the need for policies that will guarantee protection of their identity and development. The BJP's advocacy of smaller states, dismantling the existing linguistic states, is not only an insult to Indian realities but also a measure meant to force further divisive trends.

The CPI(M) expresses its deep concern and sympathy for the minority Muslim people who have been worst victims of the recent riots. They are suffering from fear and insecurity because of the poisonous hate propaganda conducted by the BJP/VHP/RSS in connection with the mosque/temple dispute at Ayodhya.

The CPI(M) calls upon the people belonging to minority

communities to realise that the fight for minority right and equality will be successful only if it is carried on in cooperation with the democratic and class forces fighting the injustices and exploitation of bourgeois-landlord rule. The minority communal and fundamentalist leaders want to perpetuate the barriers against the common struggle of the Hindu and Muslim masses. They encourage the communal divisions among the people to keep the toiling people divided. It is only the common fight of all sections which will deliver the minorities from the injustices of the present order.

Resolve Ayodhya Dispute

The CPI(M) is of the view that the Babri Masjid-Ramjanmabhooni dispute should be resolved either by a negotiated settlement acceptable to both sides, or failing this, by the court verdict which will be binding on all. This is the only way such explosive disputes which affect the religious sentiments of the people can be settled.

The CPI(M) wants the adoption of a law by Parliament which will maintain the status quo of all places of religious worship under dispute as on 15th August, 1947.

Defence of Social Justice

The CPI(M) has supported the implementation of the Mandal Commission report for reservation in jobs in Central services for the backward classes. It is a step towards social justice which will provide some opportunities for those socially backward due to the oppressive caste structure for entering employment in the state sector. The CPI(M) opposes any move to scuttle reservations and wants this benefit to reach the really deserving sections amongst the backward classes. The CPI(M) has suggested that the Karpoori Thakur formula, in force in Bihar for over a decade, should be the basis for evolving an acceptable consensus for ensuring the implementation of reservation for backward classes. The CPI(M) fully recognizes that the poorer sections within upper castes also require relief.

The CPI(M) while supporting reservation as a measure for advancing social justice, wishes to stress that the mass of the rural poor in the backward communities will find their basic problems addressed to only through radical land reforms and the elimination of feudal relations in the villages by speedy industrialization of the country. Common struggles of all sections of the toiling people of all communities are necessary to change the present socio-economic order. Any attempt to oppose reservations by upper-caste vested interests or to project reservation in such a manner as to perpetuate caste divisions are detrimental to unity of the toiling people and must be shunned.

Defence of Non-Alignment

The CPI(M) had warned in its last election manifesto about the conspiracies of U S imperialism to destabilize the country and erode its independence. In its drive for global domination, U S imperialism, has been constantly striving to draw India into its orbit. Towards this end it had been using various methods like the pressure of our external borrowings and economic difficulties, aiding and abetting secessionist movements and attempting political subversion. As not earlier, the Chandra Shekhar Government succumbed to such U S pressures and allowed the refuelling of U S military planes. Experience shows that those countries which have become subservient to the USA have virtually lost their independence and citizens' democratic rights. India has been able to face such pressures because its people firmly stood for world peace and anti-imperialist non-aligned foreign policy.

This foreign policy has to be protected from succumbing to U S blackmail. It should be strengthened in the new world situation, when after the Gulf war, the USA is attempting to create its own new world order. India as a major Third World and non-aligned country must take the lead to champion the interests of Third World in the political, economic diplomatic sphere.

Vote for the Left and National Front

In order to defeat the Congress(I) and the BJP in the coming elections, it is necessary to unite the Left and secular forces

The CPI(M) considers the united stand and the common understanding between the Left parties and the secular opposition parties represented by the National Front and Janata Dal on many important issues will instill a new confidence in the people. This is evident from the response which this combination has been receiving from the people, particularly the downtrodden and minority sections of the population during the joint mass campaign in defence of secularism, national unity and for social justice. This combination alone is perceived by the people as the alternative.

The CPI(M) calls upon all sections of the people, irrespective of religious and caste affiliations to vote for the candidates of this National Front-Left combination so that victory against the authoritarian force, the Congress(I), and the communal force BJP can be ensured.

Strengthen the CPI(M) and the Left

The CPI(M) calls upon the people to vote enthusiastically for the candidates of the CPI(M) and the Left parties who have proved themselves to be consistent defenders of the interests of the people against the bourgeois-landlord policies. They have fought the communal and separatist forces and are steadfast defenders of national unity. The success of the CPI(M) in the new Lok Sabha is an essential link to strengthen the forces of national unity and to shift the balance of forces in favour of the common people.

The CPI(M) urges upon all the Left parties to strengthen Left unity further in order to play increasingly important role in national politics. The principled stand of the Left in supporting the N F Government, its firm stance against the BJP-VHP communal blackmail, its defence of the minorities and the rights of backward and SC/ST communities, its

staunch defence of non-alignment and Opposition to mortgaging the economy to the IMF have all contributed to its emergence as a consistent and pro-people force at the national level Further, united Left intervention in the election struggle will advance the task of isolating the forces of authoritarianism, communalism and separatism

Election Programme

Taking into account all aspects of the situation facing the country, the CPI(M) places before the people a programme of demands as part of its election platform. The electoral struggle must be part of the wider political struggle to achieve these demands which will strengthen democracy, national unity and strive for economic and social justice for the toiling people

1. Strengthen democracy against authoritarian onslaughts of the Congress(I). Defence of democratic rights of citizens and their expansion Withdraw all repressive legislation like NSA and ESMA
2. Restructuring of Centre-State relations with more powers to states Abrogate Article 356 of the Constitution Support to the progressive policies of the Left led governments Immediate implementation of the proposals formulated at the Srinagar Conclave concerning Centre-State relations
3. Defence of national unity against secessionism, communal and divisive forces by mobilizing the people and vigilance against imperialists agencies attempt at destabilization
4. Immediate solution of Punjab, Kashmir and Assam problems by conceding the genuine demands of the peoples of these states for protection of their identity within the framework of Indian unity.
5. Appeal to all to give up the agitation on Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid issue; come to settlement through negotiations or accept the verdict of the Court Expose and isolate those who arouse communal passions on the issue Adopt legislation to maintain

the status quo on all places of religious worship as of August 15, 1947

- 6 Reverse the IMF-World Bank dictated economic policies, preserve economic independence and self-reliance, alternative policies to raise resources should be adopted by increasing direct taxes, curbing black money, taxing the rich, cut in imports, stopping wasteful expenditure by the Government and increased South-South cooperation
- 7 Nationalization of jute and cotton textile industries, provide adequate relief to powerloom and handloom workers, state take over or measures to reopen sick and closed units; stop massacre of jobs in the name of promoting advanced technology
- 8 Proper facilities for artisans to pursue their profession by ensuring provision of raw materials and markets
- 9 Introduction of workers' participation with equal status in management in all concerns to run industries efficiently, annulment of Articles 311(a),(b),(c) of the Constitution, need-based minimum wages, protective legislation for unorganized workers, New Industrial Relations Bill including provision of secret ballot for recognition of Trade Unions
- 10 Effective steps to check the growth of monopolies, tighten up the MRTP law, check the growing penetration of multi-nationals in the economy
11. Measures to curb the high prices and check price rise
No increase in indirect taxes which affect the common people, for state trading in food grains, for expansion of the public distribution system to cover 14 essential commodities to be run effectively to reach the urban and rural poor Firm steps to be taken against blackmarketing and hoarding of scarce commodities
- 12 Implementation of land-reforms and distribution of land, immediate stop to evictions; enactment of laws to plug loopholes in land reforms, correction of land records, setting up of administrative machinery to implement

- legislations, adequate irrigation facilities and sanctioning of the projects awaiting the assent of the Centre, step up plans to use irrigation potential by concentrating on minor and medium irrigation projects
- 13 Enactment of a comprehensive Central legislation to protect the rights of agricultural workers in relation to wages, living conditions and social benefits, cancellation of debts of the impoverished rural masses
 - 14 Right to work to be embodied in the Constitution as a fundamental right Concrete plans to generate employment in both the rural and urban areas, proper facilities for registration and recruitment through employment exchanges, Provision for statutory legislation to provide unemployment benefits of the unemployed
 - 15 One rank one pension for ex-servicemen, upgrading pensions of all categories of pensioners in consonance with the cost of living
 - 16 Stern measures against atrocities and crimes on women implementation of legal and democratic rights guaranteed in the Constitution, end to discrimination in pay, recruitment and promotion, proper working conditions for all working women, provision of social security for women agricultural workers and women in unorganized industries, equal rights in property in land for women.
 - 17 Protection of the land, culture and language of the tribal people Autonomy for compact, contiguous tribal majority areas within states where necessary
 - 18 Check atrocities against Scheduled Castes and Tribes, steps to see that the quota of reservation for them in education and jobs are filled Implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendation for jobs in Central services for the backward classes so that those most needy get them.
 - 19 Inclusion of Nepali and Manipuri languages in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution as national languages, equal encouragement to all national languages, protection

- to Urdu language and due recognition to it in the states where it is spoken by a substantial minority
- 20 Defence of minorities and implementation of provisions of Constitution to prevent discrimination Protection of life and property of minorities during riots
 - 21 Free and compulsory education must be ensured by the state by law for all children, free education upto the secondary level, full state support to mass literacy campaigns to eradicate illiteracy, end the new education policy still being pursued since the Rajiv Government introduced it which is elitist and weighted against the common people acquiring education Syllabus and curriculum to strengthen scientific temper, secularism, national unity and integrity
 - 22 Housing to be accorded the status of a basic right for a citizen. Housing schemes for the urban and rural poor to be an urgent priority; improved primary health facilities A comprehensive people oriented national drug policy must be implemented
 - 23 Defence of non-aligned foreign policy, world peace and support to national liberation movements. For the establishment of a Palestinian state and the vacation of Arab territories occupied by Israel; to end the apartheid system in South Africa and the full and equal rights of the black people there, the right of the Saharawi Arab Republic to independence and their own land. Improvement of relations with our neighbours. India-China relations to be accorded top priority Strive to find a solution to the Tamil minorities' problem in Sri Lanka as envisaged in the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord
 - 24 Proportional representation in the electoral system. Strengthening of the parliamentary democratic system. Reform of the judicial system to prevent subversion of its independence, justice should be easily available to the common people
 - 25 State support for expansion of cultural facilities for the people, encouragement for activities aimed to take

- democratic culture to the mass of the people, Autonomy for official electronic media with democratic accountability to Parliament
- 26 A science and technology policy which encourages scientists to do creative work to nurture the self-reliant basis of India's development. An environmental policy which is integrated with the needs of rapid and sustainable economic development.

CPI(M) Appeal

It is on the basis of such a programme that the CPI(M) appeals to the Indian people to defeat both the Congress(I) and the BJP and vote for the National Front-Left Front candidates in the ensuing elections

The multi-dimensional crisis facing our country, society and people must be tackled in right earnest. The Left stands in the forefront of those who can uphold the unity and integrity of our country, maintain communal harmony, protect secularism, defend democracy and champion the interests and struggles of the oppressed and toiling people

Our experience teaches us that in the recent past, both the Congress(I) and the BJP have, in their own ways, jeopardised the country's interests, undermined its secular democratic foundations and betrayed the people's interests and mandate. The betrayers must be rejected. To safeguard and advance the future of the country and its people, to uphold the cherished aspirations of generations of patriots who sacrificed and worked tirelessly for our country's freedom and progress, it is essential that both these forces—the Congress(I) and BJP—are defeated at the hustings and the CPI(M) and Left supported National Front is elected

Condolence on Comrade Satwant Singh*

**Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement
dated April 21, 1991**

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its profound grief and sorrow at the death of Comrade Satwant Singh. Comrade Satwant Singh was a member of the Central Committee of the CPI(M) since 1964 and Secretary of the Punjab State Committee for long till he became ill a few years ago. A dedicated revolutionary and a steeled Communist, Comrade Satwant played an important role in building the Party in Punjab. His demise is a grievous loss to the Communist movement in our country. He was in jail several times and had to spend many years underground, first during the freedom struggle against British imperialism and later in independent India for leading the people's struggles for social transformation. Comrade Satwant Singh was 73 years old and passed away at 3 00 a.m. this morning.

The Polit Bureau conveys its deep condolence to the Punjab State Committee of the CPI(M). As a mark of respect, the CPI(M) flag will fly at half-mast today.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 28, 1991

Polit Bureau on the Role of Election Commission in Tripura*

Statement dated April 25, 1991 issued to Press

It is surprising that the Election Commission is giving credence to a series of baseless complaints made by the Congress(I) leadership of West Bengal, falsely alleging all sorts of malpractices by the CPI(M) and the State Government in West Bengal. These allegations have been effectively refuted by the CPI(M) State Committee and the State Government authorities. By entertaining such complaints the Election Commission is providing credibility to the manoeuvres of S S. Ray, the PCC President and the Congress(I) leader Ajit Panja.

It is well known that S S. Ray has a record of grossly interfering in the election process in West Bengal in the early 70s. He also had the dubious record in Punjab as the Governor, of manoeuvring in the elections to prop up the extremists in the hope of helping the Congress(I) to make electoral gains. As for the complaints of Ajit Panja, it was his tactics during the last Lok Sabha elections to raise false allegations which were found baseless by the Election authorities. In fact the then Chief Election Commissioner, Shri Peri Sashtri, had gone on record, appreciating the holding of free and fair elections by the State authorities.

While the Election Commission is prompt in dealing with allegations made by Congress(I) leaders in West Bengal, it has maintained an inexplicable silence over the serious charges against the Congress(I)-led state Government of Tripura. We

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had drawn the attention of the Chief Commissioner in the last week of March itself to the large scale transfers of sub-divisional officers who are IAS officials and other election related officers in Tripura, which were announced on March 23. While the Election Commission has gone on record objecting to the transfers in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, it has not acted in the case of Tripura. Even when nine IAS officers submitted a joint letter to the Chief Electoral Officer and the Chief Election Commission apprehending the vitiation of free and fair elections in the State, the Election Commission has not so far acted. A comprehensive memorandum was submitted by the Leader of the Opposition in the Tripura Assembly, Nripen Chakraborty, dated April 4 pointing out various irregularities by the State Government and the violence directed against the CPI(M) in the State. There has been no response from the Election Commission.

The Polit Bureau hopes that the Election Commission will clarify its stand with respect to these States so that it acts and is seen to act in an impartial manner.

Terrorists' Planning to Disturb Life*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated April 27, 1991, to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemns the terrorist attack at the Palika Bazar parking place on April 26, 1991. In the bomb blast, three persons were killed and many others injured. This terrorist outrage in the heart of New Delhi shows how the Khalistani extremists are planning to disturb normal life all over the country and to spark off adverse repercussions outside Punjab.

In Punjab, there is no let-up in the terrorist violence. On April 26 itself, 27 people have been killed including a Government official working in the office of the Governor of Punjab. This is an ominous indicator of how the terrorists are planning to step up their violent activities during the period of elections, in order to terrorize the people to vote for their sponsored candidates. The continued violence and killings of scores of people in the last few days, strengthen the apprehensions that the Government and the Punjab Administration will be unable to provide adequate security for the candidates and political workers. In this context, the clandestine talks that have been held with the extremists by the Chandra Shekhar Government are disturbing. It is demoralizing the Punjab Administration and requires a public explanation from Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar himself.

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Polit Bureau Condemns U.S. Move on India*

Statement dated April 28, 1991, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly denounces the decision of the U S Government to place India under the Special 301 priority watch list. The declared purpose, we are informed, is that India "provides an inadequate level of patent protection." After an investigation that would be carried out by the U S. Government in the next six months, punitive action to the extent of a 100 per cent sanction against Indian exports can be imposed by the USA.

This step once again reveals the continued pressures that the United States of America is mounting on developing countries like India to make them more dependant on imperialist finance capital. Any attempt to succumb to these pressures will only further mortgage our country's economic independence and sovereignty.

By taking this decision, the U S Government has displayed sheer contempt for the ongoing Uruguay round of talks on the issue of intellectual property rights. While these multilateral talks are in progress in Geneva, such a unilateral decision by the USA displays its intent to browbeat the developing countries and subvert them for advancing U S economic interests.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon the Government of India to take appropriate measures for actively resisting this new U.S pressure. The Polit Bureau calls upon the people of our country to resist these imperialist attempts to subvert the independence and self-reliance of our economy.

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CPI(M)'s Stand on Justice Ramaswamy Case*

On the basis of the petition by 108 members of Lok Sabha for the removal of Justice V. Ramaswamy of the Supreme Court on the charges of serious corruption, the Speaker of the Lok Sabha had appointed a high-powered committee of three eminent Justices to examine the matter. Despite the step taken by the Speaker, Justice Ramaswamy continues to sit in the Court. The CPI(M) welcomes the decision of the Supreme Court on April 30, 1991, to issue notice to Justice Ramaswamy. The Court also issued notice to the Central Government as to why it should not take all necessary steps to enable the high-powered committee to function.

In this connection, it is shocking that the Law Minister, Subramaniam Swamy has announced that the Attorney General advised that the Committee has lapsed. This clearly shows that efforts are being made by the Law Minister and the Chandra Shekhar Government to interfere in the proceeding before the Supreme Court and to defend a Judge against whom the constitutional machinery has been set in motion to inquire into charges of corruption. The CPI(M) condemns the blatant interference in the authority of the Supreme Court and the powers and privileges of the Speaker and Parliament. The process to preserve the incorruptibility of the high judiciary must not be allowed to be impeded.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 12, 1991

Stop Nefarious Moves in Bihar*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated May 6, 1991, condemning Chandra Shekhar Government's intentions in Bihar

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) warns the Chandra Shekhar Government not to pursue its nefarious moves to topple the Laloo Prasad Yadav Government in Bihar. While steps to ensure a free and fair poll in the State by the Election Commission in cooperation with the State Government are welcome, the Chandra Shekhar Government has no *locus standi* for interfering in the election process by demanding the dismissal of the Janata Dal Government there. Such a move is unprecedented in the constitutional and electoral history of the country and will not be tolerated by the people of the Country.

The Polit Bureau appeals to the President of India to ensure that all such talk is put an end to so that the defectors' Government at the Centre is told clearly the limits of its power and responsibilities.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 12, 1991

Polit Bureau Condemns Ghazipur Murder*

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the killing of three CPI cadres who were engaged in electioneering work in Ghazipur Lok Sabha seat in Uttar Pradesh. They were waylaid and cold-bloodedly murdered by armed goondas.

This incidence shows how criminal violence is threatening to vitiate the poll campaign. The Polit Bureau demands that the Uttar Pradesh Government take effective steps to check such anti-social activity and take firm action against the culprits responsible for the murders.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 12, 1991

Polit Bureau on Bangladesh Cyclone Tragedy*

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) is deeply grieved at the loss of tens of thousands of lives and the massive destruction of property in Bangladesh due to the severe cyclone storm. The latest reports indicate that the toll of lives runs into lakhs. The CPI(M) conveys its heartfelt condolence to the people of Bangladesh who have suffered this terrible tragedy. The CPI(M) urges upon the Government of India to rush large-scale relief materials and render other assistance to the Government and people of Bangladesh. The Polit Bureau calls upon all Party units and mass organizations to collect money and send it to the West Bengal State Committee of the CPI(M) for relief work.

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Best Wishes to CPI(M) for Elections*

Message sent by SEAN GARLAND, General Secretary of the Workers' Party of Ireland to the Communist Party of India (Marxist) on the eve of Lok Sabha elections-1991

Recognising the most difficult and complex task you have, we of the Workers' Party of Ireland send our most sincere fraternal greetings and best wishes for success in the coming general election

We have a deep understanding of your struggle to achieve and defend the unity of India, to promote and advance the interest of the Indian working class and to defeat the many sectarian elements who seek to divide and exploit the Indian people.

We believe that your successes in recent years have been achieved because the people know and understand the CPI(M) is their Party and that the Party will not betray their trust

We know that your Party has suffered and its members made many sacrifices, even of life itself, to build and advance the Party in India. Such sacrifices will bring reward in Parliament, and we are confident that the forthcoming election will see your Party emerge stronger than ever before

We salute you and all your members and wish you great success in these elections

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Congress(I) Hoodlums Attack Jyoti Basu*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemns it in its statement dated May 14, 1991, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the attack on West Bengal Chief Minister Jyoti Basu's convoy by Congress(I) hoodlums. While Jyoti Basu was travelling from Suri to Rampurhat in Birbhum district last evening, armed Congress(I) gangs attacked the convoy and injured one security personnel.

This dastardly attack only betrays the Congress(I) desperation in West Bengal. Failing to enlist public support the Congress(I) is indulging in such criminal activities. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) warns the Congress(I) that the people of the country, particularly the people of West Bengal, will not tolerate such attacks. The CPI(M) appeals to all the democratic and secular forces to come forward to denounce such hooliganism.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 19, 1991

CPI(M) Condemns Assassination of Rajiv Gandhi*

Polit Bureau issued statement dated May 21, 1991 conveying condolence and deep sympathy to his family members

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India(Marxist) is terribly shocked and grieved at the dastardly assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, former Prime Minister and President of Indian National Congress. This heinous act has been committed by the enemies of the country who want to destabilize India.

The country has been plunged into a critical situation. The Polit Bureau appeals to all patriotic forces and all sections of the people to realize the gravity of the situation with the assassination of a national leader like Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

The Polit Bureau conveys its heartfelt condolence and deep sympathy with Smt. Sonia Gandhi, his daughter and son and other members of his family.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 26, 1991

Polit Bureau on Partisan Attitude of CEC*

Statement dated May 18, 1991, issued to Press recording protest against CEC's partisanship

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly criticises the stand of the Election Commission in warning the West Bengal Government that in two Lok Sabha constituencies, Calcutta North-East and Jhargram, "unacceptable failure of law and order are occurring." In a letter to the State Government, the Chief Election Commissioner has also painted the picture of large-scale violence and "well designed plans afoot in some of the areas for booth capturing" He warned that the Commission may be constrained to take some substantive steps before, during or after the poll

The Chief Election Commissioner has taken similar measure targetting Bihar also This is an unprecedented step taken by the Elections Commission which is totally partisan The CEC has gone to the extent of falsely alleging that West Bengal has a history of poll violence and rigging in the past The disturbing attitude of the Election Commission, and the CEC in particular, shows a pronounced bias against the State Governments ruled by the Left parties and the National Front

This becomes glaringly evident when the attitude of the Election Commission to Tripura and Andhra Pradesh are compared to West Bengal and Bihar In the case of Tripura, ever since the poll notification, the Election Commission has been deaf and blind to the blatant attacks on the CPI(M) and the Left parties and the large-scale administrative

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malpractices indulged in by the Congress(I)-TUJS Government. The fact that over 200 people were hospitalized due to attacks on a CPI(M) rally on May 6, is obviously of no concern to the CEC.

In the case of Andhra Pradesh, it is amazing that Mr. Seshan has maintained that the spate of murders and kidnappings "are not poll related violence." The only conclusion to be drawn is that there are different standards applicable for the Congress(I) ruled States in the eyes of the Election Commission.

The repeated pronouncements of the Chief Election Commissioner, that the elections will be cancelled or deferred in States like West Bengal and Bihar are only encouraging those interested in disrupting the polls to indulge in violence and create law and order problems. The CPI(M) appeals to the Election Commission not to damage its credibility and impartiality by resorting to such measures which appear biased and unwarranted.

Attack on Kanpur CPI(M) Election Office*

Polit Bureau condemned it by issuing statement dated May 19, 1991, to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the attack on the central election office of the CPI(M) candidate, Subhashini Ali, in Kanpur. This morning (May 19) a crowd of BJP hoodlums gathered outside the office and, without any provocation, attacked the office and set it on fire, and brutally assaulted one of the CPI(M) workers present in the office.

On May 18, the *Jan Natya Manch* street-theatre group from Delhi, which was performing on behalf of the CPI(M) in the Rambagh area of the city, was threatened with country-made pistols and knives by BJP men, and prevented from staging their performance. The BJP-VHP-RSS men in Kanpur are desperately trying to disrupt the poll campaign of the CPI(M).

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) demands of the State election authorities and the district administration that they take effective steps to curb the BJP's vandalism and arrest those culprits responsible for the attack on the CPI(M) election office.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 26, 1991

Polit Bureau on Violence in Varanasi*

Statement dated May 19, 1991, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its concern at the efforts to instigate communal violence by the BJP in Varanasi. The incidents on May 18 in the city led to the death of one person and injuries to many others. It may be recalled that during the 1989 elections also Varanasi city was affected by communal riots. The blatant communal propaganda being made on behalf of the BJP candidate, S C Dixit, has led to a surcharged atmosphere.

The CPI(M) demands of the State and district election authorities proper security for the minority voters in the city and special arrangements for the deployment of Central security forces in those areas of Varanasi city where the minorities are being sought to be terrorized by the BJP-VHP communal offensive.

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Condolence on Comrade S.A. Dange*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated May 22, 1991, to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) mourns the passing away of Comrade S A Dange. He was one of the pioneers of the Communist Party and the trade union movement in India. He played an important role in developing the working class movement in Bombay in the 1920s and 1930s.

Comrade Dange was tried in the Kanpur Conspiracy case and the Meerut Conspiracy case by the British for his anti-imperialist activities and spent many years in jail. He served in many leading positions in the united CPI. After the split in the Party in 1964, he continued as the Chairman of the National Council of the CPI till 1979.

The Polit Bureau conveys its heartfelt condolences to his daughter Rosa Deshpande and other members of his family.

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Polit Bureau's Statement on Election*

BJP's Use of Violence to Scare away Voters in Uttar Pradesh

The BJP's game plan has become clear on the first day of polling in Uttar Pradesh. In the cities, minorities are being terrorized to prevent their voting. In Varanasi Lok Sabha constituency, reports of widespread booth capturing, intimidation of polling agents of the CPI(M) and prevention of Muslim voters from casting votes have come in from the city area. In the City (North) Assembly segment in the Jaiswal Inter College polling station, BJP men indulged in bomb attacks and burnt all the polling camps of non-BJP candidates. Muslim voters have been prevented from going to the polling stations. Similarly in Arya Mahila Inter College polling station area, minorities have been terrorized and bogus votes are being cast.

Under the City (South) Assembly constituency in the Bangale Tola Inter College polling station area, there have been three incidents of stabbing and booth capturing. Booth capturing has taken place in Durgacharan Girls Inter College polling station with Muslim voters of Madanpura not being able to cast their votes. In the Sanathan Dharam College polling station, bomb attacks have taken place. Booth capturing has also taken place in Choti Pearay polling station and Muslims are not being allowed to vote. Other affected polling stations are Agrasen Balika Vidyalaya polling station, Jwala polling station and Harsundari Dharmashala polling

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 26, 1991
Polit Bureau's Statement was dated May 20, 1991

station where voters have been threatened with guns and stone-throwing. Despite repeated complaints to district authorities, no action was taken. The police has connived with the BJP candidate, S. C. Dixit, former DGP.

The CPI(M) has already complained to the Chief Election Commissioner and demanded cancellation of polling in all the affected booths and re-poll ordered.

The BJP has similarly prevented minority voters in Meerut from casting their votes and launched attacks on them leading to communal clashes, arson and imposition of curfew in the town. In Kanpur, the continuous inflammatory propaganda by the BJP-VHP-RSS resulted in the communal clashes in the city yesterday (May 19). Already seven people have been killed. There was an unprovoked attack on the CPI(M) central election office which was set on fire. It must be noted that Ritambhara made a blatantly provocative speech at Kanpur on May 14 which heightened tensions in the city. Curfew is existing in certain parts of the city which is hampering the poll campaign. The CPI(M) demands that immediate steps be taken by the district authorities and the State Government to restore normalcy so that the curfew can be lifted in the city and normal poll campaign resumed for the polling on May 26.

It is no coincidence that both in Varanasi and Kanpur, communal clashes have taken place, instigated by the BJP as in both these constituencies, CPI(M) candidates, supported by the Janata Dal-Left combination, are strongly countering their inflammatory propaganda and exposing their game. The BJP's tactics is to resort to violence to terrorize the minorities and prevent them from casting votes as in Varanasi and Meerut.

Bihar : Countermand Poll in Purnea

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) demands the countermanding of the poll in Purnea Lok Sabha constituency in Bihar. All reports show there have been widespread booth capturing in all the Assembly segments of the constituency by

armed gangs of the notorious anti-social Rajesh Ranjan alias Pappu Yadav, an independent candidate. Candidates of all national political parties from this constituency have approached the District Magistrate to call off the elections here.

West Bengal

The Polit Bureau congratulates the people of West Bengal for the smooth and peaceful polling which has taken place in the State. The Congress(I) has sought in some places to provoke incidents and vitiate the polling but this has been foiled and a good turn out has taken place.

Peace Must Be Maintained*

**Appeal made by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)
in a statement issued on May 22, 1991**

In this hour of tragedy when the entire country is mourning the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, it is essential that all sides exercise restraint and keep the people united. A heavy responsibility devolves on all political parties.

It is unfortunate that at this crucial juncture some elements are out to give partisan expression to the grief of the people and are trying to settle political scores.

The Polit Bureau views with serious concern reports of widespread attacks in Tripura on CPI(M) offices, residences of CPI(M) leaders and mass organizations' offices. Many incidents have taken place in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh which have led to curfew in some places in Andhra Pradesh. The situation is tense also with some attacks in Orissa and Maharashtra. Some elements are seeking to target prominent political parties, their leaders and cadres. In Kerala and West Bengal also there have been sporadic instances of violence directed against the CPI(M) and the Left parties.

The CPI(M) Polit Bureau appeals to the Congress(I) leadership to ensure that their supporters exercise restraint given the serious situation. The Polit Bureau calls upon the Central and State Governments to be vigilant and put down efforts of anti-socials to exploit the people's anger. All patriotic forces must give paramount importance to the country's interests and strive their utmost to maintain peace and the people's unity.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 26, 1991

CPI(M) Condemns Attack on Party Office in Madurai*

Polit Bureau issued statement dated May 22, 1991 to Press

The CPI(M) has condemned the attack by hooligans on the office of its daily newspaper *Theekathir* in Madurai. On Tuesday, a mob ransacked the office, burnt the newspaper's car and set fire to the shed storing newsprint. The hooligans also stabbed veteran leader of the CPI(M) R. Ramraj, member of the Tamil Nadu State Committee of the Party. He has been hospitalized. Another State Committee member, Arunan, also sustained a head injury in the attack.

This sort of goondaism has to be strictly curbed by the authorities. The Party appeals to all sections of the people to condemn such disruptive violence at a time when the country is plunged in grief due to the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, May 26, 1991

Massacre of 14 Workers by Police Firing in Dalla Cement Factory in Uttar Pradesh*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated June 4, 1991, condemning the massacre

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the massacre of fourteen workers by police firing at the Dalla Cement Factory on June 2, at Sonebhadra, Uttar Pradesh. The workers of this factory which was owned by the U P State Cement Corporation, have been conducting a prolonged struggle against the decision of the U P State Government to sell the factory to a private management. Despite the united protests of all the unions in the factory, including the CITU union, the U P Government went ahead with the transfer of the management to private owners. The protesting workers were brutally mowed down on the day the private management was to be handed over the factory. Among those killed was the CITU leader of the factory, Comrade Ram Pyare Kushwaha. It is feared that the death toll is higher and the local authorities are suppressing the facts. Scores of workers have suffered bullet injuries and are hospitalized.

These ghastly killings are the direct result of the U P Government's anti-worker policy of privatization and refusal to heed the voice of the workers and the major trade unions.

The Polit Bureau demands a judicial enquiry into the firing, immediate disciplinary action against the police officials responsible for this black deed and adequate compensation to all those killed and injured. The U P

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 9, 1991

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Government must cancel its decision to privatize the State-owned undertaking

The Polit Bureau conveyed its heartfelt condolences to the families of all the workers who have lost their lives in this struggle.

CPI(M) Decides to Withdraw from Tripura Elections*

Polit Bureau issued statement dated June 8, 1991 to Press explaining Party's stand

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) denounces the decision of the Election Commission not to postpone the elections in Tripura in the wake of the unprecedented violence unleashed by the Congress(I) in the State. The Election Commission has rejected all the requests accompanied by detailed documentary evidence made by the CPI(M) and the Left Front and other Opposition candidates to hold the elections at a later date. By this decision, the Election Commission and the Chief Election Commissioner have ensured to totally rigged polls in an atmosphere of intimidation and grave threats to the lives and properties of non-Congress(I) workers.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) announces the withdrawal of the CPI(M) candidates from the elections to the Lok Sabha seats in Tripura scheduled to be held on June 12. The Polit Bureau has endorsed the decision of the Tripura State Committee of the CPI(M) and the Tripura Left Front, who have been forced to withdraw from the election campaign and the polling, in view of the large-scale terror and violence directed against the CPI(M) and the Left parties.

The CPI(M) and the Left parties did their best to convince the Election Commission that the date of polling has to be postponed, given the widespread attacks and dislocation of normal life in the State since May 22. Using the pretext of Rajiv Gandhi's tragic assassination, an orgy of violence was let loose which led to scores of CPI(M) and

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 16, 1991

Opposition parties' offices being destroyed, over a thousand houses ransacked or gutted, hundreds of shops set on fire and seven CPI(M) workers killed. Even now, reports are coming in from remote areas of the destruction wrought by the Congress(I) hooliganism. Opponents of the Congress(I) are not allowed to do political work, not to speak of campaigning.

Conducting the polling on June 12 would only mean reducing the elections to a farce and depriving the people of their right to vote. No measures, other than postponement, will ensure a free and fair poll, since the Congress(I)-led State Government is instigating and sponsoring the terror and has made preparations for outright rigging.

Unfortunately, the Election Commission had refused to discharge its responsibilities in this regard and failed to postpone the polls which it is empowered to do under the Representation of the People's Act.

The Tripura State unit of the CPI(M) has fought valiantly for the past 40 months to defend democracy in the face of the unprecedented semi-fascist terror. Over 200 comrades and supporters of the Party have been killed in this period. Hundreds of women have suffered rape and other atrocities during this period. Thousands of families have had to leave their homes. Despite all this, the Party and the Left forces struggled and participated in the electoral process after the manipulation of the 1988 Assembly elections. They bore the brunt of rigging and goonda attacks in the subsequent elections—the 1989 Lok Sabha elections, the Assembly by-elections, and the 1990 Tripura Autonomous District Council elections. The experience of these elections confirmed that no free and fair poll is possible in the State with Congress(I)-TUJS Government in power.

The CPI(M) has now decided that in the absence of any semblance of law and order and security for the candidates, workers and the ordinary voters, there is no other option left except to refrain from participation in order to save precious lives and property.

This is no doubt not an easy decision. The Communist movement in Tripura struck deep roots among the people from the days of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle. Today, despite the semi-fascist terror, the Party and the Left have the support of the majority of the people, both tribal and non-tribal. The desperation of the Congress(I)-organized anti-social acts, reflects their losing support among the people. We are confident that all sections of the people of Tripura and democratic public opinion in the country will understand and fully support our act of protest.

This act of withdrawal is a strong indictment of the Congress(I)-TUJS coalition Government with its black record of jungle raj; it is a blot on the Chief Secretary and the State Administration who are conniving in the illegal acts of this Government. It is equally a telling comment on the probity of the Election Commission which has consistently refused to intervene to safeguard the Constitution and parliamentary democracy in Tripura.

The events in Tripura expose once again the authoritarian and anti-democratic face of the Congress(I). Its all-India leadership has condoned the crimes that have been perpetrated on the people of Tripura.

The Polit Bureau is confident that the Tripura CPI(M) unit, the Left parties, the mass organizations and all sections of the people in the State will continue the struggle to save democracy and will organize popular resistance to the black deeds of the Congress(I)-TUJS coalition Government. The Left and democratic forces in the country will render them all support and solidarity in this task.

CEC's Double Standard, Arbitrary Functioning*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) record protest by issuing statement dated June 6, 1991 to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly protests the arbitrary and partisan style of functioning of the Election Commission and the Chief Election Commissioner. We have been informed that yesterday, the Election Commission decided to order repoll in 34 booths in the Howrah parliamentary constituency in West Bengal. This is an astonishing and partial decision in the light of the fact that neither the Central Observer who personally visited the constituency on the polling day nor the polling officials concerned have reported any malpractices.

It is obvious that this decision has been influenced by the bogus complaints launched by the Congress(I) candidate, Priya Ranjan Das Munshi, who was facing certain defeat, and due to the Congress(I) pressure. It is noteworthy that polling in these 34 booths was peaceful, smooth and heavy with no disturbances whatsoever.

The Election Commission owes an explanation for this inexplicable act. Mr T N Seshan announced yesterday (June 5) that repoll in more seats which went to the polls on May 20, is not ruled out. The fact that in Howrah repolling has been ordered after three weeks of the polling without any basis for such a decision, is an ominous indication of how the Election Commission proposes to function. Its double standard is evident considering the fact that not a word has been said or a step taken in the past three months to check

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the Congress(I) terror and brazen activities to vitiate the poll in Tripura

The CPI(M) demands that the Election Commission immediately rescind the order for repolling in Howrah. It should hear all the candidates and parties concerned and divulge the basis for this unwarranted decision.

CPI(M) Condemns U.S. Threat*

**Polit Bureau issued statement dated June 15, 1991
to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly denounces the latest threat issued by U S imperialism to condition bilateral aid to India to a U S Presidential certification that India does not possess nuclear weapons as of October 1991

This decision of the U S House of Representatives has put under question the developmental aid of 22 million U S dollars for fiscal year 1992, though yet to be endorsed by the U S. Senate What is at stake is not this paltry amount but the dignity and self-respect of independent India Earlier in 1989, the U S administration attempted to browbeat India, by this very method, to acquiesce to U S interests and sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty The signing of this would have meant depriving India of the right to defend its security while allowing U S nuclear monopoly in the region particularly through Pakistan This would pose grave security threats to India U S imperialism is once again seeking to exert such pressures

These pressures must be squarely met to safeguard India's independence, security and sovereignty

It is unfortunate that both the Government of India and the Congress(I) have taken this threat lightly Fortright condemnation is necessary against these U.S. pressures This U.S. measure must be seen in the background of the imperialist efforts to gain further foothold in the subcontinent Earlier, the Government of India failed to react against the

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landing of thousands of U S combat marines in Bangladesh under the pretext of providing relief to cyclone ravaged areas

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon the people of India to protest against this move and to unitedly face this new challenge of U S. imperialism to our country and the region

Brutal Massacre of Rail Passengers In Punjab by Khalistani Terrorists on June 15, 1991*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated June 16, 1991, to Press condemning the massacre

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) is shocked and distressed at the brutal massacre of around 100 railway passengers in Punjab on the night of June 15. Many have sustained injuries. The Khalistani terrorists perpetrated this atrocity by attacking two trains in Ludhiana district in separate incidents

The criminal gangs who have massacred the innocent people, targetted those passengers who belong to the minority community in the State in a diabolical attempt to create communal conflicts. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) appeals to the people of Punjab and the rest of country not to be provoked by such vile tactics and maintain communal peace and uphold the cause of national unity.

This horrific incident exposes the utter failure of the Government to ensure minimum security for the lives of people in the State. The primary duty of the Government is to provide security to the people of Punjab. Instead, it is indulging in callous rhetoric about the restoration of the democratic process. The incident strikingly reveals the utter untenability of holding election on June 22. The Chief Election Commissioner, who has been prompt in intervening in imagined malpractices in the polls elsewhere in the country, is failing to exercise his responsibility to prevent an electoral farce being conducted in the State. The President of India has also failed to act in the face of the Government's intransigence.

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The Polit Bureau once again urges the Election Commission to postpone the elections in Punjab. It appeals to all the political parties to give up narrow considerations of winning a few seats and unite to counter the secessionist menace which is wreaking havoc in Punjab, and to create conditions for the real democratic process to be restored.

Greetings to Communist Party of Vietnam's Seventh Congress*

Sent by Central Committee of the CPI(M)

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its warm revolutionary fraternal greetings to the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam

This Congress is meeting at a very critical moment in human history. While, on the one hand, the prospects of averting a nuclear holocaust has emerged stronger, on the other, the developments in the East Europe constitute a severe setback to the forces of world Socialism.

While the tensions in Europe have reduced, the situation in other parts of the world continue to remain critical. A new aggressiveness is being displayed by U.S. imperialism, particularly after the U.S. war in the Gulf. In the Asia-Pacific region, U.S. military bases continue to be strengthened. New brazen interference in the affairs of independent countries are also being stepped up. CPI(M) joins the progressive forces the world over to strengthen the struggle for peace, independence, democracy, and social progress.

Comrades,

The Communist Party of India(Marxist) has been closely following the measures being taken by Communist Party of Vietnam to reform and strengthen the Socialist society and economy.

We emphatically underline the fact that any dynamic

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Socialist society will have to constantly undertake reforms in order to deepen and strengthen the Socialist society. We note that Socialist Vietnam under the leadership of the Communist Party is correctly undertaking such reforms within the framework of Marxism-Leninism and Socialism.

Travelling on an hitherto uncharted path, the Socialist countries did commit serious errors and departures from Marxism-Leninism. While these have to be corrected and measures taken to prevent their repetition, it would be a gross error to negate the achievements of Socialism in the name of correcting these mistakes, an error which will provide the enemies of Socialism with new weapons to further strengthen their attacks— an error that humanity, as a whole, may have to pay for very dearly.

Concrete analysis of concrete conditions constitutes the living essence of Marxism. But the history of world Socialism and our own experience are witness to the fact that in the name of concrete analysis, the fundamental tenets of proletarian revolution and proletarian internationalism are unfortunately being abandoned by some contingents of the international Communist movement. On the other hand, in the name of adhering to the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism, a dogmatic interpretation arose resulting in ignoring its creative application to concrete conditions. The consequent distortions, on both counts, continued to take their toll.

Notwithstanding the imperialist controlled media blitz denouncing Communism, the CPI(M) is convinced that capitalism cannot be the answer to the distortions of Socialism. Capitalism, a socio-economic system based on the exploitation of man by man and nation by nation, can never redeem the yearning for liberation and emancipation. Despite serious setbacks and reverses, the struggle for liberation from the fetters of exploitation will not only continue but is bound to intensify.

At this crucial moment and in this context, we are confident that the deliberations of this Congress will strengthen the reaffirmation of the Socialist choice and the resolve to strengthen the struggle for the emancipation of mankind.

Comrades,

The Communist Party of Vietnam has glorious revolutionary traditions which continue to inspire the peoples the world over in the struggle for emancipation. The sterling role played by your Party in organising the revolutionary movement in Indo-China was the guiding light for the peoples of colonial countries. Your activities since the Party's foundation in 1930, the heroic struggle against French colonialism and later the glorious struggle against American imperialism have echoed a spirit of solidarity in the world which has been unprecedented. For the people of India, your history of struggles is a continuous source of inspiration. It remains in our memory.

In continuation of these traditions, we are confident that the deliberations of this Congress will further advance the struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people to consolidate, modernise and strengthen Socialism in Vietnam.

The Communist Party of India(Marxist) wishes the Communist Party of Vitenam all success in the reforms that will be undertaken to renovate and develop Socialism further.

The CPI(M) attaches great importance to the further strengthening of fraternal relations between our two Parties. The strengthening of these relations reflect the common aspiration of peoples of the developing countries for a correct ideological orientation of the struggles for social progress.

The CPI(M) is confident that the legacy of immortal Communist leaders like Ho Chi Minh and many others will be carried forward with renewed vigour.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its revolutionary greetings to all delegates to your Congress, all members of Communist Party of Vietnam and wishes the Congress deliberations all success.

*Central Committee
Communist Party of India
(Marxist)*

CPI(M) Condemns Akali Leader's Murder*

Polit Bureau issued statement dated June 18, 1991 to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) condemns the murder of Shivinder Singh, former MP, and candidate of the Akali Dal (Badal Group) from Faridkot. He was killed in a bomb blast while campaigning near Muktsar today. He is the 24th candidate to be killed during the election campaign in Punjab. In Ludhiana, last night, terrorists continuously opened fire on one of the main roads and three persons were injured. All this is happening in spite of the deployment of the army.

We have been repeatedly warning about the danger to the lives of candidates, political workers and ordinary citizens in Punjab because the Government has miserably failed to provide adequate protection for the polls to be held on June 22.

The extremists are openly announcing and pasting posters threatening anyone who will dare to vote. This is causing panic among the people.

Further loss of lives must be prevented. The Polit Bureau appeals to the Election Commission even now, to defer the polls and save Punjab from disaster.

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Polit Bureau Urges Postponement of Election in Punjab*

Statement dated June 15, 1991, issued to Press

The entire State of Punjab has been declared a disturbed area and the army has been deployed all over the State. This underlines the gravity of the situation in the State while the election process is on and in the light of the CEC's earlier categorical statement that the army will not be utilized during the polls. This action belies the claim of the Chandra Shekhar Government that the democratic process is being restored.

This decision only confirms the stand taken by the CPI(M) that no semblance of elections is possible in the present conditions in Punjab. The only way to undertake elections in the State is to completely delink it from the polls in the rest of the country.

The Chandra Shekhar Government is responsible for grave dereliction of duty and is motivated by narrow considerations in its insistence to go ahead with the polls on June 22. It has taken this stand ignoring the views of all the major political parties.

The BJP by reversing its earlier stand for postponing the elections is displaying crass opportunism. In its desire to win a few seats, it will only be providing a pretext for the extremists to capture the Assembly and legitimizing the farce of elections.

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Polit Bureau Urges Postponement of Election 549

The Polit Bureau once again urges the Election Commission to take all the circumstances into account and exercise its powers under the Representation of People's Act and announce the postponement of the polls in Punjab

Homage to Comrade Kunjachan*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated June 14, 1991, to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep sorrow at the untimely demise of Comrade P.K. Kunjachan, Central Committee member of the Party, on June 14, 1991 at Trivandrum (now Thiruvananthapuram) Comrade Kunjachan was a sitting member of the Rajya Sabha from Kerala, General Secretary of the All India Agricultural Workers' Union, a member of the Kerala State Secretariat of the CPI(M) and a member of the National Rural Labour Commission.

Born on October, 20, 1925, in an agricultural worker's family, he studied up to the Intermediate class when he joined the trade union movement in 1945. He first became the Joint Secretary of the Kerala Transport Workers' Union. He was most active also in organising the struggles of agricultural workers in the Kuttanad area and had spent a number of years in jail, as also three years underground. He faced courageously many physical attacks by the police and goondas in the course of many struggles. He later became Secretary of the Kerala State Agricultural Workers' Union. He joined the Communist Party in 1947. At the time of the split in the Party, he firmly stood with the CPI(M). He has been a member of Kerala State Committee from 1967 onwards and of the Central Committee of the CPI(M) from 1989 onwards.

He was the General Secretary of the All India Agricultural Workers' Union from its inception in 1981 and had

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played a very significant role in the development of the agricultural workers' movement, especially in the struggle to unite all Left and democratic agricultural workers' organizations to raise the demand for Central legislation for agricultural workers on the Kerala pattern

He was one of the most militant fighters of the working class and agricultural workers' struggles in Kerala. He was a member of the Legislative Assembly in Kerala for a number of years and was one of the moving spirits behind the hutment-dwellers' movement of 1970-71.

Even recently, though suffering from so many serious illness, he campaigned vigorously for the Left and Democratic Front in the recent elections right up to the time he was hospitalized with serious kidney trouble and bone cancer. As a staunch revolutionary, his selfless example in the service of the most downtrodden and oppressed sections of the Indian people will always be an inspiration.

The Polit Bureau extends its deepest sympathy to his wife and two children. The Polit Bureau pays homage to the memory of Comrade Kunjachan.

CPI(M) Condemns U.S. Interference*

Polit Bureau issued statement dated June 24, 1991 to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the amendment adopted by the U.S. House of Representatives which asks the U.S. Government to teach the Indian armed forces the importance of observing human rights

This amendment was passed in connection with an allocation of 3,45,000 dollars for a military training programme for members of the Indian armed forces in the USA

The amendment has other obnoxious features, which under the pretext of concern for human rights, constitutes a serious interference in the internal affairs of India in relation to Kashmir and Punjab

The USA has no right to lecture India or other Third World countries about human rights, after its own black record of butchery of Iraqi civilians and soldiers and its brazen interference to subvert democratic Governments around the world

The Indian Government must reject this attitude of imperial arrogance. It must strongly protest against this insult to India and its people. It must withdraw from the military training programme in the USA which will obviously be used to subvert the loyalties of Indian army officers

The Polit Bureau appeals to all political parties and all sections of public opinion to protest against this latest act of imperialist interference in our internal affairs.

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Central Committee Appeal—Funds for Tripura*

The semi-fascist terror let loose by the Congress(I)-TUIJS coalition Government in Tripura since February 1988, has recently been intensified several times and has turned the small North-Eastern State of 27 lakhs of people into almost an enemy-occupied territory

The latest waves of attacks were launched immediately following the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, and continue even till today. Fourteen CPI(M) workers and supporters have been killed, hundreds seriously injured, and more than a thousand shops and residential houses ransacked, arsoned and gutted, destroying properties worth crores of rupees. Thousands have fled into the jungles or nearby hills to save their lives. Due to this forcible political conversion, thousands have become refugees in their own State. Small shopkeepers have had their petty shops burnt and have thus lost their livelihood. Agricultural labour and *jumias* have no work. Workers are not in a position to report for duty lest they are attacked and murdered. Most of the Party offices have been set on fire and damaged. Thus fundamental rights, including parliamentary rights and even the right to life, have been taken away.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) in its meeting held on June 21 and 22, decided to appeal to all the State Committees of the CPI(M) throughout the country to come to the aid of the thousands thus affected by Congress(I)

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depredations in Tripura, and extend whatever relief is possible under the circumstances. All State Committees are, therefore, requested to organize campaigns for funds as quickly as possible, and remit them to the Tripura State Committee. In the present situation this task has become extremely urgent and the Polit Bureau hopes that our State Committees will attach the greatest urgency to this appeal and rise to the occasion, to extend a helping hand to our suffering Tripura comrades.

Central Committee Communique*

Central Committee of the CPI(M) after its meeting held on June 21-22, 1991, issued this communique on June 24, 1991

The elections to the Tenth Lok Sabha were held under extraordinary circumstances, when the country faced a multi-faceted crisis affecting all spheres—political, economic and social

The tragic assassination of Rajiv Gandhi only compounded the situation, sharply exposing the attempts being made by U S imperialism to destabilize our country. The Central Committee of the CPI(M) congratulates the people of India for successfully completing the election process under these difficult circumstances, and thanks all those who voted for the CPI(M), the Left and its allies. It calls upon all patriotic Indians to strengthen the struggle against these machinations.

These elections, being held within 16 months of the 1989 Lok Sabha elections, followed the unprecedented challenge of the communal danger. Widespread riots have taken a heavy toll of lives. This is the result of the inflammatory rousing of communal passions by the BJP and its other communal outfits. This serious challenge to the secular basis of India's polity comes at a time when the threats to national unity have reached alarming proportions, with Kashmir being in a state of secessionist insurgency, and the situation in Punjab having been further aggravated by the moves of the Chandra Shekhar Government. The economic crisis has reached a flashpoint. The country is facing bankruptcy. People's hardships are mounting through unprecedented inflation and growing unemployment.

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Hung Parliament Once Again

The elections taking place in this background, have once again produced a hung Parliament. The Congress(I) going into the campaign with its main slogan of stability, could win only 54 out of the 204 seats that went to the poll on May 20. Following Rajiv Gandhi's assassination and the consequent sympathy that it generated for the Congress(I), saw the latter remarkably improve its ratings and emerge as the single largest party in Parliament. It is a reflection of the deep crisis engulfing our country that despite the sympathy, the Congress(I) could not win an absolute majority. The naked terror unleashed by the Congress(I) Government in Tripura only highlighted the authoritarian character of the party. It unashamedly exploited the tragic assassination for narrow partisan electoral benefit in Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu etc., at a time when the people had to be united to squarely face the challenge posed by those who are out to destabilize our country. These have further exposed the bankrupt Congress(I) policies.

Rising Communal Danger

Notwithstanding the dismal performance of the BJP in the the three States where it runs the Governments, it has been a gainer in these elections taking the country as a whole, having won 123 (four Shiv Sena) seats, and coming second in 128 seats. Its overall percentage of votes has gone up to around 20 per cent as compared to 11.4 per cent in 1989, making a major breakthrough in UP, by winning the assembly elections. With tremendous unexplained monetary resources at its command, utilizing all available methods of propaganda, and unleashing a frenzied communal campaign, the BJP managed to secure these victories. The ground-level campaign run by the various communal outfits spewed venom and hatred against the minorities and advocated a Hindu *Rashtra*.

This sharply brings out the danger that the communal forces pose to the very secular foundations of the Indian

Union Unless this challenge is unitedly faced by the Left, democratic and secular forces, the very unity and integrity of this multi-religious, multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic country is in grave danger

National Front–Left Front

The NF-JD performance has not been up to expectations. The JD's reverses in U P and in the south has brought down its expected tally. It must, however, be noted that the JD achieved remarkable successes in Bihar, routing both the Congress(I) and the BJP. It was the only force which could put up a fight against the BJP in U P. with the Congress(I) having flopped at the hustings.

The CPI(M) and the Left have maintained their position in the Lok Sabha with a minor improvement. The outstanding performance has been in West Bengal where the CPI(M)-led Left Front has once again, for the fourth successive term, swept the State Assembly polls, capturing more than three-fourths of the seats and conceding only five of the 42 parliamentary seats to the Congress(I). The Central Committee has congratulated the people of West Bengal, the State unit of the CPI(M) and the Left Front for this record creditable performance.

Of the 58 seats that the CPI(M) effectively contested to the Lok Sabha, it has won 35.

The results in Kerala have been a disappointment. The CPI(M)-led LDF was expected to be re-elected with a majority to the State Assembly. The sympathy generated by Rajiv Gandhi's assassination manifested itself in a marginal increase in the UDF vote, enabling it to increase its tally of seats in a big way. The difference between the two Fronts in terms of votes was only 2.6 per cent. The LDF's percentage of votes went up from 44.9 per cent in 1987, to 45.9 per cent, but the UDF vote went up from 44.3 per cent to 48.5 per cent. Another important reason for the LDF's defeat was the opportunistic link up between the Congress(I) and the BJP, similar to what had happened in the 1989 Lok Sabha

elections The Congress(I), following its record of compromises with communal forces, put together a casteist and communal UDF which aligned with both the BJP and the Muslim League As compared to the 1989 elections, the BJP vote in the State went down by 19 per cent, even though it contested more seats This unprincipled understanding between the BJP and the Congress(I) is exposed by the fact that it is only in Kerala that the BJP vote percentage has dropped, while it has gone up in all other States

The CPI(M) and the Left which have been the most consistent fighters against authoritarianism, communalism and separatism, have been the target of those forces which are out to destroy the unity and integrity of our country The unprecedented terror unleashed by the Congress(I) in Tripura forced the CPI(M) to abstain from the elections. In Punjab, the continued killings by the terrorists created an atmosphere where free and fair election was made totally impossible The CPI(M) had, therefore, decided to withdraw from the elections here as well. If the CPI(M)'s proposals had been accepted, many a life could have been saved and the democratic process restored in the State Now that the elections have been postponed, the Government must ensure that all steps are taken for a free and fair poll

Role of the Election Commission

Despite a series of representations, the CEC, after the assassination, reneged its earlier understanding and refused to accept the proposal of the CPI(M) to delink the Punjab elections from those in the rest of the country, in order to provide adequate security and time for a proper political campaign With regard to Tripura, the Election Commission was blatantly partisan in refusing to recognize the reality that free and fair elections could not be held. It refused to postpone elections despite concrete evidence of the naked terror unleashed by the Congress(I) Many were murdered, hundreds had to leave their homes, and property worth crores was destroyed Beside the CPI(M), the BJP and independent

(one an Editor of the largest circulated vernacular daily) candidates withdrew from the elections. It must be recalled that nine top IAS officers had earlier written to the CEC that free and fair elections were not possible.

What was stranger was the fact that despite innumerable complaints, no repolling was ordered in the Varanasi parliamentary constituency while without any official complaint from the Returning Officer, repolling was ordered in the Howrah parliamentary constituency in West Bengal. There are many other instances of such unjust and blatantly partisan decisions of the CEC particularly in relation to Bihar. The Central Committee of the CPI(M) goes on record to protest against this gross abuse in the functioning of the Election Commission.

The Minority Congress(I) Government

The Congress(I) has now formed a minority Government at the Centre. It is yet to officially announce its approach to the burning problems facing the country. The CPI(M) and the Left, along with the National Front and J D, respecting the people's mandate, will sit in the Opposition. Our attitude to the Government on crucial issues confronting the country will be based on its positions. It must give priority in tackling the questions of Punjab, Kashmir and Assam. Though the Punjab elections have now been postponed, if the Congress(I) Government wishes to seriously resolve the problem, it must take the political initiative to implement important provisions of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord.

Given the continued inflammatory communal situation, it is imperative that this Government should initiate a negotiated settlement to resolve the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid issue or ensure adherence to a court verdict. It should declare that none will be allowed to disturb the status quo by force. It must urgently bring forward legislation for maintaining the status quo of all religious places, as of August 15, 1947.

Given the serious economic crisis and the plea of the

Government to seek an IMF loan, the people of our country and Parliament must be told of the conditions the Government would accept. The CPI(M) Central Committee reiterated its opposition to the IMF conditionalities which will only subvert our self-reliance and place the country's economy at the mercy of imperialist finance capital.

The CPI(M) and the Left will decide its attitude to the policies of the Government on the merits of each issue. Keeping in mind the people's verdict it is of the view that in the present situation, the country can ill-afford another early election. But this depends on the approach and policies of the Congress(I) Government. The CPI(M) and the Left will consistently oppose all anti-people policies of the Government.

Forge Mass Struggles

The multi-faceted crisis being faced by our country is the result of the four-decade-long bourgeois-landlord policies pursued by successive governments. In the present situation, the burdens of the crisis are bound to be pushed on to the shoulders of the common man. The Central Committee of the CPI(M) has decided to intensify the people's struggles for a better livelihood, for better Centre-State relations, electoral reforms and proportional representation, to fight against atrocities on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, defence of minorities and for social justice. The Central Committee of the CPI(M) calls upon all its units to actively champion the people's interests while strengthening the struggle against authoritarian attacks and the communal offensive. The CPI(M) and the Left, along with its allies, the National Front and J D which together constitute the second largest formation in Parliament, will work together strengthening this unity in people's struggles.

Fourteenth Party Congress

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) has decided to convene the Fourteenth Party Congress at Madras from

January 3 to 9, 1992 This Congress is of immense significance, given the serious developments in the international situation and the national developments. The Central Committee has adopted the time-table for the Congress and instructed all the State Committees to start preparations for this Congress immediately by initiating the process at different levels—branch, local, area, district and State.

Resolution on Post-Election Tactics*

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) which met on June 21-22, 1991, adopted the following resolution on the post-election tactics

1 With the formation of the Congress(I) Government at the Centre and on the basis of the people's mandate in the 10th Lok Sabha elections, the CPI(M) will continue to sit in the Opposition

2 The CPI(M) and the Left parties will continue to maintain relations with the National Front and the Janata Dal

3. Keeping in mind the people's mood and the present situation, the country can ill afford another early election. But this depends upon the policies of the Congress(I) Government. The Central Committee from time to time will review the situation and adopt the necessary tactics

4 In meeting the grave challenges which the country is facing today, like the separatist menace in Kashmir, Punjab, Assam etc, which is threatening the unity of the country; the threat to national unity arising from communal and divisive forces, the CPI(M) will make a positive contribution to finding a solution to such problems.

5 While opposing all authoritarian and anti-people policies, the CPI(M) will continue to struggle for better Centre-State relations, safeguarding and strengthening democracy, electoral reforms, fighting against atrocities on SC/STs, defence of minorities, and for social justice

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, June 30, 1991

6 While skillfully using the floor of Parliament to advance the cause of the democratic masses and in the best interests of the country, we will concentrate on developing mass movements of the workers, peasants, youth, students, women and other toiling millions, aimed at resisting the policies that throw burdens of the crisis on the common man, and struggle for the betterment of the conditions of the toiling masses

7 In the background of the Babri Masjid/Ramjanmabhooni controversy, the BJP spreading its base throughout the country, securing around 20 per cent of the polled votes and 120 seats in the Lok Sabha, and its coming into power in U P , a very critical situation is bound to develop in U P having serious repercussions on the whole country This is bound to create panic among the people belonging to the minority community. We will have to unite all the Left, democratic and secular forces to meet this challenge.

8 The CPI(M) will continue to function as an independent group inside Parliament, effectively function to ensure Left coordination, and strengthen cooperation with the National Front and the Janata Dal

CPI(M) Assails Rupee Devaluation*

Statement issued by the Polit Bureau

The devaluation of the rupee by 9.56 per cent vis-a-vis the U S dollar, and depreciation of the rupee similarly against other major currencies, is clearly a step taken to fulfil one of the IMF conditionalities. The Finance Minister's denial that the devaluation is not connected with the IMF loan will not convince anybody.

The overall impact of the devaluation will be to increase the inflationary burdens on the common people. This step is going to increase the costs of a number of imported commodities and essential items such as petroleum products. This will be followed up with hikes in administered prices of petroleum products and through it prices of other commodities will be hiked up. The devaluation therefore, will directly affect the real wages of the poor and salaried classes as they will have to bear the burden.

The Narasimha Rao Government has embarked on the dangerous path of squeezing the working people at the dictates of the IMF and the whole package of measures proposed to meet the economic crisis will worsen the conditions of the people.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly opposes this measure and calls upon the Central Government once again to place the whole terms and conditions of the IMF before Parliament in its forthcoming session.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 7, 1991

CPI(M)'s Greetings to Communist Party of China on its 70th Anniversary*

The following message was sent to the Central Committee of the CPC from the Central Committee of the CPI(M) on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, on July 1, 1921.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) warmly greets the Communist Party of China, on the 70th anniversary of its founding. It expressed its confidence that the people of China, led by their tried and tested party, will successfully complete their revolution and attain their goal of a vibrant, dynamic and Socialist China.

In these seventy years the CPC has traversed a thorny and difficult path, undergoing great trials and tribulations. The world-shaking October Revolution and the setting up of the Communist International had a particularly electrifying inspiration as impact on the people groaning under the colonial-feudal yoke. As a result Communist Parties came to be formed in a number of these countries, and in particular in China, which saw one of the earliest responses to these revolutionary developments. On July 1, in Shanghai, the Communist Party of China was set up. Even then the most 'industrialized' of the port cities of a vastly backward China, and the centre of the working class movement, where many more fierce class battles were to be fought, it was not fortuitous that Shanghai saw the birth of what was to be the

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 7, 1991. The greeting was despatched to CPC on July 1, 1991.

decisive revolutionary force of the next three decades till liberation

China was then a vast peasant country steeped in a backward, stultifying feudalism, characterized by archaic customs and harsh and ruthless exploitation of its people, on the one hand. On the other, it was being systematically subjected to the marauding and predatory interventions by various imperialist powers, greedily seeking a foothold in the vast and potentially rich, as yet unopened hinterland. In this framework, the CPC, addressing itself to the task of removing these two basic obstacles, went straight into the work of organizing what it formulated as the National Democratic Revolution with its twin objectives of throwing out imperialism and overthrowing feudalism.

Advancing towards a correct line, the party became in time a major political force to be reckoned with in the country's polity. The failure of the insurrections in the urban centres of Shanghai and Canton, brought home an important lesson: for the revolution to be successful, the working class would have to forge an alliance with the peasantry, and through its deeds as well as its words, it would have to win the confidence of the entire peasantry. It ultimately succeeded in building a broad front, the class alliance of the working class and peasantry as its core.

While in the process of building this front it forged an alliance also with the Kuomintang. But the latter, frightened of the Party's growing revolutionary strength and influence, and its uncompromising stand against imperialism, broke with the CPC, and in fact turned against it, in a number of extermination campaigns, in 1927, 1928 and 1929. Ultimately the party had to remove its forces to the north of the country. Hence began the epic Long March to Yenan, where base areas were set up.

Here on, correctly applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of China, began the prolonged ideological and political battle to win the confidence of China's people. Throughout this period, the presence and assistance of a

Socialist power on its border—the USSR—proved of great help to it

Despite the grim battle on its hands, the CPC, acutely conscious of the international character of its own struggle, always maintained a keen interest in the Communist movement in other countries. The CPI(M) will always remember the fraternal help and advice extended to the united CPI and the Communist movement in the early thirties, in the three-Party Letter co-authored by the Communist Parties of China, Britain and Germany. The Letter, coming soon after the Meerut Conspiracy Trial, advised and stressed the necessity of setting up a broad anti-imperialist front and bigger class alliance for the struggle for liberation.

Against the Japanese invasion of China, an anti-Japanese alliance was again forged with the Kuomintang. And this time the CPC carried forward the war to a successful conclusion till its triumphal entry into Beijing, and the declaration of a People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949.

Thus had the CPC written a glorious chapter in the annals of the world revolutionary movement. The liberation of China from imperialism and feudalism was the biggest historic event after the victory in the Anti-Fascist War. All this brought about a big shift in the correlation of class forces on a world scale.

Hereafter, the Party undertook the formidable task of building a 'New Democracy' in China, and laying the foundations of a socialist society.

Faced with an extremely backward economy, a vast, illiterate and poverty-stricken population, the country had also to meet the hostile attempts of imperialism to negate the gains of the revolution. Over four decades, led by the CPC, the people of China have overcome these difficulties and marched ahead. Despite some serious mistakes committed, the Party, and the people learning from experience, themselves overcome them. Now when serious setbacks have been experienced in the advance of Socialist construction, the CPC continues to adhere to Marxism-Leninism.

as the guide to action, for the further advance of the revolution

Even when imperialism is trying to isolate China, it is striving its utmost to peacefully unite the country

Today it is one of the biggest contingents of the international Communist movement, and continues to play a crucial role in the struggle for peace, Socialism and democracy

The CPI(M) has always stood for good relations between China and India, and made its utmost contribution to this end. Such improvement we are sure will help in the common struggle for the liberation of humanity from exploitation

Polit Bureau on Murder of Soviet Engineer*

Statement dated July 10, 1991, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the killing of the Soviet engineer, Sergei Gretchenko, who was kidnapped and held hostage by the ULFA. The killing of this civilian hostage is a reprehensible and cowardly act. It is extremely unfortunate that the murder comes after the Assam Government's decision to release all ULFA men in prison through a general amnesty.

It was expected that after the peaceful conduct of the elections in the State, peace and normalcy would be restored in Assam. But the recent activities of the ULFA in kidnapping a number of people and the killing of the Soviet engineer indicates that they have not yet given up their disruptive activities. The release of all the ULFA men, 670 of them, including those involved in serious cases, without any assurance that they will abandon terroristic activities and cooperate in restoring the democratic process, raises doubts in the minds of the people as to the validity of such a decision for general amnesty. Moreover, neither the State nor the Central Government thought it fit to take the major political parties into full confidence, as this is not a matter concerning the ruling party alone but the whole country.

The Polit Bureau demands a fuller statement from the Government on the situation in Assam and the steps it proposes to take.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 14, 1991

CPI(M) Protests Pledging of Gold*

**Polit Bureau issued statement dated July 8, 1991
to Press**

The report that the Government of India has exported 21 tonnes of gold for sale abroad, is highly disturbing. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) demands of the Congress(I) Government full details of this gold transaction, as it is contrary to the announcement made by the Finance Minister himself, recently, that efforts would be made to recover the gold which was mortgaged abroad by the Chandra Shekhar Government.

The Polit Bureau strongly protests the manner in which major economic policy decisions are being taken by the Congress(I) Government. One after another ad hoc pronouncements are being made by the Finance Minister and other Ministers which are geared to making major policy changes. The impression has been created that the Government is in a panic to meet the IMF conditionalities and is endangering the country's economic sovereignty. Neither the Opposition parties nor the people are being taken into confidence. A series of major policy pronouncements regarding trade policy, dilution of MRTP Act, more privatization and liberalization are being made on the eve of the Parliament session. This also shows gross contempt for Parliament. The Polit Bureau warns the Narasimha Rao Government not to adopt such policy measures without their being discussed in Parliament first. The Government must come out with its comprehensive framework of economic policies and place it before

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 14, 1991

Parliament The Polit Bureau reiterates its opposition to all such proposals which would mean dismantling the public sector, open the doors indiscriminately to foreign capital, and surrender to the IMF conditionalities

Polit Bureau on Second Devaluation*

Statement dated July 3, 1991, issued to Press

The RBI has announced a second successive devaluation of the rupee against major currencies within a space of three days. By this second devaluation amounting to 10.6 per cent to 11.1 per cent of the rupee against major currencies, the rupee has depreciated by 18.8 per cent vis-a-vis the dollar. It is well-known that the IMF has been demanding a 17-18 per cent devaluation of the rupee. This devaluation is coming in the background of the depreciation of the rupee already by 20 per cent (on an annualized basis) since the beginning of this year. This second devaluation indicates the desperation of the Central Government to acquire the IMF loan (upper tranche) and an emergency short-term loan by meeting all its conditionalities whatever its adverse repercussions for the country and the people. To call this measure a "routine adjustment" is to insult the intelligence of the Indian people.

Despite the protests by all Opposition parties and the Prime Minister's disclaimer that the Government is not giving into IMF pressures in this regard, it is clear that the Narasimha Rao Government is going full steam ahead to unconditionally meet all the IMF conditionalities. It is also evident that the Congress(I) Government is not willing to contemplate alternative measures including stricter import controls, enhanced direct taxation and austerity measures which would mean squeezing the affluent sections.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 14, 1991

The net effect of the devaluation will be marginal in improving our export performance and trade balance and will be major in adversely affecting the livelihood of the people. It is going to fuel inflation, hike up prices of all essential commodities and eat into the meagre earnings of the working people who will be left defenceless when subsidies are also cut.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon all democratic sections and mass organizations to protest the course adopted by the Congress(I) Government. The dangerous implications both for the country's sovereignty and the people's livelihood must be widely propagated. Any move to impose the IMF dictated burdens on the common people must be resisted by big mass struggles.

Polit Bureau on Cauvery Water Dispute*

Statement dated July 8, 1991, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its concern at the exacerbation of the dispute over the Cauvery waters distribution between Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. The Cauvery Water Disputes Tribunal had announced an interim award of 205 TMC waters to be released by Karnataka to Tamil Nadu annually pending a final settlement.

After this award, efforts are being made to pit the people of both States against each other which is exceedingly unfortunate. Confrontation on such an issue must be avoided at all costs.

The Congress(I) Central Government has a special responsibility in this regard as in both the States there is a Congress(I) Government and a Congress(I)-supported Government. The Central Government must, therefore, immediately intervene in the matter to settle the problem connected with the interim award.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 14, 1991.

CPI(M)–C.P. Portugal Joint Communique*

A delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party headed by its General Secretary, Alvaro Cunhal, and including a member of its Secretariat, Albano Nunes, was welcomed by a delegation of the CPI(M) comprising Harkishan Singh Surjeet, M Basavapunnaiiah, E. Balanandan, members of the Polit Bureau, and Prakash Karat and Sitaram Yechury, members of the Central Secretariat, on July 15, 1991. The PCP delegation is in India on a two-day visit for discussions with Communist Parties and met the CPI(M) leaders at the Central Committee office at New Delhi

The following joint communique was issued by both the Parties after discussions

Both the Parties exchanged views regarding the current international situation and developments in the Communist movement. The long fruitful discussions revealed that the approach of both our Parties on the new threats being posed by world imperialism and the developments in the Communist movement were similar.

Both the Parties assessed the severe setbacks faced by world Socialism, following the collapse of East European Governments. These do not constitute a failure of Socialism. It was the result of distortions and departures from the Communist ideals. Both the Parties underlined that Marxism-Leninism is intrinsically dialectic and anti-dogmatic and, as it should continue to develop and enrich itself by

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 21, 1991

studying new and relevant situations, phenomena, processes and experiences. They underlined the determinant role of the working class in social transformation. They highlighted the need to strengthen cooperation and solidarity between the Communist Parties, revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces in the people's struggles against imperialism.

The role of imperialism was highlighted, particularly its new aggressiveness following the U.S. war in the Gulf. The utmost vigilance needs to be exercised and a stronger people's movement will have to be built in order to resist imperialist attempts to impose its 'new world order' which it seeks, for its objective of global hegemony and economic subjugation of the developing world.

Both the Parties appraised each other of the activities in their respective countries, and decided to further strengthen the bilateral relations between their Parties and act in unison against the onslaught of world reaction in the present critical moment.

The CPI(M) paid tribute to the leadership and members of the Portuguese Communist Party who carry a glorious heritage of steadfast struggle against fascism and for upholding the cause of peace, democracy and Socialism.

CPI(M) Protests Rail Budget*

**Polit Bureau issued statement dated July 16, 1991,
to Press**

The railway budget proposals announced on the floor of Parliament today have imposed an additional burden of Rs 584 crore on the people for the current financial year.

Freight charges have been proposed to be hiked by 10 per cent, rates for parcels and luggage are also to go up by 10 per cent, second class railway fares of ordinary trains are to go up by Re 1 00 to Rs 5 00 depending on distances, and of Mail/Express trains by Re 1 00 to Rs 20 00. But the most ferocious attacks have been reserved for daily commuters whose second class monthly season tickets are to go up by Rs 4 00 to Rs 16 00 according to the distances travelled. Not content with it the Railway Minister obliquely hints that he intends to increase the fares of monthly season tickets still more in the current year.

The Polit Bureau also voices its opposition to the Railway Minister's proposal of privatization of catering and conservancy services.

Coupled with devaluation of the rupee, the imposition of further levies in the railway budget will only heap further miseries on the common man. The Polit Bureau calls upon the people to raise their voice of protest against such anti-people actions of the Congress(I) Government. The attacks must be resisted. Fight must be carried on inside and outside Parliament. The general budget is yet to come. The

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 21, 1991

future, as anticipated by us, is full of forebodings for the common man. There is no option left for the people but to fight against such attempts at shifting the burdens of the crisis on their shoulders.

Judicial Probe Demanded on Pilibhit Killings*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated July 18, 1991, to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its concern over the report in a leading newspaper that the ten alleged Punjab extremists who were shot by the police at Pilibhit on July 13, 1991, were actually pilgrims who were killed in three separate fake encounters organized by the district police authorities. This report, if true, is highly disturbing. Such "encounters" to kill people in cold blood by the police is shocking. This will play into the hands of the extremists and have serious repercussions in Punjab.

The Polit Bureau demands that the BJP Government in U P take a serious view of the matter. It must immediately take steps to punish the guilty officials after verifying the facts. A judicial enquiry must also be instituted into the affair.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 28, 1991

Defeat Move to Privatize Banks*

**Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) declared its stand
in a statement dated July 17, 1991**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its strong concern about the reports from various sources that the Government of India is in the process of initiating moves to privatize public sector banks. It is reported that the State Bank of India, Canara Bank and the Punjab National Bank are the immediate targets in the privatization exercise. The opening up of the equities of the SBI for sale to public is a strong indicator of the direction.

It is obvious that the proposed moves are in response to the pressures of the IMF and World Bank which have been trying to get a foothold in India's banking and insurance industry.

The Polit Bureau draws the attention of the people to the historical fact that the nationalization of banks in 1969-71 period was a major step undertaken to strengthen our economy. Any move now to privatize the banks will be an utterly retrograde measure.

The Polit Bureau appeals to all democratic forces in the country to resist and defeat such a reactionary move.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, July 28, 1991

Polit Bureau on Cauvery Water Dispute*

**Statement dated July 24, 1991, issued to Press
urging upon the Union Government to initiate
talks for settlement**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its concern at the recent developments in connection with the Cauvery water dispute which are likely to lead to the growth of feelings of mutual hostility between the people of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. The proposed bandh on July 26, 1991 in both the States indicates the seriousness of the situation.

The CPI(M) has been urging on the Government of India to take urgent steps to find a solution to the immediate problem by initiating talks between the two State Governments. The failure of the Congress(I) Central Government to initiate any such move has now led to the aggravation of the conflict. Even now it is not too late. The Polit Bureau once again calls upon the Central Government to realize its responsibility in this regard and urgently intervene to settle the dispute concerning the interim award.

The CPI(M) calls upon the people of both the States to be on guard against all tendencies which could damage the fraternal relations between the people of the two States.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, August 4, 1991
Refer Document under Item No 194 of this Volume

Fascistic Threats to CPI(M) MP*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated July 27, 1991, recording its protest

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the abusive letters and threatening phone calls being received by its MP Zainal Abedin, after he moved a Private Member's Resolution in the Lok Sabha asking for a legislation for maintaining the status quo for religious shrines in the country as on August 15, 1947, barring the disputed Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid which should be decided either through a negotiated settlement or a court verdict

The forces which are indulging in these threats are similar to the Khalistani extremists who seek to divide the country on religious lines. The BJP and the VHP are out to destroy the very basis and accepted norms of a secular democratic India which is reflected in the move of the BJP State Government in U P to remove the portraits of Mahatma Gandhi from Government offices

The VHP General Secretary has charged the Left parties with obstructing the construction of the Ram Temple at the disputed site in Ayodhya. It is natural for the VHP to target the Left as it is the most consistent defender of secularism and national unity in the country. In fact, the charge betrays the total isolation of the VHP's communal stance which is not supported by any political party except the BJP. Mr. Singhal cannot be ignorant of the fact that the Congress(I), the National Front and the Left parties have all, in their election manifestoes, categorically expressed themselves in

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, August 4, 1991

favour of a legislation for maintaining the status quo of religious places as on August 15, 1947. As for Mr. Singhal's claim that the Congress(I) would come to an understanding if the construction work for the temple begins, it is up to the Congress(I) to clarify its position on this issue.

The congenital anti-Communist vituperative outbursts of the VHP General Secretary are nothing new. The forces that murdered Mahatma Gandhi and the supporters of the feudal hierarchy in the struggle against British colonialism can hardly tolerate forces which stand for the building of a modern, democratic and secular India.

CPI(M) Demands Political Parties Meet on Kashmir*

Statement issued by the Polit Bureau

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls on the Government to immediately convene a meeting of political parties to discuss the worsening situation in Kashmir. The lack of political initiative is only compounding the dangerous situation existing in the Valley. The Government of India should immediately take initiatives for announcing necessary measures leading towards a solution of the problem. A Public Grievance Cell must be immediately established so that the genuine grievances of the people can be addressed. Immediate steps must be taken to ensure that the political parties and forces which are upholding the cause of India's unity and integrity are able to discharge their activities unhindered. The Kashmir problem cannot be resolved by merely bringing back to life the suspended Assembly. What is required is a set of political initiatives that can instill confidence in the people and meet their genuine grievances.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, August 18, 1991

Polit Bureau on Chundur Massacre*

Statement dated August 10, 1991, issued to Press

The ghastly massacre of 20 harijans in the coastal village of Chundur, 50 kilometres from Guntur in Andhra Pradesh, is yet another example of such ghastly atrocities being enacted against and again in very many States. The barbaric act is a mockery of democratic rights enjoyed in this country by the tribals and the harijans. Socially ostracized and ruthlessly exploited, these poorest sections of our community become the object of physical attack and liquidation at the slightest pretext.

The Polit Bureau condemns this heinous crime committed on these people. The terror created by the marauding forces of thugs was such that almost the entire village fled to Tenali to save their lives.

The Andhra Pradesh Government's declaration that there would be a judicial enquiry and the findings would be forwarded to the Government in three months is a callous response to such a grave situation of barbaric nature.

The Polit Bureau demands that the culprits be immediately arrested and brought to trial. The Government should bring back the harijans to their village and rehabilitate them. Police protection should be ensured to them so that they can live in peace.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, August 18, 1991

Polit Bureau on Situation in Punjab*

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is seriously concerned at the support extended by the SGPC to the call given by the Khalistani extremists boycotting Independence Day Celebrations. It must be recalled that it was such an involvement of the SGPC in the past that gave a fillip to the activities of the secessionists

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon the Government to take all necessary measures and ensure that normal activity is not disturbed on August 14 and 15 due to the bandh call given by secessionist forces. The moderate sections of the Akalis must realize where their politics of failure to demarcate from the secessionists have landed them.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) warns the Government of India that its continuous policy of drift concerning a solution to the Punjab problem will only lead to disastrous consequences. While talking of holding elections, neither any administrative nor political measures have been initiated. The CPI(M) calls upon the Government of India to immediately initiate such measures which will facilitate the holding of an early, free and fair election.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon the people of Punjab, while struggling for their just demands, not to fall prey to the anti-national designs of the secessionists.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, August 18, 1991
Refer Documents under Item Nos 159, 179, 181 and 182 of this Volume

Polit Bureau on Finance Minister's Statement on BCCI*

Statement dated August 9, 1991, issued demanding high level investigation and probe into BCCI affairs in India and its international ramifications

The statement on the Bank of Credit and Commercial International affairs made by the Finance Minister in Parliament is totally unsatisfactory. It has been widely deplored in the print media and by public opinion. The statement betrays complacency and worse, suspicions of a cover up, with regard to the disturbing report of the BCCI's illegal operations. These charges pertain to connivance in sending out money abroad illegally for corrupt politicians and bureaucrats, brokering corrupt deals, financial links with terrorist groups and penetration by the CIA of the Bank's illegal activities. These charges have grave implications for the country's sovereignty and security.

The Government statement does not even assure that a probe will be conducted. The Polit Bureau demands a high level investigation and probe into the working of the BCCI affairs in India and its international ramifications.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, August 18, 1991

Polit Bureau Condemns BJP Attack on Scindia*

Statement dated August 14, 1991, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the mob attack by BJP supporters on the Union Minister Madhav Rao Scindia's house today. They tried to assault Mr Scindia and injured a security guard

This reprehensible attack was obviously motivated by Mr. Scindia's recent denunciation of the communal politics of the BJP which is harmful to the country. This violent attack exposes the intolerant and fascist-like methods of the communalist forces which the BJP is nurturing

The Congress(I) leadership, which has shown no compunction in joining hands with the BJP and appeasing it in Parliament, as seen in the Deputy Speaker's election, must now answer for the compromising attitude it has shown to such forces.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, August 18, 1991

Government Apathy Further Worsens Punjab Situation*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued the following statement dated August 16, 1991, declaring its stand

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep concern at the deteriorating situation in Punjab and the utter failure of the Government in taking any remedial steps.

Earlier, the Chandra Shekhar Government encouraged the extremists who were able to intensify their activities. Now the policy of drift pursued by the Narasimha Rao Government has further aggravated the situation. The total result has been, firstly, the worsening of the situation in relation to law and order extending from the border districts to Ropar, Ludhiana, Sangrur and Patiala and also spreading to other States. Secondly, the coming together of all the extremist groups and the moderate Akalis on a single platform in a convention called by the SGPC President at Anandpur Sahib on August 11, where an unanimous resolution adopted paid tributes to all the Sikhs who achieved "martyrdom" in the ongoing struggle since 1978. It also considered ways and means to launch a struggle against State repression and to make the August 14-15 bandh call given by the extremists a grand success. It decided to make all decisions in future after consulting the militant groups.

In the convention the programme and statements by all the extremist groups were read out which categorically

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, August 25, 1991. Refer Documents on Punjab under Item Nos 159, 179, 181, 182 and 203 of this Volume.

denounced those who are vacillating on the demand of Khalistan and advocating the boycott of election. Nobody present objected to this thus indirectly endorsing the demand. The convention decided to meet on September 1 to take a final decision on the course of action and to boycott the elections.

This is for the first time that the extremists have succeeded in forcing all the other groups to toe their line, that too under the umbrella of the SGPC. This is the result of the Central Government's failure to come out clearly on the election schedule and to concede the genuine demands of the Punjabi people in relation to the capital, the water dispute, the territorial dispute, Centre-State relations, etc. If this drift is allowed it will paralyse the resistance which was being put against extremism and separatism and the situation will become as bad as in Kashmir today with much more serious repercussions.

Seen in the light of the growing collaborations between the Punjab and Kashmir militants, its gravity can be properly understood. This has happened in spite of the fact that our Party has extended our full cooperation in finding a solution to the Punjab problem. But the Government could not find any time to look into such urgent matters like Punjab and Kashmir which concern the unity of the country itself.

Our Party which has sacrificed many of its cadre and leaders in the struggle of defence of national unity cannot keep quiet and our State Committee has decided to sit on *dharna* at the Boat Club on September 10 to highlight the issue of Punjab and demand that the Government streamline the administration, declare the election schedule to ensure the restoration of democratic process, come out with the announcement of handing over Chandigarh to Punjab, refer the water dispute to the Supreme Court, set up a commission to go into the territorial disputes, including the villages of Fazilka and Abohar, and set up a committee of the Inter-States Council to go into the question of restructuring of the Centre-State relations.

If these steps are taken, the moderates can be demarcated from the separatists and the people can be rallied to fight the terrorist-secessionist menace

The Polit Bureau has also decided to observe September 10, 1991, as 'Save Punjab Day' throughout the country. The Polit Bureau has appealed to all people belonging to different political parties to come forward in support of the above demands and force the Government to give up the policy of drift and take immediate steps to save the situation.

Polit Bureau Communiqué*

**Issued following its meeting held in New Delhi
on August 17-18, 1991**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) met in New Delhi on August 17-18. At the outset the meeting paid homage to the memory of Shri C Achyutha Menon, veteran leader of the CPI

The Polit Bureau discussed the outline for the Draft Political Resolution for the Fourteenth Party Congress and the outline on Current Ideological Issues with specific reference to developments in the Socialist countries for placing them before the Central Committee meeting to begin from August 28, 1991

Oppose Economic Policies

Taking stock of the internal situation in the country, the Polit Bureau expressed its strong opposition to the whole gamut of economic policies initiated by the Congress(I) Government including the 20 per cent devaluation of the rupee, the Union and railway budget proposals, the new trade and industrial policies. Despite all official claims that there will be no inflation, already the prices of all essential commodities have shot up making life unbearable for the common people. The wholesale price index has risen to 203.4 in the first week of August and the inflation rate has gone up to 12.9 per cent.

The opening of the doors to multinationals, big concessions to Indian monopolists and the surrender to IMF conditionalities are creating a situation where the poorest sections and the middle class are being forced to bear the

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, August 25, 1991

main burdens of the economic crisis. These policies are going to lead to growing loss of jobs due to privatization and closure of industrial units, and an inflationary spiral which will eat into the livelihood of all sections of the working people.

The Polit Bureau has called for a powerful movement to be developed against these anti-people policies which also compromises the economic sovereignty of the country.

The Polit Bureau noted that the Left parties are already undertaking a week's movement against these policies this month. It endorsed and extended full support to the Left and National Front's joint call for the "March to Delhi" on September 27 to focus on the urgent economic problems faced by the people. The Polit Bureau called upon all its Party units and all mass organizations to make the September 27 call a grand success.

Punjab and Kashmir

The Polit Bureau expressed grave concern at the worsening situation in Punjab and Kashmir. The Narasimha Rao Government, since taking office, while talking of holding elections has not initiated any administrative or political measures in Punjab which has led to the worsening of the situation.

Such an attitude of drift has emboldened the extremists and they were able to successfully dominate the convention called by the SGPC at Anandpur Sahib on August 11. The Polit Bureau warns the Congress(I) Government to halt this policy of drift which could have disastrous consequences for Punjab and national unity. It must immediately take steps to streamline the administration, declare the election schedule to ensure the restoration of the democratic process, come out with an announcement for handing over Chandigarh to Punjab, referring the water dispute to the Supreme Court, setting up of a commission to go into the territorial disputes, and the setting up of committee of the Inter-State Council to go into the question of restructuring of Centre-State relations.

On Kashmir, the Polit Bureau felt that the proposal to revive the suspended Assembly will be harmful. The

Polit Bureau called upon the Government to immediately convene a meeting of political parties to discuss the worsening situation in the valley. A set of political initiatives is required to instil confidence in the people and meet the genuine grievances including assurance of maintaining the identity of the Kashmiri people. Advisory Committees of the representatives of all parties must be set up at the State and district-levels. While tackling the menace of terrorism, the administration should demarcate between the JKLF and the Pakistan-backed fundamentalist Jamaat-e-Islami groups. The Pakistani Prime Minister's statement that the Kashmir issue can lead to war is an ominous indication of Pakistan's subversive activities in the State.

Ayodhya Dispute

As against the people's desire that the Ayodhya dispute be resolved amicably, the BJP Government in Uttar Pradesh is bent upon provoking a confrontation on this sensitive matter. The Polit Bureau viewed with serious concern the reported move by the BJP Government to bring a legislation or an Ordinance to take over the disputed site at Ayodhya to facilitate construction of the temple where the mosque is situated. Such a move must be thwarted firmly. The Polit Bureau calls upon the Central Government to immediately give a clear commitment that the status quo at the disputed site will not be altered. Further, the legislation guaranteeing the status quo of all other religious places of worship as on August 15, 1947, must be brought in the current session of Parliament itself.

The Polit Bureau warns the Narasimha Rao Government not to compromise on this vital issue and the Congress(I) must extend support to the CPI(M) MP Zainul Abedin's Private Member's Resolution on the subject now pending before the Lok Sabha.

BCCI Scandal

The Polit Bureau condemned the stance of the Narasimha Rao Government in seeking to cover up the serious charges

against the BCCI operations in the country. The Finance Minister's statement in Parliament was nothing but an attempt to shield the guilty. The charges pertain to illegal sending out of money by top bureaucrats and politicians and other subversive activities indulged in by the bank. The Polit Bureau demands that the whole network of illegal activities must be uncovered and the guilty punished. For this nothing short of a parliamentary committee probe will do. The Polit Bureau calls upon all democratic sections to demand such a probe and force the Government to institute such a parliamentary enquiry.

Cauvery Waters Dispute

Following the interim award of the Inter-States Waters Disputes Tribunal on the Cauvery waters utilization, the Central Government totally failed to intervene to see that both the States are brought around to arrive at an amicable settlement on the matter. Instead, we saw the spectacle of the Congress(I) Government in Karnataka and the Congress(I)-supported Government in Tamil Nadu competing with each other to arouse feelings and pit the people of one State against the other. The reference to the Supreme Court only delays the solution and exacerbates the situation. The Central Congress(I) Government cannot escape responsibility for the unhealthy situation which has been created.

Tsundur Killings

The Polit Bureau had already condemned the massacre of 20 Scheduled Caste persons in the Tsundur village in Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh. This ghastly incident showed how the dalit sections are in constant threat of physical attacks and lynching whenever they stand up for their rights. The Andhra Pradesh Government has failed to create confidence that the State machinery can protect the oppressed sections despite its declarations that it will institute a judicial enquiry. There is a danger of caste tensions and further attacks in other parts of the State. The State Government

is unable to deal with this serious situation, and it must own up moral responsibility for the carnage and resign

Security Council Resolution on Iraq

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) deplored the Security Council resolution which imposed humiliating conditions on Iraq for the sale of its oil. The resolution imposed on Iraq's use of oil revenue is an infringement of its sovereignty sanctioned by the world body under the auspices of the U S and its allies. It is unfortunate that India voted for this resolution which in future can be used as a precedent against other countries.

Counter-Revolutionaries Launch Witch-hunt in USSR*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statements denouncing these developments

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) denounces the anti-Communist witch-hunt which has been unleashed in the Soviet Union spearheaded by Boris Yeltsin and his supporters. The offices of the Communist Party of Soviet Union in Moscow, including the Central Committee office, have been seized. The Party has been banned from running its branches in workplaces and security units in the Russian Republic. The Party has been illegalized in Lithuania and Latvia. There are reports of take-over of Party offices and properties and Party newspapers in other parts of the country also. Symbolic of this reactionary offensive is the desecration and removal of the statue of Felix Dzerzhinsky, the respected Bolshevik leader and colleague of Lenin. All these anti-democratic and illegal acts are being committed by those who are ostensibly championing democracy and the Constitution. They stand fully exposed now.

This concerted attack on the CPSU is part of the wider plan by counter-revolutionary forces backed by imperialism to undermine the Socialist system and break up the Soviet Union. Already taking advantage of the turmoil at the Centre, the Baltic Republics have declared independence. Behind this move to dismantle the Soviet Union are the imperialist powers. Yeltsin is working in concert with these external forces.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, September 1, 1991. Earlier statement of the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) dated August 19, 1991, was also published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY' of September 1, 1991.

The CPI(M) was apprehensive precisely of such developments taking place unless they were resisted and checked. Any serious set-backs in the Soviet Union would have direct adverse repercussions not only for the Socialist cause but also the Third World countries and the national liberation movements. The CPI(M) firmly stands with those forces which wish to defend the unity and integrity of the Soviet Union and the historic gains of the seven decades of the Socialist revolution while continuing with the reforms essential for Socialist renewal.

(Statement dated August 24, 1991)

Earlier Statement (the Polit Bureau) on Soviet Events

Significant and major political developments have taken place in the USSR with the declaration of the State of Emergency. Vice President Yanayev has assumed duties of the President under the Constitution. A Committee for the State of Emergency has been formed to deal with the situation.

In a statement the Committee said that Emergency has been declared to, "Overcome the profound and comprehensive crisis, political, ethnic and civil strife, chaos and anarchy that threaten the lives and security of the Soviet Union's citizens and its sovereignty, territorial integrity, freedom and independence."

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) hopes that the USSR will be able to overcome the present crisis, defend the unity and integrity of the Soviet Union and continue to advance on the path of Socialism.

(Statement dated August 19, 1991)

Central Committee Communiqué*

Released to Press following its meeting held on
August 28-31, 1991

On Soviet Developments

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) assessed the grave and disturbing developments in the Soviet Union. The basis of the Socialist system built over 74 years of the October Revolution and the unity of the Soviet Union are being undermined. The entire achievements of Socialism in the world's first Socialist State are in jeopardy.

The Central Committee endorsed the stand taken by the Polit Bureau with regard to the August 19 Emergency take-over. The CPI(M) has been of the considered opinion that reforms were essential in the Soviet Union to strengthen Socialism. The reforms which began in name of renewal of Socialism by the CPSU under the leadership of Gorbachev, soon brought about a situation where the very basis of the Socialist system was endangered and the unity of the Soviet Union threatened. Forces arose openly advocating the restoration of capitalism and national chauvinism, separatism and ethnic strife gathered momentum. The CPSU was ideologically disarmed and organizationally in disarray. The six years of *perestroika* caused severe dislocations in the economy with grave shortages of essential commodities for the people.

It is in this context that the attempt to check these trends on August 19, has to be viewed. This had the support of a big section of Government leaders and leading Party personnel as stated by Gorbachev himself in the Supreme Soviet

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, September 8, 1991

The failure of this attempt, for various reasons, has now enabled the counter-revolutionary forces to launch a widespread attack on the CPSU and the Socialist system. The unity of the USSR which was threatened by the proposed Union Treaty, is now further eroded and the federal Union is now on the brink of disintegration.

The Central Committee voiced its strong indignation and condemnation of the witch-hunt of Communists which has led to the ban on the functioning of the Communist Party, seizure of its offices and properties and suspension of its publications. This counter-revolutionary offensive is being spearheaded by Yelstin and his supporters who are openly allied to the USA and other imperialist powers. Gorbachev himself took the decision to resign from the General Secretaryship of the Party and made the unprecedented announcement to dissolve the Central Committee and liquidate the CPSU.

The CPI(M), since its inception, has stood for the goal of achieving Socialism and the ultimate establishment of a Communist society. The CPI(M) has always been partisan in upholding the cause of Socialism and for the forces fighting against imperialism. The grave set-back in the Soviet Union will have serious and adverse consequences for world Socialism, national liberation movements and the cause of peace, democracy and independence of the Third World countries.

The U S imperialism and its allies and their media are gloating over the developments in the Soviet Union. They proclaim the end of Socialism and the lasting victory of capitalism. They are joined in chorus by large sections of the media and political commentators in India who wish to isolate the CPI(M) and the Left from the Indian people.

The CPI(M) will firmly combat this orchestrated and motivated anti-Communist propaganda. The CPI(M) is confident that the Indian people will realize the grave implications of the adverse developments in the Soviet Union for India. The Socialist Soviet Union had consistently stood by India in its striving for developing an independent and self-reliant economy and a non-aligned foreign policy. It had

always stood for the preservation and defence of Indian unity. The dismantling of the Socialist system and the breaking up of the Soviet Union deprives India and other Third World countries of a reliable ally in warding off imperialist pressures. More importantly, the break-up of the multinational Soviet Union will give a fillip to the secessionist forces in India which are backed by imperialism.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) reasserted its firm adherence to the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and its creative application to Indian conditions. It upholds the principles of proletarian internationalism and consistent anti-imperialism which conforms to the basic interests of the people of India. It reaffirms the revolutionary potential of the Communist movement in our country in the fight against class exploitation and for social emancipation.

The CPI(M), along with other progressive and revolutionary forces the world over, will never reconcile to the "new world order" dominated by U.S. imperialism. The CPI(M) will continue to develop and strengthen the working class and democratic movement in the country, it will strengthen its bonds of solidarity with all those forces fighting for peace, democracy, national independence and Socialism the world over.

The Central Committee authorized the Polit Bureau to finalize the text of its resolution on the Soviet developments.

National Situation

The Central Committee discussed the outline for the Draft Political Resolution for the Fourteenth Party Congress. It highlighted the vital issues concerning the present national situation—the threats to national unity, Centre-State relations, atrocities on Scheduled Castes and Tribes, social justice and the anti-people economic policies which is leading to the worsening economic situation.

1. Dangers to National Unity

The Central Committee noted that the situation in Kashmir continues to be grave with the stepped up activities of

the separatist forces aided by Pakistan backed by imperialism. The Narasimha Rao Government has failed to take political initiative to tackle the situation. While firmly countering the terrorist violence in the valley, it is essential that concrete steps are taken to protect the identity of the Kashmiri people and to grant more autonomy for the state of Jammu and Kashmir. In tackling the menace of terrorism, the administration should demarcate between the JKLF and the Pakistan sponsored fundamentalist Jammate-Islami groups. As a first step to revive the political process, advisory committees of the representatives of all parties must be set up at the State and district levels. The Central Committee demanded that the Central Government convene a meeting of all parties to discuss the Kashmir situation.

Punjab

The Central Committee strongly criticized the Narasimha Rao Government for its failure to take any effective measure at the political level to resolve the long-standing grievances of the people of Punjab. This policy of drift has to be halted immediately. Already the CPI(M) has set out the immediate issues on which the Central Government should take initiatives such as the handing over of Chandigarh to Punjab, referring the river waters disputes to the Supreme Court, setting up of a commission to go into the territorial disputes, and the setting up of a committee of the Inter-State Council to go into the question of restructuring of Centre-State relations. These measures must be immediately taken so that the proper conditions are created for the holding of the State Assembly elections.

The Central Committee was of the opinion that the proposed amendment to the Constitution and the Representation of People's Act to disqualify candidates indulging in secessionist propaganda, will only aggravate the situation in the State further.

The Central Committee supported the call of the Punjab

State Committee of the Party to hold a mass *dharna* at New Delhi on September 10 to press for a political solution to the Punjab problem. It called upon all its Party units in the country to observe September 10 as a Demands Day to resolve the Punjab problem.

2. Centre-State Relations

The Central Committee reiterated its stand that to strengthen the unity of the country and to evolve a more democratic structure of Centre-State relations, it is imperative that the whole gamut of Centre-State relations be immediately reviewed and adequate powers devolved to the States. The Narasimha Rao Government continues to treat this vital issue in an anti-democratic manner as seen by its decision to deny the coal-producing States like West Bengal and Bihar of their right to levy cess, thereby depriving the States of valuable revenue. The Central Committee demanded that the Inter-State Council be activated and regular meetings be held to take up the issues concerning Centre-State relations.

3. Atrocities on Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes

The Central Committee expressed serious concern at the growing attacks on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes when they seek to stand up for their rights. The massacre of Scheduled Castes in the Tsundur village in Andhra Pradesh, the killing of a police officer by upper-caste men for entering a temple in Parbhani district in Maharashtra and the recent incidents of atrocities on Scheduled Castes in U P and Bihar, testify to the intolerance and oppression perpetrated by upper-caste chauvinism. All those responsible for such atrocities must be dealt by the law severely and expeditiously.

The Central Committee reiterated its stand that reservation of jobs be implemented for the backward classes. For this an acceptable solution can be evolved based on the Karpoori Thakur Formula.

4. Vindictive Attitude of U.P. Government

The Central Committee condemned the decision of the BJP Government in Uttar Pradesh for withdrawing the security arrangement for Mulayam Singh Yadav, the former Chief Minister, who continues to be threatened by rabid communalists for his stand on the Ayodhya dispute. The Central Committee demanded the restoration of full security arrangements for the former Chief Minister.

The Central Committee extended its full support to the struggle of the Dalla Cement Factory workers who are opposing the sale of the State undertaking to a big business house. The Central Committee demanded of the BJP Government in Uttar Pradesh that it immediately cancel the sale to the Dalmias and restore normal working of the factory.

5. Worsening Economic Situation

Contrary to the claims of the Narasimha Rao Government, the impact of the Union budget proposals and the new economic policy measures have led to the deterioration in the living of the people. Inflation has crossed the 14 per cent mark with galloping price rise of all essential commodities. This is imposing unbearable burdens on the common people. The pro-multinational industrial policy will compromise economic sovereignty. The pro-big business thrust will adversely affect the small and medium sectors of our industries. For the working class, the privatization drive spells joblessness and misery.

The Central Committee called for widespread resistance to the whole gamut of economic policies initiated by the Congress(I) Government under pressure from the IMF and acceptance of its stringent conditionalities. In this connection the Central Committee called for a big mobilization by its Party units and the mass organizations to make the September 27 *March to Delhi* by the Left Parties and National Front a big success.

The Central Committee welcomed the decision of the central trade unions and independent federations to hold a

convention to prepare for a countrywide protest strike action against the new industrial policy and other economic measures of the Government

Fourteenth Party Congress

The Central Committee decided on the number of delegates to be elected to the forthcoming Fourteenth Party Congress to be held in Madras from January 3 to 9, 1992. It decided on 650 delegates and their Statewise representation.

On Current Developments in the Soviet Union*

Resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(M) in its meeting held on August 28-31, 1991

Extremely grave and disturbing developments are taking place in the Soviet Union. The very existence of the Socialist system and the unity and integrity of the USSR are at stake. These have serious repercussions not only for the future of the Soviet Union but also for the course of developments in the world. The reactions to these developments coming from all over the world reflect the class interests and standpoint in the struggle between the forces of Socialism and imperialism.

The imperialist countries are elated over the turn of events. They are all in praise of Gorbachev and Yeltsin, particularly Yeltsin. The changes since August 19 saw the USA and other imperialist countries openly expressing their intention to intervene. They announced withholding of aid to the Soviet Union and brought all possible pressure to ensure that the USSR moves away from Socialism. The bourgeois Press and reactionary forces like the BJP, in our country, were unanimous in hailing the victory of the so-called "reformists" over the "hardliners" and denouncing those who sought to defend Socialism. Social Democrats inside our country have, as usual, directed their guns against the CPI(M).

After the failure of the takeover by the Emergency regime full-scale onslaught against the CPSU has been launched. In this anti-Communist frenzy, the offices of the CPSU have been seized or sealed, including the Central Committee office

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Party newspapers are being forced to suspend publication. The Party has been banned through the length and breadth of the USSR. The statues and symbols of the October Revolution are being attacked and desecrated all over. The statues of Dzerzhinsky and Sverdlov, universally respected Bolshevik leaders, have been removed in Moscow, the bust of Marx defaced, and statues of Lenin toppled in other parts of the country. The Red Flag is being trampled upon and in its place the flag of Czarist Russia is being hoisted.

On August 24, Gorbachev announced his resignation from the post of the General Secretary of the CPSU and the arbitrary dissolution of the Central Committee. He issued an authoritarian decree directing the take-over of all Party properties by State and municipal authorities. The Party has thus been paralyzed and disarmed. With the effective capture of power by the Yeltsin administration of the governmental functions of the Centre, the process of dismantling the Socialist system has taken a big stride. Such is the tragic situation in the land of Lenin.

The process of disintegration of the Soviet Union has also begun. The three Baltic republics have declared their independence which has been recognized by the USA and other Western countries. This has been followed by declaration of independence of many other republics.

Imperialism which has never hidden its hostility to Socialism has been making full use of the situation arising from the reforms in pursuance of its aim to internally subvert the Socialist countries. It unleashed a massive propaganda blitz that Socialism has no future, Communism is dead and capitalism is the last stage of human social evolution. The tactics of imperialism, directed towards achieving this objective, have sharpened the central contradiction between the forces of imperialism and Socialism.

The imperialist strategy of "peaceful evolution" is, in essence, aimed at bringing the Socialist countries into the sphere of their political and economic domination by undermining them from within and sway them to the path

of capitalism. In the name of "aid" and "cooperation" the imperialists are forcing the independent developing countries to reorganize their political and economic system to facilitate their domination. Taking advantage of the changes in the balance of forces in international relations, imperialists are getting more outrageous, launching piratical armed aggression against the sovereign countries.

These are not sudden developments. These are the culmination of the struggle which was going on inside the Soviet Union between the forces which were defending the gains of the October Revolution and the Socialist system and those who, backed by imperialism, wanted to reverse the course of history by restoring capitalism. During this period, instead of the renewal of the Socialist system through reforms, economic reforms came to a dead end with a serious all-round crisis prevailing in the USSR. Added to this was the aggravation of the national and ethnic problems reaching the stage of separatist movements, threatening the unity of the country itself. During the last four years, the total result has been not the consolidation of the Socialist system but the unleashing of such forces which are determined to reverse the course of history. Erosion of the ideological basis, spread of ideas of consumerism, the penetration of all the vices of capitalist system and loosening of the grip on the course of developments itself by the State and the Party created favourable conditions for imperialist backed anti-Socialist forces to operate.

The issue is not one of support or opposition to the reforms as the bourgeois Press in our country revels in. The CPI(M) Central Committee, while underlining the need for reforms to strengthen Socialism, had warned as early as in August 1988 *"But it has to be understood and underlined sharply that all such measures will strengthen society if the guiding role of Marxism-Leninism is preserved and the role of the Party as a leading force of society, as vanguard of the working class is ensured. Without these latter two conditions new measures would not realise the Socialist initiative of*

the masses and ensure their participation in running the State” The May 1990 resolution had explained “*The Leninist concept of the leading role, is of a role won by the Party through its ideological, political and organizational work amongst the people*”

Initially, in the Soviet Union, there was wide support to Gorbachev and the Central Committee to pursue the policy of reforms meant for renewal of Socialism. Developments since the Twenty-seventh Congress of the CPSU need to be closely followed. This Congress asserted the leading role of Marxism-Leninism and played an important role by unleashing a series of initiatives to create an international atmosphere against nuclear war. Subsequently, however, a situation was created where the revisionists and the capitalist roaders gained from strength to strength in the name of reforms. The big reverses to Socialism in the East European countries were hailed as a step in the right direction. The net result of this systematic erosion of the Socialist system was that the USSR has come to the threshold of disintegration coupled with a serious economic crisis and the restoration of capitalism.

The unity of the Soviet Union which was seriously endangered, was sought to be resolved through the signing of a new Union Treaty. But the provisions of this treaty, instead of halting the disintegration, would have hastened the balkanization of the Union. Big concessions were made in the name of true federalism which would have undermined the Socialist character of the USSR. No one can deny the need to strengthen equality of various national groups. But this cannot be done by Central subjects in the sphere of economy, foreign trade, banking and finance being given to the republics. Taxation was to be the exclusive preserve of the republics, even the Central budget would have to require the republics' permission and the republics were free to trade directly with foreign countries. The signing of this treaty of August 20 would have made the disintegration of the Soviet Union a *fait accompli*.

It is in this crisis situation that the Emergency take-over

declared on August 19, must be viewed The CPI(M)'s reaction to this move was based on its consistent defence of the Socialist system and the unity of the Soviet Union This extraordinary action had the backing of the overwhelming number of Government leaders as stated by Gorbachev himself in the Supreme Soviet It was a rearguard attempt to stave off the collapse of the Soviet Union which would have had severe and adverse consequences for the cause of world Socialism The virulent hostility to the take-over from the USA and other imperialist powers declared their partisanship for the end of the Socialist system in the Soviet Union and for the restoration of capitalism there

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M), while analysing the recent developments in the Soviet Union before August 19, had come to the conclusion that a situation had been created whereby the very future of the October Revolution is at stake. The seventy-four years of the Socialist system was being undermined The Polit Bureau saw the Emergency take-over as an attempt to retrieve the situation which was going out of hand The move failed, even though it had the backing of the Council of Ministers and the support of other leading personnel The failure of the attempt and the circumstances surrounding it, need to be gone into in more detail

The CPI(M), since its inception, had to carry on a fierce struggle against revisionism and dogmatism, both in the international and Indian Communist movement During this struggle the CPI(M) was guided by its independent judgement on the basis of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and from its own experience Following this approach, the CPI(M) since May 1988 repeatedly had to publicly express its ideological differences with the CPSU. In fact, the May 1990 resolution had warned that the direction of reforms, the undermining of Marxist-Leninist ideology by equating it with social democracy and the erroneous understanding on many concepts negating class struggle will only help undermining Socialism

In 1987, Gorbachev presented his report on the

70th Anniversary of the October Revolution Dealing with the present-day world contradictions, he deviated from the Leninist understanding *In the name of the changed situation, he advocated the theory of modification of contradictions where the role of imperialism, with its inherent contradiction, was sought to be negated Our Party is proud of being one of the first to point out to the CPSU about our disagreement* Within two weeks our delegation was invited for discussions on this subject and there too we disagreed and finally our Central Committee came out with a detailed elaboration of our stand making a critique of the positions of Gorbachev in its resolution of May 1988

Since then, Gorbachev has been changing his position one after the other and has been constantly compromising with imperialism and local reactionaries who were aiming at restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union Subsequently, in the Central Committee meeting in the last week of May 1990, our Party, while analyzing the setbacks and reverses in the East European countries, criticized some of the positions taken by Gorbachev and the CPSU Criticizing the Draft Platform for the Twenty-eighth Party Congress, we stated that it departs from certain fundamental Marxist-Leninist tenets, and in the name of correcting past distortions a departure is sought to be made from the basic ideology of Marxism-Leninism In the resolution we dealt with Gorbachev's concept of Socialism, universal human values and class values, class nature of the State under Socialism, role of the Party, denigration of the Socialist past, democratic centralism, assessment of social democracy, relationship of planning and market, the primacy of social ownership and Gorbachev's negation of the role of imperialism We highlighted the danger of undermining the Socialist system and society We asserted that capitalism can provide no alternative to Socialism and the continued relevance and validity of the science of Marxism-Leninism

But subsequently, during the last one year, the documents of the CPSU and the speeches of Gorbachev reveal a

further drift from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism which has led to the economic reforms reaching a dead end without any problem being tackled. The role of the Party was completely undermined, within the Party many factions were allowed to function and the country had reached the verge of disintegration due to the failure to solve the national and ethnic problems on the basis of the principles laid down by Lenin. A study of all the events of the recent period goes to show that Gorbachev was determined to abandon Marxism, that is why he did not differentiate between social democracy and the Communist Party. This approach is evident from the new Draft Programme prepared for Twenty-ninth Congress under Gorbachev's leadership.

"The changes occurring in the world make it possible to take a new look at the historic destiny of Socialism. The Socialist movement emerged in an industrial era. For the most part it was based on confrontation-oriented political culture, which was the projection of the acute class antagonisms of society at that time. A new civilisation which is being shaped in the process of present global development disagrees with the habitual notions of classical industrial society, its rigid division into opposing classes, polarisation between labour and capital, and confrontation of social systems."

The steps which Gorbachev has taken after reassuming office go to show that he is party to the denigration of the October Revolution, of Lenin and his colleagues, it also reveals his contempt for democracy which he talks so much about. In his presence, Yeltsin signed a decree to suspend the activities of the Communist Party. An anti-Communist hysteria has been worked up throughout the country which is meant only to pave the way for the restoration of capitalism and put out any chance of resistance in defence of Socialism.

Addressing the Russian Parliament, Gorbachev stated "We need a major regrouping of political forces. We need a reliable Government." He also signed an agreement with Yeltsin

where they stated that "we have agreed that if one of us cannot carry out his duties, then automatically the other immediately takes over his rights" He has also claimed that a mechanism has been worked out for this arrangement He immediately announced the appointment of Yeltsin's men to the posts of Prime Minister, Defence Minister, KGB and Interior Minister He stated that he has given sanction for the sealing of the building of the CPSU Central Committee. Gorbachev has made it known that he is contemplating the formation of a new party of the social democratic type He dismissed Lukyanov, the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet, without reference to the Supreme Soviet

Though they talk about democracy, one fails to understand wherefrom he and Yeltsin assumed the authority to usurp arbitrary powers, work up anti-Communist hysteria and sideline the Supreme Soviet and other institutions In reality, though Yeltsin is the President of the Russian Federation, it is his writ which runs in Kremlin This is the logical conclusion of the revisionist course which ultimately paves the way to the restoration of capitalism

Our Party must draw proper lessons from these changes. A fuller assessment of these changes must await a more detailed study as to how and why such sweeping reverses took place after 74 years of Socialism But these changes do not warrant any change in the basic ideological positions of our Party The CPI(M) Central Committee had repeatedly stated that the setbacks are the result of distortions in the process of Socialist construction The creative science of Marxism-Leninism continues to guide our activities and those revolutionaries who are struggling for social transformation Our Party will join all the forces the world over which, based on the science of Marxism-Leninism, are striving to put an end to the system of exploitation of man by man We will unite with all the forces of the working class, the Socialist countries and the national liberation movements who, as a result of inherent contradictions in the imperialist system, are bound to come forward in resisting this imperialist

offensive in defending their independence and marching forward to the goal of social liberation

Our Party has emerged as a major force of the Left in our country as a result of creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country and by fighting against revisionism and Left-adventurism by various contingents of the international Communist movement. The CPI(M) advanced, by serving the interests of the working class, agricultural labour, peasants and other toiling millions, defending and struggling to expand democratic rights and civil liberties, defending the unity of the country, struggling against communal and separatist movements, and fighting for developing and strengthening an independent India. Inspired by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, we will continue our struggle with confidence that capitalism is no answer to the ills of our society. We are confident that Socialism will ultimately triumph and the future of mankind lies in a classless Communist society.

The struggle for a new society is not a straight path. The history of the world Communist movement beginning with the Communist League, the struggles of the working class, the historic Paris Commune, bourgeois democratic revolutions and proletarian revolutions in many countries, their failures, the victory of the October Revolution and as a result of that the victory over fascism, the emergence of East European Socialist countries, the great Chinese Revolution, the victory of the Vietnamese over U.S. imperialists, the Korean Revolution, the historic Cuban Revolution, the successes and failure of revolutions in many other countries of Africa and Asia, is a history of many ups and downs, ebbs and flows in the revolutionary movement. In many countries like Indonesia, Sudan, Iraq, Chile, etc., a large number of Communists and progressive people were massacred at the hands of reactionaries backed by imperialism. But reactionaries could not deter them from fighting for the great ideals of Socialism. In a difficult and complicated situation, other Socialist countries are continuing to take a firm

position in defence of Socialist revolution Socialist Cuba, being on the frontline of imperialism's fury, will face renewed imperialist efforts to subvert its independence

These developments will have serious repercussions on the international situation The U S imperialism, declaring itself as the victor of the cold war, is embarking on a course of creating its own "new world order", an order in which imperialist domination will run the writ Already its aggressiveness can be seen in the developing world The manner in which it conducted the Gulf war, its open intervention in Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, etc , its arm-twisting pressures undermining the economic sovereignty of independent nations including India, all herald a situation where the very independence, democracy and sovereignty of these countries are at stake This is bound to bring to the fore the conflict between the people of the developing world and imperialism The CPI(M) will consistently stand by these struggles against imperialism

The CPI(M) is confident that the Indian people will realize the grave implications of the adverse developments in the Soviet Union for India The Socialist Soviet Union had consistently stood by India in its striving for developing an independent and self-reliant economy and a non-aligned foreign policy It had always stood for the preservation and defence of Indian unity The dismantling of the Socialist system and the breaking up of the Soviet Union deprives India and other Third World countries of a reliable ally in warding off imperialist pressures More importantly the break up of the multinational Soviet Union will give a fillip to the secessionist forces in India which are backed by imperialism

In India, this counter-revolutionary offensive in the Soviet Union will have its direct repercussions Those hostile to the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, including the Social democrats, will step up their efforts to whip up anti-Communist feelings. The current attack on the CPI(M) is because it is the firm defender of Marxism and the Socialist system

Weathering many a storm, relentlessly struggling against departures from Marxism-Leninism, the CPI(M) has all these years firmly upheld the cause of Socialism. The Central Committee calls upon the Party rank and file to carry forward this proud heritage, firmly upholding the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and resolutely rebuff this ideological and political offensive

On the Places of Worship (Special Provisions) Bill*

**Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated
September 12, 1991, to Press**

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) welcomes the adoption of the Places of Worship (Special Provisions) Bill in the Lok Sabha. This Bill, when enacted as law, will help in the preservation of the secular fabric of our society by ensuring that communal forces of all hues are hindered from creating new controversies and disputes regarding religious places of worship which can cause communal discord and communal enmity. The forthcoming Act guaranteeing the status quo of religious places of worship as on August 15, 1947, comes as a fulfilment of the election promises made by all major political parties except the BJP—the Left parties, the National Front and the Congress(I). The mandate they received on this question represents a big majority of the people belonging to all religious communities.

The BJP and the VHP have adopted a belligerent posture by opposing the Bill and threatening to launch an agitation against the legislation. The BJP leader L K Advani intends to visit the Somnath temple on September 25 to rouse feelings on this sensitive issue. Once again the BJP stands against the national sentiments and secular verdict of the people.

All the Left, democratic and secular forces must stand firm in the face of the disruptive efforts of the BJP-VHP to divide the people on communal lines. The VHP must be told in no uncertain terms that its nefarious plans to launch

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an agitation on the Varanasi and Mathura places of worship, will be rebuffed unitedly by the secular and patriotic sections. The BJP national leadership must desist from its negative and obstructionist approach and respect the verdict of Parliament.

Polit Bureau on Assam Situation*

Statement dated September 16, 1991, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses concern at the decision of the Government of India to redeploy the army in several districts of Assam

It is relevant to recall that a few months ago there had been a perceptible improvement in the situation in Assam with the elections for the Lok Sabha and the State legislature being held. The fact that 70 per cent of the electorate had participated in the elections, was indicative of the restoration, at least partially, of normalcy. However, the newly formed State Government and the Union Government instead of initiating efforts to find a political solution, adopted opportunist policies of placating the extremists, and as a result of this mishandling, the situation began deteriorating steadily. The killing of a Soviet official** and the recent murder of an ONGC official, held as a hostage along with six others, and repeated threats of ULFA, are clear pointers to the rapidly worsening condition. It is in this context that the State and Central Government have now resorted to the deployment of the army, revealing the absence of any realistic or clear policy direction.

The Polit Bureau is of the view that the Government should have tried to find a national consensus on a comprehensive political solution instead of the repeated use of the

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**Refer Document under Item No 191 of this Volume

army to help the civil administration. The Polit Bureau appeals to the Central Government for urgently convening a meeting of all political parties for the purpose of evolving a political solution.

Expulsion of Ajeya Rout*

Statement dated September 14, 1991, issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) announced the summary expulsion of Ajeya Rout, former Secretary of the Orissa State Committee of the Party, on grave charges of anti-Party activities and attempts to break the State unit of the CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau rejects all the absurd post-facto political and organizational reasons given by Ajeya Rout for his disruptive activities. While in the Party he had never raised any basic points of political-ideological differences. All these are an afterthought since his removal from the Secretaryship of the State Committee

For over a decade, the Polit Bureau and the Central Committee have been trying to resolve the problems of the factional activities indulged in by Ajeya Rout and some others in the State unit. As a consequence at the Thirteenth Party Congress of the Party in December 1988, Ajeya Rout was dropped from the Central Committee of the Party. Subsequently, efforts at resolving the factional disputes on a principled basis were patiently attempted by the Polit Bureau and the Central Committee. In July, the Central Committee dissolved the Orissa State Committee and set up an Organizing Committee. This Committee was entrusted with the responsibility to hold the Party Conferences at all levels so that through inner-party democracy, new leading bodies could be constituted.

Now Ajeya Rout has gone beyond the pale of the Party

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by announcing his intention to form his own Party motivated by petty, parochial interests which have nothing to do with the programme and policies of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)

The Polit Bureau also decided to ask for an explanation from those members of the Party who are signatories to the statement issued by Ajeya Rout

The Polit Bureau is confident that the overwhelming membership of the Party will firmly rebuff the disruptionist and anti-Party activities of Ajeya Rout. It appeals to the entire Orissa Party unit to unitedly defend the Party's programmatic and ideological positions and defeat the move for disruption

CPI(M)'s Stand on Indrajit Gupta's Statement*

Statement dated September 13, 1991, issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)

The statement issued by Comrade Indrajit Gupta, General Secretary of the CPI, on certain observations by the CPI(M) General Secretary, Comrade Namboodiripad, underlines the divergent assessment of the two parties of the disturbing developments in the Soviet Union. Comrade Namboodiripad has not issued any statement on CPI(M)-CPI relations. What is being referred to probably, is an article in a series written by him on the Soviet developments in the Party daily *Deshabhimani* wherein he dealt with relations between the two parties.

The CPI(M)'s stand on the events in the Soviet Union is motivated by deep concern and commitment in defence of Socialism in the Soviet Union. The blatant moves to restore capitalism by dismantling the Socialist system and the steps being taken to disintegrate the USSR, should arouse the anger and opposition of all Communists and progressives. The recent visit by James Baker, U.S. Secretary of State, and his arrogant dictates on the internal and foreign policy measures to be taken by the Soviet leadership, have been met with submissive compliance. No Communist Party can ignore the counter-revolutionary developments in the Soviet Union and the role being played by the present leadership there. The CPI(M), since its inception, has never been silent when the question has been imperialism versus Socialism or when the future of Socialism is threatened.

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Such differences on basic theoretical and ideological questions have not and should not prevent the two parties and the Left force to work together and strengthen Left unity in facing the challenges before the Left and democratic movement in the country. What is happening in the Soviet Union only further underlines the necessity for all anti-imperialist and Left forces to further develop and strengthen the struggles to defend national unity, safeguard independence and for social emancipation.

On Withdrawal of Soviet Aid to Cuba*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated September 13, 1991, to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the unilateral Soviet decision to withdraw military aid to Cuba.

That this announcement was made by Gorbachev at a Press conference at the behest of the USA, in James Baker's presence, reflects the current sorry state of affairs in the Soviet Union. Gorbachev did not even refer to the fact that the USA has an illegally occupied nuclear weapon equipped naval base on Cuban territory at Guantanamo

This decision, without even consulting Cuba, completely violates the recent decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet to adhere to all international commitments. It is a known fact that for the last three decades U.S. imperialism has been trying its best to liquidate Socialist Cuba. In the present context, with the Soviet capitulation the U S designs are bound to be more aggressive

It must be recalled that at the recently concluded session of the Latin American Parliament, a resolution was adopted condemning U S economic blockade of Cuba for the last 30 years, asking for its end and expressing solidarity with the people of Cuba

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its fraternal solidarity with the people of Cuba in their efforts to safeguard Socialism and national independence

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Polit Bureau on Communal Violence*

Statement dated September 24, 1991, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep concern at the communal riots which have broken out in different parts of the country during the Ganesh Chaturthi processions which coincided with the observance of the Prophet's birthday. These communal clashes have already led to loss of lives in Hyderabad, Badodara, Chittorgarh and some centres in Karnataka. The CPI(M) condemns those communal vested interests who utilize religious observances to fan communal hatred.

In this connection the Polit Bureau notes that the BJP leader, L K Advani, plans to visit Somnath on September 25, 1991, to commemorate the *rath yatra* held last year which led to heightened communal polarization and violence. The CPI(M) calls upon all the Left, democratic and secular forces to mobilize people to preserve communal amity. The Polit Bureau urges the Central Government and the State administrations to be vigilant to see that efforts at instigating communal tensions do not succeed in the coming days.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, September 29, 1991

On Consensus on Reservations for OBCs*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated September 24, 1991, to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) considers it essential that a consensus be evolved on the question of implementation of 27 per cent reservation for the Other Backward Classes (OBCs) announced by the National Front Government. The CPI(M) has placed its views in the all-parties' conference called by the Government of India.

The CPI(M) wants implementation of the 27 per cent reservation with suitable economic criteria which will ensure that the most needy sections among the backward classes are benefitted. In the eventuality of posts being not filled within this criteria, they may be open only for applicants within the category of the backward classes.

The CPI(M) has also asked for five to ten per cent reservation for the poor of the upper castes to be included in this package on the lines of assurances made by the then Prime Minister, V P Singh, in Parliament. The CPI(M) hopes that a national consensus can be achieved on the basis of the above formula which ensures social justice and also prevents it from depriving sections of people.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, September 29, 1991

Greetings to People's Republic of China*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) sent the following message of greetings on September 28, 1991, to the Communist Party of China on the 42nd anniversary on the founding of the People's Republic of China.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) sends its fraternal revolutionary greetings to the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China on the occasion of the 42nd anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

Coming as it does in the context of setbacks to Socialism in the Soviet Union, the confusion in the ranks of Communists, Socialists and progressives in very many countries, the steadfast loyalty and commitment to Socialism displayed by China is an important factor in stemming the tide of the counter-revolutionary offensive against Socialism initiated and unleashed by imperialism throughout the world. The Chinese leadership has stated that the Chinese people would unswervingly push forward Socialist modernization and reforms.

The Chinese Revolution was the trail blazer and the pathfinder in a Third World country. Though it had to pass through many vicissitudes, the Communist Party and the People's Republic of China adhered to Marxism-Leninism.

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and today is a beacon light for millions of people fighting for a better life and living

It is with a sense of pride that we recall how the People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China rolled back imperialist-inspired counter-revolutionary moves just two years back. Meeting the challenge posed by the forces inimical to Socialism, has enabled the Communist Party of China inspire people throughout the world fighting for Socialism. In the wake of this great fight, further steps taken by the Party and the State to revamp the Party organization and unleash a struggle to raise the level of consciousness of the Chinese people in building Socialism, will also be an object lesson for many countries and parties.

The Socialist path that the Chinese people embarked upon with the foundation of the People's Republic of China is registering steady progress, although there have been many ups and downs. The Chinese economy is showing strong trends of recovery and progress despite the recent national disasters. The CPI(M) wishes the Government and people of China all success in the economic reforms which will make China a prosperous and strong power.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) hopes that in the renewed venture of renewal of Socialism in China, it will be possible through stages, for the Chinese people, to smash the centuries-old shackles of poverty and march ahead to the goal of establishing a full fledged developed Socialist state. The Central Committee of the CPI(M) is happy to note the continuing improvement in relations between China and India, the two most populous countries in the world, and hopes that the relations will go on improving further on the basis of mutual respect and friendship between the two countries.

On this happy occasion of the 42nd anniversary of the founding of People's Republic of China, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) sends its warmest revolutionary greetings and wishes further success in this march to the cherished goal of fullfledged Socialism.

On Romanian Diplomat's Abduction*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated October 9, 1991, to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) is shocked at the reported kidnapping of the Romanian Charge-de-Affairs in India

Given the background of the unsuccessful attempt on the life of Shri Riberio in Romania by Sikh extremists, this kidnapping could be the handiwork of these forces in India

This is a clear warning to the Government of India that even the lives of diplomats are not safe

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) calls upon the Government of India to give up the policy of drift on Punjab and tackle this question on priority basis in finding a political solution alongwith stern administrative measures.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 20, 1991

Reckless Move on Ayodhya Dispute*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated October 11, 1991

The BJP-led Uttar Pradesh State Government has issued a notification providing for the acquisition of the four plots of land which includes parts of the disputed site at Ayodhya. Earlier, many other sites around the disputed areas had been taken over by the VHP. It is significant that the notification for the acquisition has been issued bypassing some legal provisions in the name of the "urgency of the matter". These moves conclusively indicate and Press reports confirm that the BJP Government has decided to proceed with the construction of the temple at the site irrespective of all the serious implications.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) is gravely concerned about the possible dangerous consequences of this reckless move. This move could encourage irresponsible elements in the majority community and could endanger the security and rights of the minorities throughout the country. The danger of aggravation of communal tension and confrontation is also very real.

The CPI(M) has consistently upheld that the dispute should be settled peacefully either through negotiated agreement between the parties or through a judicial verdict. The Party has warned against any other methods as these were bound to result in serious consequences.

The Polit Bureau appeals to the Union Government to take urgent note of the developing situation and take immediate

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steps to avert a major threat to communal harmony and national unity

The Polit Bureau demands that an urgent meeting of the National Integration Council be convened to ensure a peaceful settlement of the dispute

Polit Bureau on AIR's Appeasing Burmese Junta*

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) is aghast to learn that All India Radio (AIR), at the behest of the ruling military junta of Burma, has imposed an embargo on the exiled daughter of the famous Burmese leader, U Nu. This clearly violates the public pronouncements of the Government of India and its spokesman. It is clear that this has been done to satisfy the military Junta against whom Miss Than Thaun has been conducting a struggle to restore democracy in Burma.

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Polit Bureau Communiqué*

Issued following its meeting held in New Delhi on October 7-8, 1991

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India(Marxist) met in New Delhi on October 7-8, 1991. It heard the report of the Party delegation to China and approved the delegation's work. The Polit Bureau discussed the current political situation and issued the following communiqué.

Sharp Price Rise

The Polit Bureau expressed its deep concern at the serious inflationary trends in the economy which has led to all-round escalating prices. This is causing great hardship to the people. The annual rate of inflation touched 15.7 per cent in September. The public distribution system is unable to cope with it by neutralizing the open market prices with inadequate supplies and the narrow scope of the commodities provided.

The full effects of the new economic policy measures, including the devaluation of the rupee, is now manifesting itself in the economic situation. Instead of providing relief to the people, the Narasimha Rao Government is going ahead with big concessions to monopolists and foreign capital. The Ordinance amending the MRTP Act by which the big business houses have been freed from all checks, is the latest instance. This was done a few days after the budget session in order to avoid Parliament.

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The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) noted with satisfaction the big success of the September 27 rally held in New Delhi at the call of the Left Parties and National Front. The big response to this call from all parts of the country must be carried forward by developing the united mass struggles of all sections of the people against the new economic policies of the Government.

29 November Strike Call

In this connection the next important stage of the mass protest action is the call of the central trade unions for an all India industrial general strike on November 29. The Polit Bureau called upon all its units to throw its full weight behind the efforts to make this action a total success.

Carla Hills' Visit

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) viewed with serious concern the heightened pressures on India to surrender its position on intellectual property and to accept the U.S. formula on patents.

The arrival of Carla Hills, the U.S. trade representative, to India and her talks here and in Washington with Chidambaram have given rise to widespread apprehensions that the Narasimha Rao Government will resile from its earlier position in order to prevent sanctions under the Special 301 clause of the U.S. Trade Act

Ms. Carla Hills has arrogantly rejected India's stand on the patents issue, she has demanded that the services sector be opened to foreign capital. She has also opposed the Indian Government's provisions for export earning as a condition for foreign investments in trade related sectors. The opening up of the services sector and modification of patent laws under U.S. pressure will be a major step to compromise the economic sovereignty of the country. The CPI(M) demands of the Government of India a full discussion in Parliament before it commits itself to any position detrimental to the country's interest.

Dangers to National Unity

The National Executive session of the BJP held in Trivandrum, and the earlier VHP meet at Rishikesh, have made it clear that the VHP and BJP are bent upon aggravating the situation at Ayodhya by pursuing their plans for beginning the construction of the temple at the disputed site. Clandestine moves are afoot to facilitate such illegal construction.

If such a step is embarked upon, it will have serious consequences for communal harmony and national unity. The Central Government has to discharge its responsibility to avert such a situation and uphold the rule of law. All the secular political parties must take a united stand to ensure that such a confrontation does not develop and to mobilize public opinion in favour of either a negotiated settlement or acceptance of the court verdict.

The Polit Bureau demanded the immediate convening of the National Integration Council to discuss the issue.

The situation in Punjab and Kashmir has further deteriorated in the recent period. The Narasimha Rao Government continues with a lackadaisical approach in tackling the situation and has failed to take any major political initiatives. In Punjab, the Khalistani extremists have targetted the families of police personnel and over 80 family members of police officials have been brutally killed in the state in the past three weeks. In the case of Kashmir, the fundamentalist forces are being buttressed by large-scale infiltration of trained extremists from across the border by Pakistan. The Central Government's lack of initiative in adopting a comprehensive policy which addresses to the genuine problems of the people, while taking firm administrative measures, is going to cost the country heavily.

The situation in Assam has worsened leading to the deployment of the army to tackle the ULFA menace. The bungling by the Saikia Government and the Centre in first releasing all the ULFA detenus without any prior assurance, led to large-scale kidnappings and hostages.

Reservation for OBCs

The Polit Bureau welcomed the announcement by the Central Government on reservation for Other Backward Classes (OBCs) which maintains the 27 per cent reservation in jobs. It introduces an economic criteria within these reservations so that preference is given to the needy sections, and in case vacancies are not filled they would be available to the others within the backward classes. Ten per cent reservation has been provided for the poor of other castes. This is a formula which was advocated by the CPI(M) as a reasonable basis for a consensus. Acceptance of such a formula will protect the principle of social justice and help to arrive at a wider understanding to avert further divisiveness. The Polit Bureau appeals to all sections of the people to see that the issue is settled on the basis of this consensus to prevent diversionary attempts to divide the people.

On Kerala

The Polit Bureau strongly condemned the Congress(I) Government's anti-democratic steps to curtail and sabotage the implementation of devolution of powers to the District Councils. The District Councils Amendment Bill passed in the Kerala Assembly recently, seeks to nullify the electoral mandate of the people who elected the first District Councils under the new set-up. The addition of MLAs and MPs to the councils is a blatantly petty and partisan move to gerrymander a majority for the UDF. The Karunakaran Government is also contemplating anti-democratic changes in the university structure and the Granthashala Act. The thrust of these measures is to curtail democratization, which goes against the wishes of different sections of the people who had struggled hard to achieve these democratic gains.

On Tripura

The Congress(I)-TUJS coalition Government racked by internal dissensions and quarrels, continues to resort to intimidation and terror which has affected large sections of

the people In the recent period, there have been a spate of murders and rapes of women In the month of September alone there have been 32 murders and seven rapes and gangrapes The Polit Bureau demanded the setting up of a commission of enquiry under the Commission of Enquiry Act to investigate all the cases of atrocities and rapes against political opponents and tribal people in the State. The private armed gangs of the various Congress(I) leaders must be immediately disbanded and the rule of law restored in the State

Janata Dal

The Polit Bureau expressed concern at the inner situation in the Janata Dal which is embroiled in internal controversies which detract from strengthening the unity of the democratic and secular forces which are called upon to meet the many challenges facing the country It expressed the hope that the Janata Dal will be able to put its house in order and contribute to the strengthening of the common movement against policies of the Government and against the communal danger.

On Arms Cut

The announcement by the U S President of cuts in nuclear arms and the response of President Gorbachev by announcing reciprocal cuts in nuclear weaponry are positive in the sense that it leads to the elimination of substantial portion of tactical nuclear weapons now deployed by both sides. There are also elements in the package announced by both sides which reduce the deployment of some other categories of strategic nuclear weapons. However, the American proposals are designed, in the main, to reduce the Soviet Union's military arsenal in areas where the United States is at a disadvantage, while protecting and advancing key elements in the United States' "strategic modernization" of nuclear weapons The Strategic Defence Initiative, i e., the Star Wars programme, will be utilised to maintain strategic nuclear

dominance As in the case of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) signed in July by the U S and the Soviet Union, now also the United States is free and determined to pursue the development of new weapons such as the B-2 stealth bomber and the Trident II submarine missile

In the new world situation, with the crisis in the Soviet Union, the United States is determined to strive for nuclear superiority and military dominance That is why it has not cared to respond to Soviet requests for a moratorium on nuclear testing Until the United States of America is forced to take major initiatives for the elimination of all nuclear weapons, the threat to world peace and the danger of a nuclear holocaust will remain Now with the absence of the so-called "Soviet threat", the world peace movement must step up its efforts to force the United States to abandon its quest for nuclear domination

Central Committee Meeting

The Polit Bureau discussed and finalized two drafts to be placed before the forthcoming Central Committee meeting to be held from October 19 to 22 The Draft Political Resolution for the Fourteenth Party Congress will be finalized in the Central Committee meeting and released to all the Party units for pre-Congress discussions The Polit Bureau also discussed the Draft Resolution on Ideological Issues to be placed before the Central Committee.

Condolence on Comrade Biswanath Mukherjee*

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) deeply mourns the death of Comrade Biswanath Mukherjee.

Comrade Biswanath Mukherjee was a veteran revolutionary who dedicated his entire life for the Communist cause and in the service of the people. An ardent champion of the downtrodden, he served the Communist movement for long years with utmost sincerity and sacrifices. In his death the Left and democratic movement in our country has lost a valuable fighter.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) conveys its deep condolences to his wife, a veteran Communist leader, Comrade Geeta Mukherjee, who is a member of the Lok Sabha. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) conveys its grief to the CPI for this loss.

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Condolence on Comrade K. Anandan Nambiar*

The Tamil Nadu State Secretariat of the CPI(M) announces with deep sorrow the sad demise of Comrade K Anandan Nambiar, one of the senior leaders of the Party, one of the founders of the South Indian railway workers' movement and a freedom-fighter. He passed away at 10 00 a m at Trichy on October 11, 1991. He was 73.

Comrade K Anandan Nambiar started his political career as a member of the Communist Party 50 years ago. As an employee of the South Indian Railways, he organized the South Indian railway workers and led many of their struggles. Recognizing his services, the railway workers elected him general secretary of South Indian Railway Labour Union, the predecessor of the present DREU. He served in this post for several years.

In the year 1946, he was elected to the Madras Assembly from the railway workers' constituency. He was also elected to Parliament as a candidate of the Party in 1952, 1962 and 1967 elections from Nagapattanam and Trichy constituencies. He was also a very good orator. He dedicated his life for the Communist movement and underwent several years of imprisonment and underground life. He served as a member of the State Committee of the Party for a long period.

The State Secretariat of the Party dips the Red Flag and pays salutes to the memory of Comrade Anandan Nambiar.

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The Party conveys its deepest condolences to his wife and the bereaved family

The CPI(M) State Secretariat expresses its belief that his record of public life, devotion and militant service to the Communist movement, would stand as a beacon light for the working class, Party comrades, democrats and patriots

On Diabolical Massacre at Rudrapur*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated October 18, 1991 to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep shock and outrage at the horrific massacre at Rudrapur in Nainital district. Due to two bomb explosions, according to the official tally, 55 people have died and over a hundred people injured, many of them seriously. It is feared that the death toll will be much higher. The diabolical nature of these killings by the terrorists is seen by the second bomb blast at the local hospital.

These killings have been perpetrated obviously with an intention to spread terror and provoke reactions which can disturb communal amity. All sections of people must unite to see that the game of these anti-national forces is foiled. The Akali sections who have been only attacking state terrorism, must realise the harm they are doing to national unity. They will have to come out forthrightly against the Khalistani separatists and their inhuman terrorism. The State Government, with the help of the Central Government, must vigorously track down the culprits responsible for this barbarous crime.

The Polit Bureau conveys its heartfelt condolences to all those who have lost their family members in this cruel attack. The State Government should ensure that the injured are provided the best medical treatment.

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 27, 1991

National Unity Under Grave Threat*

Central Committee of the CPI(M) issued the following statement on October 22, 1991, while in session in New Delhi

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) strongly protests the holding of the '*bhoomipoojan*' and the digging conducted at a spot near the disputed site at Ayodhya by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the Ram Janmabhoomi Mukti Yagya Samiti. This was done in the presence of the state police and district officials. The BJP State Government is fully conniving with the steps being taken to begin construction and encroach on the disputed site which has been specified by the High Court.

If this process continues, the BJP Government will be responsible for the brazen defiance of law. Obviously, the BJP has decided to allow these provocative steps with an eye to the forthcoming by-election which can result in grave repercussions for communal amity and national unity in the entire country.

The Narasimha Rao Government has not taken any decisive step to halt these illegal activities. For the past few weeks, the CPI(M) and other secular forces have been demanding the convening of the National Integration Council to discuss the issue. The Central Government has not acted in the matter expeditiously. A confrontation on the Ayodhya issue is a national issue of serious import. The Central Government cannot evade its responsibility to uphold the law and defend secular values by ensuring that the status quo at the disputed site is not altered in any way.

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The CPI(M) calls upon all the secular and democratic forces to unitedly mobilize the people to isolate those bent upon communal confrontation. It warns the BJP Government in U.P. not to transgress the law and the judicial directive.

CPI(M) Protests Finance Minister's Statement*

Statement dated October 17, 1991, issued by the Polit Bureau to Press

Shri Manmohan Singh, Union Finance Minister, declared at Bangkok in the meeting of the International Monetary Fund yesterday that he was going to close down unviable public sector units and soon start the sale of shares of public sector units. He also said that the operation facilities for the foreign banks will be liberalized and private banks encouraged to compete with the nationalized banks which are going to be restructured immediately. These declarations are against the assurances given by the Government inside and outside Parliament that the Government is not going to privatize the public sector industries and banks, and the commanding heights of the public sector will be maintained.

Mr Singh has completely succumbed to the IMF demands to privatize the public sector industries together with the financial institutions. He is mortgaging our country's economic sovereignty, and allowing multinational companies' domination of our financial and industrial sector.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly protests against these announcements being made by the Finance Minister to sell our country's economic freedom. The Polit Bureau appeals to the patriotic minded people to raise their voice against this surrender to the IMF.

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Central Committee Demands Relief on War Footing in Earthquake Affected Areas of Uttar Pradesh*

Issued statement dated October 21, 1991, to Press

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) expresses its deep shock and grief at the widespread loss of life and large-scale destruction of houses and properties due to the severe earthquake in the Almora region and adjoining hill districts of Uttar Pradesh. Many people are still trapped under the debris in various places. Thousands have been seriously injured. The tragedy has struck thousands of families and disrupted normal life. The intensity of the earthquake was such that its impact was felt in Delhi also.

The Central Committee calls upon the Central Government and the U P State Government to organize relief work on a war footing so that all the injured are given proper medical treatment, all the people provided food, shelter and clothing. Urgent plans must be drawn up for permanently rehabilitating the people affected by the tragedy.

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Observe 74th Anniversary of Great October Revolution*

Call Given by the Central Committee of the
CPI(M)

The CPI(M) has been observing the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution every year. The Central Committee of the CPI(M) calls upon all its units and ranks to observe the occasion highlighting the contributions made by Socialism to the people's struggles and the working class movement the world over since 1917.

This year these observations come in the background of the serious reverses to Socialism in the USSR. The anti-Communist forces are exhibiting their inherent hostility and hatred towards Socialism and Marxism-Leninism, and celebrating the so-called demise of Socialism. In the process they are seeking to obliterate the achievements of Socialism which continues to have a deep imprint on the people's struggle for liberation and emancipation as well as on the human intellect.

The October Revolution, for the first time in human history, had established a society free from exploitation, which continues to be the aspiration of billions of working people the world over. It was the Socialist Soviet Union which, for the first time in human civilization, enshrined the right to work as a fundamental right in its Constitution. Many of the democratic rights that are today considered inalienable in a civilized society are the result of people's struggles during the 20th century, whose inspiration was the yearning for liberation and emancipation from exploitation.

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In Indian conditions, when the economic status of the common man is constantly on the decline, with inflation running high, unemployment on the rise and the society divided at the behest of reactionary forces, the Great October Socialist Revolution continues to inspire the struggle with a vision of creating an exploitation-free society

The recent reverses are due, in the main, to the mistakes and distortions committed by the parties in power in these countries, coupled with the ideological erosion. These developments only testify to the fact that it is neither Socialism nor the liberating vision and influence of Marxism-Leninism that have failed. Drawing the correct lessons that have been committed, the CPI(M) pledges itself to upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism to carry forward the struggle for the emancipation of the Indian people.

The people of the developing countries particularly India, will now be subjected to a renewed imperialist offensive which seeks to subjugate their economies to suit its interests. Imperialist machinations are manifesting themselves in their active support to the secessionist and divisive movements that are threatening the unity and integrity of our country, apart from the economic and political pressures.

It is in this background that the CPI(M) Central Committee calls upon all its units and ranks to observe the 74th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which continues to inspire our Party and the Indian people, in a big way.

Greetings to Communists of Soviet Union on the Occasion of 74th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution*

Sent by the Central Committee of the CPI(M)

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) sends its revolutionary greetings to the Communists of the Soviet Union on the occasion of the 74th anniversary of the October Revolution. The Great October Socialist Revolutionary led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Russian Social Democratic Labour—Bolsheviks) under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, ushered in a new epoch in human history. With this revolution, Socialism emerged as a powerful force on the world scene. We the Communists of India had always considered the success of this revolution not as an achievement of the people of Russia alone but as a victory of the international working class in its fight against capitalism.

We today recall that the revolution was victorious as a result of the heroic, determined and self-sacrificing struggle of the Communists. We also remember that the Socialist power in the Soviet Union could be consolidated only through determined struggle by the working class and all toiling people against the armed intervention by the imperialist powers and the treacherous counter-revolutionary efforts of the defeated exploiting classes. The Communists were in the forefront of this struggle.

Today we recall the mighty achievements of the first Socialist state in building Socialism. In the course of the three decades, the Socialist system was consolidated and, thanks to the five-year plans, the country became one of the

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most advanced industrial nations of the world with great achievements in all fields. The success of the Socialist state in the spheres of providing employment, social security, health, education, culture, etc., has proved the superiority of Socialism in providing a new life to mankind.

In the Second World War, under the inspiring leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the entire people stood up to the ferocious onslaughts of the fascist forces and, in spite of the immense destruction and the death of millions of people, the Soviet people finally achieved a world-historic victory.

On this occasion we recall the role of the Soviet Union in extending its full support to the people of the oppressed countries in their fight for national liberation. Who can deny that this fraternal assistance was a powerful factor which led to the collapse of colonialism? The fraternal aid and assistance offered by the Soviet Union to the newly liberated countries to build their economies is also a hallmark in recent history.

The signal contribution of the Socialist Soviet Union to the cause of world peace can never be underestimated. The very existence of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries was the major factor that bridled the aggressive forces of imperialism and war. The role of the Soviet Union in this sphere has profound significance even today.

The very successes of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in all these fields, are primarily due to the Party being based on the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. The example of the Soviet Union and its active internationalist role has been an important factor contributing to the emergence and strengthening of the world Communist movement and all the struggles of the toiling people everywhere.

Today we watch with great anxiety and anguish the danger of disintegration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the threat to the established Socialist system. The reports of the counter-revolutionary reactionary attacks to which the Communists of the Soviet Union are being subjected, cause

immense sorrow and concern to the progressives and revolutionaries throughout the world

We are conveying to you our greetings on this historic day with the firm belief that the Communists of the Soviet Union will surmount all these hardships and sufferings and uphold the banner of Socialism, Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism

Unitedly Foil BJP Game*

Call given by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the vandalism indulged in by the VHP and the Bajrang Dal men who stormed the Babri Masjid, damaged portions of the boundary wall and hoisted saffron flags on October 31. This action has fully exposed the BJP State Government's connivance in the gross violation of the law and the court directive. This is clear from the fact that these illegal activities were conducted in the presence of the police and district administrative officials.

The BJP State Government has failed to maintain the court directive that the status quo at the disputed site should in no way be altered. In fact, the notification by the State Government to acquire land, including portions of the disputed site, is being utilised, in violation of the recent court directive, to allow the VHP and the Bajrang Dal to stage its provocative activities which are immensely harmful for communal amity and national unity. The confrontation at Ayodhya being promoted by the State Government and the VHP, has to be firmly met and foiled.

The Narasimha Rao Government has chosen to adopt a policy of wait and see which has emboldened the provocateurs. Shirking its responsibility would only mean further encouragement to the forces determined to challenge the secular State.

The Polit Bureau appeals to all patriotic and secular sections

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of the people to unite to face this challenge to secularism and national unity. It demands of the Central Government firm measures to uphold the law and the Constitution by involving Parliament to get its sanction for such measures.

Stop This Humiliating Move by Narasimha Rao Government for IMF Loan Under Extended Structural Adjustment Facility*

Protest statement dated November 3, 1991, issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its serious concern at reports that the Narasimha Rao Government has now decided to negotiate an IMF loan under the Extended Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF). This follows the IMF decision to clear 2 262 billion dollars (Rs. 5,875 crores) standby credit for which the Indian government accepted all the conditionalities set out by the Fund.

The recent visit of the IMF managing director to New Delhi has obviously set the stage for the next phase of the negotiations for the ESAF loan. By making this request in the IMF as this loan facility is utilized by the poorest countries which are subjected to the most humiliating conditions. India will be taking recourse to this facility for the first time. One need not underline what grave effects it will have on India's economic sovereignty.

Dr Manmohan Singh, the Finance Minister, in the last session of Parliament, had stated that the Government is not negotiating an extended fund loan. He has deliberately misled measures taken under the pressure of the IMF and World Bank which are anti-national. Behind the backs of the Indian Parliament and the people, the Finance Minister and the Congress(I) Government is step by step undermining the framework of self-reliance and the public sector.

The CPI(M) appeals to all patriotic and democratic sections

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to demand that the Government desist from taking any ESAF or Extended Fund Facility loan and build up a powerful united movement against the dangerous course adopted by the Rao Government

On the murder of Comrade Sarwan Singh Cheema*

Statement dated November 4, 1991, issued to Press by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) is shocked at the ghastly murder of Comrade Sarwan Singh Cheema and five others at the hands of extremists in a bomb blast near Jandianla at 10 00 am today. Comrade Cheema was a member of the Secretariat of the Punjab State Committee of the CPI(M) and the General Secretary of the State Kisan Sabha. Dedicating himself to the cause of the Party, during his political career spanning a forty-year period, Comrade Cheema was jailed several times. He met his last when attacked by extremists while on his way to Jullandhar to attend a joint meeting of the two Kisan Sabhas.

While the anti-national elements have been making our Party the main political target, the Central Government cannot be absolved of its responsibility, as it is due to its policy of drift that the worst deterioration has taken place in the past few months.

The Polit Bureau urges upon the Central Government to stop experimenting in Punjab and give priority to finding a solution.

The Polit Bureau conveys its heartfelt condolences to the family of Comrade Cheema and the families of the other comrades who were killed along with him.

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Polit Bureau on Disruptive Role of BJP*

Statement dated November 11, 1991, issued to Press

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) issued the following statement on November 11, 1991

The BJP has once again raised the issue of the reorganization of States. This is a brazen attempt to disorganize the existing federal structure of Indian Union. It is clear that the BJP is not content with rousing communal passions that are already wreaking havoc to the unity of our people.

The linguistic reorganization of the States in India was the result of decades long popular people's struggles of various linguistic groups. In today's conditions of increasing dangers to our country's unity and integrity, what is required is a radical restructuring of the Centre-State relations as the CPI(M) has been consistently suggesting. Instead, the BJP by bringing this issue to the fore, will only further encourage fissiparous tendencies and parochial passions. This will further undermine the unity of our country and embolden the divisive forces.

Such a demand of the BJP will only gladden the hearts of imperialists and other enemies of our country.

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) appeals to the people of our country to unitedly rebuff such disruptive moves and safeguard our country's unity.

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Shocking U.N. Recognition to Anand Marg Outfit*

Protest statement dated November 12, 1991, issued by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its strong disapproval of the decision of the United Nations Secretariat to accord the Anand Marg Universal Relief Team recognition as a non-governmental organization. This status of an NGO for an Ananda Marg outfit by the United Nations Secretariat is shocking, considering its violent and dubious record. It is well-known in India that the Anand Marg has been conducting terroristic activities. Some of these activities have been documented and printed by the Government of West Bengal last year.

It is surprising that the U N Secretariat has not taken into account the conviction last year, in an Australian court, of an Anand Marg follower in the case of the attempted assassination of Shri Morarji Desai in Sydney which led to the death of two innocent persons. Equally well-known are the terroristic attacks on Indian missions abroad by followers of Anand Marg during the period when its chief, the late PR Sarkar, was in jail in India on serious charges.

To give recognition to such an organization goes against the very charter of the United Nations. The Polit Bureau, while condemning this decision, calls upon the Government of India to immediately take up the matter in the United Nations and get the recognition cancelled.

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CPI(M) on the Bogus Claim of Congress(I) on the By-election Results*

Statement dated November 19, 1991, issued to Press by the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M)

The Congress(I) leadership has been prompt in claiming that the by-election results are an endorsement of the policies pursued by the Congress(I) Government since it assumed office five months ago. The results indicate nothing of the sort. The elections held in individual constituencies in different parts of the country show that the Congress(I) has made no significant gains compared to the trends in the general elections. Winning eight out of the 15 seats for the Lok Sabha by-elections while being in power, unlike the last elections, shows that the Congress(I) has not been able to convince large sections of the people that its policies are in any way different from the past. Even the marginal gains made by the Congress(I) are the results of the failure of the secular Opposition parties to project an alternative policy platform for mobilizing the people. The key issue of the economic burdens on the people due to the Congress(I) Government's new policies was not properly highlighted. There was also the shortsighted policy of a section of the Opposition like the Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh.

The by-elections also reveal that the BJP is able to maintain an edge in U.P because of the continuing weaknesses of the secular Opposition parties. In the absence of the concerted efforts of the secular Opposition the communal politics of the BJP continues to pose a serious danger. The lack of internal cohesion in the Janata Dal, and the division between

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the Janata Dal and the SJP, though it was contained to some extent, continues to help the BJP to get a majority of the seats. These parties must draw proper lessons from the by-election results.

Both in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, where results are still incomplete, the Congress(I) has fared as miserably as in the last general elections. Out of the 48 assembly seats for which results have been declared so far throughout the country, the Congress(I) has been able to win only one-third. The policies being pursued by the Congress(I), particularly on the economic front, is causing serious sufferings to the people and endangering the economic sovereignty. With such a policy the Congress(I) Government cannot promise either stability or relief to the common people.

The Polit Bureau congratulates the Left Front in West Bengal for winning the Purulia seat with a big margin. In Kerala, the UDF has scraped through with a narrow margin of over 850 votes in the Ettumanoor assembly seat. Five months ago, during the Parliament elections, the UDF had a lead of over 10,000 votes in this assembly segment. This big decline in the UDF vote indicates how the people are viewing the performance of the UDF Government.

The Polit Bureau noted with serious concern the increasing violence and resort to rigging, intimidation and use of criminals which was witnessed in these by-elections in different parts of the country. The violence has led to the loss of several lives and injuries to many. These harmful trends underline the urgency of introducing electoral reforms to check the growing malpractices.

Congress(I)-TUJS Government in Tripura Must Quit*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) made the demand in a statement released to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the murder of Shri Shyam Hari Sharma, the BJP candidate for the Agartala assembly by-election in Tripura. Two other BJP leaders were also seriously injured in the attack which took place in an election meeting. This heinous killing has been perpetrated to get the elections countermanded. This crime is another blot on the bloody record of the Congress(I)-led Government in the State which has been openly encouraging violence and mayhem.

It is significant that a few days ago, the State Government withdrew all security personnel provided to the CPI(M) candidate, MLAs and other leaders. Despite the protest of the CPI(M) and other Opposition parties, the State Government refused to restore the security arrangements. The Congress(I) Government at the Centre has chosen to deliberately ignore the reign of terror instituted in the State by its party unit. The Sudhir Ranjan Mazumdar Government has no right to stay in office and must quit.

Polit Bureau on Communal Riots in Varanasi*

Issued statement dated November 14, 1991, to Press

The Polit Bureau expresses its serious concern at the recurrence of communal violence in Varanasi after three days of curfew. Eight people have died and many seriously injured in the rampage by miscreants in certain parts of the city. The fact that violence has recurred after the first incidents and curfew, shows that the administration has failed to take sufficient precautionary measures.

The BJP State Government has miserably failed to tackle the situation. Preoccupied as it is in stoking communal confrontation on the Ayodhya dispute, the Kalyan Singh Government has been grossly negligent in anticipating such trouble which is a result of its own confrontationist policies. The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) demands that the State Government take adequate steps to deploy Central paramilitary forces in adequate strength in the city and the army be called in if necessary to prevent further deterioration.

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Homage to Comrade Abdulla Rasul*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated November 21, 1991, to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its profound grief at the death of Comrade Mohd Abdulla Rasul on November 21, 1991, at the age of 88. Abdulla Rasul was an outstanding leader of the Communist movement and one of the pioneers of the organized kisan movement in the country. Born in 1903, Abdulla Rasul, after his school education, plunged into the non-cooperation movement in 1921. It marked the beginning of his notable revolutionary career which spanned seven decades. In the 1920s he was elected member of the Bengal provincial committee and the provincial Khilafat committee. He participated in the civil disobedience movement and was imprisoned in 1932. Influenced by Left and Marxist ideas, he began an English weekly *Comrade* during the period 1937 to 1939.

Abdulla Rasul became a member of the Communist Party of India in 1938 and began working as a Party wholtimeer in the kisan front, a task he continued till he breathed his last. He became a member of the State Committee of the Party in 1939.

Abdulla Rasul made a life-long distinguished contribution to the peasant movement in the country. He participated in the first All India Kisan Sabha conference in Lucknow in 1936. His pioneering role in developing the kisan movement in the united Bengal and the rest of the country was enormous. He was elected General Secretary of the Bengal Provincial

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Kisan Sabha in 1938. He was the General Secretary of the All India Kisan Sabha in 1940-41. He played an important role in guiding the militant Tebhaga movement in 1946-47 which covered parts of the present-day Bangladesh. He was vice-president of the AIKS till his death. His book *History of the All India Kisan Sabha* is a valuable source of information about the development of the organized kisan movement in the country.

Abdulla Rasul stood firmly with those who fought revisionism in the united Party. After the formation of the CPI(M), he was member of the West Bengal State Committee and a member of its Secretariat since its inception. He consistently upheld Marxism-Leninism and fought the Naxalite deviation. He was elected to the Central Committee of the CPI(M) at the Eleventh Congress of the Party in 1982. Till his retirement due to old age and ill health at the Thirteenth Congress in 1988, he was also the convener of the Central Control Commission.

Abdulla Rasul was a model Communist leader. For over six decades, he selflessly served the Party's cause with unmatched devotion. In his Party life he was exemplary in upholding Communist norms and always putting the Party's interest above all. Unmarried, he lived a spartan life. He spent five years in jail in different periods including after independence. He also spent six years underground.

The passing away of this valuable veteran leader is a big loss for the Party, the Left movement and the Kisan Sabha. The Polit Bureau conveys its heartfelt condolences to Comrade Rasul's close colleagues and members of his family. It dips the Red Flag in his memory.

U.S. Pressure on India to Sign NPT*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued the following statement dated November 22, 1991, to Press warning Government of India not to resile from its past stand

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) views with concern the mounting pressures of the USA on the Indian Government to sign the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) The visit of Mr. Reginald Bartholomew, U S Under-Secretary of State for International Affairs, to India is mainly towards persuading India to accept the NPT Given the long standing position of the Indian Government that it cannot be a party to the NPT, because it discriminates between the nuclear weapon states and the non-nuclear ones, efforts are afoot to make India accept a safeguards regime under the supervision of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) In this connection the visit of Mr Hans Blix, Director General of the IAEA, to India is significant as he has, in this unofficial trip, held talks with Governmental leaders including the Prime Minister.

The arguments for India not being a party to the NPT are still sound and valid in the present international situation India has categorically declared that it will not make nuclear weapons and will develop nuclear power for peaceful purposes. But it cannot foreclose any option as it concerns the sovereignty of the country and its security The pressures to curb this sovereign right is part of the worldwide drive by the USA to impose its new international order

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US Pressure on India to Sign NPT 669

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) warns the Indian Government not to resile from its past positions. Any new step it is contemplating in this regard, must be placed before Parliament and the Indian people for a full debate.

Brazen Attack on AKG Centre in Kerala*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued protest statement dated November 7, 1991, to Press

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) strongly condemns the unprovoked police attack on AKG Centre, the state headquarters of the Kerala unit of the CPI(M), at Trivandrum, today. About 500 police personnel led by the city police commissioner, in an operation lasting for over two hours, surrounded the office, fired dozens of teargas shells and, desperately, even resorted to stonethrowing, while a meeting of the State Secretariat of the Party was in progress inside.

Many Party leaders including Susheela Gopalan, deputy leader of the CPI(M) group in the Lok Sabha, and M A Baby, MP were manhandled. The attack has also caused damage to the office.

This demonstrates to what length the Congress(I)-led Karunakaran Government in the State can go to stifle the voice of the Opposition and the people.

The Polit Bureau, while vehemently condemning this brazen attack, calls upon all democratic forces in the country to strongly register their protest against this anti-democratic act.

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On Violence in Karnataka on the Cauvery Water Issue*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued protest statement to the Press expressing serious concern

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) expresses its deep concern and distress at the violent turn taken by the agitation on the Cauvery water issue in Karnataka. The violence which erupted on the bandh day has led to loss of lives, arson and destruction of property. There are disturbing reports of attacks on people belonging to the linguistic minority in Bangalore. It is evident that the police could not check the anti-social elements who took advantage of the abnormal situation. The Polit Bureau has been warning against the chauvinistic efforts to rouse passions on Cauvery water issue which seeks to pit the people of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu against each other. The Party is firmly opposed to the moves in both States to instigate people against each other. The Polit Bureau demands of the Karnataka State Government firm steps to protect the Tamil minority in the State and putting down with a firm hand all attempts to foment strife. The Polit Bureau also expects the AIADMK Government in Tamil Nadu to exercise restraint and to see that further tensions do not develop. The Polit Bureau appeals to the people of both the States not to respond to disruptive appeals and maintain amity.

The Polit Bureau hopes that the Tamil Nadu and Karnataka State Governments will respond to the Prime Minister's invitation for talks on the Cauvery issue on December 23, 1991. Only through negotiations can the problem of sharing Cauvery water and the questions of the interim award of the tribunal be resolved.

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BJP Yatra Erupts Communal Violence*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued protest statement dated December 16, 1991, exposing the disruptive role of BJP

The Polit Bureau strongly condemns the communal violence which erupted in Palakkad town on December 15, 1991, which has led to the killing of an innocent girl and injuries to many and destruction of property. That this incident has taken place in Palakkad is ominous since only two days before the BJP president's *yatra* had passed through the town. The so-called *ekta yatra* has claimed its first casualty in Palakkad.

The Polit Bureau had warned earlier that the State Governments must be alert to forestall any mischief generated by this *yatra*. The Karunakaran Government has been negligent in this respect and must also bear responsibility for not being vigilant

The BJP and its president indulged in open communal propaganda during the course of the *yatra* in Kerala. It is despicable that they talk of national unity and perpetrate a trail of discord and violence. The Polit Bureau calls upon all sections of people to condemn this disruptive campaign of the BJP. The communal mischief at Palakkad must awaken all patriotic forces to the diabolical design behind the *yatra*.

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Denounce This Surrender to U.S. Imperialism*

Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) issued statement dated December 18, 1991, denouncing the United Nations General Assembly's Decision

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) considers the United Nations General Assembly's decision to rescind its own resolution equating zionsim with racism, adopted 16 years ago, as a surrender to U S. imperialism

This comes at a time when Israel is openly defying U N. resolutions on the Middle East, refuses to vacate illegally occupied Arab territory and refuses to accept even the U S proposals for a solution to the conflict as reflected in the peace talks This decision will only strengthen Israel's intractibility and further harm the Arab interests and the Palestinian cause

The Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) denounces the stand taken by the Government of India India was among the 111 countries that voted in favour of the United States sponsored resolution Notwithstanding the assurances given by the Indian representative at the U N that this does not mean a dilution of India's support to the Palestinian cause, this action is a clear *volte-face* of India's time-tested non-aligned anti-imperialist foreign policy.

The developing countries must realize, at least now, that U S. imperialism, in the absence of the Socialist USSR, is seeking to impose its "new world order" aimed at complete global domination. The CPI(M) appeals to the people of the developing world to forge stronger bonds of unity in struggle against such imperialist moves

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, December 22, 1991

The CPI(M) reiterates its unstinted solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people for their homeland. The CPI(M) reiterates its unequivocal support to the PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

This U N decision, coming as it does on the fourth anniversary of the heroic *Intifada*, is clearly a part of the U S imperialist plot to impose a solution on the Middle East conflict that is blatantly in its favour and that of Israel. The CPI(M) calls upon all progressive, peace-loving people to voice their protest against this surrender to U S imperialism and express solidarity with the struggling Palestinian people who have been denied their homeland for over four decades, as a result of a gigantic imperialist fraud.

Left Parties' Delhi Dharna on Punjab Issue*

The Left parties—CPI(M), CPI, Forward Bloc and RSP—held a day-long *dharna* at the Boat Club lawns on March 29, 1989, to draw the attention of the Government to the Punjab problem and press for an urgent political solution so that peace is restored in Punjab as soon as possible. A large number of Left Party workers gathered at the Boat Club. Among the leaders of the Left parties who attended the *dharna* were E M S Namboodiripad, B T. Ranadive, H K S Surjeet and E. Balanandan (CPI(M)), C Rajeswara Rao, Avtar Singh Malhotra and M A Farooqi (CPI), Tridib Choudhury (RSP) and Chitta Basu (Forward Bloc).

Addressing the *dharna* the leaders of the Left parties expressed their anguish at the deteriorating situation in Punjab. Characterizing the recent package on Punjab announced by the Prime Minister as inadequate, the speakers said that it showed a sense of complacency. They demanded an immediate political solution to the Punjab problem.

The speakers underlined the role of the Communists in Punjab in bravely facing the extremist challenge and the sacrifices made by them in defending the unity of the nation. Exposing the total failure of the Central Government and the President's Rule in the State, it was pointed out that the task of defending and maintaining national unity had fallen on the shoulders of the working class. A warning was

*Report Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, April 2, 1989

also given that the role of imperialism in disrupting the unity of the people should not be underestimated

A memorandum was submitted to the Prime Minister which pointed out that the problem of Punjab has its implications for the country as a whole, and to save Punjab is to save India

The memorandum demanded

1 Trial of all those who were involved in the riots following the assassination of the Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi and especially, implementation of the recommendations of the Mishra Commission and the Jain-Banerjee Committee

2 Fresh steps to be taken to find a political solution on the basis of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord

3 The Government to convene an all-parties' conference to consider the Punjab question and find a solution to it

4 Any effort to bargain with those who support terrorism and seperatism to be given up

5 A popular grievances-redressal machinery to be set up at the State and district levels in Punjab, and all political parties and public figures, to be represented on it

6 Village self-defence squads to be organized in disturbed areas and equipped with necessary arms and transport

The memorandum urged upon the Prime Minister to fix a time-bound programme for the implementation of the above suggestions

The signatories to the memorandum included

- 1 E M S Namboodiripad, 2 Harkishan Singh Surjeet,
- 3 B. T. Ranadive, 4 Samar Mukherjee, 5 C Rajeswara Rao,
- 6 Avtar Singh Malhotra, 7. Indrajit Gupta, 8 M Farooqi,
- 9 Tridib Choudhury, 10 Chitta Basu

Joint Appeal by Left Parties To Isolate Communal Forces and To Defeat Congress(I)*

**Joint Statement dated October 1, 1989 released to
Press in New Delhi**

E.M.S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist); C. Rajeswara Rao, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India; Chitta Basu, General Secretary of the Forward Bloc; and Tridib Choudhury, General Secretary of the Revolutionary Socialist Party, have issued the following statement on October 1, 1989:

The BJP has revealed its true colours at its recently concluded National Council meeting in Bombay. On all issues relating to the question of the security of the minorities in our country, the Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute, the Minorities Commission, and Article 370 of the Constitution, it has revealed its blatant communal position. It has once again raised its opposition to Urdu being declared the second official language in U P and other parts of the country where it is widely spoken.

The deliberations and conclusions of the session have shattered the illusions of certain parties and groups which fondly hoped that the BJP would restrain from raising these issues in the forthcoming elections. The BJP has made it clear that rousing communal passions and spreading communal poison is an integral part of its electoral strategy.

This comes in the background of the BJP's open alliance with the Shiv Sena in Maharashtra which has now been

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, October 8, 1989

extended to Goa Dispelling all misconceptions in certain circles and frontally rebuking some Janata Dal leaders who continue to entertain that these adjustments are of a local nature, the BJP leaders invited Bal Thackeray to their all-India session The Shiv Sena Chief has, in fact, been indicted by the judicial courts for his blatantly anti-Muslim activities Seated, of course, alongside was the RSS Chief They described this unity as something that goes beyond elections and as unity of minds This was being done in Bombay where the BJP and the Shiv Sena had joined hands with the Congress(I) in sabotaging the historic Bharat Bandh on August 30 It is indeed regrettable that some elements in the Janata Dal are pulling wool over their eyes on these dangerous developments How can one ally with those who openly champion aggressive communalism and worked against the Bharat Bandh demanding Rajiv's resignation?

These developments come in the background of a critical national situation Inflammatory communal propaganda rousing the passions of the people is already taking heavy toll More than a dozen communal riots have taken place in Bihar alone, apart from those in Rajasthan (Kota), U P (Badaun), M P (Mhow) and Gujarat The situation in U.P is extremely explosive with widespread preparation being made by the BJP, VHP, Bajrang Dal in pursuance of the construction of the Ramjanmabhoomi temple on November 9

The Left parties reiterate their demand that the Government should immediately convene a meeting of the National Integration Council to meet this challenge

Further, in U P the BJP has now started rousing communal chauvinism against the according of second official language status to Urdu and has thus arrayed itself against all secular and democratic Opposition parties.

The coming elections, instead of being utilized as an opportunity for strengthening secularism, democracy and communal amity and safeguarding unity of the country, are being turned into a battleground for communal massacres

Exploiting the vacillation on the part of some Janata Dal

leaders, the BJP is forcing its way and stating clearly that the Janata Dal should accept its communal platform

The Left parties are gravely concerned at the extremely dangerous and inflammatory situation that these developments are generating on the eve of the coming elections. What is at stake is the very future of a united secular India, a situation that gladdens the hearts of imperialism and the enemies of the nation

The paramount task of defeating the Congress(I) is jeopardized once any understanding is reached with those who are advocating such an avowedly communal platform as the BJP is doing. Apart from giving the Congress(I) an opportunity to parade as the only secular force, such a blatantly communal platform will only push the minorities into the lap of the Congress(I) and undermine secular-democratic values. This seriously weakens the struggle to defeat the Rajiv Government. Any electoral alliance with the BJP-Shiv Sena combine will only ensure the victory of the Congress(I).

The Left parties appeal to the Janata Dal and to all secular-minded forces in the country to rally together on an anti-Rajiv and anti-communal platform which alone will ensure a crushing defeat of the Congress(I).

The Left parties appeal to the people of our country to show utmost restraint and not fall prey to communal machinations and violence. They appeal to the people to rise to the occasion, unite as never before to fight for the isolation of the communal forces, and inflict a crushing defeat on the Congress(I) in the coming elections

Long Live “La Passionaria”*

Dolores Ibarruri’s Life and Contributions to Communist Movement

‘La Passionaria’, the legendary heroine of Spain’s Civil War and a lifelong Communist died in hospital in Madrid, on November 12, 1989, at the age of 93.

Born into a miner’s family in Gallatra (Spain) on December 9, 1895, Dolores Ibarruri joined the Spanish Socialist Party in 1917 and became an activist in the Spanish workers’ movement.

Endowed with an inquisitive mind and given to the habit of reading, she was soon attracted to Marxism which gave her the insight that the source of our misery was not in heaven but on earth. “It arose from institutions established by men which could be altered or destroyed by other men”

Thus began an arduous journey of struggle, sacrifices, and leadership that made her a true legend in her own lifetime. The triumph of the October Revolution giving birth to the first Socialist State, and her work in the Supporters’ Group of the Communist International had a profound influence on her

She joined the Communist Party of Spain when it was formed in 1920. By her studious work, organizing abilities and practical leadership in struggles, particularly of the miners, and spreading the Communist ideology, she soon acquired prominence and was elected to the Central Committee in 1930

Along with the growing demands of expanding political

*Published in ‘PEOPLE’S DEMOCRACY’, New Delhi, November 19, 1989
Refer Document under Item No 55 of this Volume

work, Dolores had to fight a grim battle with poverty. Her only child fell a victim to malnutrition and when she died without medical care, Dolores had to borrow money for the coffin.

With the abolition of the monarchy in Spain in 1930, the Communist movement spread rapidly. By then she had established herself as the most effective public speaker who could enthral her audience for hours. During these years, she led a number of big strikes braving brutal repression, besides assuming the responsibility of editing the organ of the Communist Party.

Arrested and tortured, she successfully undertook a hunger-strike in jail for reforms, together with other Communist prisoners, which won some of the demands. Released, she took the lead in organizing the Women Against War movement and attended the first International Congress of Women Against War and Fascism in Paris in 1934.

In this period she also undertook several journeys to Austria at great risk to help the miners' struggles there.

As a delegate to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International at Moscow in 1935, where Georgi Dimitrov placed his historic thesis for a United Front against fascism, she, together with other delegates from Spain, had to travel to Moscow secretly at great risk.

The Moscow Congress worked as a catalyst for the unity of the working class and Dolores plunged into a vigorous untiring campaign for the formation of what came to be known as the Popular Front. The victory of the Front consisting of the Socialist Party, the petty-bourgeois Republican Party and the Communist Party caused a stir in the whole of Europe.

Republican Spain was not to last long, as the loyalist and crafty General Franco, together with other generals, spear-headed a counter-revolution.

The trying and bloody days of the Civil War, showed the truly sterling and indomitable quality of Dolores. 'La Passionaria' was the name she earned when her cry 'No

Pasaran' (They Shall Not Pass) became the rallying point for political activists crusading against fascism and war Her writing and speeches stirred not only the millions in Spain, but inspired thousands in other lands to form the International Brigades, to fight—and many to die – in the first battles against Fascism Her stirring call, “Better to die on one’s feet, than live on one’s knees”, reverberated throughout the world With the defeat of the Republican Army, Dolores journeyed to Moscow in exile, to return to her beloved Spain only in 1977 on the death of General Franco

In 1942 after the death of Jose Dias, Ibarrruri became General Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party

After returning to Spain, despite her advanced years, she started again organizing the people, rebuilding the trade unions, fighting for the rights of the peasants, for civil liberties and further building up the Communist Party.

In 1985 the Spanish Party and Communists throughout the world celebrated the 90th birth anniversary of this great daughter of revolution

Her life and work shall remain an inexhaustible source of inspiration to millions and millions around the world fighting for freedom, democracy, peace and Socialism

Dolores Ibarrruri is dead La Passionaria is immortal Long Live 'La Passionaria'.

Statement of CPI(M) Andhra State Secretariat on Election Results*

The results of the elections to the Ninth Lok Sabha and the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly are now known. The CPI(M) worked with the aim of defeating the Rajiv Government and returning the Telugu Desam Government in the State.

The Congress(I) has been defeated in the entire country. This is a welcome development but, contrary to expectation, neither the CPI(M) nor the allies could defeat the Congress(I) in Andhra Pradesh in the overwhelming majority of the Lok Sabha seats in the State. While the Telugu Desam Party was able to win in only two seats, the allies could not get even a single seat. The TDP Government has been defeated in Andhra Pradesh and this has given the Congress(I) an opportunity to come back to power. Although the Party regards this as an unwelcome development, it has always respected the people's verdict.

While the people in the north have defeated the Congress(I) entirely, the same Congress party has secured a complete victory in the southern States where non-Congress Governments existed. The reasons for this unwelcome development are still to be studied. In this connection it is necessary to find out the reasons why the Government, which for the last seven years was ruling the State, and consistently fighting

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against the authoritarian rule of the Central Government, was defeated

Constant Harassment

As it became more and more clear that the Rajiv Government would be defeated in the northern States, it concentrated all its energies to make up that loss from the southern States. The Government adopted an attitude of spite and partiality towards the States where the non-Congress(I) Governments were ruling and tried its best to prevent the execution of the developmental plans, projects, industries and welfare activities in those States. It thus tried to discredit those State Governments.

On one pretext or another, it had illegally overthrown the State Government in Punjab, Tripura, Karnataka and brought them under its control to hold the elections there. Plans for wholesale rigging of the elections was made previously in Tripura, while it once attempted to overthrow the TDP Government, got discredited and did not venture to repeat the attempt. But it continued to make several attempts to harass it at every step. Most of all, it became an eyesore for the Rajiv Government as the TDP played a leading role in forming the National Front and, in alliance with the Left Front Governments, assumed a major role with regard to the forming of an alternative Government at the Centre. That is why there was concentration on this State and special attempts were made to overthrow this Government.

By intervening in the State administration at every step, it attempted directly to bring under its control the State administrative machinery.

It refused the State Government's request to provide an adequate armed force, thereby giving encouragement to anarchic and extremist forces. It had thus created a psychological fear among the State Government machinery that it will return to power and put it in a fix. In this way, the Congress(I) leadership attempted to utilize the service of the administrative machinery to its advantage.

Use of Dubious Methods

It is a fact that in a planned way, the Congress(I) centre had directly supplied the candidates crores of rupees and moved its entire organizational machinery into the election arena. Extensive arrangements for campaign and organization were made. It stooped to any level to lure the voters and purchase their votes. It organized itself in advance and announced the Lok Sabha elections, with short duration and caught the Opposition parties unprepared. With a design of somehow coming back to power, the Congress(I) leadership roused all caste, communal, regional, parochial, divisive and anarchic forces in the country. Central Cabinet Ministers themselves personally encouraged the caste organizations.

On the other side, the leadership of the TDP could not prepare its organization to meet this offensive, build an organizational machinery which could successfully resist Congress(I) attacks, nor mobilize its party, giving confidence to its following by rousing the democratic consciousness. Due to the autocratic methods adopted by the leadership, dissensions inside the party had been growing. Measures like dissolution of the entire Ministry and setting up candidates as it liked, has done harm to the TDP. No heed was paid to the advice and suggestions given by our Party as a friendly party, on certain occasions. The desire to build their organization, to nurse their constituencies and to popularize the party was weakened among the leadership and the cadres. And those who disrupted the party and joined Congress(I), got nominations and won the elections.

Even though the Congress(I) is in a much worse organizational position in this respect, it worked with the sole aim of returning to power by any means.

TDP Fails to Meet Offensive

The Congress(I) had criticized the failures of the TDP Government to the utmost—the attitude of the TDP Government towards land reforms, the manner in which it dealt with the middle class employees and teachers, taxes, etc., which hit

the common peasantry and small traders—which had harmed its interests. Its other measures of conferring property rights on women, supplying rice at Rs 2 per kilo, construction of houses for the poor, concession in electricity rates, etc., could not counter the losses engendered by the basic attitude adopted by the Government.

Even though it changed to some extent its attitude towards the teachers and State Government employees, the assurances could not be faithfully implemented. The attitude of the Government with regard to the issues of the students and on unemployment relief had increased dissatisfaction among the youth. All these brought it harm. This does not mean that the Congress(I) party or its Governments will do better and give greater relief, but the issue is that all this gave an opportunity for propaganda against the TDP Government.

The CPI(M) holds that it was because of these weaknesses that the TDP could not consolidate its strength and move forward. That is why the CPI(M), while conducting several campaigns to get these demands accepted, had taken a friendly attitude throughout. Even though the TDP had adopted an unreasonable attitude in respect of seat adjustments, the CPI(M) accepted this for the sake of the political objective. Because of TDP failures to sufficiently educate its lower cadres to adjust with the allies and concentrate their fire against the Congress(I), several difficulties had to be faced. Even though the Central Government was creating several obstacles for the State and several financial difficulties by refusing financial aid-in-grants, the State Government failed to put its difficulties before the people and with assistance of the allies mobilize the people against such discrimination.

Stand of Allies

All the parties considered to be allies of the TDP did not take the same stand as the CPI(M) and thus gave an opportunity to the Congress(I) to recover. They had carried on a

virulent campaign against the TDP Government after the 1985 Assembly elections and took an attitude in all the elections to the local bodies which went against the TDP and helped the Congress(I). This anti-TDP attitude taken particularly by the CPI till the end and its attempt to get together all the anti-TDP forces into a front, had done immense political harm. Even though the other parties after some time and the CPI at the eleventh hour changed their attitude the political harm was already done. This change in the political attitude of the leadership did not percolate down to its cadres in some areas and this has created some loss for mobilizing all the anti-Congress(I) votes unitedly.

Due to all these reasons the TDP Government was ousted and again the Congress(I) rule has been installed. Even though the defeat of the Congress(I) at the Centre raises hopes, the seizing of power in our State by the undesirable, authoritarian forces will lead to many harmful consequences. We can never expect from the Congress(I) leadership—which is notorious for its corruption, opportunism, authoritarianism, anti-people policies and for fomenting and harbouring anarchic forces—that it will adopt different policies all at once. There is every danger that the ruling Congress(I) party will intervene in the daily administration which will lead to trouble and undesirable developments. Factions and anti-social elements inside the Congress(I) will not allow a stable administration. At a time when other Congress(I) State Governments are likely to fall as a result of the people's verdict there is no scope for a stable government in this State.

Whatever it may be, all the Left, democratic and secular forces face the task of standing and fighting against the anti-people policies of the Congress(I) and its policies of oppression of the toiling people.

The State Secretariat of the CPI(M) hopes that the Opposition parties will stand united and earn the confidence of the people. It assures the people that it will build movements for the demands of the toiling classes and on people's issues and consistently fight for them.

The State Secretariat of the CPI(M) congratulates all the people who stood against the Congress(I) in the elections and voted for the CPI(M) and its allies. It expresses its thanks to the functionaries of all the parties and the donors who stood in support of the CPI(M) candidates, facing many difficulties and worked for them.

Left Parties Demand All-Party Meet on J & K*

Joint Statement dated January 20, 1990 issued to Press in New Delhi

The Communist Party of India (Marxist), the Communist Party of India, the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Forward Bloc met at New Delhi on January 20, 1990 and issued the following statement:

The Left Parties express their deep concern at the developments in Jammu and Kashmir resulting from the appointment of Shri Jagmohan as the Governor and the consequent resignation of the Farooq Abdullah Government. The Left Parties had on January 15, warned that the Pakistani ruling circles and imperialism are directly encouraging the separatists in the Kashmir Valley calling upon them to openly revolt for "liberation". This challenge requires all-out efforts by all the patriotic-minded sections and parties to unitedly fight to defend the unity and integrity of the country.

The Left Parties urge the National Front Government to call an all-parties' meeting immediately to discuss the steps to tackle the situation. We hope that all parties, including the National Conference, will cooperate in this effort.

The Left Parties had informed the Government on the importance of eliciting the cooperation of the National Conference in this struggle. Unfortunately, the Government could not appreciate the opinion of the Left and went ahead with the appointment of a controversial figure like Shri Jagmohan as the Governor of the State. It may be recalled that it was the very same person who as Governor earlier had acted as

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a tool of the Congress(I) government in 1984, in organizing defections from the Farooq Government and installing a minority government under G M Shah backed by the Congress(I) This anti-democratic action had become a turning point in reversing the process which was begun with the Indira-Abdullah Accord of 1975

This appointment has been announced in spite of the fact that Farooq Abdullah had made it clear that he would not be able to work with Shri Jagmohan The argument that consultation does not mean concurrence goes against the spirit of the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission which the then opposition parties had supported In fact, it was expected that the National Front Government unlike its Congress(I) predecessors, would set a healthy convention in the appointment of Governors In the case of Jammu and Kashmir the contrary has happened

The resignation of the Farooq Government would result, ultimately in the perpetuation of the Governor's Rule which amounts to dealing with such an important problem at the administrative level alone. This might allow the separatist forces to internationalise the issue Developments in Kashmir and Punjab show that without the political forces taking the initiative and isolating the forces of separatism and fundamentalism administrative measures alone cannot solve the problem On the other hand, it will result in aggravating it.

The National Front Government must learn from the wrong doings of the Congress(I) Government which by making use of such issues in a partisan manner, contributed to the deterioration of the situation threatening national unity That is why the Left Parties have consistently emphasised that important national issues must be treated as issues concerning all the parties and every effort must be made to reach a consensus.

The Left Parties meeting was attended by Harkishan Singh Surjeet of the CPI(M), Indrajit Gupta and M Farooqi of the CPI, Tridib Choudhury of the RSP and D D. Shastri of the Forward Bloc

Joint Statement by Left Parties on Congress(I) and BJP Alliance to Defeat V.P. Singh Government*

The Left Parties, the CPI(M), CPI, RSP and Forward Bloc issued the following statement:

It is unfortunate that an unprincipled, if undeclared, alliance of the Congress(I), BJP and a group of defectors from the Janata Dal has brought about the defeat of the V P Singh Government in the Lok Sabha on November 7, 1980. The central issue in the Lok Sabha debate was the assault on secularism and Constitutional rights by the BJP-VHP combine, utilizing the Ayodhya dispute. All those who combined to vote out the V.P. Singh Government on this basic issue will have a grim responsibility to bear before the people. This will have grave and unfortunate repercussions for the country which is facing a serious threat to national unity.

We are against the move to form a new government by a splinter group which has split the Janata Dal, with the support of the Congress(I). If this group, having neither a popular mandate nor any policy platform, is installed in power it would be a violation of all accepted norms of political propriety.

E M S Namboodiripad
General Secretary, CPI(M)

Indrajit Gupta
General Secretary, CPI

Tridib Choudhury
General Secretary, RSP

Chitta Basu
General Secretary, Forward Bloc

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi, November 11, 1990

Joint National Front-Left Appeal to People*

India is at the crossroads. The country is convulsed by an all-round crisis. The dark forces of communalism are making a bid to divide the country on religious lines spelling grave danger to the country's unity. The forces inimical to democracy seek to impose authoritarianism which will endanger parliamentary democracy and they do not hesitate to opportunistically align with the divisive forces.

The Congress(I) represents authoritarianism and anti-people policies. The BJP is bent upon misusing religion to divide the people. Both these parties are pursuing such disruptive politics at a time when the country and the people are suffering from serious economic crisis.

It is of enormous significance that at this juncture, for the first time, there has emerged a cohesive and nation-wide alternative in the form of the National Front-Left Parties alliance.

The National Front and Left Parties stand firm in the defence of secularism and communal amity. It was this principled stand which led the V P Singh Government to sacrifice power, refusing to bow before the blackmail of the BJP. The Congress(I) had no compunctions in forging an unholy alliance with the BJP to pull down the National Front Government. It is only the National Front-Left combination which can ensure justice to all communities, by preserving secularism and safeguarding the cherished unity built up by the

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people of all faiths and communities over centuries a heritage of secular and composite culture which was further cemented during the freedom struggle

The National Front and the Left parties are the staunch defenders of Indian democracy and parliamentary institutions. The eleven months' record of the National Front Government testifies to this adherence to democracy.

The Congress(I) on the other hand, utilized the notorious defectors' government of Chandra Shekhar to topple the democratically elected Government of Tamil Nadu by misusing Article 356. No institution, Parliament, judiciary, the media and the bureaucracy, are safe from the Congress(I) authoritarianism. The National Front and the Left Parties are pledged to reverse these attacks on democracy and further strengthen and preserve the democratic polity.

The National Front and the Left Parties are concerned with the strengthening of Indian unity. This requires the restructuring of Centre-State relations on a democratic and federal basis, whereby the States are given their due rights and powers so that the union of strong State and a strong Centre can strengthen the unity of India.

The people are suffering terribly due to the ever-increasing price-rise of all essential commodities. The price rise has reached astronomical proportions, making the life of every ordinary citizen unbearable. The economic policies of the Congress(I) over the past four decades have bankrupted our country. The Government now is not in a position to pay back the current instalments of the foreign debt. The National Front and the Left Parties are committed to implementing alternative pro-people, self-reliant economic policies—policies which can immediately curb the price-rise, expand the public distribution system in both urban and rural areas, implement land reforms, assure the peasants a remunerative price and employment generation schemes to tackle the massive problem of unemployment. The National Front-Left Parties, platform will curb the gross economic inequalities prevailing in our society.

The National Front-Left combination is pledged to promote social justice. Social equity requires special measures like reservation for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and backward classes, which for centuries have been deprived of equal opportunities in Indian society, while promoting an overall policy of advancing the interests of all the poor and oppressed of all communities

The National Front-Left Parties are the consistent champions of equal rights for women and are committed to end all forms of oppression of women in our society. They are pledged to put an end to the atrocities on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and protect the legitimate rights of the minorities. The National Front and the Left Parties appeal to the people of India to vote overwhelmingly for our alliance keeping in view these vital issues. In the critical situation India faces today, the National Front and the Left parties are confident that, with the unstinted support of the Indian people, a new Government standing for secularism, democracy, federalism, social justice and pro-people economic policies will be formed. It is this combination alone that can provide a stable Government and meet the rising aspirations of our people.

VP Singh, N T Rama Rao, S R Bommai, M Karunanidhi, E M S Namboodiripad, Indrajit Gupta, Chitta Basu, Tridib Choudhury

CPI(M), CPI Not to Take Part in Punjab Polls*

Leaders of the Central Secretariat of the CPI and the Polit Bureau of the CPI(M) met on June 11, 1991, to discuss the situation regarding the Punjab elections and issued the following statement

Our two parties, while deciding to participate in the Punjab elections had, along with other major national political parties, repeatedly requested the Election Commission and the Central Government to delink the Punjab polls from the rest of the country so that the conditions can be created for the democratic process and for holding elections without terrorist intimidation and violence

The Election Commission finally acceded to the request by announcing polling date for Punjab on June 22, i.e., three weeks after the schedule in the rest of the country was to be completed by May 26. This would have provided sufficient time for deployment of adequate Central security forces in Punjab to give protection to the candidates and political workers during the poll campaign. It was on this basis that the CPI(M) and the CPI decided to participate in the elections and filed nominations

However, the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi resulted in the rescheduling of the elections in the rest of the country and the new dates were decided as June 12 and 15. The gap between the two elections will be hardly a week, and the aim of delinking the Punjab polls has been nullified

*Published in 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', New Delhi June 16, 1991

The events in Punjab, since the notification of elections, underline the necessity for delinking the Punjab polls from the rest of the country by at least three weeks. During the past few weeks, 20 candidates have been killed by the extremists in Punjab. Hundreds of innocent people including security personnel have lost their lives. The extremist groups are being allowed to conduct propaganda for Khalistan freely without any check. The CPI and the CPI(M) have lost one candidate each and other important comrades in the terrorist violence.

The Punjab administration had officially requested for 300 additional para-military force to be deployed in Punjab during the election campaign and polling. This has not been given so far.

If the polls are conducted on June 22 in this atmosphere, it will be a farce of democracy and will be enabling the Khalistani groups to capture the Assembly through violence and intimidation.

For the past one week, our two parties have repeatedly urged the Election Commission and the Central Government, to delink the Punjab polls by postponing the polling days sufficiently so that adequate security cover is provided.

In the face of the refusal of the Election Commission and the Central Government to delink the Punjab polls, our two parties have decided jointly not to participate in the election scheduled to be held on June 22. We are constrained to take this decision given the total unconcern and callousness of the Election Commission and the Central Government to the loss of precious lives and the grave danger to all political workers who wish to participate in the campaign.

We appeal to all other political parties and democratic forces which are committed to the unity and integrity of the country and wish to see the isolation of the Khalistani forces through the democratic process to take a similar stand so that these anti-national forces are given no cover for achieving their aims through a manipulated and rigged elections.

AKG Bhavan Inaugurated in New Delhi*

A Dream Comes True

October 19, 1991 will go down in the organizational history of the CPI(M) as a historic day. It was on this day that the new Party headquarters building, a modern, four-storeyed building acquired after a protracted struggle, was inaugurated.

The new building is located in the very heart of the nation's capital, at Bhai Veer Singh Marg in Gole Market area, and is named after the selfsame Comrade A K Gopalan who was the hero of many a mass struggle. In 1985, its foundation was laid by another extraordinary Communist and working class leader, the late Comrade B T Ranadive, who is, alas, now no more amongst us.

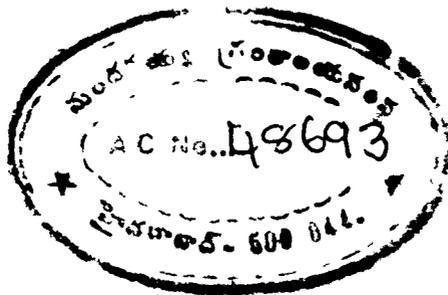
After the song squad Parcham presented "At the call of Comrade Lenin" and other songs, and Prakash Karat, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, made the introductory remarks, Harkishan Singh Surjeet, who is the managing trustee of the A K Gopalan Bhavan Trust, dwelt on the importance and need for a Party headquarters and narrated how the Party had to wage a long battle for construction of the building even after the land was allotted. The delay in construction after the foundation-laying in 1985, itself presents a story of obstructions. Surjeet narrated how the toiling people all over the country had contributed whatever they could, to this purpose. He assured the Party would never betray the cause of the toiling people and take their struggles to new heights.

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General Secretary E M S. Namboodiripad inaugurated the building in a simple ceremony by cutting the red ribbon at the main entrance. Before it, in his brief address, EMS told that, on the same day, the Central Committee was going to hold its four-day session in the same building. It was a historic Central Committee meeting in which the drafts of the political and ideological resolutions to be presented to the Fourteenth Party Congress after an inner-party discussion, were considered.

Apart from the Central Committee members, hundreds of guests and Party workers attended the ceremony when Jyoti Basu, Polit Bureau member and West Bengal Chief Minister, hoisted the Red Flag at the new building. In his brief address, Basu said the building was symbolic of CPI(M)'s determination to faithfully follow and implement the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Those who have given up the goal of emancipation of man from exploitation, must fully understand that the CPI(M) is not going to follow their path, no matter what comes in its way.

On this occasion, the building was decorated with portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and A K. Gopalan.



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