

24th Congress of CPI

A Congress for the Future

The 24th Congress of our party, the Communist Party of India, is taking place from October 14 to 18, 2022 in Vijayawada, Andhra Pradesh. Since our last Party Congress held in Kollam, the nation has been witnessing major assaults on our parliamentary democracy under RSS-BJP rule. Discrimination and vilification against minorities, encroachments on the rights of SC, ST and women, polarization, privatization of PSUs and brazen attempts at subverting our Constitution have become frequent.

BJP government's neo-liberal crony capitalism is resulting in unprecedented concentration of wealth with the top one per cent of the population. The names of Ambani and Adani have become synonymous with the deep running favouritism and inequality. Unemployment is at an unprecedented high. Modi government's mismanagement of COVID-19 pandemic claimed lives and livelihoods of millions and plunged the nation into a deep crisis.

Entire world is witness to grave imperialist assaults and rise of right-wing and far-right forces. The growth of right-wing populism and systematic dismantling of some of the largest democracies in the world is a feature running through our times.

Despite this aggressive posturing of right-wing forces, rays of hopes are also visible throughout the globe in these gloomy times in the form of popular and

ideological struggles led by the Left. The Left is fighting against the forces of neo-liberalism, religious fundamentalism, xenophobia and discrimination all over the globe. The Left has enabled strong resistance movement against the anxieties created by the spread of finance capital. In many countries of Latin America, these movements have solidified and assumed power with a strong pro-people agenda while resisting imperialist onslaught. These developments are important both economically as they present an alternative and geopolitically for their resistance to the US-led hegemonic order.

India too, is not insulated from these developments on the globe. Trampling all democratic institutions and dividing the society has been the agenda of the RSS through Modi. A sentiment of victimhood has been constructed among the majority through elaborate symbolism to unite them

D Raja

against the minorities. RSS-BJP are quick in appropriating the fault-lines of caste and region to further the Hindutva project which is another name for a majoritarian monolithic theocracy. Hollowness of development claims made by the BJP are not being discussed by the BJP itself. Instead of giving jobs, RSS-BJP is giving hatred and anxieties to the youth.



Instead of alleviating the nation from poverty and inequality, RSS-BJP are alleviating the nation of peace and communal harmony. In our country too, the Left is steadfast in its commitment to the people and their needs and is acting as the leading force to protect a democratic and secular India while strengthening our fight for socialism.

Public Sector has been the solid foundation of our economy. Nationalised, planned

industry enabled the country to become self-sufficient in core sectors after getting freedom from British rule. Disadvantaged communities got opportunities and representation through reservation policies in the public sector. Systematic dismantling of the public sector under Modi is the result of ideological reliance on neo-liberalism with strong dosages of cronyism threatening our economic sovereignty and defeating the idea of social justice. Multi-national corporate giants with no social responsibility are plundering our natural resources. Our forests, mines, rivers and fields are at their disposal to exploit. Massive damage is being done to the environment in the search for profits.

Ugly expressions of capitalism are knocking at our doors. Recently withdrawn Farm Laws are one good example. The Farm Laws intended to hand over rural India to corporates on a platter. After capital intensive sectors of manufacturing and services, capitalism is looking forward to dominate agriculture and allied activities in the country. Unemployed and frustrated young men and women of the country, especially the educated ones, are restive. We have seen

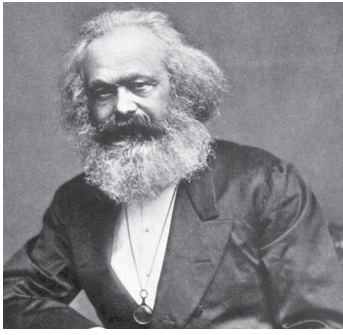
large scale protests over employment issues. Modi made promises of giving two crore jobs per year but the destruction of the Indian economy under him is so drastic that nothing materialised. Adding insult to injury, BJP government announced the contractual Agnipath Scheme for recruitment in armed forces. This amounts to nothing less than betrayal of promises made to country's youth and students.

The COVID-19 crisis proved beyond doubt that the only political force which can give a sustainable and pro-people model of governance is the Left. The policies of the right-wing are based on profit and greed while the Left model is one of selflessly serving the people. In Kerala, the development model was reconstructed to effectively combat the pandemic. Its success was lauded all over the country and it received accolades from many international platforms.

R a s h t r i y a Swayamsewak Sangh's Assault on the idea of India is continuing with great vigour and state patronage. Their idea of Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan is monolithic and seeks to flatten out the cultural,

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TOWARDS 24TH CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA, OCT 14-18, 2022, VIJAYAWADA



Karl Marx

"The Communists fight for the attainment of immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement." [*Communist Manifesto*]



Frederick Engels

"The Communist Manifesto had already proclaimed the winning of universal suffrage, of democracy, as one of the first and most important tasks of the militant proletariat."

And then "...We are not so stupid" as to go "where the guns shoot and the sabers slash", as the enemy wants.

Engels about the voters of German SDP as the 'shock force' of world workers movement: "The two million voters whom it sends to the ballot box, together with the young men and women who stand behind them as non-voters, form the most numerous, most compact mass, the decisive 'shock force' of the international proletarian army.

(*Frederick Engels, Introduction of 1895, to Marx's 'The Class Struggles in France', SW1, Moscow, 1973, p195*).

Remember What They Said...



Lenin on Two Tactics of Social Democracy

"...it is quite absurd to think that a bourgeois revolution does not at all express proletarian interests."

"The removal of all the remnants of the old order which hamper the broad, free, and rapid development of capitalism is of absolute advantage to the working class. The bourgeois revolution is precisely an upheaval that most resolutely sweeps away survivals of the past..."

"...The more complete, determined, and consistent the bourgeois revolution, the more assured will the proletariat's struggle be against the bourgeoisie and for socialism. Only those who are ignorant of the ABC of scientific socialism can regard this conclusion as new, strange, or paradoxical. And from this conclusion, among other things, follows the thesis that in a certain sense a bourgeois revolution is more advantageous to the proletariat than to the bourgeoisie."

"...it does not by any means follow that a democratic revolution (bourgeois in its social and economic essence) would not be of enormous interest to the proletariat."

"In countries like Russia the working class suffers not so much from

capitalism as from the insufficient development of capitalism. The working class is, therefore, most certainly interested in the broadest, freest, and most rapid development of capitalism."



Georgi Dimitrov

"Comrades, fascism in power was correctly described by the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International as the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital."

"No, fascism is not a power standing above class, nor government of the petty bourgeoisie or the lumpen-proletariat over finance capital. Fascism is the power of finance capital itself."

"If we Communists are asked whether we advocate the united front only in the fight for partial demands, or whether we are prepared to share the responsibility even when it will be a question of forming a government on the basis of the united front, then we say with a full sense of our responsibility: Yes, we recognize that a situation may arise in which the formation of a government of the proletarian united front, or

of an anti-fascist People's Front, will become not only possible but necessary. And in that case we shall advocate for the formation of such a government without the slightest hesitation."

"The Communist International puts no conditions for unity of action except one, and at that an elementary condition acceptable to all workers, viz., that the unity of action be directed against fascism, against the offensive of capital, against the threat of war, against the class enemy. This is our condition."

"In mobilizing the mass of working people for the struggle against fascism, the formation of a wide anti-fascist People's Front on the basis of the proletarian united front is a particularly important task. The success of the whole struggle of the proletariat is closely bound up with the establishment of a fighting alliance between the proletariat, on the one hand, and the laboring peasantry and basic mass of the urban petty bourgeoisie who together form the majority of the population even in industrially developed countries, on the other."

"In forming a broad anti-imperialist united front of struggle in the colonies and semi-colonies it is necessary above all to recognize the variety of conditions in which the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses is proceeding, the varying degree of maturity of the national liberation movement, the role of the proletariat within it and the influence of the Communist party over the masses."



Fidel Castro

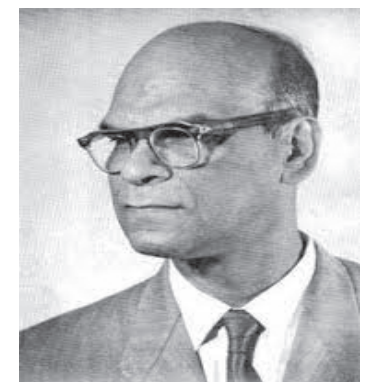
"A revolution is a struggle to the death between the future and the past."

"Something must be done to save humanity! A better world is possible!"

"Fascism with its violence, gets rid of everything; it attacks universities, it closes them and crushes them; it attacks intellectuals, represses them and persecutes them; it attacks political parties; it attacks trade union organizations; it attacks all mass and cultural organizations."

Therefore, nothing is more violent, more retrograde and more illegal than fascism."

"Comrade Ho Chi Minh combined the struggle for national independence with the struggle for the rights of the masses oppressed by the exploiters and the feudals. He saw that the path was to combine the patriotic feelings of peoples with the need of freedom from social exploitation. National liberation and social liberation were the two pillars on which his doctrine was based."



Ajoy Ghosh

"I would like to stress that national integration, whose need we all feel

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*Editorial***Forward to 24th Party Congress**

The heroic city of Vijayawada is all set to host the 24th Congress of CPI. The city has hosted the Party Congress twice before, in 1961 and 1975. On October 14, 2022, the Red flag, the flag of hope will be unfurled there again to mark the beginning of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of India. Up to October 18, the days and nights of Vijayawada will be electrified with purposeful discussions and meaningful path searching. Representing 6,40,344 (2021) members of the party, approximately 900 delegates will devote their energy and experiences to find out the ways and means to strengthen the Communist Party to face the challenges of contemporary times. The strategy and tactics have to be evolved to take the country forward after putting an end to the RSS-BJP rule which has landed the country in unforeseen crisis. The 24th Congress is expected to give a call to build up a broad coalition of secular, democratic, left forces that can save the country from the crisis ridden situations. In that sense, the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of India should be termed as a landmark political event in the history of the country.

Communist Party is the party of genuine patriotic forces. It has played undeniable role in the 'Long Walk to Freedom'; along with the people of India. Communists were the first to raise the slogan of 'Poorna Swaraj' in the agenda of Indian Freedom movement. The long and varied history of the freedom struggle is soaked with the blood and lives of the Communists together with the fighting masses. Responding to the call of freedom, the Communists stood in the forefront to organize militant movements of the peasants and workers, students, writers, and artists. Those sagas of sacrifices are unforgettable. At the same time the Communists are conscious about international developments which are vital in shaping the politics of any country. With that understanding, the Communists held high the banner of internationalism in the past and present. With the spirit of international solidarity, after a long gap, several fraternal parties from different continents will physically participate in the 24th Congress.

Their experience of political battles during the neo liberal period will be shared during the party Congress. Throughout its history, the CPI stood for the unity of the left forces. It believes that such a unity of the left will

be a message for all other democratic forces to come together to fight for the common cause. Upholding the importance of left unity, the CPI has invited other left parties also to come and greet the Party Congress.

Their presence in the CPI Congress has a wider meaning. The participants in the 24th Congress will naturally make in depth analysis of the international and national political scenarios and draw its lessons for the party's onward march. Imperialism and its pursuit for super profits and world domination continue to threaten the countries and people all over the world. Its war designs have plundered human resources to unimaginable magnitudes. Having failed to resolve the crisis, those forces of global reaction are fostering religious extremism and neo fascism in various countries. The masses are not ready to surrender before them. In many countries people are waging victorious political battles against them.

The victories of left and democratic forces in several countries of Latin America are matters to be studied carefully. India needs a change. The RSS-BJP rule has terribly weakened the secular foundations of this great country. It has shattered the living standards of the people. Its promise of *achhe din* has been proven a big lie under Modi rule. The rich have become richer, and the poor became poorer. The government is doing overtime job to hide their failures through their propaganda skills. The public sector which was considered to be the strength of our economy is under constant attack. Banks and insurance companies are being privatized.

Railways, ports, and mines are all placed for sale. Unemployment has crossed all the previous records. Price rise has become the order of the day. Indian rupee has become a helpless prey before the greed of 'almighty' dollar. The dreams of the people for a better life have been completely mortgaged before the profit motives of international and domestic capital. Adani has become their symbol for development. At the same time, they believe that FDI is their Mantra of all growth. To prepare their ground, the RSS-BJP government has intensified its vociferous attack on the Constitution of India. The Constitutional principles such as secularism, democracy and socialism have become their targets of attack. Religious faith and places of worship are cunningly misused to divide the people and to deviate their attention from the real issues of day-to-day life. They take the path from pages of Mussolini and Hitler. Our country can

survive only by defeating them.

The CPI is the first party to identify the right reactionary character of Modi Government controlled by the fascist ideology of RSS. The commonness of views expressed in the writings of Hitler and Golwalkar speak voluminously on their ideological togetherness. Through their words and deeds the RSS proves that they are the Indian version of Hitlerite fascism, subservient to finance capital and loyal to the idea of racial pride.

That is why the Communist Party had no hesitation in calling them fascists. When a regime dictated by fascists comes out to dismantle the basic structures of national life, the foremost task of the Communist Party is to fight them ideologically and politically. The CPI is guided by that ideological clarity. Hence, the party gave the clarion call for the broadest possible unity of all secular, democratic and left forces. The draft Political Resolution to the 24th Congress is based on this perspective.

The democratic debates in the Party Congress will give the final shape to the Communist policies in the days to come. When the Indian polity is to face a life and death battle in 2024 general election, the politics of unity of anti-fascist forces have utmost significance. The Communist Party believes that all likeminded forces will rise to the occasion and fulfill their responsibility to the people and history.

The delegates attending the Party Congress are leaders tempered in the thick and thin of mass struggles in various conditions. They know very well that to win any battle a correct political line alone is not sufficient. It needs a strong, well equipped, and powerful weapon to meet the challenges. In this regard, the organizational preparedness of the Communist Party is of cardinal importance.

The CPI is aware of this fact and in its 22nd Congress at Puducherry alerted the entire party to "reconnect with the people"! The 24th Congress renews the pledge and carries forward that duty with maximum dedication. The people look at the Communist Party as the Party of dedicated warriors committed to the cause of the poor and working masses. For them it is the party of hope. The delegates to the Party Congress remain trustworthy to the people of this country and to the Red flag, which is their pride. They believe in the cause with all their mind and emotions.

*Forward to the 24th Party Congress,
Long Live the CPI!*

Issues at the Centre for Resistance

One of the most significant facts about Modi regime is confrontation with the farmers and their resistance. For 11 months farmers under the leadership of Samyukt Kisan Morcha (SKM) fought unitedly and compelled Modi government to take back three farm laws passed in the Parliament without discussion and without consultation with any farmer's organisation. This is because BJP-RSS vision is of helping big corporates and thinking that like USA, domination by corporates of economy will make India a strong super power.

All the three laws passed were in the interests of corporates and hence this was made as a prestige issue by the BJP government but massive protests for 11 months compelled them to retreat. This is not the first time, in 2014 as soon as BJP government was formed the Land Acquisition Act passed by previous government was changed but again resistance of the people compelled BJP government to retreat but very cleverly, they allowed states to change the law as agriculture is a concurrent subject.

It is to be noted that previous Congress led government also wanted to introduce new farm laws to help corporates but they followed a democratic federal method and proposed that states should enact the laws and many governments as Maharashtra government introduced new farm laws to promote entry of private players in Mandi and also allowed 'contract farming'. However, laws regarding hoarding were not changed as price control of food was considered very important. The recent crisis in the world of food shortages have cropped up due to Russia. Ukraine has raised hopes of Indian corporates to gain in export market. Our prime minister also announced that India will

feed the world but very soon had to make a retreat and banned the wheat export. Why? Because the government stocks held by food corporations of India had dwindled to a very low level. This was mainly due to anti-farmer policy and government which encouraged private players like Adani and Ambani to accumulate stocks of wheat for export. But government realised that this would lead to rise in wheat prices and add to already existing inflation.

This increase in the stock of private players and reduced production due to heat wave has adversely affected wheat stocks with food corporation of India. Now farmers are demanding MSP to be ensured through a law. The issues of electricity availability and its rates are also haunting the farmers and hence present proposal of electricity bill is being opposed by farmers of the country. In the coming period, along with expansion of urbanisation, and corporates trying to dominate agrarian trade, how to resolve the crisis of 60 per cent labour engaged in agriculture? The situation has reached bottom level even after all that progress made in last 75 years. It is still the same old tragedy that keeps haunting.

Developed countries have less than 5 per cent

Dr BK Kango

population working on farms but in our country more than 60 per cent are dependent on agriculture. At the same time present model of development which is driven by massive capital investments and technology has little scope of employing huge labour power (human capital) which was feasible during middle of 20th century. Hence, industrialisation was supposed to be the answer to reduce the work force dependent on agriculture and at the same time this reduction in work force was supposed to improve the financial conditions of remaining work force in agriculture. But this vision has collapsed due to modern technology which is rapidly displacing human capital.

This poses a new problem before those who are interested in human empowerment and development. But present pro-corporate government is interested in corporate profits and rise in GDP and making India a 5 trillion economy as if trickling down of income is feasible. The reality is still different as there is sharp rise in inequality. The concepts like nation's first 'Kartavya Path' and 'Cultural Nationalism' are used only to create confusion and divide people. Right from 1925, RSS has pursued the concept of 'Balshali Bharat' meaning 'Super power India' on the model of USA. The concept has no consideration for development or empowerment of people. India keeps falling down in World

Human Development Index, and our number today is 132 amongst 180 countries.

Hence, the real battle in India is about taking up the issue of nation first or people first. Idea of India as envisaged during freedom struggle and then by the Constitution is of 'people first'. RSS since its foundation has been for India first and for this, wants people to toil and depend on the privileged sections of society to help them. Hence, their emphasis is on duty and not on rights. They are for rights of privileged but not of common men and women.

Socialism of today demands that common men and women must benefit from development and profit and GDP should not be the only concern. But according to capitalist policy, GDP and profits do matter and it is an experience that during every crisis, the public money is used to compensate losses and public assets are sold to private players.

India with its huge population still dependent on rural agrarian economy, needs a different model of development, as service industry dominates the present economy. It is the major task before the communist movement to articulate different models of development which would be 'human centric and sustainable'. At the same time human values like dignity, equality, freedom and democracy are to be strengthened.

In the first years of formation of the party in twentieth century, communists were fighting for economic equality. They were organising farmers

and workers and fighting for their causes.

With experience of struggle and state power which was won in few countries, it is realised that both freedom and bread are imperative. They realised that the modern socialism has to fight for freedom, human dignity and also for equality of opportunity which is only assured by equity for which fight against concentration of private property is a must.

Hence, CPI programme adopted at Puducherry Congress in 2015 correctly emphasised that path to Indian revolution will be decided by specific Indian situation and conditions in which caste discrimination, democracy, women's equality and environmental protection are of paramount importance.

In a democracy, majority will rule but that rule must be guided by universal human values and not by sectarian, supremacist vision. The idea of India as envisioned in Indian Constitution and during freedom movement had this universal vision which is now being challenged by a sectarian, narrow and supremacist view and the holder of this vision is called 'Vishwa Guru'. Lenin, Gandhi, Nehru, Castro, Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King had the universal vision and struggled against sectarian, narrow and supremacist view. They did not need to be called 'Vishwa Guru' because they were in true sense universal leaders.

Trade Unions to March on to Bigger Struggles

Amarjeet Kaur

The situation worldwide and in the country for the working class and the common people in general has further deteriorated on all counts since the last party congress held at Kollam, Kerala.

There is world-wide shift to the Right. This trend has further strengthened with International Finance Capital imposing its hegemony globally. IMF-WB and WTO are at the service of International Finance Capital in pushing this agenda. The economic strategy is to capture natural resources, create and capture markets, maximize profits and push debt based economy all over the world. It wishes to divide, disintegrate and suppress any opposition.

There is stagnation in industrial production rather it is showing negative job growth all over. The Capitalist world is visibly keen to shift its economic burden on the developing world through intimidation, wars and conflicts. The crisis created by US-NATO push for war in Europe and the politics of sanctions coming heavily on the working people the world over with rising cost of living. This in turn is resulting in fast growth in unemployment rate. In the name of austerity measures there are attacks on pensions, public health, education, civic services. The governments are withdrawing these facilities from the common people.

In our country the railway passes are withdrawn from several categories, the children from one year onwards will be charged full ticket and GST imposed on cancellation of rail tickets, GST also imposed on food items, the benefits to the needy people, farmers and the socially necessary activities will no more enjoy free/subsidy on electricity use if the proposed Electricity Amendment Bill is passed, the common land in rural India for use of vulnerable, deprived sections is also being pushed into commercial activities, those taking shelter in

such lands are being evicted and deprived of use of natural resources of forest etc.

The military budgets are rising, the armament lobby and the arms industries flourishing, whereas there is gaping inequalities in living standards.

The fascistic trends are growing in various parts of the world with tacit support of ruling classes. Conflicts at all levels, with in the country, between the countries and regions are being heightened.

In our country, the core democratic values, inherent in our composite culture are under severe threat. The unity based on pluralism of faith, religions, languages and ways of living face the threat of forced homogenisation. Freedom of expression and dissent are cruelly crushed. The students, writers, artists, theatre persons, journalists, lawyers, social activists who stand for justice to vulnerable sections, independent thinkers and ideologues all are under attack. The politics of silencing opposition is aggressively being pursued undermining the basic principles enshrined in our Constitution.

Conditions are fast deteriorating. The government is serving the corporate interest, within the country and also those of the World Finance capital. It is coupled with worst forms of majoritarianism and communalism. The fascistic tendencies are getting exposed with everyday incidents and utterings of those who matter in power hierarchy. On the one hand the country's economy is being handed over to the corporates and other capitalist classes, and on the other side there is tacit

support to communal outfits in spreading hatred and communal poison to divide the society distracting people's attentions from the nagging issues of livelihood, education, health, shelter, drinking water, sanitation and social security etc. The government, rabidly reactionary in its outlook in almost all spheres of economic, social and cultural life, has been taking steps in the direction of doing away with the concept of 'Welfare State' and going ahead with IMF-World Bank thesis of abdication of state responsibility for providing basic needs to its people. The workers are worst victims of these policies.

After negative effects of demonetization and GST, there are deterrents emerging in job market, home based and units at small scale as well as on retail trade. The unplanned lockdown and mismanagement during Covid Pandemic have further created havoc in the lives of working class.

The starvation deaths are taking place. The government fails to subsidise poor people, denies loan waiver to farmers but it does not fail in writing off huge loans of the corporate houses (NPA). In last eight years more than 13 lakh crore have been written off. Even today the NPAs are about 16 lakhs crores. On the other hand fund allocations of MGNREGA were reduced in the annual budgets. Outreach also has been reduced.

There is desperation among the poor masses, the bread earners for the family. The latest report of National Crime Bureau mentions that the suicides of daily wage earners has reached almost 25 percent and 6.3 crore people are pushed below poverty line every year in our country due to out of pocket expenditure on health. India at present ranks 132 among 188 countries in human development index. In hunger index we rank 100

among 119 nations. TB cases are 2.2 million in India out of 9.6 million cases the world over. We are among 14 countries including Sub-Saharan in which maximum death cases due to malaria occur.

In contrast to this the wealth of billionaires is estimated to have risen by an average 13 percent in last about 12 years while it is six times faster than wages of ordinary workers. In 20 years 500 of world's richest people will hand over 2.4 trillion dollars to their heirs which is a sum larger than India's GDP.

The employment Scenario is also very deploring. According to labour bureau in India 25 per cent of population is between 19-29 years of age. They will experience unemployment rate of 34 per cent in 2022. In Indian conditions it is huge number.

The foreign trips of the prime minister in the name to attract Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) or the opening of doors wide for FDI in banking, insurance, defense, aviation, railways, pharma, animal husbandry, security agencies, retail trade sectors, etc, or easing of environmental laws to make the mines and minerals openly accessible to the national and international loot, all this is happening under the same rhetoric of development. This is the 'Make in India' programme of the Modi government for the development of the corporate class.

The public sector assets are to be reduced to near zero by this policy of NMP. The finance minister announced that the government will collect "rent" of Rs 1,50,000 crores a year, and would be holding a piece of paper that the government is "owner" of the assets. The FM had also claimed that the assets would be returned to the government at the end of transfer period. (They will be heavily depreciated assets at that time).

That the Indian economy is getting fleeced continuously is reflected in several reports. There were Panama Papers, then came Paradise Papers and now the Pandora Papers which have exposed the seriousness of this aspect of Indian Economy. The trend noticed through these papers is that country has lost more than 2 trillion dollars till 2021. By 1980-81, the black money as part of GDP used to be 10 to 21 percent which increased to 40 percent in 1995-96 and presently it is almost 62 per cent. This exposes a very volatile situation.

The trade unions have been consistent in their opposition and resistance to the anti worker, anti farmer, anti people and anti national policies of RSS-BJP government. They are now facing severe challenge as the labour laws have been changed and there is codification of labour laws in four codes by bundling 29 laws. The whole exercise had been managed without any consultations, necessary procedures and was cleared in Parliament when whole opposition had walked out to register their refusal to it. The farm laws were also pushed in Rajya Sabha without division of votes demanded by the opposition.

The government is forcing the codification to make four Labour codes applicable, which would cripple the unions and make hire and fire as norm, thwarting collective bargaining, snatching the right to strike, making fixed term employment as norm, making regular jobs impossible, among many other handicaps. These codes are exclusive in their design.

The government at the Centre does not believe in any dialogues with unions, does not honour bipartite or tripartite mechanisms, considers labour laws and trade unions as hindrance in growth and develop-

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A Congress for the Future

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linguistic and regional diversity of our country. RSS's contempt for plurality and equality is such that they are destroying the secular, welfarist and federal character of our Constitution. The RSS is attacking minorities all over the country and now using state power to systematically discriminate against them. Attacks on Dalits and institutional discrimination have reached new heights after the RSS dispensation coming to power. Lousy implementation of the Vth Schedule of the Constitution and PESA Act remain serious issues infringing on the entitlements of the tribal population. Demand of conducting a caste census is gaining pace but the BJP is adamant on not including caste as a criterion fuelling unrest among backward castes. Gender stereotypes are being further reinforced as part of the revivalist turn under RSS. Crimes

and violence against women are affairs as usual under the current dispensation, so much so, that many instances of BJP leaders violating women and the state machinery backing them have come to light.

It should be understood that Indian society is divided not just between classes with mutually antagonistic interest, we also have the caste structure which is resilient, stubborn and hierarchical. It should be underlined that no revolutionary strategy can succeed without annihilating the hierarchical structure of caste. Spread of new information and production technology again brought significant change in the composition of working class. Patriarchy and consequent misogyny are major issues that are subordinating half of our population. We have to tackle the issues of class, caste and patriarchy collectively to move forward for social eman-

ipation and defeat the RSS-BJP comprehensively.

In this context, we should be mindful of the RSS's attempts at exploiting the fractures of the society. RSS Supremo Mohan Bhagwat's recent speech should be critically seen in this context only. His appeal to end caste discrimination and for women empowerment was accompanied by raising the Muslim bogey through population control law. RSS's sudden emphasis on ending caste discrimination does not stem from any commitment to equality but to collectively rally Hindus against Muslims. Communalism is not an anti-dote to castesim and only a sustained struggle against all kinds of discrimination and hierarchy at all levels, including the material level, can ensure the annihilation of caste.

The COVID-19 crisis has traumatised our society and we saw how our health infrastructure imploded under it due

to overwhelming reliance on the private sector. Gap in education in the pandemic years, digital divide and increasing privatization of education are making education a distant dream for many. The instance of landlessness is increasing with precarious living standards prevalent in most of rural India. Landlessness and migration have complicated the very important question of housing and the crisis of unemployment is deepening before us. India's ranking in the Global Hunger Index has seen a continuous downfall under Modi Raj. Thus, it is imperative that we **take up public health, public education, land, housing, employment and food security** as the fundamental demands of our agenda.

We also need to stop the appropriation of cultural space by forces of right reaction and strengthen ourselves as well as our progressive cultural values. The RSS is trying to redefine our past and appropriate its legacy. They deliberately twist the works of notable people to further their divisive agenda. This is not only falsification but also an insult to the inclusive and progressive legacy they left behind. Our future programs should be inclusive of the rich work and legacy of progressive thinkers, writers and social reformers. The emphasis on medieval poets like Kabir and Raidas placed on equality, the rationality professed by Periyar and Ayyankalli, the efforts to achieve rights for the downtrodden by Sri Narayan Guru and Dr Ambedkar should form part of our struggles and work. The RSS is trying to contaminate the public space with hate, we should recapture that

with harmony and unity.

Our agenda is diametrically opposite to what the RSS is trying to achieve economically and socially. To defeat the RSS-BJP, the opposition's agenda should also be distinct from the RSS. A left-of-centre position among secular-democratic parties is needed to cement a principled unity against the RSS-BJP. The Left will have to take initiative in forging this unity. We should aim at building a broadest unity of political parties, mass and class organizations and social movements in defence of our Constitution and to intensify our united struggle against the decisive and poisonous policies of RSS-BJP. The CPI is clear about the historical role of the Left in defending the fundamental interests of the nation and its people. With this vision and sense of historical responsibility in this unprecedented and new political situation, the CPI is raising the banner of Left unity and unity of all secular, democratic, patriotic forces.

Given our agenda, clarity and responsibility, our comrades are to make this 24th Congress of the CPI a Congress for the future of not only the party but of the nation and its people. Our party has the responsibility of understanding, inculcating and channelising the aspirations of the people. That is why the 24th Congress of the CPI is the Congress of hope. Our struggle for a better world and a better society should continue with greater vigour and revolutionary zeal. Let us gather to decide our future program and tasks. Let us all make this Congress a success in furthering democracy, strengthening our struggle for socialism and giving hope to the people.

Trade Unions to March on...

From Page 05

ment. In stead they want "Ease of Business" curtailing workers' rights. The claimed aim is simplification of laws, but the motive is to make it punitive for workforce and its unions, with no accountability towards the people who do the value addition and produce wealth, provide services. Through these codification of labour laws even the existing established social security schemes are under attack.

The unionists need to recognise that the demand of time is to strengthen the workers-peasants unity to put up vigorous struggle against tyrant regime at Centre which has not only failed the nation but is also letting loose the vicious divisive agenda.

We visualize very bad

days ahead for the working masses at all levels with extreme job loss, wage cuts, growing unemployment rate, health hazards on rise at work places as occupational safety is victim of the government policies, the existing social security schemes are being weakened and are designed to be exclusive to damage the future prospects for workers and above all the right to unionisation, collective bargaining, to agitate including strike actions are under attack.

The trade unions which symbolize collectivism, democracy and togetherness of workers of all castes, communities, and religious faiths fighting for their rights of employment, job security, rights at work place and social security, have to come for-

ward to push the socio-economic agenda with the common man in the forefront and stand with those who are threatened because they question government policies.

AITUC will have to play its due role in the united movements of trade unions as well as the solidarity actions in favour of farmers, students, teachers, intelligential, writers, artists, journalists, and social activists etc.

To play that vital role in the circumstances we are placed, we need to strengthen our unions, expand to new areas, impart trade union education, raise the cautiousness of leaders and activists at all levels. Special efforts are needed to bring in young cadres in such training programmes.

Through Party Congresses

Communist Party of India was founded in 1925 in Kanpur. Since then it has held numerous conferences and congresses, which formulated the political, ideological and programmatic positions of the party.

It is notable that at Ahmedabad session of Congress (1921), it was Maulana Hasrat Mohani, a Communist who moved a resolution for "complete independence, free from all foreign control". The resolution was lost in voting.

Foundation conference of CPI, Kanpur, 1925

Kanpur foundation conference of CPI was held from December 25 to 29, 1925.

Convener of the conference, Satyabhakta, clearly stated in his circular letter of June 18, 1925 that the ultimate aim of the Communist Party was "complete freedom established in India resulting in the formation" of a just society.

Chairman of the conference of communists in Kanpur M Singaravelu stated in his address: "...the immediate aim of the party is to establish Swaraj or complete independence by all fair means."

Both Mohani and Singaravelu consistently interpreted 'swaraj' as complete independence in their speeches.

Article 1 of the Constitution of CPI adopted at Kanpur conference (1925) declared "the liberation

of India from British imperialist domination" among the aims of the party. The party also decided that its members



S V Ghate
1925 - 1933

should be within the Congress also.

The conference elected SV Ghate and JP Bagerhatta as general secretaries, and Singaravelu as chairman.

Extended CEC meeting of CPI, Bombay, 1927

An extended central executive committee meeting (also called general body), held in Bombay on May 29-31, 1927, revised the party Constitution and Program. CPI Constitution in its section on 'Program', Para 6, advanced the aim of "(a) (i) Complete national independence, and the establishment of a democratic republic based on universal adult franchise." Communists aimed to form a republican wing in the AICC in cooperation with its left wing.

Anil Rajimwale

It elected SV Ghate as general secretary.

Calcutta conference, 1933

After the release of the Meerut prisoners in 1933, a small conference of CPI held in December 1933 in Calcutta, adopted a political resolution, a new party Constitution and elected a new central committee with Dr G Adhikari as general secretary. After his arrest SS Mirajkar func-

tioned as general secretary. After some time Somnath Lahiri replaced him as general secretary.

The conference emphasized the need to win the independence of India.

CPI and adoption of full independence by Congress

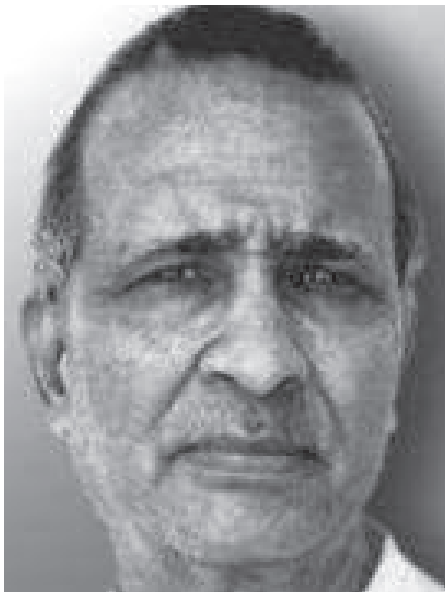
Congress (INC) sessions in Madras (1927), Calcutta (1928) and



S S Mirajkar

Lahore (1929) were important steps towards adoption of full indepen-

dence as the goal, in which CPI and WPP (Workers'-Peasants' Party) played crucial role. In Madras session (1927), the resolution on full independence was



Dr. G. Adhikari
1933 - 1935

moved in the Subjects Committee by KN Joglekar (CPI), supported by Jawaharlal Nehru, and it was passed. In the open session, it was moved by Jawaharlal Nehru and supported by Joglekar. It was passed unanimously.

In Calcutta session of Congress (1928), a huge procession of about 50 000 people led by CPI and WPP entered Congress pandal with permission of the president Motilal Nehru. Joglekar and Jawaharlal addressed. The rally was in support of full independence.

Consequently, Congress decided to adopt the aim of full independence within one year, and finally did so on December 31, 1929 in its Lahore session, stating: "This Congress, in pur-

suance of the resolution passed at its session at Calcutta last year, declares that the word 'swaraj' in Article 1 of the Congress Constitution shall mean complete independence..."

PC Joshi as general secretary, 1935

PC Joshi was made the general secretary of CPI in 1935. He advanced the slogans of full freedom by forming broad anti-imperialist front, called the national front.

First Congress of CPI, Bombay, 1943

The first congress of CPI held in Bombay from May 23 to June 1, 1943, was a great event in the national life, held in the midst of intense political battles against the British rulers. It decided to fight world fascism as the main enemy.

The ban on party had been lifted. Party congress was attended by 139 delegates from all over the country. It discussed National Front and a national government for national defence, and gave the slogan of 'Peoples' War'. Formation of anti-fascist front was a key element.

Party membership increased from 5000 to 15, 000 by this time. The Constitution of 1943 replaced that of 1931. By now it had become a national force, and the party was on the road to become a mass party. The Party Constitution spelt out the task of building national united front of

On Pages 8, 9, 10

the entire freedom-loving people of India.

The emblem of the CPI was a five-pointed red star, at the centre of which was placed a crossed hammer and sickle with a circular inscription: Communist Party of India.

This was later changed to crossed hammer and sickle in white against a red background with a circular inscription in white: Communist Party of India.

PC Joshi was elected general secretary.

India's freedom and CPI

CPI led by PC Joshi warmly welcomed India's hard-won freedom on August 15, 1947, and organized series of meetings, demonstration and procession. CPI organ, the People's Age, wrote on August 3, 1947 that "India's national flag will fly where the Union Jack flew for centuries... It will mark a historic landmark in the liberation struggle of the Indian people." People's Age brought out special issue on independence, reporting joining of CPI'S participation in country-wide celebrations.

Second congress of CPI, Calcutta, 1948

CC meeting of December 1947 removed PC Joshi for 'reformism' and replaced him by BT Ranadive, inaugurating a suicidal adventurist 'BTR' line. Second congress of CPI was held in Calcutta from February 28 to March, 1948, attended by 632 delegates. It elected BT Ranadive as general secretary. It characterized India's freedom as 'sham' and Nehru government as agent of imperialism. It gave a call for immediate armed overthrow of Nehru government and

move towards 'socialism'. The call for nationwide indefinite railway strike given for March 9, 1948 in the hope



Somnath Lahiri

of a revolution failed completely.

Armed struggle in Telangana region of princely Nizam state of Hyderabad was wrongly continued even after the entry of the Indian forces on September 13, 1948. As a result, CPI and mass organizations were completely isolated and thrown into disarray. Party membership at the beginning of 1948 was more than 89,000; it fell to just 9000 by the end of 1950! Adventurism destroyed the party.

BTR was removed, replaced first by C Rajeshwara Rao and then by Ajoy Ghosh as general secretary.

Special CPI conference, Calcutta, 1951

It was held underground from October 9 to 15, 1951, and a new, regular, party program was adopted. It was based on Three P's Letter from Ajoy Ghosh, Dange and Ghate, who developed and followed a new understanding of the situation. Party withdrew armed struggle and decided to take part in the general elections of

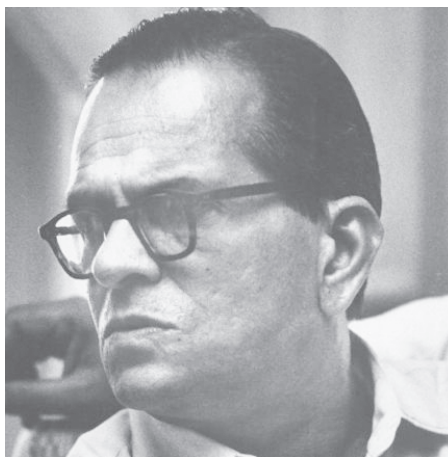
1952.

The Party Program called upon "the toiling millions – the working class, the peasantry, the toiling intelligentsia, the middle classes as well as the national bourgeoisie interested in the freedom of the country" and its development to unite into a single democratic front. It said the stage of revolution was not socialist, but was that of democratic revolution.

It also adopted a 'Policy Statement'. Ajoy Ghosh was elected general secretary.

Third Party Congress, Madurai, 1953-54

Held from December 27, 1953 to January 3,



B T Ranadive
1948 - 1950

1954, it adopted Political Resolution recognizing progressive nature of Nehru's foreign policy. Ajoy Ghosh explained that the key task was the replacement of Congress government by a democratic one including progressive Congressmen.

Ajoy Ghosh was elected general secretary.

June 1955 Resolution

This key document outlined tactical and strategic positions and positive role of parliamentary institutions. It emphasized the impor-

tance of democratic front, positively evaluated India's foreign and internal public sector-oriented policies,



P C Joshi
1935 - 1948

warned that while fighting anti-people policies of the government, care must be taken to see that rightwing reaction did not come to power. Democratic front would also include progressive sections of the Congress.

Fourth Party Congress, Palghat, 1956

It was a qualitative turn in party's political-ideological history, helping it join the mainstream politics after the debacle of BTR period. It was held from April 19 to 29, 1956, attended by 407 delegates representing 1,05,000 members.



C. Rajesra Rao
1964 - 1990

Ajoy Ghosh reported on national and international situation and new tasks, on historic 20th CPSU congress, underlined new world realities

and need for change in strategy and tactics. Role of parliamentary institutions and peaceful transition were underlined.

Party congress criticised Stalin's personality cult, and called for a balanced assessment of his role.

Palghat congress favoured linguistic reorganization of the states. Political Resolution made it clear that the democratic front will not be an anti-Congress front. "The basic conflict in India society is the conflict between imperialism and feudalism on the one hand and the entire Indian people, including the national bourgeoisie, on the other."

There was no question of giving any concessions to rightwing forces.

Ajoy Ghosh got re-elected as general secretary.

5th (Extraordinary) congress, Amritsar, 1958

This milestone congress in the background of Kerala victory (1957), brought about major changes in the Party Constitution, and a new one was adopted. Constitution:

1. Gave up the concept of 'dictatorship of proletariat'.
2. Recognised the existence of opposition parties in future socialism in India.
3. Stated that CPI strived to achieve full democracy and socialism by peaceful means.
4. Pledged to defend national freedom by uniting all the patriotic and democratic forces.
5. Party Congress pointed out that right reaction attacked good features like nationalization and public sector.
6. Commenting on

Amritsar congress in 'New Age', EMS wrote that CPI was actually following program of nationalism, democracy and service to people, and was following the spirit of Gandhiji's non-violent, non-cooperation and Swaraj.

7. Constitution adopted a 3-tier organizational structure, replacing the earlier 2-tier one.

Sixth congress, Vijayawada, 1961

It took place in the backdrop of the splitting activities of destructive Maoism in international and Indian Communist movement, leading to several splits.

Party congress took place from April 7 to 16, 1961 attended by 439 delegates representing 1, 77, 501 members. Followers of Chinese line instigated by Maoism were preparing to split the party, but it was saved by timely intervention of Ajoy Ghosh. His long speech, delivered even when he was seriously ill, was adopted as the 'party line'. Split was averted for the time being.

Chinese aggression, 1962

Chinese troops made aggression into the Indian territory in October 1962, in violation of their own assurance to the contrary. National Council and CEC of CPI unequivocally condemned the aggression and expressed support for defence measures of the country taken by the government.

Seventh congress, Bombay, 1964

First congress after split, it was held from December 13 to 23, 1964. It pointed out that the split had greatly harmed the Communist move-



Ajoy Ghosh
1951 - 1962

ment.

The congress adopted a new program of national democratic revolution. CPI congress condemned Maoism and Chinese aggression.

C Rajeshwara Rao was elected general secretary.

8th CPI congress, Patna, 1968

It was held from February 7 to 15, 1968. CPI(M) in turn suffered split in 1967, and 'Naxalites' came out. Political Resolution pointed out mass upsurge and bandh movement, with CPI at the forefront. It warned against growing dangers from right reaction, and called for widening the mass democratic front.

C Rajeshwara Rao was re-elected general secretary.

9th congress, Cochin, 1971

It was attended by 995 delegates and 182 observers, representing 2, 43, 248 members.

It adopted Political Report, Political Resolution, Organisational Report and other documents. CPI made it clear that any idea of anti-Congress or non-Congress front would only help right reaction. Jan Sangh-RSS was the biggest threat. Nationalization of 14 monopoly banks

had taken place in 1969. Conflict between forces of reaction and progress got sharpened, and VV Giri was elected India's president with CPI support.

SA Dange was elected Chairman and C Rajeshwara Rao general secretary.

10th congress, Vijayawada, 1975

It was held from January 27 to February 2, 1975, attended by 1246 delegates representing 3, 55, 526 members.

It adopted a resolution on 50th anniversary of formation of CPI. CPI Chairman SA Dange said that CPI will not allow



EMS
1962 - 1964

right reaction to come power.

A half-million strong rally took place on the last day.

S A Dange and Rajeshwara Rao were elected chairman and general secretary respectively.

11th congress, Bhatinda, 1978

Held in Bhatinda (Punjab) from March 31 to April 7, 1978 it was attended by 1183 full and 259 alternate delegates, representing 5, 46, 732 members.

The congress decided that CPI's support to emergency was wrong. Emergency was anti-people from the beginning itself. At the

same time, it made it clear that there was real threat from RSS-led JP movement, so-called 'total revolution', and we were right in carrying on anti-fascist campaign.

Bhatinda congress stated that the core of this movement was the RSS and Jan Sangh. "The danger of an extreme rightist takeover was thus serious."

Whatever the objective, imposition of emergency only strengthened personal rule of Indira Gandhi and helped right reaction.

Congress re-elected chairman and general secretary.

12th congress, Varanasi, 1982

This congress was held in Varanasi from March 22 to 28, 1982. It was attended by 1223 delegates and 188 alternate delegates. The congress pointed out that in the period since the previous congress, all types of communal and disruptive elements had raised their head threatening unity. Party congress sharply criticized the concept of "all-in opposition unity".



Indrajit Gupta
1990 - 1996

C Rajeshwara Rao was re-elected general secretary.

13th congress, Patna, 1986

It was held from March 12-17, 1986, attended by 1027

delegates and 71 alternate delegates. CPI stood for "reunification of the Communist movement on a principled basis", but did not get any response. CPI was second only to Congress on national scale.

C Rajeshwar Rao was re-elected as general secretary.

14th congress, Calcutta, 1989

It was held from March 6 to 12, 1989, participated in by 956 delegates and 91 alternate delegates. Events in the USSR attracted the attention of the delegates: perestroika and glasnost had been unleashed there. Congress said: "Our party is convinced that the main direction of these reforms is correct and we support it." It did not mean everything was correct.

Government of India was anti-imperialist in foreign policy. Communal situation was going from bad to worse.

C Rajeshwar Rao was re-elected as general secretary again.

15th congress, Hyderabad, 1992

It was held April 16 onwards.

The proceedings were dominated by events in USSR and Eastern Europe leading to collapse of the Soviet Union, raising questions of democracy and socialism.

A detailed document titled "Developments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe", was adopted after prolonged pre-congress discussions.

The other important document adopted was the Program Document, pending the discussion and adoption of a full-fledged program, necessitated by changes



A B Bardhan
1996 - 2012

in Indian and world situation. This was also adopted after wide discussions in the party.

Indrajit Gupta was elected general secretary a few months before the congress due to ill-health of CR. Indrajit Gupta was confirmed at the congress.

Thrissur organizational conference, 1993

It was held in Thrissur (Kerala) from March 11 to 14, 1993, discussing two documents: One, "Certain Organizational



S Sudhakar Reddy
2012 - 2019

Tasks", the other "Mass Organizations and Party". The conference replaced the tree-tier party structure by two-tier one. It was felt that this would reduce duplication of work. Secretariat was abolished and CEC became national executive.

The conference decided to give proper representation to the SC, ST, OBC, minority sections and to the women.

The two-tier arrangement did not work; therefore, party reverted back to three-tier arrangement.

16th congress, New Delhi, 1995

It was held from October 7 to 11, 1995, attended by 720 delegates and 44 alternate delegates. Demolition of Babri Masjid (1992), questions regarding left and Communist unity and the events in the former USSR and Eastern Europe were the main points.

CPI congress said about forthcoming elections that three groupings were likely to fight: Congress and allies, BJP-led alliance and National Front-Left Front alliance. NF-LF would fight against both Congress and BJP-SS combine.

Indrajit Gupta was re-elected as general secretary.

17th congress, Chennai, 1998

It was convened in Chennai from September 14 to 19, 1998, attended by 975 delegates. BJP-led NDA government had briefly come to power in 1998. It stated that the aim was to bring forward a secular democratic alternative, prevent shift to right and bring about shift to the left. Congress Party will have to play an important role in the new alternative.

The newly elected national council elected AB Bardhan as general secretary. Bardhan had become general secre-

tary in 1996 after Indrajit Gupta joined the central cabinet as Home Minister in 1996.

18th congress, Trivandrum, 2002

It was held in Thiruvananthapuram from March 26 to 31, 2002 in which 604 delegates and 56 alternates took part. It took place in the context of attack on the Parliament and widespread communal riots in Gujarat. The Coordination Committee of CPI-CPI(M) ceased to function. The congress said that a strong CPI was the need of the hour. The coming period would be one of Rectification and Reorganization of the party.

AB Bardhan was re-elected as general secretary.

19th congress, Chandigarh, 2005

It was held from March 29 to April 3, 2005, attended by 549 delegates and 61 alternate delegates.

The CPI and the left supported the UPA-I government at this time. Party congress made it clear that the CPI would not beg for Communist unity, and will build strong independent party. CPI's thinking had been largely proved right since the split in 1964.

AB Bardhan was re-elected as GS and S. Sudhakar Reddy as deputy general secretary.

20th congress, Hyderabad, 2008

It was held from 23 to 27 March 2008. The main emphasis was on building an independent image and base of the party. It decided to create greater base for mass organisations. AB



M Singara velu
Chairman
1925 - 27



S A Dange
Chairman
1962-82

Bardhan was re-elected as general secretary and S Sudhakar Reddy deputy general secretary.

21st congress, Patna, 2012

Held from March 27 to 31, 2012, it discussed Political Resolution, Political Review Report and Organisation Report. Some amendments in Party Constitution were made regarding enrolment fees, tenure of secretaries etc. It decided to press for wider left and democratic unity. Left



D Raja
2019 -

unity should be more transparent.

S Sudhakar Reddy was elected general secretary of the party.

22nd congress, Puducherry, 2015

It was held from March 25 to 29, 2015, attended by 819 delegates, alternate delegates, observers and invitees. It adopted a new Party Program and

appointed a permanent Program Commission.

The Political Resolution called for dislodging of corporate rightwing communal forces from power, and building a people's alternative.

S Sudhakar Reddy was elected general secretary and Gurudas Dasgupta deputy general secretary.

23rd congress, Kollam, 2018

This congress was held from April 25 to 29, 2018, attended by 810 delegates including others. While emphasizing building a strong CPI, the Political Resolution made it clear that left unity should not be counter-posed to broader unity. A platform of all the secular, democratic and left forces should be built.

S Sudhakar Reddy was re-elected GS.

Sudhakar Reddy retired from the post of general secretary in July, 2019 meeting of national council, and D Raja was elected to the post.

The next, 24th, congress is going to be held in Vijayawada (October 14-18, 2022). Party membership in the last few years has been roughly around 6, 50, 000.

Unite against Neo-liberal Reforms: AIBEA

All of us are aware of the policies of the present NDA/BJP government to expedite their agenda of liberalization and privatization. All efforts are being made to dismantle public sector understandings. Under this, the financial sector, particularly, privatizing of our Banks is one of their main targets. In the Budget 2021, finance minister announced that to begin, with two public sector banks would be privatized in addition to IDBI Bank.

As Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru described in those days, the PSUs are the modern temples of India. They have been built up over the years with public money, from public exchequer using tax-payers' contribution. Hence, they are people's institutions and national assets.

Our country has been developing and progressing in the last 75 years after independence but the growth and economic development are not that adequate. Hence there is nothing wrong if some economic reform measures are taken to boost the economy and its development. But the question is whether these economic policies being pursued by the government in the name of reforms have benefitted our country or not. We can welcome these reform policies if they are good for our country's growth and development.

But our experience has been that for the past three decades of such economic reforms, one could only experience that the benefit of such policies are not benefiting the majority of the masses and in fact, their condition has become worse than before. These policies have not been helpful to develop our economy at all. The economy has been facing crisis after crisis. Adding fuel to fire, measures like demonetization, faulty GST, etc, have also aggravated the economic problems. After this, the lockdown in the country due to the pandemic has further added to the problems.

We saw a lot of measures announced by the government in the name of relief and these measures have not yielded any positive results. On the other hand, the economic situation has further worsened. Millions of people have lost their jobs, production level has come down, prices are soaring and there is no light at the end of the tunnel. Many experts and economists have been suggesting that it is wrong measure to try to boost the supply end, and rather the government should concentrate on the demand side to boost consumption, which in turn will boost demand,

production and lift up the economy to some extent.

Thus the economy continues to be in doldrums and since banks and the economy are inter-linked, banks also face the problem. Actually, there is a need to help the banks to grow further by strengthening them. But regrettably, the government is choosing to privatize our public sector banks instead of strengthening them.

First of all, we all need to understand that bank privatization is not an isolated agenda of the government. They want overall reforms. They want economic reforms, labour reforms, banking reforms and land reforms. That is why we see that the government is pushing all these issues simultaneously.

All these measures are not warranted as none of these policies are going to be helpful, rather they are detrimental. All the steps would only benefit the capitalists and corporates, which we are already witnessing. So, we need to fight against all these policies, not just against privatization of banks. This means that we have to be part and parcel of the common struggles against these overall reform policies.

Hence AIBEA believes that, we, as bank employees have to fight against privatization of banking sector and at the same time, we should also take part in the common struggles of the entire trade union movement against the anti-people, anti-worker policies of the government.

Coming to the issue of privatization of banks, all of us are fully convinced that privatization of banks is not good. Now to fight this policy, we need to maintain high degree of unity amongst our bank unions, as in a struggle against the government, this is a pre-requisite. We already have the United Forum of Bank Unions. We must do everything to maintain the unity under the banner of UFBU. As a major unit of UFBU, we have special responsibility to see that UFBU also remains united to fight the issue of privatization of banks.

As far as AIBEA is concerned, we are very clear that our priority today is our struggle against privatization of banks. Privatization of banks is against people-oriented economy, against social banking, against rural economy, against the poor, the youth, and the unemployed, against farmers, as well as against employees, their jobs and job security, also against the reservation policy. It is glaringly against the interest of the young

C H Venkatachalam

employees who have joined the banks in a large number in the recent years.

The government repeatedly says that PSBs are not efficient like private banks. They also say that government banks are not that profitable and so they want to privatize them. We know it is not factual. But we need to explain to the public the actual facts. In fact all our banks are in profit and only because of provisions for bad loans and NPAs, some banks are in loss. Public should be explained all these things.

For example, in 2015-16, in PSBs, the total operating profit was Rs 136,000 crores but the provisions for NPA, etc, was Rs 155,000 crores that is more than the entire profits. Like this, in 2016-17, against total operating profit of Rs 159,000 crores, the provisions were Rs

Benares State Bank, Purbanchal Bank, Kashinath State Bank, United Western Bank, etc. The list can go on. Everyone knows that all these private banks failed because of mismanagement. This itself is an answer to the so called efficiency of private banks.

Again, when we talk of provisions towards bad loans, we all know that the big private corporate companies are the main defaulters of bank loans. If these loans are recovered, banks will be in super profits. That is why, we must keep in mind that our fight against privatization and fight on the issue of bad loans, NPA, IBC, etc, are both interlinked. Recently, we hear the news about haircuts in banks. When bad loans are referred to NCLT under IBC, these bad loans are resolved. What we want is recovery but IBC talks of resolution. And, what is the recovery under these resolution processes. That is where the haircut comes. See the extent

of our struggle.

We should also mobilise the support of other sections of employees who are working in the banks like contract employees, outsourced employees, Bank Mitras, and others. They are in large number and they have their problems. We should take up and fight for their issues so that they also fight along with us.

One thing we should be clear in our mind. This struggle will be bitter and sustained. It will be prolonged because we are directly confronting the government's policy. Hence, we should be ready for sacrifices and there is no short cut method to fight this issue. But if we fight with determination, we are bound to get results.

In our history of 75 years of AIBEA, we have seen so many attacks and struggles. This time too we shall fight and succeed. If people want overnight results, it is not possible. AIBEA demanded

Rs. In crores			
Borrower	Loan amount	Resolved for	Haircut %
Essar	54,000	42,000	23 %
Bhushan Steels	57,000	35,000	38
Jyothi Structures	8,000	3,600	55
DHFL	91,000	37,000	60
Bhushan Power	48,000	19,000	60
Electrosteel Steels	14,000	5,000	62
Monnet Ispat	11,500	2,800	75
Amtek	13,500	2,700	80
Alok Industries	30,000	5,000	83
Lanco Infra	47,000	5,300	88
Videocon	46,000	2,900	94
ABC Shipping	22,000	1,200	95
Sivasankaran industries	4,800	320	95 %

170,000 crores. Again, in 2017-18, when the total operating profits were Rs 155,000 crores, the total provisions were to the tune of Rs 270,000 crores. Similarly, in 2018-19, the operating profits of PSBs were Rs, 149,000 crores and the provisions for bad loans, etc, were Rs 216,000 crores. Same was the case in 2019-20. Total operating profits were Rs 174,300 crores but the provisions were Rs 200,000 crores.

If these facts and figures are told to the people, they will understand why some banks are not in profits.

Again, what is the efficiency of private banks? Is it really true that they are more efficient? If it is so, then why so many private banks collapsed in last few decades. Bank of Thanjavur, Bank of Tamilnadu, Bank of Cochin, Nedungadi Bank, Global Trust Bank, Bank of Karad, Hindustan Commercial Bank, Lakshmi Commercial Bank,

of haircuts in the following cases of bad loans.

So, we can see how the recovery rules are helping the corporate defaulters and how banks are losing in each loan account. It is a tragedy that when the banks are facing problems because of these private sector borrowers, the government is wanting to sell our banks to the very same private sector.

Therefore, we need to get ready for serious action to oppose privatization of banks. On the one hand, we should prepare our organisation and members. On the other hand, we need to mobilise support from others. If you want to get the support of others, we should support others when they are in difficulty. Similarly, we need to gather political support of various political parties. They supported our strike in March, 2021. We should contact them again and ensure their support. We should educate all our mem-

bers about the political nature of our struggle. nationalisation of banks in 1946 and achieved it in 1969 after 23 years. AIBEA demanded pension in 1952 and achieved it in 1993. Same way, successive governments have been trying to privatise the banks from 1991. For 30 years we have been fighting and we need to continue the struggle.

Unity, militancy, conviction, courage, determination and clarity are very important in our struggle. We all understand that banking is for the people. Banks' money belongs to the people. Hence our struggle is for the welfare of the people. Bank privatisation is anti-people. Bank nationalisation is pro-people. Hence defending public sector banking and opposing privatization is a patriotic struggle. In a country where the majority are poor people, we need to undertake this patriotic fight. In AIBEA, we feel it is our patriotic duty. Fight, keep fighting, success will be ours.

CPI Condoles Demise of Mulayam Singh Yadav

Samajwadi Party founder Mulayam Singh Yadav is no more. He was one of the most respected and senior leaders of the country. He headed the Samajwadi Party with great commitment to the ideals of Ram Manohar Lohia. As chief minister of Uttar Pradesh, he tried to uplift the backward and poorer sections of the society. His commitment for the rights of the oppressed and social justice was absolute.

At the time of the United Front government, he played an important role at the national level to prevent the BJP from coming to power.

CPI General Secretary D Raja recently visited the hospital where he was undergoing treatment, met his son Akhilesh Yadav and enquired about the health of Mulayam Singh Yadav. His demise is a loss for the country at a critical time.

The CPI pays its solemn homage to Mulayam Singh Yadav and conveys its condolences to his bereaved family members.

CPI Extends Solidarity with People of Iran

The National Secretariat of the Communist Party of India expresses its support and solidarity with the people of Iran who are protesting against the brutal killing of 22 year-old Mahsa Amini by the Iranian 'moral police' on September 14, 2022:

CPI believes that ongoing mass demonstrations of women, youth and university students have displayed unprecedented bravery, imagination and dedication to demonstrate their opposition to the theocratic regime and have drawn the attention of the international community and got tremendous support for the Iranian women who revolted against the onslaught by the present theocratic regime.

Already 30 people, majority of them young girls are killed by the regime. But all these excessive force used by the regime failed to contain the popular upsurge of the Iranian people.

While expressing its support and solidarity with the people of Iran, CPI demands immediate cessation of all kinds of repressive measures against the protesters, release of all those arrested and actions against those who killed Mahsa Amini.

The CPI at the same time reiterates its position that there should not be any outside interference in internal affairs of Iran on any pretext.

We express also our solidarity with the Tudeh Party of Iran, a party, despite the severe repression for last 80 years has been struggling for a national democratic republic of Iran, where peace and justice are guaranteed.

Education Goes Beyond ...



From Last Page

admission in the government institutions, do have a look at the recent course fees in some of the reputed government institutes.

Indian Institute of Technology (IIT) campuses are increasing the course fees with each passing year and presently B.Tech course fee is varying between 8.5 Lakh to 10 Lakh in the different IITs. Course fee of BS in Physics or Chemistry is 8.47 Lakh. If you crack the CAT exam with excellent score, you can get admission in the MBA course of the IITs but you will have to pay more than 11 Lakhs for this two-year course. Fees of one post graduate diploma course in 'Business Analytics' is Rs 2000000. If you have again read it wrong, let me clear, it is Twenty Lakh, not two.

Apart from IITs and NITs, the course fees in other government engineering colleges are also increasing and becoming inaccessible for the common students, who do not belong to rich families. Course fee in IEST Shibpur, earlier known as Shibpur B.E. college of West Bengal, is 5.44 Lakh. The present course fee in Institute of Chemical Technology, Mumbai is 3.41 Lakh and College of Engineering, Pune is 3.39 Lakh. The rate is almost similar for many other colleges also throughout India.

There are around 273

government medical colleges all over India, among which Tamilnadu and Uttar Pradesh have the highest numbers with 26 each. The highest annual fees of the government medical colleges in the states like Uttarakhand, Tamilnadu, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra are Rs 425000, 400000, 150000, 117000 and 105000 respectively. Highest yearly fees are between Rs 50000 to 1 Lakh for the other states. So, it is nearly impossible for a student coming from poor economic background to become a doctor.

Amidst this increasing fee structure in every sector of education all over the country, pandemic situation arose in 2020. Schools, Colleges and Universities were shut down. Official works at all level were halted during the strict lockdowns. BJP government utilized the situation to pass National Education Policy (NEP) 2020, which is clearly encouraging the capitalists to invest more in education as they will get every support to make more profit, whereas this highly profitable commodity will be reserved only for the children of the rich. It was passed bypassing any democratic discussion or debate and this NEP 2020 is the blueprint for more and more privatization, commercialization and centralization of educa-

tion in near future.

The first and the largest left student organization of our country, AISF has been raising slogan for "education to all" for last 87 years. Public education must be strengthened and more money of the Union budget should be allocated for education; only then gradually education can be accessible to all.

The anti-farmer farm bills were also passed during the same time but the year-long huge protest at Delhi border made the fascist government to bow down and repeal the three farm laws. This was possible only because of one reason and that is the farmers' struggle became a mass movement with huge mass support from all over the country.

So, nationwide student movement must be built up uniting all the national level left student organizations and the other left and pro-left regional level student organizations. Gaining the support of the common people in the movement is very much necessary to win the tough battle – the battle for free and equal education, battle for guaranteed employment to all. AISF being the only left student organization having presence in every part of the country should take the responsibility and initiative.

[Author is National President, AISF]

Face of Capitalism in 21st Century

In 2000 A.D. the human society was entering into the 21st century and into the third millennium. On this occasion, the United Nations formulated the Millennium Goals to be achieved during the next thousand years. Many economists wrote about capitalism in the 21st century including those who believe in socialism. They wrote about their expectations about socialism in the 21st century. Since we are in the third decade of the present century, it will be worthwhile to take a short review of the performance of the capitalist system even for a better plan of action for the would-be socialism, specially from the point of human development.

In the last decade of the 20th century the global free trade regime was formulated and inaugurated. The main reason was that the developed industrial countries were facing barriers for the entry of their goods and services in the markets of developing countries, who wanted to protect their markets for their own goods. The new institution is the World Trade Organisation (WTO). Now the member countries can enter each other's markets without any tax or non-tax barriers. It became a single global market. This has led to increase in the transportation of goods and passengers the world over, rapid increase in the consumption of fuels and the consequent terrible rise in the pollution and climate change. It has destabilised agrarian sector everywhere. The lifestyle that has evolved, the cities and production systems are all highly polluting. On

the other hand, problems created by the system, like unemployment, income inequality, poverty are getting out of control and are having adverse impact on the human welfare.

A generalized statement that at the national level the income is increasing but welfare development for common man still stands inadequate. The provision of basic amenities, even the essentials are often beyond reach for the common man in a capitalist system. At the moment, in India, the point being discussed is that the prime minister had declared on August 15, 2017 in his Independence Day speech that by August 2022, each poor family would get a pucca house with water supply and electricity. Now that we are in the year 2022, people are finding that nothing substantial has been done in that direction, people are disillusioned that even the declarations (Which are not election promises) made on Independence Day are not being implemented by the government. It raises the question of serenity and sanctity of the Independence Day. On this point the difference between a capitalistic and socialistic system may be illustrated through the example of erstwhile Soviet Union.

Mike Davido, correspondent of New York Times, was attached to American Embassy in Moscow. Since he had written on the housing problem earlier while in New York, in his four-year tenure in Moscow, he visited 14 republics and wrote a booklet on cities without crises which was on Soviet

*Prof Shrinivas
Khandewale*

housing (The Soviet Union Through the Eyes of an American, Moscow, Novosty Press Agency Publishing House, 1974). In it he speaks about housing, city planning in which he studied security at night, quality of air, education system etc. About housing, he wrote, "When I left New York... candidate Lindsay for mayor in 1965, promised to build 1,60,000 low and middle income apartments in four years... the city started only 34,167 apartments and just 8,920 of those were for low income families. Moscow's plan on the other hand, called for 1,20,000 apartments a year and 1,20,000 were constructed... The difference goes to the roots of the two contrasting social systems... (P.11) Soviet cities face problems. Ours face crises... Many Americans are beginning to learn that it is diseased social system and not geography that is at the bottom of urban crises... (P.13) My experience has convinced me that while the crises of our cities can be to some extent lessened... the vast and complex problems of urban existence cannot be adequately met under capitalism. Big cities like big industry, or large scale agriculture can no longer function in the interest of mass of the people in antiquated, outmoded social system based on private gain and profit rather than the common welfare." (P.14).

Problems of Workers : 2022

Big capital and entrepreneurs are continuously trying to

increase profit through increased volume of production and prices. Very often these efforts fail due to inadequate increase in demand. They result into short-lived bubbles of high activity followed by a short recession. But during high activity due to lower wage rates and during recession due to inadequate employment, the working class always remains at the low economic levels. During the last 150 years (including the present digitalization) due to continuous technological change and increasing automation of work, the demand for labour has not been increasing proportionately to the increase in gross national product. This phenomenon is known as 'jobless growth'. This is forcing the working class to forego wage rise, promotions, permanency of jobs, retirement with pension and other benefits and its only worry has become somehow to remain employed. In Indian context, the government has adopted the policy of privatization of all the sectors and as a result the working classes are going to be totally at the mercy of the private sector for employment and income. The labour organizations are also feeling helpless. Under such unfavorable conditions, the progress of human development is also becoming uncertain and unstable. Since these are defects of the capitalism, it is argued by some that India alone is not suffering. But the point is what can be done about the labour policy.

Former member of Planning commission Arun Maira has recently written an article on 'Labour and its Discon-

tents'. He says that the most serious socio-economic problem is that majority lives in acute deprivation. They suffer from sub-normal living standards, inadequate and uncertain income, inferior conditions at work places etc. Employment will not increase simply by improving ease of doing business, by changing the labour laws and making them applicable only to the enterprises with more than 300 workers. Employment in enterprises smaller than this threshold is turning contractual (informal). Labour laws earlier were relatively labour-friendly but the newly reformed laws are capital-friendly. Maira further observes that during the decade of 1980-90, one per cent GDP growth created about two lakh employment; during 1990-2000, employment generation declined to 1 lakh and during 2000-2020 it further declined to about 50 thousand per 1 per cent GDP growth. Mere increase of GDP does not increase incomes of those at the bottom. Suitable employment and labour policies need to be drafted and implemented.

While summing up, it may be said that the short review indicates that the capitalist economy (and the society based on it) has not been able to provide respectable employment and livelihood to workers (for example farmers, farm labours, urban labour, small entrepreneurs, female domestic workers, tribals etc.). There is no labour-friendly psychology among the people. On the contrary, various governments are devising innovative

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Best Wishes



For Grand Success of 24th Congress of CPI

- Com. Modumudi Ramarao, Aruna

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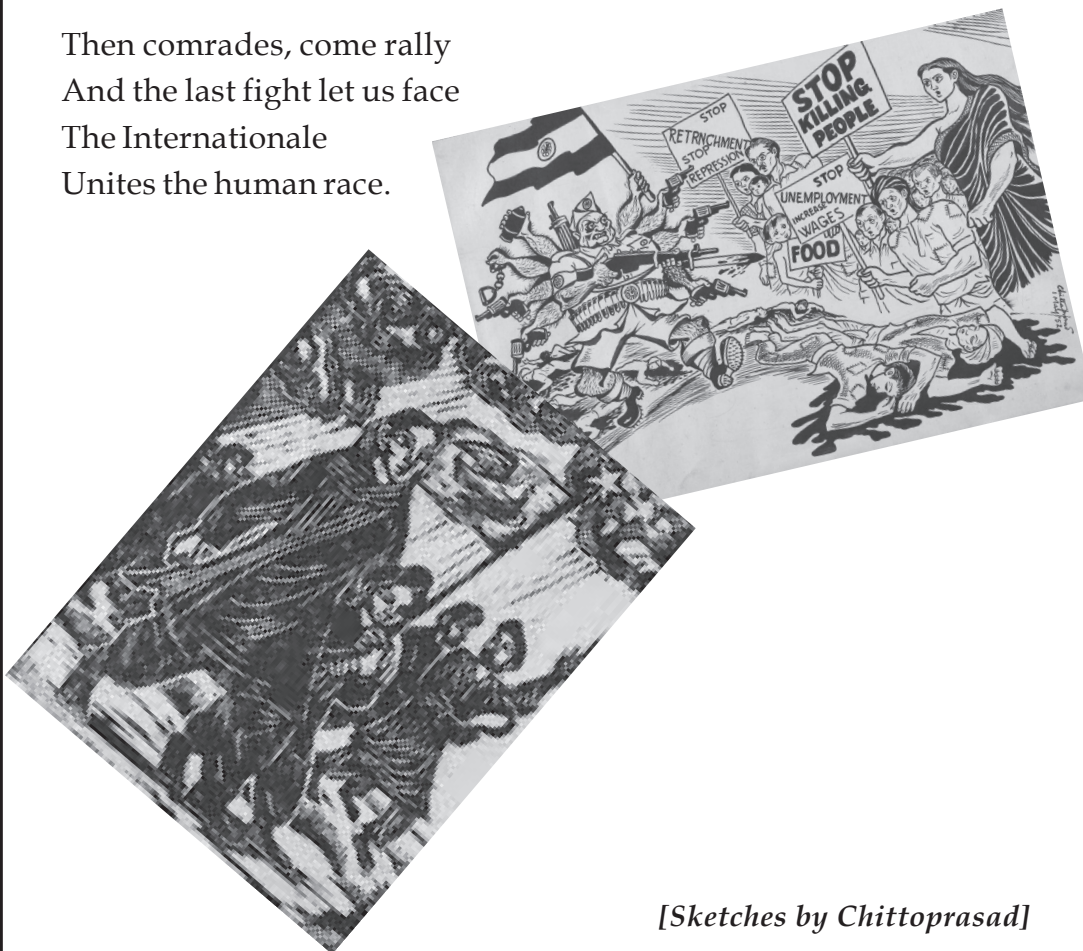
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Arise ye prisoners of starvation
 Arise ye toilers of the earth
 For reason thunders new creation
 `Tis a better world in birth.

Never more traditions' chains shall bind us
 Arise ye toilers no more in thrall
 The earth shall rise on new foundations
 We are naught but we shall be all.

Then comrades, come rally
 And the last fight let us face
 The Internationale
 Unites the human race.



[Sketches by Chittoprasad]

Face of Capitalism....

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capital-friendly laws and practices. Many economists have opined that with small changes, capitalistic society can work satisfactorily. British economist Paul Collier is one among them. He has been knighted (called 'Sir') for saying that capitalism is possible. He has published a book 'The Future of Capitalism: Facing the New Anxieties.' (Great Britain, Allen lane, 2018). In the last chapter Collier expresses his anguish thus: "Capitalism is generating divided societies in which many people lead anxious lives... what has happened re-

cently is not intrinsic to capitalism;... it is a damaging malfunctioning that must be put right. During the era following the Great Depression, pragmatic policies put capitalism on track; they can do it again. Yet our political system is not generating such policies. It has become as dysfunctional as our economies. Why is it no longer capable of thinking pragmatically about solutions to problems?" (p. 201).

The Latest

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) Report 2022 on October 3, 2022 ob-

serves that the Indian Economy may have a lower GDP growth, going down to 5.7 per cent during 2022 and further may decline to 4.7 per cent growth in 2023. This itself indicates that less national income will be available from which the working masses may find their share going further down.

In a nutshell, capitalism is capable only of increasing production but no justified distribution. It is inadequate to give equitable income, satisfactory livelihood to all and for bringing about human development. In India, we will have to find out an alternative system within the framework of our Constitution.

Remember What They Said...

From Page 02

keenly, cannot be achieved fully unless an inspiring national objective is placed before the mass of our people...

"...of all menaces that confront us, communalism is the most serious..." "In our view all democratic forces in general and the organized democratic movement in particular have an important role to play in defeating the forces of communal reaction."

"Altogether different is the position of parties like the Jan Sangh, Hindu Sabha and others. Not merely are the leaders of these parties reactionary, not merely are their ideology and policies reactionary, but the very basis on which they seek to consolidate their position is communal and disruptive."

"The Central Committee has pointed out that the main division of the democratic forces today is between the masses who follow the Congress and those who follow the parties of the democratic opposition. The ending of this division is one of the important tasks confronting us."

PC Joshi

"The very first issue that our party took up was that the aim of our national movement must be declared to be complete independence."

"It would not be possible for the Communists to become a political force in the country un-



less we make a decisive turn... unifying the entire Left and its socialist core to implement the policy of building up the United National Front ..."



Ho Chi Minh

"I follow only one party: the Vietnamese party"

"Mr Schoenbrun, we have a secret weapon ... don't smile when I tell you this. Our secret weapon is nationalism. To have nationhood, which is a sign of maturity, is greater than any weapons in the world."

"Nothing is more precious than independence and liberty."

"Our unity is not only spacious but also long-term unity. Unity is a national policy and is not a political trick. We are united to fight for the unity and independence of the Fatherland. We still have to unite and build our country."



[Sketch by Chittoprasad]

Education Goes Beyond Reach of Common Masses



FILE PHOTO

Many different measures and policies have been taken on education by the Union government of India, but neither the direction nor aim has been changed. It has been singularly one, un restrained privatization along with commercialization. The result of this can be seen in every corner of India. If you search online and type private engineering colleges in Maharashtra or Uttar Pradesh or some other state, you will surely get shocked to see the huge numbers in every part of our country.

In Maharashtra, there are 36 districts and 674 private engineering colleges; that means there are around 18 private colleges that offer specialisations in educa-

tion in different fields including technology.

One will find this similar kind of data in states like Uttar Pradesh, Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, Haryana, Punjab, Gujarat etc. The number of private engineering colleges varies from 175 to 400 in these states. You can check the course fees also. For B.Tech, the minimum course fees vary from college to colleges. In some colleges, it is 7,92,000 and in some colleges you will find it to be 10,40,000 or more.

Now, you can find the list of private medical colleges also. There are many private medical colleges providing MBBS degree in the states. Course fee varies between 20 lakhs to 50

Shuvam Banerjee

lakhs in most of the cases. But there are some exceptions also. There is a medical college in Pune named D. Y. Patil medical college and hospital which grabs 1,15,00,000 rupees from a student for that degree. I think you have read it wrong; it is not 11 lakh 50 thousands, it is 1 Crore and 15 Lakhs. For MD or MS, the course fee is 36,75,000 for a single academic year in that college. The SRM medical college hospital and research centre of Chennai is taking 1 Crore and 25 Lakhs rupees for the MBBS degree.

Scenario is similar in case of private law colleges and pharma colleges also. Only the rate of the commodity varies depending on the

subjects and courses. The inflation rate is so high in our country; it is very difficult for someone earning 25,000 per month to admit one's children in private colleges in the courses mentioned above after paying for the food grains, clothes, medicines and other basic needs of his family. You may get another shock to know that if you are earning 25,000 a month, then you are among the top 10 per cent of earners in India, according to the recent report of the Institute of Competitiveness. This news has not been published by any left lining media, but by the Zee News on May 21, 2022.

So, if you earn less than 25K, you are among the 90 per cent and one just cannot dream about

admitting one's dearest son or daughter in any private engineering colleges or medical colleges or law colleges. Three per cent Indians are making 25 lakhs or more in a year and their children can get admission to any of the courses they choose. So, the real fact is, if you have a lot of money, you can gift any degree to your children and in future they will get 'good jobs', otherwise ask your children to go to the field and grow crops, or they can follow the government's suggestion to start 'pakora shops'. It does not matter whether they want that or not; they are bound to do that.

After reading it so far, if you are not worried because your son or daughter is a topper and you are sure they will get

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