Resolution Against the Deep-Sea Mining Policy of Government of India

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) condemns the deep-sea mining policy of the Government of India for endangering the livelihood of millions of fisher folk, privatizing the natural resources to corporate interests, destabilizing the delicate marine eco system, and abridging the interests of the state governments.

The Offshore Minerals (Development and Regulation) Act of 2002, as amended in 2023 opens deep-sea mining and exploration to the plunder of private corporates. Before the recent amendment offshore mining required joint inspections by the GSI, the Indian Bureau of Mines, and the Atomic Minerals Directorate. However, the amended Act allows private companies to participate in exploration as well, raising concerns about potential unchecked exploitation and a lack of transparency.

The royalties from mining mineral resources are entirely assigned to the central government. Deep-sea mining may also threaten the viability of the public sector rare minerals units in Kerala that are dependent upon the mineral sands washed up on the shores.

Environmentalists point out that offshore mining creates sediment plumes and releases toxic wastewater containing heavy metals, posing long-term risks to marine life, and ecosystems reliant on marine resources. It may destabilize eco systems, weaken natural defenses against tsunamis, cyclones, erosion, and disrupt sediment dynamics, threatening aquatic habitats. Disturbing seafloor eco systems could release stored carbon, accelerating climate change by increasing atmospheric CO2 levels contributing to global warming.

The depletion of fisheries resources is a major livelihood challenge to Indian fishers and deep-sea mining will definitely aggravate the problem. For example, the sand blocks included for mining in the first phase of deep-sea mining happen to be on Kollam Banks, one of the richest fisheries resource belts in the Indian seas. All fisher folk irrespective of the political divide have come out against the proposal. The Kerala legislature has passed a unanimous resolution against the sea sand mining programme.

This action is a disaster waiting to unfold, and the 24th Congress of the CPI(M) demands that the central government abandon this initiative immediately.

Resolution to Ensure Dignity and Justice for the Disabled

*T*he 24th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep indignation at the continued neglect and deprivation that India's disabled population faces.

The National Sample Survey Office (NSSO) estimates that more than 50 per cent of India's disabled population lives below the poverty line. Pitiable living conditions are a major contributor

to disability. Additional costs towards assistive devices, healthcare, caregiving, transportation etc. accentuates their already miserable conditions. Disabled people countenance discrimination, economic deprivation and social marginalization.

The neo-liberal policies pursued aggressively under the Modi government have further accentuated their already miserable living conditions. Privatisation, outsourcing and contractualisation dilute the four per cent reservation in government jobs.

Livelihood challenges faced by people with disabilities in India are aggravated by inadequate support systems, inaccessible public infrastructure and workplaces. This is compounded with systemic neglect and discrimination which further deprives them of sustainable livelihood opportunities.

Unemployment among the disabled is as high as 65 per cent as per the 2011 census. Placement of those registered with the special employment exchanges is as low as 0.9 per cent. Though there is no authentic data available, available data suggests that the employment rate in the private sector is an abysmal 0.58 per cent. Cuts in allocations for programmes like MNREGA have further worsened an already grim scenario.

Large sections of the disabled population are compelled to be dependent on social security pensions. Despite all the rhetoric of *Sab ka Saath, Sab ka Vikas*, the Modi government has refused to enhance allocations for the Indira Gandhi National Disability Pension Scheme (IGNDPS). Even the recommendation of the Standing Committee to substantially increase it has been ignored. Budgetary allocations have remained stagnant for a long time with no upward revision in the miserly amount of Rs 300 per month since 2012.

Notwithstanding the provision in the Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act, 2016 (RPDA) that a person with a disability of 40 per cent or more is eligible for various entitlements, for availing IGNDPS one has to have a disability of at least 80 per cent. Additional conditions like BPL category and the 18-29 age bracket ensures that more than 96 per cent of the disabled population identified by the 2011 census remains excluded from this scheme. Financial constraints imposed by the Centre's policies also hinder state governments from discharging their responsibilities.

While designing social security schemes, the additional costs that disability entail are not factored in. The RPDA mandate that the quantum of assistance given to disabled persons be 25 per cent higher as compared to others in similar schemes stands violated.

For ensuring a dignified life for India's disabled population, the 24th Congress of the CPI(M) demands:

1. Extend reservations in jobs to the private sector. Extend four per cent job reservation to temporary, casual and contractual employment.

2. Enact a "Right to Pension Act" with guaranteed provision for annual increment to account for inflation.

3. Remove the exclusionary criteria in the IGNDPS.

4. Enhance the Central share of pension to Rs 5,000 per month.

5. Provide AAY cards to all disabled.

6. Provide caregiver allowance.

Resolution to Ensure Equal Rights and Dignity for LGBTQI+ Individuals

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) stands in solidarity with the LGBTQI community in the fight for their rights.

The LGBTQI community, especially transgender individuals, remains one of the most vulnerable populations worldwide. With the rise of right-wing politics globally, the lives of LGBTQI persons have become even more difficult. In some countries, governments have actively sought to erase their identities or restrict their rights.

The Modi government's overall approach to LGBTQI+ issues, apart from being regressive, has been marked by tokenism and inconsistency. Pandering to right-wing sentiments, it has refused to amend discriminatory laws that deny LGBTQI+ individuals many essential rights. Despite the decriminalization of same-sex relations in 2018, significant legal and social challenges persist. Same-sex couples are not legally recognized and are excluded from civil unions. They have no legal protections related to property, insurance, custody, or adoption.

The 2014 National Legal Services Authority (NALSA) verdict recognised transgender persons' right to self-identify and mandated horizontal reservations in jobs and education. The Modi government has refused to amend the Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Act 2020, to provide for reservation in education and employment, which could have addressed the systemic barriers to an extent.

Societal and bureaucratic barriers deny transgender individuals access to treatment under the "Ayushman Bharat" scheme. This is compounded by stigma and the lack of awareness about their unique needs.

Garima Grehs were set up for transgender individuals rejected by families and communities. Managed by NGOs they have been facing problems due to inexplicable delays in funding. Combined with the fact that only 18 of these shelter homes have been set up in the entire country and they house a mere 414 individuals, lays bare the callous approach of the Modi

government in addressing their issues. The 2011 census estimates their population to be around five lakhs.

In addition to legal and social challenges, the LGBTQI community is also frequently excluded from the mainstream educational system, employment opportunities, and healthcare. This exclusion exacerbates their marginalization.

In the light of the above, the 24th Congress of the CPI(M) demands:

1. Amendment of the Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Act 2020 in consonance with the NALSA judgement and addressing other concerns.

2. Removing barriers in accessing health services by the LGBTQI community.

3. Set up adequate number of shelter homes for transgender individuals and substantially enhance budgetary allocations for them.

4. Legislation to formally recognise same sex unions and provide them adequate protections.

5. Adoption of gender-neutral policies across sectors.

Resolution to Combat Drug Addiction among Youngsters

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses serious concern about drug addiction among youngsters worldwide, including India. This pressing issue necessitates immediate attention, collective action, and concrete solutions. Drug addiction affects not only health but also education, employment, and social stability, undermining the potential of young people to contribute to national development.

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) World Drugs Report highlights the rising prevalence of substance use disorders among adolescents and young adults, driven by social alienation, peer pressure, and easy access to illicit substances. The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that approximately 270 million people worldwide, aged 15-64, used illicit drugs in 2020. Youth remain the most vulnerable in demographic terms.

India, with its vast youth population, faces a serious drug addiction crisis. Reports from the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment and the National Drug Dependence Treatment Centre (NDDTC) indicate alarming trends in the consumption of opioids, cannabis, and synthetic drugs. Nearly 3.1 lakh individuals in India struggle with drug addiction. The 2019 National Survey on Extent and Pattern of Substance Use in India found that 14.6 per cent of individuals aged 10-19 years used psychoactive substances.

Concerns and Recommendations: There is an urgent need for comprehensive strategies encompassing prevention, treatment, rehabilitation, and law enforcement. This Party Congress recommends the following:

1. **Strengthening Prevention and Awareness Programmes**: Implement awareness campaigns in schools, colleges, and communities to educate youngsters about drug abuse risks.

2. ***Enhancing Treatment and Rehabilitation Facilities****: Increase access to quality treatment centres, incorporating evidence-based interventions and counselling.*

3. **Enforcing Stringent Laws and Regulations**: Strengthen enforcement mechanisms to curb the illicit drug trade and ensure effective implementation of the Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances (NDPS) Act, 1985.

4. **Promoting Community-Based Initiatives**: Engage parents, teachers, and local leaders to create a supportive environment and provide positive alternatives.

5. **Increasing Funding and Resource Allocation**: Allocate sufficient funds to support anti-drug initiatives, treatment centres, and research programmes.

The 24th Congress of the CPI(M) urges the Government of India to take immediate and sustained action against drug addiction among youngsters. A comprehensive National Action Plan is needed to combat drug abuse effectively. It is only collective action, commitment, and cooperation among governments, civil society, and individuals that can help mitigate the menace of drug addiction among youngsters.

Resolution Against Increasing Violence on Women and Children

This 24th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses great concern about growing violence against women and children in the decade of BJP rule. Data from the National Crime Records Bureau's (NCRB) 'Crime in India' reports indicates that the number of reported crimes against women increased from 3.37 lakh in 2014 to 4.45 lakh in 2022, marking an increase of over 30 per cent. This increase in the number of crimes is, unfortunately, accompanied with increased brutality.

It is to be noted that violence against dalit women and children has also increased in this period. Statistics from the NCRB reveal a surge of 45 per cent in reported cases of rapes against Dalit women from 2015 to 2020. The situation worsened when incidents of such violence doubled between 2020 (7,397 incidents) and 2021 (15,855 incidents). Very disturbingly, incidents of rape of Dalit minor girls increased by 21.8% in 2021 (1,285 incidents) over 2020 (1,055 incidents). The NCRB reported in 2021 that, while more than 10 Dalit women and minor girls were raped every day, there were convictions in only 24 per cent of the cases.

According to the NCRB report of 2021, BJP-ruled states were the worst offenders: Uttar Pradesh (1,554 cases) reported the highest number of the cases, followed by Rajasthan (1,274 cases), Madhya Pradesh (1,222 cases), Maharashtra (862), and then Haryana (543).

Crimes against women also include trafficking and sex-selected abortions. Years after the PCPNDT Act was passed and despite Government propaganda to the contrary, the Indian sex ratio for 2024 is 943 females for every 1000 males, which indicates that the basic right to life is being denied to lakhs of females every year.

Trafficking of Indian women has shown a spurt. Nearly 20,000 women and children were victims of human trafficking in India in 2016, a rise of nearly 25 per cent from the previous year (GOI data). In January 2025, India's Home Ministry informed Parliament that as many as 10,659 cases of trafficking were reported between 2018 and 2022 and that only about one-tenth of the suspects in these cases have been convicted. The discrepancy in the numbers of those trafficked is due to faulty registration of cases. A UN report says that one of 6 trafficked women in the world are Indian. The enormity of the problem and the complete inadequacy of the Government's response are shocking.

Crime and atrocities against `working women' at the working places are equally concerning. Amongst many such, the recent cases of R G Kar Medical College Hospital and Ankita case at a resort in Rishikesh are glaring ones. Even in entertainment industry such cases are common, which is seen by Hema Committee Report.

The presence of a Government committed to a Manuvadi right-wing ideology has certainly contributed to this spike in atrocities against women. The Sangh Parivar, to which the BJP belongs, promotes patriarchal views and policies and, therefore, it is not a coincidence that perpetrators of violence against women, including rapists and murderers, receive their unstinting support and protection. This has been seen time and again in the Bilkis Bano case, the Hathras rape case, the Brij Bhushan Saran Singh case, the BHU gang-rape case, the Ram Rahim case and, most horrifically, in the Prajwal Revanna case. Even more disturbing is the fact that various kinds of domestic violence, including marital rape, are supported by them as being essential to preserve the holy institution of matrimony.

The BJP governments at the Centre and in some of the states are deliberately undermining or withdrawing whatever legal and administrative infrastructures that were available for the protection and rehabilitation of victims of violence. Thus their right to obtain justice is being taken away from them.

The 24th Congress of the CPI(M) demands:

1) Effective prosecution of all cases of violence against women and punishment of all those guilty of dereliction of duty.

2) Serious efforts must be made to ensure legal aid to the survivor or family of the victim. We must demand that their security and other needs are addressed by the Government and we must also come forward to help them in every way.

Resolution to Oppose the University Grants Commission (UGC) Draft Regulations

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly opposes the Draft University Grants Commission (UGC) Regulations, 2025, as they represent yet another attempt to centralize and corporatize Indian campuses. The revised rules grant state governors increased authority in the selection of vice-chancellors. For the first time, the new draft regulations allow industry experts and public sector veterans to be considered for these positions. This marks a departure from the long-standing practice of exclusively appointing academicians and introduces corporate influence into the academic arena.

Furthermore, the draft regulations do not specify the maximum number of direct teaching hours per week for teachers, hinting at a dangerous ploy to increase workload. The draft is also silent on the reservation of teaching posts. By withdrawing its own responsibility from research and paving the way for private actors in academics, the government is pushing the education system toward a market-driven, corporate-controlled model.

The Draft UGC Regulations, 2025, fail to address the issue of discrimination in higher education institutions. Instead, they dilute and weaken existing mechanisms, particularly those aimed at eradicating discrimination against marginalized communities in higher education. The regulations remain silent on caste-based discrimination on university campuses. Additionally, some provisions create avenues for victimizing complainants. The regulations empower the UGC to remove institutions from the list of recognized universities, prohibit the granting of funds for non-compliance, and take additional punitive actions on a case-to-case basis. This will further concentrate power in the hands of the BJP-led central government, enabling it to control state universities and autonomous institutions.

The 24th Party Congress of the CPI(M) demands the enactment of the Rohith Vemula Act to combat caste discrimination in campuses, the implementation of GSCASH in all educational institutions, the passage of a law ensuring campus democracy, and the strengthening of minority and SC/ST cells in universities. The current draft regulations released by the UGC do not serve their stated purpose; rather, they function as a tool to pressure universities. The Party Congress demands that the UGC refrain from such attempts to undermine the quality and autonomy of universities and educational institutes, as well as the spirit of the Constitutional arrangement.

Resolution to Resist Privatisation Attacks on the Public Electricity Sector

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses deep concern at the BJP-led Central government's drive to privatize all public power utilities. They forcefully privatized the highly profitable, efficient and low tariff Chandigarh Power Utility in an irregular manner. Similar attacks of privatization have been unleashed on Power utilities of Uttar Pradesh, where employees are struggling for the last 130 days.

Certainly, the Central government is in real haste to privatize the state DISCOMs. A unique regional meeting on the Power sector with several States and UTs has been held on February 20, 2025, especially to frame the privatization process. The government is coming with a new draft of the Electricity Amendment Bill. But these attacks are only a fraction of the multidirectional privatization attempts of the Central government.

Already, 52 per cent of India's power generation capacity is in private hands. Additionally, government mandate to import coal at three times the domestic price is pushing the state-owned companies at risk. Nearly 80 per cent of renewable energy projects are controlled by private entities today. The Modi government is gifting out unlimited parcels of land, introducing one after another incentive schemes, handing over critical minerals like lithium, cobalt to private players for facilitating renewable growth.

Under the National Monetization Pipeline Scheme, even renewable government projects initiated by NTPC and NHPC will be handed over to private players and one-sixth of the network of Powergrid will be slated for privatization. This comes along with the directives for outsourcing substation management.

Having failed to pass and implement the Electricity Amendment Bill 2022, the Power Ministry devised a mechanism to make the generators and state distribution companies surrender to the virtual private market system where electricity prices will be dynamic and will be fixed by private players. In this virtual market, the tariff is frequently touching Rs 20/Unit.

And this should be seen linking with the disastrous TOTEX model prepaid smart metering project. It will finally make each and every consumer dependent on the market forces in regard to their electricity bills. Every individual consumer will have to pay Rs 8,000-12,000 per prepaid smart meter with maximum lifetime of 6-7 years. Just after the installation of smart meter, all consumers will be brought under Time of Day (ToD) tariff and price of electricity will be much higher at evening peak demand time.

Along with this, Government is trying to withdraw the cross-subsidy that was established through a long struggle in India. Without cross subsidy, irrigation costs will rise to unbearable heights. An abrupt shift to Direct Benefit Transfer will deprive the real cultivators, the landless and the tenants/sharecroppers.

Certainly, this final course of attack on India's public electricity distribution sector will lead to massive de-electrification and our food security will be jeopardized. It is also an attack on the federal structure of India.

The 24th Congress of the CPI(M) calls upon the people of our country to build resistance along with the struggling electricity employees, against these privatization attacks. It reasserts that the anti-privatisation struggle is the core of anti-private-monopoly struggle in today's India. It is our duty to act in an integrated and united manner against this privatization drives.

Resolution to Extend Reservations for SCs, STs and OBCs to the Private Sector

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) reiterates that the marginalised sections of society – Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), and Other Backward Classes (OBCs) – continue to face social discrimination and exclusion. Economic exclusion and discrimination are at the core of the caste system, and an important outcome of social organisation based on castes. Restrictions and exclusion are faced by persons belonging to these castes in various economic domains including in ownership of land and property and in the ability to enter into various occupations. Exclusion in access to various services, including education, contributes to their economic exclusion in a major way.

Reservations in jobs has emerged as the most important policy instrument against widespread economic exclusion of, and discrimination against these castes and tribes. Articles 15(4), 16(4), 46 and 335 of the Constitution provide the basis for reservations of jobs for SCs, STs and OBCs. However, these provisions have been used for reservations only in government jobs.

Historically, reservations even in government jobs have been marred by poor implementation. A large number of reserved posts remain vacant. In 2023, over 10 lakh central government posts were vacant. A vast majority of these are reserved posts. A large number of reserved posts also remain vacant in public sector enterprises and in state government posts.

Under the neoliberal economic regime, there has been a sharp contraction of public sector employment that is covered by reservation policies.

In the 1990s, about 2 crore persons were employed in all government jobs (including central government, state government, quasi government and local bodies). By 2012, this had fallen to 1.7 crores. In other words, there was a reduction of about 30 lakh government jobs during that period. The fall has been even more steep since the Modi government came to power.

However, the Modi government has stopped publication of comprehensive data on government employment. But a steep fall in employment is seen in different types of government employment. Total employment in public sector banks has fallen from over 10 lakh in the mid-1990s to just 7.5 lakh in 2024. The total number of employees in Central Public Sector Enterprises

has fallen by over 4.5 lakh – a fall of 35 per cent – since 2014. Since 2014, the number of employees has fallen by about 80,000 in Railways and by about 40,000 in Department of Posts, and by about 90,000 in public sector banks.

The loss of jobs has been highest in Group C and Group D where the degree of contractualisation has been the greatest. Of all the central government jobs lost between 2014-15 and 2022-23, 86 per cent were of Group C and Group D employees.

Outsourcing of work, sourcing of staff through private contractors and companies, and deployment of contractual staff has become rampant in public institutions.

Privatisation of education has meant that there has been no increase in employment of teachers in government educational institutions. As a result, the proportion of teachers from these marginalised sections has fallen sharply. In 2023-24, only 7.7 per cent of school teachers were from STs and 12.6 per cent belong to SCs. The record of private schools in employing SC/ST teachers has been very poor. Only 13 per cent of teachers in private schools were SC/ST.

Reservation policies are not extended to many areas where employment is created using public money. This includes scheme workers, government-aided private educational institutions, and employees recruited through contractors and private agencies. In the 2024 budget the central government proposed a set of employment-linked schemes which gives public money to corporates, including 500 big companies for various schemes of employment for 20 lakh interns. About Rs 1.73 lakh crore of public money is estimated to be spent on this scheme, but there is no reservation for SCs, STs or OBCs in this scheme.

Privatisation and contractualisation are at the core of neoliberal policies. These have resulted in informalisation of employment and have eroded the reach of reservations as a tool for affirmative action against caste-based exclusion and discrimination. The 24th Congress of the CPI(M) demands that the reservation policy be extended to the entire organised private sector, and all registered institutions including private companies be required to implement reservations for SCs, STs and OBCs.

Resolution to Recognise Basic Needs as Fundamental Rights

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) believes that welfare schemes that provide essential public goods and services —like food, shelter, employment, pensions, education, and healthcare—are not acts of charity but are the fundamental rights of every citizen.

Every citizen has the right to access these essential requirements which are the bedrock of justice and equality. Economic rights play a crucial role in social progress and welfare programmes serve as investments in human capital, creating a more productive workforce and driving long-term economic growth.

The introduction of neoliberal policies has seen ideological and decimating attacks on the social sector since their basic premise is that governments should withdraw from these sectors and that health and educational facilities should be privatised in the interest of the corporates.

The BJP-led Modi government has intensified efforts to dismantle these programmes and reduce subsidies. Prime Minister Modi has been at the forefront of denigrating social welfare by branding such initiatives as 'revdis' (freebies), falsely claiming they harm the country's development. This narrative dismisses the crucial role of social welfare in shielding vulnerable sections from the adverse effects of market-driven, neo-liberal policies pursued by the BJP central government.

Some of the cash transfer schemes introduced by the Modi government in place of subsidy-based schemes will eventually lead to the dilution and then dismantling of essential social security programmes, rendering the most vulnerable sections of society more helpless than ever.

This approach is a contravention of the Directive Principles of State Policy, part of the Constitution itself, which mandates that the government ensures a dignified life for all citizens, irrespective of caste, creed, or other distinctions. Unfortunately, these are not legally enforceable and there is a need to transform them into justiciable Constitutional citizens' rights.

Governments pursuing neo-liberal agendas argue that these rights cannot be guaranteed because of financial constraints. This is a spurious argument since the continuous reduction of corporate taxes combined with a refusal to collect taxes that are legally due from corporates is an important part of their fiscal policy. The BJP government has reduced these taxes in every year of its existence. A rationalised tax structure would ensure delivery of all essential services to all citizens.

The 24th Congress of the CPI(M) calls upon the people of the country to unite and mobilize for the struggle to secure these basic rights to food, shelter, employment, pension, education and healthcare while resolutely resisting the central government's attempts to undermine various existing welfare programmes.

Resolution to Withdraw Draft National Policy Framework on Agricultural Marketing

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is deeply concerned about the draft "National Policy Framework on Agricultural Marketing (NPFAM)", circulated by the Union Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers' Welfare. This draft reveals the conspiracy of the RSS-BJP-led Union government to sacrifice farmers' interests and maximise corporate profits. It is a subterfuge to smuggle in the three hated and repealed Farm Laws through the back door.

Instead of addressing any of the serious demands raised by the fighting farmers' movement like legalising a remunerative MSP, loan waiver, comprehensive crop insurance, increasing public investment in agriculture, pro-farmer credit facilities etc, the central government has brought in

this retrograde Draft. While the draft pays lip service to the fact that agricultural marketing is a State subject under Article 246 of the Constitution, the spirit of the draft is to attack federalism and the power of the state governments, abolish state-supported market infrastructure, and erode the role of the APMCs, leaving small and medium farmers highly vulnerable to the exploitation by private trading cartels.

The major suggested reforms in the draft include the establishment of private wholesale markets, direct farm gate purchases by corporate processors and exporters, replacement of traditional market yards with corporate-controlled warehouses and silos, and introduction of a unified statewide market fee and trading license system. The draft proposes that big corporations can purchase produce directly from farmers, bypassing APMC market yards. Big business houses, including Reliance and Adani, have already constructed extensive warehouse infrastructure and private railway networks in Sirsa, Haryana and Ludhiana, Punjab.

The corporate lobby and International Finance Capital (IFC) are virulently against MSP because their strategy has always been to procure agricultural produce at the cheapest rate, do value addition, brand and market it, and make exorbitant profits. This way, Big Business is exploiting both farmers as well as consumers. In the name of market efficiency, the Centre is creating a conducive atmosphere for the corporate loot of agriculture. It is thus perpetuating peasant suicides and indebtedness, and facilitating pauperisation of the peasantry.

The draft is crystal clear on the need for corporatisation of agriculture; it is seen as the only way to “reform” agriculture. For instance, the draft visualises the much-hyped FPO scheme, a pet project of Modi, as a tool for furthering corporate penetration. This is by creating a conducive atmosphere for cluster-based FPOs to enter contract farming arrangements with big business houses operating in agriculture. The class interest behind the great eagerness shown by corporate groups like CII and FICCI in promoting the FPO scheme is very clear.

The stranglehold of big business houses is also evident in the suggestions for deepening financialisation via Futures and Option Markets. This will also permit the MNC’s and IFC to dominate the domestic food industry, jeopardising the food security of the people of India.

Stiff resistance to the above Draft has begun. The Samyukta Kisan Morcha (SKM) mobilised tens of thousands of farmers in recent nationwide protests burning the Draft. Two massive Kisan Mahapanchayats in Haryana and Punjab together mobilised over 75,000 farmers.

The 24th Congress of the CPI(M) calls upon all its units to further intensify the struggle until the pro-corporate and anti-farmer NPFAM is withdrawn.

Resolution to Restore Full Statehood and Democracy in Jammu & Kashmir

The unconstitutional and disastrous decisions of August 5, 2019 – nullifying Articles 370 and 35A – along with a series of arbitrary legislations and humiliating actions, have dismembered and downgraded the historic state of Jammu & Kashmir. The snatching away of statehood and bifurcation of the state into two Union Territories has created a deep political void and intensified the sense of uncertainty and alienation among its people.

Civil liberties, human rights, and democratic freedoms continue to be eroded. Arbitrary arrests under draconian laws like the UAPA and PSA have become a disturbing norm. Hundreds of political activists and journalists remain incarcerated inside and outside Jammu & Kashmir. Youth are being denied job opportunities under the pretext of security verification, while passports are withheld on flimsy grounds.

Jammu and Kashmir was enjoying special rights of protection of land and jobs since Maharaja Hari Singh's rule when non-residents of this region were not allowed to purchase land and get jobs. There are numerous provisions of this nature which give such rights to the people in certain other states as well. But these protections for land and employment for permanent residents of J&K were arbitrarily stripped away, exacerbating insecurity among the populace.

The state's economy continues to deteriorate, with the grand promises of development, investment, and job creation proving hollow. Daily-wage workers face irregular payments, and key sectors such as agriculture, horticulture, handicrafts, and transport are in deep crisis. Apple growers, in particular, are grappling with mounting challenges. There remains a lack of legal guarantees like Minimum Support Price (MSP).

Since August 2019, executive orders, such as changes to domicile laws, restrictions on media, and the intimidation of government employees, have become commonplace. Despite these oppressive measures, the recent Assembly elections held after a gap of seven years saw a significant turnout, with people participating in large numbers. The BJP's attempts to polarize the state along communal and regional lines, and to manipulate the outcome using money power and proxies, failed. The people have clearly rejected the BJP-led government's policies and have delivered a verdict against its unconstitutional assault on J&K on August 5, 2019, as well as the ruthless suppression that followed.

Yet, instead of respecting this democratic verdict, the BJP-led Central Government continues to undermine it. Despite commitments made by the Government of India, both in Parliament and in the Supreme Court, regarding the restoration of statehood, the BJP and its appointed Lieutenant Governor are obstructing the functioning of the Omar Abdulla government. The recent large number of transfers of J&K cadre officials have further fuelled anxiety and undermined the authority of the elected legislature.

Hence the 24th Party Congress demands:

Immediate granting of full statehood to Jammu & Kashmir as a step towards restoration of special status.

Protection of Land and Job rights.

Restoration of democratic, civil, and trade union rights.

Release of political detenues and journalists and ensuring freedom of the press.

End to indiscriminate arrests of youth on baseless charges.

We appeal to all secular and democratic forces to stand in defence of the legitimate and constitutional rights of the people of Jammu & Kashmir.

Resolution to Stand in Solidarity with Socialist Cuba

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its deep solidarity with Cuba in these most difficult times. Socialist Cuba represents the hope and the example that it is possible to confront the might of imperialism and fight for the construction of a better world.

The US always considered the whole of Latin America as its backyard, and cannot tolerate even the slightest assertion of sovereignty by any country. Ever since the Cuban Revolution declared itself to be socialist, the US has been trying hard to break the spirit of the Cuban people and ensure the country's collapse.

Since 1962, Cuba has been subjected to a genocidal economic blockade by the US. The intention is to economically suffocate the Island. The blockade has resulted in Rs 1,29,69,717.04 crore losses for the Cuban people and hindered their productive processes.

In spite of such huge losses to their economy, Cuba ensures that every Cuban gets free education, free healthcare and excels in sports, arts and such other cultural fields of their choice. Cuba sends its medical doctors and nurses to any country in the world, which faces natural calamities or pandemics. This is Cuba's commitment towards internationalism and concern for humankind, extending its hand of friendship even when it itself is suffering.

Due to the illegal economic blockade, Cuba has been going through a critical situation. The US is ignoring the nearly 31 resolutions passed by the UN General Assembly condemning the US imposed economic blockade. On the other hand, the US is carrying out its attacks on Cuba. It spends millions of dollars every year to fund terrorist and anti-Cuba forces.

Due to the blockade, Cuba experienced prolonged interruptions in the supply of electricity. Cuban people are facing a shortage of raw materials for the production of medicines. The screws of the

economic blockade are being tightened to strangulate Cuba, by denying it access to food, fuel and raw materials.

In addition, Cuba is arbitrarily included in the spurious list of State Sponsors of Terrorism, one of the many unilateral coercive measures applied as part of the economic war against countries that refuse to bow down to the dictates of the US.

Cubans are bravely resisting all such attempts to subjugate them. They are heroically defending their country. Now it is the time for the world to stand in solidarity with Cuba and help it overcome the imperialist-created crisis. Being with Cuba is joining the struggle against imperialism and in defence of socialism.

The 24th Congress of the CPI(M) resolves to stand in solidarity with Cuba and join the call of the National Committee for Solidarity with Cuba for mobilising the maximum financial assistance, before August 13, 2025, the birth centenary of Comrade Fidel Castro. All the members of our Party and class and mass organisations must be approached and asked to contribute any amount from Rs 10 to a day's wage, if not more. We have to approach people and seek financial assistance so that we could buy medicines and generators for Cuba. This is part of our anti-imperialist task.

Resolution to Withdraw the Divisive and Unjust 'Waqf Amendment Act' Immediately

This 24th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) condemns the passage of the 'Waqf Amendment Bill' by Parliament. This legislation is an assault on the Constitution and the rights of minorities. The CPI(M) calls upon all secular people and organisations of the country to protest against this Act which will only increase communal polarization and damage the secular fabric of the nation.

The earlier Waqf Act was a legal framework governing Waqf properties (Islamic endowments) and ensuring their proper administration, protection and utilization for religious and charitable purposes. It provided guidelines for the regulation of Waqf properties, preventing their misuse and unauthorized sale.

The amended Act makes significant changes which will undermine the foundational principles laid out in the earlier Act. Through this amendment the BJP Government is pushing its Hindutva agenda, aiming to divide people. It has been repeatedly claiming that the earlier Act has been used for extensive land grab by Muslims.

Despite Islamic injunctions prohibiting non-Muslims from managing Waqf properties, the amended Act includes non-Muslims in Waqf Boards. This is an attack on the Constitutional right of the Muslims to practice their religion.

By making it mandatory that only a Muslim who can prove that he/she has followed the religion for at least five years, the amended Act is opening the way for harassment of Muslims and can actually prevent them from creating or contributing to Waqf properties. Many non-Muslims also contribute to the building of Mosques etc. and this expression of brotherhood and fraternity will no longer be possible under the amended Act.

By abolishing Section 40 of the Waqf Act, the Waqf Board will lose its authority to determine the nature of Waqf properties. Waqf properties primarily fall into four categories: Waqf by Deed (documented), Waqf by Oral Declaration (verbally declared), Waqf by Use (established through prolonged usage), and government-granted lands. Under the new amendments, the majority of Waqf properties in the country—those declared orally or through usage—will become vulnerable to government takeover.

States with the largest Waqf holdings, such as Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Kerala, will face targeted appropriation of these assets through the proposed amendments.

By transferring the authority to determine Waqf properties from the Survey Commissioner to government-appointed revenue officials, the government aims to seize places of worship, educational institutions, healthcare facilities, and vocational centres, thereby consolidating control over Waqf assets.

The new mandate requiring the registration of thousands of Waqf properties historically established through long-term usage exposes the government's covert agenda to confiscate them.

By stripping the Waqf Tribunal of its powers, the Waqf Board itself will be alienated from the community it serves.

Through these amendments, the Central Government is advancing its agenda of eradicating the rights of Muslims, mirroring the exclusionary intent of the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA).

To safeguard the secular and democratic fabric of the nation, all secular and democratic-minded citizens must unite to demand the withdrawal of this divisive Waqf Amendment Act.

Resolution to Condemn Israel's Genocidal Attacks on Gaza

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) condemns Israel's genocidal attack on Gaza and demands an immediate and permanent ceasefire. Israel launched a genocidal war on Gaza, Palestine after the October 7, 2023 Hamas attack. More than 50,021 Palestinians have been killed and thousands more injured in this barbaric onslaught.

Israel restarted its attacks on Gaza immediately after the completion of the first phase of ceasefire. Since then, it has cut the supply of food, water, fuel, aid and all other essentials to Gaza. Israel intends to strangulate and push Gaza towards starvation. It carried out attacks on hospitals, aid convoys, UN refugee shelters, schools, masjids and churches, leaving no space safe in Gaza. 60 per cent of the people killed in Israel's attacks are women and children. Journalists and UN aid workers were also targeted and killed. Crops were destroyed. All these attacks demonstrate the genocidal character of the Israeli State. The International Court of Justice (ICJ) taking cognisance of it, issued arrest warrants on Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and other Israeli leaders.

Israel is actively encouraging Zionist settlers to occupy Palestinian land in the West Bank and establish Jewish settlements. In this manner, it is slowly annexing Palestinian territory in the West Bank. All these acts are intended to drive away Palestinians from their homeland and completely annex Palestine, as a part of realising its agenda of establishing Greater Israel.

The United States and other imperialist countries in Western Europe are actively supporting Israel in its attack on Palestine by arming and standing by it in international forums. Trump's announcement of his condemnable plans for converting Gaza into a tourist paradise by pushing out all Palestinians living there, suits Israel's interests.

The BJP central government watered down the long-held official position of India on Palestine. Instead of resolutely standing with the people of Palestine and demanding action on Israel, the BJP government is now siding with Israel. As a result, for the first time, India voted against or abstained on UN resolutions demanding a ceasefire and condemning Israel. Such positions dented India's credibility among the developing countries and it is now seen as an ally of Israel and the US.

In order to defend its positions, the BJP, along with the Sangh Parivar is projecting the Israeli attack on Gaza as a religious war. The RSS shares close ideological bonds with the Zionists in identifying nationality with religion and their hatred towards Muslims. It is this ideological affinity that is behind the BJP government's support to Israel.

The 24th Congress of the CPI(M) demands an immediate ceasefire in Gaza. Israel should be declared as an apartheid State and acted against accordingly. It demands that the BJP government stop supporting Israel and revert to the established Indian policy of supporting Palestine. Lasting peace in the region is possible only by the establishment of a Palestinian State, with East Jerusalem as its capital and with pre-1967 borders.

The 24th Congress expresses its solidarity with the people of Palestine, and calls upon the Indian people to stand firmly with the people of Palestine in their just struggle for their homeland.

Resolution to Oppose 'One Nation, One Election' Drive of the Modi Government

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) strongly opposes the `*One Nation, One Election'* drive of the RSS-BJP, which wants to create a centralized unitarian State. It is an extension of their slogan of 'One Nation, One Religion, One Language, One Culture, One Leader'. They have lifted and modified this slogan from Hitler's fascist era.

BJP leaders are using their hackneyed arguments that simultaneous elections will save a lot of money, and they will prevent the frequent disruption of developmental work. For the 2024 parliamentary elections, the total allocation made by Parliament to the Election Commission of India (ECI) was Rs 466 crore. Some more amount is spent by the States for logistical requirements. But all this is not a very huge amount. For other years the expense is much less. As regards development, periodic and frequent elections have been held in India since 1967 till today. There is no evidence to prove that they have stopped the developmental momentum.

The `*One Nation, One Election'* (ONOE) model undermines two basic features of the Constitution – democracy and federalism. The Supreme Court decision in the Kesavananda Bharati case, says that Parliament does not have the power to alter the basic structure of the Constitution. And yet prime minister Narendra Modi has pushed this idea ever since he came to power, declaring in 2020 that ONOE "is not a matter of debate but a necessity for India".

Actually, the ONOE proposal amounts to truncating the life of some legislative assemblies to align them with the Lok Sabha election. Further, if a state government falls and the assembly is to be dissolved, then the mid-term election held will be only for the remaining term of the assembly. All this violates the right of the people to elect their representatives for a term of five years as envisaged in the Constitution.

The attack on federalism is all the more evident with the move to hold simultaneous election to all panchayats and municipal bodies. This is centralization with a vengeance and goes against the very purpose of decentralized decision-making local bodies under the state governments.

To hold the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha elections together would require a major overhaul of the Constitution. There will have to be amendments to the Constitution in Article 83 (duration of House), Article 85 (dissolution of the Lok Sabha), Article 172 (duration of state legislatures), Article 174 (dissolution of state legislatures), Article 356 (failure of Constitutional machinery), apart from amendments to the Representation of the People Act and other Rules.

The 24th Congress of the CPI(M) is totally opposed to any artificial attempt to bring about simultaneous elections, and it strongly opposes any move to amend the Constitution for this purpose. All political parties and organisations who value democracy, pluralism and federalism, should come out firmly in opposition and unitedly thwart this pernicious move. The CPI(M) calls upon the people of India to oppose this anti-democratic and anti-federal drive.

Resolution to Conduct General Census Including Caste Census Immediately

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), expresses grave concern that the decadal census, which was due in 2021, has not been held so far. The Centre has also not extended the deadline of June 2024 to freeze administrative boundaries which are necessary to conduct the census as per the administrative boundaries like districts, taluk, block or village levels.

The 2021 census, which should have begun in 2020, is indefinitely delayed. The government had then stated that the census operations can be conducted only after Covid, but even after four years, there are no signs of the census being held. The data provided by the census enables policy planners and administrators to design policies which cater to different sections of people.

From the time of British rule, census has been conducted every ten years without fail. Even in 1941, during the Second World War, census was held on a truncated basis. Census provides not only a population count, but also comprehensive data which includes household data, cultivating classes and agricultural workers in the rural areas. It also provides a picture of the urban-rural population, linguistic-speaking groups and data about Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Apart from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who are enumerated in the general census, there is no data on the Other Backward Classes. It is necessary to have an accurate count of the various categories of Other Backward Classes. Hence, the 24th Congress of the CPI(M) supports the demand for a caste census.

A caste census will help in understanding the link between caste and socio-economic, educational development, assess the impact of ruling class policies and reservations for the welfare of the backward classes. The reality of SC, ST and certain OBC caste groups who are still denied access to resources and opportunities will come out through the caste census. The bankrupt policies of the ruling classes and their failure in realising social justice will be exposed.

By not conducting the census, the one-third reservation for women in parliament and state legislatures provided for by the constitutional amendment has been pushed to a distant future (at least not in 2029).

The government is showing no inclination to conduct a census because of its general contempt for statistical surveys conducted on a scientific basis. Various surveys have either been suppressed or the statistical parameters for the survey altered to distort it. The census has become a victim of the anti-scientific outlook of the BJP and the Hindutva forces. The data collected in a caste census will expose the inequalities in the caste system and puncture the Sangh Parivar's claims of an over-arching religious identity.

To ensure that policy making is driven by scientific data and to ensure justice for all oppressed sections in society, it is imperative to demand that the much-delayed 2021 census, along with caste census be held immediately.

The 24th Congress of the CPI(M) demands that the Union government immediately conduct the general census and along with it a caste census. It appeals to all the democratic sections in the country to support and press this demand.

Resolution to Raise Voice for Independence, Integrity and Transparency of the Election Commission, Ensure Level Playing Field in Elections

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses grave concern and anguish over the opaque and unconstitutional manner in which elections have been conducted by the Election Commission of India (ECI) over the past decade. The erosion of autonomy, contempt shown for the political opposition, and utter brazenness with which election laws, rules and manuals have been manipulated have turned India's election process, always loaded in favour of parties with money power, into a complete farce.

The present BJP regime, in flagrant violation of the Supreme Court's express directive in November 2023 to ensure independence in appointment of the Election Commissioners, hastily enacted a law changing the selection process by excluding the Chief Justice of India, with two of the three members of the selection committee being members of the ruling cabinet.

The ECI has lost the confidence of a fair section of the Indian people. In April 2024, a survey conducted by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) revealed, shockingly, that only 28 per cent of Indians today retained any trust or confidence in the ECI.

The manner and extent to which India's election system has been eroded is complex and involves manipulations at multiple levels. These issues have been addressed rigorously by several experts and citizens groups. They essentially involve the utterly non-transparent manner of the functioning of the ECI when it comes to: a) Non-release of Voter Data including Voter lists past and present, b) Non-release of 17-C and 17-A forms, Video Recordings and Index Cards, mandated under Election Law and ECI Manuals; c) Manipulation of Voter Lists through spurious additions and deletions. A significant question regarding the ECI's conduct pertains to the credibility of Electronic Voting Machines (EVMs) and the ECI's supervision of the electoral process.

A major breach of bipartisan conduct in elections was first evident in violations of the Model Code of Conduct (MCC) and the Representation of People's Act in the 2014 Lok Sabha elections, the 2017 state elections of Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat, and most sharply during the 2019 Lok Sabha elections. Several complaints against prominent campaigners of the ruling party, including the Prime Minister, Home Minister, UP Chief Minister and others for making openly communal

appeals and violating the MCC were made only to be ignored, exposing the ECI's clearly partisan approach. The ECI failed to take action against the blatant use of government resources to further the partisan interests of the BJP. Today, even the most basic constitutional rights of the political opposition are being brazenly snatched away with even Voters lists with and without the latest revisions, being denied to political contestants and citizens. Most recently, the issue of duplicate EPIC cards has also surfaced.

Soon after the 2024 Parliamentary elections, citizens' groups published a substantiated report (Vote for Democracy – VFD) presenting data that suggested that in at least 79 Lok Sabha constituencies across the country the "people's mandate" had not been reflected in the results: significantly, the total hike in absolute number of votes cumulatively for all the phases between the turnout figures reported at 7-8 PM and final turnout figures extrapolated from the available figures of the Percentage of Polled Votes, supplied by the ECI, was close to 5 crore votes, or 4,65,46,885 to be precise. Detailed state-wise mathematical and statistical calculations by experts say that it is likely that these spurious votes benefited the NDA/BJP coalition in the 2024 Lok Sabha polls in around 79 seats, determining who/which dispensation came to power. The ECI has refused to give any reasons for this unexplained hike in votes.

On the other hand, the overall indication from some rigorous constituency-wise surveys is that areas with a higher share of voters from religious and caste groups who were less likely to vote for the BJP saw disproportionate deletions. Additionally, the inclusion of new voters needs further and comprehensive scrutiny to identify bogus voters.

Independent studies into the Maharashtra Vidhan Sabha Elections 2024 reveal a shocking increase in Voter 'Registration' in the seven months between the Lok Sabha polls in April 2024 and the Vidhan Sabha polls in November 2024, which was a staggering 40,81,229. This makes the average monthly registration per month on an average (April 2024-November 2024) at 5,83,032; as against this, the average voter registration per month in the five-year period between 2019-2024 has been only 71,116, and in the previous five years from 2014-2019 only 1,31,302. This substantiates claims that these additions were done with an intent to bolster the ruling BJP-led combine's votes. To date, despite several demands, documentation of these additions has not been provided.

In addition, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Assam have seen the questionable and partisan behaviour of Returning Officers (ROs) conducting polls, with documented complaints having come in from 56 constituencies. Worse still has been the use of the state police machinery to prevent voters from marginalized sections exercising their franchise.

Yet another serious feature was the public display of a brazen corporate-BJP nexus through the unconstitutional electoral bonds scheme introduced in 2017, and finally struck down by the

Supreme Court of India in early 2024. Though the ruling BJP received an overwhelming share of the funds—approximately Rs 8,500 crore—through electoral bonds over five years, creating an uneven playing field, the party has not been compelled to either return this money acquired in an illegitimate way, nor made to explain its expenditure. We also recall our Party's significant role in challenging the electoral bonds in the apex court.

The latest move by the ECI, to link the EPIC Card with the Aadhaar card also needs to be rigorously opposed, since it in effect places control of the election process – additions and deletions of voters – squarely in the hands of the UIDAI, controlled by the Union Government. Besides, while the EPIC card is proof of citizenship, AADHAAR is merely a location of identity.

All these disturbing developments require that we commit the Party to a mass people's movement to demand accountability from the ECI and a return to transparency during polls. Accountability of the ECI must be ensured, and all data must be consistently and transparently made available to the political opposition and to all Indian citizens.

The 24th Congress of the CPI(M) therefore urgently resolves to intensify efforts to ensure that malpractices in the electoral system are exposed, and every Indian voter is encouraged to cast her/his vote, without fear or favour. We commit ourselves to the campaign to ensure the independent and transparent functioning of the ECI and to restore a level playing field in elections. This is an essential and non-negotiable prerequisite for protecting political democracy in the country.

Resolution to Ensure Equitable and Just Delimitation

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) firmly opposes any delimitation process that diminishes or reduces the proportional share of representation of any state in Parliament. The Congress urges the Central Government to engage in extensive consultations with political parties and state governments to build a broad consensus on this crucial issue.

With the freeze on the number of seats in Parliament and legislative assemblies set to end next year, a fresh round of delimitation will be required following the first census conducted after 2026. The 42nd Constitutional Amendment, enacted during the Emergency in 1976, initially froze seat allocations to promote population control measures. This freeze was later extended until 2026 by the Vajpayee government.

Historically, delimitation exercises were conducted in 1952, 1963, and 1973. However, following the 1976 freeze, subsequent adjustments were postponed to address concerns over population-based redistribution. Despite the 2001 Census, the freeze remained in place due to strong opposition from southern states, which feared an unfair reduction in their representation.

As the freeze is set to expire, a new delimitation process could significantly reshape political representation, disproportionately affecting states such as Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Kerala, Odisha, West Bengal, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand. Many of these states, which have successfully implemented population control measures, risk losing representation, while states with higher population growth rates may gain an undue advantage. Even if the overall number of seats is increased, a purely population-based approach would still result in disproportionate allocations favouring states like Uttar Pradesh.

The 24th Congress of the CPI(M) is committed to an equitable and just federal framework that respects the rights of all states while maintaining national unity and cohesion, and **resolves that:**

1. Any delimitation framework must prevent the disproportionate advantage to any particular region or state, and the interests of states that have successfully controlled population growth must be protected.

2. A pro-rata seat increase should be adopted to expand parliamentary representation while maintaining the existing proportional seat distribution among states, ensuring fair and balanced representation.

3. The proportion of SC/ST seats, at present, in different states must be protected.

4. The Government of India must conduct comprehensive consultations with all states to ensure that the delimitation process upholds the principles of equity, federalism, secularism and national unity.

5. In the absence of a broad consensus on the delimitation process, the freeze on seat allocation should be extended further to safeguard federal integrity.

Resolution to Rally to Defend Left Democratic Front Government of Kerala

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) reiterates the distinctive feature of the Left Democratic Front (LDF)-led state government of Kerala, of being opposed to the Hindutva ideology and upholding secularism, and at the same time providing an alternative to the neoliberal policies of the Union government. Not surprisingly, the BJP-NDA government at the Centre has virtually imposed a fiscal blockade against the State. Unfortunately, the Congress opposition has also joined these destabilization maneuvers. The 24th Congress of the CPI(M) appeals to all democratic sections of the people to rally to defend the LDF Government of Kerala.

The alternative development policies pursued by successive Left Governments in Kerala have focused on strategy of redistribution for inclusive growth. Land reforms have been implemented. Trade unions and minimum wage laws have ensured the highest wages. Government policies have

ensured universal education, health care and social security. Absolute poverty will be eradicated in 2025-26. Kerala has ensured a decent and better life for its ordinary citizens.

Kerala leads India in social and welfare achievements and its GDP growth during the past three decades is higher than the country's growth. Currently it is trying to address the challenge of educated unemployment. It would require a transformation of the technological base of the economy into one based on advanced scientific knowledge and high productivity. To achieve it, Kerala`s knowledge and skill intensive industries must become an attractive investment destination. A new generation of start-up enterprises must mushroom. Kerala should become a knowledge economy.

The state is taking major strides under the present LDF government to overcome the key impediments to such a transformation through the following initiatives: (a) Making Kerala an attractive investment destination, (b) Overcoming the infrastructure deficit through extra budgetary resource mobilization by special SPVs, (c) Revamping the higher education sector, and (d) Launching Knowledge Kerala People's Campaign to skill the students and the unemployed.

The above paradigm shift does not imply that the state would move away from its redistributive strategy of development. The public sector units, public education and public health will be strengthened. There will be no abridgement of democratic rights or labour rights. Democratic decentralization and participation will continue to characterize our interventions in the social and small-scale sectors. The fight against all forms of caste and gender discrimination and for secular and scientific values will continue.

It is precisely such an outcome that the BJP-NDA regime at the Centre wants to prevent. Besides deploying the agency of Governor for administrative manipulations and undermining the legislative power of the state by withholding assent to bills, the Union government is systematically squeezing the fiscal space of the state government.

The Finance Commission's share of tax devolution to Kerala has declined from 3.9 per cent during the 10th UFC period to 1.9 per cent during the current 15th UFC. The state's share of the centrally sponsored schemes is only 1.6 per cent. Its share in the CAPEX is only 1.1 per cent. It has received virtually nothing from the special packages announced for different states. In 2024-25 the Union government`s total transfer to all the state governments in India was Rs 25 lakh crore. With 2.8 per cent of the population share, proportionately Kerala should have received Rs 70,000 crore. Actually, the transfers to the states were only Rs 35,000 crore, only half of what was its due.

The Union government has also arbitrarily reduced the normal borrowing of the state government on the pretext that the capital borrowing made by KIIFB, a SPV similar to the National Highway Authority of India, is equivalent to indirect borrowing by the state. Worse, the central government decided to give retrospective effect to its new rule on extra budgetary borrowing by

the state. As a result, during the past three years more than Rs 10,000 crore have been reduced from the state's market loans. All this has pushed the state government's finances into a crisis.

To cover up its discrimination, the Union government and its followers are conducting completely false, baseless and malicious propaganda against the state government.

The 24th Congress of the CPI(M) calls on all its units, members, sympathizers and all other sections of the democratic people to expose the Centre, spread the democratic achievements of Kerala, and rally in strength to defend the LDF government in Kerala.

Resolution to Support General Strike on May 20, 2025 Against Labour Codes

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) extends its full and active support to the countrywide general strike called by the joint platform of central trade unions and independent all India sectoral federations on May 20, 2025, against the implementation of the four Labour Codes by the Modi-led BJP-NDA government.

The so-called 'labour law reforms' under which 29 existing labour laws have been repealed and claimed to be subsumed into four Labour Codes, are a part of the neoliberal agenda being aggressively pursued by the Modi government. They are meant to drastically curtail the hard-won basic rights of the working class, related to their working conditions like working hours, minimum wages, social security and more importantly their right to organisation and collective action including their right to strike.

Contrary to the claims of the Modi government that the Labour Codes are meant to universalise coverage and simplify labour laws, Labour Codes in fact exclude large sections of workers including those in the organised sector who were earlier covered by protective measures under the existing labour laws. The Code on Social Security provides scope for social security benefits like EPF and ESI to be tampered, weakened and for establishments to exit from these schemes without the need for any Parliamentary amendment to the relevant Acts. Social security for hundreds of thousands of workers in industries like beedi, iron ore, mica, limestone, dolomite mines, most of them dalits, adivasis and OBCs, who were earlier covered with sector specific Acts will now be thrown into uncertainty as the government has abolished all related provisions for cess collection.

In addition, the Modi government is using provisions under Acts like UAPA, PMLA and BNS to suppress the basic rights of the workers. Collective actions like lodging complaint or even making a representation to the Labour Department are being interpreted as 'organised crime' under section 111 of BNS and trade union leaders are imprisoned without bail. At the same time, through the Jan Vishwas Act, the government has decriminalised 180 offences under 41

legislations, withdrawing the provision for imprisonment for violations and limiting punishment to fines. The last Union Budget proposed to decriminalise 100 more provisions.

The Labour Codes and all the other measures being implemented in the name of 'Ease of Doing Business' are nothing but attempts to weaken the trade unions, the organised strength of the working class and enable unbridled exploitation by the big corporates, both domestic and foreign, by imposing conditions of virtual slavery on workers.

Attempts to amend labour laws in favour of the capitalist class have intensified since the onset of neoliberalism. The Modi government has initiated the process of codification soon after returning to power in 2019 and passed the four Labour Codes in 2019-20. But till now it has not been able to implement the Labour Codes, one of the major reasons being the stiff resistance of the united working class movement.

The 24th Congress of the CPI(M) fully supports the united struggle of the working class demanding repeal of the Labour Codes and calls upon all its committees and branches to actively support the countrywide general strike on May 20, 2025.

Resolution to Counter the Communal Attacks of the RSS-BJP and Sangh Parivar

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) condemns the intensified series of communal attacks by the RSS-BJP and the Sangh Parivar in different parts of the country, which are part of its relentless campaign to polarize society on the basis of communal hatred. The Sangh Parivar knows that this is the only way to retain and strengthen support for its Hindutva agenda among the majority community, and of overcoming the growing discontent that the failures of the BJP Government at the Centre as well as BJP Governments in the States are fuelling.

We are, therefore, witnessing a rash of polarizing communal campaigns raising new issues along with those used before. The use of Hindu festivals like Ram Navami and Hanuman Jayanti to culminate in attacks on Muslims in their localities and near mosques has escalated. Holi falling on a Friday in Ramzan saw a spike in the threats and punitive measures targeting Muslims.

A very disturbing feature of the recent attacks has been the fact that even children are not being spared. Recently a month-old female child in Alwar, Rajasthan was trampled to death by policemen while in Malwan, Maharashtra a 15-year-old boy was jailed on the specious and unproven charge that he was shouting pro-Pakistan slogans.

Films designed to distort history and aggravate anti-Muslim prejudice and hatred are being promoted by BJP Governments. The most recent one was "Chhaavaa" that demonized Aurangzeb and by association, all members of his community. BJP Ministers in Maharashtra have used it encourage the exclusion of Muslims from fairs and yatras that were always very inclusive in

nature. The clashes that occurred in Nagpur were the result of this campaign which saw many arrests of Muslims being made and the home of a Muslim leader being bulldozed.

The recent period has also seen repeated attempts by RSS members and their followers to push courts into supporting their attempts to attack mosques because, allegedly, they were built over demolished temples. Most unfortunately, many lower courts and even the former CJI, D Y Chandrachud himself added fuel to the fire with their comments and orders. This has resulted in communal polarization in many places and in the tragic events of Sambhal in which five young Muslims were shot dead. Now even a fair in Sambhal in which lakhs of people, more Hindus than Muslims, have participated for centuries has been banned in the name of not allowing the celebration of an anti-national figure. This is a significant attack on syncretic celebrations that have brought many communities together.

New laws like the UCC in Uttarakhand which, while it attacks the rights of women and young couples, does away completely with Muslim Personal laws, and increasingly stringent anti-conversion laws which attack inter-faith marriages where the woman is a Hindu and the man a Muslim have been passed by the Governments of UP, Gujarat, MP etc. It is even being proposed that the death penalty be imposed on men entering into such marriages.

This 24th Congress of the CPI(M) calls upon all Party units to organize effective campaigns against the diabolical attempt at communal polarization by the Sangh Parivar, and also against the increasing attacks on Muslims and other minorities which expose the real Hindutvavadi agenda of the RSS. It calls upon the Party to make all efforts to draw in wide sections of people and secular, democratic organisations into the campaigns to strongly counter these attacks.