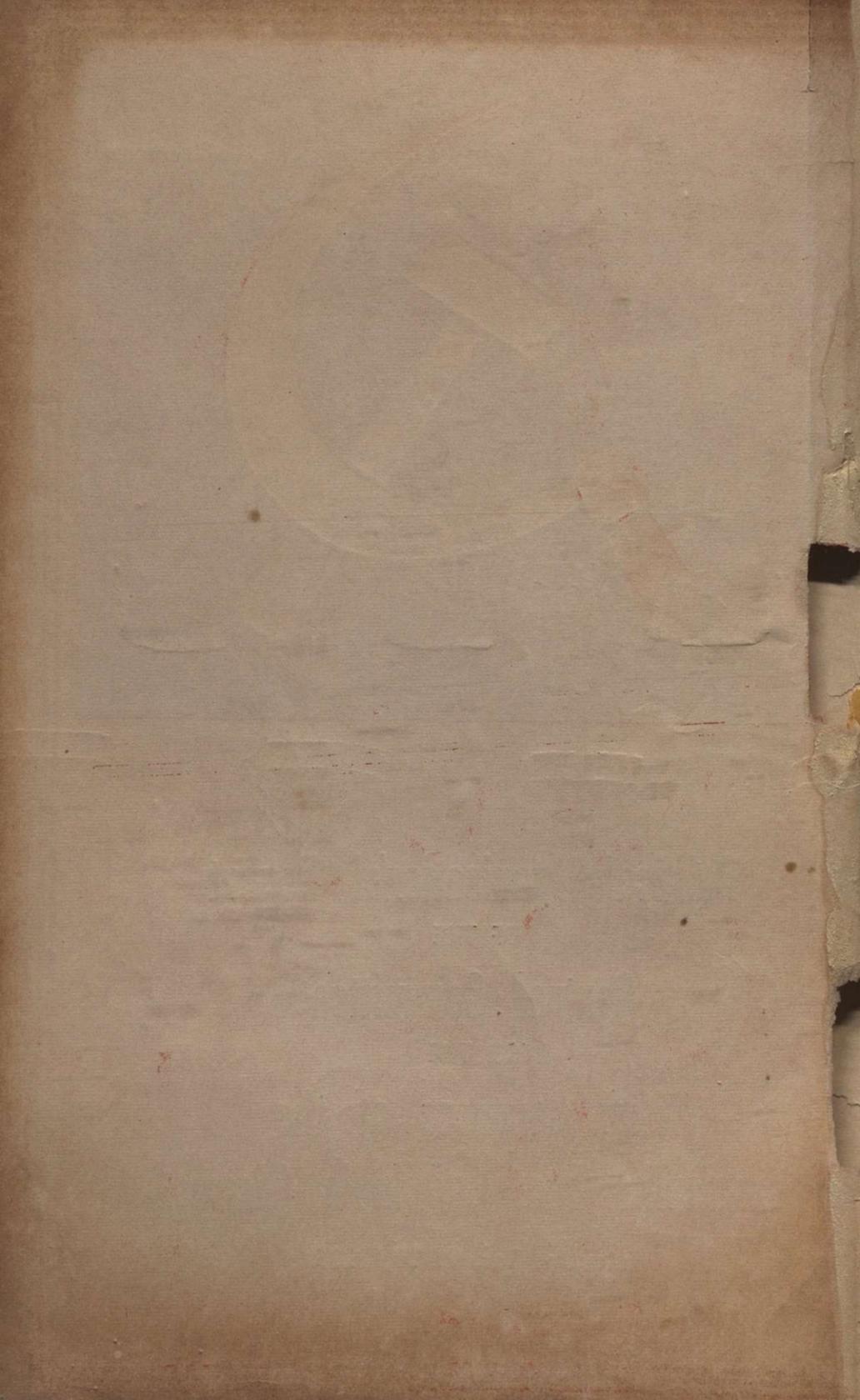




320-954  
COM

**Political-Organisational Report**  
**OF THE**  
**Central Committee**  
**FOR THE**  
**12th Congress of the**  
**Communist Party of India (Marxist)**

**Calcutta, Dec. 25-30, 1985**



3717

Part - I

11th CONGRESS LINE REVIEWED

The Political Resolution of our Eleventh Party Congress took serious note of the sharpened contradiction of world imperialism with the Socialist camp. It also stated that the U.S. imperialists were simultaneously doing everything to slander and subvert socialist regimes. It was further noted that the danger of war in place of detente and armaments agreement is the new feature of the situation arising out of the present crisis. It warned that the proposal to deploy Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe is a direct threat to the USSR, and said the danger of nuclear war threatens humanity because of the criminal policies pursued by the U.S. imperialism. All this was said by us in our 11th Party Congress, four years ago. The developments during this period confirm the correctness of our assessment.

Today, the contradiction between the imperialist and Socialist camps is further intensified. The U.S. imperialists have succeeded in deploying the nuclear missiles in a number of countries of Western Europe, and thus pose a direct threat to the USSR and the world community of Socialist countries. The U.S. Government had thereby torpedoed the then on going Geneva negotiations on nuclear disarmament. Even some hesitant and unwilling partners of NATO in Europe were forced to accept the deployment of missiles in their respective territories. The USSR, of course, could not but take from certain counter-measures such as deploying its own missiles Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic, warning the U.S. and its NATO partners that they would not escape retaliatory blows if they run amock and unleash a nuclear war on the USSR. Not stopping at that the USSR and the Warsaw Pact nations have taken a series of initiatives and measures to halt the nuclear armaments race. Ever new constructive proposals are being put forth to checkmate the armament race that is let loose by U.S. imperialism. The Government of the USSR declared in a forthright manner that USSR has succeeded in acquiring military parity with the U.S. imperialists, and would never allow the attempts of the U.S. and its warmongering NATO partners to attain nuclear superiority over the USSR. It unilaterally bsuspended further nuclear tests for 6 months, despite the Star-war preparations engaged in by the USA.

A powerful and world-wide peace movement has grown, and is on its forward march in different continents and countries of the world. The non-aligned movement has thrown its full weight against nuclear war danger and the nuclear armament race. In a way the struggle for peace and against the nuclear holocaust isn merged with the struggle in defence of USSR, world Socialist community and the political independence of the nations which were liberated following the victory over fascism in the Sccond World War. To put it in other words the sharpened contradiction between the imperialist and Socialist camps go to reveal the deepest crisis of world capitalism and its cruel efforts to resolve it at the expense of the USSR and the world Socialist camp.

The State monopoly capitalism in the USA has acquired a new character, the character of the merger of State administration with the monopolists of

the military industrial complex. This is both a symptom of the gravest crisis of world capitalism and a grave menace to world peace. The global class struggle has reached an acute state when U.S. imperialist rulers, openly and unashamedly, are broadcasting that they declare war against Marxism-Leninism and are out to destroy the USSR, the mighty bastion of world Socialism, in a nuclear war. Such is the character of the intense antagonism between the forces of capitalism and Socialism, and between the nuclear war-mongering imperialism and peace-loving humanity.

Following the analysis and assessment made in Vijayawada Party Congress Resolution, a separate resolution on War Danger was adopted. The resolution stated: "The Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its grave concern over the growing danger which threatens to plunge the world into a nuclear holocaust. It regards this development as a danger to the existence of mankind and calls upon all people of goodwill in india to be aware of the danger and resist it." It concludes with the appeal that "the Eleventh Congress considers it as the urgent task of the working class and all progressive sections to combat this danger, expose and unmask imperialist plans before the people and mobilise all peace-loving anti-imperialist forces to save the world from nuclear devastation."

The Peace Movement in our country has, unfortunately, remained within the confines of certain narrow circles. It did not acquire a mass character. The Government of India which has committed, since long, for the cause of world peace and the policy of non-alignment did never carry it down to the mass level, and confined it to the State and diplomatic level, making some pronouncements on occasions and voicing them in the world forums. The great mass of the people remained either completely ignorant of the peace issue and its gravity or were passive supporters. Peace and solidarity organisations could not be organised on a broad basis, embracing different political parties, groups and individuals, but remained under the virtual control of the CPI.

Our Party has been striving its utmost to broaden the Peace and Solidarity organisation, embracing every party and group willing to contribute to the cause of world peace; and against the war mongering of the U.S. imperialists.

Though it succeeded in organising one such all India joint mass mobilisation in October 1982, immediately after the Eleventh Party Congress in January 1982, this process did not register the desired progress. But our Party on its own platform and in its own press did take the message of world peace in a more systematic and concerted manner during the last four years. In all the areas and states where our Party and mass movements are strong huge mass rallies and meetings were convened to carry the message of peace and warn the people of the menace of nuclear holocaust. A week-long programme on a mass scale was observed in West Bengal where lakhs of people were mobilised in defence of world peace, and in opposition to the U.S. imperialist drive towards militarisation of space and the drive to

atomic war. In Kerala, Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh and several other states a week was observed to campaign in defence of world peace.

Besides conventions in States, a Central Convention was held, the Left Parties and groups assuming the leading role. The said all-parties peace convention had set up a committee, appointing the General Secretary of the CPI, Rajeswara Rao as the Convenor, to further the cause of organising the ever wider circles of people. But it was not pursued, and the committee that was set up remained frozen. As already mentioned above the peace movement did not reach the mass of the people due to the organisational shortcomings. Besides the Indian people have no direct experience of modern war and its devastating effects on the people as well as the effects of huge armaments expenditure on the people's livelihood. Ignorance of this fact is a big hindrance to awaken our Indian people, on a mass scale, to the danger of a nuclear war.

The occasion of the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism was used by our party in a big way to popularise the slogans of the world peace front, exposing U.S. imperialism and its nuclear blackmailing.

The CITU and its allied organisations had responded to the call of WFTU, and observed September 1st as the anti-war day and in defence of peace for two successive years since the Eleventh Party Congress.

A Soviet delegation was invited to address peace rallies in Calcutta, Cochin, Madras, Coimbatore and Delhi. Our Party also actively cooperated with the CPI, when it took the initiative to organise mass meetings in places like Vijayawada, where the Soviet leaders addressed the gatherings.

Participation of different political parties in the international meets on defence of peace and non-alignment is on the increase. Most of the political parties, including the ruling Congress(I), have participated in the World Youth Festival in which the struggle against nuclear armament race and defence of world peace and occupied the predominant role. And yet, it would be deceptive if left and democratic forces, the Left parties and groups in particular, do not realise that there is not yet a united thrust to fully exploit the possibilities of extending and deepening the peace movement in our country. All the Left forces should realise the fact that today's peace movement is neither a pacifist movement nor a peace movement just confined to maintain world peace but its an acute class struggle in defence of world socialism, independence of newly liberated nations and the very survival of mankind and life on earth.

Besides its armaments drive and open declaration of war against the very cause of communism in the world, the U.S. imperialism is busy in subjugating states like Grenada. It is involved, as mentioned in our Eleventh party Congress Resolution, "in the murderous suppression of the struggle of the people in EL Salvador", and its direct and indirect intervention is on the increase, threatening invasion. The States like Cuba and Nicaragua are not free from the constant threats of attack by the U.S. Thus the defence of national independence and national liberation struggle of our day is closely linked with the struggle against U.S. and its armaments race.

It would be a calamity if peace loving forces of the world fail to stem the reckless offensive of the war maniacs, and put these atomic war mongers into a straight-jacket. The struggle in defence of world peace is, today, closely interlinked with the very future of mankind and life on this planet. As history had it, today's peace movement is a combined world-wide people's movement for democracy, national independence, socialism and the very future of mankind of earth. Any person or party can ill-afford to be a helpless spectator to the ever growing menace of nuclear world war, and it is the bounden duty to do one's utmost to prevent the atomic holocaust. As a Communist and Marxist-Leninist Party, the CPI(M) will have to redouble its activities on the peace front and carry the message of world peace, while exposing the war-mongering U.S. imperialism and their henchmen.

Our Party's peace campaign, in certain vital respects, has its differences with that of several bourgeois politicians who support the cause of world peace. In opposing the armament race and the threat of the nuclear war danger they appeal or criticise the two super-powers, putting on par the peace-loving Socialist Soviet Union with the war mongering U.S. imperialists. In a way such an approach shields the aggressive U.S. imperialists and blurs the vital difference between the atomic war-mongers and dedicated peace champions. No peace partisan can blur this difference between the two super-powers if he is true and honest to the cause he espouses. The CPI(M) sharply demarcates from the so-called two super-powers theorists, pinning down the U.S. as the source of war mongering and the source of nuclear armament race.

This apparently innocent thesis of two super-powers clean ignores the stark reality that it is Soviet "super-power" that is providing armour to the defence of national independence of scores of weak and newly liberated states against the forces of imperialism and its aggressive designs. It also hides the reality that it is the defence preparedness of the USSR and other Socialist countries that is checkmating U.S. imperialists in their evil designs of enslaving independent countries, in different continents. Hence out determined opposition to the deceptive theory of so-called "Two Super powers", while dealing with the issues of war and world peace. As far as India and Indian Government are concerned, the equating of two super-powers sounds all the more absurd in the face of U.S. arming Pakistan to the point of assisting it to acquire nuclear weapons, endangering India's security.

The CPI(M) while lending its unstinted support to the Government policy of world peace and non-alignment, cannot afford to miss to take serious note of the Government's economic collaboration with foreign finance capital and the heavy dependence on world capitalist states for import of advanced technology, and for the export of its goods to the foreign markets. Such growing dependence on foreign monopoly capital undermines our political independence and leads the country to abandon the much advertised effort for national self-reliance.

Similarly the policy of non-alignment has got two faces. One is to abstain

from joining either the bloc of NATO countries or the countries of the Warsaw pact. Our Indian state and Government, which by its class character is a bourgeois-landlord state, led by the Indian big bourgeoisie, is objectively assisting the forces of world peace by not aligning with the NATO bloc. This is a welcome feature and is a rebuff to the imperialist war bloc. Its policy of friendship with the USSR and the signing of the Treaty of Indo-Soviet Friendship pact of Cooperation is another important factor which the CPI(M) supports fully. The CPI(M) is conscious of the fact that the Indian bourgeoisie and its government have come to look upon the policy of non-alignment and friendship with the Socialist countries as a shield in defence of national political independence. Though as Marxist-Leninists and Communists we are aligned with the forces of world Socialism and are in irreconcilable hostility towards world capitalism and imperialism.

Thus the foreign policy of the Indian Government, the policy of non-alignment and world peace, receives the full support and cooperation of the CPI(M), while its policies of economic collaboration with world imperialism and its stance of treating two super-powers on par are not acceptable to us. Hence there arises no question of the CPI(M) extending its blanket support to the entire foreign policy of the present Indian state and Government.

To conclude the point under discussion, the CPI(M) is clear and categorical in its demands on U.S. imperialism that it should undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, agree to ban the nuclear tests, reduce nuclear weapons and agree to stop the star-wars programme of militarising space. These demands were put forward by the USSR which is waging a relentless struggle to make sense to the U.S. administration and its war hawks.

### Capitalist Path and its Crisis

The Eleventh Congress's Political Resolution observed, that India's "economy is mainly linked with the capitalist world and its market, has felt the full effects of the capitalist crisis like other third world countries. This has intensified the condition of chronic crisis of the economy leading to widespread mass discontent and upheavals among the people and growing economic and political instability in the country."

It took serious note of the fact that "that the economic situation that has developed since the last (Jullundur) Congress of our Party, therefore, aggravates all the earlier contradictions and adds certain new features. Among these are a more open and direct intervention of the Western imperialists in our economy and their capacity to dictate terms." It asserted that increased dependence was developing "though attempts are made to show that there is less and less reliance on foreign 'aid' to finance the plans, the reverse is true."

Life and events during the last four years, since these utterances were made at our Eleventh Party Congress, completely confirm the correctness of the assessment made in that Political Resolution.

It is the bankrupt path of capitalist development - a path and development

- which is incapable of liquidating feudal and semi-feudal agrarian relation, which is incapable of liquidating foreign monopoly capital and which is in the service of Indian big capital. This it is pursuing when the very system of world capitalism is in the throes of a deep going and permanent general crisis. This capitalist path is sought to be pursued by the Indian monopolist and landlord alliance, and in close collaboration with foreign finance capital. It is this capitalist path that is going from crisis to crisis and has failed to solve any basic socio-economic problems of our Indian Union during the last 38 years of post-independence era. Continued mass illiteracy and mass poverty and misery, constantly growing massive unemployment among the educated as well as the uneducated rural millions have come to stay. The increasing dependence on the import of foreign capital and technology is belying all the promises of self-reliance by the ruling bourgeois landlord classes.

Debt burdens, especially foreign debt burdens, are on the increase. The annual repayments of interests and parts of the huge foreign loans are creating the crisis in balance of payments position. The ruling classes, unable to expand the home market, are increasingly becoming dependent on exports, which are being heavily subsidised. Being caught in such a crisis, the Government of Rajiv Gandhi has introduced a so-called new-economic strategy, the strategy of massive import of technology in order to produce goods for exports, competing with those whose technological development is far speedier than us and who are erecting ever new tariff walls besides forcing imports on our country. Thus the new Rajiv technique to salvage the crisis-ridden capitalist path is bound to lead to a much deeper crisis of the economy with all the attendant evils and their destabilising consequences on our socio-political fabric.

The mass discontent that is generated on an ever increasing scale is providing the fertile soil for the rise and growth of different divisive forces, of caste, communal, regional, tribal and ethnic character. It is on this that the arch reactionary forces at home and the imperialists abroad are banking upon to destabilise and to dismember India. Only an alternative class set-up with alternate class policies can save the country, its integrity and national independence.

It is unfortunate that most of the bourgeois opposition parties, which still command the confidence of 40 percent of the total voters, refuse to realise the gravity of the situation and are unable to advocate genuine, alternate policies to that of the ruling Congress Party. It is also unfortunate to note that even the Left and democratic forces who, in theory, agree with the urgent demand for alternate democratic policies are moving at a snail's speed, unable to move the masses in a big way.

To conclude the point it will have to be clearly and categorically stated that the bourgeois-landlord class rule and its pursuit of the bankrupt path of capitalist development cannot either keep the country united and integrated or control the rising forces of communalism, casteism and separatism. The replacement of the bourgeois-landlord rule by the Left and democratic alternative is imperative.

### Akali Dal Agitation And Its Aftermath

Mass discontent had not only grown several fold, but it also came in handy for different divisive forces, including the Western imperialists, to exploit this discontent and lead several separatist, casteist, communalist and every other conceivable reactionary force. Three-year long Punjab agitation and the Congress Government's failure to politically resolve the question, in time and in a democratic manner, had led to several harmful consequences. The 3-year long Punjab agitation had passed into the hands of the extremists who resorted to a series of terroristic acts and who openly advocated the slogan of independent Khalistan. The extremists not only were indulging in surprise attacks and murders of their opponents, mainly Hindus, but converted the Golden Temple into their armed fortress to carry on their activity for the creation of Khalistan. A big section of the Sikh youth and students were swayed into the extremist activities of Bhindranwala. The moderate leadership of Akali Dal which stood against Khalistan slogan, and for a political settlement of the issues connected with the three year old Punjab agitation, was thrown on the defensive, thanks to the narrow partisan aims pursued by the Congress(I) Government, under the leadership of late Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

An accord which was worked out by 17 Opposition parties including the Akali Dal for the settlement of the Punjab tangle was torpedoed by the Congress(I) leadership, further aggravating the crisis and Hindu-Sikh polarisation in the State. This unpardonable attempt to play on the Hindu-Sikh communal differences and the inordinate delay in settling the problem had only helped the further aggravation of the situation, which led to Operation Blue Star, in order to disband the armed camp set up by the extremists in the precincts of the Golden Temple. It finally led to the imposing of military rule over Punjab and the consequent inflaming of Sikh mass opinion to throw the Sikh mass sentiment hostile to the Indian Government and its leader Mrs. Indira Gandhi. It eventually led to the ghastly assassination of Mrs. Gandhi by two fanatic Sikh security guards in her official premises.

In this connection mention must be made of the fact that the Akali Dal's role, in fanning Sikh communal appeal, did help the extremists, led by Bindranwale, to rouse the Sikh sentiment in favour of the slogan of independent Khalistan. It should be remembered that the danger of Sikh separatism and Sikh-Hindu communal tension continues as long as Akali Dal leadership takes its political inspiration based on Sikh communalism, as it has been doing since long. Unless the Akali Dal discards its religious orientation to its political activity this danger continues.

The U.S. imperialists, who were out to exploit the Akali agitation for their nefarious ends of disintegration and dismembering the Indian Union, had fully backed the Sikh extremists, providing them arms and armed training in different parts of the USA and Canada. They saw to it that the neighbouring Pakistan military regime lent its territory for the training and armed operation for the advocates of Khalistan.

Thus the Punjab agitation, which was mishandled by the Congress(I)

regime for full three years, had cost the country and its unity very dearly. It was only after the massive electoral victory won by the ruling Congress in the Lok Sabha elections, following the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi, that the newly elected Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi took new initiatives to work out an accord between the Akali Dal led by late Harcharan Singh Longowal and the Government of India. This accord not only conceded the old programme that was worked out and agreed upon by the 17 Opposition parties in June 1983, but it had to go much further to assuage the ruffled feelings of the Sikh masses aroused due to the Blue Star Operation, military suppression, anti-Sikh riots following the murder of Mrs. Gandhi and the years of delay by the Indian Government in conceding their just and democratic demands.

The CPI(M) together with other Left and democratic forces had played a proud role in fighting against the menace of Sikh separatism and terrorism, and in working out the accord, foiling the foul game of imperialist intrigues and separatist conspiracies. The CPI(M)'s political prestige, in the entire country, has gone up as the Party which boldly fought against the extremists and sincerely worked for national unity and Sikh-Hindu communal amity. Politically no other party in the country stood up as correct and consistent in fighting for the successful settlement of the Punjab problem which was kept deliberately unsettled for years by the powers that be.

The future alone can reveal how far the accord is honestly implemented, how far the Akali Dal leadership can disentangle itself from its religious oriented politics and how far the continued game of imperialist destabilisation can be successfully fought back and foiled.

However the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi that shook the nation, roused fears of national disintegration among the people and led to the securing of massive majority in the Lok Sabha elections by the Congress(I), under the new leadership of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. The massive vote for the time being screened the reality of growing isolation of the Congress(I) from the people. However, it was again seen within a couple of months when the Assembly elections were held.

#### **Assamese Agitation And Its Implications**

It is common knowledge that while the Assamese agitation was going on during the last 6 years, the entire administration of the state was virtually paralysed. The Central Congress Government could neither resolve the problems so far nor ensure law and order in the state. It is no exaggeration to state that Assam Students Union and its associate Gana Sangram Parishad were virtually running a parallel Government in the State.

The Assam agitation was, from its very inception secessionist and separatist in character. It was not merely directed against the so-called foreigners, belonging to the Bengali minorities, both Hindu and Muslim, but also directed against almost all non-Assamese, Nepalis, Biharis and non-assamese tea-garden labourers, It was a revolt against the very concept of Indian citizenship, with the exception of Marwari big businessmen and traders.

Irrefutable facts go to show that the U.S. imperialists took active part in organising and financing the agitation, with a view to separate Assam from

India and organise an independent North-East Region, dismembering the Indian Union. The Central Congress Government neither exposed this entire conspiracy nor took timely political measures to meet the challenge of the aggressive agitators.

The agitation was inspired by the discontented bourgeois and petty bourgeois sections of the Assamese, mainly in the Brahmaputra Valley, directing the growing mass discontent against the non-Assamese minorities of ethnic, linguistic and communal in character. These minorities are not small in number and are anywhere around 42 percent and more of the State's population. The main slogan the agitators picked up was to throw out the so-called foreigners who migrated from Bangladesh. It is true large scale migration was there, both legal and illegal, and it was becoming an important factor in the hands of the ruling Congress Party to retain its political domination over the State, checkmating the growing urges of the developing Assamese bourgeois nationalism. Tens of thousands of unemployed youth, educated as well as the uneducated, wished to solve the problem at the expense of the national minorities who occupied considerable percentage of Government jobs, besides the political clout they were exercising together with the ruling Congress.

The Congress government, both of the State of Assam and the Indian Union, had neither cared to stop the illegal immigrants nor taken effective measures of regularising the citizenship of the legitimate immigrants. Further the Central Government took no special measures to develop the State of Assam in matters of industry and agriculture as to provide opportunities for employment and other facilities of life. Not even road and rail communications are properly developed.

Ignoring the multi-lingual and multi-ethnic character of the state, the Assamese agitators directed their edge of attack on the minorities, trying to impose Assamese language and exclusive administrative authority over the huge minority population. It led to scores of general strikes, hartals and mass killing of minorities as well as the political opponents of the agitators.

The CPI(M) and other Left forces could clearly see the hand of the U.S. imperialists and their agencies in actively encouraging and assisting the Assamese agitation, giving it a separatist and divisive orientation. As is widely known this was a part of the sinister plan, the so-called Operation Brahmaputra, which aimed at severing the entire North East of the Indian Union from the country, and the creation of several independent states which can be subservient tools of imperialism.

It is a reality that there have been armed insurgent movements in states like Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram. In the State of Tripura continuous armed attacks is going on by the so-called Tripura National Liberation army, based in Bangladesh, armed and trained in that country. Serious attempts were there to coordinate and unite all these insurgent currents, including the Assamese agitationists, though they did not fructify.

In Tripura, the CPI(M) and its led Left Front Government was doing everyting in its power to resist the TNV terrorists, and to suppress their armed revolt. The problem of keeping Tripura as a united state, unity between the two-thirds Bengalees and one-third tribal Tripurite population

in the State is getting the maximum attention and concern of our Party and State Government. Here again, the ruling Congress is not only not extending its cooperation for efforts of the CPI(M) Government to keep the state united, and isolating the separatist forces, but actually it is abetting the separatists by allying with the TUJS which is in close cooperation with the insurgent - TNV.

The ruling Congress Government has neither a concerted plan to develop this entire region so as to bring it into the mainstream of Indian national life nor is it alert and active in exposing the imperialist machinations and isolating their agencies which are operating under different colours. The loud declarations of defending national integrity and fighting against the separatist and divisive forces by the ruling Congress leaders remain mere bragging without active struggle in defence of national unity. The opportunist compromises made with different insurgent groups, in different regions and at different times by the Congress Government are, objectively, encouraging the divisive forces instead of eliminating the menace by taking positive measures in a democratic manner. In fact there is no well-thought out plan and policy for the Government to lift these "Seven Sister States" in the North Eastern region from poverty, illiteracy, industrial and agricultural backwardness and feelings of seclusion and separatism.

The so-called Assam Accord, reached between the Assamese agitationists and the Central Government, contains a lot of discord which does neither really settle the 6 years long Assam imbroglio nor ensure the stability and progress of the multilingual State of Assam. As reports go to reveal, several lakhs of men and women are illegally disenfranchised while declaring that all their other citizenship rights will be safeguarded. How a citizen can be penalised and disenfranchised is anybody's guess. And yet that is what the accord imposes on the minorities in Assam. This unprincipled concession to the Assamese chauvinists, the concession of disenfranchising immigrants who had migrated during the years of 1965-1971, is sure to unleash forces in States like Tripura who are raising the demand of applying the same rule of disenfranchisement of the Bengalees. The same may be followed up by Meghalaya, Manipur and the other States in the region.

The CPI(M), refusing to be cowed down by the threats and violence, hurled at it by the Assamese agitationists, has been fighting a principled struggle for the unity of Assam and for the safety and well being of the 40 percent minorities in the State. It had to sacrifice some 40 comrades and militants to pursue its correct line, opposing Assamese chauvinists. It is opposed to several of the clauses in the Assam Accord, and is prepared to put across its positive line of action in the elections that are being conducted in the State, for the State Legislature and the Lok Sabha. The CPI(M) role in Assam adds another glorious chapter in its struggle against divisive forces, and in defence of national unity and integrity.

It is tragic that parties like BJP, Janata party and the like unashamedly lent their full support to the separatist agitation in Assam under the spurious plea that it was a struggle against the "foreigners" and their intrusion in Assam. Even CPI and some other Left groups have swallowed the Assam Accord which arbitrarily, illegally and unconstitutionally deprives lakhs of

voters from their voting rights, reducing them to the status of second class citizens. If such unprincipled compromises such as the present Assam accord are repeated, wherever such problems arise, then there will be no one Indian citizenship and one Indian union. Shiv-Sena in Bombay takes inspiration to drive out non-Maharashtrians from Bombay, and several such parochial and anti-national forces will take their inspiration from Assam Accord and its like.

Before concluding this topic of our Report it is interesting and educative to recollect what we had stated in our Eleventh Congress's Resolution on the subject of Divisive Forces. "While the mass discontent is developing and getting united, divisive forces are at work to disrupt it, and their role and challenge must be recognised.

"The growth of these forces is a consequence of the policies pursued by the bourgeois-landlord Government during the last three decades. The ruling party is not only unable to country them and protect the unity of the counter, but also uses the caste and communal differences to secure its narrow electoral gains,

"The secessionist influence in the North-Eastern region including Assam is due to the backward condition of the region and denial of rapid industrial development. The secessionists have succeeded in diverting the discontent arising from mounting economic misery into disruptive channels. They have also used the fear of foreign influx to strengthen the secessionist appeal.

"To defeat the challenge to national unity, it is necessary to fight for the genuine grievances of the people of Assam and the North-Eastern region; to fight against the economic backwardness. The Party in Assam combines this two-fold task in its activity." "The Gujarat anti-reservation agitation which led to the mobilisation of the masses in hostile camps, revealed the seriousness of the situation and the opportunism of the bourgeois parties."

The recent four-months long Gujarat's anti-reservation stir, the caste and communal killings, the failure of the law and order machinery, and the heavy death-toll of around 200 persons go to confirm the correctness of the exhaustive assessment made in our Eleventh Congress' Political Resolution. The Gujarat agitation once again proves how the ruling Congress party resorts to communa and caste appeals to subserve its partisan electoral ends.

### **Communal Forces On the Rise**

The Eleventh Party Congress Resolution had dealt at length with the rise of communalism and warned the Party about its growing menace for the unity of the class and mass democratic movements, and also as a threat to national unity and integration.

Dealing with the rise of Muslim communalism and our Party's stand, the Political Resolution of Vijayawada Congress had the following to say: "The party has always defended the Muslim minority and raised its voice against discrimination and oppression. The Party's sympathies have always been with the Muslim mass, economically oppressed, and often the victim of Hindu chauvinism and of the administrative personnel in times of riots. But as in the case of Harijans, the other part of the truth was not sufficiently stressed - that without freeing themselves from bondage to the minority

communal outlook, without joining the mainstream of democratic struggle, their liberation will not come."

Overwhelming sections of the Muslim masses today stand alienated from the common class and democratic movement. The common mass organisations have not seriously fought against this isolation by paying attention to their problems—special problems of the minority masses like mass discrimination. The situation is exploited by reactionary communal leaders, to keep the minority mass away from the democratic and Left forces, by appeals to minority separatism and communalism.

In all countries with Muslim majorities, Islamic fundamentalism attacks the democratic and working class movements and serves the interests of imperialism and indigenous religious reaction.

In India, the Islamic fundamentalist appeal is directed towards creating a feeling of separate nationhood among the Muslims to undermine national unity. The Congress(I) is unable to fight this danger.

Some of those who have influence over the Muslim masses are acting hand in glove with the Islamic fundamentalists abroad and are financed by them. They are now in a position to blackmail the Congress(I) and its Government to make reactionary concessions.

Concluding the topic the Resolution stated : "The mobilisation of progressive intellectuals from among the Muslims, of democratic opinion and simultaneously greater intervention to protect the rights of Muslim minorities are necessary to combat the menace."

During the last four years since the Eleventh Congress the CPI(M) was doing every thing possible to increasingly intervene to defend the minorities wherever the Muslim minorities came under attack. But our Party could not mobilise the progressive Muslim intellectuals, as no concerted effort could be put in this regard, This will have to be rectified, and we should do our utmost to assist the growing radicalism among certain sections of Muslim progressives and women.

Narrating in detail the disruptive activities of Hindu chauvinism, the 11th Congress Resolution observed : "The RSS activities and propaganda are directed towards creating permanent enmity between the two communities. In its advocacy of a Hindu nation it virtually demands of the minorities that they fully integrate themselves with Hindu tradition and culture, i.e., they lose their identity."

"In these circumstances, the chauvinistic appeal of the RSS in terms of a Hindu nation becomes a provocative agency of imperialism to drive the Muslim mass into the camp of the fundamentalists."

"The separatist appeal of Islamic fundamentalism gets reinforced by the aggressive RSS propaganda which endorses from a different direction the Islamic appeal that Muslims are a totally separate entity distinct from the rest of people. Its inciting role in riots, its rearing of a fanatical anti-Muslim cadre help the imperialists to divide the country, and its reactionary stand against progressive ideas and thoughts contributes to the strength of anti-national forces."

Referring to the rise of Sikh religious separatism, the Resolution warned that "the rising of such slogans as Khalistan, Sikhs a separate nation, is part

of the same process of national disintegration under Congress(I) rule.”

It is now proved how correct our warning was, and what damage was caused to the Hindu-Sikh unity by the dilatory tactics pursued by the ruling Congress leadership on the one hand, in tackling the Punjab tangle on the one hand, and by the Sikh extremists who had become open armed rebels against the Indian Union, in league with the imperialists and their Pakistani surrogates on the other. Future alone can show how far the Accord reached between the ruling Congress and the Akali Dal helps in mitigating the Sikh-Hindu antagonism and how far the present akali Dal Government can boldly fight against the continued Sikh extremists and their separatist slogan of Khalistan.

The CPI(M) has done its utmost to resolve the Punjab issue and safeguard the Hindu-Sikh unity. The polarisation that took place between Akali Dal and ruling Congress and the consequent sweep of the akali Dal in elections to the Legislative Assembly does not obliterate the truth that the CPI(M) did its utmost to bring about a peaceful settlement of the problem as early as the month of June 1983, and it is the ruling Congress leadership that is to be held responsible for the deterioration of the situation, leading to the Blue Star Operation. The rise of Sikh communal fanaticism and finally the dastardly assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the eruption of Hindu-Sikh riots all over the country followed. The electoral reverse suffered by the CPI(M) and other Left forces in Punjab during the Assembly elections, in no way, contradicts the correctness of the political-tactical line pursued by the CPI(M) and other Left forces. The voters, especially the Sikh masses, looked upon the Congress-Akali accord as a victory for the cause for which the Dal had fought doggedly for years. There lies the secret of the mass swing in favour of Akali Dal, even sections of our traditional Sikh voters swinging towards the Akali party.

The Eleventh Congress' Resolution did not only highlight the growing danger of Muslim, Sikh and Hindu communalism but also warned against the menace of certain Christian Missionaries who were busy disrupting the Left movement, the CPI(M) in particular, under the garb of leftism, even exploiting the name of Marxism. The Political Resolution stated : “In a situation in which the appeal of the CPI(M) is irresistibly increasing, when masses are getting radicalised and are prone to the appeal of the Left forces, when disappointment with all the bourgeois parties is growing, divisive attacks also come from those professing extreme “Left” views. They are carefully prepared by imperialist agencies, by some Church agencies and every effort is made to rope in all groups who profess leftism but who are opposed to the CIP(M). To gather these groups, these agencies organise seminars start organisations— all with Left phraseology but with the aim of disrupting the growing strength of the CPI(M), disrupting the unity of the Left forces.”

The experience, during the last 4 years, completely confirms the correctness of the observations made on this score. Reports from several states reveal that these “Left” Christian Missionaries have spread their network in dozens of areas and pockets in our country, with thousands of cadre employed for the job. They are being heavily financed by some

imperialist states of the West, and are penetrating among the tribal population, agricultural labourers, and in backward areas. They are appointing naxalites and former naxalites to several posts, paying them high salaries. In some State, the State administration is encouraging them under the pretext of doing some voluntary work, completely oblivious to dangers inherent in such agencies and their imperialist patrons. Our Party should pay special attention to this spread of pseudo-left christian missionaries and their activities to abet and encourage the disintegrating forces in our country. We cannot say that our party had paid adequate attention to such activities, exposing them as dangerous conspiracies of the CIA and its allied organisations.

Besides the prolonged agitations such as Punjab and Assam, and the consequent growth of animosity among Hindu-Sikh, Hindu-Muslim and the Assamese majority and other ethnic minorities the Hindu communalists had used issues such as Ram Janma Bhoomi and Ganga Jal Yatra from Hardwar to Kanyakumari to rouse Hindu majority communalism and chauvinism. In a way religious fundamentalism and casteism has grown, taking the garb of protecting religion and rights of the oppressed and backward castes.

Open training camps of various extremist groups are organised in USA, the patronage extended to such forces by countries such as Britain and Canada are facts beyond dispute. The huge amounts of money supply from some Gulf states such as Saudi Arabia is directly helping Islamic fanaticism and fundamentalism, much to the detriment of the real and lasting interests of the Muslim minorities in Indian Union. The direct hand of imperialism is there in fomenting and encouraging these forces.

The opportunist policies of ruling Congress government, both directly and indirectly, are strengthening different communal forces. To take one example let us cite the case of J&K State where Farooq Abdullah and National Conference secured electoral victory in the poll for the State's Legislature. The Central Congress leadership had organised defection of some of National Conference MLAs in order to set up a puppet regime with the support of the Congress MLAs. This had infuriated the vast Muslim sentiment in Kashmir valley and elsewhere because the National Conference in which the Muslim masses reposed confidence was outwitted by resorting to defection tactics. It only provided grist to the pro-Pakistan elements who were, at heart, advocates of the State's secession from the Indian Union.

The Congress rulers are openly patronising the Hindu religious institutions, giving a distorted interpretation to the concept of secularism as though secularism enjoins upon the State and Government to encourage all religions, instead of strictly keeping religion out of State and administration.

There is tendency among certain section of our Party comrades to underestimate the danger of the growth of communal parties and their fundamentalist character; they fail to see the disruption of the class and mass organisations by these religious fundamentalists; and they also do not realise that the growth and consolidation of people on caste and communal lines undermines the united struggle against the authoritarian Congress rule and its monopoly of power in the country. In fact it is not possible to carry on an

effective struggle against the bourgeois landlord class rule and its perpetuation without an incessant struggle against communal and divisive forces.

### **The CPI(M) And Its Efforts To Build the Broad Resistance**

Our last Party Congress was held in the background of the fall of Janata Government, the splintering of Janata combine and victorious came back of the ruling Congress regime at the Centre. In short the bourgeois opposition parties were found in complete disarray, and the broad front of resistance appeared as a remote possibility. But some time later following the defeat of the Congress(I) in Andhra and Karnataka and the emergence of Telugu Desam Government and Janata Government in these two States the political situation had begun to change.

The meeting of the four Chief Ministers of Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Pondicherry in Bangalore and their raising of the Centre-State relations issue - an issue which the CPI(M) and the two Left Front Governments of Bengal and Tripura alone were raising in a persistent manner, had given a new fillip to the question. The Vijayawada conclaves convened by N.T. Ramarao and the subsequent three consecutive conclaves of Delhi, Srinagar and Calcutta had brought about a big change in the political atmosphere.

The platform of broad resistance to the authoritarian drive of the Congress(I) monopoly rule had come to be revived. The CPI(M) and the other Left forces, once again, were able to take initiative in fighting for an agreed programme of action, in focussing the Centre-State relations and in checkmating the Congress(I) offensive on the non-Congress State governments, especially the Left Front Governments of West Bengal and Tripura.

These four conclaves convened in the years of 1983 and 1984, had not only succeeded in formulating the solution for the then on-going Punjab agitation and in working out Eleven Point Programme but they also dealt a death blow to the reactionary attempts to the parties such as BJP to bring about an anti-Communist front, isolating the CPI(M) and other Left parties. BJP not only failed in this game but, in the process, had to break its much coveted alliance with the Lok Dal. The increasing isolation of the Congress(I) rule from the great mass of the people, once again, prompted the Congress(I)'s spokesmen to raise the public debate regarding the advisability or otherwise of choosing a "Presidential" form of Government, all under the panic that Congress(I) was heavily losing its mass base.

### **Assassination of Mrs. Gandhi and its Aftermath**

The assassination of Mrs. Gandhi at the hands of her own bodyguards cannot be explained away as the plot of the Sikh extremists who were enraged after the Blue Star Operation. Behind this ghastly murder of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi there was clearly the hand of the U.S. imperialists who were encouraging the Khalistan agitation and giving armed training in USA camps for the Sikh extremists. Mrs. Gandhi's policies of non-alignment, world peace and Indo-Soviet friendship treaty etc were not

liked by the U.S. imperialists, and they were out to resort to any crime that might help them in their world aggressive designs.

Mrs. Gandhi's murder came as a rude shock to the nation. The people took the situation as grave, threatening the unity and integrity of the national at the hands of the separatists and imperialists. They found no alternative political force in the country and rallied behind the ruling Congress party as the only saviour of the situation. In that political atmosphere elections to the Lok Sabha took place, and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and his party scored a landslide victory, securing more than 400 seats, i.e., three-fourths majority. This massive win of seats in the Lok Sabha had become possible for the ruling Congress even though the votes polled by the party did not exceed more than 50 per cent. The other bourgeois opposition parties, though they could muster 40 percent of the polled votes, secured only negligible number of seats because of division and disunity. The Left, the CPI(M) in particular, stood against this Rajiv's storm and secured 22 seats despite the heavy losses in Kerala, and, to an extent, even in West Bengal. Thus Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's spectacular win in the Lok Sabha elections had a morale boosting effect for the Congress(I), though the ruling Congress lost heavily in Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal and Tripura.

But this massive swing of the electorate towards the Congress(I) in Lok Sabha elections did not last long. Within two months, following the elections to the Lok Sabha, the Congress(I) lost heavily in some assembly elections and certain bye-elections. This denotes the fact that the contradiction between the mass of the people and the ruling bourgeois-landlord combine is in no way mitigated, and the discontented masses are on the move.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, after winning a massive majority and assuming power as the Prime Minister of India, has changed the tactics. The new Government took initiatives to settle intricate issues such as Punjab tangle, Assam agitation, Mizoram's insurgency and the like.

In matters of foreign policy — the aspects of non-alignment, standing for world peace and against nuclear war, the renewed emphasis on Indo-Soviet Friendship and cooperation and the non-acceptance of the offer of military aid by the U.S. etc., Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has become more unequivocal than his predecessor governments.

But the new economic strategy, a strategy conceived for overcoming the deep economic crisis of the capitalist path of development that the Government has been pursuing for the last 38 years and more, initiated along with the budget proposals for the years 1985, is fraught with severe risks and dangers. The proposed import of new technology, the green signal for private capital for a series of collaborationist deals with the foreign finance capital and the multi-national companies, the open calls for the increased import of foreign capital, the virtual scaling down of the 7th five-year plan and the denigration of the State and public sector etc are full of grave pitfalls, endangering the effort for much cherished self-reliance, and thus threaten the foundations of the political independence of the country.

No matter what the bombastic declarations of the government are to assure the people that their new economic strategy promotes greater

employment, decreases the disparity between the rich and the poor and serves the interests of the country and the common man, these policies are bound to increase the miseries of the masses, bringing them into head-on conflict with the ruling classes and the government. Thus the period ahead of us is a period of rising mass struggles, increasing unity of the democratic and secular opposition parties and the enhanced activity of the CPI(M) and other Left forces in the country.

### **Left-Front Governments as outposts of Democracy**

The two Left Front Governments of West Bengal and Tripura are in existence for the last 8 years since 1977-78. The two Left-oriented State Governments headed by the CPI(M), the State Governments of West Bengal and Tripura, have acted as the outposts in defence of parliamentary democracy in the country, checkmating the Congress(I) drive in the direction of one party monopoly rule and dictatorship. The issue of proper Centre-State relations, which the CPI(M) and its Left allies were championing, since long, has gained added momentum during the last four years, following our 11th Party Congress. This struggle for proper Centre-State relations has wider and far-reaching implications for the defence of National unity and integrity of the Indian Union, and for setting up a really federal structure of the country, with real autonomy for the constituent states.

The Eleventh Congress Resolution, while assessing the achievements of Left-led Ministries had the following to say, and it is worth reminding our comrades of our assessment of these Left-orientated Governments. These Left-led State Governments are not to be equated with other non-Congress State Governments since these have got distinct alternative policies and practice, in demarcation to other non-Congress as well as Congress State Governments.

The then assessment reads: "The anti-authoritarian struggle is immensely helped by the big achievements of the three Left-led Ministries which have placed the Left forces in an advantageous position.

These Governments have loyally served the Common man, protected democratic rights and thrown the weight of their administration on the side of the exploited in economic struggles.

Under the Left-led Ministries, both the Muslim minority and the Harijans are well protected, there are no communal riots. In their place, there is amity and friendship between different communities. Atrocities on Harijans do not take place.

Civil liberties and democratic rights are ensured and the workers' right to strike is protected. This right is ensured to State Government employees also. They have refused to implement preventive detention measures.

There is no police intervention against striking workers and the people, to support the capitalists. The share-croppers, agricultural workers, peasants, all are having a new deal with their interests fully protected.

The Left Front Government of West Bengal has the magnificent record of fulfilling most of the 36 pledges it made to the people. Workers in all branches of industry have been helped to win substantial wage-increases and bonus. Government employees have been given new pay-scales and they

have been accorded full trade union rights. In rural areas, the wages of agricultural workers have been enhanced, 1.75 million acres of land has been distributed to the rural poor, the "Operation Barga" and amendments to the land Reforms Act have ensured that no share-cropper can be illegally deprived of land or his share of the produce; they have been provided with cheap credit facilities. Land tax has been restructured eliminating its colonial character. The new Land Reforms Amendment Bill which seeks to plug the loopholes which enabled the big landlords to circumvent the ceiling provision, has after inordinate delay, received Presidential assent. The Left Front Governments efficient implementation of the food-for-work programme has been widely acclaimed. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have received special attention from the Government in all matters including housing.

The Government has restored the proper academic atmosphere in educational institutions which had been vitiated during the earlier regime. Education has been made free up to Class XII.

The Government is paying unemployment relief, pensions to aged poor peasants.

For the first time, in Tripura, the Left Front Government satisfied the demands of the tribal people in regard to the enactment for the Tribal Autonomous District Council, recognition of the tribal language Kok Borak and, to the extent possible, restoration of the land that had been alienated from them by non-tribals.

Under the Left Front Government, the burden on the weaker sections of revenue and taxes and debts has been removed; education for children has been made free at all stages; the wage rates of daily labourers and agricultural workers have been enhanced and sufficient work has been provided to them under the food-for-work programme. The rural poor have been drawn into cooperatives and successful efforts are being made to eliminate the grip of the usurious moneylenders, dishonest traders and contractors on the rural areas.

These popular policies, during the last 4 years are carried forward with redoubled vigour.

In so carrying out the activities of the Left Front Governments, especially in West Bengal, the CC of the CPI(M) has noted certain shortcomings and alerted the State Committee of West Bengal. The State Committee took a series of steps to overcome the shortcomings and correct the errors.

The said CC Resolution observed: "The Central Committee noted that despite several measures taken by the Left Front ministry of West Bengal to defend the interests of the workers and other sections of the people there were signs of erosion of our influence in certain sections which were visible before the election. The Party lost three Assembly bye-elections to the Congress(I) in the last year. This erosion was noted earlier by the State Committee but its causes could not be completely eliminated. The economic situation, the closures and lock-outs against which the State Government had hardly any remedies under the present Constitution were part of the additional factors. At the same time it was noted that some measures like the education policy were not understood work of some ministries needed improvement in the eyes of the people. In the Present situation it was

inevitable that when some down-trodden sections were protected, some others got aggrieved and alienated. The expectations roused among the people were out of proportion with the powers of the State Government. It was also noted that there was some loss of contact with sections of the people. The CC thought that if some of these shortcomings could have been remedied in time, the election results would not have been the same."

This struggle, as it began gaining momentum, has embittered the relations between the ruling Congress and the Left Front Governments of West Bengal and Tripura. The ruling Congress has been doing its utmost to replace these two governments by the ruling Congress governments. But its efforts did not succeed, thanks to the painstaking work of these governments in mobilising ever increasing number of toiling people around the programmes and policies of these two states, and also the growing awareness of the Indian people for the defence of democracy.

The four all-India conclaves and their deliberations did do tremendous service to the cause of defence of democracy and for States autonomy, notwithstanding their limitations and vacillations on several occasions. These four conclaves and their successful deliberations played a big role in rolling back the ruling Congress' offensive to dislodge the non-Congress Governments, one after another.

The tolerance of non-Congress Governments, today, in as many as six or more States is not the outcome of any change of heart on the part of the ruling Congress regime but a compulsion caused by the ever growing awareness of the people in defence of democracy, and against the drive to impose authoritarian rule. This should not lull the consciousness of the people either in the country as a whole or among the people in the non-Congress ruled States. Congress(I) regime has no compunction to dislodge these non-Congress State Governments, especially the two Left Front Governemnts of West Bengal and Tripura, since it is by its very class nature is dictatorial and authoritarian. This truth is completely confirmed by history during the last 38 years, after India attaining political independence.

The Left-Front Governments have been the products of a prolonged and bitter struggle against the monopoly rule of the Congress. The other non-Congress governments also came into existence as a result of struggle against the monopoly rule of the Congress. There had been scores of instances when the State Governments were arbitrarily dissolved, imposing the so-called Governor's rule or the President rule. If some non-Congress State Governments are lulled into complacency, abandoning their vigilance over the Congress(I) conspiracies, they will have to pay the high penalty for their crime.

CPI(M) and the Left forces in our country have abundance of experience on this score since the first general elections in the year 1952. It is this rich experience has taught us ever so many political ideological lessons, enabling us to stand up alone as the standard bearer of State's autonomy, facing many trials and tribulations. The CPI(M) is fully aware that the struggle in defence of democratic rights and liberties cannot be sustained unless this struggle is closely linked up with the day-to-day struggles of the working people and

the exploited intelligentsia for their social, economic and cultural uplift. The history of the Left-led State Governments is a saga of hundreds of class and mass battles, both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary, demanding utmost efforts and sacrifices. It is no exaggeration if we state that in West Bengal alone the CPI(M) itself, as the leading Left force in the Assembly and outside, had to offer more than 800 precious lives, during the last eight years of its tenure. In Tripura too, a small State over two million people, had to sacrifice the lives of hundreds of comrades, let alone the mass killings that took place in the tribal-non-tribal conflagration that broke out some three years back. The experience in Kerala too confirms the same.

The CPI(M) is fully aware that real political-economic power rests with the Union Centre, and the States are made to be entirely dependent upon the Central Government, headed by the bourgeois-landlord classes. In a word the State Governments, whether they are of Leftist complexion or not, do not possess the requisite authority and resources to meet the minimum socio-economic interests and demands of the people. Hence there remains constant friction and conflict between the interests of the common people in the State and the ruling party in the Union Government. It is an inbuilt conflict, and not the creation of this or that leadership. It is a class conflict between the imperialists, monopolist and feudal and semi-feudal landlords on the one hand and the anti-imperialist, anti-monopolist and anti-landlord people's forces on the other.

The running of State Government, especially of the Left orientated States, is fraught with several risks, the great mass of the common people's inability to grasp the political truth, namely, that the real political and economic power rests in the Union Centre, that the power at the Union Centre is in the hands of the monopolists and landlords, and that power of the States is restricted. This truth will have to be constantly propagated amongst the people, thus making them realise where the real and actual power rests. People also learn through their own experience besides our constant propaganda and agitation. A correct and proper running of the Left-orientated State Governments would really serve as a practical political school for the common people. Impatience on our part, in this regard, hinders the process of politicalisation of the masses, the working and toiling people in particular.

As repeatedly stated in the documents of the CPI(M) these Left-orientate State Governments will have to be utilised as instruments of struggle to awaken the mass political consciousness, and to rally them round the mass of the people to achieve People's Democratic Revolution. These Left-led State Governments and their working should aim at changing correlation of class and mass forces in favour of the Left and Democratic alliance.

The people, through their actual experience, must be made to realise the basic truth that the Left Front Governments of States have to work within severe constraints in the bourgeois-landlord State apparatus which includes bureaucracy, judiciary and executive, all of which are class biased. Our working in a State Government is subordinated to all these severe limitations and restrictions imposed by the class set-up of the Indian State. And yet the struggle to overcome this subordination is one particular form of mass

political education. There is no escape from this, if concrete Indian realities are taken into concrete consideration and application.

The coming into existence of the Left-orientated State Governments during 1957-60 and 1967-70 in W. Bengal and Kerala and in the years since 1977-78 in West Bengal and Tripura have enormously helped the process of mass radicalisation and politicalisation notwithstanding certain shortcomings and errors in the process of running these Governments.

Before closing the topic under discussion it will have to be stated that our Party's experience teaches us the fact, all the non-Congress State Governments do not and cannot serve as "instruments of struggle" for alternate people's policies and programmes. It is only the Left-orientated State Governments, in which the Left forces can exercise decisive influence on the activities of the said Governments, that can be able to discharge such responsibility. It was this consideration that prevailed on the CPI(M) to join the State Government of Kerala and West Bengal in the year of 1967-69, and to refuse to join any non-Congress State Government, with parties like Jana Sangh, as was done by the CPI in 1967-69 years. But the CPI had not only joined in Punjab, Bihar and U.P in the then non-Congress State Government, but also assumed the leadership in Kerala State Government in unity with Congress, during the years of 1970-80. A State Government comprising of all caste and communal forces ranged against the CPI(M). The CPI(M) considers such attitude of the CPI as utterly right opportunist and class collaborationist in character.

It was out of all this experience, that our P.B and C.C had been reluctant and opposed to replace the Congress-led Government in Kerala since 1982 by one formally led by the CPI(M) and the other Left parties, since such a participation by the CPI(M) and other Left undermines Left image, while only strengthening certain non-Congress parties at the expense of the CPI(M). Secondly, in the prevailing conditions in Kerala and its present State Legislature, no non-Congress Left-led Government becomes a reality unless the CPI(M) and the other Left join hands with the avowed communalistic Parties such as the Kerala Muslim League, Kerala Congress and the like. Such a course, if adopted, compromises our Party's basic stand regarding the communal and divisive forces, while only helping the consolidation and the strengthening of these forces which disrupt the class and mass organisations that are being built by us during the last several decades.

And yet there are some comrades who fail to realise the dangers inherent in it, and continue to advocate the formation of some non-Congress Government with the participation of the CPI(M). Such views must be resolutely rejected as those which are harmful for the further advance of the CPI(M) and other Left and democratic forces.

#### **The struggle for the Left Unity**

In the Political Resolution of the 11th Party Congress, referring to the issue of "unity of the Left forces" it was observed that "The Party has been striving to build a powerful front of Left and democratic forces for years.

"To achieve this unity of the Left forces, growing understanding between them is necessary. The last four years have seen many successes in

strengthening Left unity and securing the initiative for it on a number of occasions."

It was further stated that "in all the States cooperation between the CPI(M) and CPI and other Left parties is developing despite some difficulties. Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar, Punjab, Gujarat, Haryana and U.P— all show growing unity of the Left forces."

"In recent months, there has been more and more joint actions, mass agitations and protests. The cooperation between the two parties continue to develop".

The above was said by the CPI(M), full four years ago. Does the experience, during the last 4 years ~~show~~ that the Left unity, and the unity between the CPI(M) and the CPI in particular, has either been further consolidated and advanced? In fact the political climate for the progress and consolidation of Left unity had become favourable. But it is rather — an unfortunate fact that the progress of the Left unity did not register progress as envisaged in our Eleventh Congress Resolution. In some respects the Left unity, especially the unity between the CPI(M) and the CPI, has very much deteriorated.

It all began with the attack directed by the CPI on the CPI(M) when the CPI(M) reformed fraternal party-to-party relations with the Chinese Communist Party in the early 1983. The attack was centered on the issue that the CPI(M) has abandoned proletarian internationalism since the joint communique made no special reference to that concept! Our rebuff to the CPI's attacks on the CPI(M) ended in prolonged, polemics, rupturing the then increasing good relations between our two parties.

There had been less and less united actions, since 1983, as the CPI was becoming more and more reluctant for united actions. The Lok Sabha elections of October 1984 had revealed more disunity and bitterness between the two parties.

Once again the CPI unleashed another round of attack on the CPI(M) in the year 1985, inviting vigorous rebuff from the CPI(M) in a series of articles in our Central Party organ, People's Democracy. What prompted the CPI to resort to such things, which only helped the deterioration of relations, is anybody's guess, and we fail to understand the new line of thinking, if there is one.

Then coming to the principled stand of the CPI(M) regarding the question of unity between the two parties, the CPI(M) openly and plainly explained its position in our 11th Party documents. It reads: "There is a lot of talk, not among our comrades, but a lot of among the public and perhaps the bourgeois press, that the CPI and CPI(M) are going to be united. We have said in our resolution, we are very satisfied that Left unity can be strengthened, our relationship with the CPI has improved, that it has come of the anti-Marxist Government and front in Kerala, etc. This, no doubt, is a source of satisfaction.

But when it comes to the basic understanding of the Indian situation, to our knowledge they have not changed their basic postulates regarding the character of the state, the character of the Government. Therefore, these things may create vacillations at any time. We continue to work for strengthening Left unity and improvement of our relations with the CPI. But

## ON MULTI-NATIONALS AND JOINT SECTOR

In view of the propaganda being carried out in the press on the question of Party's attitude to the multi-nationals, the Central Committee seeks to reiterate its basic position to remove all doubts.

The political resolution of Party Congresses call upon our Party to fight the intrusion of multi-nationals in our economic life. Our Party in consonance with understanding of the international communist movement, considers the penetration and economic domination of multinationals as a serious threat to our independence. The fight against multi-nationals, the weapon of neo-colonialism, constitutes an integral part of our fight against imperialism. It is completely achieved in the course of revolutionary struggles.

The CPI(M) therefore carries on an incessant propaganda against the multi-nationals and criticises the Central Government for opening new avenues for their exploitation. The Central Government with its unrestricted power can easily mobilise sufficient resources to obviate reliance on multi-nationals.

All party members and committees must strictly conform to this understanding without hesitation and vacillation. Statements and opinions contrary to this outlook appearing in the bourgeois press do not represent our Party's understanding.

The Central Committee reiterates its basic opposition to monopolies and concentration of economic power. It fights against the growth of monopolies and concentration of capital in India. It strongly criticises the recent government amendment to give greater freedom to Indian monopolies. The task of eliminating monopolies can be achieved only through a successful revolutionary struggle. Meanwhile, the CPI(M) continues to press the Central Government to restrict and curb the monopolies. However, big bourgeois and monopolies' production is an integral part of the capitalist path.

Confusion has arisen because in West Bengal the Left Front Ministry entered into joint sector agreement with a private capitalist firm connected with a monopoly house.

The Left Front Ministry functions within the framework of the capitalist economy. It is not a government free to attack the property relations and mobilise resources through confrontation. It is in conflict with the Central Government which seeks to prove that the Left Front Government can do no good to the people. The Central Government is organising an economic blockade by refusing licences to private firms, by withholding investments in the State to demonstrate to the people that the Left Front is too helpless to do anything for the people. This is the form of class struggle the Centre wages against the Left Front Ministry.

It will suit its game exceedingly well if the Left Front refuses to touch or encourage any capitalist venture. The question here is not capitalism versus socialism, but how to run the ministry so that the people get more confidence in it and are prepared to keep the Cong(I) at an arm's length. If these tactics are not to be adopted and relief not given the Ministry would have to quit in the shortest possible time.

Secondly, the joint sector with the Left Front Government participation should not be equated with joint sector with Cong(I) participation, with the latter prepared to oblige the capitalists at the expense of the people.

In this situation the participation of a monopoly firm which is free to use its capital all over India should not be considered as sacrifice of a strategic objective but a compulsion dictated by the immediate necessity to ward off the Central attack. Such tactics are often to be used to fight the immediate assaults. In the end the final criterion is do the masses feel more confident about our leadership and show greater readiness to fight the monopolies and the present socio economic set up. Such tactics should not be considered as our policy and wrong claims should not be made on their behalf.

we are of the opinion that the ideological struggle against their basic postulates, criticism of their deviation, of their erroneous opinions and tactics is necessary; because it will be opportunism if in the name of united front you leave out all criticism and all ideological differences. This we will have to continue because ideological differences still persist.

### **The Struggle for a Left and Democratic Alternative**

The CPI(M) considers that the struggle for forging the Left and democratic alternative and the struggle against the growing threat of authoritarianism at the hands of the ruling Congress party are the most urgent and important tasks facing the Left and democratic forces. This aspect is additionally emphasised as the common people in the country are coming to realise that another bourgeois alternative on the pattern of Janata Government of the 1977-79 period is either hardly realisable, nor it can provide a real alternative with genuine alternative policies, policies directed against imperialism, monopolists and big landlords, and policies in the interests of the great mass of the people.

In mobilising the widest possible classes, parties and groups against the growing threat of authoritarianism, and in forging the Left and democratic unity as a genuine national alternative the country's Left occupies a crucial role. In this very process the struggle to forge increasing cooperation and united struggle between the CPI(M) and the CPI, as the two leading Left contingents in the country assume immense political importance.

The fact that the CPI has numerous tactical and political differences with that of the CPI(M) makes the task of building the left unity face many hurdles. And yet the CPI(M) pursues its line with tenacity and determination to secure the cooperation of the CPI for increasing united actions on class, mass and other democratic issues, and also in the struggle to forge broad platform of action in defence of Parliamentary democracy and against the authoritarian attempts of the ruling Congress(I).

The CPI(M) hopes that the growing war danger from the Star War Programme of the U.S imperialists on the one hand and the growing mass discontent against the new economic policies of the Central Congress Government would act as objective compulsion for increased united actions by the Left, and also for increased efforts to mobilise the non-Congress bourgeois opposition parties adhering to secular outlook.

The simple fact that as big a percentage of vote as 40% or more had gone to the bourgeois opposition parties as against the 49.5 percent votes to the Congress(I) in the last Lok Sabha elections signifies the importance of these parties in building and developing broad resistance which also helps in strengthening the left and democratic forces. The CPI(M) endeavours to rally all the Left forces which besides the CPI, are the RSP, Forward Bloc, Peasant and workers party and other Left groups. The CPI(M) pledges to attach utmost importance to the struggle for Left unity, as an integral part of the struggle for the forging of the urgently needed Left and democratic unity.

The CPI(M) is fully aware that several of these bourgeois opposition parties do not take consistent democratic positions on certain questions. It is also conscious that there will be vacillations in the struggle to forge the unity

against authoritarian Congress drive for the perpetuation of its one party monopoly rule. And yet the importance of rallying these parties for united actions in defence of democracy should not be underestimated.

The CPI(M) and the other Left parties and groups should always bear the above in mind and act upto it.

## PART II — Organisation

The Party Congress resolution and decisions cannot be properly implemented unless the entire Party is educated on the line adopted. It was therefore necessary that reporting on the 11th Party Congress in the States be done by PBMs who were directly involved in political preparations for the Congress. It was also considered necessary for the State and district committees to have written notes on the basis of which they can report to the local and other committees

### 1. THE PB/CC AS THE ALL-INDIA POLITICAL CENTRE

This being the priority task, the C.C. finalised political-organisational report in its February, 1982 meeting. It subsequently prepared the notes for reporting on the political-organisational conclusions of the Congress. It was decided that one or two PBMs will go to every state and do the reporting. This was done with EMS. Namboodiripad, B.T.Ranadive, H.S.Surjeet, Basavapunnaiah, Jyoti Basu and Samar Mukherjee conducting the reporting in various states to ensure effective reporting.

Assembly elections were held in four States in May 1982. PBMs assisted in the election campaign in these States. EMS was in Kerala throughout and Balanandan also participated in the campaign. Jyoti Basu went to Kerala : Promode Dasgupta, Jyoti Basu and Samar mukherjee in West Bengal, B. T. R. went to West Bengal, Kerala and Bihar. After the elections, MB and Surjeet along with Jyoti Basu, Promode Dasgupta and Samar Mukherjee attended the West Bengal State secretariat and assisted it in solving the problems of the Party's relations with the constituents of the front. The line work out by the Secretariat had the full approval of the PB. But on the size of the Cabinet, it could not be adhered to.

In Kerala too, the Secretariat meeting held after the elections were attended by EMS, BTR and Balanandan. It was decided that we should function as the Opposition and use the forum for exposing the anti-people policies and help the development of the mass movements on policy issues. This was important, as some of the allies were thinking in terms of using the dissensions in the ruling front to bring down the Government.

### OPPOSITION MEETINGS

Four meetings of Opposition Parties took place in 1983-84. In Vijayawada in May, in Delhi in June and Srinagar in October and in Calcutta in January, 1984. These meetings had their own political significance and the P. B. and C.C. played a role in shaping the course of these meetings.

At the time of the Vijayawada meeting, the BJP was trying to forge the unity of "non-Communist Opposition Parties", which would be anti-Congress(I) and anti-Left. It was with this aim that it participated in Vijayawada. Later they tried to sabotage the Delhi meeting which they did not attend. They failed in their aims.

• In Vijayawada, the main issue taken up for discussion was the problem of national unity and an agreed statement was issued. Basavapunniah attended this meeting on behalf of the PB and was also in the drafting Committee.

In Delhi, without BJP participating a common stand, with Akali Dal agreeing, was formulated on the Punjab question, which could have been the sound basis for a political solution. The Lok Dal which attended the meeting, expressed its reservations on the conclusions later.

In Srinagar, a joint statement on Centre-State relations was adopted. The PB had earlier circulated a note on the Party stand on this question. It demarcated of our Party from those who oppose the unifying role of the Centre. This view found expression at the Conference itself. However, a broad consensus endorsing our stand was evolved in this meeting. In this meeting, the BJP Lok Dal (National Democratic Alliance) did not participate.

The process of consultations and joint stand on issues of national importance and against authoritarianism culminated in the January, 1984 meeting of Opposition Parties in Calcutta in which 18 parties participated. It adopted a 11-point charter of demands on the urgent problems of the people and called for joint actions which led to the 13 February protest day observance all over the country.

The Calcutta meeting thus marked an important change in the process begun at Vijayawada. No more was it a gathering of parties merely to discuss and agree on some issues of national importance. The Calcutta conference gave a call to action on the basis of what amounted to a charter of economic demands.

In all the above meetings, our Party played an important role. Basavapunniah attended the Vijayawada meeting on behalf of the PB and was also in the drafting committee. In Delhi, EMS, Basavapunniah, Surjeet and Benoy Choudhury participated. Surjeet was in the drafting committee. The Srinagar meeting was attended by EMS, Jyoti Basu, Surjeet and Basavapunniah. The Calcutta conference was held at the initiative of the Left Front Chief Minister in which Namboodiripad, Surjeet and MB attended.

In all these Opposition meets, the stand of the Party and the understanding between left parties led to the meetings becoming forums for discussions on vital problems of national importance. The meetings did not become mere get together for electoral fronts, as some of the Opposition Parties wanted them to be. Our effective participation and efforts also led to the stage at Calcutta, of working out of a joint call for action on the 11-point charter of demands. EMS Namboodiripad was the convenor of the sub-committee to prepare the draft for discussions at the Calcutta conference. It was the draft submitted by the Party proposing joint actions on common mass issues which became the basis for discussions for the draft.

The joint observance of 13 February for which the call was given at Calcutta and the all-India Convention held on 17 April, 1984 indicated the possibilities of "conclave politics". what was envisaged by bourgeois opposition parties as the get-together for the purpose of hammering out a Janata type combination for fighting the forthcoming (1984) Lok Sabha elections was converted into a forum for developing united mass actions.

The joint observance of 13 February and the all-India convention of 17 April however were marred by the demand jointly made by the Janata.

Congress(S) and CPI units in Assam that the pro-agitation slogans should be added to the charter of demands while observing the day in Assam. This was opposed by our state unit on two ground. Firstly, the demand does not form part of the 11-point charter on the basis of which the day was being observed; secondly, it is opposed to the common stand which had so far been adopted by the left parties and the Congress(S). Adoption by the CPI and Congress(S) of the line of the Janata on the Assam issue, led to the observance of 13 February in Assam by our Party alone. The CPI and Congress (S) observed another day. At the April convention too, serious efforts were made by the Janata, CPI and Congress(S) to pressurise our Party to toe their line. We however successfully resisted it.

Despite this slide-back on the part of the CPI, the Congress-S and the Janata in Assam, the consensus arrived at in the conclaves helped in creating the atmosphere for putting up joint resistance to the toppling of the N. T. Rama Rao Ministry in August, 1984 and its successful restoration. The participation of the party also helped in demarcating the left and secular parties from the BJP and other communal and divisive forces.

#### PEACE MOVEMENT

The eleventh Congress political resolution had directed the entire party to mobilise its mass following and unite with all anti-war, anti-imperialist forces to build up a powerful peace movement in the country against the danger of nuclear war instigated by U.S. imperialism and in defence of peace. In 1982 the first major initiative in this direction was taken in July when six parties met in Delhi and issued a joint statement for building up a countrywide movement against war, to culminate in a massive Peace March on October 4, 1982. The parties which gave the call were CPI(M), CPI, DSP, RSP, Forward Block and PWD.

The PB directed all the units to take the initiative to hold joint rallies, demonstrations, conventions in the States. It also called for the widespread observance of the September 1, 1985, the day fixed by WFTU as anti-war day. Reviewing the work done in this respect, the PB in its work report to the CC stated: "It can therefore be stated with confidence that the peace campaign envisaged by the CC at its last meeting has by and large been organised by the Party as a whole". In this connecton, the CC noted the massive peace march organised in September in Calcutta, the 4 rallies held in Andhra, the big mobilisation in Calicut and Trivandrum and activities in other states. It also noted most states did not lag behind in the observance of 1 September as anti-war day from the trade union platform.

Following this, the PB and CC constantly noted with concern the deteriorating international situation due to the Reagan administrations bellicose plans including the decision to site the Pershing and Cruise missiles in Western Europe by the end of the year. During the year, the PB issued a circular in July to all the state units on the matter of developing the peace movement as a priority task and to approach all parties and forces who could be drawn into the movement. In December, the PB once again sent a circular to the State Committees pointing to the dangerous developments in the world cause by U. S. policies.

In the September, 1983, CC resolution on current developments noted in connection with the observance of 1st September as anti-war day that "This

year again, our Party, along with the CPI and other Left parties and trade unions and mass organisations, organised 1st September as anti-war Day. Reports from State Committees show that the day was observed in all States in several places..... But compared to the vast multitudes, we have to reach this is just a small beginning. It has to be realised that even a major part of the working class is not seized of the danger."

In December, the PB once again in a circular on current developments to the State Committees drew attention to the deterioration in the international situation due to the dangerous moves of the U. S. imperialists and the necessity for continuously propagating the threat of war and the fight for peace.

In the efforts to broaden the peace movement, it was felt necessary that the opposition parties and mass organisations which are outside the ambit of the established peace movement and organisations such as All India Peace and Solidarity Organisation must also be brought into the peace movement. The PB took the initiative and contacted the CPI as well as some non-Congress(I) secular Opposition Parties which were prepared to cooperate. After a good deal of discussions representatives of the CPI(M), CPI, Congress (J), Janwadi Party, Congress(S), Forward Bloc, the RSP and DSP met on December 25th and issued a call for joint mass rallies in the State capitals and important centres. It was also proposed to hold a National Convention in Delhi. It was decided in January, 1984 that mass organisations of workers, peasants, youth, women, students, writers etc. would be invited to attend the Convention. The World Peace Council and its national affiliates would also be invited.

Preceding the Conventions state-level conventions and rallies were held in many states. The national convention was attended by 3,000 delegates of the eight parties and numerous mass organisations, It adopted a declaration and gave a call for observance of 13 April as Peace Day. An organising committee of the eight parties was constituted to continue the campaign.

The eight parties' move broadened the scope of the peace movement and brought into it forces which so far had not been drawn in by the activities of bodies like the AIPSO. However, since then, there has been a tendency on the part of the CPI to emphasise only the activities through the platform of the AIPSO and neglect the importance of drawing in the militant forces engaged in struggle against the Government on internal policies of the Government into the peace movement. This was one of the reasons why the organising committee of the eight parties was not able to pursue its work.

As the draft political resolution points out the U. S. imperialists are now embarking on the Star War project and stepping up their aggressive postures in different parts of the world. The vital importance of rousing the Indian people against U. S. imperialist measures and to join the worldwide mighty peace movement, make it imperative that the efforts made in 1982 be vigorously pursued.

#### THE LOK SABHA AND MARCH 1985 ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS

The June, 1984 the Cc meeting considered the line to be adopted for the forthcoming parliamentary elections. It noted that elections would be taking place not under normal circumstances, when the country was facing the most

serious situation since independence. The whole state of Panjab had come under army rule after the civil administration had been unable to cope with curbing the extremist. The policy of the ruling party had led to the failure to isolate the extremists. The electoral struggle against the authoritarian Congress(I) had become an integral part of the struggle for Indian unity and against the divisive force.

The elections were taking place also in the background of the serious efforts of the ruling party to subvert the existing political system with talk of a presidential form of Government. Further, the Congress(I) Central Government had taken a series of antidemocratic measures. The dismissal of the Bhandari Government in Sikkim, the campaign to destabilise the non-Congress Government in Sikkim, the campaign to destabilise the non-Congress Governments of West Bengal Tripura — All these revealed the authoritarian intentions of the ruling party. The question of Centre-state relations was being debated intensively by all sections of the people.

Keeping the above in view, the CC decided that firstly, our attitude to the Congress(I) should be one of uncompromising opposition as the initiator of anti-people policies and authoritarianism. Secondly while opposing the Congress(I), unlike the bourgeois opposition parties, the Party would take positions to strengthen the fight against imperialism and the war danger and demarcate itself from the positions of parties like BJP, Lok Dal on question of foreign policy.

Thirdly, the Party would firmly oppose the casteist, communal and divisive forces which are stepping up their disintegrative activities. The Party would have no truck with the BJP, Muslim National Front and similar disruptive forces.

Fourthly, the Party would strive to take forward the 11 point charter of demands evolved at Calcutta on which basis the Left and other secular opposition parties could carry on a united campaign during and after the elections.

For the Lok Sabha elections, the CC decided that our tactics should be to defeat the Congress(I), isolate the right reactionary forces and strengthen the Left, especially our Party. It was made clear that our Party would not join any alliance or front of bourgeois opposition parties. The Party would try to unite the left and democratic forces in different states and come to an understanding with the secular Opposition Parties depending upon the position in different states. Similarly we would have to demarcate clearly and oppose any electoral alliance with the Muslim National Front. The CC directed the State Committees to work out appropriate tactics keeping the above guidelines in view.

The October, 1984 CC meeting adopted the Appeal to the Voters on behalf of the Party. However, on 31 October, the Prime minister was assassinated by Sikh extremists. This was followed by widespread attacks on the Sikh community in Delhi and other North Indian cities. The elections in December were held under these special circumstances. The P. B. in November sent a circular to the State Committees on the political situation arising out of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination. It stated that, "our basic election tactics remain the same as decided by the Central Committee but while concentrating on the slogan of defeating the monopoly rule of the

Congress(I), we should not in any way weaken or slacken our thrust on the imperialist danger, against the communal and divisive force, and on the defence of national unity and integration."

The January, 1985 CC meeting reviewed the results of the Lok Sabha elections and adopted a report. The meeting also decided that the P. B. it should assist that West Bengal and Kerala State Committees to go into the results in depth and take steps to overcome shortcomings and specific problems.

The January CC Meeting also decided the stand of the Party in the forthcoming Assembly elections in eleven States. It decided that left unity must be strengthened, and all efforts be made in the respective states to work out understanding with the secular opposition parties to put up a united fight against the Congress(I) in light of its brute majority in the Lok Sabha. It hoped that the bourgeois opposition parties would draw correct lessons from the Lok Sabha results and cease to neglect the vital question of national unity and imperialist conspiracies.

In March, the CC meeting adopted a review of the Assembly election results. It noted that the electorate in these states had voted more on the record of the Congress(I) Governments unlike in December, 1984 when the assassination of Indira Gandhi and national unity issue predominated. The Congress lost in three states, Andhra, Karnataka and Sikkim. Its majority was eroded in U.P and Maharashtra and only in five states did it get big majorities. It also stated that the continuing disunity of the bourgeois opposition parties helped the Congress(I). As for the performance of the Left, the review drew attention to the negative role of the CPI in some states which hampered a united fight. As for the Party's performance, while the united fight against Congress(I) paid us good dividends in Andhra, elsewhere we fought mostly alone and utilised the election campaign to reach out to large sections of the people without great expectations to win many seats. The review also noted.

"The loss of sitting seats in some states, the failure to win seats where we have substantial influence, point to our failure to develop mass activities during the period preceding elections. Failure to develop mass organisations, failure to use our membership of Assembly as an instrument to build mass organisations and above all to build the Party and working cadre are revealed as our weaknesses in places where we should have fared much better. Neglect of independent activity of the party is generally a weakness to be found in many places. It is perhaps much more in evidence where we won seats in the last elections with the aid of the other parties."

The State Committees concerned were directed to go into these weaknesses and take necessary and immediate steps to the question of party building and activation of mass organisations in these areas.

After the March CC meeting, the PB took the initiative to write a letter to all opposition parties suggesting that in continuation of the Calcutta Conference of Opposition Parties in January 1984, another all-India meeting should be held in order to take a common stand against such anti-people policies as the Union Budget proposals. The response, however, was poor.

Apart from the RSP and Forward Bloc only Charan Singh and Bahuguna gave their general approval. Other parties did not respond. The CPI in their

letter to us as well as publicly, took the position that the campaign against economic policies of the Government being an issue on which Left parties and bourgeois opposition parties have serious differences, the proposed campaign should be confined to the Left parties.

The question was therefore taken up in the May meeting of the Coordination Committee of the two parties where it was agreed that, while there are differences between the Left parties and bourgeois opposition parties on questions of basic economic policies, all the secular opposition parties had agreed in Calcutta on a minimum charter of 11 economic demands. Considering the widespread mass discontent which expressed itself after the Central budget was introduced, it is possible to formulate a set of slogans and demands on which the Left and secular opposition parties can jointly fight. It was agreed also that the left-minded intellectuals should be assisted in organising a seminar in Delhi to discuss the new economic policy. The Seminar was held successfully attended by over a hundred economists and intellectuals on 31 August and 1 September. However, the joint effort with other secular opposition parties failed to materialise and only Shri Charan Singh could be met in this connection.

#### CPI(M)-CPI Relations :

In the efforts to build the unity of the Left forces, the relations between the CPI(M) and CPI occupy a important place in this process. It is over six years since a Co-ordination Committee of the two parties at the all-India level was constituted. This has however, not functioned satisfactorily. Notwithstanding this, there have been some coordinated activities connected with the peace movement and the 4, October Peach March, the eight parties Peace Convention, the Workers' March in 1984 under the auspices of the NCC, the all India Opposition party conference from Vijayawada to Calcutta and the 17 April Convernition at Delhi - all these have been successful because of the coordination and understanding between the two parties.

The joint actions at the level of mass movements were also reflected in the electoral front as seen in the Left fronts in West Bengal and Tripura, LDF in Kerala and other forms of united fronts in other States. These also led to agreed positions on the electoral line to be pursued.

However, against these positive features, there have been negative developments and problems also. These manifested themselves on the CPI stand on the Assam agitation and the lining up of the CPI along with the Congress(S) and the Janata. These parties refused to jointly observe February 13(fixed as all-India day at the Calcutta meeting) in Assam since our Party did not toe their line on the Assam problem. In the Parliament and March Assembly elections, the unreasonable stand taken by the CPI in Khammam, Andhra Pradesh, and Bihar disrupted the united fight against the Congress(I). Earlier, they had gone back on their assurance of support to our candidate for the Legislative Council seat in Bihar. Such anti-CPI(M) postures were seen in Manipur and some other States also. The Coordination Committee which should have helped to strengthen mutual understanding was not active despite our efforts due to their hostility.

After the discussion in the Co-ordination Committee and our decision to concede Midnapure to them, the CPI leadership was not prepared to dispute

with regard to the Khammam seat. Our repeated suggestions for settling the matter at the Central level were rejected. They took the stand that it could be sorted out at the State level which was not done. In January itself, EMS Namboodiripad wrote to the CPI leadership again suggesting that discussions be held in view of the forth-coming Assembly elections in the States. All this caused bitterness and strain and hampered the process of forging united work. The CPI, for reasons best known to themselves, froze the Co-ordination Committee.

During this period, the Party had to stress in its correspondence with the CPI and in the joint meetings the fact that struggle for left unity does not preclude a principled debate on political-ideological differences. The right of each Party to educate their ranks on their respective ideological positions cannot be abandoned. The PB also had to assert the necessity for the CPI to seriously consider the restructuring and broad-basing of the peace organisations to ensure proper participation of our Party and other progressive forces. To which they have not yet responded.

Despite all these problems the CC decided in March, 1985 that the PB should take up the issues in the Coordination Committee and try to activate it. For this purpose the PB prepared a note to be presented in the Coordination Committee. The meeting held in May resulted in a joint note indicating the line along which joint activities should proceed.

However, the ideological political differences continue. The work of political-ideological debate and education of our cadres should therefore continue. The CC/PB has been fully conscious of the need to forge left unity and has resolved to continue the struggle for it while firmly continuing the political ideological struggle. This latter struggle is being waged with the full awareness that the atmosphere for building the unity in action of the left forces is fostered and advanced. The path of left unity is not a smooth course. The Party will have to patiently and determinedly carry on the struggle. A correct and principled approach to this matter in the coming days will compel the CPI also to adopt this course in the face of the anti-people policies of the Congress(I) Government and the challenge posed by imperialism and the divisive forces.

#### ASSISTANCE TO STATES

The Party Centre has been assisting State Committees from time to time in implementing the political-tactical line of the Party.

In 1982, the PB intervened in Karnataka when the Secretariat with the approval of the P.C. held a joint convention with CPI and finalised a joint statement. Secretariat members were called to Delhi to meet the PB. A press statement was issued by PB clarifying the stand on left unity and the disapproval of the step taken in Karnataka. The PB drafted a letter to the PC., EMS and BTR went to Karnataka to explain the stand to the Secretariat and to an extended PC meeting. The CC line of joint actions on specific issues with the CPI and no permanent co-ordination committee at the state level was endorsed and implemented.

The election campaign in Assam posed a big challenge since the Party there had to face the terrorist attacks of the chauvinist movement and also the unfair practices of the ruling party. EMS, BTR and Samar Mukherjee went to participate in the campaign. After the elections, discussions were held with the two CCMs from Assam with four PBMs at Calcutta. This was in the context of the demand raised by bourgeois opposition parties that the validity of the elections should not be recognised and the Assembly be dissolved. This found support from even the CPI. After detailed discussions, it was decided that our Party while having no illusions regarding the capacity of the ministry and the Assembly should expose the game of those who wanted the dissolution of the Assembly and reimposition of President's rule. All through 1982, Surjeet had to devote a lot of time and attention to the discussions on the Assam question by attending the tripartite talks organised by the Government and keeping contact with opposition parties on the subject.

The PB intervened in Maharashtra also in 1982 regarding the question of holding a joint shibir of the kisan front cadres of our Party, the CPI and the PWP, which was proposed to be held to discuss the agrarian situation. After discussions in the C.C BTR attended the PC meeting to explain that this would not be in conformity with the tactical line which specifies joint actions on specific issues but no general coordination with the CPI and its mass organisation. Secretariat revised its opinion after PB advice.

In November 1982, the Haryana Party secretary attended a meeting convened by Bhajanlal of all political parties to mobilise them against the Akali agitation. Com. Huda attended the meeting and became a signatory to a joint statement which was contrary to the party's policy. He was called to Delhi and the mistake was pointed out to him which he accepted. Later Surjeet attended the Haryana State Committee meeting and helped unify the Committee on the Party's stand. But the PB felt it would have been better if we had called a meeting of the secretariats of Punjab and Haryana Committees to discuss this issue since it was affecting both the states.

In January, 1983 elections to the Andhra, Karnataka and Tripura Assemblies were held. Reviewing these elections, the CC meeting in January pinpointed the erroneous attitude of the Andhra PC to the Telegu Desam Party and the inability to arrive at a broad understanding to defeat the Congress(I). The Party had missed the main shift of the people arising out of acute discontent over Congress(I) policies and their search for some worthwhile alternative which they found in the Telegu Desam. Being out of tune with this mas mood, the Party failed badly. Having thus reviewed the election tactics, the CC also discussed the attitude to be taken towards the newly formed ministry keeping in mind the people's sense of victory. Apart from the review of the three Assembly elections, the CC adopted a separate resolution on the Andhra elections for circulation upto the district committee level. EMS and MB participated in the Andhra PC meeting where

the CC review was explained. Following this Basavapunniah also participated in the reporting to lower units in some of the districts to explain the review.

In early 1983, the ruling U.D.F. in Kerala was affected by intensified bickerings and conflicts. This was in the background of the rising people's discontent with cut in rice supply by Centre, inadequate drought relief etc. The CC meeting in April, 1983 considered the situation in the State. The work report submitted by the PB stated: "Considering these developments in the ruling coalition, suggestions were made by a section of the supporters of the LDF that initiative should be taken to go in alliance with those in the ruling coalition who are dissatisfied, so that the Government can be pulled down and an alternative Government formed. Some leaders of the constituent parties of the LDF also endorsing the proposal. This is to some extent affecting the thinking of a section of our leading comrades as well. Having learnt about it, the PB advised our State Committee against this move, since the formation of any such alternative Government under the present conditions would only politically compromise the image of the LDF. We in fact should concentrate on systematically organising campaigns on which even sections of the masses following the parties which are in the ruling coalition can be drawn...."

"The LDF's political campaign should in fact have its edge directed against the Congress(I) alliance with caste and communal organisations which alone can help the Congress(I) to remain in power.... Any political manoeuvring with such parties as are being exposed as the representatives of caste and communal separatism will therefore deprive our Party of its democratic and secular image."

The PB held talks with the Karala Secretariat on the Party line regarding the ruling coalition and our attitude to its individual partners. EMS and Balanandan attended the PC meeting. Though the PC endorsed the line after discussion, the contrary view was very strong particularly at the level of the State Committee and the Secretariat. Successive meetings of the Central Committee as well as the State Committee and its Secretariat had to devote attention to this problem.

After the Parliament and assembly elections in Kerala in December 1984, the CC's election review directed that the process of demarcating from communal forces must continue and the disentanglement from forces such as the AIML must be taken up with the Kerala PC. "It is for the State committee in consultation with PB and CC to work out how soon and how conveniently the process of disentangling the Party from the communal and caste forces can start" (Work Report, March 1985 CC meeting).

EMS and Balanandan attended the Kerala PC to report on the election review and the CC's stand. Following the March 1985 CC meeting as directed by CC, five PBMs EMS, Basavapunniah, BTR, Samar Mukherjee

and Balanandan met with the Kerala Secretariat in June. The discussion was on the basis of a PB note prepared earlier. Detailed discussions took place after which the PB wrote a letter to the Secretariat. Taking into consideration the points that emerged in the Secretariat discussions, the PB wrote a letter to the State Committee whose meeting was held in the last week of June which was attended by EMS, MB and Balanandan. After a full discussion, it was summed up by the PB in a letter to all party members in Kerala.

While the question at the moment was that of disentangling the Party from the AIML which was a constituent of the LDF, the PB's letter to party members in the State made it clear that the issue involved is broader than the Party's relation with the AIML. "The understanding of a large section of comrades in the State regarding the United Front, the role of the Party as the builder of the front and an independent force fighting the bourgeois, petty-bourgeois policies of the front partners is wrong. It is a trend which reduces the Party to the level of an ordinary bourgeois parliamentary party." The CC work report of August, 1985 directed that, "The pre-Congress discussions that will take place in the conferences at various levels culminating in the State Conference should be so organised as to educate the Party on the understanding given in the P.B.'s letter to Party Comrades."

Taking the West Bengal PC reports for 1983 into account, the CC in its meeting in February, 1984 noted that, "even with all their mutual squabbles, the Congress has the capacity to get 36 to 40 per cent of the votes in every election. It noted that the claims of our opponents with regard to the Panchayat elections and the two Assembly by-elections are exaggerated and distorted. "While agreeing with the State Committee regarding the exaggerated character of our opponents' claims, it is for consideration whether the advance of the left and retreat of the Congress(I) has not reached the stage of stagnation. In other words, have not the two political formations, led respectively by the Congress(I) and our party, reached a position in which neither can draw towards itself large masses from the other side." The CC stressed the necessity for unification of the entire party in West Bengal around the political line evolved at the 11th Congress and further developed by the Central Committee. It also reiterated that special attention should be paid to the running of the party daily to make it an effective instrument for political-ideological intervention among the masses".

The CC review of parliamentary election results noted the reverses suffered by the Party in West Bengal and the special circumstances in which the elections were held in the background of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination. The CC review stated that the West Bengal PC should go in depth to meet the situation. Among the points put forward for its consideration were the streamlining and improving the performance of the Left Front Government, reviewing the implementation of the agrarian line and gearing up party organisation and checking alien trends.

PBMs Jyoti Basu, EMS and Samar Mukherjee attended the PC meeting to review the election results. Considering the PC discussions and review, the CC meeting in March directed the PB to pursue its efforts and meet the Secretariat.

"In West Bengal, the discussions with Secretariat in June revealed that there is great deal of complacency. The PB letter to the State Committee therefore drew attention to the stagnation in the trade union movement, the failure to deal with the emerging problems of alienation of a section of the peasantry and above all the non-performance of the ministry in several respects. The PB's efforts was to warn the Secretariat and the State Committee against complacency, pointing out that failure to overcome the weaknesses can create complicated problems if it has not already done so."

EMS, BTR, MB, Samar Mukherjee along with Jyoti Basu met the Secretariat in June as mentioned above. After these discussions, a letter was written by the PB to the State Committee. This was explained by EMS to the PC. meeting on 7th July.

## **II. PB/CC intervention in States with respect to organisational questions:**

1. **RAJASTHAN:** After the Party Congress, the PB had to continuously assist the Rajasthan State committee to face the disruption caused by Punamia who had to be expelled from the CITU also in 1983: A three-day school was held in early 1982 addressed by BTR and Surjeet for 150 comrades from PC and district committees. The PB also assisted the Rajasthan comrades in isolating the Punamia supporters from the workers in Kota and in holding their successful trade union conference. BTR and Surjeet have been regularly attending their PC meetings to provide guidance and played a notable role in assisting the Rajasthan party in successfully fighting the disruptive elements and isolating them.

2. **KARNATAKA:** The political-organisational report of the 11th Congress in its report on Karnataka State had referred to the need to wage a struggle against "leftist" elements making a bid for the radical-minded youth. These 'left' trends active in Karnataka comprised the Christian left, dalits and naxalites. The report stated that: "The Party leadership has to carry on a consistent struggle against those who represent these trends and movements. The State leadership appears to lack vigilance in this matter, adopting a liberal attitude towards these groups." The report also noted the trend to propagate the "young versus the old" within the party. It stated: "This nihilist way of substituting the bourgeois theory of the 'generation gap' for the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle has not been fought with sufficient vigour. This job has to be undertaken now."

The August, 1982 CC meeting discussed the inner-party situation in Karnataka. The PB report revealed the seriousness of the situation. Liberalism towards the alien petty-bourgeois trends masquerading as 'left' prevailed; young versus old controversy was being sought to be propagated

within the Party. The CC decided to appoint a three-member commission of EMS, BTR and M.R.Venkataraman to enquire into party affairs there.

The January, 1983 CC meeting considered the Karnataka commission report. The report pinned down the harmful penetration of the 'church-left' and similar petty-bourgeois groups into the Party. The report sharply criticised the State secretary in particular and the secretariat as a whole for fostering these elements, while noting that some in the secretariat woke up to the danger later. On the basis of the report, the CC decided that the secretary should be changed and organisational steps be taken to eliminate such penetration. The PB had been assisting the secretariat and State Committee to function on the basis of the political-tactical line and to be on guard against pseudo-left tendencies.

3. ORISSA: The 11th Congress political-organisational report had noted with regard to Orissa that, "Differences on organisational questions, liberalism with regard to some serious mistakes, failure to thrash out the disputes in time and in a Marxist-Leninist manner, and above all the lack of collective functioning at the level of the State Secretariat finally created a situation almost of factional groupings and near-paralysation of work at the state centre. This was reflected in the Cuttack conference of the Party in December."

Since then the inner-party organisational situation in Orissa worsened. In the April, 1983 CC meeting the PB in its work report stated, "The Secretariat is not working as a collective team. Com.MB had discussions with the Secretariat members in Calcutta on March 7 & 8. Com.EMS also joined him at the last stage. From this discussion and from the note submitted by each Secretariat member, it is clear that the Secretariat members are unable to overcome their personal prejudices and subjective attitudes to one another and work in a united manner. The State Secretary who is a CC member should take a greater share of the blame than the others."

Following this report, three PBMs, EMS, MB and BTR gave time to deal with this problem. Members of the Secretariat were called to Delhi for discussions after which a PB resolution was adopted. EMS and BTR went with this resolution to the meeting of the Secretariat and the State Committee. A wider meeting of district cadres was also held to explain the decisions of the PB. These decisions were conveyed to the entire party membership in the State through a Party letter.

In 1985, the PB informed the CC that the organisational situation shows no sign of improvement. "Responsibility for this lies squarely on the two seniormost comrades, one of whom happens to be the CC member and the other the CC invitee from the State." After the CC meeting, the PB once more sat with the Secretariat in Delhi and worked out procedure for holding the state Conference and steps to improve the collective functioning and job division.

4. BIHAR: In the January 1983 CC meeting, PB reported to the CC on the factional activities of S.S.Shrivastava in Bihar. The PB has summoned him

to meet along with the Bihar State Secretary. After the CC meeting, a PB letter to all members in the State was sent. BTR attended the PC meeting. Shrivastava was expelled for gross anti-party activities and the CC ratified the decision in April, 1983. Com.Surjeet spent time in Bihar to address general body meetings and schools. In addition to Shankar Dayal Tiwari, BTR and Surjeet have been regularly attending PC meeting to assist them to face disruptive activities of the anti-party group and consolidate the organisation.

5. **PUNJAB:** In 1983, Surjeet and BTR went to Punjab to assist the State Committee to deal with the organisational problems of two districts, Ludhiana and Jullundur. After discussions in the State Secretariat concrete decisions were taken to rectify the situation. These decisions were endorsed unanimously by the State Committee. At the conclusion of the PC meeting, a general body meeting of leading comrades from the districts was held which was addressed by BTR and Surjeet.

6. **Assembly elections:** For the May, 1982 Assembly elections in four states and the January, 1983 elections in three states, Centre gave a call for election funds. The Centre received Rs.56,000 for the 1982 call and for the 1983 elections Rs.72,486. The latter is apart from the help given directly by Kerala to Andhra State Committee and that which West Bengal gave to Tripura.

**III. Political-ideological work Initiated by the Centre:** Two Central schools were organised in Delhi by the Party Centre during this period. The first school was held in July, 1982 which was attended by over a hundred comrades from the State committees. The ten-day school had topics on the world capitalist crisis and contradictions of our time; struggle against left and right deviations in the international communist movement; fight against right and left deviations in the Indian communist movement; Party programme; perspective tactical line; current tactical line; Marxism-Leninism and mass organisations; Salkia plenum and party organisation. The classes were taken by EMS.Namboodiripad, BTR, M.Basavapunniah and H.S.Surjeet.

These classes were helpful in unifying the party cadres on the 11th Congress political line and educate them on the correct Marxist-Leninist principles to fight deviations and build the Party on the lines adopted at the Salkia plenum. The notes prepared for the classes were subsequently used at the state and district level school by comrades who attended the central school.

The second Central school was held in August, 1985, 98 comrades from State Committees and all-India fraction committees attended. The syllabus was the same as in the 1982 school with revision and upto dating on the basis of the intervening period. The explanation of the party line both political and organisational assisted the comrades in preparing for their conferences.

Subsequently, the decision taken to print the school lecture notes for use in party education has been implemented. The notes in English have been

printed and the same in Hindi are also being printed. These printed notes, though delayed, will be of great help to our State and district leadership to conduct their local schools.

The Party centre also organised a 7-day school for cadres of the student front. Around a hundred and twenty comrades from all over the country attended.

Apart from the central schools, PBMs have participated in a large number of State schools during the past four years as compared to previous years. State-level and district-level schools in which PBMs have participated have taken place in Rajasthan, Bihar, Haryana, Delhi, Orissa, Maharashtra, Kerala, Karnataka, Andhra etc. In some States more than one such school was organised during this period.

Party education is an ongoing process and much more attention has to be paid by both the Centre and the State Committees to equip the growing number of cadres in view of the expansion of Party membership. As the recent State conferences have revealed, the bulk of party members in most states are of the post-1977 period, the task of educating them on sound Marxist-Leninist lines and Communist consciousness and party norms is enormous. Political-ideological training falls far short of the urgent requirements at all levels of the Party.

Material for Campaigns: The Party centre has sought to bring out with its limited resources, printed material to assist the units in their political and agitational work. The Central organs, People's Democracy, Lok Lahar and Urdu Lok Lahar brought out a series of articles in connection with the Dimitrov birth centenary. All through the Marx death centenary year, the party central journals carried articles and material on Marxism-Leninism, its defence and its relevance to contemporary Indian and international situation. The party journals also brought out special features to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the victory over fascism and the vital struggle for world peace today. The first issue of the Marxist was devoted to articles on the Marx death centenary.

The Party centre has also brought out publications for specific political campaigns planned by the Party. On Assam problem, Surjeet's articles were brought out in a pamphlet form "what is going to happen in Assam." On Punjab in connection with the Party campaign call in June, 1984, the Centre brought out Surjeet's article in a pamphlet "Developments in Punjab" in English and Hindi. It also brought out a compilation of all the PB/CC resolutions and documents in a book entitled "Happenings in Punjab" in English and Hindi.

During the Marx centenary year, the Centre published booklets "On Marx's teachings" and 'Marx and Trade Unions' by BTR. Also in Hindi a series of pamphlets on Marx and India, Marx and agrarian problems etc., were brought out. Against the union budget of 1985, a booklet entitled "A budget for capitalists" was published which was used in the anti-budget campaign. Publications: During this period, the number of titles and volume

of publications has gone up. Altogether a total of 72 titles (book/pamphlets) were published. Of these 32 were in English and 40 in Hindi. In the year 1984-1985 Rs.2,40,000 worth of literature was sold from the Party centre. However, it must be noted that the sale of Hindi publications is lagging behind and disappointing. The role of ideological struggle in the Hindi speaking areas was stressed in the Salkia plenum. Commensurate to these, party committees in the Hindi speaking states are not making sufficient efforts to effectively popularise and organise sales of party and Marxist literature.

Theoretical quarterly: The Salkia plenum decision to bring out a theoretical quarterly to equip the cadres was implemented and the first issue came out in September, 1983, under the editorship of B.T.Ranadive. Seven issues have come out so far. It has found a positive response among the party cadres and sympathisers. From the third issue, the Hindi version "Marxvadi" has also begun coming out simultaneously. The Marxist has a circulation of 4500 copies on a stable basis. Marxvadi sells only 1200 copies. The Hindi speaking states have to make much more serious efforts to organise the sales of the journal as it is an important ideological weapon for their work.

Along with the publication of the Marxist, the Party Centre paid much more attention to utilise the historic anniversaries of Dimitrov and Karl Marx to organise political-ideological education and campaign all over the country. For instance the Marx death centenary year celebrations called for by the CC were observed widely all over the country. No other campaign of this nature was so effectively used earlier in terms of its sweep and depth. The ten day central programme and its huge mass participation in West Bengal was notable. The hundreds of seminars and talks held in Kerala, Maharashtra, Tamilnadu, Delhi, Bihar etc., were used by the State Committees to put forward the correct Marxist-Leninist line in India and to counter the bourgeois slanders and distortions of Marxism. It was also used to educate our own ranks on the revolutionary theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. PBMs went to many states to participate in the activities connected with the centenary year.

Intellectuals associated with Party also participated in the 3-day seminar organised by the Social Scientist on "Marx and India where Marxist and progressive intellectuals discussed in depth the contribution of Marxism to the study and understanding of Indian society.

The Party centre in cooperation with the State committees were able to utilise the above two centenary observances and the fortieth anniversary of the victory over fascism to propagate Marxism-Leninism and the struggle for peace and the defence of the socialist system to wider sections of people and improve the political-ideological level of the party ranks.

### **Party Membership Position**

The membership of the Party which stood at 2,78,247 in 1981 at the time of the eleventh Congress has grown to 3,67,828 in 1985 at the time of the

Twelfth Congress. This is an increase of about ninety thousand. This is an achievement, though a detailed analysis of the figures indicates the strengths and weaknesses also.

### INCREASE MEMBERSHIP

States	1981	1985	Increase from 1981 to 1985
1. Andhra	14,589	18,660	4,071
2. Assam	7,120	9,074	1,954
3. Bihar	11,122	11,572	460
4. Delhi	732	832	100
5. Goa	65	70	5
6. Gujrat	522	908	386
7. Haryana	600	710	110
8. Himachal Pradesh	273	621	348
9. Jammu & Kashmir	200	295	95
10. Karnataka	2,200	2,342	142
11. Kerala	1,04,085	1,22,071	17,986
12. Madhya Pradesh	1,074	1,128	54
13. Maharashtra	3,320	4,472	1,152
14. Manipur		173	-
15. Orissa	2,350	2,869	519
16. Punjab	6,450	7,305	855
17. Rajasthan	2,125	2,232	107
18. Tamilnadu	19,600	27,053	7,453
19. Tripura	6,580	11,414	4,834
20. Uttar Pradesh	5,349	6,827	1,478
21. West Bengal	82,500	1,36,980	54,480
22. Andaman	-	46	46
23. C.C. Staff	50	65	15
	<u>2,78,247</u>	<u>3,67,828</u>	<u>89,581</u>

During this period, party membership has grown at the highest rate in West Bengal which has registered an increase of 54,480. Kerala has an increase of 17,986. The other states which have recorded increases worth noting are Tamilnadu, Tripura, Andhra Pradesh and Assam. Assam has increased membership by 1,954 in face of heavy odds and it is a creditable performance. Maharashtra has added a membership of 1,152. However though other states have recorded increases, they are by and large marginal

and the progress is slow. The Hindi-speaking states put together have increased their membership by only 2657. A very small figure not commensurate with the activities and efforts being put in by the State committees and the CC.

Over 2.4 lakhs of the membership has been enrolled in the post-1977 period. That is, nearly two-thirds of the total membership today is of the post-1977 period. At the Salkia plenum emphasis was put on the training of the new entrants to the party who have not been through the experience of the fight against right revisionism and left-adventurism of the 1960s. This is all the more urgent today when the Party's steady expansion since then has led to an influx of new adherents of a younger age group.

Expanding Mass Organisation: A Marxist-Leninist Party with hundreds of thousands of members leading big class and mass organisations - in other words a mass revolutionary party - this is the road on which we are progressing. As far the mass organisations, we took pride in the fact that the membership has grown from four hundred and eighty thousands at the tenth Congress to ten million at the time of the eleventh Congress. Now at the time of the twelfth Congress the class and mass organisations have another four million more adherents, with the total membership in these organisations crossing 14 millions. Based on 1984 figures the Kisan Sabha has membership of 6.7 millions. The CITU 1.8 millions; the DYFI 2.5 millions; the SFI 1.05 million; AIDWA 1.2 million and the Agricultural labour Union 8.9 lakhs. The 1983 membership figures of the mass organisations was higher at 15.5 millions. With the AIKS membership at 7.2 millions; DYFI - 2.98 millions; SFI — 1.1 million; AIDWA — 1.5 million; and AIAWU having 9.1 lakhs. The fall in membership in 1984 is mainly due to the preoccupation with the Parliament elections held in December, 1984 which affected enrolment in the final stage.

This advance in the mass organisations is only the beginning towards fashioning a mass revolutionary party. It throws up innumerable tactical and day to day working problems concerning communist functioning among the mass in these organisations which the party members must correctly grasp and implement. Further the 14 millions in the class and mass organisations and the possibility of rapid advance in all these fronts shows how the party membership of 3.67 lakhs is inadequate for shouldering the various tasks to advance the party.

Party Membership Figures Yearwise

Sl. NO.	States	1982	1983	1984	1985
1.	Andaman	—	10	24	46
2.	Andhra Pradesh	18,320	17,834	17,528	18,660
3.	Assam	8,815	8,059	8,227	9,074
4.	Bihar	12,038	11,136	12,259	11,572
5.	Delhi	940	869	832	832
6.	Goa	65	65	70	70
7.	Gujarat	650	933	820	908
8.	Haryana	828	781	727	710
9.	Himachal Pradesh	352	321	402	621
10.	J & K	235	245	270	295
11.	Karnataka	2,423	2,364	2,250	2,342
12.	Kerala	1,22,172	1,21,577	1,22,071	1,22,071
13.	Madhya Pradesh	1,327	1,343	1,441	1,128
14.	Maharashtra	3,453	4,034	4,145	4,472
15.	Manipur	—	—	—	173
16.	Orissa	2,754	2,613	2,429	2,870
17.	Punjab	7,100	7,135	6,986	7,305
18.	Rajasthan	2,223	2,026	2,258	2,232
19.	Tamilnadu	22,170	23,018	24,860	27,053
20.	Tripura	8,546	9,973	11,334	11,414
21.	Uttar Pradesh	6,486	6,096	6,179	6,827
22.	West Bengal	1,05,442	1,06,808	1,28,928	1,36,980
23.	CC Staff	60	96	81	58
		3,26,478	3,27,327	3,54,206	3,67,828
Increase/Decrease in membership over		+48,231	+849	+26,879	+13,622

The question of Party papers:

In the sphere of production and sales of Party papers there is no scope for self-satisfaction. The continuing failure of the Party at the Centre and the States to improve the quality and running of party dailies and weeklies; the unscientific and disorganised method of sales and distribution; the inability to make the ordinary party members conscious of the importance of the party papers as an ideological-political weapon for struggle against ruling class ideologies - all these have not been removed.

To take up the question of central papers first. The following table gives the figures of People's Democracy and Lok Lahar, at the time of the last Party Congress and at present:

STATES	People's Democracy		Lok	Lahar
	1981 October	1985 October	1981 October	1985 October
ANDHRA	860	840	20	5
ASSAM	830	766	106	34
ANDAMANS	15	-	-	20
BIHAR	830	588	2,497	3,454
GOA	-	9	-	1
GUJRAT	88	31	172	120
HIMACHAL	28	70	117	373
HARYANA	90	65	541	553
J & K STATE	90	58	10	45
KERALA	560	825	4	12
KARNATAKA	397	374	32	27
M. P.	260	209	1,237	1,005
MAHARASHTRA	764	552	495	516
MANIPUR	-	46	-	5
MEGHALAYA	16	12	-	-
NAGALAND	-	10	-	-
ORISSA	547	406	73	69
PUNJAB	620	429	428	393
PONDICHERY	-	49	-	-
RAJASTHAN	163	74	2,248	1,013
SIKKIM	-	10	-	-
TAMILNADU	1,430	1,629	2	2
TRIPURA	316	303	-	26
U. P	409	324	3,312	2,559
WEST BENGAL	6,857	6,722	1,865	2,060
FOREIGN	131	84	3	5
DELHI	625	522	709	909
	15,740	15,007	14,600	13,206

The above table shows that there has been a slight fall in the circulation of both the paper. As for Urdu Lok Lahar there has been a bigger fall from around four thousands in 1981 to 1,765 in October, 1985. This fall in paper circulation at a time when party's mass activities are expanding and influence is growing reveals the gap in our political-ideological work which is disturbing.

The state-wise figures for People's Democracy show that while Kerala has made some modest effort to increase circulation which has gone up from 560 in 1981 to 825. West Bengal has maintained the largest circulation, however,

with no increase. The circulation has suffered in most other states such as Karnataka, Maharashtra, Orissa, U.P., Assam, Delhi etc.

The slight fall in circulation of Lok Lahar is even more disturbing, keeping in mind the emphasis the Party Centre has been paying to expansion of party in the Hindi speaking areas. The circulation figures have gone up slightly only in Bihar, Haryana and Himachal while it has fallen in UP, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh.

The observation made in the last Party Congress political-organisational report holds good today also, "These party weeklies of the CC which are being run with such heavy expenditure and labour by the editorial teams and the contributing PBMs, are not being treated and utilised as they should be. It is no exaggeration if it is to be characterised as gross neglect on the part of most of the State Committees."

The CC took up the question of the quality and circulation of party papers in its meeting of February, 1984. It posed the question why our daily papers even in Kerala and West Bengal have a much lower circulation than the forty to fifty per cent electoral strength that we command? The Party at all levels must take seriously the question of making the Party papers competent to compete with the bourgeois papers in the struggle for the minds and hearts of the people as part of the class struggle. It pointed out to the three month campaign for increase in sales of Deshabhimani in Kerala. This resulted in the paper becoming the fourth largest circulated paper instead of the fifth. The CC therefore suggested that every State Committee should review the work of the Party unit which is now running the organ. These discussions should be concluded within two months so that the PB can assess the discussions in the State Committees and place a consolidated report on these discussions.

A review of work of People's Democracy and Lok Lahar was undertaken by the relevant party unit and so also in some other States. But a comprehensive summing up has not yet been possible.

Regarding the quality of the central weeklies, it has been pointed out time and again that reports from the states do not reach the editorial office in time. Important political developments in the States, reportage of movements and struggles, Party's role in them etc., — such reports are delayed making the relevance of the journals to the reader limited. Further the quality of reports is poor - stereotyped and full of jargon which makes it unattractive to read. Unless the State Committees select proper personnel to report for the central journals, the quality cannot be improved.

The three central journals are brought out at great expense by the Party Centre. Currently the journals run at a monthly loss of Rs.26,000. This works out to a subsidy given by the CC of over Rs.3 lakhs annually. If this effort and resources expended are to be fruitful, then at all levels of the Party, the importance of the party papers has to be understood. The CCMs and the State Committees have to make special efforts to improve the quality of the Central papers and its circulation.

The Central Committee, in the meantime in March, 1985 gave a call to all the State Committees to organise a fortnight's campaign to step up sales and popularise the Party papers and literature. This campaign was observed in some states seriously during April-May. However, the state of the Central weeklies circulation has not shown any appreciable increase.

#### **Fraternal relations and increasing contacts with international communist movement:**

The past four\* years since the eleventh Congress have seen further development in fraternal relations with Communist Parties internationally and deepening of existing ties and widening contacts with friendly parties and national liberation movements.

The visit of the three-member P.B. delegation led by E.M.S.Namboodiripad to China in April, 1983 led to the restoration of party to party relations between the CPC and our Party. Fruitful talks were held with the Chinese Party leadership led by Hu Yao Bang.

The PB delegation also visited the DPRK and held talks with Comrade Kim Il Sung and deepened the long-standing ties between the Workers Party of Korea and our Party. The PB/CC sent delegates to attend the Fifth National Congress of the Vietnam Communist Party and the 12th Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists.

Party delegations visited Vietnam and the DPRK in 1985 at the invitations of the respective fraternal parties. In 1982, a PB delegation visited Cuba at the invitation of the Cuban Communist Party.

In January 1985 Namboodiripad and Surjeet visited Afghanistan and signed a protocol of cooperation with the People's Democratic Party. This was followed by the visit of another delegation in October, 1985.

In February, 1985 for the first time, Party sent a representative to the French Party Congress. Comrade Surjeet attended the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of France.

Basavapunniah and Samar Mukherjee attended the National Day celebration of the German Democratic Republic in 1984.

A four member delegation led by Jyoti Basu visited the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU in September, 1985. Prior to this Surjeet and Basavapunniah attended the 40th anniversary celebrations of the victory over Fascism at the invitation of the CPSU.

Party leaders have also been attending and making contributions at international seminars hosted by fraternal parties. PB members have attended such seminars in Yugoslavia, GDR and Japan. Namboodiripad and Ramdass attended the Marx Death Centenary Seminar hosted by the Socialist Unity Party. Basavapunniah attended the seminar on "Marxist Thought Today" organised by the Yugoslav League of Communists. Surjeet attended the international seminar on peace and security organised by the Japanese Communist Party.

The PB sent Com. Samar Mukherjee to attend the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Japan as a fraternal delegate in November, 1985.

Apart from these delegations and visits, the Party has been sending groups to China at the invitation of the CPC for the last two years. Party groups are also visiting the Soviet Union regularly, hosted by the CPSU in the past two years.

The Party Centre has been keeping regular and live contact with national liberation movements and their representatives in New Delhi. Among these are the P.L.O., African National Congress, SWAPO and the Polisario Front. H.K.S. Surjeet participated in an international conference on "Peace for the Saharwi People" in Paris and visited Western Sahara in November, 1985.

All these visits of the delegations and party to party discussions have led to the CPI(M)'s ties deepening with all the above parties. The CPI(M) Central Committee is now having fraternal relations with 25 Communist Parties and National Liberation Movements.

At the mass organisation's level also, the CITU, AIKS, DYFI, SFI and AIDWA have established fraternal relations with a large number of their counterparts in the socialist countries and also in the capitalist countries. A number of delegations have been exchanged with these countries and organisations, including participation in international conferences. The SFI-DYFI sent a 48-member delegation as part of the Indian delegation to world Youth Festival at Moscow.

In the grave international situation today with U.S. imperialism threatening war and endangering peace, the close ties and unity of the International communist movement are imperative to meet the situation. The CPI(M) has been active in forging and strengthening ties with all communist and progressive forces in the world.

### **Party Building Fund Call:**

In April, 1984 the Central Committee issued a fund call for building the Central Party Headquarters in New Delhi. A trust with Politbureau members named the A.K. Gopalan Bhavan Trust was formed. The CC gave a call for Rs. 80 lakhs to be collected for the A.K. Gopalan Bhavan. Land in the centre of New Delhi was bought at the cost of Rs. 32 lakhs for the purpose. The fund drive has so far led Rs. 72 lakhs being collected by Party units and sympathisers. Many states have completed their quotas and a few remain to do so. Construction of the building is expected to begin soon. The building to house the Party Centre is an urgent necessity and will be an important step in strengthening the work of the Party Centre as envisaged in the Salkia Plenum.

## PARTY ORGANISATION SINCE THE SALKIA PLENUM

The foregoing pages in which the work of the Party Centre and the section following of the State Committees, make it possible and necessary to make an over-all review of the extent to which the Salkia Plenum's report and resolution on Organisation have been carried out. For, the seven years since the Plenum have seen developments which have fully confirmed the perspective contained in the Salkia documents.

The essence of the Salkia documents was that the Party should develop itself as the revolutionary mass party of the working class. Its political basis was spelt out as follows:

"The forging of such Left and democratic unity demands and unprecedented growth in the organisations and struggles of all sections of the working people, in the movements of all those who are interested in the preservation of the country's freedom and democracy. A rapid growth in the number and unity of the fighting organisations of the working class, the peasantry and all other sections of the working people as well as of the patriotic and democratic elements in all classes, strata of society, is, in other words the basis and essence of the Left and democratic front."

"This in its turn", the Salkia report went on: "requires an enormous growth in the strength of the Party of the working class; the number of its members in different States; the militant activity in which they are engaged; their unity with all other anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly and democratic forces. Lakhs of new members drawn into the trade unions, kisan sabhas and other organisations of the working people; tens of thousands of active cadres working in these fighting organisations and drawn into the ranks of the Party of the working class; an uninterrupted process of educating the new and reeducating the old members of the Party; a system of interrelationship between the higher and lower units of the Party as well as within each unit on the basis of the revolutionary principle of democratic centralism - these are the essential prerequisites for that leading role to be played by the Party of the working class which is necessary for any genuine front of Left and democratic forces. The Political Resolution of the Tenth Congress, therefor, dcalled for the expansion of the Party in a big way."

The 7 years that elapsed since the above paragraphs were written witnessed the rapid erosion of the ruling Congress Party's image among the people, though it was in this period that, after being out of power for 3 years, that party returned to power. This was not because of any increase in the prestige of the ruling party but because of the political bankruptcy of the major bourgeois opposition parties. There is thus no electoral alternative to the ruling party but the policies pursued by it and its government are proving so bankrupt that its prestige and authority are rapidly going down. It is therefore quite realistic to develop united struggles on issues - economic,

political, socio-cultural, international and so on. It is necessary, at the same time, to carry on systematic ideological and political campaigns among the people to expose the class nature and bankruptcy of these policies and to consolidate the forces unleashed in united actions by the development of ever-expanding organisations of the fighting people.

This was the perspective with which our PB/CC as well as State Committees have been working since Salkia. This has led to solid achievements which may be stated as follows:

1) Our emphasis on mass actions leading to the consolidation and strengthening of mass organisations has helped the growth of the CITU Kisan Sabha, agricultural labour organisation, student-youth and women organisations. It has led to the expansion of 3 existing all-India organisations (CITU, Kisan Sabha and the SFI) and the formation of 3 new all India Organisations (agricultural labour, youth and women). The growth in the membership of all these organisations together is from nearly 50 lakhs at the time of Salkia to over 140 lakhs today.

2) The growth of mass organisations is reflected in the number of Party members from 161,000 in 1984 (Salkia) to 367,000 now.

3) The expansion that has taken place in this period has meant that states where there were virtually no Party units at the time of Salkia have started growing, (Haryana, Himachal, Manipur, Andamans etc). In the Hindi speaking states, there is expansion of activities as well as organisation. That this is not adequate to make our Party as an organisation. That this is not adequate to make our Party as an electoral force (as in several other states where the Party has been in existence for decades) should not create the impression that nothing is changing.

4) The nature of expansion i.e, whether it indicates improvement in the class composition of the Party, requires further examination. The State reports presented at the Conferences including the reports of credential committees show that the youth had joined in large numbers. The figures concerning the rise in the membership of mass organisations also show the growth of the SFI and the DYFI. These mass organisations as well as the Party itself are in other words increasingly becoming points of attraction for the younger generation.

Together with the fairly big proportion of graduate and Post-graduate delegates who attended the State Conferences, this growth of the student-youth section in the composition of the Party augurs well for the future of the Party. It however should be seen against the fact that there is no corresponding increase in the trade unions, Kisan Sabhas and agricultural labourers. Furthermore, the recruitment of large number of younger generation poses the problem of their education in Party policy without which they will not be absorbed in the Party of the working class. There is in fact a danger that they become the source of penetration petty bourgeois

ideas into the Party. They however can be properly educated and organised if they are educated into Party members and drafted for mass work.

While paying attention to the problem of changing the class composition of the Party in favour of cadres recruited from the working class and peasantry, expansion of the Party in our social conditions requires planned recruitment, education and promotion of those who come into the party from what are called in bourgeois terminology "the weaker sections" -the scheduled castes, the scheduled tribes, religious minorities and women. Paying attention to them is an integral part of trying to change the class composition of the Party. No figures however are available as to how much this is done except in relation to women.

It is found that women party members in West Bengal is approximately 5,000, while in Kerala it is 3,810. This works out to only 3 percent of the total party membership in both the states. In Tripura, the proportion is slightly better with women members being 7 percent of total members. The situation is worse in all other States the proportion of women among the delegates at the State conferences and of those who have been elected as State Committee members also tell the same story.

Here again, it is clear, improvement in the participation of women in Party activities, particularly as Party members, cannot be a spontaneous process but has to be planned by the Party.

The Salkia report stressed the importance of the party Centre and its role in Party building as follows :

"it is an accepted Marxist - Leninist principle that a real Communist Party, capable of fighting for political power and winning it, can be successfully built only from above, i. e. from the Party Centre. Such a Party Centre alone can build a Party which will be able to make a bid for power against the centralised bourgeois-landlord State power. Any talk of building a genuine, mass Communist Party and a nation wide revolutionary movement, divorced from the building of an effective Party Centre, is bound to be shallow. Similarly, all talk of achieving political, ideological and organisational unity of the entire party, from top to bottom, is bound to remain empty and formal, without a properly functioning Party Centre, capable of giving effective political, ideological and organisational guidance and leadership from time to time. the absence of a proper Party Centre and the existence of a skeleton Centre is bound to weaken and undermine proper relations between the Central Committee and different State Committees and thus deliver a bodyblow to the most revolutionary principle of democratic centralism. A correct political general line, and a correct tactical line for the country as a whole, can never be worked out without a proper Party Centre. Finally, our Tenth Party Congress Resolution enjoined us to bring about a realignment of class forces and to forge a Left and democratic front, as a real national alternative remains a pious wish without building an effective Party Centre."

Notwithstanding this understanding about the key role of the Centre, the Centre could not be strengthened in these years. On the other hand, it was not possible to replace comrades who passed away during this period. Further, comrade PR had to be removed from the PB. In such a situation the only thing that could be done was to give collective leadership in a changing situation and keep the party united and intervene in states to solve their problems.

The Salkia Plenum also noted :-

“If a core of comrades is not consciously planned and built to guide and lead the all-India revolutionary movement, the all-India bodies of different class and mass organisations can neither be formed nor functioned effectively. Nobody disputes in theory that our Party should have its own all-India trade union centre, kisan and agricultural labourers' centres, youth student and women's centres, and above all, the party centre. To discharge the work of these centres efficiently, scores of competent comrades are required.”

“Where do these comrades come from? The Party centre has no Party unit under its direct jurisdiction from which it can allocate cadres for the work of running these all-India centres. If the State Committees, especially the stronger ones, do not consciously contribute to the building of these all-India centres by providing competent comrades, they are in danger of becoming anaemic and ineffective. The way we were unable to up many of these all-India organisations for a long time and the way the existing ones are undermanned go to show the lack of awareness on this score.

“The issue should not be reduced to one of states having or not having such cadres to spare for central work. It is nobody's contention that cadres are plentiful in states and they are not sparing them. The issue is whether the leaderships of the State Committees are conscious of this, and are acting up to it. Similarly, a tendency of reluctance to opt for central work is also seen on the part of several comrades, the reasons for which will have to be gone into. If competent all-India centres do not exist and function, the tendency on the part of the states not to rely on such centres for guidance and lead, is bound to take the upper hand. What does this lead to except the strengthening of a federal outlook in the Party organisation?”

“Take the party centre, The concept of C.C. centre, in practice is equated to the work of a P.B. centre. This again, in its turn gets reduced to the work of those PBMs and CCMs who are relieved on their Party responsibilities in the states. Thus the number of central Party functionaries gets reduced to some ten or twelve in all. Can a team of ten or twelve central Party functionaries cope with the work of running an all-India party centre? the T.U., Kisan, youth, student, women agit-prop, states, our group in parliament, etc., are to be guided in their functioning. The weeklies, central schooling, the work

of party organisation, maintaining international relations, etc., are too many serious jobs for a team of ten or twelve to do minimum justice to them. Do all our CCMs and State Committees realise the enormity of the task, the failure of which is bound to foster federal tendencies?

“All india consciousness grows among comrades by constantly tackling all-india problems of the class and mass organisations and the problems of all-India Party building, and by implementing the party’s political-tactical line in different states and at different turning points. It cannot be imparted by merely preaching about it.”

The Central Committee has not been able to overcome these weaknesses. The situation is still worse in the States.

This obviously is a state of affairs in which, however correct the political-tactical line evolved by the PB/CC, the party will not be able to develop into a leader of the revolutionary movement. The priority task of the Central Committee to be elected at this Congress should therefore be directed to undertake, in consultation with the State Committees, how to implement the guidelines on organisation given in the Salkia and Vijayawada documents. Taking this situation into account the Central Committee took a decision to expand the Central Committee by selecting 24 permanent invitees in 1984.

The lag in the Functioning of PB/CC may be Summed up as follows :

a) While the Party Congress and C.C. meetings adopt decisions to which C.C. members are committed, there is no guarantee that these decisions will be carried out. It will be recalled that the Vijayawada Congress had noted the basic defect which is,

“CCMs today confine themselves to attending the meeting of the C.C. where they raise the problems of their States and go back home to the States. They do not consider themselves to be part of the collective body, the C.C., reporting to the C.C. on the discharge of these tasks, etc.” This continues even now.

The result is that, while all responsibilities are supposed to lie on the shoulders of those P.B. and C.C. members who have been relieved of all work in the states, the implementation of the line is left to the State concerned. This obviously is nothing but federalism in practice, a negation of a centralised Party.

b) The handful of P.B. members who are expected to run the Party Centre have to discharge multifarious responsibilities of an ideological and practical character. Since there are no CCMs and other competent cadres put at the disposal of the Party Centre many of the jobs to be carried out by the Party Centre go by default. These include the satisfactory running of the Party organs, production of agitational material, preparation of syllabus for Party schools, guiding the Party fraction in Parliament, leading the all-India bodies of the mass organisations, check up on guidance to State Committees,

etc. The lag in these respects has to be overcome by (i) drafting a number of CCMs and other comrades to look after various departments at the party Centre and to look after the all-india work of the mass organisations, (ii) involve other CCMs (who are not relieved of their work in the states) in Part-time C.C. work.

c) While the running of the Central journals is the responsibility of the P.B., it should be considered a collective their suggestions, comments etc. on the content, format, style etc with a view to improving it. Attention should be paid to the problem of circulation of the journals.

Thirdly, the Vijayawada report had made the following assessment of the organisational position in the states :

“We may say on the basis of information available to us that the situation remains as it was at Salkia. The functioning of State, district and other Party committees is such that to quote the Salkia report, there is no “sense of participation among Party members in shaping party policies. This finds expression in conferences, etc., where alone a large number gets the opportunity to express themselves.”

“Those of us who attended the Plenums that were held in April and May had an experience of this, and it may repeat itself in State Plenums of Conferences which may be held in the next few months. It is, therefore, necessary that changes are made in the mode of functioning of State and District Committees along the following lines or with necessary modifications generally to suit conditions in each state.

“a) All members of the Secretariat should be full-time functionaries of the State Centre, their programme of work laid down and performance checked up collectively by the Secretariat.

“b) Those Secretariat members who are available at the centre should meet every day for half an hour, exchange views and information and take appropriate decisions. The conclusions arrived at and decisions taken at these daily meetings should be recorded in writing and made available to the other members of the Secretariat when they come to the Party Centre.

“c) A full meeting of the Secretariat should be held at least once a fortnight. All Secretariat members should attend these meetings. In case of failure to attend the full meetings and the daily meetings when the comrade is present at the headquarters, the reason for the non-attendance should be recorded in writing and reported to the State Committee when it meets next.

“d) On the basis of the above records, the Secretariat should present to every State Committee meeting a work report which includes a gist of the work done by every secretariat member.

“e) Along with the work report of the Secretariat, the Fractions and Sub-Committees of the State Committee should also present written reports to every meeting of the State Committee. State Committee meetings would then become the forum at which the work of the Committee's functionaries is assessed.

“f) The non-Secretariat members of the State Committee should, apart

from doing their jobs as laid down by the District Committees, also undertake some work on behalf of the State committee. The exact nature of the jobs, the ways of doing it, etc., should be decided by the State Committee which should, at the next meeting, receive a written report from the member concerned.

“g) Such written reports from the Secretariat and other members of the state Committee plus written reports from every District Committee (which should be insisted on) would make State Committee meeting business-like, capable of assessing the work of the Secretariat and the Committee as a whole and of its individual members. This will remove the lag in organisation—lack of check-up on the discharge of responsibilities—in so far as it concerns the State Committee.

“h) The above rules may be applied more or less as they are in the case of bigger District Committees and with necessary modifications in other districts.

“These are just a few suggestions for the consideration of State Committees. What modifications are considered necessary may be made in them but, in making such modifications, the idea should not be lost sight of that the need is to create a collectively functioning team—a team of which every member makes his or her best contribution which is collectively assessed.”

It appears from the reports adopted at the State Conferences that not much improvement has taken place since then.

## Part III

### STATES — SUMMARIES

[The Following are the Summaries of the State Conference Reports]

#### West Bengal

The Left Front Government in West Bengal has completed eight years of existence. The role of the Party in running the Government and widening the mass support of the Party constitutes the outstanding achievement of the left movement in the country. The Left Front Government is the advanced outpost of democracy in the country. Facing constant harassment and political attacks by the ruling party at the Centre, the Party has correctly guided the Government in discharging the minimum responsibilities promised to the people. The work of the Party and mass organisation have resulted in the deepening and widening of the mass base of the Party.

The premier unit of the Party has functioned in the past four years in the complicated situation of the attacks by authoritarianism and the challenge of the divisive forces. It has discharged the responsibilities as laid down by the political-tactical line of the Eleventh Congress. The Party and the ever-growing mass organisations have conducted innumerable struggles in defence of the people's rights and livelihood and to combat the authoritarian and divisive forces. In this process 246 comrades laid down their lives in the past four years, martyrs to every class attacks.

The Party has registered steady growth. Its membership in 1985 stands at 1,36,980 as compared to 82500 in 1981. Nearly 58,000 new members have joined the Party in the last four years. The mass organisations position is as follows:

	<u>1981</u>	<u>1985 (upto November)</u>
CITU	6,20,107	6,99,425
Kisan Sabha	38,60,992	55,82,625
Mahila Samiti	4,40,723	8,22,886
DYFI	7,37,926	13,39,359
SFI	2,10,372	3,88,192
	<hr/> 58,70,120	<hr/> 88,32,487

In the Assembly elections held in March, 1982 the Left Front was reelected to office with a two-thirds majority. The Left Front secured 238 out of the 294 seats with CPI(M) getting 174 seats. The Left Front got 52.7 per cent of the votes polled. Following this in the Panchayat elections, the Front got 66.8 per cent of the total seats with the CPI(M) alone getting 60.1 per cent of the seats.

These two elections showed the deep roots the Party has struck amongst the masses in the State. The elections to the Lok Sabha in December, 1984 were held in special circumstances after the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi. Despite the sympathy wave for the Congress(I), the Left Front got 26 out of the 42 seats with the CPI(M) getting 18 seats. The Congress(I) vote rose to 48.16 per cent while the Left Front votes fell to 48.43 per cent. But this cannot be an accurate yardstick to assess the strength and influence of the Left Front. The PC reviewed the election results in details and initiated steps to remove weakness in the organisational Front and for improving the performance of the Government. The Conference report notes that while 35% are close supporters of the CPI(M) and Left Front, around 30% are supporters of Congress—I. The rest are uncommitted and of which about 10% vote, the Party must reach out to this section and raise their consciousness.

The existence of the Left Front Government and the expanding influence of the Party and mass organisations has brought about significant changes in the balance of political forces in the rural areas. A survey has shown that 85 per cent of the 55 thousand elected members of the Panchayats do not either have any land at all or possess less than 5 acres of land. The Kisan Sabha has become a mighty organisation embracing 5.6 millions. On the agrarian sector, the State Conference political organisational report has noted that the movement for wage rise by the agricultural labour has increased and become more organised. At the same time the report notes that: "Although the middle peasants are small in number, they are an effective weapon in building up public opinion. We have to take more initiative in building up firm alliance with them. However, the interests of the fundamental base of poor peasants and agricultural labourers can never be sacrificed."

The struggle to implement alternative policies in West Bengal by the Left Front Government on the basis of the minimum programme has a number of achievements to its credit. The number of share-croppers (bargadars) registered has reached 13.17 lakhs. 1.82 lakhs have been provided with homestead plots. 26 per cent of the state budget has been allotted to education and the number of girl students in the primary schools enrolled is the highest in West Bengal. The cottage and small-scale industries sector has registered good progress, particularly the handloom sector.

All these achievements have taken place in an atmosphere where the democratic rights of citizens are ensured and the Government has declared it will not use the preventive detention laws.

In the sphere of industry, the Central Government has resorted to blatant discrimination against the state. Controlling the licensing and financial power, the Centre has refused to grant the Haldia petro-chemical complex in the public sector. The policy of freight-equalisation has damaged the industrial development of the state. Further the Centre by withholding the eighth Finance Commission's recommendations for 1984—1985 deprived the State Government of Rs.325 crores of its legitimate share of resources. In a situation of mounting unemployment and the non-cooperative attitude of the Centre, the Left Front Government decided to go in for joint sector projects with industrialists who are willing to invest in them. Given the nature of State power in the country, the fostering of capitalist path of development by the Centre, the Left Front Government's efforts to develop new industries is an essential step to provide minimum relief to the people while continuing the battle against the pro-big bourgeois landlord policies of the Central Government.

The Party and the Left Front Government has also a fine record in maintaining communal harmony and in taking steps to defend national unity. The Assam chauvinist agitation and its attack on minorities had its impact in the state, but no opportunity was given for disruptive forces to disrupt the unity of the different linguistic groups in West Bengal. Efforts at Hindu-Muslim discord have been scotched with popular mobilisation. After Mrs. Gandhi's assassination, the efforts to foment violence against Sikhs was firmly rebuffed by the Government and the Party which mobilised its cadres.

The political-organisational report of the State Conference underlines the necessity to analyse Party's activities in the background of the Left Front Government. Three points have been made in this connection:

“First, the Left Front Government is the result of a long struggle waged by the toiling masses....This Government is founded on the political consciousness of the people generated by Left and democratic movement.

“Secondly, this Government is a source of inspiration to the toiling masses all over India. The existence of this Government in the context of the struggle for democratic rights inspires the masses in other states of India.

“Thirdly, a reorganisation of Centre-State relations is needed in the interest of the undeveloped and less developed regions of all states. This requires more resources and powers in the hands of the different states.... For the realisation of this demand for additional resources and powers a strong movement for the reorganisation of Centre-State relations must be built up. The presence of the Left Front Government can help greatly towards directing the movements.”

In the last four years ceaseless struggles have taken place. Movements for the realisation of economic demands of workers, employees, landless labourers have been continuous. Counting major strikes in industry,

agricultural labourer's strike, students strikes and general strikes and bandhs — altogether seventeen such actions have taken place successfully in the last four years. These include such important actions as the 84 day jute workers' strike; The 25th July, 1983 State-wide strike of agricultural labourers; The August, 1985 state-wide strike all over rural West Bengal for support price for jute; and finally the united trade union called for Industrial strike on 12th September 1985 which was a big success.

A historic march was organised in 1983 from Cooch Bihar to Calcutta through nine districts to publicise the 18-point charter of demands to the Centre. There was mass walk from Salt Lake Stadium to Haldia to propagate the successes of the Left Front Government and to highlight the slogan 'Food-for all, Education for all, Health for all'. Against the increase in rail fares a big movement was launched in which students played an important part.

The political organisational report of the State Conference reviewing these mass actions notes: "The massive struggles and movements in the last four years are evidence that the tide of mass movements have never abated in West Bengal.....

"There is a lacuna in the understanding of the changed character and status of mass movements in the changed perspective. Some people think that mass movements are in a state of stagnation. It is not true that within this period there have been no rallies, sit-ins, Conventions, strikes in a single industry, industrial strikes, general strikes etc. But there being in this state, a Government which plays a supportive role in these mass movements, there has been no repression unleashed upon these movements, police forces have not been used to suppress them. Rather, the movements have been aided by the existence of the Government. This situation thus does not tally with earlier situations where militancy of the movements was directed against an anti-people State Government run by class enemies.

"Secondly, the higher phase which has been reached by mass movements is not comprehended by many. Very often it is said that economic movements have to be raised to the level of political movements. In the last 8 years, there have been many mass-movements which are political in character. This is a great advance in the sphere of mass struggle. The movement for raising wages is not the only class-struggle. The struggle to develop an alternative to the anti-people policies of the ruling class is also a higher form of class-struggle. The struggle to establish the power of the rural poor in the Panchayats, the struggle for a pro-people education policy as opposed to the anti-people education policy of the ruling classes, the struggle for readjustment of Centre-State relations, struggle against authoritarianism — all these are forms of class-struggle."

The State Committee took up the question of the peace campaign seriously. In September, 1982, and in December 1983 huge rallies were

organised to oppose the war plans of the imperialists and in defence of peace. 1st September as anti-war day was observed every year from 1982. In 1984, meetings and conventions were held in the districts. The 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism was observed on a large-scale this year.

Political-organisational report points out: "We know in the coming days, the total membership of our different mass-organisations will cross a crore. The number of Party members and of members of auxiliary groups will increase enormously. We have lakhs of possible cadres among the people themselves; it is only by preparing them politically that we can break through enemy ranks and win over the masses of people to our side. It is for the leadership to train the cadres in this way. Different forms of struggle, including electioneering, must be undertaken while remaining steadfast to the goal of people's democratic revolution. No struggle can be successful unless through it we can raise the political consciousness of the people, and make them aware of our political strategy, the political necessity of the Left Front."

Among the organisational weaknesses listed in the report for rectification are: 1. The task of setting up a party unit in every factory. 2. The task of enlisting large numbers of women into the party from the large numbers participating in the mass movements. 3. Strengthening regular links between the PC centre and the sub-committees and state teams. 4. To ensure proper coordination between the local party leadership and panchayat leadership. 5. Improving the scrutiny of membership by submitting written reports by LCs to the district committees.

The report states that the biggest weakness of the Party leadership has been the relative lack of success of the State Committee and its Secretariat in inculcating a clear political understanding among the mass of Party comrades of the complex situation and problems consequent upon the running of the Left Front Government and of the decisions being taken in different areas in different times. "There remains a gap in understanding between the leadership and the rank and file at various levels of the Party on the issue of the functioning of the Government, and its constraints and successes. A regular arrangement for bridging this gap will make the link between the Party and the people more meaningful."

In 1983, the PC decided to pay serious attention to the maintenance of standards and norms by party members in their daily lives and dealings with the people. A three member committee was set up to consider complaints and grievances against the Party functionaries in various bodies. The cases of corruption and anti-party behaviour have been small in number, but the Party takes a serious view of the same so that the high standards of the Communist Party can be maintained.

The State Conference has also stressed the importance of party education. It notes that the district leadership has been more conscious of the need for education and have taken steps in this regard. However, it notes that party education programmes have reached only thirty to forty per cent of the party

members and special attention must be paid to education for the working class. In this connection, Party education series in Hindi and Urdu have also to be brought out.

The influence of the Party and CITU has not found reflection in the small increase in the CITU membership. Weakness in Party building among the workers continues. Special attention has to be devoted to the mass of Hindi speaking workers who are influenced by the political conditions of their home states.

Side by side with the attacks of the ruling classes, the hostile propaganda against the Party and the Left Front Government must be met effectively. The quality and circulation of the daily Ganashakti must be further improved. Regular party letters have been issued by the Party Centre and at the time of the elections, the number of campaign booklets circulated exceeded 5-6 lakhs. However, the key task of expanding circulation of party papers of both central and state-level needs to be emphasised as the growth in its sales is not commensurate to the requirements.

## KERALA

The period under review has seen a sharp demarcation between the left and democratic forces headed by our Party on the one hand and the rightist combination of communal, casteist forces headed by the Congress(I) on the other. The Left Democratic Front today consists of the CPI(M), CPI, Congress(S) and RSP. The Congress(I) led coalition consists of Muslim League, Kerala Congress, SRP, NDP and some other splinters — i.e. all the forces which are organised on the basis of caste or religion. In May 1982, assembly elections were held when the Congress(I) found it unable to maintain its ministry surviving on the casting vote of the Speaker. The assembly elections gave the LDF 63 seats while the UDF got 77 seats. However, the difference between the two Fronts was only 95,000 votes.

The record of the Karunakaran Government for the past three and a half years has been the unprincipled and dangerous appeasement of all varieties and hues of communal and caste groups to remain in power. It has also attacked the people's living standards and rights by continuous hikes in prices; undemocratic dissolution of the city corporations and suspending the elections to the local bodies and panchayats; blatant corruption and selling of education to private interests.

The State unit of the CPI(M) has taken the lead to fight this unprincipled gang up of communal and reactionary forces and defend the people's interests. By its independent activities and the LDF joint campaigns, the Party has stood against the spectacle of unscrupulous bargaining and bickerings in the UDF coalition. On the one hand, there is the CPI(M) and LDF which rallies the people of Kerala for secularism and democracy, on the other hand the ruling coalition has become synonymous with appeasement of obscurantism, casteism, communalism and corruption.

The Party membership has increased to 1,22,071 in 1985 from 1,04,085 in 1981. An increase of around 18 thousand. The membership is organised under 14 district committees, 135 taluk/area committees, 1124 local committees and 11,549 branches.

The mass organisations have also registered growth. The total membership in the CITU, AIKS, Agricultural workers' Union, DYFI, SFI and AIDWA now is nearly 30 lakhs. The membership position is as follows:

	1981	
CITU	2,76,000	3,22,000(1983 figure)
AIKS	4,20,788	5,30,814(1984-85)
AIAWU	3,68,329	4,00,000(1984-85)
DYFI	7,84,126	10,04,785(1984)
SFI	2,25,081	3,69,914(1984)
Mahila Samiti	2,88,836	3,69,216
	-----	-----
	23.63,160	29,96,725

The Party and the mass organisations have grown in this period facing police repression; RSS attacks and capitalist-landlord attacks — comrades of the Party and the various mass organisations have laid down their lives in enemy attacks.

But the growth could have been much more. It must be remembered that lakhs of people are still under the influence of the bourgeois-landlord and caste/communal forces. The State Committee and the PC and CC have during the last three years held many rounds of discussions in which the central question has been how to alter the correlation of forces further in favour of the left and democratic forces and isolate the Congress(I)-led caste-communal gangup. In 1983, when the inner quarrels heightened in the UDF, the question came up whether any partner of the UDF such as the Muslim League or Kerala Congress factions could be taken into the LDF and an alternative ministry formed. The PB after discussions gave its opinion to the State Committee that this would be wrong and go against the political line of the Party to fight all forms of divisive forces. The Kerala State Committee endorsed the line. It called for stepping up mass struggles to isolate the ruling coalition and continue a relentless battle against all forms of casteist and communal politics.

Kerala witnessed many big mass protests and mobilisations during this period. Noteworthy among them are the big bandhs organised. The LDF called for a 'rail roko' stir on August 8, 1983, this was followed by a bandh on 9th August. The demands focussed on adequate ration supply, and adequate assistance to the drought affected areas. Thousands participated in the rail roko stir and the strike called by the trade unions took the shape of a general

bandh. The LDF prior to this organised six campaign jathas. Again bandh was observed on March 3, 1984, in support of the employees struggle. A successful bandh was also observed on August 25, 1984, in support of the demand to reinstate the NTR ministry in Andhra. Finally, the bandh in October, 1985 focussed on the plight of the coconut growers. These series of general strikes brought lakhs into protest actions against the Karunakaran Government and the Central Government's policies.

An important aspect of our political work in this period has been to stand firm against caste and communal demands and defend the unity of the toiling people. Subsequent to the police firing on Muslim procession in Allepey, our Party in Allepey played an outstanding role in preventing the situation from deteriorating. In Trivandrum riots erupted and though we intervened afterwards, we were successful in only partially stemming the clashes. On the Nilakkal issue, State allowances to Muslim priests, Karunakaran's manoeuvre to get all MLAs to take oath on God to be represented in the Dewswam boards — in all these the Party took a principled position in defence of secularism and has enhanced the prestige of the Party. In recent months, the Party has firmly stood by the rights of Muslim women on the divorce maintenance issue drawing the wrath of the fundamentalists.

The Party is waging this two-pronged battle: fight against the anti-people policies of the Karunakaran Government and Central Government along with the fight against caste, communal and obscurantist forces and making all efforts to reach to wider sections of people, in order to bring about a change in the current balance of forces. Determined and patient work on these lines will pay the Party good dividends in the future. A short-sighted approach of allying with communal forces to form Governments or win elections will only strengthen the rightist forces and tarnish the record of the Left. It is in this context that the departure of the All India Muslim League from the LDF must be seen. It broke away, after the Party firmly refused to compromise on the issue of women's rights against the onslaught of Islamic fundamentalism.

Reviewing the party organisation, the State Conference report has given direction for improving the functioning of the Party at all levels. At the branch level, the live contact with the people has been stressed. It has called for the restoration of the communist style of squad work. It has also emphasised the importance of proper recruitment through auxiliary groups and the education of the militants.

The report also highlights the importance of local and area committees in providing leadership to the branches and in promptly intervening in mass issues. In this connection, it has called for the implementation of regular branch secretaries meetings for reporting on political situation. The process of Party education must be taken up by the district committees seriously and taken down to the local committees and branches.

At the State Committee level, the report emphasises the necessity for

PCMs to be state-level functionaries. Except DC secretaries and those allotted special tasks, PCMs should be state-level cadres. Similarly this principle has to be applied to the district committees also.

For improving the style of work, the report warns against bureaucratism in dealing with the people. Much emphasis has been paid to communist standards and morality. The report states: "At least a few comrades have lost the ideal way of life and strict morality of a communist. We shall fall a victim to such evils if we do not find out such trends and fight them out and make the whole party vigilan, against them." The report pays attention also to the fact that despite state committee's directive, some comrades still subject to alien influences, conduct marriages ostentatiously and take recourse to religious and communal customs for marriages and funerals. The report also highlights the communist method of work in local self-Governing institutions and cooperatives where communists by their functioning must show the people the difference between them and the corrupt functionaries of bourgeois parties.

The CITU unions' membership went up to 3,22,000 in 1983, though about 44,000 members' affiliation fees was not received. The CITU has been able to do more to bring about wider unity in the trade union front. However, organisation in the traditional industries like coir, cashew, fishing, beedi etc., has to be strengthened. A large number of workers are still unorganised in these sectors. The state trade union sub-committee has functioned more regularly during this period.

The Kisan Sabha and Agricultural Workers Union have conducted many state level and local campaigns and struggles. Better coordination between the two is required, particularly in some districts.

The DYFI has emerged as the most powerful youth organisation in the state. It is also noted that in an analysis done of 1,16,362 members in 1983, over thirty two thousand were found to be working on the youth front. The Party has to now ensure that more and more of the mass membership of youth participate in the class organisations. Also in some of youth party members 'frontal consciousness' predominates and proper education must be there to integrate them with the general political-organisational outlook of the Party.

In the student front, the SFI has continued to advance and has maintained its dominance over the three university unions in Kerala along with its allies. It has been in the forefront of struggle against the privatisation of education by the Karunakaran Government.

The AIDWA has forged ahead and is now in the forefront of the movement in defence of women's rights, particularly those of the muslim minority community who are being subjected to fundamentalist threats. However, it is disappointing to note that women party members are only 3810 in 1985 which is also slightly less than the previous year. This constitutes only 3 per cent of the total party membership. The party has to take up this issue seriously and educate party cadres at all levels to ensure entry to women

into the party and organise its meetings etc in such a way that women find it possible to participate.

In the field of ideological struggle, the Party daily *Deshabhimani* the weekly *Chintha* and the literary weekly occupy an important role. The two month campaign in 1984 launched by the State Committee to boost the sales of *Deshabhimani* yielded good results. As a result of the campaign the paper became the fourth largest circulated daily in the State. However this tempo could not be kept up and sale have gone down again. Some steps have been taken to streamline the managerial and technical aspects of the paper. The paper plays an important role in reflecting, coordinating and carrying forward the movement. However, it should be noted that in the initial stages of the paper, the circulation was more than the number of party members. Today, it is the opposite. The circulation is just half the number of total party members in the state. Given proper attention at all levels, the circulation of the daily can rise to the figure of one lakh as envisaged in the Trichur Party Conference in 1981.

The daily along with the *Chintha* and the literary weekly are still far advanced in terms of production, circulation and utility compared to the position in the rest of the country. The State Committee will have to continuously pay attention to improving and sharpening the use of these journals.

The *Chintha* publishers have brought out over 120 titles of progressive books and Marxist literature in this period. The *Deshabhimani* Book House which sells the literature has 11 branches. The total annual sales through them is Rs.6-7 lakhs of which Party literature is only Rs.2-3 lakhs.

## TRIPURA

This small border state has the distinction of having a Left Front Government headed by the CPI(M) for the past eight years. The Party in Tripura has been in the forefront in the fight for national unity by preserving and defending the unity of the tribal and Bengali speaking peoples in the State defeating the efforts of reactionary forces like Amra Bangali, TUJS and the connivance of the Congress(I) with these forces. The Party has deepened its ties with the working masses and the Left Front Government functioning under severe limitations of resources and discrimination by the Centre has set a good record of service of the people.

In defence of the Party's line, one hundred ninety seven comrades and supporters laid down their lives in the period since the 11th Party Congress, martyrs of TNV, TUJS, Amra Bangali and Congress(I) attacks. This indicates the intense struggle the Party and Left Front Government has waged in Tripura to defend national unity, counter imperialist conspiracies, struggle against the authoritarian Congress(I) and stand by the interests of the working people. In implementing the line laid down by the 11th Congress, the Tripura State Committee has done signal service.

The Party and its mass influence has expanded in the face of these difficult challenges. The Party membership has risen from 6580 in 1981 to 11,414 in 1985, registering a growth every successive year.

(The mass organisations' position is as follows:)

	<u>1981</u>	<u>1984</u>	
AIKS	80,240	67,657	(minus agricultural labour)
DYFI	45,000	50,000	
SFI	25,500	24,058	
AIALU	-	30,940	
(CITU figures are not available)		43,629	
Mahila			

The victory of the Left Front in the 1983 Assembly elections, was of great political significance. While in 1977, the Left Front got a large negative vote against the Congress, in 1983, the record of the Left Front Government was the test and it reflected the increased political consciousness of the voters. The Congress(I) combined with the separatist TUJS in a dangerous alliance. The majority of the tribal people, scheduled castes voted for the Left Front. The working people in rural areas and tea garden and rubber plantation areas voted massively for the Front. Only among the muslim minority the Congress(I) had more influence at many places. compared to 47% in 1980 Parliament elections, the Left Front polled 50% of the votes in the Assembly elections. Votes polled by Congress(I) + TUJS went up from 36% to 41% in this period. The gain being from the Amra Bangali vote which declined by 8 per cent. The voting result showed that despite terrorist attacks, slander campaign etc., the Left Front popularity continues to increase. The weakness noted was that in urban areas a section of the middle class did not vote for us.

The Panchayat elections were held in Tripura in 1984. Once again the Congress(I) TUJS combined and the elections were held in the background of intense terrorist attacks. The TNV killed 6 people on the eve of the elections. The Left Front won 460 out of 704 of the Gram Panchayats. However, the elections also showed some of the organisational weaknesses which were pinpointed in the review.

In the 1984 Parliament elections, despite the sympathy wave for the ruling party, the Left Front retained both the seats from Tripura.

The economic and industrial backwardness of Tripura is compounded by the difficult and meagre means of communications with the rest of the country. The Left Front Government for the past eight years has had to wage a relentless struggle against the Centre's discriminatory and non-cooperative attitude. The Party has had to take this issue to the people in a big way and make it part of its political platform to mobilise the people to force the

Central Government to concede the State's just demands. The 'padayatras' which were organised in November, 1984 made a big impact in the State especially in the rural areas and immensely popularised the 15-point charter of demands with demands like expansion of railways, setting up of new industries, expansion of employment opportunities etc.

The existence and policies of the Left Front Government has led to the guarantee of freedom of association and rights of the working people in the State; despite all the limitations the Government has distributed land among more than a lakh of landless people; the local self-governing institutions working in the rural areas have been able to increase the tempo of development activities and to create employment opportunities for the rural poor, of course, in a limited way.

The Left Front and the Party has had to fight off the demand of the Congress (I) and TUJS to declare the State as a disturbed area and deploy the army. They also demanded the dismissal of the Left Front Government and imposition of President's rule.

The Left Front Government and the Party's prolonged fight for tribal rights met with success with the tribal areas being constituted into an autonomous district council under the Sixth Schedule. The Left Front Government has recognised the Kok Borok language and appointed thousand teachers to impart education in this language at the primary stage. Effective steps have been taken for the restoration of illegally transferred tribal lands to the original tribal areas.

The growing class conflict in the State has been taking place in the background of the intensification of the activities of the separatist and divisive forces backed by imperialism. But for the strength of the Party and the existence of the Left Front Government, the 1980 ethnic violence would have created permanent barriers and hatred between the tribals and Bengalis. However patient and determined work and political propaganda of the Party has resulted in the unity being fostered. This unity has been reformed in the face of the terrorist activities of the TNV operating from across the border based in Bangladesh; the Chauvinist Amra Bengali sponsored by the sinister Anand Marg and the opportunistic gang up the Congress (I) forged with the TUJS.

The principled political fight put by the CPI(M), led to two achievements in the fight against tribal separatism and extremism. The group led by Binanda Jamatia, who was later murdered, surrendered to the State Government and laid down arms and joined the Upajati Ganawukti Parishad. Secondly, the split in the TUJS occurred with a group protesting against its alliance with the Congress(I), and formed the Tripura Hills Peoples Party.

The Centre is not willing to strengthen measures to police the border and check infiltration of the terrorists. The Centre promised to deploy two battalions of Assam Rifles in Tripura more than a Year and a half ago but it has not been done yet.

Class differentiation is gradually heightening among the tribal population also and these developments create fertile ground for the petty-bourgeois sections to be swayed by chauvinism. The Party is educating all its ranks on lines "struggle for the conservation of tribal rights is a struggle of the whole Party". If it had not been for the Party's front-ranking role in championing the tribal rights, language, culture and autonomy, the situation would have worsened as in other north-eastern States. The achievement of the autonomous district council under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution has increased the prestige of the Party amongst the tribals and developed their confidence.

From all the reviews made by the State Committee of the last three elections to the Assembly, Panchayat and the Autonomous District Council the Conference report concludes: "From all such reviews one fact has come out clearly that we lost support mainly among the petty-bourgeois middle class sections. It is more pronounced in the urban areas but the rural areas also were not completely free from this trend." Reason for this are stated to be the harmful impact of communal politics; growing unemployment; unrealistic expectation of relief from the Government which leads to frustration. It is found necessary that more stress be paid to political ideological campaigns while taking up the economic demands of these sections.

The Panchayats and Cooperatives are drawing the ire of the reactionaries. It is no doubt an important instrument to give relief to the people. But it would be wrong to see the matter from the economic point of view only. There is a lack of realisation that the Panchayats and Cooperatives properly handled can play an important role in bringing change in alignment of forces in the rural areas. There has to be better co-ordination between the peasant movement and these bodies. The State Party has to make a systematic effort to educate the ranks about the correct approach to work in these institutions. Compared to West Bengal, the Left Front consists of partners who have hardly any base at all including the CPI. In 1983, the CPI was brought into the front. In the Panchayat elections, the CPI did not reach agreement with the front and virtually fought against the Left Front candidates. Despite these negative trends, the Party is seeking to strengthen the unity of the Left Front partners.

Left Front Government and Party : All policy matters and important administrative decisions are discussed and decided first in the Party. Meetings of Party Secretariat and Ministers are also held but these must be held more frequently. To make the Ministry more effective in the second term, important comrades had to assign Ministerial tasks, thereby 7 out of 9 Sectt. members became Ministers. No doubt this has strained the organisational resources, but this step was required to instill confidence in the people about the Government.

The sale of literature through the book-Stall and through book fairs show that in 1982 Rs.92,652 worth of literature was sold and this rose to

Rs.1,50,462 in 1984. The Desher Katha Daily has a circulation of 4850 and the weekly 1,937. Apart from this there is circulation of Ganashakthi 117, Desh Hitarishee 547 and Marxbadi Path 210 brought out from West Bengal.

#### ANDHRA PRADESH

The State has a glorious tradition in the history of the Communist movement of the country with the Telengana armed struggle of the peasantry occupying a special place. In the last Congress political-organisational report, a survey of the ups and downs in the Communist movement in the State and the line of the Party in meeting the revisionist and left-sectarian challenge was outlined.

The Andhra Party's renewed growth was witnessed in the successful holding of the Eleventh Party Congress in Vijayawada and the massive open rally. The Party membership since then has increased from 14,189 in 1981 to 18,668 in 1985.

The mass organisations have also registered progress in this period as the figures below show:

	<u>1981</u>	<u>1985</u>	(in round figures)
CITU	45,000	63,700	
Agricultural Workers Union	2,00,000	2,70,400	
AIKS	1,50,000	1,59,300	
DYFI	67,000	1,28,200	
SFI	43,300	65,300	(1984 figure)
AIDWA	42,000	42,000	

The membership in these mass organisations have gone up from 4.8 lakhs in 1981 to 7.3 lakhs in 1985.

The State saw the rapid growth of discontent against Congress(I) rule in 1981-82 a feature noted in the 1981 State Conference in the following words: "It is a fact that the people are day by day turning their face away from the Indira Congress and looking towards the opposition parties". However, in the Assembly elections in 1983, the State Conference report states that "we did not become partners in the stream that defeated the Congress". The report reviews the mistake and erroneous estimate made by the State Committee and the review made by the CC subsequently, which was self-critically accepted. The erroneous approach to the Telugu Desam, the giving in to the CPI in taking a rigid stand on seat adjustments with the Telugu Desam and the basic misreading of the fact that the masses were shifting in a big way to look for an alternative to the Congress-I were pinpointed.

However, after the notorious episode of the Congress(I) engineering the defection of Bhaskara Rao and the formation of a minority Government with the connivance of the Governor, the Party promptly came in defence of the

Telugu Desam Government and the attack on democracy by the authoritarian Centre. From the beginning it consistently rallied the people at all levels to fight the conspiracy. This role played an important part in the big mass upsurge in the State for a month which ultimately forced the Indira Government to retreat and reinstate N.T.Rama Rao. This significant struggle and its success against the authoritarian attack immeasurably strengthened the forces of democracy in the country.

In the elections to Assembly and Parliament held recently the Congress(I) faced a debacle being decisively rejected by the people twice for its anti-democratic role. Our Party had an understanding with the Telugu Desam and the united fight played it due role in routing the Congress(I).

However, the stand of the CPI in the Parliament elections and the subsequent assembly elections was disruptive and hampered the common fight. Prey to electoral opportunism the CPI refused to concede Khammam seat to us and this led to the victory of the Congress(I). The Party won the Mriyalaguda Parliamentary seat. In the Assembly elections also, the CPI tried to disrupt the understanding in Khammam district and failing in this, after the adjustment of seats, put up independent candidates and supported them in two seats.

The anti-CPI(M) manoeuvres and parliamentary opportunism of the CPI has embittered relation and caused a setback to the development of the unity of Left forces in the State.

During this period, in the days of the Congress(I) regime, the Party played an important role in developing the united mass movements against the anti-people policies by mass peasant actions against indebtedness, student struggles and working class actions.

The Party is adopting a correct approach to the Telugu Desam Government when it welcomes those policies which are beneficial to the people and firmly opposes anti-people and pro-vested interests policies. In this connection the Party is vigilant to take an independent stand on such issues as the Karmachedu incident, the recent proposals for Press bill, Urban Police System etc., while at the same time demarcating from the Congress-I which is resorting to whipping up of casteism, regionalism etc., to buttress its position.

The Andhra State Committee has paid serious attention to developing the peace movement in the State. It organised an anti-war Conference in March, 1982 in Hyderabad which was attended by delegates from all the districts. In 1st September, 1982 anti-war day was jointly observed with CPI in 69 taluks in which over 32 thousand people participated.

On October 1, 1982 the Party gave a call for anti-war demonstrations in the State. The Vijayawada rally was attended by one lakh people. Similarly big rallies were held in Hyderabad, Kurnool and Vizag. State-wide demonstrations for peace were held on September 1, 1983, and again at CITU's call between December 20-28, 1983.

The State Committee also organised a widespread campaign to observe the Marx death centenary and hundreds of meetings and seminars were

organised. The State Committee also organised a week long campaign on the Punjab and Kashmir issue between July, 1985.

The State Committee also paid greater attention to Party education. Schools for ten days for branch secretaries were held in 1983. These schools were held in five district centres and a total of 826 branch secretaries attended. A Party school for Trade Union cadres was also held in October 1982 attended by 209 members. Summer schools were organised for the student front in 1985 in four centres.

The State Committee had a successful literature and Prajasakthi sales campaign in August 1984. During the week literature worth Rs.1,87,000 were sold.

The agricultural workers movement has shown progress in the state with big struggles for wages and house sites having taken place, the notable state-wide movement for wages being in June, 1984. The Youth organisation has doubled its membership since 1981.

The other organisations have also registered growth. The Andhra Prajanatya Mandali, the cultural organisation, has now 250 units (including 3-member song squads) and 3,000 members. They have staged three thousand performances from 1982 upto now.

The United Teachers Front has increased its membership from 37 thousand to 45 thousand by 1985 and its journal has a circulation of thirteen thousand.

The Party's prestige among the masses was also reflected in the successful fund collections conducted during the period. For the new Press and building for Prajasakthi, Rs.20 lakhs was collected. For the A.K.Gopalan Bhavan Fund the State's quota was Rs. 5 lakhs but so far Rs. 9.6 lakhs has been deposited with the Centre. Apart from this the Andhra P.C. sent Rs. 1.6 lakhs to the election fund of West Bengal and Kerala elections and recently Rs.50,000 for the Punjab elections.

In memory of Comrade Sundarayya, the call for setting up a "Sundarayya Vijnana Kendram" has met with an unprecedented response from people of all walks of life and so far in the last five months, Rs.25 lakhs have been collected.

Various steps have been taken to strengthen Party organisation. There are 225 wholetimers in different districts. Serious efforts have been made to improve the level of branch secretaries and activate the branches. Levy collection has shown improvement. Party has registered since last Conference progress in Kurnool, Nellore, Visakapatnam and Mahboobnagar. At the State level sub-Committees are working in trade union, agricultural workers union and kisan, sabha. There are fraction Commtees for the Youth and student fronts. These are functioning and helping in coordination though the women fraction committee is not functioning properly.

The class composition of the total membership analysed in 1983 shows a healthy trend. Agricultural labour and urban workers constitute 42 per cent

of the membership (28 per cent and 14 per cent respectively). Poor peasants and artisans constitute another 29 per cent (19 per cent and 10 per cent respectively). Middle peasants constitute 14 per cent and middle-class employees 5.4 per cent.

During the period since the last State Conference in 1981, 40 comrades laid down their lives, martyred in attacks by naxalities, Congress (I), goondas, police etc. The political and organisational battle against naxalite groups, in particular the Radical group, which is killing our comrades has to be carried on relentlessly. Among those murdered by the naxalite-Radical gangsters include Comrade Malakonda Reddy, State Committee member of the Party.

The circulation of Prajashakthi is around 15,000 and the state conference has chalked out steps to improve its circulation.

## ASSAM

The Assam state unit's role in courageously facing chauvinist terror and defending working class unity and defence of minorities rights constitutes a proud chapter in the Party's role to defend national unity and fight against imperialist effort to encourage secessionism in India.

In this struggle waged by the Party in Assam 44 comrades sacrificed their lives, most of them young Assamese who refused to be cowed down by the AASU-AAGSP terror tactics.

It is in this background that the Party steeled in battle, has registered advance belying the hopes of its enemies and the bourgeois press.

The Party membership has grown from 7120 in 1981 to 9074 in 1985, registering a growth in successive years. The mass organisations working in difficult circumstances have increased their influence as the following figures show:-

	<u>1981</u>	<u>1984</u>	(in round figures)
Kisan Sabha	83,000	1,40,000	
CITU	20,000	25,000	
SFI	23,000	52,000	
DYFI	18,000	44,000	
Mahila Samiti	12,000	25,000	

The progress, in the face of the chauvinist terror registered is commendable. In 1981 the mass organisations' membership was 156,000 in the current State Conference, the report showed that it has increased to 2,86,000.

### Situation in the State:

A 7 Party alliance was formed during Janata rule consisting of CPI(M), Congress(S), CPI, Lok Dal, PDP, RSP, RCPI.

In January, 1982 the Governor allowed Keshab Gogoi to form a minority Government. It did not last long. The Janata Party and PDP went in for open support for the "anti-foreigner" agitation.

The AASU and AAGSP held that unless and until the main demand of

expulsion of foreigners was achieved, economic struggles would only divert the masses. With this slogan they opposed all pressing demands of the workers, peasants and students and sought to divide employees' and workers' organisation on the basis of nationality.

The Party faced with this situation, called for mass struggles - disregarding murders and armed attacks. As a result, the industrial strike of January 19, 1982 achieved big success. Tea workers played a leading part in this. The Kisan Conference was also held successfully in Manikpur in the agitationists' area and the rally was attended by 15,000 people. The SFI also held state wide demonstrations on demand of education and on August 15, SFI, DYFI held anti-imperialist demonstrations. The AASU retaliated by intensifying terroristic attacks, social boycott, burning down of homes, 'curfew' to prevent meetings, and a goonda attacks and murder of our comrades like Gauranga Paul at Goreswar.

The independent work of the Party strengthened the 7-Party alliance further and the Party maintained the morale of its cadres and followers.

The Party and the 7 Party alliance demanded elections and no extension of presidential rule. The 1983 elections saw mass murder of minorities, burning down of villages, intimidation of candidates and their families. Thousands were killed, thirty thousand fled to West Bengal 3 lakhs took shelter in camps as a result of the AASU-AAGSP call for boycott. The administration collapsed and BJP-RSS preached anti-Muslim hatred on one hand, and the ruling party resorted to rigging the elections in many places.

The agitationists and bourgeois press suppressed the truth that lakhs of people were prevented from exercising their franchise. Despite this 32.76 per cent votes were polled. Only in three districts was it nominal. The Party cadres courageously took the party line to the masses even in the worst affected areas. It got only 2 seats which did not reflect the strength of the Party due to the abnormal conditions mentioned above. During the election and in the post election period, 24 comrades were murdered by the AASU-AAGSP for their participation in the elections.

The PC and the PB reviewing the elections stated that participation in the elections had been a correct step.

With the Saikia Government in office, the Party with two MLAs became the main Opposition spokesmen. In the Assembly we spoke out against evictions, for fair prices peasants' produce, for civil liberties, against handing back of surplus lands to planters and exposed serious cases of corruption.

The Party after 1983 elections had to go it alone as the alliance got disrupted due to the CPI and RCPI's tactics. They wanted to have the next elections on 1971 rolls - which meant loss of franchise for over 2 millions.

The accord between Rajiv Gandhi and AASU is sought to be bracketted with the Punjab accord. The Assam State Committee opposed the provision of the Accord which go against the minorities. As the State Conference report, points out: "Punjab accord has opened the path of understanding between Sikh and Hindus and isolated the secessionist and extremists, while the

Assam accord has divided the people on nationality basis deeply and the extremists and even secessionists have captured leading positions, along with AASU leaders in the resultant regional party (Assam Gana Parishad) formed in Assam."

In 1984, the CPI did a volte-face and lined up with the Janata and others in compromising with the agitationists. It played a key role in breaking up the 7 Party alliance. It has come out in support of the Accord and has been campaigning for it.

The Party organised a big central Kisan rally and march to the State Assembly in March, 1984 in which ten thousand Kisans participated. The march was significant as it followed the break up of the 7-Party alliance due to the CPI's tactics. The march in which Assamese peasants constituted over 75 per cent, showed that the Party had grown despite the AASU's terror tactics.

In 1984 September the SFI-DYFI held a rally in Gauhati demanding jobs for all and education for all in which, 12,000 students and youths participated. Similarly they organised a big campaign in connection with International Youth Year and the World Youth Festival and in the three day celebration's conclusion, 15,000 Youth participated of which 90 per cent were Assamese and tribals. In September also under Party's guidance the JCTU organised a big march to the Assembly against closures and for removal of Art. 311 sections from the Constitution in which 6,000 to 7,000 workers and employees participated. These along with the Karl Marx death centenary and anti-Budget campaigns widened the Party's political and mass activities. —

Among the tribal minorities, opposition to the AASU had grown and there is opposition to the accord. However imperialist and Christian agencies are seeking to whip up separatist movement. The Party will have to pay special attention to the tribal question.

The Ganashakthi weekly in Assam has a circulation of around 4000 and the Conference has decided to take immediate step to expand its circulation.

The analysis of the credentials report of the State Conference shows that 59% of the delegates were below 40 years of age. 48% have joined the Party in the post-1977. This youthful composition if properly trained and developed augurs well for the future of the Party in Assam.

## BIHAR

Bihar has become notorious for being one of the worst administered States under the Congress(I). There is collapse of administration at the lower levels and rule of law is absent in many districts where dacoits and landlord's armed gangs hold away. Atrocities against scheduled castes and tribes are a regular occurrence as also attacks by upper castes landlords on agricultural labours and landless. The Party and its cadres in the rural areas face constant attacks and threats in resisting landlord oppression.

The Bihar State unit had to combat the disruptive activities of S.S. Shrivastava, former Secretary, who was expelled from the Party in April, 1983 after trying to disrupt the Party by parallel factional activities. The State Committee with the assistance of the PB fought out this disruptive move and succeeded in rallying the big majority of the cadres and members to the Party's line. Thanks to these efforts for the past three years, some of the comrades who were misled by the anti-party group have now realised their mistake and reentered the Party fold.

The gross violation of democratic centralism and wrong political understanding of these elements, led to the State Committee paying greater attention to strengthen collective functioning and to educate the party ranks on the lines of the 11th Congress and the Salkia Plenum. This process is continuing. As a portion of the Party's energies were spent on this, the organisational growth of Party and mass organisations do not fully reflect the multifarious activities of the Party and mass organisations.

The party membership was recorded only a marginal increase of 11,613 in 1985 as compared to 11,224 in 1981. The CITU membership has remained stationary at approximately 70,000 in 1984, the same as in 1981. The AIKS has recorded an increase of 25,000 in this period from 1,25,000 in 1981 to 1,50,000 in 1985. The Khet Mazdoor Union membership stands at 37,850 in 1984. The DYFI membership has remained stagnant at 30,000. The SFI membership is around twenty thousands and has not shown increase compared to 1981. The Mahila membership is 5,000.

The State unit has played a good role in united actions and moving independently on issues of defence of democratic rights and people's demands. In the Bihar Press Bill which sought to throttle Press freedom, the Party actively participated in the 10th September State bandh on the issue. This was followed by a big state level rally organised by the Party in Patna against the Press Bill and other issues in which Com. E.M.S. Namboodiripad participated.

In July, 1983 Left parties and secular opposition parties united and gave a call for the August 9 State bandh which was also successful. Due to the mass resistance, the Press Bill was withdrawn.

The growing united actions were hampered by the CPI going back on its written assurance to support the Party's candidate for the Legislative Council elections. The CPI has continued to adopt an unfriendly attitude and in the Assembly elections also no agreement could be reached due to their disruptive tactics.

The Party took up many issues and launched independent actions. In June, 1984 it organised padayatras to district headquarters. This was followed up by observance of Punjab week in July.

The Party also worked actively to make the Bihar bandh call given unitedly, a big success on August 29, 1984 demanding the reinstatement of the NTR ministry in Andhra Pradesh.

In the Parliament election, the Party contested three seats, Nawadha, Khagariah and Rajmahal. The DMKP and CPI supported us in these three seats. The Party polled 2,63,850 in these three seats with over one lakh votes polled in the each of the first two seats.

In the March Assembly elections of 1985, the Party could get only one seat contesting 45 seats. In these elections no understanding at the State-level could take place, despite our best efforts, between the CPI, secular opposition parties and us. In nine seats we came in second position. In eighteen seats we clashed with the CPI. The attitude of the CPI once again showed their anti-CPI(M) stand.

The state committee self-critically reviewing the elections noted that it should have stuck to its earlier decision to fight upto 30 seats so that the campaign could be better organised and resources concentrated.

At the Party organisational level, the main emphasis in the report to the state conference has been laid on educating the new entrants to the party. There have been some schools organised at the district-level in the period but considering the requirements party schooling has to be stepped up in a big way. Proper cadre policy and ensuring regular wages to whole-timers has also been stressed.

The State Committee has opened a book stall next to its office. As for Party papers' sales, the Lok Lahar circulation has shown some improvement having gone from around 2500 in 1981 to 3400 in October, 1985. However, the sale of PD has declined to around 600. The sale of Marxvadi is 250 in the State.

The Bihar unit of the Party has good potential to go ahead and develop a strong base given the acute social contradictions and militant traditions of the oppressed people in the State. The elimination of the anti-Party tendencies and the reorienting of the Party on correct lines should lay the basis for future growth. The credentials report of the State conference shows that the bulk of the delegates are young and 33 per cent joined the Party in the post-1975 period (though this is not as high as other Hindi-speaking States). Proper attention will have to be paid to train up these cadres to take up the work of leading the mass struggles and manning the mass organisations. A sustained ideological moulding of these new cadres and Party members is necessary to equip them to fight against casteism and bourgeois-landlord ideologies so that the Party can strike deep roots among the working masses.

## KARNATAKA

The State saw an important turn in its politics when the Congress(I) was defeated for the first time since independence in the 1983 elections. A Janata Government, with the support of the CPI(M), CPI and BJP came into existence. The elections saw an understanding with the Janata by the Party and we won three seats in the legislature for the first time. This victory was a

big fillip to the democratic forces and weakened the authoritarian party's hold in the South along with the defeat in Andhra.

However the machinations of the Congress led to the Kranti Ranga faction walking out. The Central Government tried to topple this ministry. The developments in 1984, culminating in Mrs. Gandhi's assassination led to the Congress sweeping the Parliament elections by winning 24 out of 28 seats. Hegde resigned and mid-term Assembly elections were held in March. The understanding with BJP and Janata broke down and the Janata came to an understanding with CPI(M) and CPI on seat adjustments in the background of the massive Parliament elections victory, the Janata won an absolute majority in the Assembly thereby giving a firm rebuff to the Congress(I) for the second time. This victory of the anti-Congress forces has strengthened the democratic forces. Our Party won two seats, losing its earlier three sitting seats.

The performance of the Janata Government after these elections have taken a retrograde path. They have adopted many anti-people measures such as hike in bus and electricity rates; going back on the capitation fees issue; succumbing to linguistic chauvinistic pressures etc.

Our Party is independently and along with the CPI and Left forces seeking to put up resistance to these policies and mobilising the people while at the same time countering the Congress(I) moves to create disruption and gain.

The July, 1985 agitation against the step-motherly treatment of the Centre towards the development of the State saw 20,000 people all over the State participating in the rail-roko and picketing of post offices at the call of the Party. On 9 August at the trade union level a big movement was held for fixing minimum wages and 30,000 people picketed State Government offices. Over 5 lakh workers struck work that day.

The State Committee and Secretariat had to seriously consider the penetration of ultra-Left and Christian left elements into the Party and mass organisations. Due to a wrong understanding and liberalism on the part of the State Secretary and the Secretariat, the CC had to appoint a three man commission to enquire into the matter. On the basis of the Commission's recommendations, the CC directed that steps be taken to check this organisational infiltration and educate the whole Party ideologically to counter the influence of petty-bourgeois and pro-imperialist agencies. The State Secretary was replaced and certain committees were reconstituted. The 11th Congress political-organisational report had warned of this danger and the last two years have been taken up with educating the Party to counter the influence of Christian left, dalits and naxalites. This process of education must continue. The State Committee will have to guard itself in future against the young versus old trend which is alien to Marxist-Leninist principles of organisation.

The Aikya Ranga weekly circulation is only 2300. More efforts have to be made to improve its content and circulation.

The influence of CITU is increasing amongst the workers. Some progress

has been made with respect of public sector units. The all-India Public Sectors Convention was held successfully in Bangalore.

The Party membership since 1981 has gone from 2196 to 2432 this year. The membership increase is not commensurate to the influence the Party fields. For instance the membership in Bangalore is below 200.

As for the mass organisations, the Kisan Sabha has registered good progress in membership with 83,900 members in 1984-85 as compared to 30,000 in 1981-82.

The SFI has also been able to expand its influence and its membership stands at 15,191 in 1984 as compared to 5172 in 1981. The membership of the DYFI is 6553.

The State Conference has decided that work on the women's front and cultural front must be reviewed in the light of past experience and reoriented so that pseudo-left and ultra-left tendencies do not derail these organisations.

The circulation of People's Democracy in the State is only 374. Attention has not been paid to this aspect.

## ORISSA

As mentioned in the last Congress political-organisational report, the State party has suffered from inner-Party differences and violation of organisational norms. The State Conference held in November, 1985 has stressed the necessity to root out factionalism in the Party from the top which affects the functioning of the State Centre. The P.B. and C.C. have been intervening in the organisational affairs of the State to unify the State leadership without much success during this period.

Finally, the preparations for the State Conference was utilised to pin down the alien and individualistic trends and the State Secretariat after a sitting with the P.B. unifiedly prepared the draft report. The report states, "Improvements are there following such intervention by the P.B. Comrades have become more vigilant....The disease is deep-rooted which cripples the State centre, its intervening capacity on organisational matters and it times affects the adoption of a correct political-tactical approach to issues concerning movements and elections. After the Cuttack conference these deviations have become more virulent so that gross violation of discipline is being overlooked whereas smaller issues are being brought to the forefront....The Party cannot make advance unless the factional situation is brought to an end. To strengthen the unity and integrity of the party to end factionalism we shall have to take definite steps."

The tasks set forth by the Conference for the State Committee will have to be earnestly implemented by the whole committee and particularly the Secretariat.

This inner-Party situation has resulted in halting progress in the advance

of Party and mass organisations. The Party membership which was 2381 in 1981 now stands at 2542 in 1985.

The CITU membership is 17,000 (of which 10,000 is in Sundergarh district). The Kisan Sabha membership is 18,248 in 1984-85 as compared to 16,785 in 1981-82. The SFI membership has gone up from 9,823 in 1981 to 12,441 in 1983 and dropped to 10,089 in 1984. Closure of educational institutions and general elections affected the membership drive in 1984. There is progress in enrolment of girl students.

The DYFI membership is lagging behind at 2058 in 1984, and not much attention has been paid to developing this front and developing cadres.

The effort to set up a state-level Committee of the AIDWA has not been successful. Only in Cuttack district there is district level functioning and some activities in Rourkela.

The Party played an important role in the successful State-wide bandh on August 14, 1984, jointly called by the Opposition Parties. Earlier in August 1983, despite the withdrawal of the Janata Party, the bandh call was successful in many places. This call given by the N.C.C. constituents was supported by the CPI(M) and CPI.

In the Panchayat elections in January, 1984, the Party fought alone and there were no adjustments. The Congress won 55 per cent of the gram panchayats; Janata-30 per cent. CPI won 130 and we won 96. The Party contested the Bhubaneswar seat in the Lok Sabha elections in alliance with Janata and CPI and polled 1,47,086 votes.

The State Conference has critically noted the failure to carry on a sustained ideological struggle which could have steered the cadres and put the organisation on correct lines. The weekly **Samyavadi** circulation is very low and in many districts party members are not taking the paper. The fight against feudal ideology which predominates in the backward social conditions in Orissa must be taken forward with vigour.

Only when the Party leadership from top to bottom is moulded on correct Marxist-Leninist lines can the Party make rapid advance in Orissa where the bankruptcy of the Congress(I) and other bourgeois landlord parties is being increasingly exposed.

The credentials report of the State Conference shows that 67 per cent of the delegates were 40 years and below of age. 71 per cent of the delegates and observers were from the middle class. The composition shows that proper attention to mould these cadres on Marxist-Leninist lines is essential for the Party to develop.

## TAMILNADU

The Party in Tamilnadu has registered advance and has consolidated its influence in some spheres. The political line adopted by the State Committee has helped the Party to put forward a correct line on the Sri Lanka Tamils

issue and to counter the opportunist and chauvinist ideological positions of the Dravidian parties.

The Party membership during this period has gone up from 22,170 in 1981 to 27,053 in 1985. The mass organisations have also registered progress, though it is not reflected in membership of the CITU and AIKS. The CITU membership of unions stands at 1.3 lakhs. The DYFI membership is now 67,163 as compared to 44,700 in 1981. The SFI membership has grown to 16,032 as compared to 8158 in 1981. The AIDWA membership is now at 70,488.

The Party participated in the Save Democracy Front which was formed in 1982. Except the Congress(I), AIDMK and DMK all other parties joined it. The mass movement unleashed by the Front compelled the DMK also to join. This was the beginning of the 14-party's movement which conducted many statewide struggles on people's issues. In December, 1983 there was state-wide picketing in which 72,833 courted arrest, of which nearly 23,000 belonged to the Party. The 14-party front also conducted a successful bandh on the issues of the dismissal of the NTR Government.

On the question of the repression against Sri Lanka Tamils and their struggle, the Party took a principled position opposing the State repression and demanding that the problem be settled internally by granting autonomy to the Tamil-speaking areas within a federal set-up. The Party firmly refused to be swayed by emotional sentiments and kept the danger of imperialist intervention in mind while working out its line. The report to the State Conference states: "Our State Committee decided on our stand taking guidance from the P.B. Regional autonomy within the United Sri Lanka in the areas where the Tamil speaking population live in considerable number. There must be political solution to the problem. The left democratic forces in Sri Lanka should find a solution to the problem. The democratic forces world over will support these forces for a political solution. The Indian Government must use its influence with the countries of the NAM and raise the issue of genocide in the forums like the Human Rights Commission and pressurise Jayawardene to stop the killings."

The Party carried out its independent campaign on this basis. The front with the DMK notwithstanding, we made it clear that there could be no joint stand on this issue.

In the elections to the Assembly and Parliament held in December, 1984 the Party had seat adjustments with the DMK and its allies. We contested 17 assembly and three parliamentary seats. The Party candidates won five seats to the Assembly. Reviewing the election campaign it was noted by the P.C. that while joint campaigns are conducted during elections, independent campaign of the Party on national and international issues must be conducted, which was lacking.

To put forward the Party's understanding independently a special State Political Convention was organised in Madurai in August, 1984. This had a

massive attendance and helped to highlight the Party's stand on various political issues and problems facing the people. The State conference report stresses the necessity for taking the left and democratic programme to the people independently by the Party continuously in its propaganda, which has not been done sufficiently.

The trade union work has shown advance in the State. This is reflected in the progress in Madras where the CITU leaders have been elected to big factories like Ashoke Leyland, Binny Engineering, Madras Rubber Factory etc. It has advanced into new sectors such as the Hosur Industrial belt, the Salem Steel Plant etc. The CITU has played an effective role in initiating joint actions which have been more sweeping and prolonged in character. The 19th January strike was called by only the CITU and AITUC. In August, 1984, the CITU, AITUC and DMK unions gave successful call for general strike against the anti-labour policies of the Tamilnadu Government. In 1985 took place the united general strike of 2½ Lakh textile workers. The continuous efforts of the CITU has led to the wider unity of the trade unions in strike actions despite some breaks in the unity which were overcome.

The Party line for the trade union front has been sought to be seriously implemented in the state. The review of joint struggles and the necessity to examine why our influence and membership does not grow commensurate to our activities has been taken up. The Tamilnadu CITU has also established a good precedent by paying attention to the peasant movement and initiating solidarity actions. A one rupee levy on the union members for a fund for the Kisan Sabha yielded Rs.40,000 in 1984. Efforts are being made to strengthen the work in the key industries.

The Kisan front requires more attention. The decision to set up the state centres of the Kisan and agricultural unions taken at the 1981 conference has been implemented.

The Kisan Sabha has committees in all districts, however, the agricultural workers' union has committees only in four districts. The PC keeping in view the necessity to deploy wholetimers on this front at the district level took concrete steps and as per this decision full-time workers were fixed for five districts. Similar arrangements have to be made throughout the State. The total membership of the agricultural workers union comes to 73,279 and of the Kisan Sabha at 59,753 for the year 1984-85.

The Party has paid attention to the needs of political propaganda material and education. Forty five pamphlets were published during the last four years.

The daily **Theekathir's** sales rose as a result of the campaign conducted in 1984. It went upto 9000 copies. Now its circulation is 7,500. Some efforts to improve the paper editorially have also yielded results. Continuous steps have to be taken to further increase the sales of the paper.

For Party education, two state level schools were organised in 1982 and 1983 in which 250 comrades attended. Classes for branch secretaries have

been held in the districts also. And 7 party letters were also issued as Party to Party education.

To streamline the Party organisation, middle-level committees were formed under the district committees. Altogether 124 such committees have been set up.

The Party membership has gone up by nearly 7500 in the past four years. To improve recruitment the functioning of auxiliaries and training of candidates must be improved. The number of women members is 314 which works out to 3 per cent of the total membership. The Conference report has emphasised the importance of enrolling more women members in the coming years. There are 273 whol timers of the Party working in different fronts.

The DWA organised a series of classes for women activists which is commendable. Based on a common syllabus 2-day classes were conducted in 16 districts in 1984. This was followed by a teachers' training camp and 36 classes were conducted through those trained. 1218 women took part in these classes and it has helped in developing their consciousness of women's problems and social questions.

## UTTAR PRADESH

The most populous state in the country is U.P. It is undergoing serious economic crisis, collapse of administration at the lower levels, increasing attacks on scheduled castes and growing activities of communal and casteist forces thanks to Congress(I) misrule. The concentration of land continues with land reform measures proving to be an eye-wash. Land holders upto 1 hectare numbering 70.4 per cent occupy only 28.2 per cent of the land. On the other hand, holders above 5 hectares (12½ acres) held 20.1 per cent of the land. If benami transfers are taken into account the unevenness becomes more acute. The ceiling legislation in the past 25 years has been able to distribute only 1 per cent of total agricultural land.

The growing nexus of ruling class politicians and criminals is evident by the fact that ninety legislators, eight thousand co-operators and half of the village pradhans and about 30 per cent of the block chiefs have criminal records. Crimes against scheduled castes and tribes and communal riots have risen considerably. Mafia gangs enjoying political patronage are used to attack the rural downtrodden.

The Party has been a weak force in this State and the Left in general has no decisive intervening capacity yet. However, the Party in the past four years has been active in raising the demands of the people. The 'Jail Bhara' movement in September, 1983 saw a total of 21 thousand party workers and supporters going to Jail of whom fifteen thousand were from the peasantry. This number was seven times that in the previous jail bhara struggle in February, 1981.

Party membership has registered some progress being 6546 in 1985 as

compared to 4780 in 1980. This rate of growth is however slow keeping in view of the vast size of the State.

As for mass organisations, the CITU unions show a membership of 14,000 for which affiliation fees have been paid for 1984 which does not reflect the organisational influence of the CITU. The Kisan Sabha membership which was 1,02,733 in 1981-82 now stands at 75,035 in 1984-85. The Khet Mazdoor Union has 10,000 members.

The SFI membership has gone upto 10,754 in 1984 as compared to 8,976 in 1981. The DYFI membership has gone up from 7,000 in 1981 to 20,164 in 1984.

The weaknesses in the organisation of the Kisan Sabha were pinpointed in the conference report and steps suggested to remove the impediments to its growth. Similarly the Khet Mazdoor union is also weak without a State centre.

Kanpur hosted the fifth CITU national conference in April, 1983. Three lakhs raised for this conference, of which half was raised in Kanpur itself. CITU unions exist in 36 districts of the State. There is failure to send affiliation fees in time and regularly. Due to CITU initiative a joint trade union co-ordination committee has been set up in the State.

The SFI membership is existing in 24 districts. However, the SFI is weak in the university campuses of which there are 19 in the State.

On September 15, 1982 over 5,000 students and youth were mobilised from all over the State on the demand of jobs for all and education for all. The DYFI and SFI together collected over a lakh of signatures for this rally.

So far no state-level organisation of the Mahila Samiti has been able to function. District level membership and units are being formed. In nine districts there is membership. In Kanpur, 2850 members have been enrolled and district conference has been held.

In the March, 1985 Assembly elections, the Party contested 27 seats. We won election in 2 seats, Gangapur and Akbarpur. In three others the Party candidate came second. In the previous Assembly election, we had not been able to win any seat. Overall the opposition parties improved their position in the Vidhan Sabha as compared to 1980.

The circulation of Lok Lahar has not improved. Since last conference it has gone down from 3200 to 2800. Serious efforts has been lacking in this respect by the Party units. The sale of Marxvadi is very low and immediate steps have to be taken by the Party Committees to organise its circulation.

The credential report of the conference shows that 49 per cent of the delegates were graduates or post-graduates; 48 per cent joined the Party after 1977; and 45 per cent are 40 years of age or below. This composition highlights the needs for urgent education and proper check up of the development of the new cadres, without which the Party will not be able to advance and spread its influence.

## RAJASTHAN

The State Committee of Rajasthan has unified the Party and advanced in

the past three years after waging a serious battle against the anti-party activities of Punamia and his group since their expulsion in 1981. With the assistance of the P.B., this group was isolated and the mass base of Party in Kota and other places preserved. In this fight, many party comrades had to face physical attacks in Kota. The success of this battle can be gauged from the fact that despite the majority of the district leadership being expelled, the workers of Kota, in particular J.K. factory, rallied behind the CITU and the Party despite all attempts at disruption.

Rajasthan has the legacy of deep rooted feudal traditions which provide the basis for casteism and communalism with the development of capitalist relations. Old feudal princes and Jagirdars still hold thousands of acres violating the laws. The Party has been active in leading struggles of workers, peasants and tribals. It has made advances in face of severe repression among the tribal people in Dungarpur and Udaipur districts.

The Kisan Sabha has old traditions in this state of struggle against feudal prices. It has to reorient its outlook and set up an efficient organisation from top to bottom if it is to consolidate the various struggles in the different districts.

On the trade union front, the CITU has had to wage a two-fold struggle once against the capitalist goonda police attacks and the other the disruptionist activities of the anti-party elements.

In the elections to the State Assembly in March, 1985, the Party won one seat in Ganganagar district. We lost another with a small margin while polling 32 thousand votes. However, in the sitting seat in Sikar, we lost badly.

The Party membership is 2234 in 1985 as compared to 2124 in 1981. This is a negligible increase given the potential.

As for the mass organisations, the Kisan Sabha has increased its membership from 27,800 in 1981-82 to 35,000 in 1984-85. The CITU unions' membership is lagging behind with 17,444 in 69 unions upto September 1985.

The DYFI membership stood at 13,163 upto September 1985. The SFI membership has grown from 6300 in 1981 to 9200 in 1984. The big mobilisation of youth and students, ten thousand strong in DFYI-SFI rally on September 15, 1985 shows the potential in these two fronts. The Party has to pay more attention to their development.

The Mahila Samiti has been organised in four districts and has been in the lead to take up dowry murders and oppression of women.

The Party has increased its influence in the school teachers movements.

There is a big drop in the circulation of Lok Lohar of the thousand copies. Sufficient importance has not been given to its sale. It should be remembered that the wide circulation of Lok Lohar in Kota helped the Party to fight the disruptionists. The sale of Marxvadi also does not exceed 50. Given the fact that 51 per cent of the delegates at the State Conference joined the Party after 1975 and the youthful composition, much more stress has to be paid to ideological training and inculcation of Marxist-Leninist norms of organisational functioning.

## DELHI

The Party in Delhi has been active in building up the influence of the Party in a area which has traditionally seen the dominance of two forces, the Congress(I) and BJP. In the past four years, the Congress(I) has gained at the expense of the BJP as seen in the 1983 Metropolitan Council elections and the Lok Sabha polls.

The Party membership has gone up from 732 in 1981 to only 832 in 1985, a very small increase. Being basically drawn from the working class, the membership has also suffered due to large scale closures and lockouts in the industrial belts of Delhi, Ghaziabad and Faridabad. The youth and women's organisations have progressed with the DYFI membership increasing from 4771 in 1981 to 6554 in 1984. The Mahila Samiti membership has grown from 2315 in 1981 to 5090 in 1984. The SFI membership has not shown any increase being around 2000 in 1985, though this does not reflect the influence of the organisation.

The Party has paid serious attention to the anti-war movement and had mobilised well for the 4 October, peace march and subsequent calls in 1983 and 1984. It has also taken the lead to stage anti-imperialist demonstrations in the capital.

The Delhi State Committee conducted a good campaign for the A.K. Gopalan Bhavan Fund and raised Rs. 85,000 against their quota of Rs. 50,000.

The Party members working in the college teachers' front have good influence in the teachers movement. In the 4000 strong DUTA, in the last two biannual elections, the candidate of the Democratic Teachers' Front has been returned as the President, defeating pro-Congress(I), pro-BJP candidates.

The Delhi State unit sells 150 copies of Marxist and 100 copies of Marxvadi regularly. However, it has failed to substantially increase the sale of Lok Lahar which is still in the region of 900 copies per week.

The CITU has a membership of 27,108 in its affiliated unions as compared to 30,000 in 1981. To make further advance and break the stagnation it requires a planned effort to establish itself in the big units and key sectors in Delhi city. The Party has to continue to pay much more attention to party building in the factories in Ghaziabad and Faridabad.

In JUN , the SFI has been winning continuously the elections to the Students union for well over a decade. In the 1984 and 1985 elections, they have won all four office bearers' posts and getting a majority in the council. Sufficient attention has not been paid by the student front leadership to increase SFI membership in the State. The Janwadi Mahila Samiti has played a leading role in the anti-dowry movement in the city.

Levy collection is regular and the annual levy collection deposited at the State Centre has nearly doubled compared to the 1981 figure.

Given the fact 63% of the Party members have been enrolled in the post-1977 period, a lot of attention has to be paid to Party education. The

State Committee conducted two State Schools including one for branch Secretaries during this period. apart from some local schools.

Analysis of the 1985 Party membership shows that 70% of the total membership is from the working class. 58% of the members are below 35 years of age. The working class component being the bulk, the Party has to systematically educate them and equip them to fulfill the trade union and general party tasks.

### **JAMMU & KASHMIR**

The Party had suffered due to the whole unit in J & K going over to the naxalism in 1968. Since the leading comrades realised their mistake and came back in 1979 to form the C.P.I.(M) unit, work has progressed.

In 1981 party membership was 200, and it has gone up to 291 in 1985. The kisan membership has increased from 12,000 to 17,000.

The Party during this period has had to face the attacks of the Muslim fundamentalists particularly the Jamiate-e-Islami. These miscreants have attacked party members and sympathisers in Bogam., Sandhu, Dialgam, Brinty, Aragam and Bandipora. They have physically attacked Party and Kisan Sabha rallies and also houses of the comrades. Every party unit in the state has boldly faced these attacks and carried forward the party's work. The Party unit organised a state level peace convention to mark the Marx death centenary which was addressed by Jyoti Basu. This enraged the fundamentalists further.

The Congress(I) has been playing a dangerous game by toppling the elected Farooq ministry and hobnobbing with communal elements. The State has seen in the recent period increased activities of the secessionist and fundamentalist elements under the defector ministry. They make a special target of the Party and preach virulent anti-communism.

The Party joined the Joint movement to protest against the toppling of the Farooq Abdullah Ministry by the Centre. Some of the comrades were detained for these activities. The party has continued working to strengthen the employees' movement. There is no industrial development in Kashmir but Jammu is developing. The Party has to take steps to develop CITU there.

The SFI has not been able to make much headway after a good start due to fundamentalist attacks and campaign. An organising committee has been formed and work is being restarted. More attention has to be paid to develop the DYFI also systematically in both Jammu and in Kashmir.

The circulation of Urdu Lok Lahar which was around a thousand at the time of last conference has declined to 524 now. This has been noted self-critically in the conference and emphasis paid to improving circulation.

Then state party schools of 3-4 days duration was conducted during this period.

### **MADHYA PRADESH**

This sprawling State in the heart of India has always been a weak region for the left movement. After the split in 1964, the C.P.I.(M) began organising State-wide functioning only after its third conference in 1978. Since then

with the limited resources, the Party has made some progress. The recent Conference has showed that the party membership is 1128 in 1985 compared to 1074 in 1981. The Party membership has not grown commensurate to the expanding activities of the Party and mass organisations. In the Assembly elections in March, in Bhilai the Party polled 30,708 votes and lost to Congress(I) by only 1124 votes. In 1980 the Party had got 12,177 votes.

The Madhya Pradesh Party did good work in mobilising people from the State to participate in the October 1982 Peace March in Delhi.

The State centre and Party in Bhopal has been active in meeting the situation caused by the gas tragedy. The Party in coordination with the AIDWA, SFI and Delhi science forum has been running a campaign in the gas affected areas. The SFI conducted a detailed survey of the victims and a medical clinic has been run with the help of medicines and doctors coming from other parts of the country. In July an impressive demonstration was held by the C.P.I.(M), C.P.I. and mass organisations, in which the role of the multinational Union Carbide was exposed.

The mass organisations have registered some progress. The SFI membership was 19182 in 1984 compared to 6182 in 1982. DYFI membership was 8175 in 1984 compared to a thousand in 1982.

Kisan Sabha works only in a few pockets. In Adivasi area only in Sahdol and Bihar. State Kisan Sabha committee is defunct and revival of the committee and organisation is immediate priority after the conference. There was 25,000 members in 1983-84 but no membership has been deposited this year.

AIDWA work has developed in Gwalior, Morena, Raipur and Raigarh. Work has also started recently in Bhopal. Attention will have to be paid now for a state-level functioning body.

In the trade union front despite many struggles and growing influence of the CITU unions and organisation has not shown any improvement. In the Coal belt our influence has grown but the membership increase is marginal. In Bhilai the work of the fraction is improving. But in major textile centres Bhopal-Jabalpur etc, no organised work has progressed. The CITU centre is functioning only minimally and it has to be strengthened. CITU Unions' membership has not been ascertained.

At the party level with a weak state centre and a state with vast areas, federal tendency among district units get pronounced and the state committee must check this trend and concentrate work in the areas selected by them to consolidate the work done so far. Training of cadres politically and ideologically will have to be given high priority.

There has been no increase in the circulation of Lok Lahar in this period, in fact there is a slight drop. It stands at a thousand currently which is low for such a big state and the growing needs of the Party's activities.

Analysis of the credentials report shows that 49 per cent of the delegates were aged 35 years and below. 53 per cent were graduates and post graduates. This youthful and educated composition has to be intensively trained to take up the tasks of developing the party in this important and big State.

## HIMACHAL PRADESH

This weak State for the Party and the Left movement has registered good progress in party membership. From 273 in 1981 it has more than doubled to 621. The Party has been able to increase its influence among different sections of the population particularly, students, youth and workers. In this the Party has been greatly helped by the growth in the student front. The SFI membership stood at 8985 in 1984 as compared to 5165 in 1981. The SFI won in 12 out of the 15 college union elections held in 1984. It is also the strongest force in the Himachal University campus.

The CITU has also developed its activities and the recent 60 day strike by hotel workers in Simla showed that the CITU union had emerged as the biggest force. There are now over 4000 workers organised into 13 unions.

The DYFI has now increased its membership to 14,000 in 1984 and it has membership in all the six districts.

The growing impact of the party can be seen from the fact that in the March Assembly elections, the Party candidate polled 5368 votes as against the Congress(I)'s 8825 and BJP's 8195.

The State Committee was not functioning with a centre at the time of the last Conference. Now since a year, the State Party office has been set up in Simla.

There are 24 wholetimers today as compared to 1981 when there were four wholetimers, of which 18 are paid wages.

The Party membership is organised into seven district committees and a local committee. In which there are 61 branches.

The State Conference credentials report has shown that out of 103 delegates and observers 55 were post graduates or graduates. Of the total 75 per cent joined the Party after 1977. If these cadres are properly trained and equipped, the Party can make quick progress in this State.

The Kisan Sabha membership which was around 4,000 in 81-82 has gone up to 7365 in 1984-85, with work centred in five districts. There has been improvement in the meetings of the State Kisan Council. District and village level organisation will have to be strengthened.

The circulation of Lok Lahar is only 375 which has to be improved.

## HARYANA

Haryana is a region which during the days of the imperialist movement had been deprived of the progressive impact of the mass participation against imperialism. The peasant mass had been mobilised by the Union Party headed by Sir Choturam who advocated collaboration with the British while campaigning peasant demands. As a result the Left movement has been historically weak and the influence of casteism is very strong.

In the past few years since the emergency, the Party has made progress in advancing its activities and building up mass organisations. It has been successful in attracting educated youth from the urban and rural areas and the student and youth fronts have developed and expanded their base. The

SFI membership has increased to 7792 in 1984 as compared to 3382 in 1981. The DYFI membership stands at 7,457 now as compared to 2,200 in 1981.

The State Centre has been strengthened by the establishment of a State office at Rohtak which was absent at the time of the last Conference. The functioning of the State Committee and Secretariat has shown improvement while more attention will have to be paid to removing the weaknesses in the functioning of the district committees. The Party members and district cadres have to be educated on Communist method of work in mass organisations.

On the trade union front, the membership of the CITU unions have been adversely affected with large-scale closures such as the Hissar Textile Mills and the absence of a regularly functioning CITU State Centre. The membership in 1984 of the unions was 7000.

The Party has paid some attention to organise cultural forums and debates to counter the grip of the feudal and backward ideologies of casteism and communalism which have met with a good response. This will have to be stepped up.

The Bhajan Lal Government has set up a notorious record in its corrupt practices, unscrupulous defections and goondaism. A nexus of corrupt officials/police, Congressmen and goondas are terrorising different sections of society and the opposition. They are also to break workers' struggles in factories.

The Haryana Party took a correct and principled stand on the Punjab accord and refused to be drawn into the stand of the bourgeois opposition parties like Lok Dal and BJP who opposed the accord and began a campaign.

The State Conference has stressed the importance of re-orienting work in the Kisan Sabha and building up a effective organisation in view of the growing discontent among the peasantry with the impact of the agrarian crisis. The Kisan membership is only 4104 in 1984-85.

On the ideological and educational front, the fact that 65% of the delegates joined the Party in 1977 shows the urgent necessity for training and equipping them on Marxist-Leninist lines. In this connection the failure to step up sales of Lok Lahar which stands today at 553 was noted.

## PUNJAB

Since the 1981 State Conference at Nakodar, Punjab has gone through a critical period for its people and the democratic movement. Four years back the State Conference had noted :

"In Punjab, the activities of communal, extremist and separatist forces under the slogan of Khalistan are increasing and communal tension and division is growing which is endangering the democratic movement of the State.....

"After the split in the Akali Dal both Akali Dals are vying with each other in rousing the religious and chauvinist feelings of the Sikhs. Both Akali Dals are raising provocative slogans of "Sikhs are a separate nation" and

for realizing the Anandpur resolution. Consequently the situation in Punjab started deteriorating and communal tensions increased....

“While the communalists of both the hues - Hindu and Sikh - and Sikh extremists and separatists are responsible for deteriorating the situation, both the factions of the ruling party Congress(I) in Punjab and the State Government are also responsible for it. The fact is that the Government instead of finding political solution of Punjab problems, it is causing great harm to the cause of Punjabi people and pursuing the policy of provoking strife amongst communities and amongst States.....”

During this period the Party and the mass organisations led by it took a consistent stand against the activities of the extremists and communal forces and vigorously campaigned for communal amity, exposing the imperialist conspiracy to support the separatist Khalistani elements and to defend secularism by rallying the Punjabi people as a whole on their common demands.

The State Conference Report has noted that the happenings of the last four years have fully proved the correctness of the decisions, approach and policy adopted by the State Committee and the Central Committee.

In brief, this understanding can be summed up as follows:-

- 1) “To rouse the people against the danger posed to communal harmony, unity of Punjabi people and to unity and integrity of India by the extremists and separatists supported by Imperialists, particularly American imperialists and Pak Military clique. and to combat this danger.
- 2) Main responsibility for worsening the Punjab situation devolves upon the Central Government and Congress(I). The Central Govt. instead of relying merely on administrative approach should adopt a political approach for solving the Punjab tangle through negotiations; it should differentiate between Akali Dal and extremists.
- 3) The Akali Dal also who did not clearly demarcate from the extremists, cannot escape responsibility for worsening the situation.
- 4) Similarly, Hindi communalists also contributed to aggravating the situation.
- 5) Akali Dal’s approach of presenting common Punjabi demands as that of Sikhs alone, alienated it from democratic mainstream of the country; these common demands can only be achieved by disassociating from extremists and with the co-operation and support of secular and democratic forces of the country.”

The Party and the mass organisations launched various campaigns to rally the people against the extremists and for communal harmony. The Party published and distributed thousands of pamphlets, among which were Com. Surjit’s letter to Prakash Singh Badal, Mrs. Gandhi and the open letter to Sant Harchand Singh Longowal. A fortnight in June 1982 was observed through hall meetings and rallies in all districts to take the party line to the people. The CITU, Kisan Sabha, DYFI and SFI also carried on the

independent programmes by holding rallies and conferences through their respective platforms. In Sept. 1983 a massive demonstration was held at Chandigarh to pressurise the Central Govt. to make a political settlement. The police resorted to severe lathi charge resulting in over 200 comrades being injured. One comrade from Sangrur district died due to the injuries sustained.

The Party took the initiative for united actions to intervene in the deteriorating Punjab situation. Five Opposition Parties decided to launch a joint campaign. This campaign led to joint rallies in many districts and the State level rally in January 1984. More than 50,000 people participated in this rally. In January joint peace marches were also held by the CITU and AITUC. The Railway workers also took out jointly an impressive peace march in the city. These activities were conducted in the face of dire threats from the extremist elements who raised the slogan of liquidating "atheists".

The State conference reviewing the work during this period, observed that there were certain weaknesses also. These were:—

- a) The understanding of the party in its totality could not be grasped by all the comrades in the beginning. The imperialist intervention and the threat it posed to the unity of India through the activities of the extremists could not be fully grasped.
- b) Our ideological campaign against the communal appeal and the ideology of the Akali Dal remained weak. Criticism of the Akali Dal for its responsibility for worsening the situation remained mild. The difference between the Akali Dal and the extremists was correctly made, but alongside it, it was also necessary to wage continuous ideological campaign against the communal appeal made by the Akali Dal. Had this campaign been carried out more consistently, our work would have yielded better results.

Summing up the State conference report noted:

"During the last four years Party remained active in carrying out this campaign. This campaign made good impact on the minds of the people in the State. The party has emerged before the people as a consistent champion of unity and integrity of the country and communal harmony, and also defender of minorities. That is why, people particularly minorities and Harijans looked towards the party with increased respect."

In the elections to the Assembly held in Sept. 1985, the communal polarisation and the impact of the assassination of Sant Longowal led to the victory of Akali Party. Our party did not win any seat in the Assembly. The Party conducted a vigorous election campaign propagating its line and demarcating from both the Congress(I) and Akali Dal. The review of the election results noted that the Sikh peasantry was influenced by the communal polarisation and a section of the Sikh peasantry under party's influence also voted for the Akali Dal.

It is a positive feature that the election results have not demoralised our ranks and the party as a whole is unified behind the political line.

The State conference report has laid stress on the necessity for stepping up our ideological struggle against all forms of religious fundamentalism and communal ideology. The whole Party must take up this as a priority task while conducting day to day struggles of different sections of the people.

On the Organisational front, it is noted that there is no noteworthy increase in the Party membership. The abnormal situation in Punjab has had its effect on the expansion of the party membership. The Party membership is 7305 in 1985 as compared to 6450 in 1981. The mass organisations' membership is as follows:-

1) Kisan Sabha .....	90.000
2) Agrl. Workers Union..	57,575
3) DYFI.....	24.766
4) SFI.....	20,473

The conference has emphasised the importance of improving the quality and circulation of the Daily Loklahar.

The Credentials Report shows that the age composition of the party is changing. 17% of the delegates were 30 years and below of age and another 46% were 31 to 50 years of age. As for class composition, 3% were from the working class; 21% Agrl. labour; 22% poor peasants; 39% middle peasants; and 5% rich peasants.

### MAHARASHTRA

The State Conference report noted that several united struggles and independent activities of the Party have taken place in the period since the Eleventh Congress. However, not much progress has been registered in the task of forging a left and democratic front. The anti-authoritarian platform has also received a set back with the break-up of the Progressive Democratic Front. The report notes the possibilities for building a front of left and democratic forces on a new basis in the state is emerging. However, in order for this to advance, it is clear that parties like the BJP will have to be scrupulously kept away. The review of the 1985 assembly elections highlighted this fact in view of the experience of the Congress(S), Janata and PWP jettisoning the left and democratic alliance to team with the BJP.

The report it recounts the significant role of the Party in the success of the "Bharat Bandh" of January 19, 1982; the CITU-led militant struggle of 5 lakh powerloom workers in 1984; the massive all-Party unity and Bandh on January 31, 1984 in support of the peasant struggle in Uran (Dist. Raigad) for adequate compensation for land taken by the ONGC — a struggle, moreover, which was sought to be drowned in blood by the Congress(I) rulers; resulting in five martyrs.

The three Left parties in the State - viz., the CPI(M), CPI, and PWP (Peasants and Workers Party) - and the mass organisations led by them

organised three major joint actions during this period :— the Peasant-Agricultural Workers' March to the Maharashtra Assembly in Nagpur on December 20, 1982, the one-lakh statewide participation in the Jail Bharo stir of November 22, 1983, and the massive state level Student-Youth demonstration in Bombay on September 21, 1984.

Independently, the Party organised a major demonstration in Bombay on April 11, 1984 to protest against the landlord atrocities on Adivasis at Shelti in Dhule district. Other independent activities included the observation of the National Integration Week in April 1982 and the Punjab Week in July 1984, both these being Central Party calls. The Karl Marx Death Centenary was also observed in many districts in 1983, as also the September 1 International Peace Day each year.

Inner-Congress rivalry, has had the disastrous effect of aiding and abetting divisive and reactionary forces like the Shiv Sena, Muslim fundamentalism, Maratha Mahasangh and the like. Analysing the May 1984 communal holocaust at Bhiwandi, Thane and Bombay, as well as the attempts to whip up passions on the questions of reservations, the report particularly stresses the grave danger that divisive forces pose in Maharashtra today.

The report then analyses the two "independent" leaderships that have emerged in the State in the trade-union and kisan fields viz., the Datta Samant-led Kumgar Aghadi (Worker's Front) and the Sharad Joshi-led Shetkari Sanghatana (Peasant's Organisation). While nursing no illusions about the class nature of these organisations, the Party has supported some of the specific agitations led by them and joined in united actions with them from time to time. e.g., stir against the new textile policy, remunerative prices for agricultural produce, the Bombay textile strike and so on. But the report also draws attention to the recent opportunist attempts in the direction of forming a Bal Thackeray-Sharad Joshi-Datta Samant axis in Maharashtra, noting its grave implications.

### Organisational Picture

The Organisational report self-critically examines the working of the Party in the light of the guidance of the Salkia Plenum.

Party membership since the last Conference has registered a modest increase from 3,331 (1981) to 4,472 (1985). Effective steps, however, need to be taken to enhance the quality of this membership.

The mass organisations have registered some growth as the following figures show :

	1981-82	1984-85
CITU	58,000	72,000
AIKS	42,000	48,000
SFI	31,856	50,380
DYFI	2,200	12,000
AIAWU		15,474

CITU membership has increased from 58,000 at the last Conference to about 72,000 at present, but this membership is mainly restricted to the smaller factories. In the key industries like docks, transport, electricity and power, and the major fields like textile and sugar industry, it is a negligible force. However, CITU work has begun among sections of rural workers.

During this period the CITU has played a significant role in initiating united actions on various issues. Independently, the CITU-led powerloom workers struggle in Ichalkaranji, Solapur and Sangli in 1984 was undoubtedly an important landmark. But due mainly to its weakness on the textile front in Bombay, effective independent intervention was not possible in the Bombay textile strike, though the CITU did play an important role in united actions during the strike. In general, independent activity of CITU unions has lagged behind.

A party plenum on the trade union front was held in March 1983, and this laid down valuable guidelines for future work.

The Kisan Sabha membership increased from 42,000 at the last conference to 80,000 in 1984. The bulk of the membership is, however, restricted to the Adivasi areas. A Party plenum on the Kisan Front was held in February 1984, and it has stressed that there is no future for the Party unless the movement rapidly extends to the vast mass of the peasantry. The Plenum has laid down important guidelines for achieving such expansion of the Kisan Sabha.

The Agricultural Workers Union was started in the State in 1983, and its membership today stands at 15,474. Its main work is concentrated at present in Thane, Dhule, Nasik, Amravati and Beed districts. It has fought a number of battles in this period, for minimum wages and other problems.

The report notes the progress made by the SFI in various fields during this period. SFI membership which was 31,856 in the last Conference, increased to 1,03,193 in 1983, but due to the pre-occupation with Lok Sabha elections last year and other organisational weaknesses, it fell to 50,380 in 1984. However, advances have been registered in the fields of movement and agitations, organisations, political education of cadres and party-building. Though the organisation has spread to 25 districts, its consolidation and removal of some serious organisational weaknesses remains a priority task.

DYFI co-ordination at the State level was started only in 1984, but with a membership of 12,000 at present spread over around 10 districts there are hopeful signs for its rapid growth.

The Mahila Front has organised united and independent actions against price-rise and other issues in places like Bombay, Thane, Raigad and Ichalkaranji. There is now need for state-level co-ordination. In the above places, the Mahila Front plays a role in organising women's resistance to high prices, violation of women's rights and atrocities against women.

The influence of the Party has increased on several other fronts as well. Party comrades lead important mass organisations. Its influence among the

college teachers' organisation, especially, has increased, and it has been able to lead several important struggles of college teachers.

The organisational report stresses the need to increase the circulation and sale of the Party weekly "Jeevanmarg" and other party journals and publications.

The credentials report of the Conference states that 54% of the delegates were aged 40 years and below. 63% had joined the Party after 1970. This indicates that a new generation of cadres is coming up at the different levels of the Party. For the future growth of the Party this composition will have to be kept in mind and organisational steps taken to develop them to fulfil the Party and mass organisation responsibilities.

## Appendix

### ANALYSIS OF CREDENTIAL REPORTS OF STATE CONFERENCES DELEGATES AND OBSERVERS

#### 1. Age Classification

State	Below 30 years	31-40	41-50	51-60	above 60 yrs
1. Andhra	16%	42%	30%	-	11%
		(35-45)	(46-60)		
2. Assam	17%	42%	26%	9%	6%
3. Bihar	11%	70%	-	19%	
		(31-50)		(above-50)	
4. Tripura	10%	41%	24%	16%	9%
5. U.P.	11%	34%	33%	11%	11%
6. Delhi	23%	41%	28%	4%	3%
7. M.P.	11%	38%	37%	16%	
	(below-25)	(26-35)	(36-50)	(above-50)	
8. Haryana	21%	51%	20%	9%	4%
9. Rajasthan	27%	34%	19%	12%	7%
10. Himachal	-	-	-	-	-
11. Karnataka	43%	30%	17%	10%	-
	(below 35)	(36-45)	(46-55)	(56-75)	
12. Kerala	7%	23%	27%	30%	12%
13. Orissa	16%	51%	20%	10%	3%
14. Tamilnadu	11%	39%	26%	17%	7%
15. West Bengal	-	25%	33%	25%	17%
16. Maharashtra	20%	34%	19%	17%	9%

In the above states on the average 53% of delegates and observers were below 40 years of age.

## II. Period of Party life

State	Pre-1947	Pre-64	65-70	1971-76	Post-77
1. Andhra	20%	26%	36%	-	18%
			(1965-77)		
2. Assam	4%	9%	39%	-	48%
			(1965-77)		
3. Bihar	-	20%	47%	-	33%
			(1965-75)		(post-75)
4. Tripura	8%	13%	31%	32%	17%
	(post-1950)				
5. U.P.	19%	-	33%	-	48%
			(1965-77)		
6. Haryana	-	10	12%	12%	66%
7. M.P.	-	11%	21%	-	68%
			(1965-76)		
8. Delhi	1%	6%	10%	19%	63%
9. Rajasthan	-	27%	8%	13%	51%
				(1971-75)	(post-75)
10. Himachal	-	10%	15%	-	75%
			(1965-77)		
11. Karnataka	5%	22%	44%	-	29%
			(1965-78)		(post-78)
12. Kerala	10%	53%	18%	14%	4%
	(upto 1945)				
13. Orissa	2.5%	11%	17.5%	41%	28%
14. Tamilnadu	9%	26%	43%	-	22%
			(1965-77)		
15. West Bengal	15%	38%	31%	10%	5%
16. Maharashtra	8%	17%	11%	48%	15%
				(1971-80)	(post-80)

On the average 38% of delegates and observers in the above states joined the Party in the post-1977 period.

### III. Educational Qualifications

State	Post-graduate	graduate	Inter/Matric Higher Secondary	Elementary to Class 10	Primary
1. Andhra	27% (both post-graduate & graduate)		15%	43%	14%
2 Assam	-	-	-	-	-
3 Bihar	14%	33%	15%	29%	7%(literate 3%)
4 Tripura	5%	27%	31%	37% (incl. Primary)	
5 U.P.	49% (both post-graduate & graduate)		30%	-	20%
6 Delhi	27%	26%	24%	24%	18%(literate 1%) (upto primary)
7 M.P.	23%	30%	25%	26% (incl. primary)	-
8 Haryana	28%	19%	29%	25%	8%
9 Rajasthan	17%	21%	35%	9%	11%
10 Himachal	29%	24%	-	-	-
11 Karnataka	30% (both post-graduate & graduate)		28%	10%	30%
12 Kerala	6%	21%	37%	17%	14%
13 Orissa	11%	30%	35%	24% (below Matric)	-
14 Tamilnadu	7%	17%	37%	38% (upto elementary)	-
15 West Bengal	-	-	-	-	-
16 Maharashtra	10%	19%	32%	8%	27%(literate 4%)

On the average, 39% of the delegates and observers in the above states were graduates or post-graduates.

IV. Class Background

J 719

State	Worker	Agri. Worker	Poor Peasant	Middle Peasant	Rich Peasant	Land-Lord	Middle Class	Bourgeois
Andhra	4%	18%	16%	39%	15%	8%	13%	(other 7%)
Assam	5%	-	18%	24%	6%	1%	45%	-
Bihar	7%	3%	27%	42%	5%	5%	11%	-
Tripura	3%	29%	-	20%	0.4%	-	49%	-
(Both agri. worker and poor peasant)								
U.P.	11%	5%	31%	22%	-	-	29%	-
Delhi	43%	-	-	3%	2%	-	50%	-
M.P.	31%	-	4%	19%	-	-	46%	-
Haryana	17%	-	2%	51%	1%	-	29%	-
Rajasthan	22%	2%	40%	-	1%	-	19%	(15% unknown)
(both poor & middle)								
Himachal	26%	3%	34%	-	2%	-	35%	-
Karnataka	53%	5%	13%	(sm peasant)	1%	-	28%	-
Kerala	28%	9%	67%	-	-	-	2%	-
(all categories of peasant)								
Orissa	5%	1%	11%	6%	1%	5%	71%	-
Tamilnadu	26%	11%	20%	17%	1%	1%	23%	-
West Bengal	5%	1%	13%	-	-	4%	76%	-
(all categories of peasant)								
Maha-rashtra	16%	-	59%	-	-	-	25%	-

On the average, 24% of the delegates and observers in the above states were of working class and agricultural labour organ.

\*\*\*\*\*







320-954  
COM

**Political-Organisational Report**  
OF THE  
**Central Committee**  
FOR THE  
**12th Congress of the**  
**Communist Party of India (Marxist)**

Calcutta, Dec. 25-30, 1985