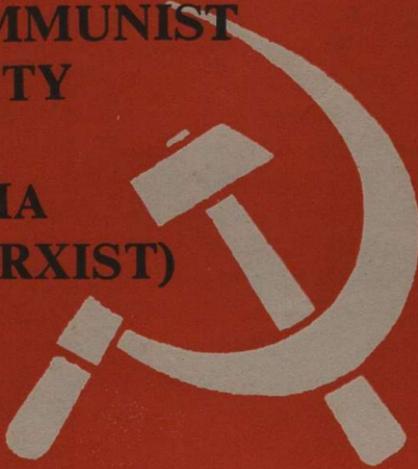


**COMMUNIST
PARTY
OF
INDIA
(MARXIST)**



**POLITICAL
ORGANISATIONAL
REPORT**

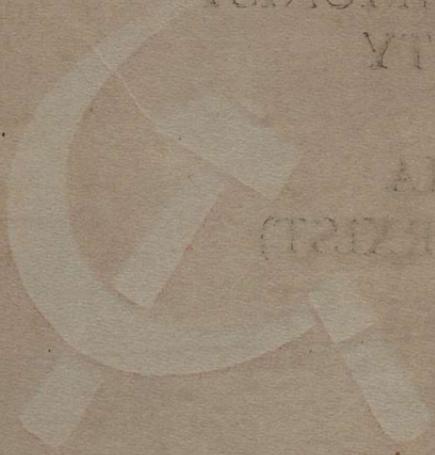
**OF THE THIRTEENTH CONGRESS OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MARXIST)**

Trivandrum, Dec. 27, 1988 to Jan 1, 1989

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COMMUNIST
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(MARXIST)



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POLITICAL ORGANISATIONAL REPORT

The three years since the Twelfth Party Congress have been years of momentous developments in the international arena. The forces of peace, democracy and socialism have gained an edge over the forces of war and aggression.

A significant development of great importance has been the agreement between the Soviet Union and the USA to eliminate all medium and short-range missiles from Europe. Though this covers only 4 to 5 per cent of the total nuclear weaponry, it is the first time that such an agreement was reached. Many hurdles like verification are being overcome and joint teams of the two countries are in each other's territory to verify implementation of the agreement already reached.

U.S. imperialism today is being cornered by the forces of peace headed by the USSR, and its capacity to deceive the people about its security concerns has been eroded. Its promises of a quick decisive war stand exposed. The peace movements in advanced capitalist countries are growing stronger registering new successes. The people of all countries are growingly aware of the dangers of nuclear war in which nobody can be the winner; it can only result in destroying what humanity has created so far.

This change in the situation and the victories of the world peace forces have become possible mainly due to the efforts of the Soviet Union and its industrial, military and political might. The nuclear and military parity which the Soviet Union gained with the U.S. imperialists, has played a major role in bringing about this situation. It was at the same time followed up by a consistent struggle by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries against the dangers of nuclear war, for elimination of nuclear weapons, reduction of armaments and innumerable steps to strengthen the forces of peace. This has been backed up by the declaration by the USSR that under no circumstances would it allow military parity to be altered; its repeated assertion that military superiority by the other side would not be allowed. The programme advanced in January 1986 for the three-stage reduction of nuclear arms with their total elimination by the year AD 2000 was a landmark in this struggle. It galvanised the forces fighting for peace.

The declaration that the Soviet Union would never be the first to use nuclear weapons, and a similar declaration by China, showed to the people of the world that whereas the socialist countries stand for peace, it is imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, which is driving the world towards war. It was due to the initiatives of the Soviet Union and the campaign launched by the world forces fighting for peace, that the three summits between the USA and the USSR could take place.

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The 19th Party Conference of the CPSU held on June 28, 1988, taking note of the changes in favour of peace, rightly warned that while the threat of war has been forestalled, it does not contradict the conclusion that the threat of war has yet to be removed, and no illusions are to be harboured on this score. A proper understanding is required while taking note of the changed correlation of forces. It has to be understood that while a situation has been created where nuclear war can be averted, in order to defeat the imperialist manoeuvres the struggle for peace has to be further strengthened.

But the situation still remains complicated; as Comrade Gorbachev put it 'if one reads international developments in recent years perhaps everyone would agree that the situation in the world in 1987 was better than in 1986, while 1989 will be better than the current year. I am saying this relying on well-known facts, the first step in the field of nuclear disarmament and settlement of regional conflicts and certain easing of confrontations on the international scene as a whole. We have not yet passed the point beyond which it would be impossible to return to the former state of hostility, mutual distrust and feverish military build up. . . The matter at issue is not only the activeness of extreme right-wing, reactionary forces which do not like this current development.'

'A deficit of responsibility for the future, which makes itself felt in the policies of some of our Western partners, and a desire to use the current situation for selfish interests ignoring possible baneful consequences for international cooperation, may prove an even more dangerous factor' (Emphasis added).

This reality must always be borne in mind while strengthening the struggle for peace. In early 1988, Gorbachev had to deliver another warning. Warning the USA about the SDI Project in his NBC interview he said 'Well, it is really hard to say what the Soviet Union is not doing; Soviet Union is

practically doing everything that the United States is doing. I will say we are engaged in basic research which relates to those aspects which are covered by SDI in the United States. But we will not build an SDI. We will not deploy SDI and we call upon the US to act similarly. If the Americans fail to heed this call we will find a response that will be ten to a hundred times cheaper, but then the guilt, blame will be with the Americans, with the U.S. administration (International Affairs No. 4, 1988).

The Central Committee in its documents on ideological differences reasserted its understanding of the sharpening of the major contradictions in the international world, expressed its differences with the formulations made in the Third Section of Gorbachev's speech on the occasion of the 70th Anniversary of the October Revolution, the section entitled 'October Revolution and Today's world'. After dealing with the contradictions of the present period, their intensification and examining the new estimates made on the contradictions by Gorbachev, the document says: 'To sum up, the assessment of the international situation made in the third section 'October Revolution and Today's World' in the anniversary report goes against our Party's understanding and it is directly contradictory to it. It breaks with the accepted understanding in the Communist movement which recognizes the sharpening contradictions of the present world, the growing intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, the growing instability of the imperialist capitalist system, the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, the growing resistance of the Third World to imperialist exploitation, the rising power of the socialist camp and shift in the balance of forces in favour of socialism, the working class and the liberation movement. The report gives due recognition to the developing peace movement as an integral part of the world revolutionary process, to the vital role played by the Soviet Union in defending peace and the rapid growth of the peace movement which continues to reach wider and wider sections often becoming a very powerful force in the advanced countries of the West.

'It is a matter of great surprise that the report hardly takes note of the general crisis of capitalism which provides the soil for intensification of the class struggle and the contradictions. On the other hand, it is advocated that the imperialist system in its own interests will seek some compromise with the

working class and the Third World countries. It is presented as if the imperialist system is entering upon a new period of stabilisation and expansion and the revolutionary movement will have to be carried on in a low key. This understanding liquidates the understanding of the present epoch, its transitional character and prospects of the advance of the world movement.'

INTENSIFIED LIBERATION STRUGGLES

The intensified struggles of Third World countries against American imperialism are euphemistically described as regional conflicts. They are made to appear as if they are conflicts between some Third World countries eliminating the imperialist role of incitement and aggression. These struggles whether against apartheid or the freedom of Namibia, Angola, Palestine taking place in the background of the favourable changes in the balance of world forces, have been immensely intensified in recent years, and do whatever it could, imperialism was unable to settle them through force. Today because of the persistent struggle and sacrifice of the people concerned, helped by the forces of peace, freedom and socialism, imperialism and its agencies are often forced to talk about dialogue and agreement though they have absolutely no intention of really reaching an abiding agreement based on the democratic rights of the people concerned. What importance they attach to agreements and accords is seen from their complete violation of the Accord on Afghanistan. Forced to sign some of these agreements imperialists and reactionaries are trying to sabotage them.

Another significant development is an upsurge in different countries against apartheid and racism, against military rule and various forms of dictatorship. The struggle of the South African people against apartheid has assumed new proportions. There is a powerful world-wide demand for the release of Nelson Mandela and world-wide support for the fighting people of South Africa against racism and apartheid. This period witnessed the historic uprising in the Western Bank and Gaza Strip by the Palestinian people which has created a new situation. The King of Jordan had to agree to an independent Palestine State on the West Bank, and the PNC declared the formation of an independent state on the West

Bank and Gaza Strip with Jerusalem as its capital. It also decided to form a Government-in-exile.

The fascist Pinochet dictatorship in Chile was forced to hold a referendum in which the people voted in favour of democracy, defying the machinery of repression and terror. Pinochet is still manoeuvring to by-pass the determined will of the people.

Recently Burma has seen another big upsurge against one-party rule of the army and General Ne Win, and the mass movement demands the formation of a democratic government through elections.

The people of Bangladesh have been participating in big struggles for restoration of democracy.

The people of Pakistan through a prolonged struggle against the military regime and for restoration of democracy have secured a big victory. After eleven years of struggle a popular government headed by Ms. Benazir Bhutto has been installed.

But all this should not lead us to complacency. Though forced to retreat time and again, imperialism resorts to new manoeuvres to perpetuate its exploitation and to bar the way to social changes in the developing countries.

ON CONTRADICTIONS

We have explained at length our position on fundamental contradictions in the political resolution. They are getting aggravated and we do not want to repeat what has been stated there. We want to make it clear that we do not agree with those who say that the fundamental contradictions are being modified, with the logic that perhaps without eliminating them a solution could be found. This is against the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism and has been explained in the May 1988 C.C Resolution. It is very clear that all the four fundamental contradictions are getting intensified. They have been dealt with above, on the question of war and peace.

The US, UK and West German Governments continue to support the racist regime of South Africa which is out to maintain the odious apartheid regime and which is constantly defying the UN Resolution on Namibian independence. Even after the agreement on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola within 27 months, they try to link up this question with

that of Namibian independence. World imperialism is making all efforts at trying to dilute the content of UN Resolution No. 435 by reducing the strength of the UN Peace Keeping forces. The Non-aligned Movement, the progressive forces the world over are correctly demanding the strict implementation of this Resolution so that free and fair elections are held during Namibia's transition to independence and not allowing the South African forces to interfere. The Moroccan regime backed by U.S. imperialism is still not prepared to implement the UN Resolution on Independence on Western Sahara (Subsequently the King of Morocco met with the President of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic and started negotiations to end the conflict. This is a major victory for the Polisario fighters.) The U.S. imperialists are encouraging the contras not to come to a settlement with the Government of Nicaragua, which is faced with the constant aggression and disruption of peaceful life. Nicaragua fights on to preserve its independence in difficult conditions. (The Summit of the Central American Presidents held after the Party Congress, in February 1989 has been an event of immense significance and a victory for the revolutionary forces in the region. The agreement to stop all military aid to the contras and to rehabilitate them accompanied by the general elections in Nicaragua which were already due to be held in 1990 has been a severe blow to US imperialist designs in the region.)

The USA is determined to prevent any progress in talks for lessening tension in the Korean Peninsula for reunification of the Korean nation. Its troops and nuclear stockpiles in South Korea are a serious menace to peace in that region. Imperialism even now does not hesitate to intervene in the internal affairs of any country to perpetuate reactionary regimes throttling the democratic rights of the people. It lends its support to dictatorial and military regimes, whose main job is to brutally suppress the democratic movement in those countries. The Government of the Peoples Republic of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people have fought off all attempts to destabilise the country by the imperialist backed intervention from the Thailand border. They are making progress towards setting up of a government of national reconciliation.

With this policy of creating tensions in different regions the Asian Pacific region has become a danger spot where, in the Phillippines, South Korea, Indian and Pacific Oceans and

Pakistan, imperialism continues to strengthen its bases with nuclear weapons. It thwarts the holding of the Conference on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace despite the UN Resolution of 1971. The USA continues to strengthen its military base in Diego Garcia in total disregard of the legitimate demand of Mauritius for the return of the Islands. All these pose a grave threat to peace. But the healthy manifestation of the people asserting their will everywhere can be seen. On the demand for Korean unification, on the withdrawal of U.S. bases from the Philippines, Diego Garcia and other places, for creation of zones of peace—all these demands are gathering wider and wider popular support. The people are no more willing to tolerate military and dictatorial regimes.

The second world war started as a conflict between imperialist powers—an expression of the acute contradictions between imperialist powers. But the change in the balance of class forces after the victory of the Soviet Union in the anti-fascist war and the emergence of the United State of America as the dominant power among the imperialists, prevented the inter-imperialist contradictions taking an extreme form. As Gorbachev puts in it in his 70th Anniversary speech; 'Today the situation is different. it is not only the lesson of the past, but also the fear of sapping is own strength in the face of socialism by now a world system, that has prevented capitalism from allowing its internal contradictions to go to extremes.'

Our document correctly points out the significance of this. It says: 'The report correctly states that war among imperialist powers has not broken out because of fear of sapping their strength in the face of socialism. What does this show? The intensification of contradiction between imperialism and socialism and subordination of intra-imperialist contradictions to the needs of the basic contradictions of our period.' (C.C Resolution 'On Certain Ideological Questions')

Inter-imperialist contradictions not only get expressed in trade and currency wars, but very often take the form of organising and encouraging armed local conflicts among Third World countries whom they want to be their clients. In the last few decades scores of such conflicts have been organised to ensure each its share of neo-colonialist exploitation. Consequently arms trade has become a rich source of profit for all imperialist powers.

In relation to the Third World countries, after the success of the national liberation movements and collapse of the old colonial order, it has become very difficult for the imperialists to establish direct rule over Third World countries, or directly intervene militarily to subjugate new territories, though there are instances of direct military intervention as in Grenada and Libya. But today, along with methods of neo-colonialist exploitation, debt-burden, robbery through trade, etc., imperialism uses insurgency against democratic regimes, support reactionary classes, military help to dictatorial regimes, to keep in check the revolt against exploitation and domination. The intervention in Afghanistan, the support to Israel and South Africa, the pouring in of arms to Pakistan, the support to Khalistanis, are all methods of indirect armed intervention in one form or another. The latter methods are used when the exploited in a country are no longer content to accept their status as objects of neo-colonial exploitation. It is because of this that in several countries the people have to carry on a prolonged armed struggle against imperialist agencies.

Therefore it is not a question of modification of contradictions.

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS AND THE ROLE OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The Resolution of the Twelfth Congress had stated: 'While correctly assigning importance to the policy of non-alignment of the governments of these countries, some communist parties and socialist countries underestimate the importance of the people's struggle in Third world countries and concentrate their attention only on the ruling governments. This does great harm to the anti-imperialist struggle when the people of these countries are forging ahead decisively to wage an irreconcilable fight. Today the contradictions between the people and imperialism have sharpened beyond measure, and it will be thoroughly disruptive to underestimate the importance of the people's struggle for democracy freedom and economic advance in these countries.'

This tendency still persists and compromises the position of the socialist countries and the world communist movement in the eyes of the people. While it is necessary to strengthen relations between the socialist countries and the governments of

the newly liberated countries which are playing an important role in the struggle for peace, it is also to be realised that only the strengthening of the working class and the democratic movements in these countries can guarantee success in the struggle against imperialism. It is necessary for the world communist movement to express solidarity with the working class and other toiling peoples struggling in their countries in defence of their interests and for social advance.

OUR ROLE IN PEACE MOVEMENT

In the report of the Twelfth Congress we had pointed out the weakness of the peace movement in our country and the necessity to overcome the lag. During the last three years we have succeeded to a great extent in broadening the base of our peace movement and mobilising the people behind it. Since our people have not gone through the horrifying experience of the devastating effects of the two world wars which most of the European countries have, and have had no experience of a nuclear bomb as the Japanese have, our people are not conscious of the danger threatening the entire humanity, including ourselves. Nor are the political parties of the country in general—ruling or the opposition, except the Left—interested in making the people aware of the threat of war against which they have to fight along with their bretheren in several other countries. The peace movement, therefore, is weaker here than in other countries. It is for us, along with other Left and democratic forces, to develop a powerful peace movement. This is all the more necessary because of India's important role in world affairs. It must be understood that if India does not take a firm position in support of the forces of peace, the correlation of forces in the world changes, which would be very detrimental to the world struggles for peace in which we are very much interested. In order to see that India takes a consistent position we have to take the issue of peace to the mass of our people, especially the working class, peasants, youth, students, women, intelligentsia and others.

During the last three years our Party took certain initiatives to bring together many political parties, individuals and mass organisations on a common platform on the issue of world peace. These efforts culminated in the successful holding of a mass meeting in November 1986, on the

eve of Comrade Gorbachev's visit and the signing of the Delhi Declaration. A National Campaign Committee was also set up with the aim of actively uniting the people of our country in the struggle for world peace. However, some of the constituents did not show sufficient interest in carrying the process forward. We therefore, had to fall on our independent initiative.

The Party and the mass organisations have taken up the task of mobilising the people on the issue of world peace and anti-imperialism. The observation of the world peace day on September 1 all over the country, the observance of the world peace wave as a part of the international campaign on October 24, 1987, the observations of Hiroshima, Nagasaki days, the big solidarity campaigns organised in support of the Nicaraguan Revolution and the substantial monetary help given to them, the subsequent big campaigns demanding the release of Nelson Mandela, the highlight of which was the massive rally in Calcutta on September 1, 1988 which combined the slogan of fight for world peace with the struggle against imperialism focussing the struggle of South African people and the release of Nelson Mandela are some of the actions in which our Party and the mass organisations led by it played an important role.

Meanwhile, after prolonged discussions with the CPI we arrived at an agreement to make the AIPSO as broadbased as possible embracing different political parties, mass organisations, groups and individuals and ensuring its democratic functioning. We have been working in the AIPSO since April 1987. Having done this at the all-India level and begun functioning in some states, our Party is striving to be fully involved with the building and development of the movement around AIPSO. We played an important part in making the 7th Congress of the AIPSO which was held in Delhi from November 24 to 28, 1988, a success. Our leadership actively participated in the conference not only on the organisational side, but on the political side as well. Comrade Jyoti Basu was specially asked to address the concluding session, Com. EMS and Surjeet delivered speeches in the Conference and Comrades Sitaram and Surjeet participated in the preparation of all the documents.

The importance of developing the peace movement in the country cannot be underestimated since neither the ruling party is interested in taking this issue to the masses, nor are the

bourgeois opposition parties in general interested in the struggle for peace and non-alignment, since that is subscribed to by the ruling party. It is therefore the task for our Party and its Leftist allies, along with such other political forces as are prepared to cooperate, to involve all the fighting organisations of the working people in building a powerful peace movement.

WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Another important development in the international sphere is the growing unity of the international communist movement and the improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and China, the two big socialist countries. There is a common approach on the question of nuclear war. The Soviet Union and China both have declared that they will not be the first to use nuclear weapons. Both stand for elimination of nuclear weapons and for disarmament. This has strengthened the forces of peace very much and enhanced the role of the socialist countries in world affairs.

There have been sharp differences inside the movement based on ideological perception and deviations. Sometimes they led to conflicts also. These were partly due to a different concrete situation faced by several parties, and partly to certain lapses of ideological perception and adherence. Sometimes the search for concrete application led to abandonment of the basic outlook. But inspite of this the world communist movement, as a whole, continues to discharge its responsibility towards the vital question of world peace, the fight against nuclear war and against the deprivations of imperialism. Besides, in recent years, the old barriers are being removed. Bilateral discussions are being held among communist parties to come to a common understanding of the complicated world situation and the concrete problems faced by each party in its country. These developments create grounds for strengthening communist unity.

Fortyfive years back when the International was dissolved in 1943, it was clearly stated that the period when the international communist movement used to be guided from one centre is gone. Since the movement has developed, the national units of the communist movement are facing entirely different problems and they cannot be guided from one centre. Subsequently some efforts were made to revive some centres in

one form or the other such as the setting up of the Cominform. Later international conferences were convened with a view to arriving at a common document by not only making assessments of the international situation, but also the situation in different countries and regions. These efforts later on had to be abandoned since centralised guidance and binding decisions are no more possible for all the communist parties.

This does not mean that the pooling of experiences of various contingents of the communist movement are not to be undertaken, or that bilateral discussion and collective exchanges and common political action is not to be undertaken. In fact, it is necessary to have bilateral, multiateral, regional and collective exchanges, which are very important in the changing world situation. These have to take place on the basis of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism which alone can enable the communist parties to discharge their national and international responsibilities. Unboubtedly the new relationship between the communist parties which is being talked about is based on the recognition of various communist parties, non-interference in each other's affairs and equality, with no party enjoying the monopoly of truth. It is for the fraternal party in the individual country concerned to take decisions on the line to be adopted in that country. But this envisaged adherence to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism which binds all the communist parties, the various contigents into one movement—the world communist movement. The independence and equality of different parties des not mean their independence from the science of scientific socialism, the fundamental ideology on the basis of which communist parties are formed.

Our Party will continue to struggle for the unity of the communist movement based on the principles of proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism.

PART II

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

The Twelfth Congress of our Party had observed:

"The developments of the last four years show that these contradictions have assumed a still sharper form, they are assuming new manifestations, and some entirely new problems and responsibilities have arisen. Without taking into consideration the totality of the situation, the Party will not be in a position to provide correct guidelines for its activities.

"1. In spite of the loss of influence after the parliamentary elections, the ruling party under Rajiv Gandhi rouses hope among wide sections that something new is happening. The Punjab Accord, the Assam settlement and the promises of a new clean administration are accepted by large sections as a Congress (I) attempt to strike a new path.

"2. The political crisis of the system expresses itself in the drive towards authoritarianism. The economic crisis leading to the emergence of the new economic policy imposing new burdens on the people and compromising the interests of the country, sharpens the conflict between the people and the ruling party and the bourgeois-landlord government, which the ruling party will try to solve by strengthening authoritarianism in the Government. The party and the people will be faced with increased reliance on authoritarian measures in the drive for one-party rule.

"3. The fight against the danger of one-party rule takes place when national unity is under constant attack; when it is being endangered by the compromising policies of the ruling party, by the opportunist attitude of the bourgeois opposition parties and directly assailed by imperialists and secessionist elements.

"4. The contradiction with imperialism has sharpened and has taken an interventionist form. The conspiracy to dismember India is no longer concealed. But neither the ruling party nor the bourgeois opposition parties expose this and warn the people.

"5. While adult franchise and the right to vote continue, and India continues to have parliamentary democracy, its basis is being rapidly undermined by complete maladministration at the bottom. Parliamentary and democratic norms are rapidly collapsing in the day-to-day administration.

"6. The fruits of compromise with feudal conditions are being fully reaped. Not only have the challenges of religious fundamentalism intensified, but the toilers are being divided and set into hostile warring camps on the question of

reservation. Instead of a common class movement against unemployment, we are getting a fratricidal struggle over jobs. The problem of maintaining working class and toilers' unity is becoming acute.

"7. The authoritarian drive necessarily leads to greater concentration of power at the Centre. The attack against democratic rights and the sharpened conflict over Centre-State relations sharpens the contradictions between the ruling and the oppositional bourgeois parties.

"8. The non-aligned foreign policy of the country cannot be taken for granted. At present it is almost exclusively dependent on the will of the ruling party. Inside the Congress (I) all are not closely committed to it. The pro-West influence is not negligible. Many do not share the hatred of imperialism born out of the freedom struggle. The bourgeois opposition parties are mostly opposed to the present policy of non-alignment and would prefer a tilt in the Western direction. The masses are virtually disarmed in relation to the question of foreign policy. The new economic policy must inevitably pressurise the Government in the direction of the West and one big safeguard against imperialist influence and penetration may be endangered.

"9. The conflict between the ruling party and the Left is sharpening and the Left Front Governments are under constant attack.

"10. The struggle against the growing authoritarian danger is to be carried on in the context of the totality of these conditions all of which are parts of the system. This is all the more so since the present stage of revolution in our country is anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly. The immediate struggle against the authoritarian danger cannot be divorced from the struggle to defend national unity, independence of the economy, the struggle to defend and strength on the foreign policy of non-alignment and the struggle against imperialist plans of destabilisation. Our immediate tactics are to be related to our strategic objective of People's Democracy.'

The three years since the Calcutta Congress have proved correctness of the analysis and the warnings. It has however to be added that the assaults of the feudal and secessionist forces has developed a ferocious offensive, which was foreseen earlier and its impact and meaning are not fully understood by

the people. The rapid deterioration of the economic situation has not only imposed misery on the people. Official policies to meet it compromise and endanger Indian industry and threaten the independence of our economy. The heavy price which the people have to pay has resulted in a mighty outburst of mass anger which the Central Committee noted earlier and called upon our units to mobilise.

The Calcutta Party Congress had warned against the growing intervention of imperialism and its agencies against our country. The contradiction between the Indian people and imperialism expressed itself in the growing economic pressures of the World Bank, pressures against our foreign policy, and direct support to the secessionist and communal forces to destabilise the Indian polity. The Party understood that the bourgeois opposition parties generally turn a blind eye to these developments, considering them as the headache of the ruling party. Our Party, ever vigilant against imperialist conspiracies, exposes them and warns the people against the coming dangers.

It is because of this that our Party has been foremost in exposing the dangerous course of Rajiv Gandhi's economic policy.

As early as July 1986 the Central Committee warned that Rajiv Gandhi's new economic policy was leading to liquidation of the public sector with the implementation of the Arjun Sengupta Committee Report. Simultaneously this policy opened India to the blast of foreign competition followed by open discrimination against Indian capital and the public sector in accepting bids for new projects, and distribution of orders and contracts connected with the huge projects of the Government of India. There was so much discrimination in favour of certain foreign concerns, that the Union Industry Minister had to write a letter to the Petroleum Minister to safeguard the interests of indigenous concerns. The letter said that in the interests of developing indigenous capacity for the future gas pipe line project, BHEL should be given due consideration in the execution of the project so that its technical capacity gets established. This was followed by the protest from a big business paper which wrote editorially: "The Union government's policy of favouring firms and non-resident Indians at the expense of the Indian exchequer has gone berserk. Though Indian project exports have already achieved

substantial proportions no major or medium industrial enterprise can be launched in the country unless it is feathered by foreign collaboration. In the public sector the authorities routinely indulge in repetitive imports of the technology without batting an eyelid. Over-imports of steel, fertilisers, kits for TV sets or other electronic equipments from time to time are a scandal. Non-resident Indians are being offered, for years, higher interest rates for their bank deposits than the citizen at home, apart from preferment of a host of scarce assets ranging from popular stocks and shares to scooters."

But the process of yielding to the pressures continued and the Central Committee protested against the continuation of this policy of granting concessions to foreign capital at the expense of Indian industry. To woo foreign capital the Prime Minister announced in his speech before the 29th Congress of the International Chambers of Commerce, rationalisation India's tax system i.e., more concessions to big capitalists, Indian and foreign, at the expense of the Indian people, and accelerated demolition of the system of controls and duties. He said "This will be a continuous process and we believe once we have touched a particular area and rationalised the system in that area, whether it is the controls, the excise duties, the custom duties, the taxation system, the local system, then we should not tamper with that—and we will try to maintain that in the coming years."

The same compromising policy was further seen in relation to the import of the technology. In the earlier years it was India's policy to purchase technology outright from foreign sources, master it and through indigenous research further develop it. Indigenous research prevented permanent dependence on foreign suppliers. But the Central Committee Resolution of April, 1987, pointed out this simple safeguard no longer suits the immediate interests of the new economic policy. It does not suit the interests of foreign suppliers and some big Indian businessmen.

The result is that World Bank pressure on and management of the Indian economy is daily increasing, growingly calling for liquidation of the public sector, its privatisation and removal of controls. The Central Committee Report January 4-7, 1988, observed in this connection:

"The World Bank is increasingly pressurising the Government to liquidate the public sector. The Bank knows that

the Indian economy is not in a position to reject its pressure and demands at present. In fact, Rajiv Gandhi in his recent tirade, was only voicing the Bank demand for the liquidation of the public sector, posing as a defender of the poor and the have-nots. The latest confidential report of the Bank on the steel industry urges partial privatisation of the public sector steel industry in the name of restoring the health of steel mills in the public sector. The Bank report calls for willingness on the part of the Government to hand over management responsibility to a private group for a substantially less than 50 per cent share ownership by the private firm. The shrewd bankers, however, understand that such direct privatisation may not be immediately possible and therefore caution that the political climate is not ripe for such a move, even for the present government, "which is far more market-oriented than any of its predecessors."

Only Party and the Central Committee have been constantly warning the people against this dangerous economic development, calling upon the working class and the masses to understand the danger to economic self-reliance, and to fight back official policies. Trade unions in which our Party members and leaders are working, were successful in organising an all-India public sector workers' strike to protest against the denigration of the public sector, and calling upon the Government to reverse its policies. While all our trade unions and our mass organisations are constantly referring to this danger it cannot be said that the masses have fully grasped the significance of the perilous course pursued by the Rajiv Gandhi Government. Our Party has to redouble its efforts to see that the masses and all patriotic organisations are able to exercise their powerful strength to bring about a change in the official policies pursued by the Rajiv Government.

The entire burden of this economic policy falls on the common people, the workers, the peasants the middle classes, the agricultural workers, a large section of whom are being growingly reduced to destitution. The Central Committee Resolution of August 1987 observed:

"Notwithstanding official claims to have contained the inflation rate, prices of daily necessities are continuously rising making it impossible for the mass of people to maintain their living standards, forcing them to economise on food and other necessities of life. The consumer price index number continues to

rise, while the inadequate compensation against this price rise is only confined to certain strata of industrial workers and middle class employees, leaving the vast mass of the peasants, agricultural workers and workers in unorganised industries out of its purview. Over and above this, India's foreign debt obligations have risen rapidly and are creating an unstable situation regarding India's balance of payments position. A very substantial part of the export earnings is now already mortgaged to the payment of foreign debt. In the coming years the Government will be borrowing more from foreign sources which will increase the payment burden. It seems that the slightly concessional rates at which India has been successful in negotiating commercial loans will be no longer possible in view of the uncertain political situation in India. At least this is what certain economic journals are forecasting.

Several important industries like automobiles, scooters, and many others are facing a demand recession. The textile and jute industries are already in the doldrums, and the Government is unable to rectify this situation.

The working class and the people are made victims of this industrial situation. To reduce the wage bill and establish the 'competitive' character of Indian economy, the Government is encouraging a massive computerisation offensive in the services industries threatening the jobs of thousands of employees. The Government is also embarking upon a policy of curtailing the rights of the workers, taking steps to reduce their wages with productivity. In the private sector there is large-scale retrenchment, closures and lock-outs.

In the rural areas the offensive of the Government falls on the peasantry and agricultural workers. The minimum wage legislation is not implemented and the agricultural worker is left totally defenceless against the inflationary price rise. Against the fall in prices of certain commodities the peasantry is equally defenceless, with the Government accepting no responsibility to protect it against the vagaries of the market. In many states there are direct attempts to levy new imposts on the peasantry such as rise in electricity rates. Several state governments are also resorting to coercive measures to force the destitute peasant to pay back his debts.

Spontaneous mass actions are therefore taking place all over India, against these measures of the Congress (I) Government. The CPI(M) and Left parties were able to organise

one of the biggest rallies of peasants, agricultural workers and industrial workers on December 9, 1987, demanding a change in these policies and the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi. Since then, this massive discontent, where it is guided by the CPI(M) and the Left, is offering a strong democratic challenge to the Congress(I). But where the leadership of the Left parties is lacking, there is every danger of this discontent being channelised or being guided into reactionary channels. The failure of the secular bourgeois opposition parties to mobilise this discontent for a common fight against the Congress(I), is weakening the democratic movement.

The Central Committee also took note of the dangerous development in connection with defence research. The Central Committee noted in its July 1986 resolution:

"An extraordinary development, unlike anything in the past relates to the talks between the USA and India on matters connected with defence research and exchange of a number of delegations for this purpose. During the last year a number of steps have been taken by the Government of India to seek cooperation with the U.S. for defence research and development. A team of Indian scientists led by the Scientific Adviser to the Raksha Mantri visited the U.S. for two weeks during August, 1985, to discuss the feasibilities of cooperation with the USA for defence research and development.

"Prior to this, India was visited by U.S. Under-Secretary of State for Defence Policies, Fred Ickle, who visited the defence laboratories for research in Bangalore and Hyderabad. This was followed by the visit in January this year of a team led by Robert Dean, U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary for Politico-Military Affairs. This delegation was also allowed to visit important defence establishments. Another military delegation following Dean, announced that as a result of the Memorandum of Understanding reached between the two countries, sale of hi-tech equipment, mainly computers, has increased from 500 million dollars in 1984, to 1.3 billion dollars in 1985.

"Recently, another 30-member team led by U.S. Deputy Under-Secretary of Defence for International Programmes and Technology, Mr. Talbot Lindstrom, visited India and met Senior Indian defence officials, including the Scientific Adviser to the Defence Minister, and visited defence production sites. The main purpose of the visit was to explore possibilities for

collaborating with India on the Light Combat Aircraft project and the Arjun battle tank project.

"These are ominous developments because they are connected with defence research. No previous government had trodden this path and opened India's defence research to the scrutiny of U.S. experts."

The Central Committee January 1988, resolution states:

"It was reported in the Press that Indian administrative officers and police officials will be sent to America, to Harvard University and other places, to train themselves in American expertise. From the exposure of the CIA and other agencies, we fully know what American expertise consists of. It is based on evasion of constitutional laws, cheating the elected authorities, and lack of confidence in the people, all of whom are treated as enemies of the social order and administration. The training schools for these Indian administrators in the USA will be nurseries for training an anti-democratic, anti-people administration".

Under the guidance of the Central Committee, the Party and the State Committees are engaged in the consistent exposure of all aspects of economic policies and warning to the people against American penetration in the defence industry and influx of foreign capital and multinationals in our economy.

AUTHORITARIAN DRIVE

The Calcutta Congress had warned against the growing authoritarian drive of the Rajiv Government. The three years since the Calcutta Congress have witnessed the unfolding of the authoritarian offensive against the people, invading their democratic rights. In the first place the rights of ordinary citizens, their liberty and security of life, are being reduced to a farce. They have no protection against police terror or the terror of anti-socials. Police stations under the Congress(I) regime have become agencies of terror and oppression against the common people. Rape and death in police custody have become common occurrences. Freedom is given to landlord gangs to raid the house of Harijans and Adivasis and terrorise them. In mass struggles anti-trade union laws are fully used, and strikers are accused under fabricated charges. Strikes are illegalised, the Anti-terrorist Act is used against trade unions. The terror in

Tripura, the use of the army to influence the election results, the rape of women, and the falsification of the election results, constitute a high watermark of the authoritarian drive. The ESMA, NSA, and Disturbed Areas Act, are used to meet the discontent of the masses, groaning under the weight of massive unemployment and misery. The 59th Amendment Act hangs the sword of Emergency over the people. The attempt to muzzle the press through the Defamation Act was repulsed only with the united might of the Press, the people and all opposition parties.

At the same time unconstitutional means are resorted to, to disturb the functioning of the non-Congress(I) governments. In a blatant way the centrally-appointed governors are used to override decisions of elected Assemblies or the recommendations of Ministries. The Central Government concentrates all its venom against the Left Front Governments of Kerala and West Bengal. Our Party has repeatedly protested against the blatant misuse of central power to obstruct and sabotage West Bengal projects of development. Nothing could be more scandalous than the sabotage of the Bakreshwar Thermal Power and Haldia Petroleum projects by the Central Government. This is part of its intensified attack against the CPI(M) and the Left.

The venom of propaganda is concentrated on the Left Front-ruled States. In Kerala, the communal and Congress(I) alliance backed by the BJP, the RSS and by the vitriolic Press, uses every excuse and every event to rouse sectional and communal feelings against the Left Front Government. Every time the Left parties have to fully mobilise the people to beat back these attacks. The ruling party and the Central Government used the Reserve Bank of India mechanism to stop payments to the Kerala State Government account under the plea of overdraft. This was nothing but a discriminatory measure deliberately taken not only to create difficulties for the Left Front Government, but also to rouse communal feelings among the Christian employees who were in need of their salaries on the eve of Christmas. In fact this overdraft was caused by the actions and misdeeds of the earlier Congress(I) ministry but the Left Front Ministry was being penalised for it.

THE PARTY IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE FIGHT FOR NATIONAL UNITY

In the three years since the Calcutta Congress the destabilising conspiracies of imperialism have increased. There has been a constant and unprecedented attack of communal forces—forces of Hindu-Muslim-Sikh fundamentalism—on the unity of the country. As has been repeatedly pointed out in the Central Committee documents, these are no ordinary communal riots and conflicts, but conflicts deliberately engineered with financial aid from abroad to break Indian unity. This is nothing but an attack of the old anti-national feudal forces and feudal ideology, held in check during the course of the anti-imperialist movement, an attack of the most conservative forces in Indian society. The criminal opportunism of the Congress(I) helps these forces, as the Ramjanamabhoomi-Babri Masjid episode shows. The Congress(I) often allies with these forces to secure election advantage.

In this situation the main burden of warning and mobilising the people against the rise of these conservative forces falls on our Party and the Left forces. Our Party has been playing a very important role in mobilising public opinion to isolate these forces. Their isolation in the last Kerala elections and the formation of electoral combinations of secular and Left parties to defeat the Congress(I) was welcomed by patriotic opinion. The spotless record of the Left forces and the Left Front Governments in defeating the reactionaries in West Bengal, and keeping the state free from communal outbursts, was another important victory. Everywhere our Party wages a relentless struggle to defeat the communal disruptors, and exposes both Hindu and Muslim fundamentalism while defending the rights of the Muslim minority. It is no accident that only the Party of the working class, and its Left allies, are able to see the danger, while the bourgeois Opposition parties take a neutral attitude to this challenge to national unity. In fighting this menace of communal disruption our Party is really fighting the challenge of feudal reaction and carrying out its responsibility towards defeating of these forces, which is an essential part of the People's Democratic Revolution.

In fighting the challenge of Muslim fundamentalism, our Party understands that part of the appeal of fundamentalism is

due to the fact that the Muslim minority in our country does not enjoy either a sense of security, or a sense of equality, and there is in many respects obvious discrimination against them. All this follows from the incapacity of a bourgeois landlord regime of a newly-liberated country to ensure the guaranteed fundamental right of a religious minority. Our Party recognises that a successful fight against Islamic fundamentalism cannot be carried out without the relentless defence of the basic rights of the Muslim minority, and without our mass intervention when, during the riots, they are made the targets of murderous attacks. It is because of our continuous intervention in earlier years in West Bengal and elsewhere, that we have in that State secured the confidence of the minority.

The fight for national unity and carrying out our anti-feudal responsibility, demands that no quarter should be given to these forces out of opportunist electoral considerations. Organisations like the BJP and the RSS which, while mouthing some nationalist slogans, carry on a line of hatred and animosity against the Muslim minority, cannot be considered as allies in any democratic movement to oust the Congress(I). It is known that what the RSS and BJP preach is a Hindu-theocratic state, which will definitely alienate the entire non-Hindu mass and create permanent barriers inside the country. Parties and people who are not thinking in terms of social transformation, and who are averse to understanding the prevailing situation in class terms do not flinch from allying with anybody in an electoral conflict. But our Party, which considers the electoral struggle itself as part of the class struggle to change the balance of class forces, cannot take an opportunist attitude towards manifestations of communal chauvinists like that of the RSS and the BJP. It is because of this that our Party has been trying to impress the secular opposition bourgeois parties to exclude all alliance with the communal parties in the fight against the Congress(I) rule. Consistent and militant national unity cannot be forged on the basis of compromise with such communal and feudal forces. That is why our Party has been trying to develop greater and greater understanding between the Left parties and the secular opposition parties with a view to defeating the Congress(I) and isolating the dark forces of communal reaction. In the last three years this has been our consistent stand and our consistent advice to all forces which care for national unity and stand for

the advance of democracy. And there is no doubt that our line has impressed large sections of the people, and sometimes creates waverings even in the opportunist circles who want to make a bee-line for alliance with communal forces.

In relation to the secessionist challenge, again our Party, from the beginning, has been in the forefront of the struggle against it. The way in which our Party in West Bengal managed to deal with the secessionist movement in Darjeeling District, intervened with the masses to defeat the extremists, and finally persuaded the movement's top leaders to agree to a solution which protects national unity, is appreciated by all patriotic circles. More than 100 of our working class fighters from the tea gardens had to sacrifice their lives to ensure this result. They continue to uphold the banner of working class and national unity in the midst of all mercenary gangs and the feelings of alienation among large sections of the masses. It is again no accident that no other Party whether the Congress(I) or any other party, was courageous enough to intervene and save the situation, and bring the mass movement on to the path of common understanding and a common feeling of unity. This was because our Party understood the dual character of the movement, and understood that there were genuine grievances which were utilised by a few secessionist elements.

However, the recent election results in Darjeeling, not entirely unexpected, show that the call in the name of ethnic identity has exercised a powerful appeal over the mass of people, though they had been won over to give up secessionist demands. This calls for serious thought in reviewing our understanding regarding such ethnic and tribal problems.

The Party in these years continued the fight against the separatists in Assam, fighting the chauvinist anti-minority and anti-tribal policy of the AGP Government. It is unfortunate that the CPI in Assam often acts in support of the ruling party. The CPI(M) stand, however, is supported by the Congress (S). Once again the CPI(M) cadres had to make immense sacrifices to uphold the banner of national unity. The courageous fight carried on by our Tripura comrades to maintain the unity of the tribals and Bengalees constitutes another landmark. It is now realised that the Congress (I) was working in collusion with the TNV terrorists, financed from Bangladesh, to break up this unity, and was encouraging the campaign of murder and loot by these people. The CPI(M) and its cadres once again bore the

brunt of this terror and attack and succeeded in keeping the tribals in the mainstream of national life. And finally in Punjab, the last three years have been years of continuous struggle by us against Khalistani secessionists. Nearly a hundred of our comrades and employees had to sacrifice their lives, inspiring thousands to stand by national unity. The only other Party sharing with us the burden of fighting the secessionists is the CPI, all others relying only on administrative measures.

While our cadres in the field continued their relentless struggle for national unity, the Central Committee made every effort to mobilise political parties and the democratic forces to end the impasse in Punjab. But its efforts were sabotaged and defeated by the criminal opportunism of the ruling party. The Central Committee repeatedly called for the implementation of the Longowal Accord which would have pacified the situation, leading to the isolation of the Khalistanis and the fanatical Akal Takht. If such demands as transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab, release of the Jodhpur detainees and the distribution of canal waters had been met, the terrorists would have been put on the run. The Central Committee also closely watched the changing situation in Punjab and asked all political parties and the Government to support Barnala in his resistance to the Akal Takht. But the opportunist Rajiv Government which praised Barnala in the Presidential Address, suddenly dissolved his ministry and helped the forces of Sikh separatism.

The Report adopted by the April 1987 C.C. meeting wrote about the turning point in Punjab and observed: "Bourgeois politicians have finally awakened, and in a rare demonstration of unity they are supporting the Barnala Government which has taken a stand against the diktat of the Acting Head Priest of the Akal Takht and his efforts to oust him and seize the ministry for the supporters of Khalistan.

"It is really a battle between the elected representatives of the people, and religious authority, which has placed its services at the disposal of the secessionists and foreign imperialists. It is a battle between religious fundamentalism, which seeks to dominate Indian politics, and secular forces, to stand by the republican constitution."

The bold stand by the Barnala Government led to rallying of all political parties including the Congress(I), on a common

platform to politically fight the Khalistanis. This was an extremely important shift from exclusive reliance on the law and order machinery to combat terrorism to united political struggle to isolate the terrorists from the people. At long last the political parties were coming to the position long advocated by the CPI(M). Initially, the development promised great prospects; public meetings and rallies were attended by enthusiastic crowds who responded to the call for national unity. If the process had gone on for a length of time, the political weight of all parties and growing appeal of national unity would have led to paralysation of the terrorist activities, as they would have been unable to count on the neutrality of the people.

But this was not to be. A treacherous blow was being prepared against the Barnala Government by Rajiv Gandhi and his Government whose immediate aim was to win the Haryana elections by hook or by crook. Within a month of expressing high praise for the Barnala Ministry in the President's Address to Parliament, the Rajiv Cabinet suddenly dismissed the Ministry without assigning any convincing reason.

Why this treachery; why this heinous crime? It repeats the same old sordid story of protecting the interests of the ruling Congress(I) at the expense of the nation. This monstrous coup against the elected Ministry was brought about to woo the electorate in the neighbouring state of Haryana which was going to the polls the following month. This was preceded by the Report of the Eradi Commission on distribution of waters between different states, which promised more water for Haryana than previously agreed to. The full electoral programme of the Congress (I) for winning over the Haryana electorate appeared to be non-transference of Chandigarh to Punjab, a new canal for conveying water to Haryana; more water for Haryana; Haryana's claims over Abohar and Fazilka; transfer of 70,000 acres of land from Punjab to Haryana; dismissal of the Barnala Government which was meant to convey the end of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord, a reactionary demand made by Devi Lal.

The result was that the Punjab problem was once more reduced to a law and order problem, sabotaging the united efforts of all political parties to isolate the anti-national Khalistanis and rouse mass resistance against them. The events following the dismissal of Barnala showed that the terrorists

who were feeling isolated, were again emboldened to engage in new spectacular killings.

The August 1987 Resolution added:

"The dismissal of the Barnala Government when it was taking a secular stand against the bigotry of the High Priests of the Akal Takht, was not only an attack on the election principle but a criminal misdeed against the fight for national unity. Barnala's dismissal meant disorganisation of the political forces in Punjab which were coming together on a secular basis to fight and isolate the Khalistani terrorists. Barnala's stand against the Akal Takht to a great extent drew the line between the secular and religious forces, enabling the former to forge ahead. But Rajiv Gandhi stabbed the struggle in the back to win an electoral advantage in the Haryana elections. Once again Rajiv and the Congress(I) subordinated the interests of national unity to their electoral interests, and did not refrain from playing one community against another."

It is obvious that the subsequent degeneration of Barnala could have been prevented had he been propped up in his resistance to the reactionary demands of the Akal Takht.

DEMAND FOR RAJIV'S RESIGNATION

The Calcutta Congress did not raise the demand for the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi; on the contrary, the Congress warned that though the ruling party was losing its support the illusions about the Congress(I) and Rajiv Gandhi, and the massive majority in the Lok Sabha, still remain in the minds of the people.

Developments since the Calcutta Congress have rapidly changed the situation. The massive misery of the people as a consequence of the economic policies of the Rajiv Government, the challenge of divisive forces and the repressive measures of the Congress(I) Government, accompanied by the inner dissensions inside the Congress(I) and events like the resignation of V.P. Singh have led to the growing isolation of the ruling party. The Kerala and West Bengal Assembly elections, the rout of the Congress(I) in Haryana, the result of several by-elections—all underline the rapid erosion of the Congress(I) among the people. And finally the corruption scandal which surrounds the Government and Rajiv Gandhi, their exposure in Parliament, the prevarications and lies

resorted to by the ruling party, the refusal to face an impartial committee, the attacks undertaken in connection with the Fairfax Commission, made the demand for resignation an urgent national issue.

The August 1987 Resolution of the Central Committee, calling for the Resignation of Rajiv Gandhi observed:

"As if all these crimes are not sufficient, the Rajiv Gandhi Government has added one more crime which has condemned his Government as a Government of dishonesty and corruption. The corruption scandals involving the Government and the persons nearest to Rajiv, have naturally become a great natural concern because they involve defence purchases, the security of India and the safety of our army personnel. The Bofors, the submarine and other scandals have proved far more dangerous than the ordinary looting of foreign exchange by blackmarketees and persons surrounding the Prime Minister.

"For months now the Rajiv Government has not only been under a cloud in the eyes of the people, it is in the dock unable to answer a single allegation. The removal of V.P. Singh, and later on his dismissal, the enforced resignation of Amitabh Bachchan, a close friend of the Prime Minister, the protest resignation of Arun Singh, all have completely damaged the image of Rajiv Gandhi, his Government and his party. No previous Government, whatever its crime, has created such suspicion in the minds of the people that Government personnel are betraying the defence of the country and accumulating filthy lucre. In the minds of lakhs of people, Rajiv Gandhi and his Government are accused of this crime and they have lost all right to run the Government."

The Report of the August Central Committee, at the same time observed that the Party should have come out with a forthright demand for Rajiv's resignation immediately after the Presidential elections, and should not have waited till the eve of the Central Committee meeting.

It is necessary here to understand the dangerous situation which was developing during the days of the Presidential election, and the way in which the Party had to fight the bourgeois opposition parties who were working with us to defeat the Congress(I) nominee for the President's post.

Initially there was complete understanding on the question of the Presidential candidates. It was unanimously decided in the May meeting of opposition parties, to appoint a committee consisting of N.T. Rama Rao, Chandra Shekhar and E.M.S. Namboodiripad, to evolve a common approach regarding the choice of candidate for the office of the President. Because of the overwhelming votes of the Congress(I) in the Parliament there was no possibility of winning the election unless massive defection took place from the ruling party camp, of which there were no signs. It was therefore decided by the three-man committee that the candidate should be one who would be able to mobilise maximum opposition votes, and, besides, one who could inspire confidence among the people by his anti-communal, secular outlook and progressive views on the Constitution, democratic rights and national unity. The search for such a candidate led to the unanimous choice of Justice Krishna Iyer, and the committee asked Comrade EMS to persuade an unwilling Krishna Iyer to enter the fight. EMS was successful in persuading Krishna Iyer after assuring him that he was the unanimous choice of the three-man committee.

But, unfortunately, this common approach and understanding did not last. The bourgeois opposition parties suddenly changed their stand, broke the common understanding, and with newly found zeal, suddenly sponsored the candidature of Zail Singh. Instead of conveying to the representatives of the Parliamentary and legislative parties assembled in Delhi on June 24 the unanimous decision of the three-man committee, it was decided to first gather the opinion of the MPs and the MLAs on the choice of candidate.

The opportunity was used by the members of Janata, Telugu Desam and Congress(S) parties to vociferously support the candidature of Zail Singh. The representatives of these parties—the Telugu Desam, Janata, Congress(S)—without consulting the CPI(M) and other Left parties, independently approached Zail Singh asking him to contest the election, and promised the support of their parties to him. Our Party had to dissociate itself from this unprincipled opportunism, disruptive of oppositional unity. A meeting of the Left parties was convened and it was immediately decided to withdraw from participation in the deliberations of the opposition parties meeting, and put up a separate candidate with the Left parties'

support. Shri N.T. Rama Rao was informed of the decision and the decision was conveyed to the Press also.

Meanwhile Zail Singh told his enthusiastic supporters from the bourgeois opposition parties that he had no intention of seeking re-election. With this rebuff, the opposition parties returned to the common unanimous choice of Shri Krishna Iyer, and opposition unity on this important question of the Presidential election was maintained. It would have been a big set back to the struggle for opposition unity if the opposition had continued to be divided during the Presidential elections.

The entire bourgeois Press concentrated a venomous propaganda against us for not supporting Zail Singh. The Central Committee Report observed (August 1987):

"However, even now, all do not understand the real reason behind this venomous propaganda. It was unleashed because we succeeded in torpedoing the plot of certain reactionary elements and a section of the bourgeois Press who were supporting Zail Singh, because he claimed that he had inherent powers under the Constitution to dismiss a Ministry backed by the majority in Parliament. Their game was to egg on Zail Singh by promising Opposition support and wide defection from the Congress. The demand for the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi, which now appeared prominently in the bourgeois Press, was not an appeal to the democratic mass but a covert appeal to Zail Singh to go ahead and assert Presidential supremacy over the elected Parliament.

"Zail Singh had leaked to the Press that he had consulted constitutional experts who upheld his inherent right to dismiss a Ministry enjoying a majority in Parliament. He publicly announced that he had a right to dismiss such a Ministry and call for fresh elections."

In this period the Party could not raise the slogan of Rajiv's resignation. It had to wait till the elections were over. However it need not have waited till the August meeting.

BUILDING OF BROADER UNITY

The growing isolation of the Congress (I) opened up the prospect of ousting it in the coming elections. It was obvious that with the existing stage of mass consciousness, the result could be achieved only with the help of secular bourgeois

opposition parties who are likely to gain a major part of the growing discontent with the Congress(I).

The Jalandhar Congress of our Party had very correctly observed that the main mass of the Indian people were divided between several bourgeois parties. Though the strength of the Left forces has increased in recent years, the influence of bourgeois parties continues to remain over the major mass of the people taking India as a whole. It was therefore necessary for the Party to ensure that a broad secular electoral front developed along with these parties. Our Party fully understands the limitations under which we have to work, the limitations of the consciousness of these parties. Our Party therefore had to estimate each development connected with these parties with great care. The Haryana elections resulted in a big rout of the Congress(I) and it was welcomed by all. But our Party noted some unsavoury reactionary features connected with this victory.

The victory against the Congress(I) was not an unalloyed victory, on the basis of defence of national unity and a democratic programme. In the preparatory stages of his campaign, before elections were announced, Devi Lal was concentrating his attack on the Punjab Accord, which our Party has accepted as a step towards restoring unity in Punjab. This was nothing but an appeal to Haryana Hindu chauvinism. This showed disregard for the dangerous national situation, the danger to the unity in Punjab and the challenge of foreign destabilisers.

During the election campaign, however, Devi Lal mainly concentrated on people's issues and exposure of the Congress(I)'s anti-people policies in Haryana. He raised popular demands and some urgent demands of the peasantry like cancellation of debts. It was however not surprising, in view of his opposition to the Punjab Accord, that he should have had an alliance with the BJP, and later formed a coalition ministry with that party.

The Central Committee, in spite of some of these limitations, directed its efforts to ensure that the opposition bourgeois parties came together, eschew alliance with the communal parties like the BJP, and join hands with the Left parties to ensure a common electoral victory against the Congress. The August 1987 C.C. Resolution stated:

"But the fight to oust the Rajiv regime requires the broadest understanding and unity of all secular Opposition parties, unity between these and the Left and democratic forces. It is a gigantic battle for people's unity against a notorious regime, which should be carried out by mobilising all the forces prepared to take a stand against the present regime. The Chief Ministers' Conference and the meeting of Opposition parties have together played a very important role in projecting and initiating this vital Opposition unity, and the good work done has to be continued in the coming days so that the full force of the people is brought into action."

However, our Party has to keep its principled political line while forging broader unity. The Calcutta Congress had observed on opposition bourgeois parties:

"The limitations of these parties regarding foreign policy, awareness of the imperialist danger, etc., have already been noted. The recently announced economic policy of the Government which our Party is determined to oppose and defeat evokes no response from them."

The struggle to forge these understandings often meets with difficulties. Our Party refused to attend a meeting suddenly called by N.T. Rama Rao to which all kinds of elements were invited. Though our refusal to attend the meeting created some misunderstanding, it finally led to a broader understanding on how to ensure cooperation between the Left and the opposition parties. An important part in consolidating on a common understanding was played by the May 14-15, 1987, meeting which was attended by all parties who had participated in earlier meetings. The decision of the meeting to evolve a common approach and the appointment of a committee of three (including Comrade EMS) strengthened the sense of opposition unity and consolidated the urge for common understanding. The meeting condemned the dismissal of the Barnala Government and passed many important resolutions.

The August Report of the Central Committee at the same time noted some obvious shortcomings:

"However, there were certain shortcomings which were obvious. When the (May 14-15) meeting took place large sections of our masses were already fighting against the effect of Rajiv Gandhi's economic policy. There were massive strikes, there were peasant outbursts, there were firings on peasantry killing many people. There were massacres in the rural areas of

Bihar organised by landlord goondas. But the meeting did not take note of these developments and did not call for any protest action against the imposed sufferings of the masses and police repression. The call for action came only in relation to corruption. Corruption, of course, had become a big political issue of national importance in the tussle between the Government and the Opposition. But it was wrong to totally ignore the burning issues facing the people and refrain from giving a call to demand redress of people's grievances. This was because a number of Opposition parties thought that the corruption issue by itself could be used to dislodge the Government.

"Following this meeting sharp differences were developed during the Presidential elections; when these were settled there was effective cooperation for the Opposition candidate in the election.

"Efforts to consolidate opposition unity were also made through a Conference of Chief Ministers called by Comrade Jyoti Basu on April 25, 1987. Its deliberations and conclusions gave a proper expression to the urge for unity expressed by the people.

"The purchasing power of the people had got eroded by the continuing inflation. Here the Centre's deliberate decisions on deficit financing, and the increase in administered prices of essential raw materials such as coal, steel and petroleum products, and also of food items, have acted as significant factor behind this inflationary spiral."

The meeting called for an alternative approach to production planning. It said it should begin with land reform and then support the working farmers with the provision of other no-land outputs. Every effort should be made in agriculture and industry to absorb as far as possible the working population, so that there is a corresponding generation of purchasing power of the common people.

All the while the Central Committee was continuously warning these parties against joining with BJP or any other communal party. The Central Committee was concentrating on the BJP because it was the most likely party to be invited by these parties for joining hands. To some extent our warning had an effect, and till now in their organisational effort to unite opposition parties, the BJP does not find a place. The National Front does not include any communal party. The BJP is pouring venom against our Party for these developments and also

promising retaliation against those who refuse to join hands with it.

All this has led to a certain isolation of the BJP and the communal forces which had launched an offensive against our Party during the Presidential election campaign, charging us with acting at the behest of the CPSU to protect the Rajiv Government. The BJP which earlier covered its antagonism towards class issues and communists by raising anti-Congress slogans had now to come out openly against the communists and directly reveal its anti-democratic class character. The BJP's frustration and anger are easy to understand. At Surajkund it had tried to organise a coup against the Left forces with the help of Devi Lal, and had been able to gather all opposition parties hoping to form a front with them and isolate the Left. But the coup failed. Alliance with the BJP brought ridicule on Devi Lal. The gathering could not appoint a viable committee to implement the decisions taken. In the end the A.P. Chief Minister declared that he was not aware of the formation of the committee and had gone to Surajkund only in his individual capacity. The attempt to form an anti-Left front in the name of an all-embracing front to defeat Rajiv Gandhi failed. In fact it was an attempt to form a rightist conservative front against Rajiv.

The failure was because other forces were at work, Nationalist and patriotic opinion was taking a firm stand against communal forces. The opposition parties which had gone to Surajkund, started realising this and therefore were not willing to make a firm commitment for an understanding with the BJP. Some participants could see the lack of mass drive and punch behind the combination, because of lack of Left support. The more shrewd among them could realise that it would be easy for Rajiv and the Congress(I) to describe the combination as a rightist offensive.

The independent activity of the CPI(M) and the Left forces who were wedded to a principled programme and action sharpened the understanding. The Left parties unitedly decided to boycott the Surajkund show with its BJP-Chandraswami dip in the holy lake. Its united stand deflated the importance of the meeting and this was expressed in the way the Press ridiculed its claim to represent progressive forces.

On the same day as the Surajkund meeting, there was a huge DYFI/SFI rally in the capital. Youth from all parts of

India had gathered in the rally to voice their demands. Their demands and their denunciation of the divisive forces, backed by the record of fighting these forces in Punjab, Darjeeling and Assam at the cost of many precious lives, stood in sharp contrast to the Surajkund confabulations in collaboration with the RSS party.

The Central Committee has been supporting all genuine efforts of the secular opposition parties to come together. It welcomed the merger of several parties into one party, the Janata Dal, and above all the formation of the National Front comprising several parties all over India. At the same time it has criticised the ambivalent position of several leaders who seek to join hands with the BJP, while calling on the CPI(M) and the Left to support them. The Central Committee in its Resolution on the National Front has also criticised the cryptic reference to foreign policy in the policy statement of the Front, an outlook which ignores the vital importance of non-alignment and anti-imperialism for the independence and progress of our country.

The Central Committee has also expressed disappointment that these parties are yet unable to end the wranglings and move forward to take up the issues agitating the masses. Their ideas that emphasis on corruption alone will secure a victory for them is an illusion which they must shed. The Central Committee feels that their common inaction till now has lost them much of the initiative they got after V.P. Singh's big election victory. But the people's urge for unity will prevail and overcome their vacillations.

DEVELOPING MASS STRUGGLE

These political developments of the last three years have to be seen against the background of growing mass struggles led by the Party-led mass organisations and united actions. For had it not been for the leadership given to these mass struggles, Left politics would not have been able to make its influence felt on the national political scene. We are therefore giving below a brief summary of these struggles.

Working Class

The first big all-India mass action in which the working class played a leading role was the all-India bandh call given

by the opposition parties and the National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions, in February, 1986. The increase in prices of essential commodities announced by the Government, and the budget hikes led to massive opposition. West Bengal and Tripura held bandhs on February 11, Delhi city had a successful bandh on February, 10, and this was followed by the rest of the country on February 26, in which the working class participated in a big way through strike actions.

The Rajiv Government's systematic attacks on the public sector and its privatisation drive also met with the united resistance of the public sector workers. Two million workers in central public undertakings, banking and insurance, went on a one-day strike on January 21, on a 14-point charter of demands. Their main opposition was to the curtailment of the public sector and entry of multinationals in this sector.

The public sector workers went on a historic three-day strike from March 14 to 16, in 1988. Demanding interim relief, full neutralisation of D.A. and other demands, the call of the Committee of Public Sector Trade Unions met with enthusiastic response. Despite the massive propaganda barrage by the Government media against the strike, an estimated fifteen lakh workers downed tools. This was for the first time that the public sector workers went on a three-day strike. This massive strike action closed down all major enterprises in centres like Bangalore, Hyderabad, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, and Kerala. Coinciding with the March 15 nation-wide bandh called by the Left and secular opposition parties, the countrywide protest action saw the working class spearheading the struggle.

The coal mine workers also came into action with their one-week strike from March 15 to 20. In this significant strike struggle, five lakh workers joined. Called by all the central trade unions, except the INTUC, the strike saw new sections joining the struggle and the fighting mood of the workers saw them defying all threats including the promulgation of ESMA.

In all these countrywide actions, the CITU played a key role in mobilising and conducting the strike actions.

The CITU during this period has paid special attention to the problem of the unemployed who are part of the working class deprived of jobs. While fighting against the offensive of closures, lock-outs and retrenchments, the CITU gave a call to

its unions to highlight the demand of employment and champion the cause of the unemployed. A beginning was made with the campaigns in West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Tripura, Kerala, Assam and Maharashtra. West Bengal organised a big rally on this question in March 1987.

Andhra Pradesh and Assam also organised big rallies in cooperation with fraternal organisations like the DYFI and SFI. Along with the broad struggle for the right to work as a fundamental right, the CITU's efforts to mobilise the organised working class in support of their unemployed brethren helped widen the scope of the struggle against unemployment.

The CITU and its unions played an increasingly wider role in mobilising workers to strengthen the peace movement and heighten anti-imperialist consciousness. September 1 has been observed every year as Peace Day by the CITU and other progressive trade unions. Hiroshima Day and Global Peace Wave were also observed in some states. The May Day Centenary was utilised for the peace campaign in a big way in almost all the states and lakhs of workers were drawn into the campaign.

A significant step highlighting the growing anti-imperialist and internationalist consciousness of the Indian working class was the collection by coal mine workers and officers of nearly Rs. one crore for the people of South Africa. This was in response to the call of the Indian Trade Union Committee against Apartheid.

The working class, organised under the banner of the CITU, made a glorious contribution to the defence of national unity and unity of the working people by standing firm against the attacks by divisive and separatist forces. The tea garden workers of Darjeeling district faced violent attacks and terror by the GNLF who were trying to disrupt workers' unity. Scores of Nepali workers laid down their lives rather than succumb to the chauvinist onslaught.

Similarly in Punjab, the CITU and its unions have been in continuous action to safeguard the unity of the workers and fight off the Khalistani extremists. Big conventions and rallies have been organised, independently and along with the AITUC, to oppose the secessionists, and the working class in urban centres has by and large maintained its class unity due to the efforts of the Left-led unions.

Peasants and Agricultural Labourers

A week-long struggle in September 1987 was led by the All India Kisan Sabha and the All India Agricultural Workers' Union. The main issues taken up in this struggle were: (1) identification of land records and prevention of evictions; (2) remunerative prices for agricultural produce; (3) easing of the burden of taxation, electricity and transport charges; (4) central legislation for agricultural labourers and effective implementation of minimum wages; and (5) effective measures to be taken to meet the unprecedented drought and floods.

During this week all over the country, 3.5 lakhs courted arrest, another 1.5 lakhs offered themselves for arrest, and more than 40 lakhs took part in various stages of the struggle. The movement helped to unite different sections of the peasants and foster unity between them and agricultural labourers. It mobilised the rural masses into struggle combating the communal, casteist and separatist forces. It also helped the mobilisation for the November jathas all over the country and the December rally at Delhi.

Following this, seven Left-led organisations of peasants and agricultural labourers decided to launch a movement in September 1988, in which the AIKS and the AIAWU played a leading role. More militant forms of action were adopted including *rasta-roko*, land occupation and *jail bharo*. The participation of peasants and agricultural labourers was really massive. Around twenty lakhs offered themselves for arrest and in all forty lakhs took part in the various stages of the struggle. In this struggle, there were police lathi charges in 30 cases—15 of them in Bihar alone, eight in Orissa, three in Tripura and one each in Maharashtra, Assam, Madhya Pradesh and U.P. More than 3,000 were injured in these incidents. In Tripura, the police and anti-socials sought to intimidate the participants by large-scale violence and Nripen Chakraborty, former Chief Minister and Polit Bureau member of the Party, was also attacked.

This massive participation took place despite floods in some states and the earthquake in Bihar. It was characterised by the overwhelming majority of the participants being agricultural labourers and poor peasants. Women accounted for 30 per cent of the participants. A heartening feature of the

struggle was the active solidarity of industrial workers which took the form of courting arrest in a number of industrial centres.

Apart from these two major all-India actions, the Kisan Sabha units in the states conducted many struggles against landlordism and state policies. In Assam, Andhra, Tamil Nadu and Madhya Pradesh struggles against eviction took place. In Rajasthan, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Gujarat struggles were launched against state policies, and for relief from drought, flood, etc. In West Bengal, Kerala, U.P., Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra various movements were led on the question of remunerative prices for agricultural commodities.

These struggles and campaigns amongst the peasantry helped focus on the tremendous exploitation of the peasantry resulting from the deepening agrarian crisis, and mobilised wider section of the peasants in the struggle against the Rajiv Government and in defence of national unity.

The All India Agricultural Workers' Union undertook a number of activities to highlight the demands and problems of agricultural labourers. In July 1985, its call to agitate on the demand for central legislation for agricultural workers was widely observed. In states like Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, Tripura, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu, dharnas, signature campaigns and court arrest programmes were conducted.

Another important programme was a week's observance to demand an end to atrocities against scheduled castes and tribes and agricultural workers, to be followed by demonstrations and public meetings at panchayat and village level by August 15; dharnas at block and taluk level at the end of August, and picketing of collectorates at the end of September. In Kerala 35 propaganda jathas covered the whole state and satyagraha was conducted at 2604 centres in which 44,510 workers took part. Demonstrations before government offices were held on September 17 in Tamil Nadu. In Punjab a three stage campaign and struggle took place on this issue which culminated in mass dharnas in September, in 11 districts out of the 12 in the state. In Tripura, district level rallies and a march to the Assembly took place. In Bihar, a one day strike was observed which highlighted the Arwal killings as well.

The March 15 Bandh also, for the first time, saw stoppage of work in many rural areas. The participation of agricultural workers and landless peasants was significant in almost all the

states. In Kerala, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Haryana, and in some others, they constituted the vast majority of the participants. These two struggles in September 1987 and 1988 definitely helped in bringing the agricultural workers and rural poor into the broad mass struggle against the Congress(I) Government's policies to a greater extent than ever before.

Youth

The major activities of the DYFI during this period related to the question of national unity and integrity. Scores of DYFI comrades became martyrs in the struggles in Darjeeling, Punjab, Tripura, Assam, Kerala and elsewhere. All state units participated in the all-India calls on this issue. The most impressive and massive action was the unprecedented Human Chain organised in Kerala, spanning the entire length of the state on August 15, 1987 in which three million people participated.

Lakhs of youth were mobilised during this period on issues of unemployment and against the new education policy. March 28, and September 15, each year were observed by the biggest ever rallies of youth and students in almost all state capitals. The culmination was the massive rally of September 23, 1987, at New Delhi.

In Kerala, an unprecedented struggle against unemployment was organised for 35 days in 1986, in which lakhs of youth participated, facing brutal lathi charges in 65 places. Such was the response that DYFI membership increased more than three lakhs following the agitation. In Tamil Nadu about 25,000 youth went to jail in the struggle against unemployment.

The Rail Roko agitation against the new economic policy was remarkable in many parts of the country, particularly in West Bengal and Kerala. Rallies and dharnas were held before the TV/AIR stations all over the country against the biased and partisan coverage by these agencies.

Massive relief operations were also undertaken during this period by the DYFI in which thousands participated in relief work for the drought in Kalahandi, earthquake in Bihar, flood in Assam, Punjab and West Bengal. A nation-wide signature campaign against the Muslim Women's Bill was conducted and also a campaign against Sati after the Deorala incident.

In West Bengal the DYFI launched massive campaigns independently as well as jointly on the Centre's discrimination against West Bengal, particularly on the issue of the Haldia Petro-Chemical complex. On the issue of the Bakreshwar Thermal Power Plant the DYFI along with the SFI organised blood donation camps to raise funds for the project in the face of the central Government's refusal.

On the question of world peace, Hiroshima Day was observed by the youth across the country, and a signature campaign was conducted demanding the release of Nelson Mandela.

The DYFI played an important role in the Bharat Jatha in 1987 and lakhs of youth participated in the December 9 Rally.

Students

During this period a nation-wide campaign on the new education policy was initiated and conducted by the SFI, which saw many actions at the state and the local levels apart from being raised in the all-India actions.

In March 1988 in an effort to broaden the influence of the democratic student movement, the SFI organised a convention of elected students union representatives, hosted by the SFI-led JNU Students Union. Representatives of 72 students unions participated in this convention and adopted a charter of demands which forms the basis for a nation-wide campaign. The SFI now has units in 125 universities.

To popularise the programmes of the Left Front Governments and the independent role of the Left in the present political situation, the SFI conducted a week-long nation-wide campaign from March 9 to 16, 1987, on the eve of the Assembly elections in West Bengal and Kerala.

This campaign greatly helped in educating the student masses on the alternative policy approach of the Left.

In August-September, 1987, a nation-wide campaign highlighting the new education policy and staggering unemployment problem was conducted, linked up with the demand for resignation of the Rajiv Gandhi Government. This culminated in a big rally on September 23 at the Boat Club, New Delhi with the participation of around one lakh students and youth.

The SFI actively participated in the nation-wide jathas organised by the mass organisations led by the Left parties and thousands of students participated in the historic December 9 Rally. In many places the campaign was conducted jointly by Left students organisations.

Many local and state-level agitations were conducted by the SFI; its organisation and cadres had to face the onslaught of reactionary forces, anti-social elements and the police at many places.

An event of historic significance has been the all-India students strike of September 26, 1988. Nearly two crore students participated in this call all over the country. This strike was preceded by consultation with Left and secular students organisations which evolved an 18-point charter of demands focussing on the withdrawal of the new education policy and demanding the resignation of the Rajiv Gandhi Government. The Youth Congress(S), Yuva Janata, Youth Congress(J), Chhatra Janata, All-India Students' Bloc and the Yuva Lok Dal joined the action. The AISF, however, stayed out of this call despite all efforts and attempts by the SFI to make it join, on the plea that the demand for the withdrawal of the new education policy should not be linked with the demand for the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi Government.

Women

The AIDWA played a leading role in the struggle against the retrograde Muslim Women's Bill by which the Congress(I) Government sought to appease the Muslim fundamentalists. The countrywide campaign spreadheaded by widespread mobilisation in Kerala by the AIDWA unit, and culminating in the demonstration in Delhi in which a thousand Muslim women from all parts of the country participated, served to focus opposition to the reactionary Bill.

Similarly, the campaign, independently by AIDWA, and unitedly with other women's organisations, on the Deorala Sati incident helped to rally women and general democratic opinion against this barbarous custom. This combined with the broad-based struggle against dowry murders and atrocities on women, helped in bringing the issue of women's oppression as a major question to be taken up by the democratic and secular forces.

In Tripura, the active role of tribal women in the democratic movement saw the heinous gang-rape of tribal women in Ujan Maidan by the men of the Assam Rifles. The protest movement against this atrocity by AIDWA highlighted the role of women in defending national unity. On Punjab also, the campaigns run by AIDWA projected the big fight being put up by the Left against the Khalistani conspiracy.

The AIDWA state units also conducted continuous struggles and campaigns in different forms against the price rise which badly affects women, tax hikes and unemployment. The response of women to the anti-price rise campaign was extremely positive and moved new sections of women into action. The mobilisation of women against the Rajiv Government's policies and for its resignation saw a significant advance in the participation of women in the November 1987 jatha campaign and the December 9 Rally in Delhi. Notable was the two lakh strong rally held by the West Bengal unit in March 1988. Women activists of the AIDWA played a good role in making the March 15 Bandh a success. In many areas they had to face police repression as in Delhi, Bihar, Assam and Haryana.

The AIDWA also played an important role in the successful joint intervention to counter the Draft National Perspective Plan for Women put forward by the Government and to present an alternative. This provided an effective weapon to expose the Government's effort to win the women's vote through such gimmicks.

The AIDWA took an important step to strengthen the peace movement by holding an All-India Women's Peace Convention in Calcutta, in June 1987, and the campaigns connected with it.

The above narration of major struggles and campaigns indicate the intense mass activity initiated by the CPI(M)-led mass organisations, and actions initiated by the Left unitedly. These, along with the independent activities of the Party, have helped shape the enhanced Left intervention in national politics.

LEFT GOVERNMENTS AND THEIR ROLE

Within a few weeks of this Congress, the Left Front Government of West Bengal will be completing twelve years of

its existence, and the LDF Government of Kerala, two years. The Left Front Government of Tripura completed ten years and was due to be elected for the third term, but was not because the Congress Government at the centre inducted the army and declared the whole of the state as a 'Disturbed Area' just three days before the polling, to enable the Congress to manipulate the elections under army protection.

Unlike the other non-Congress(I) governments, the Left-led governments take due account of the severe restrictions under which they have to function: not only are the powers, given to the states under the Constitution, extremely limited, but even those powers which under the basic law of the land had been left with the states, were taken away by the centre through successive enactments and executive measures. Furthermore, the class policies pursued by the central Government have led the country's finances to such a bankrupt state that only limited measures can be taken by the governments at the state level, to satisfy the desires and aspirations of the people who elected them.

Within these limitations, however, the Left governments have done the maximum good possible to the people. Enactment of land reform legislations which curb the powers and privileges of landlords; enactment of laws concerning wages and living conditions of agricultural workers, extending democracy to the basic local units (Panchayats); regular elections to the Panchayats and other local bodies; setting up a network of functioning cooperatives and other development agencies; vigorous implementation of the IRDP and other schemes prepared by the centre; organising public distribution with a view to bringing down the prices of essential commodities; improving employer-employee relations through the Labour Department; strict observance of the rule that the police should not interfere in labour disputes and other social movements—these are some of the activities undertaken by these governments which distinguish them from other governments. These have led to a minimum advance in the material living and working conditions of the labouring people.

Unlike other non-Congress(I) governments again, the CPI(M)-led governments do not confine themselves to giving material benefits to the common people. They explain to them the limitations under which the government has to work, and the need to overcome these limitations by recasting the entire

socio-economic and political system. The governments thus help the fighting organisations of the working people to consolidate their militant unity on the basis of which alone the socio-economic and political system can be completely recast. In other words, the governments become the political instruments of the struggle for the increasing unity of the people against the class policies of the bourgeois-landlord classes and their parties.

The Congress(I) cannot tolerate the existence and continued functioning of these governments, and the emergence of a combination of Left and secular opposition parties at the all-India level. The Congress(I) Government at the centre therefore exercises its vast powers to put one obstacle after another before the CPI(M)-led state governments. The most notorious example of this in recent months was the misuse of power to falsify the electoral verdict in Tripura (February 1988). The governmental leaders at the centre conspired with the separatist TNV to organise a series of murders on the eve of the elections, creating the pretext for declaring the whole state a "disturbed area", and then deploying the army in the name of "curbing the TNV terrorists". This was followed by organised rigging of the elections, particularly at the stage of counting, thereby ensuring an "electoral victory" for the Congress(I), and the formation of a Congress(I)-TUJS Government. Following this the ruling party established a semi-fascist regime in the state launching physical attacks and murders on the CPI(M) and Left Front activists. The final outcome was a 'political settlement' with the TNV to curb which, it had been claimed, the state had been declared a "disturbed area" and the army deployed.

We pay our warm tribute to the courageous people of Tripura who stood their ground in facing these semi-fascist attacks. We are proud of the fact that, as in the earlier attacks, the CPI(M) and its friends in Tripura have braved the rigours of the semi-fascist terror regime. We also greet the democratic organisations and parties—in Tripura and outside—who raised their voice of protest against this terror unleashed against the people and the Left Front of Tripura.

Against the Left Front Government of West Bengal and the LDF Government of Kerala too, the bourgeois-landlord ruling circles of the Congress(I) party had been launching attack after attack. Denying the legitimate demands of the people of the two states, the central authorities are out to starve them, block the progress of their developmental activities. The negative

and obstructionist attitude adopted by the Centre to such projects as the Bakreshwar Thermal Power Project and the Haldia Petro-Chemical Complex in West Bengal, industrial and power project in Kerala, the denial of financial accommodation to the Kerala Government by the Reserve Bank of India and other institutions controlled by the Centre—these have been supplemented by the Congress(I) organisations in the two states launching a number of anti-government struggles. Central Ministers (not excluding the Prime Minister himself) have turned themselves into the star campaigners of the opposition in the two states.

The Party should therefore continuously educate the people, not only about the limitations under which the governments have to work, but also about the nakedly hostile attitude of the central authorities towards the Left Front governments. Through the Party-led and other mass organisations of the fighting people, and directly through the Party itself, campaigns should be unleashed exposing the anti-democratic way the central Government deals with the Left-led governments.

While thus running a campaign against the central Government in defence of the Left and Left Democratic governments of West Bengal and Kerala, the Party in the two states and on the national scale, should defend other non-Congress(I) state governments in states, which are under attack. For the, Congress(I) Government's general policy is one of attacking all non-Congress(I) governments, an important part of which is the attack on the Left-led governments.

One important aspect of our work in these governments should be continuous educational work in the entire Party, calculated to fight the growth of parliamentary illusions and of opportunism. Our Party has consistently held the view that while work in the parliamentary arena (including the formation of governments wherever possible) is an important weapon in the struggle for uniting the working class and democratic movement, the atmosphere of parliamentarism is likely to corrode the revolutionary consciousness of, and corrupt Party members. Constant vigilance against this should be maintained; the Party and the fighting organisations of the working people should never be subordinated to the government and the legislature; the latter on the other hand should be subordinated to the Party and the mass organisations.

LEFT UNITY

The three-year period since the Twelfth Congress has undoubtedly witnessed the further cementing of the unity of Left parties. It was this that enabled us to forge relations of friendship and cooperation with other secular opposition parties. The position today is that, while the Left has emerged as an independent political force operating on an all-India scale, a definite pro-Left trend has begun to develop in the rest of the secular opposition movement. Further progress along these lines is a necessary condition for advance along the lines of forging the unity of Left and secular democratic forces.

However there are certain developments in the relations between the Left parties which cause concern. In West Bengal, in the panchayat elections, despite the maximum efforts at accommodation by the CPI(M), the Forward Bloc and RSP took their differences to the public and made slanderous accusations against the Party. Following this, Jatin Chakraborty, the RSP minister, sought to malign the Chief Minister. Such tactics help only the Congress(I) in their campaign to defame the Left Front. Our Party in West Bengal took a firm and correct stand in this regard to preserve the credibility and unity of the Front.

With regard to the CPI, its unit in Andhra Pradesh has adopted a posture of outright opposition to the Telugu Desam Party to the extent of refusing any united actions with it on agreed all-India issues. It has formed a so-called "third front" in the state thereby rendering the Congress(I) assistance. The CPI continues to slander our Party and there have been instances of murderous attacks on our cadres. The line in Andhra by the CPI unit goes against the all-India CPI's understanding of uniting with the secular opposition parties in united struggle against the Rajiv Government. Yet the CPI national leadership refuses to intervene to rectify the situation. In Assam, the CPI state unit is vociferously demanding implementation of the Assam accord and refuses to demarcate from any anti-minority positions of the Government.

These negative aspects cannot be ignored. Our Party is firmly committed to the strengthening of Left unity. This unity is essential for Left and democratic unity and for forging understanding between Left and the secular opposition forces. Any activity by any component of the Left which detracts from

this declared goal has to be countered and struggled against. Keeping in view the big mass response to the Left initiatives in recent times, it becomes the common responsibility of all the parties of the Left to meet the aspirations of the people.

TRIBAL PROBLEM

The three-year period since the Twelfth Congress has further underlined the importance of the tribal question in many parts of the country.

Our Party in Tripura has shown to the rest of the country how the tribals and non-tribals can be made to live and work together, rather than remain at daggers drawn against each other. Tripura, in fact, is the only state in the north-eastern region where, under the leadership of the CPI(M) and the Left Front, unity between the tribals and the non-tribals has been maintained and preserved.

This was made possible because our Party has taken the programmatic position that areas inhabited by the tribals or other sections of the people who have their own distinctive characteristics, should be allowed to have regional autonomy within the existing states. It was this that enabled our Party and the Left Front in Tripura to fight for and ultimately secure the tribal Autonomous District under Schedule VI of the Constitution. While conditions may vary from state to state, and the solution found in Tripura cannot be mechanically applied everywhere, the fact has to be noted that the tribal problem cannot be solved without fighting for and securing one or another type of regional autonomy.

This truth was underlined by the experience gained in relation to the hill areas of the Darjeeling District. The GNLF movement arose originally on the basis of the demand for a separate state. Basing itself on the programmatic position, our Party resisted the formation of a separate Gorkha state for which the GNLF fought, but stood for regional autonomy for the hill areas of Darjeeling. The central Government and the ruling party in the beginning opposed this on the ground that regional autonomy would be the thin end of the wedge leading ultimately to the separation of the area from the West Bengal State. The centre however had, in the end, to agree to the idea of regional autonomy for which we have always stood.

What was done in the autonomous tribal district of Tripura or the autonomous hill areas of Darjeeling district may not be applicable to other areas where the tribals or any other sections with their distinct characteristics live. It is, however, obvious that nowhere can the problem be solved except on the basis of the principle of autonomous district or area in an existing state.

PART III

ORGANISATIONAL

The preceding pages show that there was, in the three-year period since the Twelfth Congress, an unprecedented upsurge of mass activities and struggles in which the Party has been engaged. Almost all parts of the country, all sections of the toiling people were brought into the arena of militant action. This has led to a new wave of development of mass organisations as well as of the ideological-political activities of the Party. The Party addressed itself to all questions affecting the political life of the country - Punjab, Tripura, Gorkhaland, Ramjanmabhoomi/Babri-Masjid, Bofors and other instances of corruption in high places, Sri Lanka, several issues of foreign policy, etc, leading to the emergence of the Party's own distinct view on political problems.

The increase in the membership of the mass organisations, circulation of Party journals, etc., that followed this mass political activity has been projected in the tables and charts appended to this Report. It should, however, be self-critically acknowledged that the increase in the membership of the mass organisations has been disproportionately behind the movements and struggles led by the Party. Furthermore, the increase in the membership of the Party, the circulation of Party journals and publications and other forms of consolidating the developing mass movement have lagged behind the mass upsurge.

This illustrates the importance of the role of the Party as an organisation in consolidating the development of the militant mass movement to which attention was drawn in the Report and Resolution on Organisation adopted at the Salkia

Plenum in 1978. The lag in implementing the directives given in the Salkia Report and the Resolution, was pointed out at the two (11th and the 12th) Congresses (Political-Organisational Reports). We have not succeeded in fully overcoming this lag.

ADVANCES SINCE SALKIA

This is not to suggest that nothing has been done by way of implementing the Salkia directives. Efforts were made to apply them which have undoubtedly yielded some results. What has to be emphasised is that this is far less than what is possible and necessary. Let us therefore draw a balance-sheet of the positive and negative consequences of our work in implementing the Salkia directives.

The positive result of the implementation of the Salkia line during the last 10 years is that the Party units in various states are trying to consolidate their political position where they have already become fairly strong, and to start developing in the weaker areas. For example, the Party has consolidated its position in the three states where it had already become the strongest political force - West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala. In some states like Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, it has improved its political position among the people and, through systematic organisational work, is transforming the growing political influence into an efficient Party organisation. In the two states where our Party and the democratic movement as a whole have been facing the vicious offensive of the separatist and divisive forces - in Punjab and Assam, the Party has given a good account of itself, taking the brunt of attacks from the terrorists and holding aloft the banner of secularism and national unity. In all other states, including the vast Hindi-speaking belt, the Party has broken new ground, attracting more and more militants into the Party, thus laying the basis for advance in the future. We have, in the meanwhile organised new units in such states as Jammu and Kashmir, Manipur, the Andamans. The situation today is that we have functioning units in all the states except four in the North-Eastern Region (Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Mizoram, and Meghalaya) and Sikkim.

The progress in consolidating the Party in the old and the prospects for expansion into the new states and regions was made possible because the Party Centre - the Polit Bureau and

the Central Committee - has been collectively functioning and dealing with the current and basic problems facing the Party nationally and internationally. The political resolutions adopted at the Eleventh and Twelfth Congresses as well as the resolutions and statements adopted at the meetings of the Central Committee and the Polit Bureau, have helped the ideological-political unification of the Party. This consolidation and expansion can be carried forward only if the comrades and committees at all levels take the work of organisation more seriously.

Mention, in this context, should be made of the role played by the Party during such important national political developments since the Salkia Plenum as the fall of the Janata government in 1979, followed by the return to power of Indira Gandhi (1980), the need to reforge the links with other Opposition forces in the struggle against the Indira Congress regime, etc., going right up to such developments as the separatist movement in Assam, the separatist and terrorist movement and attacks in Punjab, the GNLF movement in Darjeeling, the eruption of communal tension and riots in various parts of the country, and more recently Sri Lanka, Darjeeling, etc. In relation to all these developments and problems, the Party concentrated its fire on authoritarianism and upheld national unity, combating all divisive forces. Self-critically admitting the weakness of the peace movement in the country, steps were taken to overcome this weakness and broaden the movement. Contacts were established and strengthened with fraternal Parties and the Party made a more active partner in the international exchanges. It was this correct policy on the major national and international questions that helped the Party to consolidate its position in strong areas and to make a break-through in weaker areas.

In future too, the Party should rely on the current political line of fighting in defence of the interests of the masses, in defence of democracy and for the protection of national unity, and for world peace. State, district and local committees have to resist the temptation of orienting themselves to narrow and purely parochial considerations, addressing themselves to the task of carrying out the all-India political line of the Party on international and national issues. The Party cannot either consolidate and strengthen its position in its strong areas, nor make advances where the movement and the Party is weak,

unless it bases itself firmly on the Party line of defence of the people's interests, of fighting for democracy and for national unity in India, and world peace internationally.

Struggle Against Federalism

Important in this context is the struggle against what was nailed down in the Salkia documents as "federalism"—the tendency to look upon the state, the regional and the local considerations as crucial in Party work, and neglect the national and international tasks. To this political manifestation of federalism should be added its organisational manifestation which is that state units fail to report to, and seek directives from the Central Committee, while the district committees do not regularly report to and seek guidance from the State Committees. The Salkia documents had emphasized the importance of regular reporting from top to bottom, and vice-versa, on the basis of which alone an efficient party of the working class can function and discharge its responsibilities. Although there has been some improvement, the position is far from what it can and should be.

This is all the more important today when, thanks to the correct political line evolved in successive Party Congresses, and the serious efforts made to implement the organisational line laid down at Salkia, there has been a big increase in the number of Party members, as well as in the strength of the mass organisations led by the Party. The total Party membership which was 1,61,000 at the time of the Salkia Plenum, has gone up to 4,65,000—a three-fold increase. Similarly, the mass organisations led by the Party have seen an increase in membership from 48 lakhs (4.8 million) in 1978 to 223 lakhs (22.3 million) in 1987—a nearly 15-fold increase. The break-up of the membership of all the mass organisations led by the Party shows:

	1978	in lakhs 1987
CITU		
(as per annual returns filed)	10 (1 million)	16 (1.6 million)
AIKS	229 (22.9 million)	105 (10.5 million)

AIAWU	9 (0.9 million)	14.3 (1.43 million 1987-88)
DYFI	12.9 (1.29 million 1980)	49.5 (4.95 million)
SFI	4.1 (0.41 million)	15.3 (1.53 million)
AIDWA	12 (1.2 million 1981)	22 (2.2 million)

The Question of Expansion

An important directive of the Salkia Plenum was the expansion of the Party into new areas, particularly the Hindi-speaking areas. It will therefore be interesting to look into the figures of increase in the membership in mass organisations led by our Party in these areas. They are as follows:

Hindi-Speaking Areas

	1977	1987
CITU	70,000	1 lakh (1986)
AIKS	1.3 lakh (1978)	5.95 lakhs
SFI	33,648 (1978)	1.1 lakhs
DYFI	73,700 (1980)	1.7 lakh
AIAWU	18,400 (1982)	81,015
AIDWA	4,300 (1981)	23,238

The total membership increase of all the above organisations was 7.4 lakhs.

Party membership in the Hindi-speaking areas has been a modest increase from 14,000 in 1978, to 26,782 in 1987.

It will thus be seen that, in terms of growth in the membership of the mass organisations led by the Party, and in the membership of the Party itself, the Hindi-speaking areas have registered some progress. It should, however, be noted that there have been still greater increases in our traditionally strong areas as well - West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala. Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu :

			in lakhs.
	22.3		130
West Bengal:	(2.33 million)	to	(13 million)

	10		46.8
Kerala:	(1.00 million)	to	(4.68 million)
Andhra Pradesh:	3.2		12.1
	(0.32 million)	to	(1.21 million)
Tamil Nadu:	2.3		6.8
	(0.23 million)	to	(0.68 million)

The result is that the gap between the traditionally strong and the new areas is wider still, though there have been increases in both. The political significance of the increase in the new areas is that the process envisaged at Salkia has started, and that the increasing political cooperation between the Left and the secular democratic opposition parties will create favorable conditions for the advance of the Left and democratic forces throughout the country, and steady progress in the Hindi region. The rate of this progress however is still behind the rate in the stronger areas. Furthermore, while the strong areas have substantially increased the circulation of their journals and publications, the new areas are lagging behind in this respect. The Hindi *Lok Lahar* published by the Party centre has a stagnant rate of circulation, while the Urdu *Lok Lahar* had to be stopped. The circulation of other language papers in the new areas is also not picking up. Thus in spite of growing mass activities, the further advance of the Party in the weak areas is to be taken up seriously.

Mention should be made of the fact that, even in the areas of our traditional mass support such as West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala, the Left even though it has become the major force, has not yet become the unchallenged political force. Judged by the voting figures, the LDF is even below 50 per cent in Kerala, while the West Bengal and Tripura the Left Front is hovering around 50 per cent.

This means that, while in the country as a whole our Party should so orient its political-organisational activities as to win over larger and larger sections of people, the basic political task even in the areas of our traditionally strong mass support should be to win over the bulk of the people, of whom almost 50 per cent is yet on the other side. In this connection, apart from the daily class and mass struggles, the "human chain" and other programmes conducted in Kerala and West Bengal involving lakhs and lakhs of people, mobilised by the DYFI and other organisations are noteworthy. So also is the success

attained in improving the production and circulation of the Party paper in the two states. These are activities which will help the Party in breaking through to new sections and erode the influence of the ruling class parties.

Problems of Growth

The figures of growth in the membership of the Party-led mass organisations as well as of the Party, show that the growth being registered has certain problems. While they have not yet taken the size of a developing crisis in the organisation they are likely to create crisis situations if not properly (and in time) resolved. The understanding of, and steps to resolve these problems is then crucial to the further development of the Party.

The first problem which has been thrown up by the growth of the Party during this period is the comparatively low rate of growth in the membership of trade unions; while the Kisan Sabha, the SFI, the DYFI and the AIDWA have had membership increases of 360 percent, 273 percent, 283 per cent, and 83 per cent respectively, the increase in the CITU is 60 per cent and the AIAWU 58 per cent.

This does not of course correctly reflect our strength in the trade union movement or imply that the capacity to lead the working class struggles is diminishing. As a matter of fact the CITU's influence in the all-India federations of employees and public sector unions has been growing. It is CITU that has come to be recognised as the most effective leader of the working class in struggle and initiating united actions. This latter phenomenon holds good both in the areas of our traditional mass support, as well as in the new areas. In West Bengal, Kerala and other relatively strong states, as well as in the Hindi-speaking areas, the CITU is developing into the most militant fighting organisation of industrial workers and middle class employees.

This capacity to organise and lead the working class in struggles, however, has not been, and is not being reflected in the membership of the CITU, and in the consciousness of the trade union leadership at various levels to file the annual returns of membership promptly. It is obvious that our Party cannot develop itself into the revolutionary mass party of the working class unless this weakness is overcome.

Coming to the All India Kisan Sabha and All India Agricultural Workers' Union, it must be noted that the bulk of the agricultural workers in West Bengal is enrolled within the Kisan Sabha, and the figure there runs into millions. But at the same time there is insufficient emphasis on this front in many states. Further, the growth in their membership does not mean the development of a democratically functioning mass organisation. The criticism made in the Salkia documents, as well as in the subsequent C.C. resolutions on mass organisations, namely that the latter are not functioning autonomously but subordinate to the Party, is true to some extent of the Kisan Sabha and agricultural workers organisation also, as much as, if not more than of any other mass organisation. Democratic functioning of the committees and general bodies of the mass organisations at various levels is not encouraged, the Party Committee of corresponding levels often taking decisions in the name of the mass organisations.

This has become an inborn habit of many of the comrades who lead these mass organisations. Party leadership at the centre and at the state level, should undertake a systematic drive to make the mass organisations function in a genuinely democratic way. Conscious efforts should be made to develop a new style of work, namely, Party committees at various levels giving directions to Party fractions on major policy questions, but leaving the concrete working out of the details of policy and organisation to the democratic process in the mass organisations themselves.

Youthful Composition

The age composition in the Party has changed rapidly. With the big expansion of membership in recent years, the new entrants from the younger generation of below 40 years of age, comprise the overwhelming majority in the Party. This is also seen in the number of students and youth flocking into their respective organisations and into the Party. They can be turned into a valuable asset for the Party, and the increase in the membership of the youth and student organisations is therefore a welcome development. So are the young entrants from the basic classes into the Party.

The figures available of age break-up of Party membership (40 years and below) in certain states indicates the dominant youth composition:

in Kerala, 76 per cent of total membership is 40 years and below;

in West Bengal it is 70 per cent;

Tamil Nadu, 70 per cent;

Andhra Pradesh, 40 per cent;

Maharashtra, 39 per cent;

Delhi, 68 per cent;

Jammu & Kashmir, 67 per cent.

Those upto 30 years of age in Tripura account for 29 per cent, and in Karnataka 40 per cent of the total membership.

This feature was reflected in the delegates attending the state conferences also, where on an average, 55 per cent of the delegates attending the conferences were below 40 years. Many younger comrades have been taken into the state and district committees this time.

This youthful influx however, poses certain problems arising out of the relative political immaturity, and alien class ideology of those who join the Party. Only through an intensive course of ideological, political and organisational training can this vast reservoir be properly developed as members of the Party, and then promoted.

It should be realised that in the last one decade, from 1978 to 1988, the Party membership has increased from 1,61,000 to 4,65,00. This means that around 75 per cent of the present membership is of the post-1977 vintage. In most states, the post-1985 membership constitutes 30 to 40 per cent of the total membership. This underlines the big task before the party committees to systematically educate this large number of youth on correct Marxist-Leninist lines. This work is still underestimated by the leading bodies. This should therefore be considered as a key task to be discharged by the Party.

Women in the Party

As regards the increase in the women's organisation, it should be acknowledged that it is much less than what is possible. There are obviously innumerable hurdles to be crossed before women are drawn into the mass organisation. Still more

hurdles exist in the way of the active and militant members of the women's organisation being drawn into the Party.

The Political-Organisational Report of the last Congress pointed out the necessity of special efforts to bring women into the Party. The Report had stated that the two big states, West Bengal and Kerala, had 5,000 and 3,810 women Party membership respectively, i.e., less than five per cent of the total membership in these states. In Tripura, it was seven per cent of the membership.

An analysis of the 1988 Party membership shows that the West Bengal there are 6,279 women members and in Kerala 5,537 women members. While this is a slight increase in terms of numbers over the period, given the total increase in membership, the percentage in West Bengal works out to only 4 per cent and in Kerala 3.1 per cent. In Tripura, the women members are 990 and account for 8.7 per cent. The figures available for some other states are as follows: Tamil Nadu 1021 women (3 per cent) Andhra Pradesh 565 (2.5 per cent), Maharashtra 327 (7.1 per cent); Delhi 68 (8 per cent); Karnataka 325 (9 per cent); Madhya Pradesh 18 (2 per cent); Assam (except 2 districts) 682 (6.7 per cent).

The percentage of women comrades who are taken into leading positions in the Party committees is very low, even though it is slowly rising. Some improvement has been recorded in the district and local committees. At the state committee level after the recent conferences 29 women comrades have been elected to the various state committees, which is a slight increase over the previous position.

The AIDWA at present has an all-India membership of 2.27 million, while the total women Party membership all India is only around sixteen thousand. Conscious efforts have to be made by the Party committees to enrol women into the Party. This is one of the important tasks before us in the coming days.

CLASS AND SOCIAL COMPOSITION

The last Congress had also stressed the importance of building the Party among the socially discriminated sections such as scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and the Muslim minority. The bourgeois political parties try to utilise them by appealing to their sense of grievance and separatist instincts, to use them against the developing radical democratic

movements. While we fight these efforts of the ruling classes to foster separatist consciousness amongst them, we have to take up the issues which particularly affect them, mobilise the support of other sections of the democratic movement and thus draw these sections into the common movement.

At the last Congress there was no data available for these sections within the Party. This year some states have provided information on this aspect.

In West Bengal, Party members of scheduled caste origin are 17 per cent and of scheduled tribes 4 per cent.

Andhra Pradesh : SC-18 per cent, ST-7 per cent;

Maharashtra SC-7.2 per cent, ST-38 per cent;

Tamil Nadu:SC-19.8 per cent;

Assam:SC-6.4 per cent, ST-12.3 per cent;

Karnataka:SC-11 per cent.

The exact figures for Tripura are not available but there is a significant proportion of tribal Party members in that State.

These figures for a few states show that there is a satisfactory representation of scheduled castes in most states while in Maharashtra, Assam and Tripura there is good representation of the scheduled tribes. But in states like Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh, states where there is a concentration of tribal population, there is insufficient work amongst this section. Overall, the representation of the scheduled tribes, keeping in view their all-India size, and their being the main contingent in the agricultural labour and rural poor, requires a big expansion.

As for the Muslim section, except in Assam and West Bengal (J & K being an exception) where 17 per cent and 13 per cent respectively of Party members come from this background, their proportion in the Party is small. The only other state with a substantial number would be Kerala for which figures are not available. The small proportion of working people from the Muslim community joining the Party indicates a serious weakness. It is to be understood that the bulk of the Muslims in the North and other states come from the poorest sections, the artisans, the small craftsmen and poor peasants. They suffer from not only class exploitation but social discrimination. They constitute an important section of the working people. Of course there are social barriers and religious prejudices which prevent their easy entry into the common movement. But the role of the party is precisely this, the task of working out tactics to

overcome the barriers and drawing them into the common movement and recruit the most militant and conscious elements into the Party. The Party committees have to be alert to this task and in addressing their work to the special problems faced by the minority community.

Special efforts should be made to recruit the class-conscious and militant elements from these sections into the Party and promote them to leading positions.

WORKING CLASS COMPOSITION

This raises the question of the class and social composition of Party members. In a country where the majority of the population comes from the non-proletarian strata, conscious efforts have to be made to draw into the Party the militant elements from the working class. It cannot be said that our Party committees are conscious of this task.

At present the working class composition in terms of the industrial proletariat and the agricultural labourers is weak. Figures available from some states are as follows:

Working Class:

West Bengal-11.5	per cent;
Tripura-10.5	per cent;
Assam-11.2	per cent;
Maharashtra-23.8	per cent;
Andhra Pradesh-12	per cent.

Agricultural Workers:

West Bengal-15.7	per cent;
Assam-5.2	per cent;
Maharashtra-21.8	per cent;
Andhra Pradesh-31	per cent.

Many of the other states have lesser working class composition. This indicates the necessity of serious attention to be paid to this aspect of Party membership. If we are to discharge the role of a working class party, the best elements from the working class and rural proletariat will have to be enrolled into the Party in a big way, and proper attention paid to their development and promotion.

PARTY CENTRE'S ASSISTANCE TO STATES

During this three-year period there have been occasions when the Central had to render concrete assistance to some states on political or organisational questions.

In Kerala, for instance, the Twelfth Congress and the State Conference that preceded it had raised a serious political and organisational problem: a minority of the state secretariat, supported by small proportions of Party members in the districts, were in complete disagreement with the Party line, and had organised themselves into a distinct faction. They had to be fought politically and organisationally, ending in their complete isolation in the Party and among the people.

In doing this, the Polit Bureau gave practical help to the State leadership. The inner-Party campaign and the campaign run among the people with the participation of Comrade EMS and Comrade Balanandan gave powerful support to the state secretariat. That was how, when the important leaders of the faction had to be proceeded against, the entire Party rallied itself behind the political-tactical line of the Party.

This was put to a severe test during the March 1987 elections, when the faction that was thrown out set up slightly under 100 candidates with the open support of the monopoly Press and the Congress-led UDF. At this time too, the campaign run by the Party with the help of two Polit Bureau members supplemented the work done by the state leadership.

The assistance of the Polit Bureau and Central Committee was required on another political organisational question—the deep division within the Party concerning the energy policy to be pursued by the Government, which raised ideological disputes on ecology. It divided comrades working in the Sashtra Sahitya Parishad and the Electricity Board Employees' Union. The Polit Bureau and the Central Committee had to adopt a document nailing down the ideological-political deviation on the energy question, and the organisational failings in dealing with it. This document was unanimously accepted by the Secretariat and the State Committee. The aftermath of this dispute, however, still remains to a small extent; the state leadership will have to take prompt steps to deal with it.

Questions concerning the collective functioning of the secretariat were also raised in this three-year period. The

Polit Bureau, in fact, had to call the entire Secretariat to Delhi and have one round of discussion. The functioning of the Secretariat has since then registered some improvement, though there is still room for further improvement.

For *Punjab* this whole three-year period was one of continuous tension and violence. The Polit Bureau therefore had to be in continuous touch with the developments in Punjab itself and at the Centre concerning its way of dealing with the problem. Although our intervention did not help in bringing any radical change in the situation, it enhanced the prestige of the Party very much, the Party firmly defending national unity. Our comrades and a wide circle of our supporters had to face the heavy onslaught of the armed terrorists, several having been murdered. The Punjab Committee had to be helped in organising the comrades' self-defence. The Polit Bureau gave a call for funds to be collected for Punjab. The ready response of the comrades all over the country is seen in the collection of Rs. 16,43,310 (the bulk being collected in five months)—a remarkable show of solidarity with the fighting comrades and people of Punjab.

Comrades in *Tripura* have in the entire three-year period been facing the most acute problems of organised attacks by the TNV terrorists and the completely hostile attitude of the Central Government and the state unit of the Congress(I). Armed attacks by the TNV terrorists, political agitation in the name of "breakdown of law and order", organised by the state unit of the Congress(I) party, continued pressure and blackmail by the Central Government—all these were fully coordinated to form an orchestrated offensive. This culminated in the eve-of-the-poll declaration of the whole state as a "disturbed area", the deployment of the army allegedly for "curbing TNV terrorism", the manipulated election under cover of the army that was deployed, and in the end, after the Congress (I)-TUJS Government was installed in office, the signing of an Accord between the TNV and the Government. Nowhere was central power used more nakedly than in this instance. The Party in Tripura required practical assistance from the centre.

It was only after the election, when a self-critical review was made, that the weaknesses and failings of dealing with the situation in the state were revealed to the Party centre. The Polit Bureau helped the State Committee to make a self-critical review of the circumstances in which the Central

Government and the Congress(I) Party in the State could so organise elections and manipulate them as to falsify the verdict of the electorate. This intervention of the Party centre helped the resolution of differences that had cropped up in the State leadership over the review of the February 1988 elections. The Polit Bureau addressed a letter to all Party members explaining its assessment of the situation and problems which underlined the process of rigged elections.

The P.B in its letter to the Tripura comrades paid tribute to the courageous and dedicated work put in by the Party in the state and the record of the Left Front Government which enabled the Party to secure 51 per cent of the votes in the elections. This is no small achievement given the extremely difficult condition in which the elections were fought. This big mass support to the Party is the result of the ministry's work in protecting the rights of the tribal masses and the performance of the Autonomous District Council formed after the protracted struggle. The Party and the Government accomplished a difficult task of maintaining Tribal-Bengali unity in the face of all provocations. It is also the result of our correct policies in favour of the oppressed sections of the people.

At the same time the letter pointed out some of the major defects in our understanding and work. The first weakness is that the Party in Tripura looked upon the elections as an ordinary election and not a serious political battle between the Congress(I) and the CPI(M) and the intensified offensive launched by the ruling party at the Centre against the Left-led Government including Tripura. This led to a sense of complacency. Therefore the declaration of the whole State as a 'Disturbed Area' and the deployment of the Army did not produce a sharp reaction required to meet the extraordinary situation. We were therefore unprepared to meet the goonda and illegal tactics adopted. Secondly, we underestimated the feelings of lack of security among large sections of the people especially the Bengalis in view of the stepped up terrorist violence by the TNV. We did not address ourselves sufficiently to this deep seated concern for security. Thirdly, the election experience when self-critically reviewed shows that there has been a tendency to rely on the ministry instead of relying on mass struggles and mass initiatives. Hence even the steps taken by the ministry to render help to the people did not sufficiently increase mass consciousness and mass participation.

Independent mass activity and initiative of our mass organisations suffered because of this undue dependence on ministerial actions.

Finally with most of the Secretariat members being in the ministry and with practically the entire leadership fighting the elections as candidates the state centre failed to provide adequate guidance and coordination during the critical time after the deployment of the Army and the Congress(I) offensive.

Considering the grave situation facing the Party in the state and the need of help from outside, a call was given for the collection of a Tripura Solidarity Fund. The amount collected has come to Rs. 8,21,473 so far, exclusive of collections made in West Bengal which were directly made available by the West Bengal State Committee to the Tripura State Committee.

A problem arose in the meantime in connection with the functioning of a particular mass organisation and the comrades working in the same. The state leadership was not completely unified on it and therefore the Polit Bureau had to intervene.

Still another problem dealt with by the Party centre in this period concerns the Hill areas of the Darjeeling District. The movement unleashed by the GNLFF, the terroristic attacks on the Party and the Left Front by the GNLFF, the initial reluctance of the Central Government to accept the democratic principle of regional autonomy for which our Party fought, all these created a difficult problem. The Party centre intervened, spending hours and weeks in finding a solution to this problem. Our efforts were in the end crowned with success when the Autonomous Regional Council was decided upon. The first election to the Council is over.

On the conflict in *Sri Lanka* our Party and the CPI are the only national parties which stood for the democratic solution of the problem based on the autonomy for the Tamil areas within the framework of Sri Lankan unity. All other opposition parties were virtually opposed to this position. Among those who opposed it was the DMK in Tamil Nadu. The Party centre helped our comrades in taking the correct stand and fighting Sinhala chauvinism and Tamil separatism. This was the line which was accepted by the Left parties in India and Sri Lanka.

Along with the question of official language and medium of instruction, Sri Lanka constituted one issue on which we had to demarcate ourselves from the DMK, even while maintaining

our relationship of cooperation with it as a partner in the emerging opposition unity. We had sometimes to go in opposition to the DMK but maintained unity with it in the interest of the broader Opposition unity. The Party centre helped the Tamil Nadu Committee in working this out.

In *Orissa* this three-year period was marked by major advances in the class and mass movements and in the development of opposition unity. The Party organisation too has registered some progress.

Unfortunately, however, the tendency towards factionalism at the top, noted in the Political-Organisational Reports of previous Congresses still continues. The State Conference held at Bhubaneswar in the second week of November showed how deep-rooted the malady is. The new Central Committee will have to take steps to remedy the situation.

An organisational question arose also in *Gujarat* where the Polit Bureau had to dissolve the Ahmedabad District Committee.

MAJOR SHORTCOMINGS OF THE PARTY CENTRE

From this analysis of the organisational growth of the Party the conclusion emerges: while the collective functioning of the Polit Bureau and the Central Committee during the post-Salkia period has enabled the Party to unify itself on the major political problems it faces, it has not yet been able to fully cope with the multifarious tasks set out in the Salkia Plenum and the work of putting the correct political line evolved into practice at all levels of the Party. The Twelfth Congress of the Party in its Political Organisational Report pointed out that "the Party line is not properly understood or concretely applied. There is, in fact a good deal of confusion on issues on which the Party has come to a conclusion after full inner-party discussions, since the authoritative documents of the Party Congress and the Central Committee are not used for ideological work whose importance was emphasised in the Salkia Plenum and the following documents. What has been done by the Central Committee and the State Committees by way of running schools, organising systematic reporting from top to bottom and from bottom upwards, bringing out of journals and

pamphlets, etc., is inadequate to meet the requirements of the situation."

The reason for this inadequacy of the Party Centre is that, while the Salkia Plenum correctly understood and emphasised the importance of the Party Centre without which the Party cannot be built, there was no corresponding release of experienced comrades from developed states for the work at the Centre. The Twelfth Congress, for instance, had proposed the induction of a few comrades of the Central Committee to work 'as a sort of Secretariat' of the Central Committee. This, however, could not be carried out. This should be traced to two factors: (1) the unwillingness or inability of State Committees to release, and of the comrades themselves to be relieved, for Central work; (2) failure of the Polit Bureau itself to so organise the work of the newly drafted Central Committee members as to make them collectively work under the Polit Bureau.

It is therefore now proposed to so amend the Party Constitution as to provide for a Secretariat which will constitutionally function under the directions of the Polit Bureau. What this means is that the Secretariat constituted by the Central Committee will work under the guidance of the Polit Bureau and assist it in implementation of C.C. decisions at the Party Centre. This will lessen the burden of work of the Polit Bureau at present and enable it to concentrate on the major questions of policy and Party organisation.

With such a mechanism being set up and working under the supervision of the Polit Bureau and with the induction of more Central Committee members for whole— or part-time work of fractions and sub-committees of mass fronts or for the work of running Party schools, preparing agitational and educational materials, etc., it will be possible for the Centre more efficiently to fulfil the two tasks assigned to it in the Salkia documents—organising and centralising the ideological struggle and streamlining the organisation. It should be possible to run more central schools (in English and Hindi); bring out pamphlets and other publicity material on current and more basic questions; start and run an all-India news agency which will cater to the requirements of the provincial papers; pool and exchange the experience of running campaigns and struggles through the regular bringing out of a Party Letter; and, above all, keep the Party centre in regular contact with the State

Committees. Resistance of State Committees to release, and of the concerned comrades to be released, for central work has been one of the major reasons why many of the correct decisions taken at Salkia and subsequently could not be carried out.

Reference may, in this context, be made to a proposal made at the Twelfth Congress that, instead of reviewing the political and organisational situation in States when Party Conferences are held once in three or four years, there should be more frequent reviews. The suggestion made then was to have annual reviews. Several State Committees took this proposal seriously and sent to the Central Committee their annual reviews, which however, could not be processed at the Centre because of the absence of a mechanism like the now-proposed Secretariat to do that work.

PARTY PAPERS AND JOURNALS

The Salkia Plenum had underlined the importance of stepping up Party propaganda and the ideological campaign in a big way. In this context it called for steps to ensure the effectiveness of Party journals as vehicles of the Party line and ideology. The Plenum had concertedly suggested: (a) meetings of editors of Party organs once a year at least, for discussions; (b) the Party Centre should bring out a theoretical and quarterly journal; (c) the Centre should immediately begin a Hindi weekly.

As is known, the Centre began publishing the Hindi *Lok Lahar* weekly in January, 1980 itself. The Centre also began publication of the *The Marxist* as its theoretical quarterly from 1983. While these two proposals of the Plenum were implemented, for a long time the regular meeting of Party editors could not be organised. The first instance of such a meeting was the one called after the 12th Congress in March 1986 which was convened by the Polit Bureau and attended by editors and representation of eight states dailies and weeklies and the Central papers. This exchange of opinions proved useful but it could not be followed up.

At the Party Centre, the two weeklies, People's Democracy and *Lok Lahar*, remain the main organs of the Party. The circulation of the two papers is given in the following table:-

STATEWISE CIRCULATION OF PEOPLE'S
DEMOCRACY & LOK LAHAR

States	People's Democracy		Lok Lahar	
	1985 October	1988 October	1985 October	1988 October
Andhra Pradesh	840	997	5	12
Assam	766	810	34	45
Andamans	—	6	20	—
Bihar	588	574	3,454	2,818
Goa	9	13	1	—
Gujarat	31	30	120	110
Himachal Pradesh	70	68	373	442
Haryana	65	31	553	817
Jammu & Kashmir	58	101	45	57
Kerala	825	1,755	12	3
Karnataka	374	481	27	24
Madhya Pradesh	209	195	1,005	1,329
Maharashtra	552	700	516	580
Manipur	46	8	5	—
Meghalaya	12	30	—	—
Nagaland	10	—	—	—
Orissa	406	499	69	78
Punjab	429	479	393	447
Pondicherry	49	44	—	—
Rajasthan	74	68	1,012	1,025
Sikkim	10	—	—	—
Tamil Nadu	1,629	1,648	2	1
Tripura	303	329	26	13
Uttar Pradesh	324	342	2,559	2,516
West Bengal	6,722	7,463	2,060	4,059
Delhi	522	477	909	905
Foreign	84	89	5	3
	15,007	17,237	13,206	15,284

Both papers have registered a slight increase as compared to the position in 1985. This is positive only in so much as it checks the trend of decline in circulation which was there between the Tenth Congress and Twelfth Congress. But a study of the marginal all-India increase reveals that Kerala and West Bengal account for the major increase in the case of People's Democracy. This is followed by minor increases in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Orissa and Maharashtra. In the case of Lok Lahar, West Bengal accounts for the bulk of the increase (over 2,000). The Hindi-speaking states have a disappointing record where big states like Bihar and U.P. have registered a slight fall in circulation. Only in Haryana, M.P. and Himachal is there some increase. It is obvious from the

figures that the expansion and push in circulation of Lok Lahar in the Hindi region has not taken place. In the light of the expanded mass influence and Party activities in the region, this failure shows the low consciousness and lack of priority that Party committees in this region exhibit towards Party propaganda, education and ideological work.

The *Urdu Lok Lahar* fortnightly which was being brought out from the Centre was finally stopped in 1987 after the low circulation no longer made it viable for publishing. The purpose of bringing out the Urdu paper to reach out to the Muslim minority sections suffered a serious setback.

The Marxist has been coming out regularly during this period. While it is playing a useful role in educating the Party cadres on the political-ideological line of the Party, the circulation continues to be just over four thousand copies, with no increase.

Summing up the over-all state of the Party papers from the Centre, the period since the last Party Congress has registered no significant advance on this front. The Party Centre has not been able to augment the staff for the weekly papers, neither has it been able to implement the proposal to set-up a Central news service for all the papers in the country. This situation is regrettable as the Party and its multifarious activities are growing. It reflects the continuing lag in strengthening the Party Centre.

Unless the Party committees take up a concerted drive to enrol subscribers and readers for the Central papers, the circulation cannot increase. Periodical campaigns and drives to increase must be taken up in the coming days, just as the one which took place in Kerala this year.

Party papers in the states

A positive development of the period since the last Congress is the improvement in the two major dailies brought out by the West Bengal and Kerala State Committees, *Ganashakti* and *Deshabhimani*.

In West Bengal, the Party took the step to convert the *Ganashakti* from an evening daily, to a morning daily, from 1986. Along with this, major steps were taken to improve the content, quality of reporting and size of the paper. In a planned manner this was done with the necessary technological

updating of switching to offset printing and photocomposing. The morning daily has made progress in becoming more readable to the average reader and in coverage of events. The circulation of *Ganashakti* which was 35,000 in 1985 when it was an evening daily has now crossed one lakh in 1988. Its special issues have a sale of 2.5 lakhs. *Desh-Hitaishi* weekly has a circulation of 53,500.

In Kerala, *Deshabhimani* has also registered progress. Its size was increased to eight pages. A planned circulation drive undertaken by the State Committee led its circulation to reach 1,50,000 from the earlier 60,000 in 1985. It is now necessary to ensure that the impressive circulation achieved after the drive is sustained. Now the final stages for publishing the third edition from Trivandrum have been completed and this edition will begin on the eve of the Congress. The Party weekly *Chinta* has also registered a good increase in circulation from 30,000 (in 1985) to 65,000 at present. *Deshabhimani* (literary) weekly has a circulation of 25,000.

As for the other states, some progress has been registered in Tamil Nadu where the daily *Theekathir* has offset technology for the press. The circulation of the paper has recorded a modest increase from 7,134 in 1985, to 9,706 in 1988, after a drive by the Party.

In Tripura, the *Desherkatha* daily rose in circulation from 5,000 in 1985 to 10,500 in 1987. After the assembly elections in February, 1988, the violent attacks on the Party by the Congress(I) have targetted the paper also. Despite all types of harassment and assaults on agents and distributors, the paper has maintained a circulation of 7,000.

The dailies in Andhra Pradesh and Punjab have not registered any increase in circulation. Most of the weekly papers from states like Maharashtra, Karnataka, Assam and Orissa are also marking time.

SOME ASPECTS OF SALKIA PLENUM IMPLEMENTATION

1. State Committee and Secretariat Functioning

The Plenum resolution had called for immediate steps to restore collective functioning at all levels, and stressed the necessity for regular meetings of the State Committees and the Secretariat. The guideline given was that the State

Committees should normally meet once in two months and the Secretariat at least once a fortnight. There has been definite progress in this respect as information from states since the last Congress given below indicate:

<i>State</i>	<i>Periodicity of Secretariat meetings</i>	<i>Periodicity of State Committee meetings</i>	<i>Are written reports by Sectt. submitted in PC meetings?</i>
1. West Bengal	120 (weekly)	20 (bimonthly)	Yes
2. Kerala	87 (fortnightly)	29 (bimonthly)	Yes
3. Andhra	44 (Once in three weeks)	14 (once in nine weeks)	Yes
4. Punjab	(fortnightly)	20 (bimonthly)	Yes
5. Tripura	127 (weekly)	26 (bimonthly)	Yes
6. Maharashtra	60 (fortnightly)	16 (bimonthly)	Yes
7. Karnataka	— (fortnightly)	22 (bimonthly)	
8. Delhi	— (fortnightly)	28 (bimonthly)	Yes
9. Madhya Pradesh	26 (once in seven weeks)	7 (once in four and half months)	Yes
10. Assam	— (monthly)	29 (bimonthly)	Yes
11. Tamil Nadu	49 (once in 3 weeks)	17 (bimonthly)	Yes
12. Himachal Pradesh	24 (once in seven weeks)	14 (once in nine weeks)	Yes

Only in Madhya Pradesh are the State Committee meetings held after long intervals. In this State and in Himachal, Secretariat meetings should be held more frequently.

From State reports, it is also clear that there is no improvement in the functioning of the Rajasthan State Secretariat, as most of its members do not function from the Centre and the Secretariat only meets on the eve of the State Committee meetings.

As for written reports most of the State Committees are implementing this for their meetings. In some, as in Uttar Pradesh, the report is not collectively prepared by the Secretariat.

The practice of submitting written reports by the Secretariat to the State Committee meeting has also to be implemented in Rajasthan, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh.

2. Branch Functioning:

The Salkia Resolution had stated: "To activate every Party member to discharge his minimum responsibilities, it is necessary to tackle the question of efficient functioning of the primary unit—the Branch." In this sphere the progress has been patchy and the overall situation is still very unsatisfactory. The West Bengal State Committee reports that there are a total of 14,016 branches in the State. Out of these 60 per cent meet at least once a month. The rest are irregular. The main difficulty is in having trained branch secretaries who show initiative. In Kerala, there are 14,400 Branches and progress is reported in activating the Branches. A majority of the Branches meet once in two weeks. In Andhra Pradesh there are around 2000 Branches. It is estimated that 21 per cent meet ten times a year, and 23 per cent eight times a year, 33 per cent meet less than three times a year. In Tamil Nadu, there are 4,348 branches. Some improvement is noted in Branch functioning, with 50 per cent of branch Secretaries taking some initiative to carry out decisions of the higher committees. In Punjab, there are 1200 Branches and one third of them hold monthly meetings.

In Karnataka there are 396 Branches and it is reported about 50 per cent meet regularly though the periodicity is not mentioned. Of them 125 show a level of satisfactory activity. In Assam, there are a total of 1,133 Branches. Of these only 200 can be said to be regular functioning units from all aspects. In Maharashtra, there are 291 Branches. The State Committee could only report that overall Branch functioning is very poor and in Bombay and Nagpur only 30 per cent of the Branches meet regularly. In Madhya Pradesh there are 86 Branches and only 23 per cent of them can be termed active. In Himachal Pradesh, out of the 109 Branches, 56 are active Branches in

terms of meetings and activity. In Jammu and Kashmir, there are 40 Branches and 40 per cent function regularly.

These reports from eleven states indicate that in many of the states, the majority of the Branches do not meet at least once a month and do not have a sufficient level of activities and initiative. Almost all the states pin down the main problem as lack of politically-equipped Branch Secretaries, with sufficient initiative. In this respect, the training of Branch Secretaries and the holding of regular meetings of Branch Secretaries by the local committee/area committee, as suggested by the Salkia Resolution, is still not being implemented in many states. One of the states to give special attention to education of Branch Secretaries has been Andhra Pradesh.

The Party with thousands of members in each state, and foreseeing rapid expansion of its ranks, has to pay urgent attention to activising the Branches and training of the Branch Secretaries. Neglect of this task is affecting the revolutionary quality of the Party.

3. Party Education and Ideological Work

The Plenum Resolution had called for regular Party schools and stepping up the ideological work to educate the cadres and counter alien ideologies by ideological struggle. In the matter of Party education, a definite advance has been made in states like Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal and Maharashtra. The most comprehensive schooling has been undertaken in Andhra Pradesh, where a total 22,215 Party members and sympathizers went through schools, from the State Committee-level to the Branch Secretaries' level. These included state-level mass front cadre schools for workers, kisans, agricultural labourers, youth, students and women. In Tamil Nadu, apart from a state-level school for 250 comrades, more than 3000 comrades participated in district schools for taluk and local committee comrades. State-level schools for youth, students, women and employees were also organised.

In West Bengal, a state Party education sub-committee has been working on this front. A state school for 700 leaders and organisers was held on the eve of the 1987 elections. Eleven district schools were held between 1986 to 1988. In 1988 Party

education camps were organised on a zonal and local basis. Classes of the mass organisation cadres were also held.

Kerala, Punjab, Tripura, Maharashtra and Himachal also held state schools and classes at lower levels. In Maharashtra altogether fifty district-level schools of Party and mass organisations were held during this period. In U.P., Rajasthan, one state-level school for cadres was held. And in Bihar and Delhi some schools for mass front cadres were organised though no state Party school was held.

There seems to be a greater awareness of the need for more systematic Party education in the states, and this was reflected in discussions in the recent Party Conferences.

Since the last Party Congress some efforts have gone into expanding Party publications and using them for the ideological campaign. As per available information, West Bengal brought out 10 Party pamphlets, 4 election manifestos and 17 Party letters. Two to three lakh copies of each pamphlet, and 38,000 copies of each Party letter were printed. The NBA brought out other titles. In Kerala, 43 Party titles totalling 2.5 lakh copies were brought out, and 25 pamphlets for the election campaigns; 167 titles were published by Chinta Publishers, including republishing of 58 titles. Andhra Pradesh brought out 64 titles valued at Rs. 12.2 lakhs, Tamil Nadu brought out 38 titles totalling 5.25 lakhs and 9 Party letters. Punjab brought out 18 pamphlets in 80,000 copies. Karnataka brought out 20 titles, of 2000 copies each. Maharashtra published 7 titles totalling 29,000 copies.

Apart from Party publications, the mass organisations in these states have also brought out a number of publications. All these put together constitute some advance in the ideological work of the party in the non-Hindi states. In the Hindi-speaking states, not much progress has been made in this respect. The Party Committees are yet to take up the drive for Party literature in an organised and systematic manner.

4. Party and mass organisation relations

Since Salkia and the C.C. Resolution on Mass Organisations adopted in 1981, the struggle was initiated for a correct approach to the question of mass organisations and their democratic functioning. The task was to rectify the tendency to treat them as appendages of the Party, or the tendency of Party

cadres functioning in these organisations to by-pass the Party. While there has been progress in the setting up of sub-committees and fraction committees in the States for the mass fronts, still in many states the State Conference reports reveal that two major weaknesses persist: (1) Many of these committees do not function properly nor submit reports to the State Committee concerned. Fraction committees are utilised only to discuss the panel for conferences. (2) There is still a strong deep-rooted trend to treat mass organisations as subsidiaries of the Party and to resist democratic functioning of its elected bodies.

In the latter case, it is found that in the weaker states in particular, at the district and lower levels, there is no distinction between the Party unit and mass organisation unit. All norms of independent and democratic functioning of the mass organisations are violated. The practice of using the mass organisations as a Party platform, and adopting undemocratic methods of functioning, curbs the development of these organisations and harms the Party's long-term development. On the other hand, the Party leaders in the mass organisations continue to function individualistically, by-passing the Party committee, sub-committees and fractions.

The main problem in rectifying this situation is the unchanged outlook and attitude of the leading Party cadres who work in these organisations. It is necessary that a continuous review and check-up of the work of Party cadres in mass organisations, in the light of Party policy, is made by the Party committees, alongside the education of Party cadres on this important subject.

CONTROL COMMISSION

The Central Committee after the Twelfth Congress elected a new Control Commission in March 1986, consisting of M.A. Rasul (Convenor), K.N. Ravindranath and Shankar Dayal Tiwari. During this period the Commission has taken up six appeals against expulsions and one against suspension for a year. Five of these cases were gone into and disposed of with recommendations submitted to the Central Committee for approval. Two cases are still pending for investigation and disposal by the Commission.

After the 1985 State Party Conferences and the Party Congress, the following state committees set up State Control Commissions; West Bengal, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh.

The Polit Bureau, on receipt of certain appeals by members against whom disciplinary action was taken by units below the State Committees, referred some of these cases to the concerned State Control Commissions for disposal.

Reviewing the work and experience of the Control Commissions, it is clear that the Commissions have to be strengthened and made more active so that the Constitutional objectives are fully met. At present, there is too much delay in deciding cases. The C.C. while adopting the Rules under the Constitution in August, 1988, has set out the procedural rules and guidelines for the functioning of the Control Commission. Implementation of these rules with adequate and suitable personnel in the Commissions, both at the Centre and the States, is necessary, in view of the steadily increasing number of Party members and Party committees, and the consequent rise in the cases pertaining to maintenance of Party discipline and disciplinary action.

RULES UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

The Central Committee in its August 1988 meeting adopted a set of Rules under the Constitution to lay down further guidelines for Party organisational functioning. These Rules along with the Party Constitution, should form the basis for the day-to-day functioning of the organisation.

PARLIAMENTARY WORK

Since the last Congress there has been some improvement in the functioning of the party MPs in both Houses of Parliament. The Parliamentary group's ability to project Party's policy and to raise vital issues affecting the interests of the working class, peasantry and other sections has also shown improvement. The major lapse in this period was the failure of the Lok Sabha leadership to effectively register our protest against the manipulations of elections in Tripura. This was criticised by the Polit Bureau. Later the Party could mobilise MPs of other opposition groups to send a delegation to Tripura to see the

attacks on democratic rights taking place there. A Left MPs delegation also visited Tripura earlier.

There has been also a better level of coordination in both Houses with the Left parties for projecting commonly agreed upon national issues. However, while the non-Left opposition has tended only to concentrate on corruption scandals which also generate press publicity, our effort has been to also project the basic issues affecting the people, like unemployment, industrial sickness, remunerative prices for peasantry, problems of agricultural workers, women, etc. Much more has to be done in this respect to effectively project the Party's stand on national issues.

The weakness pointed out earlier in the functioning of our MPs persists. Many MPs still do not do the necessary home work for effective participation in the parliamentary proceedings. There is a tendency still to remain absent from the session and to be more alive to state or local issues. The Parliamentary Party Committee should be able to review the work regularly so that weaknesses can be removed but so far such concrete reviews have not been done. Similar reviews should be undertaken of the work of the Parliamentary office.

In one respect where there was criticism that MPs are not generally available for all-India campaigns and intervention in struggles in states other than their own, there has been a distinct improvement. Many MPs participated in the November 1987 Jatha campaign. Some of the MPs have been regularly utilised for mass meetings, campaigns and struggles in states like Bihar, U.P., Orissa and so on. This participation of MPs in campaigns and intervention in struggles should be further strengthened.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

Since the Twelfth Congress, our relations and interactions with fraternal parties have considerably grown.

During this period CPI(M) delegations participated in the Party Congresses of the CPSU, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, GDR; Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Poland, Mongolia, Vietnam, Italy, France, Japan, Bangladesh and the PLO National Conference. Many of these Congresses were attended by us for the first time.

Party delegations visited China, Bulgaria, GDR, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. Comrades regularly went to the Soviet Union for rest and treatment. Reports of these delegations were considered by the Central Committee from time to time. These interactions have strengthened our relations with fraternal parties.

During this period two delegations from the International Liaison Department of the CPC, delegations of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Japanese Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Philippines visited India at our invitation.

Protocols of cooperation were signed between the CPI(M) and the CP of Czechoslovakia, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, and the Workers' Party of Korea. In accordance with the protocol, three students were sent to Czechoslovakia in 1987, for higher studies, and four in 1988.

Party delegations attended the 70th anniversary celebrations of the October Revolution and the meeting of Parties and Movements of Moscow in 1987. Following this, a Polit Bureau delegation had discussions with the CPSU on ideological issues. Party delegations participated in the meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties of the Asia-Pacific region held in Mongolia, the 40th Anniversary of the DPRK, the International Symposium organised by the Japanese Communist Party, the 15th Anniversary of the Polisario, the 75th birthday celebrations of Kim-IL-Sung, the 30th anniversary of Moncada (Cuba) and the International Conference on Nuclear Weapon-free Zones in the GDR.

During this period, on various separate occasions, CPI(M) leaders met Comrades Gorbachev, Deng Xiaoping, leaders of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the French Communist Party.

Since the change in the structure of the AIPSO and our consequent participation in its work, many CPI(M) comrades were sent to attend various international conferences organised by the World Peace Council and the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation. Apart from these, comrades also attended the organisational meetings of these organisations and were included in delegations that visited various countries at the invitation of Peace and Solidarity Committees.

REPORT ON THE TRADE UNION FRONT

The Party's trade union activity has increased in a big way since our last Congress. Our comrades working in different unions and undertakings, have succeeded in carrying forward our Party's trade union line to new and very important sections whose organisations are not affiliated to the CITU. Especially striking has been our advance among the public sector workers who with our participation, were able to organise an all-India public sector workers strike in January 1987, to protest, among other things, against the new public sector policy of the Rajiv Gandhi Government. Besides registering advance in coal, steel, BHEL and many other industries our trade union activity and influence have increased among electricity workers, mercantile employees and several other middle-class employees, with banking and other organisations battling against reformist leadership which holds back the resistance of the employees and facilitates the computer offensive of the employers. Our recent advance among electricity workers with the formation of the Electricity Workers' Federation has to be specially mentioned as it has an importance of its own.

Growth of T.U. Unity

The CITU and our entire trade union cadre working in various industries are implementing the party line of trade union unity and have secured important successes for the working class overcoming the resistance of the vacillators and opponents. Now the occasions on which the INTUC leadership chooses to cooperate with us are more numerous than before though it shuns joint mass action on almost every occasion. But even here there are occasions when, over the heads of their leaders, their ranks join us in common mass actions. All other important central trade union organisations continue to work in the National Campaign Committee which enables us to press forward the task of building and consolidating trade union unity.

It has however been noted that we have not yet succeeded in expanding the National Campaign Committee and making a large number of industrial mass federations equal constituents of the Committee.

Such an expansion would have increased the appeal of the National Campaign Committee manifold. But other constituents including the AITUC hesitated and are afraid of this expansion. In contrast to our suggestion of bringing in federations with a mass following, they suggest inclusion of small groups, some of them of a doubtful variety, to be included in the National Campaign Committee. This is doing great harm because by now there is an urgent need for wider expansion and implementation of our proposal of a Confederation of all trade unions and federations. It is because of this failure that working class resistance to the attack of the crisis could not be effectively organised.

However, the struggle for trade union unity which has already united large sections of the working class, has to be strengthened and expanded.

It is the experience of last three years that for carrying out the decisions of the National Campaign Committee the CITU unions and our other unions have to take much greater initiative than before. Often our other allies are indifferent, slow in action, and sometimes they are too weak. This also underlines the importance of the independent activity of the CITU and our other unions. Sometimes there is a tendency to trail behind others, delay actions till others are ready when actions are urgently required. This tendency has to be fought. An outstanding example of CITU initiative and independent activity was the seven-days strike for a minimum wage organised by the Delhi CITU Committee. Any further delay in waiting for others would have meant loss of the initiative and the tempo among the workers. The success of the strike was outstanding for two reasons: (1) it was independent initiative displayed at the proper time, after efforts for united action had failed; and (ii) it was a very big mass action of workers in the unorganised sector, perhaps the biggest embracing several small industries.

The emergence of the Committee of Public Sector Trade Unions (CPSTU) and the wide response it has secured from all sections is both a tribute to the independent activity of our comrades as well as their earnest efforts at united action. This success was achieved after overcoming the resistance from other parties and organisations. Expansion of our trade union influence demands immediate steps to consolidate the advance politically and ideologically, a task which has not yet

started. The years since the Calcutta Congress have been years of intense economic crisis, lockouts, closures and strikes. Never before since independence has the working class faced such a widespread attack against its living conditions, such massive retrenchment and unemployment. Two main industries—jute and cotton textiles - were seriously affected, while the total number of sick factories increased from 80,000 in earlier years, to 1,60,000. But the working class and the CITU carried on a brave and courageous struggle, the workers refused to surrender to the blackmail of lockout and refused to accept retrenchment and lower conditions of work. These lockouts went on for several months and yet the working class resistance could not be easily broken. It was however realized that while leading this heroic resistance, flexible tactics would have to be adopted on some occasions to settle the disputes. In its absence in some places the workers tired out after months of struggle and starvation, were tempted to sign agreements bypassing the union. But on the whole the CITU unions discharged their responsibility well by refusing to surrender workers' rights or mortgage their services for 'saving' the industry or accept any huge massacre of jobs.

The CITU leaders and workers have often to face barbarous repression in states like Himachal, Haryana and others. In Punjab under President's Rule, every obstacle was placed in the way of trade unions whose members were protecting workers' solidarity and unity, and fighting the secessionists. Their success in maintaining working class unity under the conditions obtaining in Punjab was an outstanding victory of the trade union movement of workers, government employees and others, made possible by their class solidarity. Nothing can compare with the fight for class and national unity waged by the tea-garden workers of Darjeeling more than 100 of whom sacrificed their lives for this noble cause. The grim struggle waged by the Tripura workers to keep this unity in the midst of armed terror, raids on trade union offices and their determination to observe the all-India call for Bharat Bandh on March 15 once again underlined the fighting class consciousness created by the CITU, under the leadership of the Party.

Wider Political Issues

All our trade unions in greater or smaller measure, are vigilant against the attack of divisive forces and the communal

challenges. They often intervene to fight it back on a number of occasions, though this is much less than what is required. There are states with large industrial centres and a working class population where our trade unions are not in a position to organise intervention and fight back the communalists and other divisive forces.

Our Party members in trade unions not only work for trade union unity but also propagate the Party's political line among the workers. The misdeeds of the Rajiv Government, the demand for its resignation, the opposition to the trade union bills, the authoritarian attack on people's rights and the main features of the international situation form part of our agitation and propaganda activities.

At the same time there is much that needs to be done. In the first place the attention to the peace movement is of recent origin, and in the last two years international days for peace have been observed on a wider scale. At the same time very little attention is paid to popularizing India's foreign policy of non-alignment, though the Calcutta Congress called for its popularisation among the masses warning that the continuation of the policy of non-alignment should not be taken for granted. Peace, international developments, friendship with socialist countries and the policy of non-alignment demand much greater attention. The opposition inside the country and inside a section of the trade unions, to non-alignment and friendship with socialist countries, should not be underestimated. It should be noted that the National Campaign Committee has not been able to give a call for opposition to the nuclear war threat and to unite all sections for the peace struggle, because of the reactionary stand of some of its constituents. This great limitation of the National Campaign Committee because of its composition, should be realised and ways should be found to unite the working class for opposition to war and defence of peace and to expose the U.S. arms race and its "Star Wars" project.

Weaknesses of CITU

Taking our unions affiliated to the CITU and others it has to be noted they have not yet made a strenuous enough effort to break out of the old mould and address themselves to the new situation. They have all neglected redirecting the trade union

movement on the lines given in "Party's Task on the Trade Union Front". First there is the continuous neglect of the temporarily employed workers, mostly young people. The increase in the number of temporary workers is a special device of the ruling classes and the employers, to pass on the main burden of the crisis to this section as they have hardly any protection against inflation nor any other rights. Mostly comprising young people with little ties with the organised trade union movement they become explosive material capable of being exploited by reactionaries. Failure to rally them confines the trade union membership to permanent workers, and keeps away this militant section from common activity.

This and some other factors have led to the stagnation in CITU membership, and even a fall in membership in some places though the CITU is heading struggles and its militant image continues to inspire the workers. Because of closures, lockouts and retrenchment there is a certain fall of membership in the industries affected. At the Bombay Conference of the CITU in 1987, important unions had shown a decline in membership because of this.

This is not the only reason. The membership of the CITU unions could have grown if other measures had been taken. A number of unions, some of them among the best run, do not make any special effort to reach workers beyond those who are already in the trade union fold. Even some of our biggest unions do not have membership exceeding 50 or 60 per cent of the strength of the workers in the industry. And there is no special effort made to overcome this situation.

The character of the special efforts required is also not understood, though it has been pointed out in Party documents. In the first place, a section of those who follow our union but do not become members consists of those who owe political allegiance to some other political parties. A special political approach is necessary to enable them to enrol as members of the union. Besides a large section consists of Harijans, Muslims and other oppressed sections who have their own problems of social inequality and feudal oppression. Unless these problems are looked into, it will not be easy for them to join the union. The facile conception that all will flock to the unions if the immediate economic interests are defended does not work because the working class itself is divided into so many sections.

The failure to link the trade unions with the cause of the unemployed is another weakness. There is refusal to understand the class importance of this link which unites the unemployed and the employed. Some steps have been taken in several states like West Bengal, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka to organise unemployment days and rallies. But this cannot be considered to be a constant policy struggle to lead the unemployed and unite the two sections.

A huge section of the working class is engaged in unorganised industries where the workers have no rights. Only the first initial steps have been taken in some states as West Bengal, Delhi and some others to organise this section. In the absence of this the trade union movement gets confined to permanent workers in big factories as partial movement.

Apart from the unorganised there has been very little effort to give due attention to the problems of working women, thousands of whom have already been retrenched without a word of protest from the organised trade union movement. There is a constant complaint from working women who are Party members, that CITU leaders in some states are not serious about the questions concerning working women. This indifference to working women was sharply nailed down by a working woman delegate (a beedi worker) at the party conference of the Karnataka state, when she said, "we the women workers are required only for purposes of demonstration, and nothing else."

The only state committee which seems to be taking this question seriously is the Tamil Nadu Committee of the CITU. And in the last year leaders of our employees' organisation have started paying greater attention to this question.

Our trade union movement can acquire the character of a movement leading the entire class only when these weaknesses are removed.

The unifying role that the CITU and other unions have been playing, their earnest efforts to forge the widest possible unity and their independent activity have not only cemented working class unity but have also enhanced the prestige of the CITU and the Party. It is because of this that there was much wider participation of the working class on political issues like Rajiv Gandhi's resignation, the December 9 Rally, in support of the peasants, and the March 15 Bharat Bandh. In states like West

Bengal and elsewhere consciousness about the working class responsibility towards the peasantry is also developing. But our movement, as a whole has yet to get out of the confines of economism. Our recent actions, our successes, our new links with the working class mass, open new prospects for rapid development and influence and organisation among the workers. These can be realised if our present weaknesses are overcome and we make an earnest effort to redirect our tradeunion activity on the lines given by the Party's document 'Tasks on the Trade Union Front'.

REPORT ON THE KISAN FRONT (SUMMARY)

The Calcutta Congress, having analysed the agrarian situation pointed to some serious shortcomings and weaknesses of functioning in AIKS which had persisted for a long time. It pointed to the failure of the organisation to grow in the face of tremendous possibilities, the inability to consolidate the gains following a struggle, the absence of AIKS units even in some of the areas where Party units operate, failure to popularise the achievements of the Left Front governments, hesitation to popularise the demands of the agricultural labourers, and lack of concrete studies of agrarian situations at local levels. It also noted the decline of the AIKS organisation in most states, both in terms of membership and in terms of lack of regularity in holding meetings, preparing reports, etc. It was felt that, without rectifying these shortcomings, the potential that exists for the growth of the movement cannot be fully utilised.

Over the past three years efforts have been made to rectify these mistakes. Soon after Calcutta Congress, the Golden Jubilee Session of AIKS was held at Patna, which gave a call for an all India struggle, initiated discussion on a new statement of policy to replace the one adopted in the Cannanore session of AIKS 32 years ago, and finalised a new 12-point charter of demands, as also popularising the major struggles of the past in the form of nine published documents. The 31 months following the Patna Conference have been ones of the most hectic periods in the annals of the Kisan movement of the country, which also witnessed a distinct improvement in the functioning of the organisation.

Statement of Policy

The process of reassessment of the agrarian situation began with the CC resolution of 1976 and the Varanasi session of AIKS in 1979, which came out with a new orientation. The Draft Statement of Policy, introduced in the Patna session of AIKS for discussion, and given final form in the Thane session of CKC in 1979 after intensive discussion, took account of the changes that had taken place in the agrarian sector since the country's independence, and incorporated the ideas outlined by the Varanasi session of AIKS.

After reviewing the land reform programmes of the Indian government, the Statement of Policy concluded: "These pitiful attempts of the bourgeoisie for the expansion of the market and for meeting the foodgrains requirements of the cities, are neither aimed at smashing the feudal and semi-feudal fetters on agrarian relations nor at unleashing the productive forces in a big way." Noting such land reform as attempts to create a "a new type of landlord" who produces surplus foodgrains by employing hired labour, it concluded that "these would not transform agriculture into a modern capitalist enterprise, but are intended only to modify and reform the earlier form of crude feudal exploitation, and thus superimpose on it capitalist forms and relations."

The Statement of Policy then examined the implications of such a change in agrarian relations for the peasant movement, particularly the fact that the pre-independence all-in peasant unity had been seriously disrupted by this, as a significant section of the peasants "are no longer moved by the seizure of landlords' land and its redistribution." As a consequence, the slogan of complete abolition of landlordism, while continuing to be "the central slogan of the agrarian revolution" has become one "on which we cannot go into immediate action today".

This does not mean that the issue of land is now relegated to the background. On the contrary, identification and seizure of ceiling-surplus land and benami land, rights of tenants on land from which attempts are being repeatedly made to evict them, rights of tribals on their land, - these are some of the issues on which many struggles have been fought all over the country, over the past three years. At the same time, emphasis has been laid on a variety of concrete day to day issues for immediate action, e.g., wages of agricultural labourers, rent,

indebtedness, remunerative prices, input costs, etc. These are issues which affect all sections of the peasantry, and would help "to build the maximum unity of the peasantry, centering round the agricultural labourers and poor peasants, thereby isolating the narrow stratum of landlords."

Building class unity

While we are trying to build peasant unity on class lines, and are fighting for national integrity, the landlord lobbies are trying to splinter the peasants along narrow lines. Furthermore, in the name of avoiding 'party politics', they are trying to block off their supporters from the influence of the class-based organisations like ours, and are acting as a pressure group for extracting limited concessions, by mobilising a large number of peasants. They are opposed to basic agrarian changes which alone can provide the lasting solution to the problems confronting the peasants. In the absence of our own movement in vast areas of the Indian countryside, these organisations have succeeded in playing on the genuine grievances of the rural masses. There are also explicit caste-based groups, e.g., BSP of Kanshiram, Vanniyar group in Tamilnadu. Both Congress(I) and some bourgeois opposition parties are using caste appeals to mobilise the peasantry, to disrupt peasant unity. One of the major tasks of AIKS has been to expose these groups and their divisive orientation, and also to champion the cause of national integration.

United Action

A major criticism of the 10th Party Congress, which was reiterated by the Varanasi session of AIKS, was that the "Kisan Sabha has made very little effort to pursue the line of united action and agitation with other organisations or groups, local or statewide, and has chosen to remain within its own shell." This shortcoming has been greatly rectified by the united nationwide struggles jointly sponsored with the other Left forces, during this period. Coordination committees were formed at all-India, state and district levels, and joint conventions and press conferences were organised in all but a few states, which helped to enhance common understanding among the partners in the struggle.

Another aspect of this issue was the relationship of the peasants with the agricultural labourers. Though from 1981 a separate organisation for the latter was formed, in several states both of these components operate within the same organization. In several discussions within the AIKS emphasis was given on the need to form separate organisations of the agricultural labourers wherever possible, in order to highlight their specific demands. At the same time, it was repeatedly emphasized that the organisation of the agricultural labourers should be seen as an integral part of the agrarian movement of the country, and their unity with the peasants should be the cornerstone of the policy and functioning of AIKS. It was to underline this unity that the specific demand of the agricultural labourers for a central legislation was projected as a key demand of the peasant struggles in 1987 and 1988. Disputes between the two components at local levels are settled amicably, keeping in view the essential unity of interests between the two.

Membership

Over the past four years, the membership of AIKS has registered a very significant increase of 38 lakhs, and, with a membership of 1 crore five lakhs, AIKS is now by far the biggest mass organisation in the country. Since 1977-78, when the membership was 23 lakhs, there has been almost a five-fold increase in membership; no doubt a very impressive achievement.

West Bengal continues to account for three-fourths of the total, and with Kerala, about 84 per cent of the membership, which indicates a highly skewed distribution of our organisation over the country. At the same time, it is by no means insignificant that the membership in the remaining states has also increased from around 5 lakhs in 1977-78 to 17 lakhs in 1987-88, only 6 lakhs less than the aggregate membership of AIKS, including the two leading states, in 1977-78. There have been large increases in Assam, Bihar, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra, and even some small states have made significant strides, while even in a state like Punjab, our comrades, facing Khalistani terror, have contributed to major increases in membership.

Apart from the unevenness in the distribution of our strength, the following points need to be noted:

(i) that even this increase in membership does not adequately reflect the influence that our Party and the Kisan movement carries in various states; in many states the scale of participation in the movement was far out of proportion to the membership that we could register.

(ii) that the less spectacular but highly important task of enrolling members is not viewed, as a high priority activity, is left to be undertaken at the very last moment, is not combined with other activities and movements, and is not seen as a regular year-round activity. Its importance in consolidating the gains made during a struggle and giving it an organisational shape tends to be minimised.

(iii) that our very large membership pales into insignificance when compared with the figure for the aggregate agricultural population in the country; and that in a large part of the country the absence of our organisation creates the ground for penetration by casteist, communal and other divisive political influences.

Organisation

The past three years have witnessed a considerable improvement in the functioning of our organisation. All the four immediate targets outlined by the Calcutta Congress—to produce literature on current problems, to increase membership to eight million, to publish pamphlets on important struggles and to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of AIKS and hold meetings for this in at least 5000 villages - have been more than fulfilled, while several of the major weaknesses pointed out by the past three Party Congresses have been to a considerable extent rectified, as the following account would show.

There were regular meetings of the organisation at the All India level. In the two and half years since the Patna Conference, 15 meetings of the office bearers, 7 meetings of CKC and 2 meetings of AIKC have been held, 21 bulletins with state reports have been published, 43 circulars have been issued, while the central leaders have extensively toured the states. Each of the movements has been reviewed in detail, and published. In all 16 documents have been published including the ones on struggles brought out in the Golden Jubilee year and

also the reports of various CKC sessions. Further, 35 articles on various aspects of the peasants' struggle have been published in *People's Democracy* and other journals, as well as detailed state reports on movements.

There has been corresponding improvement in the work at the state level. Reports from states come regularly, sales of documents have been regularised, and several of those have been printed in local languages, while some state units have attempted village-level surveys for examining agrarian change. Various struggles fought at the state-level on a wide range of issues bear testimony to the growing alertness of the comrades to emerging issues. One central kisan school was organised for 110 Party comrades in Trivandrum in October 1987, following which several state-level classes were held. However, because of the demands made by the all India movement on the organisation, this task did not get the priority it deserved. It should be taken up in full earnest soon after the Party Congress.

However, several lacunae persist. Firstly, there has been no marked improvement in the functioning of the units below the state level, and not enough has been done to activate the basic unit at the village level, in terms of regular meetings, campaigns and activities. Nor is there enough effort to involve the masses in the day to day functioning of the organisation. The barrier between the leader and the masses still exists, though it has been narrowed to some extent in the course of the movement.

Secondly, work at the mass organisational level is not fully coordinated with the work of the relevant Party unit. At the all-India level not even a Party sub-committee for the kisan front was formed, where the major issues and tasks could be collectively thought through, nor was there a proper monitoring of the functioning from the Party end. Responsibilities tended to be concentrated on the PBM in charge. Similar problems are also in evidence at the state level in many cases. There is also often the opposite, equally wrong, tendency of ignoring the separate existence of the mass organisation, and the need to adhere to its norms and rules, while imposing the decisions made by the relevant Party unit on the latter. Both of these two tendencies need to be rectified.

Thirdly, still less than sufficient attention is given to the spontaneous struggles, which are initiated by the common

people themselves against social oppression, injustice and discriminatory use of governmental patronage when distributing funds allocated under IRDP, NREP or RLEGP, among others. There is a need to be more alert on these issues and to be more prompt in intervening during such spontaneous outbursts of discontent.

Lastly, the decision of the very second meeting of the Central Committee after the Calcutta Congress - to form a Committee on Agrarian Relations for undertaking an indepth and comprehensive study of agrarian relations—could not be implemented. Though the committee was formed, it met only once, in January 1987, and there was no follow-up action. In view of the recommendations of the Salkia Plenum and the last three Party Congresses for such study, this was a serious failure. One of the priority tasks of the new Central Committee should be to revitalize and activate this Committee.

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS FRONT - ORGANISATION

The AIAWU which was formed in 1981 and which held its first all India Conference in November, 1982 has in the past six years been able to set up units with state-level activity in eleven states. At the time of the first conference membership existed in eight states. Its membership has increased from 8.9 lakhs at the time of the 12th Congress to 14.5 lakhs in 1987-88. While this shows some growth, much remains to be done to make it a truly effective all-India organisation. It should be noted that Kerala and Andhra Pradesh together constitute 77 per cent of the total membership. Also the present AIAWU membership (which excludes a big chunk organised within West Bengal Kisan Sabha) constitutes only 2.3 per cent of the total population of agricultural workers in the country.

There are states like Tamil Nadu where vast possibilities exist if the organisation is expanded outside the few districts in which at present it has a membership of one lakh. While states like Punjab and Tripura have faced special problems due to the political situation extant there, the same cannot be said of Haryana, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh or especially Bihar and U.P. where the organisation has begun to take root. Developments in Maharashtra, Karnataka and Orissa show that there is no reason to leave these sections in the hands of the ruling classes or the casteist forces. Proper attention by the

State Party Committees is necessary for building the Party amongst them and to draw this vital section into the movement for the agrarian revolution.

The functioning of the state centres of Kerala and Andhra Pradesh has improved. In Kerala, the organisational functioning has improved at the district level and also to an extent at the taluk/area level and in the majority of the districts even at the village level. Some improvement is there in the functioning of the state committees of Punjab and Maharashtra with some organisational set up at the state-level. Though activities are being developed in Bihar and Orissa this is not much reflected in the organisational set up. Tamil Nadu has not been able to effect much improvement in its state-level organisation.

The 12th Congress had noted: "The line adopted through various Party documents for this front has not become a part of the consciousness of the entire Party even today. A vigorous education campaign should be undertaken by the state units in this respect It must be realised that no advance towards the agrarian revolution can be thought of without bringing the agricultural workers into our fold." This formulation is by and large still applicable today, though there is still hesitancy in some states in organising agricultural workers separately and taking up their issues and conducting struggles. This attitude must go.

Along with an indepth understanding of the Party line on the agrarian front, it is necessary to stress two aspects currently in this front. Firstly, the unity of the agricultural labourers and peasants must be fostered. Struggles on common demands and coordinating of the activities of the AIAWU and AIKS is essential. The decision to form coordinating committees of the two organisations at all levels has not been implemented at all places. Proper emphasis has to be given to this.

Secondly adequate attention has to be paid to training and developing cadres from this front. Here it is important to educate the Party cadres on the need to struggle against caste oppression and socially oppressive customs. Only this campaign will enthuse and rally militant sections from this class and draw them closer to the Party. Given the oppressed and backward conditions of the class, the militants from this section must be specially nurtured and developed.

There has been a slight improvement in the functioning of the all India Centre with the inclusion of one comrade functioning from the Centre as Joint Secretary and some progress has been made in taking up immediate issues, in sending circulars and propoganda materials. But steps to have a permanent functioning Centre have to be taken which can meet the needs of developing the organisation at all levels. Augmenting the resources of the Centre, provision of wholetimers at the state and district levels by the Party State Committees and development of the village-level units are some of the priority talks on the organisational front.

REPORT ON THE YOUTH FRONT

Organisation

The foundation Conference was held in 1980 with a membership of 15,49,270. By 1984 it reached nearly 30 lakhs and in 1987 it was 49,51,497. The enrolment for this year is to reach a target of 55 lakhs. The DYFI has thus become the largest democratic youth organisation in the country.

In 1980 the DYFI was organised in 11 states. Today it has organised State Committees in 18 states and three organising State Committees, with some contacts in two more states. There are over 30,000 primary units all over the country.

Though there is a rapid expansion in terms of membership an important weakness is the unevenness of this growth. Five states account for 93 per cent of the membership, whereas the Hindi-heartland including Gujarat, Maharashtra and Punjab, which have 50 per cent of the youth population of the country, contribute only 5 per cent of the membership. However, there is progress in all the states but the unevenness persists. In order to expand the organisation's influence and in accordance with the objective situation of Indian society, the DYFI has decided to emphasize the importance of day to day multifarious and popular activities concerning the youth of the country. There has been improvement in this direction with various state committees organising sports and games competitions, literacy campaign, social work, relief activities, etc.

In the background of the situation in the country where a large number of youth are being diverted away from the democratic mainstream by divisive movements there has been an encouraging growth in the all-India consciousness of the

DYFI membership. This has been reflected in the response to the all-India calls particularly on the issue of national unity.

Serious attention requires to be paid to the specific demands of scheduled castes, tribals, minorities and women's section of the youth. The weakness in enrolling women members continues to persist. However, in Kerala 40 per cent of the membership is women, while in Tripura 40 per cent. In West Bengal following the young women's convention organised at various levels, around 15 per cent of the membership is women. However, the position in other states is dismal and there is an urgent need to overcome the constant failure to enrol women members.

Since the inception of DYFI the question of an all-India Centre was repeatedly discussed. Earlier there were five comrades working from the Centre. But since 1986 there are only three. One comrade is expected to join from West Bengal while another from Kerala is to be added. A full-time office secretary functions from the Centre. Considering the growing demands of the movement there is an urgent need to strengthen the DYFI Centre.

The all-India Centre publishes a bulletin "Youth Stream". It is however irregular. The circulation continues to remain low. Six states have their journals (West Bengal, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Bihar, Andhra and Punjab). The circulation of these also are not commensurate with the influence of the organisation.

There is an urgent need to step up the ideological work amongst the DYFI membership. Since the 12th Congress of the Party no all-India schooling was organised. However, at the state level almost all states have held state classes at the Party level. There is a need to organise an all-India school as well as a regional school in Hindi.

There is an improvement in the functioning of the Party level sub-committees and fractions in the states. However, this has to be streamlined and proper cadre policy has to be implemented. The Central Youth-Student Sub-Committee and the Party State Committees will have to take necessary steps in this direction.

Since the 12th Party Congress the international contacts have grown considerably. The DYFI is a full member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and is playing an important role in the organisation of the 13th Festival of Youth

and Students to be held in Pyongyang (DPRK) in 1989. DYFI is one of the Coordinating Secretaries of the National Preparatory Committee for this Festival.

REPORT ON THE STUDENT FRONT

Organisation

The SFI membership has grown from 4,12,471 at the time of its 4th Conference in 1979 at Patna to 12,11,500 in 1985 (at the 12th Party Congress), to 15,21,101 at the time of SFI's all-India Conference in 1986 to 15,28,919 in 1987. The membership enrollment for 1988 is continuing and the current trend shows that it should be around 18.5 lakhs.

During this period the SFI organisation has gone through a phase of consolidation but has not expanded to the six states where it had not existed at the time of the 12th Congress, namely, Sikkim, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Nagaland and Meghalaya.

During this period the SFI was engaged in many independent as well as united activities and struggles and scored major victories. While this has helped the growth of the organisation and its consolidation the lag between the influence and organizational strength continues. Effective steps to overcome them are being worked out at the level of the Student-Youth Sub-Committee under the guidance of the Party Centre and the Committees at the State-level under the guidance of the State Party centre.

A comprehensive discussion was conducted on the state of the organisation by the SFI for over six months in 1987, and on the basis of this a note on organisation was prepared and adopted by the SFI CEC. The major thrust was to strengthen the organisation at the grass-roots level, specifically the unit level functioning and the proper functioning of the committees at various levels, importantly the link between the Party and the mass organisations.

However, weaknesses with regard to ideological and political education continue to remain. *Student Struggle* is not being published with the regularity that is warranted. No central level Party school has been organised during this period though at the state level such schools were organised. Eleven states West Bengal, Kerala, Tripura, Assam, Andhra, Orissa, Bihar, Maharashtra, U.P., Karnataka and Goa have their

student journals though their circulation is not commensurate with our influence. Efforts are being made to revive the central Hindi organ at the earliest.

The functioning of the state-level Party sub-committees/fractions has improved but more attention is required to guide the student movement as well as a proper cadre policy. The Student-Youth Sub-Committee formed in the second half of 1988 will have to pay attention to this aspect.

The SFI Centre has three functionaries at the moment as against the four envisaged. One comrade from Kerala is yet to come. During this period the Centre has initiated some important activities such as the all-India convention of elected students' union representatives, the technical and medical students' conventions and the all-India strike conducted in September 1988. These have helped the growth of the SFI and its influence.

During this period international contacts have developed considerably. The SFI has been admitted as a full member of the International Union of Students after a prolonged battle since 1984.

WOMEN'S FRONT

Organisation

Since the last Party Congress, the AIDWA has registered progress both at the level of its mass activities and capacity for intervention, as also in increase in membership. It can be stated that in facing the challenges before the women's movement in the last three years, the AIDWA has emerged as the front-ranking organisation on an all-India scale, although compared to other women's organisations it was formed much later.

The membership of the AIDWA has increased from 12,77,282 to 22,72,227 between 1985 and 1987. The main increase has been in West Bengal where both the scale of mass activities as well as the consolidation of the organisation has progressed. In Kerala also membership has increased and there is considerable improvement in the development of the organisation, particularly among the minority community. The other states where major increase has taken place are Andhra Pradesh, Tripura and Assam. In Tamil Nadu while there has not been any significant expansion, the improvement in the organisational consolidation is notable.

The all-India women's fraction committee in its report has pointed out an important weakness : "However, what is of great concern is that with the exception of Delhi, the increased activity and struggles in the Hindi-speaking states is not reflected in either the membership or organisation which is only 23,000."

The development of the women's organisation in the Hindi states suffers because of the backward social conditions and the insufficient attention paid by the respective Party committees to properly tackle the problems of developing the women's mass organisation. The AIDWA Centre has taken the step to pay four wholetimers in the weaker states to assist them in having whole time cadres for this front. While there has been some improvement in the functioning of the AIDWA Centre, further steps are required to enhance its ability to take initiatives on all-India moves and give guidance to the states.

There has been progress registered in the propaganda and ideological work of the AIDWA. The Centre is bringing out a quarterly journal "Equality" in English regularly for the past one year. The Tamil Nadu Committee is bringing out a monthly bulletin with a circulation of 10,000 ; the Kerala Committee is bringing out a bi-monthly with a circulation of 35,000 and West Bengal brings out both a monthly and a bulletin with circulation of 7,000 and 25,000 respectively.

Despite the request of the all-India fraction, the Party Centre was not able to organise a Central Party school for leading women cadres in the past two years. This task needs to be taken up in right earnest. At the AIDWA states-level however, most of the states have organised classes for educating the cadres in which central office-bearers also participated.

Reviewing the period, it can be stated that there has been an advance in almost all the states up to the district level as far as attention given by the Party to developing the women's organisation is concerned. There has been an improvement in the functioning of the women's fraction committees/sub-committees at the state level. During this period two more state fraction committees were constituted in Haryana and Rajasthan. However, it has been noted by the All-India Fraction Committee that in many states at the local committee and branch level sometimes the functioning of the mass organisation is directly replaced by the Party, and Party functionaries (even though they may be men) directly attend

the committee meetings of mass organisations. In some of the weaker states this is happening even at the state level.

To further strengthen the democratic women's movement and step up enrolment of women in the Party and develop their political consciousness, it is necessary that women's issues become an integral part of the general campaign of the Party and not be left only to women activists or the women's organisations as is generally the practice at present.

The Party organisation at the state and district levels should also pay due attention to development and deployment of women cadres keeping the needs of women's organisation in mind and assisting women to become wholetimers. Their promotion to leading committees must also be given proper consideration.

The women's front in the coming days has to pay special attention to development in the Hindi region and raising the problems of rural women. The progress registered in independent activities and broadening united struggles should be maintained and stepped up with new initiatives.

The all-India women's fraction, in its report for the Congress preparations reviewing the work done has correctly noted : "Given all the forces trying to divert the women's movement, in the background of the Rajiv Government's attempt to build a women's vote bank, it is clear that although we have definitely moved forward in the scope of our activities and efforts to build united struggles, we are far behind the needs of the situation. The large mass of women remain unorganised and out of the struggle launched by us or jointly. Given this reality, we have to vastly increase our activities. For this a big effort has to be made both by the Party and jointly with other mass organisations of other sections to take the movement forward and to counter these attacks."

LAWYERS' FRONT

Our comrades in the Legal Front have played an active role in the All India Lawyers Union (AILU) in mobilising the members of legal profession on a broad range of democratic issues covering the Muslims Women's Act and the Shah Bhano case, against the 59th Constitutional Amendment Act, the Defamation Bill and defence of democratic rights. During this

period the AILU has expended its activities to cover new areas like Andhra Pradesh, Kerala.

The Third Conference of the organisation was held in June 1988. It is noteworthy that the AILU's programme is evoking a response even in areas where the democratic movement is weak.

The AILU has actively participated and led struggles all over the country. The unprecedented lawyers struggles included the three-month long strike by the Delhi lawyers in protest against police atrocities and Congress(I) goondaism.

The *Popular Jurist*, the bi-monthly journal of the AILU has played a significant role in popularising the AILU and democratic ideas. However, its journal suffers from serious financial difficulties and earnest efforts must be made to strengthen its resources and circulation.

The P.B. adopted a resolution in July 1987 providing the perspective and guidelines for work by Party comrades among lawyers. This should be the basis on which they should work on this to advance the democratic lawyers' movement.

JANWADI LEKHAK SANGH

Comrades working in the Janwadi Lekhak Sangh have met from time to time to review their work and increase the activities of their organisation with a view to broadening its base. The need for constant uninterrupted activities both at the Central and State level has been strongly urged in discussions. The intermittent functioning of the organisation, irregularity in bringing out 'Naya Path', the quarterly organ of the organisation, and lack of local initiative, all are obstructing the progress of the Sangh which has the potentiality of developing into a powerful organisation in the immediate future. Part of the difficulties arise from lack of cohesive and common understanding of the problems before the Sangh and how they are to be tackled. The Sangh, by championing the cause of Urdu, has struck a powerful chord of sympathy and support among all lovers and writers of Urdu and it has helped it to reach larger and broader sections. The step taken by the organisation to bring Hindi and Urdu writers together on a principled basis of fighting discrimination against Urdu is welcomed by the literary world and will serve to strengthen the fight against linguistic chauvinism.

CONCLUSION

The three year period since the Twelfth Congress has been remarkable for the unprecedented development of mass struggles on a country-wide scale against the policies of the Rajiv Government, in many of which the Left parties have been playing a stronger role. Such Left-led all-India actions as the Bharat Jatha in November-December 1987 culminating in the Boat Club rally in Delhi on 9th December 1987, the country-wide kisan-agricultural workers struggle in September 1988, participated in by over two million, had their impact on national political scene and helped in mobilising the secular democratic opposition forces as seen in the participation in the Bharat Bandh of March 15, 1988. The focus of all these mass activities was to mobilise the people against the Congress(I) government's policies, to demand the ouster of the Rajiv Government and to isolate the communal and divisive forces. Never since Indian independence has there been such a wide united all-India mass mobilisation for which the initiative was taken and the leadership supplied by the Left parties, which further strengthened the process of Left unity.

This period witnessed the growing intervention of the CPI(M) and the Left Parties to rally all secular forces to build up a big struggle to remove the Rajiv Government and to fight the communal forces including the BJP. The Left Parties took a firm stand for the unity of the Left and secular opposition forces as opposed to the all—in unity for which the powerful news media and several influential opposition leaders worked for day in and day out.

The consistent campaign run by the Left parties in this regard led to a situation when the formation of the National Front by some opposition secular parties took place without the inclusion of the BJP in it. The Left parties have to continue the efforts to ensure a broad understanding between the Left and secular opposition parties so that the Rajiv Government can be defeated and the BJP and other communal forces isolated.

These development of the last three years make it obvious that our Party should strive to strengthen Left unity further and mobilise all the opposition secular forces for a common fight against the Rajiv Government which represents national disintegration and authoritarian attacks. In this struggle the Party and the Left forces have to play an active role to combat

communalism and other divisive forces as their intervention in the forthcoming general elections poses a serious threat.

The three-year period since the last Congress has seen further erosion of the positions occupied by the ruling Congress(I) among the people. For the first time since 1967, there are non-Congress Governments in over half a dozen states comprising 25 crores of people. Together with the series of electoral defeats inflicted recently on the Congress, this puts on the agenda for action the question of removing the Congress (I) Government from Delhi without making alliance with the BJP and other communal forces.

This, however, depends on the further strengthening of the independent strength of the Party and the fighting class and mass organisations of the working people. While the Party membership has grown considerably in the last three years it still lags behind the growing influence of the Party among the people. The work of Party building and consolidating of our mass influence has to be stepped up in a big way. While the mass organisations have registered notable progress during this period they are still far from what they should be if they are to be in a position to play their vital role in the developing national politics. The entire Party should pay serious attention to implementing the correct relations between the Party and mass organisations to ensure their proper development. The Party has to pay priority attention to the requirement of Party members from the working class and systematic work to develop cadres from amongst them. There is to be planned recruitment of Party members from the class conscious sections of the fighting people and special attention to be paid to recruitment from the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, women and minorities. The Party committees must pay serious attention to the systematic re-education of the old and educating the new members of the Party. The Party has to step up in a big way its agitation and propaganda activities independently and through its publications. These and other tasks outlined in the Salkia Report and Resolutions on Organisation adopted in 1978 should be carried out. This alone will guarantee steady advance in the radicalisation of our national politics, further consolidation of the ties between the Party and the working class and the general mass of secular democratic forces.

TABLE INDICATING STATE WISE MEMBERSHIP OF MASS ORGANISATIONS

TABLE--I

Sr. No.	State	CITU		AIKS		AIAWU	
		1984	1986	1984-85	1986-87	1984-85	1987-88
1.	Andhra Pradesh	43,641	65,849	1,60,900	2,30,000	2,70,391	4,83,963
2.	Assam	24,454	28,726	1,39,436	2,21,750	—	—
3.	Bihar	25,643	31,964	1,50,000	2,00,000	43,440	37,000
4.	Delhi	33,155	32,846	—	—	—	—
5.	Goa	2,893	3,273	—	—	—	—
6.	Gujarat	20,383	18,827	13,000	16,000	—	—
7.	Himachal Pradesh	4,401	5,438	7,000	10,000	—	—
8.	Haryana	2,455	4,239	4,104	14,006	400	—
9.	Jammu & Kashmir	—	—	16,000	20,000	—	—
10.	Karnataka	42,085	49,489	83,920	70,000	—	9,800
11.	Kerala	3,30,042	3,81,522	5,01,220	7,11,562	4,02,933	6,71,198
12.	Madhya Pradesh	12,818	16,624	—	14,000	—	—
13.	Maharashtra	35,674	32,653	48,000	56,000	15,460	28,150
14.	Manipur	—	—	260	750	—	—
15.	Orissa	26,754	42,508	18,248	39,620	—	13,500
16.	Punjab	28,815	24,859	90,000	1,23,350	57,575	66,000
17.	Rajasthan	15,943	14,828	35,060	40,508	—	—
18.	Tamilnadu	1,13,017	1,20,468	68,000	1,65,000	73,280	1,00,000
19.	Tripura	6,882	17,667	67,657	1,05,500	30,940	35,000
20.	U.P.	10,053	10,867	76,000	1,32,000	10,000	44,015
21.	West Bengal	7,70,375	7,09,708	52,35,625	70,37,456	—	—
		15,65267	16,13,353	67,14,430	92,07,508	8,99,419	14,53,626

TABLE—II

No.	State	DYFI		SFI		AIDWA	
		1984	1987	1984	1987	1984	1987
1.	A.P.	1,12,888	2,00,063	64,575	1,09,000	30,000	1,05,000
2.	Assam	44,503	59,334	51,898	55,217	23,062	44,974
3.	Bihar	26,579	66,571	19,449	45,381	5,200	6,000
4.	Delhi	6,690	9,623	1,543	1,560	5,050	9,206
5.	Goa	—	—	991	1,817	—	—
6.	Gujarat	—	900	—	10,150	5,000	7,000
7.	H.P.	14,286	10,055	8,974	10,800	—	881
8.	Haryana	5,062	19,620	7,792	4,873	—	2,539
9.	J. & K.	100	220	—	100	—	—
10.	Karnataka	6,558	15,982	15,191	13,767	—	—
11.	Kerala	8,02,550	18,43,600	3,36,914	4,74,188	2,44,233	4,24,374
12.	M.P.	8,175	6,400	19,142	18,487	760	2,350
13.	Maharashtra	5,925	31,274	50,380	52,882	26,000	24,374
14.	Manipur	—	1,015	—	970	—	—
15.	Orrisa	2,058	14,220	10,089	12,000	—	3,887
16.	Punjab	24,766	29,661	20,473	9,916	—	4,000
17.	Rajasthan	—	27,411	9,200	21,350	984	2,262
18.	Tamilnadu	65,104	1,44,135	16,017	32,553	70,488	83,750
19.	Tripura	50,000	1,11,500	24,058	51,596	43,609	93,000
20.	U.P.	20,000	30,784	10,754	9,347	—	—
21.	West Bengal	13,38,359	23,29,126	3,87,182	5,93,065	8,22,886	14,58,630
		25,41,735	49,51,597	10,54,572	19,71,000	12,77,282	22,77,227

TABLE OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP

Sr. No.	State	1978 (At Salkia Plenum)	1985 (XII Congress)	1988
1.	Andhra Pradesh	9,500	18,660	23,307
2.	Assam	3,424	9,074	10,763
3.	Bihar	6,359	11,572	13,241
4.	Delhi	604	832	842
5.	Goa	—	70	70
6.	Gujarat	150	908	-1,290
7.	Haryana	490	710	925
8.	Himachal Pradesh	206	621	864
9.	Jammu & Kashmir	—	295	577
10.	Karnataka	—	2,342	3,469
11.	Kerala	67,366	1,22,071	1,78,869
12.	Madhya Pradesh	651	628	721
13.	Maharashtra	2,647	4,472	4,860
14.	Manipur	150	173	157
15.	Orissa	1,303	2,869	3,282
16.	Punjab	4,519	7,305	8,884
17.	Rajasthan	1,339	2,232	2,908
18.	Tamilnadu	10,795	27,053	33,153
19.	Tripura	3,971	11,414	14,367
20.	Uttar Pradesh	4,460	6,827	7,281
21.	West Bengal	43,342	1,36,980	1,55,243
22.	Andamans	—	46	103
23.	C.C. Staff	39	65	101
		1,61,404	3,67,328	4,65,277

ALL INDIA MASS ORGANISATIONS
MEMBERSHIP

	1984	1987	
1.	CITU	15,65,542	16,13,353 (1986 figure)
2.	AIKS	67,14,430	1,05,31,522
3.	AIAWU	8,99,419	14,28,625
4.	DYFI	25,41,735	49,51,597
5.	SFI	10,54,572	15,28,919
6.	AIDWA	12,77,282	22,72,227
		1,40,52,980	2,23,26,243

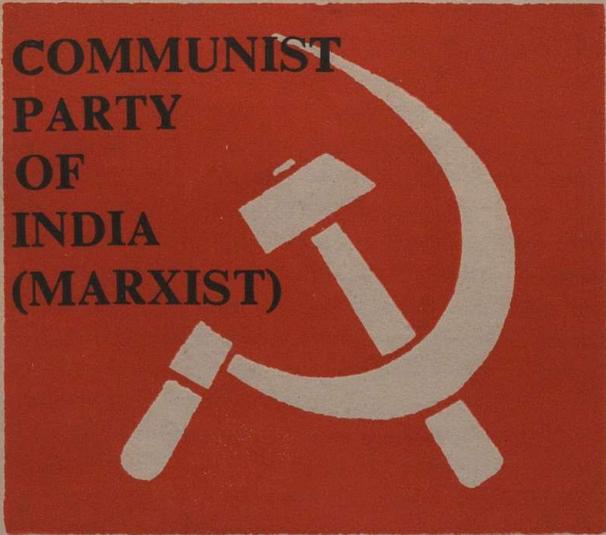
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**COMMUNIST
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(MARXIST)**



**POLITICAL
ORGANISATIONAL
REPORT**

OF THE THIRTEENTH CONGRESS OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MARXIST)

Trivandrum, Dec. 27, 1988 to Jan 1, 1989

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