

ORGANISATIONAL REPORT

Charting out the course of Indian revolution, our Party has worked out the aim of realising national democracy as a transition to socialism. The realisation of this aim depends, above all, on the building of the Communist Party of India as a mass revolutionary party, strong in its monolithic unity and conscious discipline, based on creative Marxism, capable of mobilising and uniting all the patriotic and democratic forces, with worker-peasant alliance as the core, in their struggle to complete the national democratic revolution.

This task of Indian revolution has acquired added importance in view of the tragic split in the Party brought about by the anti-Party group of dogmatists under the smoke-screen of pseudo-revolutionary demagogy.

The organisational task of Party building commensurate with the political task of building the National Democratic Front cannot be correctly formulated without objectively analysing the reasons for the split and drawing proper lessons from it.

Our Party is passing through a critical period in its history just as the international communist movement is also passing through. All political, practical and other differences inside our Party which had been piling up during the last several years have reached a bursting point in the background of a serious ideological controversy in the international communist movement and the Chinese attack on our country. Our Party is split, throwing Party members, sympathisers and masses behind it into confusion. The Party has received the biggest shock in its life.

Our Party is a pioneer in building working-class, kisan, student, youth, women and other movements in our country. It has led innumerable mass struggles to improve the living standards of our people. In the struggle for the country's freedom the Party played a significant part. We led the glorious struggles of the people of the princely states like Hyderabad, Travancore-Cochin,

and the states in Orissa. The Party also made its contribution to the struggle of the people in other princely states. In the struggle of the Goan people for their liberation, the Party played a glorious part.

Thousands of Party members attained martyrdom in these innumerable struggles of our people. Many more suffered behind prison bars. Masses behind the Party braved repression of the British as well as Congress regimes.

In the country, our Party occupies the second position, coming next to the National Congress. This position the Party acquired following the general elections in 1952 and it continues in that position ever since.

In the general elections of 1957, a Communist-led ministry came into power in the state of Kerala and it continued to rule that state for 28 months. Our ministry was highly praised as the best and non-corrupt ministry ever to rule Kerala by all the democratic-minded people in the country. The Congress in alliance with all the reactionary and communal forces resorted to most undemocratic and heinous methods to bring down the ministry by launching a so-called liberation struggle and then dismissing the ministry through a presidential order.

During the last two years when our country faced a very critical situation due to the Chinese attack, our Party supported by the working class, peasantry and other sections of the people played our part in the defence efforts of the country. The Party also played an effective part in foiling the conspiracy of the right reaction aided by imperialists to reverse the nonalignment policy of our country and to make it an appendage of the imperialist powers.

Along with this our Party defended the economic interests of our masses, through the launching of big all-India mass movements such as the Great Petition and March, the four-stage all-India struggle of the AITUC for bonus and linking of DA with cost of living index and the all-India satyagraha against rise of foodgrain prices. The last one was conducted after the split in our Party.

The split in our Party was engineered when we were in the midst of the four-stage all-India struggle which was gathering

momentum towards an all-India general strike of workers and middle-class employees. This split was brought about at a time when our Party's prestige was rising high due to the above-mentioned activities of our Party during the last two years. This has caused great harm to the mass movement and our Party.

CAUSES OF PARTY SPLIT

The split in the Party has been brought about by 32 members of the National Council who in April 1964 walked out of the National Council meeting, openly called upon the Party ranks to revolt against the National Council and announced their plan of action to organise a parallel party.

Since then, they have feverishly implemented their plan of split and formalised it.

This split was inspired and facilitated by the factionalist intervention of the Chinese communist leaders who, failing to make our Party toe their dogmatist and chauvinist line, slandered our Party as "revisionist", "Dange clique" and "agents of the bourgeoisie" and gave an open call to split it.

As early as the Meerut session of the National Council in 1959, where there was a sharp difference of opinion on the India-China border question, some of the leaders of the splitters had threatened a parting of ways.

At the last Party Congress (Vijayawada—April 1961), they created a crisis. Thirty-eight of them withdrew their names *en bloc* from the panel of the new National Council members which had been presented to the Congress by the outgoing National Council. This was a disruptive and factional move on their part. Finding themselves in an absolute minority, which had become evident to them when they had to withdraw their left-sectarian draft of the political resolution, they tried to blackmail the Party Congress in order to increase their number in the new National Council, not without some success.

Again when the new Central Executive was elected after Vijayawada Congress, Jyoti Basu, P. Sundarayya and Harkishen Singh Surjeet withdrew their names from it in order to bring in more of their supporters in it.

They repeated the same performance when the National Council adopted its resolution on the Chinese aggression on November 1, 1962, but with a different objective. This time, the above-mentioned three persons resigned from the central secretariat. They were joined by E. M. S. Namboodiripad who also offered his resignation from the general secretaryship, central secretariat and editorship of the weekly *New Age*. The National Council accepted the first three resignations but persuaded E. M. S. Namboodiripad not to press his resignation. It had to accept his resignation in the next meeting of the Council when he pressed for it.

Thus the walk-out from the National Council which had been unanimously elected by the Party Congress in April 1962, followed by their split at all levels of the Party and setting up a separate party of their own was the culmination of a process of factionalism and split which had been started by them with the tragic development of India-China border dispute.

This process reached a decisive stage with the Chinese aggression in October 1962 when the National Council adopted the line of national defence against the Chinese aggression. The present leaders of the splitters' party, except a few, not only opposed the National Council line, but also decided to form a parallel party from top to bottom within the CPI for sabotaging that line and putting their adventurist line into practice.

The Central Control Commission in its report submitted to the National Council after visiting several states and making on-the-spot investigations has given vivid description of the splitting activities of the rival party leaders. Here below we give an extract from that report:

"The border events of October-November 1962 confronted the Party with an unprecedented situation. Political tension and anti-communist fervour in the country had reached the highest peak: the ruling party and all the reactionary parties were trying to queer the pitch against our Party. Mob frenzy was roused and directed against the Party in many places. Party offices were attacked in different centres, including the Party's Central Office which was set on fire. Different political and ideological trends within the Party had also got aggravated. It was in such

a situation that the National Council met from October 31 to November 2, 1962, to discuss the situation and decide on the line of action. After heated discussion and sharp cleavages of opinion, the resolution of November 1, 1962 was adopted by a substantial majority.

"The vast majority of Party units and comrades in different parts of the country took immediate steps to implement the resolution. They campaigned actively and effectively on the slogans given in the resolution which evoked good response from the mass of the people. But there was another side to this picture.

"Immediately following the adoption of the November 1 resolution by the National Council, some members of the CEC of 'like-mindedness on political and ideological issues' met separately in Delhi and decided on a political and organisational line of action entirely different from that of the National Council. They characterised the National Council as 'thoroughly right revisionist and so bitterly anti-China that it would not take any initiative which does not have the approval of the Government of India'. They considered it to be 'a life and death struggle to expose these tactics and overthrow this leadership'. They decided that 'there was no more scope for continuing inner-Party discussions.'

"They estimated that 'Indian dependence on imperialism, both economic and military, would grow: that there would be a rapid shift to the right: Nehru government would abandon its non-alignment, there would be no democracy, semi-fascist and fascist conditions would be created and the Congress government would stand revealed as a stooge of imperialism.' In such a situation, it was visualised that there would be no possibility of the Party functioning legally, so they 'laid stress on semi-legal and illegal functioning for the future; the form of organisation and manner of functioning in the states to be determined by the conditions obtaining in each state.' From this it can be seen that this outlook was at complete variance with that of the resolution adopted by the National Council.

"To work out this political and organisational line and to see to its implementation, an all-India directing centre was set up.

Comrades Gopalan and Ramdas were in charge of this centre and Comrades Surjeet, Ramamurti and Sundarayya moved to the states organising the necessary apparatus to carry out this decision.

"This all-India parallel centre within the CPI has been functioning from the first week of November 1962 from Delhi and subsidiary centres in some of the states. The circulars, reviews and reports issued from these centres clearly reveal the parallel nature of the activities pursued by them." (pp. 34-36)

Again, "in this period, under emergency conditions, the activities of the parallel centre were mostly secret and underground. The main effort was to propagate the political and organisational line decided at their Delhi meeting and to consolidate their bases in the different states. Circulars were issued attacking the NC leadership and asking the Party comrades to repudiate its authority." (p. 37)

After important leaders of the rival party were released from the jail, the splitting activities were further intensified under the inspiration of the open calls issued by the leaderships of the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of Indonesia for splitting the Communist Parties of the world with special reference to the Communist Party of India.

The rival party leaders began functioning their committees openly when they found that the government was not interested in obstructing their splitting activities. Why should government obstruct them when their splitting activities actually helped them by putting a brake on the developing mass movement of the working class and middle class for bonus and linking up of DA with cost of living index and struggles of the peasants against high taxes and of the agricultural labourers for land led by the CPI?

After organising a full-fledged rival party, they demanded from the National Council a *de facto* status as an organised faction for their party within the CPI.

The National Council in its meeting held in October 1963 rejected this anti-Party demand and decided to make preparations for the Party Congress.

Following this the rival party leaders began to indulge in

blatant and open defiance of Party resolutions. They non-cooperated with the commission appointed by the CEC for preparing drafts for the Party Congress. They brought out their own Draft Party Programme and exploded a 'time-bomb' by the publication of so-called Dange letters just on the eve of the April 1964 meeting of the National Council. They faced the National Council with an ultimatum for the removal of the chairman, coupled with their original demand for recognition of their *de facto* status as an organised faction in the Party with separate committees from top to bottom, rival journals and separate discipline.

The National Council naturally rejected this preposterous ultimatum.

Then the rival leaders walked out of the National Council meeting of April 1964 and claimed that they are the CPI under the plea that the National Council has lost the confidence of the overwhelming majority of the cadres and Party members. They began making preparations for a rival party congress.

All the while, the National Council adopted an attitude of patience, leniency and persuasion towards these comrades despite their disruptive activities with the hope that they would ultimately see sense. But its hands were forced when these comrades walked out and declared that they are the CPI and started preparations for a rival party congress. Even then they were not expelled from the Party. They were suspended from the Party and removed from positions of responsibility.

Even the last minute efforts at unity on a principled basis made by the National Council respecting the wishes of Party members and masses behind the Party failed because the rival party leaders stuck to their guns.

They refused to participate in the commission for the preparation of documents for the Party Congress in which they were adequately represented. They rejected the offer of the National Council for their adequate representation in the central secretariat provided they were prepared to dissolve their rival party committees, stop the rival journals and abide by the discipline of the Party. The National Council did not raise the question of their disruptive and anti-Party behaviour which has caused lot of

harm to the prestige of the Party and to the mass movement. It was prepared to set aside this matter in the interest of Party unity.

But the rival party leaders rejected these reasonable proposals for unity of the Party. They said they would not dissolve the rival party committees and stop the rival journals. They demanded that the Party should work on the basis of the principle of agreement between two factions, that the National Council and the CEC, in both of which they were in a minority, should be put in cold storage and that the old central secretariat should be revived. The revival of the old secretariat in practice means that the majority of the National Council will not have a majority in the secretariat and consequently this has also to function on the basis of agreement. This was tantamount to functioning of two parties under one signboard, regularising the split and leaving the Party bogged and deadlocked for any effective action. The National Council could not accept this position amounting to the liquidation of the Party.

Finally at their Tenali conference held in August 1964, the rival party leaders made a formal declaration of launching a rival party, of course, claiming that they are the CPI and decided to hold their congress at Calcutta in October 1964.

With this the *de facto* split in the Party, which had taken place long ago became *de jure*.

The split in our Party is a serious one. It is not a splinter group that has gone out of our Party but an influential section led by some of the important leaders of the CPI, though a minority. This has greatly harmed our Party and the developing mass movements led by the Party. The four-stage all-India struggle of the workers and middle-class employees for bonus and linking up of DA with the cost of living index had to be suspended in the middle after the second stage. In the same way, other struggles of the rural masses that were developing in different states received a temporary setback.

Had there been no split and had our Party made united intervention in the present serious situation in the country, it would have produced much better results than what has been achieved by the National Council through the all-India satyagraha. We

could have given a rebuff to reactionary forces through the unity of progressive forces.

The split in our Party has harmed the Kerala state unit of our Party, which is faced with a mid-term election for the state assembly, the most. The situation is so favourable for the democratic movement, the camp of reactionary forces is so disunited and the Congress which has misruled the state is so much discredited and divided, that the united CP could have easily defeated Congress in alliance with other progressive forces and headed a progressive democratic government in the state. Even now if all the left parties come together it is possible to defeat the Congress and establish a progressive democratic government in the state. Our Party is striving its best to bring about such a unity and fulfil the earnest wishes of Kerala people for the establishment of the non-Congress progressive government.

It has to be stated clearly that the responsibility for the split lies squarely on the shoulders of the leaders of the rival party who split the Party under the inspiration of the ideological justification for a split provided by the leadership of the Communist Party of China. It could have been avoided if they had abided by the discipline of our Party, if they really believed in their tall claim of having an overwhelming majority of cadres and Party members behind them and if they were prepared to face the verdict of the Party Congress. Because they did not have the courage to face the Party Congress, they split away from the Party under the pretext of so-called Dange letters.

While Chinese aggression and their factional intervention remain the single biggest factor which precipitated the split, it is wrong to make this factor *exclusively* responsible for it. To do so would mean lack of self-critical attitude towards our own failure in discharging the ideological, political and organisational responsibilities which faced the Party when it emerged on the political scene of India as the second biggest political force after the first general elections. We have already seen how the leaders of the rival party are responsible for the split. Now we shall see how our own failures provided a fertile soil for the splitters.

The new understanding of the post-second world war situation and its consequent new slogans and the tactics regarding the

cardinal issues facing humanity—prevention of a world war, peaceful coexistence, forms of struggle for transition to socialism, attitude to the newly-liberated countries, etc.—given by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and subsequently adopted and strengthened by the Conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 and 1960, was not properly discussed and explained to the entire Party. Not only was this differently understood by different sections inside the Party leadership but it was also variously explained to the Party members. In general, we failed to fully educate the whole Party on this new understanding.

The understanding of the Party on the Indian situation was very much dogmatic and sectarian and for a long period of time, our Party members have been educated on such understanding. No serious political-ideological effort was made to correct this understanding.

Our 1951 programme was exposed as dogmatist and sectarian by our own experience, but our Party functioned without a programme for these ten years. This highlights the deep inroads which opportunism had made inside the Party.

Our Party with its glorious record of 40 years in the service of the people (1925-1964) has not yet got a written history of its own. Ironically it is the enemies of our Party who have written the history of our Party to ridicule its glorious past with all the mass struggles led by it, heroes and sacrifices, picturing it as an anti-national party having no interest of our country at heart. Pious resolutions were adopted several times at Party Congresses to produce an authoritative history of the Party but only to be forgotten soon after.

These failures not only led to serious differences inside the Party but the differences continued to pile up and get accumulated.

As late as the Hyderabad session of the National Council in August 1962, the situation continued to be the same as has been noted in the resolution on organisation passed in that meeting.

It is well known that our Party has for some time been divided on certain important questions. Even when particular resolutions are adopted by the various units of the Party, these resolutions are interpreted in different ways by different sections of the

Party. Differences cover some basic issues which have been under discussion in the international communist movement. There are, however, several other issues which touch the economic, political and cultural life of our own people. Furthermore, differences once arisen, in the absence of organised efforts to get them resolved, not only fail to get resolved but get accumulated. The position was made worse due to the fact that the Party ranks were not properly informed of the differences; neither of the international communist movement nor on the problems of the Indian situation. No proper inner-Party discussion was organised. The section of the Party which later on split it, however, continued to propagate their views in a one-sided factional manner.

Yet another serious defective feature that developed was to adopt vague resolutions. These resolutions continued to be differently interpreted. To be able to have a correct understanding and educate the Party on correct understanding, it is necessary to negate the incorrect understanding. Failure to do this and confining ourselves to the above method aggravated the situation.

These methods of liberalism towards alien trends and practices, a policy of compromise with and concessions to such trends and practices, had come to stay in the Party and this took some very harmful forms too.

In the situation, when the ideological positions had not been explained to the Party members for a long time, when serious efforts had not been made to combat the deep-rooted dogmatist and sectarian understandings and when Party members had not been informed about these problems or the differences that existed and developed in this situation, when some concrete problems of organisation arose, efforts were made to somehow solve them with a view to keep the unity of the Party. Such solutions, however, were many times opportunist adjustments, tolerance of factional groupings and even tolerance to state leaderships going in their own way even in defiance of the Party Congress line.

Comrades used to be put in responsible positions even though it was known that they have been using their positions not for honest implementation of the decisions but to undermine and

even sabotage it; the election of the secretariat in April 1962 is an instance of the same.

Such organisational methods strengthened the position of these elements and assisted in their being able to deflect so many comrades.

One method which the splitters were able to utilise to confuse the Party ranks was left demagoguery. In the situation in which long-standing dogmatist understanding was permitted to persist in the ranks of the Party, the splitters' left demagoguery that they were more militant fighters and that the Party leadership is tailing behind the bourgeoisie had some effect. Some utterances and actions of our leaders and units gave room for such propaganda.

All these factors have proved a fertile soil for the splitters.

Now let us examine their tall claim that they have the overwhelming majority of cadres and Party members behind them. On the basis of the reports at the Party Congress it can be stated that the strength of the rival party among Party members on the basis of 1962 membership is about one-third taking the country as a whole. They could claim only small majorities in the West Bengal and Karnatak state councils. In the rest of the state councils, except in Tripura whose position is undecided for the present, the National Council commands overwhelming support.

Same is the case in regard to the position among MPs and MLAs of the Party.

Here it is necessary to make a mention of another phenomenon. There is a neutral trend among the cadre and Party members who have not joined either party. Taking the country as a whole, it is small. But it has considerable strength in West Bengal and Tripura. This neutral trend mainly consists of comrades who have recently broken away from sectarianism.

The table on next page shows the relative strength of both the parties among Party members on the basis of 1962 membership and among the legislators. This will give a broad idea about the respective positions. Where 1962 membership is not available—as in the case of Tripura, Manipur—1960 figures are taken as the basis. In the case of West Bengal also 1960 membership is taken as basis because some thousands refused to renew in 1962 due to opposition of the rival party leaders there.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE RELATIVE STRENGTH OF CPI
AND THE RIVALS

State	1962 Membership				Strength in Assemblies			
	CPI	Rival Party	Undecided	New Recruits	Total	CPI	Rival Party	Undecided
Andhra	22094	11774	1008	7206	55	31	23	1
Assam	2100	461	—	1000	—	—	—	—
Bihar	13235	1245	—	1720	12	12	—	—
Delhi	1123	*100	—	*100	—	—	—	—
Gujarat	431	187	—	139	—	—	—	—
H. Pradesh	200	70	—	121	1	—	1	—
J & K	—	—	—	38	—	—	—	—
Karnatak	964	300	—	—	3	1	2	—
Kerala	11473	*9000	4000	3700	30	19	10	1
Maharashtra	7398	500	700	—	5	4	1	—
Goa	56	—	—	62	—	—	—	—
M.P.	2300	—	—	200	2	2	—	—
Manipur	325	—	—	200	—	—	—	—
Orissa	4022	150	300	—	4	4	—	—
Punjab	7124	2200	200	400	8	6	2	—
Rajasthan	1870	400	—	—	5	3	1	1
Tamilnad	15015	4300	2000	4000	2	2	—	—
Pondicherry	—	—	—	—	4	4	—	—
Tripura	—	—	2840	—	12	—	—	12
U.P.	9917	1700	—	5000	14	12	2	—
W. Bengal	7560	8000	†2000	1200	48	12	30	‡6
P.H.Q.	55	5	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	107762	40392	13048	25086	205	112	72	21
Strength in Parliament (Lok Sabha)					32	16	11	5
					11	5	4	2

* Estimated figures.

† Centrists.

‡ Sitting in Rival's bloc.

The above-mentioned facts disprove the claims and contentions of the splitters.

At the same time, it has to be recognised that almost 30 per cent membership of the Party going with the splitters is a very serious matter. Persistent efforts must be made to win over as

many as possible of the comrades who have gone with the rival party. Notwithstanding the slanderous propaganda being resorted to by the splitters, we must adopt a patient, reasonable and persuasive attitude without in any way giving up the principled fight against the wrong positions.

Such an attitude on our part, combined with mass campaigns and struggles initiated and led by the Party and mass organisations, is bound to expose the left demagogy of the rival party leaders and help many comrades under their influence to see the truth. The process has already begun in several states, with hundreds of comrades who had joined the rival party returning to the fold of the CPI.

Regarding those comrades who have refused to join the splitters, but have not yet made up their minds about joining the Party, we should try to draw the bulk into the Party, firstly, by taking a very fraternal and persuasive attitude towards them; secondly, by seeking their cooperation in the mass organisations where we jointly work; thirdly, by drawing them into our campaigns and struggles; and fourthly, by assuring them through our policy and practice that there is full freedom for the expression and consideration of political and organisational differences inside the Party within the framework of normal Party discipline.

STATE OF PARTY ORGANISATION AND FORMS NEEDED FOR NEW PERIOD AND NEW TASKS

Even though our movement has suffered a temporary setback because of the split in our Party, if we regroup our forces and mobilise the masses on the basis of a correct political and ideological understanding, our Party can register successes. We can expose the hollowness of the revolutionary phrasemongering of the splitters before the people and win sober sections from among them.

This is proved by the resounding success of the all-India satyagraha launched by the Party. People understood that our Party is not finished because of the split but on the contrary it is moving with a purpose. A major hindrance coming in the way is the disorganised state of our Party—the indiscipline, alien class

habits and methods and wrong style of work that have struck deep roots into our organisation, especially from 1952.

Even after the split, all the above serious weaknesses remain in the Party obstructing its advance. Unless a bitter and consistent struggle is carried on for the removal of these weaknesses, it is impossible for the Party to successfully move forward. Let us go into more details and seek a solution for the organisational problems facing our Party.

1. *Indiscipline and Violation of Party Forms:* The first rude shock to discipline in our Party dates back to the period of 1948-51 when an extremely harmful adventurist political and organisational line was pursued by the then leadership of our Party. Till then our Party was running on the basis of blind faith and loyalty to the leadership which was shattered to pieces because of the great harm that was caused by that adventurist line. Party organisation and mass organisations got disrupted. Scant respect for Party forms and discipline from top in the name of democratic centralism, looseness in discipline and ideas of liberalism developed in the Party.

In the background of this disorganised state of our Party, it had to face another new problem of functioning in the atmosphere of parliamentary democracy. Because of the sacrifices that our Party had made in the cause of the toiling masses, it won the status of the second party in the country and a good number of our leaders were elected to Parliament, assemblies in the states, municipalities, panchayats and cooperatives, etc. These offices gave not only a status to the Party, but also to the individual comrades elected to these offices. They offered opportunities for selfishness and easy-going life.

The institutions of parliamentary democracy are a new experience to the Party. If they are properly utilised, they can help to strengthen the mass movement and to increase the influence of our Party. If they are allowed to corrupt our Party, they cause immense harm.

It is true that our Party's position in these institutions was used to strengthen the mass movement and positions of our Party to some extent. But we have to admit that we have not

used this opportunity to the fullest extent because of lack of correct understanding of the Indian political situation and looseness in discipline that has set in in the Party after 1948-51 period.

On the other hand, the tendency of bourgeois habits and methods developed in the Party. Love for easy-going life, selfishness, hankering after places in bourgeois parliamentary institutions, scant respect for collective decisions, individual functioning, indulging in revolutionary phrase-mongering and doing nothing and such other things developed.

This resulted in the weakening of our links with the masses. In some cases, corruption also crept in. This does not mean that the entire Party has become affected by this. If that was the case, it would have become just another bourgeois party and nothing would have been left of it. It only means that strong tendencies of bourgeois habits and methods have developed inside the Party, which have been acting as a brake on our movement. They have contributed to further loosening of discipline in the Party.

At every Party Congress, these things were brought up and discussed and tasks were set for the eradication of these tendencies. Even then this state of affairs continued as before because of a wrong sectarian political understanding and existence of political differences in the Party.

With serious ideological and political differences that have developed in our Party since 1959, as a part of the world communist movement, indiscipline and violation of Party forms has reached its climax and resulted in the split.

Unless and until these tendencies of indiscipline, bourgeois habits and methods are fought out systematically and eradicated, our Party cannot advance the movement, despite adoption of a correct political line.

After the attainment of independence, the Party has entered a new period in the history of our country. In this new period, new tasks and new fronts of activity of a complex and manifold nature have opened up for the Party. Work in the legislatures, panchayats, municipalities, development work and constructive work in the rural areas; work in the cooperative movement;

work of a specialised nature among the intelligentsia and professional classes—such manifold new spheres of activity have opened out. In old mass fronts like the student front, the nature of work has radically changed.

Unless the Party effectively intervenes in these manifold spheres of mass activity, building up of the National Democratic Front is impossible.

This necessarily means the Party has to evolve and put into action new *organisational forms*, both in order to formulate mass lines for these fronts as well as to ensure continuous Party guidance on these fronts. Problems of co-ordination of Parliamentary activity with the mass movement outside have also arisen.

The Party has so far largely failed to pose and meet this problem of evolving new organisational forms to cope with the new tasks arising out of the post-independence period. This failure is still another reason for the Party's organisational stagnation and inability to break through dogmatism and sectarianism in practice.

Fresh spheres of activity have been opened up in the very important new industrial complexes that have grown up and are arising every year. Many of these new industrial centres are growing, up in areas where Party units are weak. In the tribal areas there is a new awareness and ferment. The Party has to devote special attention to these areas and strategically important sectors, which remain weak. The Party has also to devote special attention to developing and helping work in those states (especially the Hindi-speaking region) where the Party organisation at present is weak.

2. *Links with Masses and State of Mass Organisations:* Our Party's links with the masses except in the case of the working class, are not close. Even in the case of the working class, we are very weak in the key industries like railways, mines, plantations etc.

During all these years beginning with 1952 though in some states big struggles were conducted in the countryside, some states remained outside the picture altogether. Besides, even

where movements were launched there was lack of sustained activity guided by a clear perspective.

We have been writing in our reports that unless the Party conducts all-India campaigns on burning issues, we cannot intervene and shape the political situation in the country. Though we very eagerly wanted them, we did not feel confident that we would be able to move the masses and Party members on all-India issues. We did not evolve forms of struggle suited to the particular occasion. We are conversant with the form of strike for workers and some types of militant forms of struggle in the rural areas. Though of late we shed some of our hostile attitude towards forms of struggle that were used in the national movement like hunger-strike and satyagraha and began using them, we did not know how to judiciously combine all forms of struggle and evolve forms suited to a particular situation.

Only recently since the last one-and-a-half years we have started a new experiment in combination of all forms of struggle and launching all-India campaigns and struggles. We can confidently say now that we have succeeded in it.

It is necessary to outline the outstanding characteristics which have made our recent campaign and struggle so successful:

- (i) Choosing of a correct issue vitally affecting the life of the people throughout the country.
- (ii) Evolution of a correct slogan to solve the issue involving a radical shift in government policy and involving concentration of fire against a specific section of vested interests.
- (iii) Mobilisation of the entire resources of the Party, activating even the lowest primary units for the national campaign launched.
- (iv) Evolution of forms of struggle which could enable direct participation by broad masses of people—a judicious combination of forms understood by them since the days of national movement with forms evolved in course of class battles.
- (v) A correct approach to unity in which while the Party sincerely called for cooperation of all democratic forces on the common issue and struggle, it launched the

struggle relying on its own strength and welcoming participation by others as the struggles unfolded.

It is these factors which have given the recent struggles their sweep and strength, galvanised the entire Party ranks and masses, forged new links with other left parties, which have made even sections of Congressmen vocal and active and made an effective impact on national policies for the first time in the life of the Party.

The first shot in the series was the Great Petition and the March to Delhi on September 13, 1963, which turned out to be a resounding success. We collected 1,15,00,000 signatures and over one lakh people marched to Parliament. And this, despite the fact that we could not move the entire Party in this movement. The central government was forced to abandon the Compulsory Deposit Scheme and modify the Gold Control Order.

The second shot was the four-stage struggle planned by the AITUC for bonus and linking up of DA with the cost of living index, which had to be suspended after the second stage because of the split in the Party. The first stage was a three-day hunger-strike of TU leaders and cadres in which 50,000 participated. It roused the entire country. The second stage was a demonstration of workers for 15 minutes before factory gates which was also a big success. The third stage was satyagraha by representatives of different trade unions before Parliament, which had to be given up on the eve of the scheduled date because of the split in the Party. The final stage was to be an all-India general strike of workers if the government did not heed the just demands of workers and middle-class employees.

The three earlier stages were to be a preparation for the final stage and they helped to prepare workers mentally for an all-India action and enlist the sympathy of the general public for the demands of workers and middle-class employees. Had we not been compelled to suspend the four-stage struggle in the middle, it would have helped the Party to effectively intervene in the situation of rising prices of essential commodities needed for the people in their day-to-day life and force the hands of the government to move sufficiently early to keep the prices of foodgrains under control.

The third shot was the all-India satyagraha against rising prices of foodgrains launched by our Party in August 1964 in which over 80,000 offered satyagraha, of whom about 27,000 were arrested and in which lakhs of people demonstrated in support. This was a great event because it was launched after the split in our Party. Enemies of our Party thought we were finished because of the split. Their hopes were belied.

In this swift action lasting for five days, our Party was not only able to rouse the people throughout the country but also educate them about the mechanism behind price rise, and our general slogans for checking the rise in prices viz. nationalisation of banks, ban on forward trading and nationalisation of wholesale trade in foodgrains. Satyagraha was pinpointed before banks, stock exchanges, hoarders' godowns and government offices.

The splitters tried to pooh-pooh this short and swift satyagraha as a useless one and another proof of revisionism. They said the real cause of rise in prices is government and the Communist Party, instead of directing its fire against the government, was shielding the government by conducting satyagraha before banks, stock exchanges and foodgrain *mandis*.

This was precisely what reactionary parties like Jana Sangh and Swatantra and monopoly vested interests wanted.

The splitters had to shut their mouths after the satyagraha became a great success. They were forced to trail behind those whom they accused as the tail of the government for fear of getting isolated from the masses. Their leaders in Kerala organised a one-day satyagraha on August 31.

This all-India satyagraha has proved that such countrywide swift actions are a great help in intervening in time on all-India issues by striking while the iron is hot and rousing people to bigger, decisive and militant mass actions.

Along with this our Party has played a big role in the great *bandh* series of Kerala, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal in unity with other parties. These mass actions have enhanced the prestige of our Party.

During this period, our Party conducted some struggles and ran some campaigns in different states. We can confidently say

that for the first time in the last ten years our Party has been most active on an all-India plane and forged links with the masses.

All the campaigns the Party launched during the last year and a half, along with the political line laid down by the National Council, have helped us to mobilise the most backward sections of our people and build a bridge with progressive Congressmen and masses behind them. They have helped the Party to project its image effectively on the Indian political scene once again after it was shattered following the Chinese attack of October 1962 and the split. They also helped to shake off some of the rust that had accumulated on our Party during the last ten years when no big all-India mass action had been launched.

We can now confidently say that we have found our feet firmly on the ground politically and practically. We have found a way for moving masses on all-India plane and making effective political intervention. If we steadfastly proceed on these lines, our Party can successfully advance towards its aim of national democracy by building a united mass movement and unity of all progressive forces.

The all-India mass campaigns and struggles conducted by the Party on specific issues facing the people helped to mobilise masses all right. But by this alone we cannot build the sectional movements of the people or mass organisations. Along with these general campaigns, we have to mobilise different sections of people on their sectional issues and day-to-day problems. For doing this, we must have a mass line suited to the present conditions on every mass front.

It is no exaggeration to say that except on the TU front, there is no clearcut mass line on any other mass front. This is one of the main reasons why the TU front is alive and functioning, whereas other fronts are almost sleeping.

Even with a correct mass line, mass organisations cannot get built automatically. There must be systematic and consistent efforts to build and function them democratically. Again, among the mass organisations, it is only the AITUC and trade unions that have got some shape and functioning. The AIKS, in the

hands of the splitters, is practically non-functioning.

Other mass organisations such as of women, youth and students have yet to grow into powerful organisations. It is necessary to take urgent steps to extend their influence and make them really functioning organisations in all states and on an all-India basis.

It must be mentioned that one of the main reasons as to why these mass organisations are not taking shape is because the Party as a whole has not yet realised sufficiently the need for such mass organisations as an integral part of the national democratic movement. As such, Party units at all levels do not make any conscious effort to help building such mass movements in their respective places.

Not only are the women's organisations weak, but the Party has also failed to recruit women into the Party and mass organisations in sufficient numbers due to negligence as well as wrong methods of work. The Party has to pay special attention to rectify this.

It is high time that the Party paid special attention to the problems of our young generation also and give proper orientation to its youth front so as to mobilise the large masses of youth on the basis of their specific demands and to educate them in the ideals of socialism.

Even trade unions which have some organisational shape and are functioning, suffer from many organisational defects in the matter of enrolment of members, running offices and functioning unions democratically. Because of this, despite the fact that the AITUC has got much more influence than any other all-India centre, it has been pushed back to the second place on the question of verified TU membership by the Labour Department of the Government of India.

There is another aspect of democratic functioning of mass organisations. There is a tendency in several mass organisations to function them without due regard to the wide non-party opinion which needs to be reflected at all levels of its functioning.

Unless this state of affairs regarding mass organisations is corrected and functioning mass organisations are built up, it is

impossible to build a real mass movement capable of defeating the anti-people policies of the government and helping masses to improve their living conditions, thus fulfilling the political tasks that are placed on the shoulders of our Party at the present time.

3. *Gap between Mass Influence of the Party and Party Organisation:* With regard to this problem, it is better to quote the following extracts from the resolution adopted by the CEC on September 15, 1964:

"It has been a longstanding weakness of our Party that its organisation does not correspond to its mass influence. The mass influence of the Party is far more than what is reflected in its membership. This gap between the mass influence and organisation of the Party has to be bridged if it has to discharge its political responsibilities.

"There are tens of thousands of militants who have been participating in the mass struggles and movements conducted by the Party and yet do not find a place inside our Party. Among them there are some who have been with the Party since a long time and will perhaps remain lifelong militants if they are not enlisted into the Party. There are also thousands of militants who have been thrown up in the mass movements of the last two years like the Great Petition campaign and the historic March of September 13, 1963, the four-stage struggle against high prices, for increase in DA, etc. conducted by the AITUC which had to be halted after the second stage due to the split in our Party and the Great Satyagraha against high prices of foodgrains and many other struggles conducted in the states.

"It has been a habit to complain about the political backwardness of Party members and militants, while at the same time not doing anything to give them political education. This failure on the part of the Party leadership is put up as a justification for not enrolling the militants into the Party.

"It is only the negligence of our Party leadership that is responsible for keeping them outside the Party. These militants have got immense experience of mass movement, love for our Party and readiness to undertake work given to them. What

is lacking is political education. Hence they must all be taken in at once as candidate members and arrangements have to be made for their political training.”

This fact is more glaring when we compare the proportion of Party members to the electoral strength of our Party with that of Communist Parties in other countries like France, Italy, Indonesia, where the parties have become mass parties.

	<i>Party members</i>	<i>Votes polled</i>	<i>Ratio of party members to votes</i>
Italian C.P. (1960)	1,800,000	6,080,000	1:3.4
Indonesian C.P. (1959)	1,500,000	8,000,000	1:5.33
French C.P. (1954)	506,250	5,001,618	1:10
C.P.I. (1959)	178,718	12,166,150	1:60

Another interesting fact has to be noted in this connection. There used to be a sectarian resistance to enrolling militants from among the toiling sections under the plea that the quality of membership would go down because they lack political education and consciousness. But a break was made at the time of Amritsar Congress and Party membership went up to 218,532. But since then membership has been falling and by the time of the Vijayawada Congress it had come down to 178,717 and by 1962 it came down still further.

The above-mentioned figures are for years when the Party Congresses were held. In other years, when Party Congresses were not held, membership is still less because Party committees do not evince much interest in renewing membership or enrolment of new members.

The reason given for the fall in membership is that the political level of Party members is low and hence they do not evince much interest in attending branch meetings and they become inactive. The conclusion is drawn that it is not only useless but even harmful to enrol masses of militants into the Party because it is much better they remain outside the Party rather than come in and go away after getting demoralised.

This is a very wrong argument. Whenever the issue, either

mass or political, is hot, not only Party members but even militants attend the general body meetings enthusiastically. This shows that the reason for the mass of Party members not attending the branch or Party general body meetings regularly is that we do not conduct these meetings in such a way as to attract these militants. A good number of Party functionaries do not have the art of expressing theoretical and political problems in a simple way, in terms of live experience of Party members. Along with this, it is also necessary to raise the political level of the Party members and militants through mass political schools, literacy drive and through pamphlets written in a simple style.

Party education is of supreme importance in building up a mass party. Though its importance is accepted by all, in practice very little has been done in this respect in the past. Now a break will have to be made. Not only vast numbers of new recruits and militants will have to be given elementary training in the Party Programme and policies, but a large number of cadres at different levels will have to be trained if large-scale recruitment is to be made and the new entrants are to be properly absorbed in the Party. Party education should be a regular part of work of every Party unit. But special responsibility and initiative in this respect will have to be taken by the Party Centre and state councils.

Party education is a vast and complex task. Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism have to be studied by Party members at all levels and separate schools for different levels of cadres are necessary. Functionaries and cadres working in different fronts need training in the particular tasks and responsibilities along with fundamentals. Large number of illiterate and semi-literate Party members and militants need schooling in literacy and general education, and teachers for all these schools are also to be trained.

If we have to build a mass party, we have to work along the following lines:

(a) There cannot be a mass party *without continuous mass activity*. It may be general mass issues or day-to-day problems. Party members get bored with endless discussion on political

questions without mass activity and cease to attend meetings.

(b) The lowest unit of the Party, the Party branch and group, must be made to function regularly.

(c) The political level of Party members and militants has to be raised through local mass schools and political pamphlets as well as by regular reporting on decisions of higher Party committees and reviews of campaigns, and business-like discussion on political issues.

(d) If the above things have to get implemented, the branch secretaries and taluk and district functionaries have to be fully trained in political and mass issues and organisational matters.

4. *The Three-tier System:* The three-tier system in Party organisation was introduced at Amritsar Congress in 1958, in place of the old two-tier system, after a lot of discussion. The most important change is the introduction of the institution of councils which are bigger bodies than the former committees, consisting of all important cadres at different levels. Experience has shown that the institution of councils has helped the Party in several ways.

Firstly, they helped to pool together various experiences and look at problems from different angles, and arrive at balanced decisions because the councils consisted of almost all important comrades at different levels.

Secondly, they gave sufficient opportunity to the Party to promote capable cadres and help them develop wider vision of the problem.

Thirdly, they helped the Party to take authoritative decisions and enforcing Party discipline, especially on important comrades.

There is a strong opinion inside our Party that this three-tier system is leading to unnecessary wastage of time through duplication of discussions and they say that one of the two, either the secretariat or the executive committee, has to go. They accept that the institution of councils has immensely helped the Party and it should remain.

There was another strong opinion, which is now represented in the rival party, which also wants to have a two-tier system, but wants the institution of the councils to go. They argue that

the conception of wider bodies like councils to be supreme bodies is a revisionist organisational concept, which helps liberalism to grow and strikes at the very root of centralised leadership. They argue that a revolutionary party must have compact leading bodies like committees and secretariats for centralised leadership.

We cannot decide the issue by arguing in an oversimplified manner on this problem. It is a complicated problem. It is true that some amount of duplication takes place in the three-tier system and more time is spent in meetings and arriving at decisions. But this is a necessity if our Party has to function effectively, as has been explained earlier. We arrived at this position after our Party had become a big party, wielding considerable mass influence in the country and the old compact committees failed to meet the needs of the situation.

But this three-tier system cannot be applied to every place in a mechanical way. Even now, everywhere the three-tier system is not followed. Where the Party has not got big mass membership, especially at lower levels, there only the two-tier system is followed.

With regard to this matter, the following broad directives have to be followed:

(i) At all levels, councils consisting of leading cadres are a necessity;

(ii) In states like Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, etc. where the Party has no big mass membership, council and secretariat are enough. We can dispense with the executive.

In major states like Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnad, Maharashtra, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab etc. we can have a three-tier system.

(iii) In districts, towns, taluks, mandals, etc. council and secretariat are enough. Only in exceptional cases where the membership is very big, the three-tier system can be followed.

(iv) In the all-India Party Centre, the three-tier system is needed.

(v) In the functioning of the three-tier system clear definition of the functions between secretariat, executive and council has

to be made. Otherwise, there may be confusion and duplication of work.

With regard to the functions of councils and executives the following extract from the Draft Organisational Report to Vijayawada Congress will suffice:

“The Council’s function is to be confined to—

- (i) the discussion of new political developments and issues of such overriding importance as can be dealt with only in the more representative Council and not left to the Executive;
- (ii) hearing the report of and taking decisions on the work carried out by the Executive Committee and each of its members, particularly to find out whether and how far the jobs assigned to the Executive as a whole and to its individual members have been carried out;
- (iii) if, in the view of the Council, the report finds the work either of the Executive as a whole or of its individual members unsatisfactory, remove such members from their position or remove the Executive itself and elect new members or new Executive.

“In other words, the Council is to work as a body which lays down broad policies on general questions and reviews the work of the Executive. It does not go into the minute details of the political and organisational problems facing the Party.

“The Executive is to function like the old district, state or the central committees, subject to the policy-making and reviewing functions assigned to the National Council in the above paragraph. In other words, they take decisions on day-to-day political and organisational questions which shall be final unless reviewed and reversed by the Council.”

The secretariat shall carry on routine jobs and implement the decisions of the council and the executive. It will not generally take political decisions which is the job of the executive. But in urgent cases, it can take political decisions and later get them endorsed by the executive or the council.

But the executives must be compact, not too large, so that they can meet often and discharge the tasks of practical political leadership.

The members of the secretariat generally divide different mass and Party organisational functions among themselves and take individual responsibility.

All-India Party Centre:

Strengthening and building the all-India Party Centre is the key to our organisational tasks. The all-India Party Centre has its own specific features and tasks which are quite apart from those of the state centres.

It has to be the Party Centre based on democratic centralism. It must be capable of guiding the state organisations, the mass fronts and the parliamentary front and act as the all-India political leader. It has to incorporate within itself the experience of mass fronts and state Party organisations as well as continuously draw nourishment and renew its knowledge from them. It has to create a team of leadership working and leading collectively the ideological, political and organisational work of the Centre.

Without such a Centre, it is not possible to improve political and ideological work of the Party. Lack of such a Party Centre is mainly responsible for our failure in carrying out tasks of Party education and cadre-building. Our failure to strengthen ideological and political unity of the Party as the basis of strong organisation and discipline arises mainly from the lack of such a Party Centre.

Two deviations have prevented the Party from building such an all-India Centre. They are: (i) liquidationist idea of minimum centre in the name of building the state organisation and (ii) top-heavy scheme of Centre-building isolated from mass fronts and state organisations. Unless these two deviations are successfully fought, we cannot move in the direction of building a proper Party Centre.

The tasks of building a proper Party Centre are confronted with certain vices which are the enemy of centre-building. These vices are: (i) individual functioning of leaders; (ii) statism-parochialism, absence of all-India outlook; (iii) subjectivism and personal prejudice. These vices have to be fought and vanquished in order to build a proper Party Centre.

Besides these other factors, as discussed earlier (see pp. 105-

107) in this report, have also been responsible for the Centre not being built up.

The apparatus of the Party Centre has to be radically improved and expanded in order to cope with the tasks of the central leadership. But this radical improvement and expansion cannot be brought about unless there is a proper division of work among the central leaders who should function on the basis of collective decisions, individual responsibility and collective check-up. To ensure this, the work of the Party Centre should be organised in the form of various departments run and led by proper cadres.

In that case, the Central Secretariat's functions will be:

Firstly, to coordinate work of different departments;

Secondly, to attend to the urgent political and other general mass issues, like food problem, that may not wait for the CEC meeting;

Thirdly, other jobs that do not fall under the purview of any department.

Following are the departments that have to be set up for efficient functioning of the Party Centre:

(1) Party Organisation; (2) Party Education; (3) Trade Unions; (4) Kisan and Agricultural Labour; (5) Students and Youth; (6) Women; (7) Peace and solidarity work; (8) Parliament; (9) Central Party Papers; (10) Publishing House; (11) Finance; (12) International; (13) Study on economic and other problems facing the movement; and (14) Culture.

The National Council should also consider setting up of departments for Muslim minority and tribals.

These departments have to be manned by competent committees consisting of members of the Secretariat, CEC, National Council and in some cases even by other capable comrades who are prepared to work in the PHQ. Departments have to be led by members of the Secretariat, CEC or National Council but they will be regular members of the respective committees.

These departmental committees have to submit regular reports to the CEC or the National Council when they meet.

The Central Secretariat members must be full-time functionaries at the PHQ.

5. *Style of Work*: The present style of work also has become an obstruction to the effective functioning of the Party.

(i) *No businesslike conduct of meetings*: Though in the Party Constitution a provision has been made for drafting rules and bye-laws by the National Council and state councils, our Party has till now functioned without any rules and bye-laws. Here and there some committees might have made rules for their own functioning. But on the whole, the Party committees and other bodies function only with some vague conventions. Hence a lot of time is wasted every time over procedural wranglings like method of voting and quorum, fixation of agenda, method of conducting discussions, etc.

Party meetings are not conducted in a businesslike way. Much time is lost in rambling discussions because written drafts are presented to the meetings rarely. Often drafts are written after the general discussion in a hurry. When sometimes this is not possible, oral decisions are taken—to be written later. Some of these will always remain oral because they are not written and over these quarrels take place as to what actually the decision was.

In the same way, method of sending written reports by lower committees to higher committees has ceased long ago. Hence leading committees have to depend for information about activities of the lower committees on what is published in the Party journals. Many comrades have no habit of sending news write-ups to the journals also. They give oral reports at the time of meetings of Party committees which consume a lot of time and very little time is left for actual discussion of the problems.

Another bad habit is that review of implementation of resolutions is done by committees very seldom. Only when differences arise some review takes place. Because of this so many campaigns run by the Party remain without being reviewed. We try to solve all the piled up differences for years at Party conferences, where we do not find sufficient time to clear all these Augean stables. Because of this state of affairs, regular checking up of our decisions, work and understanding does not take place, which reduces the efficiency of Party committees and comrades.

If the Party has to function efficiently, rules of functioning

have to be framed according to which all Party bodies must function; written drafts of resolutions and documents have to be submitted, if possible well in advance, to the meetings on which businesslike discussions take place; prompt and regular reviews and check up of the work done has to take place if lessons have to be drawn and mistakes of committees or individuals are to be corrected.

(ii) *Root out the evil of individual functioning: Establish the norm of collective functioning and criticism and self-criticism:* The evil of individual functioning has developed to alarming proportions during the last ten years, after the smashing up of the Party norms during the period of extreme adventurism in 1948-51. Taking individual decisions and implementing them on one's own, making serious political and other commitments without reference to committees, defending one's own wrong decisions and weaknesses, an attitude of liberalism and not criticising others' mistakes so that they may adopt the same attitude to oneself, gathering some younger comrades around oneself are some of the manifestations of individual functioning.

During recent years this evil has so developed that in place of principled criticism and self-criticism inside the Party bodies, loose talk, gossip and even backbiting, are indulged in at all levels and specially at the Centre.

Leakage of information including reports of discussions even in the highest Party bodies is a serious evil which we have been facing for some time. Partly it is due to gossip and loose talk. But it does not end there. In some instances it can be definitely attributed to information being deliberately given out. We have tried to investigate into its causes and source. The Central Control Commission was entrusted with this task and it went into the whole question. It has however to be admitted that despite efforts it has not been possible to overcome this serious evil. It is necessary to make persistent efforts by tightening the Party organisation and by increased vigilance to root out this evil.

By collective functioning not only the work of the committees can be carried on efficiently but there are greater opportunities for individuals to develop their capacities and correct their mistakes. Hence this evil of individual functioning has to be rooted

out and collective functioning has to be strengthened. The weapon of criticism and self-criticism has to be wielded properly if our Party has to function effectively. Decisions have to be taken collectively and in implementing them individual responsibility has to be assigned.

(iii) *Another wrong thing in the present style of functioning is that proper division of functions and specialisation are not practised in Party committees as a system.*

Because of this, not only the efficiency of the work of the committees is suffering but the political growth of individual comrades is also hampered. Hence, it is very necessary that the system of proper division of functions among members of the committees is done and they are helped to specialise in the functions each of them has undertaken. If a particular committee does not have sufficient cadre to discharge all the functions, some have to be left. That is all. Normally each functionary should be given one function. In exceptional cases two functions can be assigned.

This problem is very well explained in the Draft Organisational Report presented to the Vijayawada Congress thus:

"Activisation of the entire Party on the above lines would make it necessary to put an end to the present style of work, according to which there are some Party leaders who are supposed to be 'all-rounders'. Whether it was correct or not at one stage of the Party's history for leaders to try to become jack-of-all-trades, it is impossible under the present set up for one to become master of several aspects of Party leadership simultaneously. If somebody tries to be simultaneously a mass agitator, the functionary of a trade union or a kisan sabha or other mass organisation, a regular contributor to the Party press, a writer of pamphlets, a teacher in Party schools, a functionary of the Organisation Department of the Party, etc., etc. he is likely to fail in everything. We have to realise now that the bigger the Party, the more complex the problems, the more is specialisation needed.

"All the more true is this at the level of leading committees of the Party. Members of the central and state secretariats should not only periodically divide among themselves different aspects

of the work according to convenience, but conscious efforts should be made to enable each of them to specialise in one aspect of the work and when that is done, allow him to do it to his fullest capacity. Similarly, around each member of the secretariat should be built a team of comrades who will both help him in his work as well as themselves master the art of working that department. Only in this way can a functioning apparatus in which problems of Party education, the promotion and distribution of Party literature, Party finance, each of the various mass organisations, etc. can be tackled, be built at the central and state levels of the Party. Lower down, too, it is necessary to have a proper selection of comrades at every level who will be allowed to specialise themselves in such activities as are necessary for the full functioning of the Party and mass organisations.

"This does not, of course, mean that, once a particular comrade is allotted to one particular field of activity, he is to do that alone up to the end of his life. Periodical reviews of the requirements of cadres as well as the strong and weak points of particular comrades may lead to the transfer of one particular comrade, who has done well in a particular department and whose services are expected to improve the work of another department. Conversely, a comrade who has done particularly badly in the field assigned to him, may be given chance in another field and help to improve himself if there are reasons to believe that he was a misfit in the field originally assigned to him. But such transfers should not be lightly made and should be made only on the basis of proper review of the work turned out by him."

(iv) *Selection, Training and Promotion of Cadres*: In the matter of proper selection, training and promotion of cadre, our Party goes by spontaneity. No proper estimation of the capacities of each cadre is made and suitable job allotted. The cadre is not trained particularly for that job. After giving a job, nobody keeps track of the cadre and his needs and difficulties. He is allowed to go his own way. If he develops, it is all right. Otherwise, he is allowed to rot. Hence promotion is not also done properly. The cadre who work in the Party offices are the worst hit in this respect.

The selection, training and nursing of the cadre is an art by itself which every Party leader should cultivate. Otherwise, he cannot build the Party. For the building of a revolutionary Party, proper estimation, selection, training and promotion of cadre has to be done as a matter of routine. Unless this is done, the cadre stagnates and becomes useless. All capable cadres must be promoted in time.

A very important consideration in selection and promotion of cadre concerns cadre coming from the working class, peasantry and the tribal people. In our country, there is a great handicap for cadre coming from these classes to rise into leadership because of social and educational disabilities. It must be the constant endeavour of the Party to place cadre coming from these classes into positions of new and higher responsibilities inside the Party and simultaneously help them to overcome their disabilities. This is especially important if our Party is to become a mass Party and its working-class-peasant base is to be further strengthened at all levels.

If the Party undertakes this responsibility, one of the important problems of Party organisation, that is, the shortage of cadre can be solved. We can find sufficient cadre for the replacement of old comrades going out of commission and for expansion of Party work also. The practice of searching for cadre after a vacancy is created must stop. For every job, alternative cadre must be kept in view and trained in advance.

(v) *Taking work from part-timers*: There is a good chunk of educated and able Party members and sympathisers—lawyers, doctors, traders, employees in offices, educated youth in villages—who could be utilised for various jobs like running fronts like peace and friendship organisations, helping in conducting Party schools, representing the Party in panchayats, municipalities, cooperatives and legislatures. In the same way, part-time cadres from factories and establishments could be utilised in running trade unions also.

We are using very little of these possibilities for developing the movement. On the other hand, for doing all routine jobs also, we use whole-timers. Under these conditions, it has become

a habit for one whole-timer to take too many jobs on his head and not doing any job properly.

The practice of utilising a whole-timer for all routine work has to go if our Party has to work properly and expand. No mass Communist Party can ever function without drafting part-time capable cadre into the day-to-day functioning of the Party. But if work has to be taken from these part-time cadres, the Party committees and whole-timers have to work in a planned and businesslike way. Then alone capabilities of part-timers could be utilised properly.

6. *Cult of Personality*: The CPSU did a great service to the international Communist movement by raising the question of Stalin's cult and boldly fighting it out in its Twentieth Congress. Thereafter, the Conferences of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world held in Moscow in 1957 and 1960 dealt with this problem and gave a clear lead to the world communist movement to take measures to eradicate it of this most pernicious evil which had acted as a brake on its development.

The philosophy of Marxism-Leninism does not believe in either gods or individuals with superhuman powers. But all the same, a god in the person of Comrade Stalin was created in the world communist movement whose word was bible. The story did not end here. Lesser gods were created according to the conditions obtaining in different countries, subservient to this all-pervading world god. This cult of the individual is a ladder into which different types of bigger gods and lesser gods were fitted at different rungs from top to bottom.

It is true all individuals are not endowed with the same capacity and some individuals rise above others because of their extraordinary capacities and qualities and are recognised as leaders by others. History abounds in such examples. The communist movement is no exception. Marx, Engels and Lenin are such extraordinary geniuses of the international communist movement. Comrades Stalin, Khrushchov, Mao, Togliatti, Thorez and such other great leaders rose in the international communist movement. In the same way, leaders arise in other Communist Parties also. But if conditions were created wherein they put

themselves above the collective, that is, the leading committees, they do more harm than good to the movement.

The great geniuses of the world communist movement—Marx, Engels and Lenin never put themselves above the collective as Comrade Stalin did.

It is also true that we respect and love leaders but it must not develop into adulation where one would lose one's own individuality and uncritically accept whatever the leader says.

This lesson of world communist movement on the cult of personality was not taken seriously by the CPI. We satisfied ourselves by accepting this very formally and passing resolutions in our Party Congress and National Council and state council meetings approving the decisions of the world communist movement on this matter. We did very little to examine the history of our own Party to find out how Stalin cult affected our own movement, as well as what form the cult of personality had taken at different levels of our Party.

On the other hand, an opinion gathered ground that the cult of the individual is not an internal problem for the CPI because of the horrible mistakes committed by different sections of its leadership at different periods of Party history.

But this is a mistaken notion as is proved by the experience of the serious inner-Party struggle and the split in our Party. It is true the leadership as a whole or sections of it did not command that much confidence from the ranks throughout the country. But individual leaders are demi-gods for sections of Party members in their respective areas. This has played a very harmful role in the inner-Party struggle and the cult of personality was developed consciously in some cases by attributing all sorts of things to the leaders in order to win over more politically backward sections of Party members. Now it has become a common thing to attribute the building of the Party in states and districts to individuals rather than to committees at the head of which these individuals are.

At the lower level, in the absence of proper functioning of the branches and local committees, individual functioning manifests itself in the worst form.

The causes behind this state of affairs are, apart from the

wrong political line pursued by the Party, the pernicious system of individual functioning that has been dealt with earlier, political backwardness of Party members and cadre. Under these conditions, it became possible for leaders to build up their personality over the head of the committees, gather cadre and Party members who follow them uncritically behind individual leaders. Even now we have to make a detailed study of our past history and assess how and to what extent the personality cult had affected the Party. Unless this institution of cult of personality is fought tooth and nail and the supremacy of the collective established, it is very difficult for the movement to advance.

(a) The evil of individual functioning should be rooted out, the method of collective decisions and individual responsibility in implementing them should be firmly established. Also one leader should not be put in charge of too many responsibilities. One must be given at the most two functions.

(b) Though we talk so much about criticism and self-criticism and promotion of capable cadre, it is only in our Party that changes in leadership are rarely done. When once a comrade is elected to a post, he is not changed unless he proves himself thoroughly useless or betrays the Party. Result is that the particular comrade, as well as others, develop a psychology that he is indispensable and he tries to perpetuate his position, sometimes using anti-Party methods. By chance if he is removed, he gets subjective, develops all sorts of complexes and becomes incapable of adjusting to the new situation. The result is that a few leading comrades are very well known to the PMs and people throughout the country and when some of them go off their head, there is utter confusion among them.

Hence a system of running Party leadership and changing comrades in leading positions must become a normal affair.

(c) Another evil in our Party is that in the all-India centre, as well as state centres, the leaders who have committed big blunders continue to be eternal leaders. Only in exceptional cases they are removed from key positions but kept in the leading committees. In the past, if one made self-criticism and purified himself, like a sinner bathing in the Ganges to wash off his

sins, it was sufficient to get a new licence to commit more blunders. Now-a-days even that type of formal self-criticism is not needed because we have thrown this weapon of criticism and self-criticism into the dust-bin after political controversies sharpened in the Party.

It neither helps the Party nor the comrade concerned to keep a leading comrade who commits serious blunders in the same key position. If he is removed from that position and given some practical work among the masses, it would help him to understand and correct his mistakes.

Another thing has also to be noted down in this connection and that is that the mistakes committed by comrades are not allowed to be known to Party members or masses. We allow the mistakes to be piled up behind the curtain and only when the particular comrade goes so rotten that it becomes indispensable to throw him out of the Party, we reveal all his sins suddenly. The Party members and masses are taken aback and in some cases it leads to the Party's position being misunderstood.

Hence, in all cases where serious blunders are committed, it is necessary to relieve the responsible leading functionaries of their responsibilities and give them some other jobs where there is an opportunity to learn and correct oneself from the experience of practical work. It is also necessary to let their blunders known to the Party members and in some cases masses also. This must be made a normal practice inside our Party.

(d) It is admitted generally that in our Party, as in several other CPs, the fundamental principle of democratic centralism was interpreted in a way that democracy got restricted and bureaucracy and authoritarianism developed. But when an extremely adventurist political line was thrust on the Party during the period 1948-51, as a reaction to the harmful consequences of that adventurist line, looseness of discipline and liberalism developed in the name of inner-Party democracy. It is true that some form of inner-Party democracy, and political discussions through Forums was introduced. But the system of organised inner-Party democracy was not developed as a channel for expression of opinions of comrades on issues facing the Party. As a result, looseness in discipline, gossip, disobeying

Party resolutions and such other things still remain to a great extent in our Party.

For developing inner-Party democracy, our Party has not only to hold conferences at regular intervals as enjoined upon us by the Constitution but we have to organise inner-Party discussion on big mass, political and organisational issues that arise and conduct discussion. This will provide proper channel for free and frank expression of opinion of Party members. This must be made a normal practice in our Party.

(e) Above all, the political level and consciousness of Party members and cadre has to be raised through giving them ideological and political education, which is the surest guarantee against cult of personality. In that case, the cadre and Party members will not follow leaders through blind faith but will help them correct themselves when they go wrong.

In the same way, the mass behind the Party also has to be made politically conscious through mass meetings and otherwise so that they may also develop political faith instead of blind faith in the leaders.

7. Financial Position of Our Party: The financial position of our Party is, to say the least, deplorable. No proper system was ever set up during the last 12 years for collection of Party membership dues, levies of MPs and MLAs, Party fund collections and tapping other sources of income like bookshops and publications.

The financial position of mass organisations is also in a deplorable state. Excepting the TUs, other mass organisations do not make collections at all. Even the TUs where collections are made, are in financial difficulties. Often proper budgeting or accounting is not made.

This state of affairs has reached a climax with the serious difficulties that have arisen in the Party during the last few years and the split.

The result is Party units and mass organisations are in perpetual financial crisis. They take loans. When that has also reached a saturation point and no loans are available, the whole-timers suffer. They take some private job to make a living. In

this way a good number of whole-timers are compelled to leave their posts and consequently the activities of the Party and mass organisations get crippled. Only those who have property or rich well-wishers to support or Members of Parliament and legislatures, as long as they are endowed with these responsibilities by people, would survive as whole-timers.

This leads to a lot of heart-burning when comrades who served the Party selflessly are forced to become part-timers because of financial difficulties.

Another bad practice in the Party has been to get loans also for fighting the elections. Collections from people are not generally made when the election issue is hot and people are in a mood to pay. After the elections are over, the load of the loans hangs heavily on the shoulders of the candidate or those who got them with the result that effective comrades have to strain all their energy in clearing those loans and the routine work of the Party suffers to a great extent.

This state of financial chaos and anarchy has to stop and the system of Party finances has to be put on a firm foundation if our Party has to survive, not to speak of expansion. The following programme has to be implemented firmly by the separate organisational department that has to be set up at different levels as one of its special tasks:

(i) Every Party unit should have a treasurer whose job it is to keep control over collections and spending of the funds, keep the accounts and submit them periodically to the unit concerned. Every paisa collected by anybody should first be handed over to the treasurer of the concerned unit.

(ii) Every unit must prepare a proper budget of income and expenditure which has to be adhered to by Party units.

(iii) It must be the special task of the department of Party organisation to see that Party membership dues are collected every year. This is an important source of income. Even after the split, about 100,000 Party members are with the Party. If the recent call of the CEC for enrolment of fresh members is fulfilled, we will have another lakh candidate members. On the whole the Party will get two lakh rupees yearly if membership dues are collected strictly.

Every year the state councils have to give a call for collection of Party fund from masses, sympathisers and members of our Party and conduct a campaign which is led by the members of the National Council. This must be made a regular practice every year.

Every Party committee must make arrangements to keep in regular contact with the rich sympathisers in professions and business as a source of income. They must be regularly given political information so that they may feel that they are a part of the Party. It has been a general practice to approach such sympathisers only when we want money, which is resented by them very much.

The levies on MPs and MLAs are to be fixed, taking each individual's needs into consideration and the levy fixed must be collected strictly.

(iv) Mass organisations also must make it a point to collect funds for their functioning. TUs must set an example to other organisations in this matter. If they enrol members into their organisation, it will be a source of income.

Also, whenever they take day-to-day issues of the people, funds must be collected on that basis, especially when people get benefit out of that movement.

(v) At the time of the election, our units must make it a point to collect funds. In the case of general elections, the National Council must give a call for an election fund and conduct an all-India campaign which will fetch good results. The reports of these collections must find a place in our Party journals regularly so that Party committees get enthused.

8. *Party Journals*: The position of Party journals is also not encouraging. Of course, the serious differences in the Party and the subsequent split are the important reasons for this state of affairs but not the only reasons.

The main reason is that the Party committees have not realised fully the role of Party organs as propagandists and organisers of the Party. It is a pity that there are many Party units which do not get Party organs at all. Then how is it possible to keep

in contact with the day-to-day political and practical life of our Party by Party units and comrades?

The position of the journals of the National Council, *New Age Weekly* and *New Age Monthly*, is no better. The circulation of the weekly has remained almost stationary with some fall since the high point reached during Kerala elections. The monthly has only recently been revived and its circulation figures are still very much below what they can be.

From the peak figures attained in the years of 1958 and 1959, the circulation of *New Age* weekly fell substantially since 1960. What is encouraging, however, is the fact that despite the split in the Party, the circulation has not fallen. The circulation figures for 1963 have not only been maintained this year, but, in fact, have increased slightly. But the fact remains that since 1961 the circulation is very low.

Comrades might argue that the reason for this is due to the bad editing of the journals. While we agree that the political content and get up of the journals could be improved much further, we do not agree that this is the *main reason*. The Central Secretariat will do all it can to improve the journals politically and technically.

Unless and until the Party committees take upon themselves the task of popularising Party journals among people and run a campaign for increasing their circulation, no appreciable change can take place in the situation.

In order to increase the circulation of the journals, our Party must take the following steps:

(i) The secretariats of the National Council and state councils should take steps to bring about all-round improvement of Party journals. One way is for the Party leaders regularly writing articles on current political and mass issues. District and taluk leaders can help by contributing write-ups about campaigns run by the Party to the state journals.

The central and state leadership must, immediately after the Party Congress, plan out effective steps to *improve the quality* of our Party journals, both as regards their content as well as to make their get-up, lay-out, news-featuring etc. more attractive

and effective. For this, the style of work of the editorial boards must be radically improved (regular meetings of the board to plan out the dummy and to constantly improve the paper on the basis of check-up and self-criticism through collective discussion and individual responsibility; proper division of work and specialisation among members of the editorial board; etc.).

The all-India centre and each state committee must fix up a member of the secretariat to function as the fulltime editor of the Party journal. He must be made responsible to the respective secretariat for the quality of the paper.

The Secretariat of the National Council should call a conference of all editors of Party journals, correspondents of *New Age Weekly* as well as other leading comrades dealing with Party journals and publications to discuss how to bring about improvement in the quality of Party journals and publications both with regard to political content and technical standards.

(ii) Every locality in town or village where there is even one Party member or sympathiser should get at least one copy of the state journal. All Party members and sympathisers who can afford should be encouraged to subscribe individually to the journals.

In the same way the circulation of central journals also has to be increased. In every town/village centre agencies for the sale of the journals have to be set up and regular checking up must be made by Party committees.

(iii) An all-India campaign has to be run by the National Council as soon as possible to improve the circulation of the Party journals.

The necessity of bringing out a Hindi weekly journal from the Centre was felt by the Party many a time but it could not materialise. However, the demand and necessity for such a journal have grown with time due to the needs of the movement in Delhi, Punjab, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and several important big cities of India where a vast number of Hindi knowing population lives. The journals of right reactionary and communal parties are creating a lot of confusion among the masses against the CPI and democratic movement.

In order to counteract the reactionary politics of dark forces

and take progressive and communist policies to the masses, a Hindi weekly is needed.

So immediately a machinery has to be evolved to bring out a Hindi weekly from the Centre.

9. *People's Service Corps*: Before 1948, our Party had the tradition of a trained people's corps to help people in distress—like epidemics, fire, accident, flood havoc, and in *melas* and such other occasions. It used to help the Party in conducting meetings, demonstrations and conferences and constructive work in villages and towns.

This tradition of a trained volunteer corps has not been revived since the Party became legal in 1952. Only temporary arrangements are being made to meet the situation as it arises. Hence our Party is neither able to help the people in cases of calamities in time and effectively, nor conduct meetings, processions and conferences in an organised manner. It is very necessary for the Party to have a trained people's service corps capable of discharging all the above-mentioned jobs.

(a) A separate department for organisation of the people's service corps has to be set up under the supervision of the department of organisation at all levels of the Party. To begin with, it may set apart one comrade for this job who is capable of discharging this responsibility.

(b) A training course and a plan of training leaders of the people's service corps has to be drawn up and training given to these leaders.

(c) Every local Party unit must form a people's service corps with energetic young Party members and militants of the locality or village.

10. *Attitude to the Rival Party*: The split in the CPI is a settled fact. The split-away section has held its party congress at Calcutta in the first week of November 1964. Now the question arises as to what attitude we take towards the split-away section.

We would have recognised them as a separate party if they

had not claimed that they themselves are the CPI and tried to get recognition in Parliament, legislatures and with the Election Commission for the election symbol reserved for the CPI. If they take some other name for their party and agree for a separate symbol, we are prepared to call them by that name. Otherwise, we will call them by the name of Rival Communist Party. We will not be bothered by the epithets that they use like Dange-clique, tailists, etc. against our Party. People will make them ultimately see sense.

In spite of all the disruptive, uncommunistic, nauseating methods and language some of the rival party leaders use, which is being aped by a good number of their cadres, we should adopt an attitude of patience, reason and fraternity. A good number of Party members, cadre and even some leaders were swept away by the left demagogy, falsehood spread about certain leaders of our Party, spy-mania created by these slanders and by parochial and local chauvinist feelings. These are the ways of the left adventurists and dogmatists, as is proved by the practice of the world leaders of this trend, the leadership of the CPC.

The rival party leaders have elevated slander against our Party leaders and character assassination almost to the level of tactics. In some states they have declared the CPI as a reactionary party and have given a call for its total annihilation. They have declared that their main task is to fight out the CPI. Unless we clearly understand the politics and philosophy behind their tactics we will fall into the trap. They want to create and maintain a permanent tension between their ranks and our membership. If there is no such tension and if their members are allowed to think coolly and in a dispassionate manner, the rival party leaders fear that they cannot retain even those who have temporarily gone with them. We must be patient in explaining to their ranks and try for united actions on all people's issues and other political campaigns. Such a fraternal attitude will help their ranks and the people following that party to understand whose policies are correct and are helping the movement.

Only world events and experience of the movement will show what is right and what is wrong. Arguments and correct

approach will help the Party members, cadres and even some leaders to understand the lessons of the movement and change their mind.

This does not mean that we will not fight their wrong and harmful ideological and political understanding or their disruption of mass movements. We will fight their disruptive activities in every sphere, consistently and concretely, of course in a patient and fraternal way. This attitude alone will help us to make them see how their ideological, political and organisational positions are wrong and harmful.

The slander of the rival party leaders that the National Council is following a policy of tailism to the Congress, class collaboration and anti-struggle, has been disproved to some extent by the Great Petition and March to Delhi of last year, the four-stage struggle of workers and middle-class employees for bonus and linking up of DA with the cost of living index and finally the all-India satyagraha launched by the Party after the split against rising food prices. These movements and struggles which became a resounding success because of correct slogans, form of struggle and tactics adopted which were in consonance with the prevailing mood of the masses, have also exposed to some extent the hollowness of the left demagogy of the leaders of the rival party.

More of such all-India and statewide movements and struggles will go a long way in making the masses, rival party members and cadre, even some leaders, to realise the correctness of the political line, forms of struggle and methods pursued by our Party. We can successfully fight this bitter struggle with the leaders of the rival party in the political field only by building a strong mass movement and unity of the democratic forces.

The leaders of the rival party have started earnestly to split the AITUC because it is the only live organisation. It is very difficult for them to split the movements like peace, friendship organisations, Afro-Asian solidarity etc. With regard to the other mass organisations, there is nothing to split at present because they are virtually defunct. But when actually they will be revived, the problem of safeguarding their unity will arise.

In the case of mass organisations, our general line is that it is harmful for people if they are split and we must strive our best to keep the unity of these mass organisations. We can do this best by not only adopting correct slogans, forms of struggle and methods but also correct attitude towards unity of these mass organisations.

We give below extracts from the Central Secretariat document on the splitting activities of the rival party in the TUs, which should serve as a guide to the comrades on other fronts in fighting the splitting activities and preserving the unity of mass organisations:

“Reports go to show that the sectarian splitters are out either to capture the AITUC for themselves or split it after gathering sufficient votes in it. They speak of not dividing the mass organisations. But it is only a smoke-screen behind which to prepare for the capture or split.

“Hence Party members in the trade unions and STUCs must not remain complacent and must be firm in giving a rebuff to the splitting activities in the TUs and AITUC.

“It is reported that in all major centres and unions, the splitters are active. They are trying to remove Party leaders from the official posts in the TUs and replace them by their own men. They enrol false membership or make false records to make a majority in the delegation to conferences or executives. In one case they called a fictitious meeting of a few of their men and termed it as a meeting of the executive of the union and changed the secretary who was our Party member. In another case, their man defalcated with subscription money and when their so-called TU branches were refused any further supply of subscription books, they printed their own books in the name of the union and collected money and membership. In managing committees, when they find that our Party members who are a majority are not present in full number, they pass decisions arbitrarily and try to capture office.

“Another of their favourite tactics is to float small unions on the basis of small factories and get them affiliated to the AITUC and the STUC. The trend today is to organise big industry-wise unions. But these small unions are organised and registered in

order to get the minimum delegates allowed under the AITUC constitution to the sessions and swamp the AITUC Congress with their delegates drawn from these small and bogus unions. In one state conference, we found that all the leading DC secretaries of the splitters' wing had appeared in the conference from such small unions and tried to derail the TU conference into Party political controversies. Their game however, failed due to the genuine rank and file worker delegates. In some places some unions are suddenly engaged in arranging visits and meetings of people like A. K. Gopalan under the plea of enlisting help of MPs. But when they visit the place, the occasion is used to carry on splitting activities. Party has to see that MPs and MLAs make themselves available for TU work and for helping in strike struggles etc. whenever needed.

“Thus there are a number of dishonest practices which they resort to, all of which we need not describe here. . . .

“All this should make our comrades aware of the fact that all sorts of nefarious methods are being used by the anti-Party men in the AITUC to disrupt or capture the organisation. One should not be deceived by their hypocritical talk of keeping the unity of the TUs. . . .

“Hence Party members should undertake the following tasks:

(i) We must lead trade union struggles boldly but in our own way without falling a victim to adventurist provocations.

(ii) When and where to strike or not to strike and how to settle disputes is now well-known to our Party members who have seen the AITUC line in action in these years. That line has proved successful and yielded good results and gains to the working class. In this we should not be sidetracked by the sectarian criticism or abuse.

(iii) In the conduct of struggles, we should not refuse to cooperate with any section of TU leadership. We should not disrupt TU unity because of political differences, even with the splitters. At the same time, we must pursue our line and convince the workers about its correctness.

(iv) We must not, however, be blackmailed in following a wrong line of action or organisational set up under the threat

of split in TU unity. We should take all the issues to the membership and the masses and not keep issues within the narrow circle of executives only.

(v) In view of the split in the Party, we must establish Party fractions in all *TU organisations*. While decisions on TU work must first be discussed and decided in the TU fraction, our decisions must not be imposed on the TU executive where non-party masses are members.

(vi) The Party fractions at the state levels should immediately review the TU situation vis-a-vis the activities of the splitters and direct lower units to take concrete measures against disruption.

(vii) Every factory or establishment must have Party fractions or groups to guide TU work of the Party among the workers.

(viii) Vigorous drive to enrol new members from among workers should be undertaken through the TU fractions.

(ix) Attention should be paid to the politicalisation of the managing committee or executive members of unions; political activity of the leading TU cadres must be attended to with particular care.

(x) Special attention should be given to work among those industries or trade unions which are not affiliated to the AITUC.

“The threat of split is not only on national level but on international level also. The Chinese leadership, with the help of their supporters, is trying to split the WFTU. They try to obstruct the working of the executives of the WFTU in all possible ways. They are trying to set up a separate Afro-Asian centre of TUs under their domination. They have issued statements attacking the General Secretary of the WFTU and have openly threatened to split.

“In pursuance of their general line in the international field, the splitters here also will try to split the trade unions and the AITUC when they will find opportune time.

“If we follow our line with firmness and correct understanding and keep with the masses and at the head of their struggles, we can save not only the unity of the AITUC but extend it further. In the recent *bandh* struggles, TU unity has advanced to some extent which also had some sobering effect on some of the split-

ters. Further united actions will unite the working class and TU leadership still better.”

It is with this faith that we must work in the TUs and other mass organisations.

It is indeed a great tragedy that not only is the Party split but even the unity of mass organisations is today in danger.

It has been our conviction that only a strong and united Party can be the rallying point of all progressive forces for the democratic revolution. We have therefore always held that any division or split inside the Party has to be avoided and could be avoided. We have, therefore, always emphasised what is common, what unites all communists. Unfortunately the leaders of the rival party wish to emphasise what divides us and have chosen the path of abuse, slander and split instead of principled debates on the basis of democratic centralism inside the Party to settle issues. They have forced this great division inside the Indian working-class movement and barred all prospects of unity in the near future.

In this difficult situation the Party has no other option but to consolidate its ranks and go forward with firmness and confidence. While the rival leaders speak revolutionary phraseology, it is the Party which has been at the head of all militant working class and people's movements in the past eight months. While they emit fire against the present government, it is the Party which has succeeded in mobilising the broadest section of the people against its anti-people policies and against vested interests and reaction. While they may talk of people's democracy and even more radical goals, it is the Party which is forging real sanctions, building unity of progressive forces in action. The Party has a correct mass line tested in practice, correct slogans guiding the movement to force basic changes and a clear political perspective.

There are a large number of Party members at all levels, most of them working in mass fronts, who have not yet re-enrolled as Party members; nor have they joined the rival party. The Party will have a differentiated approach to these comrades and is confident that they will soon join and strengthen the ranks of the Party.

The Party is confident that the mass of Party members who have been carried away by left demagoguery will see the gap between their words and deeds and through their own experience in the coming period reject the path of disunity and rejoin and strengthen the ranks of the Party. Our correct approach to them in mass organisations and movements will greatly help this process. We have to work with this confident perspective.

11. *How and Where to Begin?* In the foregoing pages of this document, the present state of our Party organisation and the tasks that are to be fulfilled in order to rebuild our Party as a disciplined and strong organisation capable of leading the Indian people are described in detail. But the problem that arises is: How and where to begin?

The Party has during the last ten years several times passed resolutions pinpointing the serious defects affecting the Party organisation but no serious and sustained efforts were made to remove these defects. That has engendered a sense of frustration and cynicism inside the Party. If the Party is to translate the proposals made in the present organisational report into practice, it is necessary to evolve concrete guarantees for their implementation. From that point of view the following steps should be taken:

(a) The all-India Party centre and the Party centres in various states must be thoroughly reorganised so that they become real leading bodies imbued with a collective spirit and capable of fulfilling the many-sided tasks visualised in this report. A beginning must be made at the Party Congress itself.

(b) A separate department for Organisation to be set up from top to bottom, as has been explained earlier, for improving the organisational structure of the Party.

(c) The selection and promotion of new cadre and removal of those who are ineffective at all levels in a planned manner must not be left to scattered initiative at places but should be decided in accordance with guiding lines to be formulated in this respect. The new National Council elected at the Party Congress shall address itself to this task and formulate such guiding lines at its first meeting.

(d) A central inner-Party journal to deal with problems of ideology and problems arising in the mass movement, current political questions and organisational problems, has to be started by the Organisational Department. State councils also can run such journals, wherever possible. These inner-Party journals will help the Party for the expression of opinion of the cadre on mass political and organisational issues facing the Party and will help to pool experience.

(e) A Hindi weekly to be published from the Party Centre.

(f) The state councils of the Party shall meet within two months after the Party Congress in special session devoted entirely to problems of Party organisation in the state and take concrete organisational decisions to implement the proposals made in this report. Every state committee shall send a report of such meeting to the National Council.

(g) A separate department for Party Education has to be set up both in the all-India centre and state centres, in order to discharge one of the most important and urgent tasks of political education of cadres and also train them for discharging the responsibility of different fronts. It will also help the state committees in giving political education to the Party members and militants.

It will discharge the following responsibilities:

- (1) Run a permanent Central Party School for training advanced cadre and teachers for the schools in the states.
- (2) Run a permanent Central Party School for training cadre from Hindi-speaking states.
- (3) Help state committees to organise schools for the experienced cadre who did not have the benefit of modern education. The state committees have also to make arrangement for training branch secretaries.
- (4) Publish such popular pamphlets and books on Marxist theory, Party Programme and other topics for the education of the Party members and militants.

(h) The state councils shall also convene meetings of comrades working on the kisan, agricultural-worker front with a view to chalk out a mass line for the rural areas and take steps to revive the kisan sabhas and build agricultural labour organisations.

Report of decisions taken shall be sent to National Council. The Central Secretariat basing itself on these reports from states shall convene a meeting of important kisan front workers from all over the country with a view to evolve a general line on this front and to revive the kisan organisation.

(i) An all-India meeting of the cadres on the women's front, women cadres working in class-organisations, Party leaders in charge of women's front as well as leading comrades from trade unions and kisan sabha.

(j) Similar meetings of student comrades from all over India shall be held in May 1965 to finally resolve the questions facing the student movement for many years.

(k) The secretariat of the National Council is to call a conference of Party editors and leading Party journalists and editors of Party publications.

(l) National Council is to appoint a commission for writing the history of the Communist Party of India.

All-India Party and Mass Campaigns:

The following all-India Party and mass campaigns have to be conducted in order to galvanise the Party and masses into action.

1. An all-India campaign for toning up the Party organisation—for enrolment of new Party members, for strengthening the functioning of the Party branches (electing branch committees, secretaries, setting up of offices, minute books, etc.), for discussion of this report in the committees and drawing up necessary lessons from it, for tightening the discipline etc. The question of tightening discipline and strengthening observance of Party norms has to be implemented from the Central Secretariat downwards if it is to become effective.

2. An all-India Party fund campaign for collection of Rs. 10 lakhs has to be conducted beginning with January 1965 and ending with April. The state councils to decide the month suitable for their respective states for the launching of the Party fund campaign.

3. An all-India campaign for increasing the circulation of Party journals has to be conducted in March 1965.

4. All-India Mass Campaigns:

(a) It is certain that the food crisis and the phenomenon of rising prices are going to remain as the most crucial problems in the coming period. Hence the campaign for food and against rising prices has to be a continuous thing until we succeed in forcing the government to take up wholesale trade in foodgrains in full measure and organise distribution of food and other necessities of life.

(b) Bonus and DA campaign for workers and middle-class employees as evolved by the AITUC has to be conducted vigorously.

(c) An all-India campaign to increase food production has to be run in the rural areas in the months of April, May and June 1965. The aim of this campaign is to concretise the Party's agrarian programme and move the rural masses. This campaign has to be properly prepared by meeting one or several branches together as the case may be and preparing a concrete plan of action on the burning issue of that locality such as wasteland, repairs of water sources, raising of bunds for the flood waters, construction of feeder roads etc. The units have not only to apply pressure on the government but have to participate by putting physical labour wherever it is possible and needed.

This campaign is two-fold: one is to help the peasantry to fight for facilities to increase production of foodgrains and the other is to help the agricultural labourers and poor peasants to get possession of fallow and waste-lands lying with the government for cultivation and increase of wages of agricultural labourers. Such a comprehensive campaign in the rural areas will not only help the rural masses but also help our Party to shake off the lethargy that has gripped it in rural areas for the last ten years.

Comrades, we have passed through a most serious crisis—in a way more severe than even the one we faced in October 1962. It is to the credit of the loyalty of our members, their steadfastness and devotion that we have emerged out of it and regained our initiative. Our Party has been able to commence the

process of overcoming the longstanding defects which have been impediments in our further growth.

The national political campaigns on burning problems of our people, linked to questions of crucial policies like the March of September 13, 1963 and the all-India satyagraha have put the Party on the map in a big way. It has given us the confidence in the possibilities of the situation and our capacities.

In this Seventh Congress, we have adopted a Programme which will not only be our guide but can be and has to be made a big instrument for educating the entire Party.

We have in this Organisational Report taken note of some of our most serious failings and, what is more, we have outlined some concrete steps which should enable the Party to make significant improvement in our organisation.

Of course, it would be naive and idle to expect that everything now would be all right. On the contrary, most serious efforts will have to be undertaken to build mass campaigns and fight struggles to eradicate the serious defects in our organisation, determinedly educate the Party, speedily expand its organisation and learn to move the masses to intervene in the national scene. All this requires determined efforts and lot of correct and all-round rectification.

We have however to realise that if we properly carry forward what we have achieved in the pre-Congress discussions and at this Congress, and set about to undertake the tasks we have outlined, we can make rapid strides forward. The crisis of the capitalist path of development, the fact that people are more and more searching for an alternative, the possibility of winning the largest sections to the goal of national democracy and the favourable world developments—all indicate that our Party can have and has a possibility of a most rapid advance.

Let us, comrades, then devote ourselves to these tasks with hope and confidence.