

Casteist Organisations and the Party*

Introduction

1. The onrush of casteism in recent times in the society and politics of Kerala has to be viewed very seriously by the Party. The spread of casteism and the interventions of caste-organisations are not a new phenomenon. Before independence, the caste-based organisations and their alliances had its influence in political field in the Travancore-Cochin area. But during the post-independence period, it was generally felt that the influence and the capacity for intervention of such organisations was decreasing. This state of affairs has now changed. A section of caste-leaders were able to influence at least a small section of people following the Party and lead them to the UDF during the last assembly election, by unleashing a casteist campaign. The Central Committee, on review of the election had pointed out: "The state review report states that the casteist forces can not only rally their supporters but also can influence a section of our supporters. The growth of the caste influence in Kerala after the long years of activities of social reform movements and Left parties is a very serious matter. Failure to politically educate our masses and the weaknesses in conducting political propaganda among the masses behind the communal and casteist forces in order to win them over can be a reason for the emergence of the present situation. The Party has to evolve effective tactics in reaching the masses rallied around caste leaders by taking up economic and social issues and also by exposing the vested interest of the leadership."
2. The ordinary and poor sections of people engaged in traditional industries and agricultural sector have been with the Party because of struggles of many decades. There are attempts to draw away the basic classes who are the foundation of the Party by using casteism. Youth, women and other mass organisations are being strengthened on caste-basis. It is also attempted to extend this tendency to the trade union and agricultural sectors. They have also begun to establish their influence in Malabar area where comparatively there had not been casteist organisations.
3. Against the developing democratic awareness, they are trying to develop a sense of identity based on castes. Willful organised moves have also started to develop casteist and religious frenzy and to spread superstition, obscurantist customs etc. A cultural atmosphere is being created to enable public exhortation of caste identity and boasting.
4. It is necessary to find out answers to the question why this kind of a situation has now come up. Kerala is the land of vigorous actions against superstitions and primitive customs. There is the lively presence of the

Communist Party which has worked to develop democratic awareness, that came along with the social reform and anti-imperialist movements, to a higher level of revolutionary consciousness by eliminating all kinds of hegemony and exploitation to help build a socialist-communist society. Innumerable struggles under the leadership of the Party and class and mass organisations and the LDF government were successful in bringing progressive changes in Kerala's socio-economic-political fields. Kerala achieved a lot of proud gains such as land reforms, general education, health standards, decentralisation of powers etc. It is necessary to have a serious examination as to why Kerala, which had all these progressive steps, is seeing a return to casteism.

Reasons for the retreat

5. Caste is a special feature of Indian society. The caste system and caste-hierarchy are not to be seen in any other country. The caste-based discrimination and oppression have a very long history. Caste differences and caste hegemony began with the collapse of the tribal system. Capitalist development in India did not destroy the caste system; instead it compromised with the caste system and developed casteist feelings. This is due to the specificity of Indian capitalist development. This phenomenon has been explained thus in the Party Programme: "If the development of capitalist relations in agriculture is clearly the major all India trend, it is equally evident that agrarian relations are marked by greater regional and sub-regional diversity and by unevenness in the development of capitalist relations of production and exchange. There are regions of the country where capitalism in agriculture has advanced and where commercial agriculture and cash transactions dominate the rural economy; there are regions where old forms of landlordism and tenancy and archaic forms of labour service, servitude and bondage still play an important part in agrarian relations. And all over the country, caste divisions, caste oppression, the worst forms of gender oppression and the exploitation of the poor by usurers and merchant capital continue unabated. Capitalist development in Indian agriculture is not based on a resolute destruction of older forms, but has been superimposed on a swamp of pre-capitalist production relations and forms of social organisation. The development of the "modern" does not preclude the continued existence of the archaic: India is a vast and living example of the rule that capitalism penetrates agriculture and rural society in a myriad ways." The semi-feudal system is the base of still continuing caste system's socio-economic base. The supremacy of the colored upper castes is an important tool for the semi-feudal exploitation and oppression.
6. The above mentioned situation has raised two different trends. First is the reaction on the part of lower-castes against the caste-oppression: "The bourgeois-landlord system has also failed to put an end to caste oppression. The worst sufferers are the scheduled castes. The dalits are subject to untouchability and other forms of discrimination despite these being declared unlawful. The growing consciousness among the dalits for emancipation is sought to be met with brutal oppression and atrocities. The

assertion by the dalits has a democratic content reflecting the aspirations of the most oppressed sections of society. The backward castes have also asserted their rights in a caste-ridden society."

7. At the same time, the Party Programme also points out the serious limitations of casteist movements: " At the same time a purely caste appeal which seeks to perpetuate caste divisions for the narrow aim of consolidating vote banks and detaching these downtrodden sections from the common democratic movement has also been at work. Many caste leaders and certain leaders of bourgeois political parties seek to utilise the polarisation on caste lines for narrow electoral gains and are hostile to building up the common movement of the oppressed sections of all castes. They ignore the basic class issues of land, wages and fight against landlordism, which is the basis for overthrowing the old social order"
8. It can be seen that leaders of several casteist organisations and bourgeois parties are making moves in Kerala's socio-political spheres just like those pointed out in the Party Programme. Certain chieftains who have grown up within the castes expect that their spheres of influence can be extended with a share in political power. There is also a section of senior officials working energetically in caste organisations to use it as a pressure-group, away from the mainstream, to ensure their status, promotions etc. At present the leadership of caste organisations is from the emerging wealthy sections of the respective castes. The special features of the growth of bourgeois sections of various castes have also to be considered to study the casteism. Changes occurring in the growth of bourgeois strata are also apparent in the character of caste organisations. Bourgeois sections that had taken a progressive stand during the early periods of capitalist development are now against social reforms and are adopting a stand of favouring superstitions and outdated customs.
9. Another important factor, on evaluation of current casteist-political interventions, is the position of communalism of the RSS-BJP. The assumption of power at the centre by the BJP created an atmosphere of poisonous Hindu communalism – all over the country. This accelerates the caste and parochial trends. The attempts of the RSS to popularize superstitions and primitive customs and the atmosphere caused by these, is helpful to the growth of casteist-organisations. The RSS is utilising the casteist-organisations and caste/ religious cultural centres as a shortcut for their enhancement of mass influence. Their policy is to organise people on caste-basis and later to unite them on religious basis. Their secret efforts to saffronise "Sivagiri" was not at all accidental. They have even utilized the cases related to economic offenses of Vellappalli Natesan (General Secretary of the SNDP) to tame the SNDP in their favour. BJP's moves are utterly dangerous.
10. The assumption of power by casteist parties on a national level in UP, Bihar etc has been an inspiration for the casteist-forces in Kerala. The BSP, RJD and Samajvadi Party have effectively utilized the caste-sense for gaining political power. The ruling party of the Central government itself is

communal. The fact that parties can gain power by unleashing casteist and religious frenzy is a real but a temporary blow to the development of Indian democracy.

11. It is a fact that the caste problem in Kerala cannot be fully explained in isolation of communalism. Muslim and Christian communalism have also been an inspiration to the current caste trends. The issues related to communalism and religious minorities are not being considered in this document. The Party Congress and the State Committee have adopted clear stand on Communalism. The existence of Kerala Congress and Muslim League, as political parties centered on Christian and Muslim minorities, and holding power in the state is also an inspiration for the casteist leaders of Hindu religion to enter into politics. This prepared the ground for strengthening the caste based politics.
12. The present day onrush of casteism is also related to the onslaught of globalisation. It is an international experience that parallel to globalisation, ethnic and parochial trends also arise. These trends are not the answers to the problem but become a stumbling block to the mass resistance by creating divisions among the people. Kerala has the experience of people being divided on caste basis on the slogans of reservation, in the background of severe unemployment and all these forces allying themselves behind the ruling classes.
13. The casteist-communal front, organised by the UDF to unseat the LDF from power at the election in 2001, and its success was a turning point in the caste based politics of Kerala. The UDF rule is giving a new foundation to the caste organisations which were working more energetically during the 1990's due to various factors in Kerala's social sphere.

The UDF is implementing policies of appeasement towards these casteist and religious forces in order to build the wider front. The casteist leaders, pointing out the direct share and position of Christian-Muslim communities, are calling for organizing on caste-basis for political bargaining. The SNDP leaders are adopting this stand publicly. The NSS is demanding census on caste-basis to ensure the benefits of commercialization of education. Caste movements which were functioning mainly in the social sphere, are now attempting to directly interfere in politics and to be decisive factors of influence. The caste organisations attempt to imitate or copy the politics of pressure tactics of the communal parties of religious minorities.

14. The tactics adopted by the Congress in Kerala to bring down the government of 1957 led by the Communist Party, was to organise a broad anti-communist front with all the caste and religious forces. This move of the Congress and casteist and religious forces inflicted a serious blow to the growth of the democratic forces. Because of this experience, the Party had paid special attention to avoid the combined opposition of casteist and religious forces. In some elections, the Party made temporary understanding with some sections to get their help. Effective campaign against casteism and casteist organisations was not there on the part of the Party. The campaigns on secularism practically were limited to mean only

against interference of religions in politics. This gave an opportunity to the casteist leaders to boost the caste-consciousness to retain their influence. The united front of casteist and religious political parties, under the leadership of the Congress has adopted the policy of distribution of almost all schools and colleges under caste and religious considerations to the educational businessmen. The educational needs of the state and educational progress were in effect, fully lost sight of. This has developed to a stage where the educational business could bring pressure and get some gains in the name of caste-religious representation even when the LDF government comes to power with the participation of the Party. The wealthy sections could establish their influence by utilising this position through nurturing the caste and religious sentiments.

15. The NSS is the most important among the organisations of the upper castes. There are also organisations based on sub-castes. Other upper caste organisations like Yoga Kshema Sabha are not strong due to lack of membership. Among the organisations of the oppressed and lower castes, the most important one is the SNDP Union. There are also a number of organisations of the backward castes like Dheevara Sabha, Viswakarma Mahasabha, Nadar Mahajana Sabha, Latin Catholic Association, organisations of converted Christians etc. There are also separate organisations for each section of the scheduled castes and the important ones are Kerala Pulaya Mahasabha, Sambava Sabha etc. The Adhakrita Varga League and the new Dalit organisations, both under the leadership of Congress, include people of all sections. The Adivasis, small in number, live on tribal clan basis and there are two Adivasi organisations working on a state-wide basis, including the Adivasi Kshema Samithi. These organisations of Adivasis cannot be counted simply among the caste organisations as the Adivasis are far removed from the traditional caste-divisions. The role of the caste-organisations in the social progress of Kerala and their relations with our Party have undergone big changes since the earlier days. We should understand the changes of these dialectics. Similarly, there are historical differences to the extent of influence of caste organisations at different areas or localities. We have to take into consideration all these factors in formulating our policy.

Social Reform Movements

16. Social Reform Movements emerged as part of the capitalist transformation of Kerala. The capitalist development that began during the second half of the 19th century raised a number of contradictions in the traditional system; caste-rites and customs became irrelevant in the new age of industry and commerce. It was clear that these traditions and customs must be eliminated to move forward in the capitalist era. This resulted in emergence of movements against superstitions and outmoded customs in all the castes. Similarly, the caste organisations and upper class hegemony that existed were hindrances to the emerging bourgeois forces among the low-castes and this resulted in many a movement against upper class hegemony. Small sections of progressives among the upper class did support these kind of movements and even participated in them. In short, the social reform movement in Kerala was inclusive of different religious,

caste, social and political streams. Important among these was the thoughts of Sreenarayana Guru and the movements inspired by it.

17. The Congress Socialist Party, formed in 1930's, and the Communist Party subsequently considered the policy towards social reform movements as a practical problem. The party, which understood the bourgeois content of the social reform movements, unlike the simple nationalists, decided to actively participate in the social reform movements and to support effectively the anti-upper caste movements of the lower caste people. It was in this background that the Congress Socialist Party supported the non-co-operation movement in Travancore. The role of the party in anti-caste struggles and its independent work contributed much to the growth of the Party, which can be seen in its growth from Vaikom Satyagraha to Guruvayur Satyagraha and from these to the Paliyam Satyagraha. The Party was not formed at the time of Vaikom Satyagraha. The leftist Congressmen were active participants in the Guruvayur Satyagraha. The leadership of Paliyam satyagraha was provided by the Party. The Party had worked along with the struggles against casteism and oppressive customs, to organize and develop mass organizations of workers and peasants and to raise slogans against caste disabilities and oppressive customs with a class approach.

Towards the Communist Party

18. This policy paved the way for the progressives in social reform movements to be attracted to the party. This flow was very strong from the Ezhava social reform movement. It can be said that the bourgeois radicalism (Negation of Caste, Rationalism, Romantic Literature etc) developed to its highest extent in the Ezhava Social Reform Movement. In the earlier period, we can see different political streams -- from those who felt British rule would be helpful in the fight against upper-caste domination, moving to the national movement through the temple movement and through the trade union movement in Alappuzha and other workers movements. It is through the above mentioned streams that a lot of social reform activists of the reform movements came over to the worker's movement and to the Party. Vakkhadananda and the like had greatly influenced the progressives of Malabar. The anti-caste struggles of Ayyankali assumed the level of non-co-operation by workers. The cultural atmosphere created by the social reform movements was helpful to the development of communist movement. It was the communist movement that continued the social reform movement in the coming decades with the revolutionary aspects of the social reforms. It was also the land reforms implemented under the leadership of the Communist Party that smashed the economic basis of the upper caste hegemony. Land reforms also resulted in betterment of the educational and cultural level of the poor people and in their bargaining capacity. The Karshaka Thozhilali Union was struggling not only for wages; the union was in the forefront in raising slogans against the caste-slavery.

19. Parallel to the onward march of class politics another phenomenon also gained strength. The social reform movements, that had once taken progressive stands and their progressive obligations, began to move more and more to the framework of casteism and to the clutches of vested interests. This transformation was inevitable because a major part of social reforms were got implemented by 1960's. In addition, the capitalist development sharpened the class antagonisms within the castes and communities. The SNDP leadership had compromised with the Dewan of Travancore, even before independence. Some of them had degenerated into renegades during Punnapra-Vayalar struggle. Reactionary trends were strong even during the life of Sreenarayana Guru. History says that the Guru was much restless because of these trends. The SNDP had only the casteist framework of the larger Ezhava social reform movement. It's revolutionary tradition was carried forward by the worker's movement.

Reactionary Nature of Caste Organisations

20. There are capitalists and workers within every caste; there are capitalist farmers and agricultural workers. The attempts of caste organizations are to cover up this antagonism. The issue is, with which of these two classes, the caste organisation will stand. The issue of caste hegemony cannot be solved by evading the issue of the class antagonism. These two are so much interrelated. The completion of the democratic revolution, started by the caste and social reform movements, can be achieved only by those class organisations which can take up the issues of caste hegemony as part of the greater social transformation. The caste organizations have now turned out to be the tools of the ruling classes which is trying to weaken the unity of masses and their struggle.
21. On the basis of the above explained perspective, the Party had cut off all its relations to the caste-organisations. The caste-organisations had comparatively withdrawn themselves to their communal social sphere. The attempts of caste organisations to come to the political field, through the anti-communist fronts organized by the reactionary parties including the Congress, were not fruitful. But the attempt of UDF to mobilize all the caste, communal and religious organisations to defeat the LDF in the election of 2001, has resulted in a new situation. Important among this is the move of SNDP to interfere in politics. The SNDP could ensure the victory of some of their fellow-travellers among the Congress and JSS candidates. The SNDP leaders are trying to politically interfere in general policies of the state, including that of education, through the caste force and pressure. The UDF is encouraging such interference. The change of character in the leadership of SNDP also must be considered at this juncture. Though leaning towards the Congress, the leadership of SNDP used to be recognized social workers. But this organisation has now been hijacked by persons who have made themselves wealthy mainly through abkari (liquor) business. This clique which has 'captured' the organisation are betraying the Ezhava community for their personal interests. This

betrayal becomes very clear in relation to the liquor policy.

22. The SNDP Union's policy is to form various mass organizations to divide class and mass organisations on caste basis. They utilize the self help groups of women also for this purpose. This caste-based division is most dangerous in view of the need for widest mass organisations to face the challenges of globalisation.

Our Tasks

23. In these circumstances what approach is to be adopted by a revolutionary party? "The fight to do away with the caste system is an important part of the democratic revolution. The fight against the casteist exploitation is related to the struggle against class exploitation"(para 5.15). It is due to this conviction that prime importance is given in the political resolution adopted by the Party on various occasions for analyzing casteist politics and social-political trends associated with them and defining party tasks. In the Political Resolution adopted by 17th Party Congress the rights of dalits are discussed in detail in para 2.60 and those of Adivasis in paras 2.62 and 2.63. On this basis it is explained how the "struggle for social reforms" is to be conducted. The CPI(M) which is fighting to establish a casteless society is deeply concerned that caste consciousness and caste divisions existing in society are being further strengthened. This is reflected in political and social spheres. Such segregation in the name of the caste is detrimental to the growth of class unity and progress of democracy. The Party has to organise campaigns against caste division and rally people to struggle against all types of casteist oppression. Caste system, suppression of women, the heinous practice of dowry, burning of brides, social and religious rites that do away with the value of human life – all these are impediments to building a genuinely democratic society. CPI(M) takes up all such issues and fights for social reform." (Para 2.61)
24. The basis for an approach to the struggle against the caste system is the perspective laid down by Lenin in his famous book "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution". The party of the proletariat intervenes in the bourgeois democratic struggle with full understandings of the limitations of the bourgeoisie to go forward in the democratic struggle. But at the same time, the party leads the democratic revolution overcoming the bourgeois limitations. The party of the proletariat must be able to hold aloft the banner of revolution when bourgeoisie forsakes it.
25. Many leaders of caste organisations in olden days had raised the flag of social reform and scientific consciousness against superstitious and bad customs. But the vast majority of leaders of caste organisations have forsaken this flag and have become the propagandists for superstitious and bad customs. Efforts are being made to reestablish pernicious customs and practices in connection with the birth, death, marriage, house warming etc. Some leaders of the casteist

organisations arrogantly try to socially isolate those who do not surrender to evil customs. Party members and party relatives should come forward to get rid of all bad customs and obscurantist practices. They should uphold the cause of social reform and scientific approach. Party members and sympathisers must be prepared to organise social functions in a model manner. They should adopt the style of functioning which motivate people to improve their scientific consciousness and which explains the need for social reforms to suit the times. The people must be imparted strength to voluntarily come forward by raising their level of consciousness.

26. The CPI (M) and class and mass organisations in which Party members actively participate have power to intervene and help in peoples' issues. The party and class and mass organisations used to intervene in peoples' issues and lend help even when they were comparatively weak. The activities of the party and mass organisations are to be further expanded. They should be able to completely fill the lives of people.
27. Marriages between those of different castes or religions has not become a common feature even now. But such marriages fixed by young men and women are taking place. Most of the marriages fixed with the intervention of guardians or relatives do not cross the borders of caste and religion. This happens due to the influence of the general atmosphere prevailing in the country. Majority and minority fundamentalists too take a stand against such mixed marriages. Religious fanatics wish to isolate those young men and women and their relatives who get ready for such marriages and attack them. The Party and class and mass organisations must resist such moves of religious and casteist fanatics. Young men and women born in different religions and castes should be encouraged to marry if they wish to.
28. Intensive and widespread efforts to organise scheduled castes on a caste-basis and to alienate them from the Party are on. Ideological propaganda has to be organised against it. The new generation has to be taught the heritage of our movement. The main reason for the social welfare status of scheduled castes in Kerala being much higher than that in other states are the innumerable struggles waged by agricultural workers' union and land reforms. It cannot be said that an economically strong bourgeoisie has evolved among SCs as in the way it has evolved in other backward castes. But there is an array of educated officials. They are at the helm of casteist organisations. At the same time the Party and mass organisations have to take up various general grievances of the scheduled castes. Today it is agricultural workers' union that handles the problems of this section of people. Other movements also should pay attention to this. Student movement must take care to make the benefits of scheduled students available at the appropriate time. Student movement should make a separate study about the disabilities in getting education. The women's movement should pay special attention to the issues of dalit women. Lapses in the implementation of SC and ST sub plans must be made up by our panchayats. Colony committees must be activated. It must be ensured that the decision

regarding special recruitment to the party from this section is implemented. Weaker sections must be convinced through their experience that CPI(M) is their firm supporter. It is necessary to overcome all shortcomings in this regard in order to do away with the influence of casteist organisations.

29. The reservation policy of the Party is to ensure that the benefit of caste reservation accrues to the vast majority of ordinary people. Now it is the richer sections in the concerned community who reap the major part of the benefits of reservation. The CPI(M) demanded that no community must be denied a benefit that they enjoy now and that it should be ensured that the benefit goes to those deserving in each community. We also demanded that the poorest in forward communities must be ensured reservation benefit at least on a small scale without affecting the existing reservation for backward communities. The bigwigs of the communities declared war against CPI(M) for stating that the reservation benefit is being cornered by the rich in each community and demanding that this must be prevented and the benefit must be given to the deserving. Today under Antony rule even the system of reservation has become practically ineffective. As all sectors where reservation was prevalent are being privatized, it will be the end of reservation. The system of reservation is being disrupted through ban of government postings, sale of public sector units, complete privatisation of education sector, etc. It is only CPI (M) which is raising its voice against this injustice.
30. In order to do away with all disabilities and to achieve relentless progress and growth, the present socio-economic system has to be smashed and a classless society has to be established. Such a society can be created only when all weaker sections of people came together and carry out social revolution. Without increased unity and united moves of people, it is not possible to achieve progress. If continuous ideological campaign on these matters is not carried out among the people their consciousness will be stuck on temporary and narrow objectives. The importance of the ideological struggle to be carried out by the Communist party should never be forgotten. The party must be ready to clarify as to how temporary, partial and fundamental issues are inter-related.
31. The Party has taken a clear stand about organizing Scheduled Tribes under the auspices of the Adivasi Kshema Samithi. The resolution adopted by the Party Central Committee on the Adivasi issue must be our guide.
32. The Party's ideal is casteless and secular society. Communal organisations in the present day Kerala do not have any progressive social function to fulfill. Hence the party sticks to its stand that our party members must not work in such communal organisations and should not become office-bearers.
33. There is a long history to the difference between Malabar and Travancore-Cochin (TC) area as far as casteist influence is concerned.

The changes in land relation in TC area during 18th and 19th centuries developed a new rich middle class section from among the lower castes. It is these bourgeois forces that give leadership to casteist organisation. It was under their strong influence that even the national movement took shape in Travancore. The state Congress was a front of various communal forces. But in Malabar where the old feudal system continued without any major change, social reform movement grew and spread under the auspices of the national movement and the TU-Kisan movements which were formed as its parts. The caste-communal forces are now attempting to disrupt the mass movements which grew up fully assimilating the spirit of the social reform movement in Malabar. This will be a big step backwards historically. We have to take a strong stand against the despicable moves to expand casteist movements.

34. We should encourage steps to expose the erroneous moves of the SNDP union in TC area. All forces which have come forward to unleash caste frenzy in Kerala must be resisted. A powerful campaign against the casteist danger is to be carried out.
35. The most effective method to unite people against casteist division is to develop mass struggles based on common issues affecting people belonging to all castes and build class movements. Dividing people on the basis of caste can be defeated only by developing a big mass struggle against the new economic policies that are pauperizing all sections of people. It should be explained that the ban on appointments in government and public sector and cancellation of posts will adversely affect the backward communities. We will be able to point out that the interests of common people and caste-chieftains are contradictory in the traditional sector comprising of coir, handloom etc. Globalisation is making the lives of all sections of people extremely precarious. Casteist organisations are undermining the unity that should develop cutting across caste and religion. They are supporting the UDF government which is implementing these policies. Campaigns and struggles are to be organised exposing them.
36. Efforts to develop religious and casteist frenzy cannot be prevented by organizing economic struggles only. Through this only an elementary consciousness to rally together for economic demands can be developed. The Party should consciously organise ideological campaign among people who are prepared to rally together. It can be seen that even those who rally around progressive movements for economic struggles rally in the reactionary camp in social and political matters. Those who adopt a progressive stand once need not continue to adopt such a stand at all times. The Party should organise continuous activities to raise the level of consciousness of the people. Any weakness in this regard will be utilized by the reactionary forces. Noting that today it is the reactionary ideas consciously propagated by the rich classes which dominates, the Communist Party must relentlessly propagate progressive revolutionary ideas.
37. Quite a lot of campaign is now being conducted against religious communalism. But there are not enough campaigns or actions against

the intervention of casteist organisations in politics or campaigns against caste. The activities against caste have to be seen as part of the work to develop a democratic and secular society. It should not be considered only as a campaign against casteist propaganda of any leader of a caste. Caste, domination of casteism and the inequalities created by it are to be wiped out from the life of the people as a part of the process of completing the democratic revolution. The objective of the Party is to rally the people as a whole interested in social change which will help it and the revolutionary reorganization of the society. It is essential for the social revolution to defeat all destabilizing moves which disrupt the unity of the people.

*document Adopted by the Kerala State Committee of the CPI(M) at its meeting on 27-28 March 2003